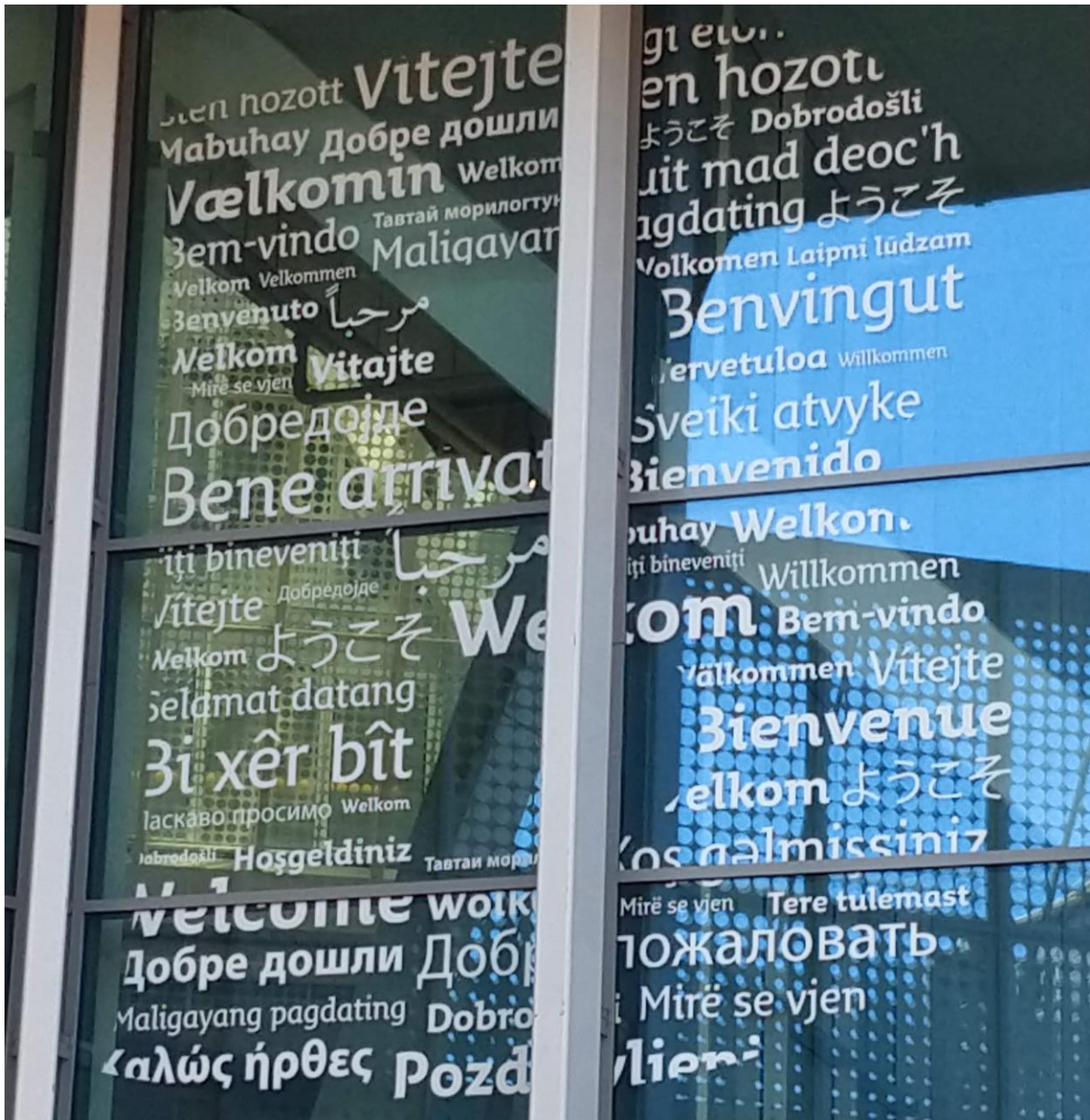# Multilingual The Hague:
Municipal language policy, politics, and practice

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Samenvatting

In veel steden over de hele wereld is meertaligheid de realiteit en dit is ook het geval in Den Haag. Rond de eeuwwisseling sprak bijna de helft van de schoolgaande kinderen in deze stad een andere taal naast het Nederlands thuis en dat zijn er sindsdien waarschijnlijk alleen maar meer geworden (Extra et al., 2001). De meertaligheid in de stad heeft invloed heeft op communicatie, onderwijs en het stadslandschap en daarom moet de gemeente er iets mee. Er is echter weinig onderzoek gedaan naar taalpolitiek en taalbeleid op gemeentelijk niveau in het algemeen en naar meertaligheid in Den Haag in het specifiek (Backhaus, 2012; Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 2019). Om dit gat te proberen op te vullen, onderzocht ik het gemeentelijk beleid, de gemeentepolitiek en de gemeentelijke praktijk rondom meertaligheid in Den Haag. Er waren twee onderzoeksvragen: hoe ziet het beleid en de politiek rondom meertaligheid in Den Haag eruit op papier en hoe vertaalt zich dat naar de praktijk, specifiek naar het taalgebruik op gemeentelijke borden in Den Haag?

Om deze vragen te kunnen beantwoorden heb ik drie subprojecten uitgevoerd. Ik heb de beleidsstukken en politieke documenten van de huidige gemeenteraad geanalyseerd door middel van corpusanalyse. Twee belangrijke beleidsdocumenten, namelijk het coalitieakkoord en het vertaalbeleid, heb ik in detail onderzocht met behulp van een kritische discoursanalyse. Daarnaast heb ik gekeken naar taalbeleid en -politiek in de praktijk door het taalgebruik op gemeentelijke borden te analyseren met een taallandschapsanalyse.

De resultaten van de drie methodes geven een vergelijkbaar beeld over meertaligheid in Den Haag, maar elk vanuit een andere hoek. Ze laten zien dat de gemeente zich vooral richt op de Nederlandse taal: het gebruik van het Nederlands en taalonderwijs in het Nederlands. Meertaligheid wordt in het algemeen als obstakel gezien voor het leren en gebruiken van het Nederlands, tenzij het de meertaligheid betreft van zogeheten expats, internationals en toeristen. De gemeente komt hun wensen tegemoet en benadert ze in het Engels, Frans en Duits, terwijl de focus bij inwoners met bijvoorbeeld een Turkse, Marokkaanse of Oost-Europese achtergrond ligt op het Nederlands. Deze verschillende benadering vergroot mogelijk de ongelijkheid in de stad. In mijn discussie laat ik zien dat ideologieën over taal en bevolkingsgroepen, zoals nationalisme en een eenzijdige economische benadering van meertaligheid, aan dit soort taalbeleid ten grondslag liggen. Taalwetenschappers benadrukken echter dat het ondersteunen en bevorderen van meertaligheid prima hand-in-hand kan gaan met Nederlandse taalvaardigheid en participatie in de Nederlandse samenleving (Skrandies, 2016; KNAW, 2018). Meertaligheid kan worden ingezet als troef voor alle lagen van de bevolking en niet alleen voor de bovenlaag (Skrandies, 2016; KNAW, 2018).

Summary

The reality in many cities across the world today is one of multilingualism (Kraus & Grin, 2018; Smakman & Heinrich, 2018). Municipalities need to deal with this linguistic superdiversity to be able to communicate with their citizens and to navigate inhabitants' linguistic needs (Blommaert & Rampton, 2001; Kraus & Grin, 2018; Skrandies, 2016). There is a relative lack of research into municipal language policy, while it can have a profound impact on citizens' life and sociolinguistic identities (Backhaus, 2012; Siiner, 2014; Skrandies, 2016). The Hague, as the third largest city in The Netherlands, is a prime, but understudied example of such a multilingual reality and associated municipal language policy (Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 2019). Moreover, allegedly, The Hague is the most segregated city in The Netherlands (Cornips et al., 2018), which makes issues of language ideology, sociolinguistic inequality, and language policy all the more prominent and interesting to examine. Furthermore, the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (KNAW) has recently called for policies which value and capitalise more on the linguistic diversity in The Netherlands, which begs the question to what extent municipalities like The Hague currently do so (KNAW, 2018).

Therefore, I researched how and to what extent multilingualism features in the municipal language policy and politics of The Hague, both in text and in practice. The analysis takes a sociolinguistic and language policy perspective and is threefold: it consists of a Corpus Analysis of language policy and politics of the current municipal council, a Critical Discourse Analysis of two language policy documents, and a Linguistic Landscape analysis of municipal signs in the city. The results of all three analyses indicate that the municipality operates from a monolingual mindset by focusing mostly on the acquisition and use of Dutch and by describing multilingualism negatively, instead of as a resource (Clyne, 2005). Additionally, the multilingualism of citizens who are already disadvantaged is viewed as an obstacle, while the multilingualism of so-called expats and internationals is embraced. This points to a social divide in The Hague based on socioeconomic class, language, and ethnic background. This thesis is indicative of language ideologies of nationalism and a one-sided economic perspective on multilingualism (Skrandies, 2016).

However, scholars argue that multilingualism is a reality, also among low socioeconomic status inhabitants, that the municipality should acknowledge, accommodate for, and celebrate (Backhaus, 2012). This would allow citizens to participate equally in society, it will make them feel heard and respected, and it might even improve their proficiency in Dutch (Skrandies, 2016). Multilingualism, moreover, can also be exploited as a resource: linguistic capital that creates (job) opportunities and enriches city life (Skrandies, 2016; KNAW, 2018).

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List of frequent terms

Term	Explanation
ANWB	'Royal Dutch Touring Club', a Dutch organisation for travel, and car travel specifically.
CEFR	Common European Framework of Reference, used to indicate proficiency levels, from A1 and A2 (basic user), through B1 and B2 (independent user), to C1 and C2 (proficient user).
EEA	European Economic Area
EU	European Union
Helder Haags	This 'Clear Language in The Hague' policy entails that the municipality should communicate in clear and comprehensible Dutch with its citizens and in its policies (Ribbens, 2006, also see interviews in Appendix A). This clear language policy is supposed to accommodate for multilingualism in the city while still using the Dutch language in most types of communication (see interviews in Appendix A and translation policy in Appendix C).
MOE	'Mid and Eastern European'
Non-prestigious multilingualism	Also 'plebeian multilingualism'. Non-prestigious multilingualism refers to the type of multilingualism between non-prestigious, often migrant languages, often spoken by low socioeconomic status, 'non-western' or non-white families (Jaspers & Verschueren, 2011; Nortier et al., 2014; King & Carson, 2016; Skrandies, 2016).
OALT *(Onderwijs Allochtone Levende Talen)* **('Education in Allochtonous Living Languages')**	Law from 1998 which decentralised heritage language education in The Netherlands. Dutch heritage language education was initially created to enable migrants' return to their home countries, then became a way for them to remain in touch with a heritage culture and language, but its focus became increasingly deficit-oriented, to facilitate the acquisition of Dutch, and aimed at assimilation, until it was abolished in 2004 (Bezemer & Kroon, 2006).
Participatiewet **('Participation Act')**	Social security law from 2015 that was created to save money. It emphasises citizens' own responsibility to find a job, create a financial security net, and participate in society. Welfare is cut if people make insufficient efforts to do so (Bierbaum & Gassmann, 2016; Delsen, 2016).
Prestigious multilingualism	A prestigious type of multilingualism with high status 'European' languages such as English, French, and German, often found in high socioeconomic status (SES), 'western', white families (Jaspers & Verschueren, 2011; King & Carson, 2016; Skrandies, 2016).
Wet Taaleis **('Language Requirement Act')**	Law from 2016 which stipulates that welfare recipients in The Netherlands should have Dutch proficiency level 1F, which is comparable to the minimum level at the end of primary school (Rijksoverheid, 2015; Taal en Rekenen, 2019). If benefit recipients do not reach or attempt to reach this level, the municipality is entitled to lower social benefits or deny giving them at all (Rijksoverheid, 2015).
SES	Socioeconomic status

List of political parties in The Hague's municipal council

Party	Type of party (until October 2019)	Number of seats
Groep de Mos/Hart voor Den Haag	'De Mos Group / Care for The Hague', a coalition party. Self-described local, populist party.	8
VVD	'People's Party for Freedom and Democracy', a coalition party. Self-described right-wing, liberal party.	7
D66	'Democrats 66', a coalition party. Self-described progressive, social liberal party.	6
GroenLinks	'Green Left', a coalition party. Self-described left-wing green party.	5
CDA	'Christian Democratic Appeal', an opposition party. Self-described Christian democratic party.	3
PvdA	'Labour Party', an opposition party. Self-described social democratic party.	3
Haagse Stadspartij	'The Hague City Party', an opposition party. Self-described local, left-wing party.	3
Partij voor de Dieren	'Party for the Animals', an opposition party. Self-described environmental, animal welfare party.	2
PVV	'Party for Freedom', an opposition party. Self-described anti-immigration/anti-Islamisation party.	2
Islam Democraten	'Islam Democrats', an opposition party. Self-described Islamic party.	1
ChristenUnie/SGP	Cooperation of 'Christian Union' and 'Reformed Political Party'. Opposition party. Self-described Christian party.	1
SP	'Socialist Party', an opposition party. Self-described socialist party.	1
NIDA	'NIDA', an opposition party. Self-described Islamic party.	1
50PLUS	'50PLUS', an opposition party. Self-described party for pensioners' interests	1
Partij van de Eenheid	'Party of Unity', an opposition party. Self-described Islamic party.	1

Sources: Bol, 2009; Partij voor de Vrijheid, 2010, 2017; Groep de Mos/Hart voor Den Haag, 2018b; Haagse Stadspartij, 2018, 2019; Odaci, 2018; Partij van de Eenheid, 2018; Heijmans, 2018; 50PLUS Den Haag, 2019; CDA Den Haag, 2019; ChristenUnie-SGP Den Haag, 2019; D66 Den Haag, 2019; GroenLinks Den Haag, 2019; Islam Democraten, 2019; Jonge Democraten, 2019; Joosten, 2019; NIDA Den Haag, 2019; Partij voor de Dieren Den Haag, 2019; PvdA Den Haag, 2019a, 2019b; Socialistische Partij, 2019.

In October 2019, the coalition broke after corruption charges against two aldermen of Groep de Mos (*NRC*, 2019).

Part I. Introduction

1. Introduction

The reality in many cities across the world today is one of multilingualism (Kraus & Grin, 2018; Smakman & Heinrich, 2018). Municipalities need to deal with this linguistic superdiversity to be able to communicate with their citizens and to navigate inhabitants' linguistic needs (Blommaert & Rampton, 2001; Skrandies, 2016; Kraus & Grin, 2018). There is a relative lack of research into municipal language policy, while this type of policy can have a profound impact on citizens' life (Backhaus, 2012; Siiner, 2014; Skrandies, 2016). Of all forms of government, citizens probably have most contact with municipalities, and therefore, municipal linguistic decisions are especially impactful; they determine whether citizens can make themselves understood and express their identities (Backhaus, 2012). Municipalities also contribute a lot to the Linguistic Landscape, "the visual language use in the public space" (Hult, 2018, p. 1), which reflects and influences linguistic ideologies and social relations in the city (Ben-Rafael et al., 2010; Gorter, 2013; Hult, 2018). On the one hand, municipalities might support the languages in the city and the diverse expressions of linguistic identity, organise language classes, provide cultural products (e.g. books) in various languages and might create events which celebrate linguistic diversity (Skrandies, 2016). On the other hand, municipalities can also ignore linguistic diversity or perceive it as an obstacle (Skrandies, 2016), perhaps promoting some languages over others, thereby creating and perpetuating inequality (Backhaus, 2012). In other words, the municipal language policy "can do both, open the doors to the linguistic realities outside or do their best to keep them shut out" (Backhaus, 2012, p. 242).

The Hague, as the third largest city in The Netherlands (ca. half a million inhabitants), is a prime, but understudied example of such a multilingual reality (Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 2019). The Hague is not included in the analysis of the Dutch chapter of the book *Urban Sociolinguistics*, while Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Utrecht are (Cornips et al., 2018). Moreover, the LUCIDE project about multilingual cities and policies examined Utrecht, instead of The Hague (Nortier et al., 2014; King & Carson, 2016). This is surprising, as The Hague has the highest proportion of citizens with a migration background in The Netherlands (54.6% on 1 January 2019), and therefore, a large number of heritage language speakers (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2019). Older data from 1997 and 1999 suggest that 49% of school children in The Hague use another language than Dutch at home, speaking at least 88 different languages in total (Extra et al., 2001). Compared to 1999, there are an additional 120,000 inhabitants with a migration background in The Hague currently (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2019). It is therefore likely that many more languages are spoken in The Hague now, although no exact figures are available (Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 2019). Moreover, allegedly, The Hague is the most segregated city in The Netherlands (Cornips et al., 2018), which makes issues of language ideology, sociolinguistic

inequality and language policy all the more prominent and interesting to examine. Furthermore, the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (KNAW*)* has recently called for policies which value and capitalise more on the linguistic diversity in The Netherlands, begging the question to what extent municipalities like The Hague currently do so (KNAW, 2018).

Therefore, I will study how and to what extent multilingualism features in the municipal language policy and politics of The Hague, both in text and in practice. The analysis takes a sociolinguistic and language policy perspective and is threefold: it consists of a Corpus Analysis of language policy and politics of the current municipal council, a Critical Discourse Analysis of two language policy documents, and a Linguistic Landscape analysis of municipal signs in the city. These three methodologies include the three main areas of municipal language policy, namely internal administrative language, communication with the citizens, and the Linguistic Landscape, and they cover all main goals of municipal language planning: status planning, acquisition planning, and prestige planning (see Section 2; Backhaus, 2012; Skrandies, 2016). The use of three methodologies allows for triangulation and provides different windows on The Hague's municipal language policy and politics: a more general, quantitative overview (Corpus Analysis), a more specific, qualitative analysis (Critical Discourse Analysis), and a view on language policy in practice, namely the actual language use on signs erected by the municipality (Linguistic Landscape analysis).

In the next Chapter, I will first describe theoretical frameworks and empirical research about municipal language policy, politics, and practice before turning to a historical, political, and sociolinguistic description of the city of The Hague. In Chapter 3, I will formulate my two research questions and hypotheses that follow from the sociolinguistic literature. Part II of this thesis includes the two textual analyses: the Corpus Analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis, of which the methodology is explained in Chapter 4, while Chapter 5 discusses the results, and Chapter 6 is a preliminary discussion. Part III of this thesis consists of the more practical Linguistic Landscape analysis, which follows the same format, with the methodology in Chapter 7, the results in Chapter 8, and a preliminary discussion in Chapter 9. All three analysis are taken together in Part IV, which features a general discussion in Chapter 10 and ends with the conclusions of this thesis in Chapter 11.

2. Literature review

2.1 Introduction

Before the actual analyses, I will give some background and outline the literature on urban multilingualism and municipal language policy in this chapter. I first discuss theories on urban multilingualism and municipal language policy in Section 2.2, followed by examples of municipal language policy in cities all over the world in Section 2.3, and I will finally describe the background of the city of The Hague, its linguistic diversity, and the lack of research into its language policies in Section 2.4.

2.2 Theories about multilingualism and municipal language policy

Following criticism by Williams (2018) that sociolinguistics is undertheorised, the current section discusses interdisciplinary theoretical frameworks which relate to the sociolinguistic reality of urban multilingualism and associated municipal language policy. Superdiversity is the norm in today's world, and in big cities especially, where the population is always changing and there is a constant influx of people (Robertson, 1994; Vertovec, 2007; Blommaert, 2013; King, 2016; Kraus & Grin, 2018). The urban population has enormous complexity in terms of migration background and linguistic, socio-economic, cultural, and political characteristics (Vertovec, 2007; Blommaert, 2013; Kraus & Grin, 2018). This diversity is a resource and it has the potential to lead to a rich city life, but it could also have a hunkering down effect, in which there is growing hostility between and within various groups (Putnam, 2007; King & Carson, 2016). Cities are goldmines for sociolinguists: they display enormous linguistic diversity from below (heritage languages, as well as innovate language varieties, such as urban youth language), but often also house prescriptive institutions which dictate language use from above (Dorleijn et al., 2015; King & Carson, 2016).

One such prescriptive institution might be the municipality, which influences which languages receive a podium in the city and how citizens can express themselves (Backhaus, 2012). The challenge for municipalities is to formulate language policies that do justice to the complexity of the social and linguistic identities and needs of inhabitants (Skrandies, 2016). These language policies might be informed and called for by citizens themselves in a bottom-up manner or imposed in a top-down way (Ricento, 2009). At the local level specifically, the government has the possibility to engage directly with citizens' demands about communication, language use, language support, and language education (Skrandies, 2016). Municipal language policies can have three main goals: status planning, acquisition planning, and prestige planning, which will be discussed in the sections below and related to various theoretical frameworks about multilingualism (Skrandies, 2016).

2.2.1 Status planning

Status planning refers to policies that influence the use of a language variety in a social or governmental setting (Kloss, 1969; Hornberger, 2009; Wright, 2012b; Skrandies, 2016). On the municipal level, this includes the administrative language, the language that the municipality uses to communicate with citizens, translation policies, and policies that restrict or promote the use of a language in a particular social domain (including the Linguistic Landscape) (Backhaus, 2012; Skrandies, 2016). Theoretically, status planning can be discussed in terms of nationalism, postmodernism, and language rights.

Status planning is intrinsically linked to nationalist discourses, which tie one nation and one place to one language (Blommaert & Verschueren, 1992; Weber, 1997; Hobsbawm, 2000; Bauman & Briggs, 2003; Quist, 2010; Wright, 2012a). National, official, majority language(s) are on top of the language hierarchy, followed by foreign languages that are learned in school, and, at the bottom, languages of the community, such as heritage languages and regional languages (Ellis et al., 2010; Skrandies, 2016). National languages are deemed important for the national identity and cohesion and the formation of an imagined national community (Anderson, 1983; Skrandies, 2016). This strong focus on national languages has the potential to harm other languages in the urban multilingual environment and their speakers (Skrandies, 2016), as Monica Heller put it, "linguistic minorities are created by nationalisms which exclude them" (Heller, 2006, p. 7). The focus on one dominant language and its native speakers in a country is termed the monolingual mindset (Clyne, 2005).

According to postmodernist and critical theory, this monolithic, nationalist view on language, identity, and culture is flawed. There is no convincing reason to grant special status to the 'national language', the concept of the nation is constructed, and the national language is often not as neatly tied to a social group (Honig, 2001; Pennycook, 2001, 2009; Schmidt, 2009). Citizens might use different (non-standard) language varieties and have hybrid, complex, transcultural identities (Bhabha, 1994; Welsch, 1999; Blommaert & Rampton, 2001; Bauman & May, 2001; Pennycook, 2009). Moreover, the city is a superdiverse place where many language varieties are spoken and municipalities need to find a way to recognise this reality (Blommaert & Rampton, 2001; King & Carson, 2016).

To acknowledge this diversity, municipalities might formulate an inclusive and wide-reaching translation policy, make municipal documents as accessible as possible, and allow citizens to communicate with the municipality in the language with which they feel most comfortable (Backhaus, 2012; Skrandies, 2016). Translation policies become especially necessary when governments make one language or a restricted set of languages the official or administrative language (Ozolins, 2010). Translation policies generally evolve from complete neglect, to an intermediate phase with informal and improvised provisions, followed by some general interpreting and translation services, and completed by a complete and professional translation and interpreting system based on needs (Corsellis,

2008; Ozolins, 2010). Even a translation policy which is characterised by neglect is a language policy, as it directly impacts the lives of multilingual citizens (Ozolins, 2010; Meylaerts & González Núñez, 2018). As translation is often not an enforceable linguistic right, municipalities should implement it to recognise linguistic diversity, to ensure equal participation, and to facilitate communication (Wilson et al., 2012).

In terms of status planning and translation, we can make a distinction between 'tolerance-oriented' language rights and 'promotion-oriented' language rights (Kloss, 1998; May, 2011, 2015). On the one hand, 'tolerance-oriented' rights entail that citizens are allowed to use any language in private and public and privately preserve and promote their own language, but they do not force the government to take any measures (Kloss, 1998; May, 2011). On the other hand, 'promotion-oriented' language rights grant protection and recognition to a language in official, public domains and demand action on the part of the government in terms of translation, the provision of cultural products in their language, and public educational services (Kloss, 1998; May, 2011).

2.2.2 Acquisition planning

The latter, public educational services, refer to another aspect of language policy: acquisition planning. This encompasses the provision of language classes by the municipality and the obligation, support, lack of support, or prohibition to follow particular (private or public) language classes (Skrandies, 2016). Of course, municipalities cannot change the state curriculum, but they might be responsible for implementing state policy, and engage in acquisition planning in that way (Liddicoat & Baldauf, 2008; Skrandies, 2016). Particularly striking examples at the local level are the language classes for immigrants to learn the national language and heritage language classes in the public or private domain (Nortier et al., 2014; Skrandies, 2016). These language classes are tied to theoretical issues about citizenship, linguistic assimilation, and linguistic human rights.

Language classes for immigrants are thought to promote active and participatory citizenship, which partly explains their prominence in (municipal) language policy (May, 2011; Meylaerts, 2011; Skrandies, 2016). Proficiency in the national language might allow new residents to communicate with the government, to understand politics and policies, to connect with other inhabitants, it might help them form ties to their new place of residence, and it could grant them social mobility (May, 2011; Meylaerts, 2011; Skrandies, 2016). It is undisputed that proficiency in the national language gives residents with a migration background clear advantages, but scholars have voiced concerns that too much responsibility is put on immigrants themselves, and that various social forces, such as discrimination, are at play as well (Lippi-Green, 1997; Delander et al., 2005; Lev-Ari & Keysar, 2010; Amit & Bar-Lev, 2015; Skrandies, 2016).

An increasing number of countries have made language exams mandatory to get a residence permit, not just for citizenship (Skrandies, 2016). The increased importance of language classes and exams is fuelled by rising xenophobia, islamophobia, and anti-immigration politics, and "ignores the complexity of successful integration processes with depend on a variety of socio-economic and political factors and certainly not only on migrants' willingness to integrate [and their ability to achieve competence in the national language]" (Beacco, Krumm, Little, & Thalgott, 2017; Extra & Yağmur, 2006; Skrandies, 2016, p. 125). Some worry that language tests only serve to limit immigration (Committee on Migration, Refugees and Displaced Persons, 2013), and that playing 'the language card' might function as a means to distract from structural social issues that are harder to tackle, or that it might be intended to obscure xenophobia and racism (Baynham, 2013; Skrandies, 2016).

The increased importance of language tests is paired with increased pressures of linguistic assimilation: a shift to the national language on the part of the immigrants, generally to the detriment of their first/heritage languages (Spolsky, 2004; Ricento, 2009; De Witte, 2011; Darden & Mylonas, 2016; Archakis et al., 2018). Proficiency in the heritage language, and heritage language schools, for example, are perceived as a threat to national identity and cohesion (Extra & Yağmur, 2006; Backhaus, 2012; King & Carson, 2016; Beacco et al., 2017). However, from an academic point of view, this monolingual focus does not necessarily make sense: these immigrants are usually multilingual speakers, their heritage/first language competence is beneficial for their sense of wellbeing, and might actually aid the acquisition of the national language (Milani, 2008; De Houwer, 2011; May, 2011; Ortega, 2013, 2019; Spotti, 2013; Skrandies, 2016; Krumm & Plutzar, 2017). As Skrandies (2016) explains: "linguistic integration and linguistic diversity can be fully compatible and complementary goals of [language policy and planning]" (p. 125).

In fact, the acquisition of minority languages could be described as a linguistic human right. The UN Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities, for example, states:

> 1.1 States shall protect the existence and the national or ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic identity of minorities within their respective territories, and shall encourage conditions for the promotion of that identity.
> 1.2 States shall adopt appropriate legislative and other measures to achieve those ends. […]
> 4.3 States should take appropriate measures so that, wherever possible, persons belonging to minorities have adequate opportunities to learn their mother tongue or to have instruction in their mother tongue. (United Nations, 1992)

Scholars within the linguistic human rights paradigm argue that this declaration is too provisional and that states should ensure that speakers of minority languages, whether migrant languages or 'national' minority languages, have access to education in/about their mother tongue (May, 2009, 2011; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2009; Skutnabb-Kangas et al., 2009). Some, however, have critiqued linguistic human rights

for being too conservationist and too essentialist, as these rights may pose a strong connection between ethnicity and language (Blommaert, 2001; May, 2005; Pennycook, 2009). Linguistic human rights have also been criticised for not being postmodernist enough, as they might not take into account diversity on the individual level and diversity in language varieties, and they have been criticised for limiting social mobility among minority groups, as a focus on minority languages does not necessarily improve minority language speakers' position in society (Blommaert, 2001; May, 2005; Pennycook, 2009). Brutt-Griffler (2002) proposes that linguistic human rights should consider the structural socioeconomic and political inequality that allows some groups to determine the linguistic lives of others. This is exactly what May (2005) considers the strongest point of the linguistic human rights approach: "[highlighting] centrally and critically the wider social and political conditions – and particularly their historical antecedents – [that have led to the privileged position of majority languages] – often at the specific *expense* of minority languages" (p. 339).

2.2.3 Prestige planning

This social inequality relates to the last prominent form of municipal language planning: prestige planning, which denotes the efforts to positively impact the social esteem of a language and its speakers, and therefore people's willingness to speak it (Sallabank, 2012; Skrandies, 2016). Municipalities have the ability to engage in prestige planning by recognising and supporting the linguistic diversity in the city and the various language varieties that are spoken (Skrandies, 2016). They do this, for example, when they organise events centred around linguistic diversity, and when they engage with minority language speakers' requests for events and linguistic needs such as translation and education (Skrandies, 2016). The extent to which municipalities recognise certain languages can be explained by sociolinguistic theory, nationalism, and economics.

According to sociolinguistic theory, some language varieties and variants carry more prestige, i.e. (overt or hidden) social value or respect, than others (Meyerhoff, 2015; Skrandies, 2016). This is often not rooted in the linguistic properties of the language variety/variant; instead, we can identify various social, historical or political causes (May, 2005; Meyerhoff, 2015), such as socioeconomic status, ethnicity, race, gender, age, political power, and institutional support of the language (Backhaus, 2012; Meyerhoff, 2015; Skrandies, 2016). This means that municipalities, through their language policies, can influence the prestige of languages, and thereby increase, perpetuate, or reduce social inequality (Backhaus, 2012; Skrandies, 2016).

Related to the subject of this thesis, there is a distinction between prestigious and non-prestigious (or plebeian) multilingualism, and municipalities have the potential to contribute to, engage with, or subvert this distinction (Jaspers & Verschueren, 2011; Nortier et al., 2014; Skrandies, 2016). On the one hand, prestigious multilingualism is a type of multilingualism with high status 'European' languages such as

English, French, and German, often found in high socioeconomic status (SES) 'western', white families (Jaspers & Verschueren, 2011; King & Carson, 2016; Skrandies, 2016). It is awarded high social value and is seen as an asset, which is demonstrated by the support for multilingual upbringing in these languages, education in these languages, and the visibility of these languages in the public sphere (Jaspers & Verschueren, 2011; Nortier et al., 2014; King & Carson, 2016; Skrandies, 2016). On the other hand, non-prestigious multilingualism refers to the type of multilingualism between non-prestigious, often migrant languages, generally spoken by low SES, 'non-western' or non-white families (Jaspers & Verschueren, 2011; Nortier et al., 2014; King & Carson, 2016; Skrandies, 2016). Municipal language policies might implicitly distinguish between prestigious and non-prestigious multilingualism and thereby perpetuate this dichotomy, or counteract this distinction and try to increase social equality (Backhaus, 2012; Skrandies, 2016). In general, policies might impact cultural and linguistic capital by valuing some languages (and therefore the linguistic groups with this capital) more than others (Bourdieu, 1986; Bourdieu et al., 2003).

According to Jaffe (2012), there are two dominant ideologies in language policy that might impact languages' prestige and citizens' linguistic capital: nationalism and economics. Nationalism, the idea of one nation, one language, has been discussed above and might mean that all forms of multilingualism, and all language varieties besides the national (standard) language, carry lower prestige (Bauman & Briggs, 2003; Jaffe, 2012; Skrandies, 2016). In practice, a nationalist language policy might be focused unilaterally on the use of, instruction in, and acquisition of the national language, perhaps at the expense of other language varieties and multilingualism in general (May, 2005; Skrandies, 2016). Skrandies (2016) describes a prestige hierarchy in municipal language policies, with the national majority language on top and immigrant languages at the bottom.

An economic perspective on multilingualism, on the other hand, might value some languages and some forms of multilingualism, as long as they are associated with (perceived) economic revenue (Jaffe, 2012; Skrandies, 2016). The national language might be supported because it is said to increase socioeconomic mobility, languages like English (especially standard varieties such as Received Pronunciation and General American), might be welcomed if they bring job opportunities and high SES migrants, whereas many other heritage languages, and their low SES speakers, might be perceived to create only economic, political, and linguistic trouble (Grin, 2009; Backhaus, 2012; Jaffe, 2012; Skrandies, 2016).

However, from an economic perspective, one might also argue that the (municipal) government should interfere in the 'linguistic market' to guarantee linguistic diversity in the city and to protect minority languages (Grin, 2009). The linguistic market displays various forms of market failure that warrant state intervention, such as a disregard for the wishes of future generations (to e.g. preserve a heritage

language) and externalities (e.g. whether someone learns a language or not impacts the value of another person's language skills) (Grin, 2009). There is a collective action problem: individually, people might choose to learn and speak only the languages that carry most prestige because of the associated individual benefits, while as a group, they might value linguistic diversity or want certain languages to be preserved: individual interests clash with collective interests (Olson, 1971; Pool, 2010; Alcalde, 2018). Moreover, governments often do not take into account the cultural and social value of languages, for example as a means of identity, and of linguistic diversity, nor do they capitalise upon and value the linguistic capital of the population enough (Grin & Vaillancourt, 1997; Grin, 2009; KNAW, 2018). Lastly, there is a distributive component to language policy that is often neglected: some citizens might gain mostly from the municipal language policies, while others might lose mostly, creating and perpetuating inequalities (Grin, 2009).

Through various forms of language policy, then, such as status planning, acquisition planning, and prestige planning, the government might establish or maintain social inequalities. Of course, the municipality might also try to decrease social inequality through an inclusive form of language policy: municipalities can either "try to cope with existing or newly developing linguistic heterogeneity in an inclusive way [or] exclude linguistic minorities and keep an increasingly threatened status quo." (Backhaus, 2012, p. 241). I will discuss some examples below.

2.3 Examples of urban multilingualism and municipal language policy

Municipalities differ in the degree to which they support and cater to the needs of multilingual citizens (Backhaus, 2012; Skrandies, 2016). This can partially be related to their historical, political and social situation, and it also seems that larger cities provide more multilingual policies (Bender, 2007; Backhaus, 2012). However, there is no apparent relationship between the degree of linguistic diversity within a city and the choice for either the first or latter strategy (Lambert, 2009; Backhaus, 2012). Municipal language policy is a relatively neglected area within language policy and planning and sociolinguistics, as most discussions, even within a city context, focus on national policies (Backhaus, 2012; Skrandies, 2016; Chik et al., 2018). However, given the recent trend of decentralisation, municipal language policy is more relevant than ever (Siiner, 2014). I will discuss some of the few studies about municipal language policy in multilingual cities below (Backhaus, 2012; Siiner, 2014).

Many municipalities, like governments in general, have no explicit language policy, or if they do, it is often poorly structured, incomplete, or inconsistent (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996; Spolsky, 2009; Backhaus, 2012; Skrandies, 2016). Often, there are language policies only as a consequence of other policies, such as education policies or immigrant policies (Siiner, 2014). However, the lack of a language policy or a fragmentary language policy is also a language policy, as it has an influence on

the lives of multilingual citizens (Skrandies, 2016). For example, in cities such as Athens (report from 2014) and Limassol (Cyprus, report from 2015), there are limited and ad hoc translation and interpreting services for multilingual citizens, which means that these citizens have to try to adjust to this situation themselves (Ozolins, 2010; Sierra, 2014; Papadima-Sophocleous et al., 2015). There are also relatively few government-funded opportunities to learn Greek in Athens, which makes the situation more challenging for multilingual citizens (Sierra, 2014). To step in where the municipality lets citizens down, there have been several private initiatives, such as the 'Sunday School for Migrants' (Sierra, 2014). Moreover, there are no official policies in Greece to help immigrant pupils learn their mother tongue or heritage language, and the integration of immigrant pupils in schools is perceived as a challenge (Sierra, 2014; Papadima-Sophocleous et al., 2015). Prestige languages like English, French, and German, in contrast, are already taught in primary school (Sierra, 2014). These languages are also often used as tourist languages, even in cities with monolingual policies (Skrandies, 2016).

In other places, like Copenhagen (report from 2014) and Upper Nazareth (report from 2009), municipal language policies show similar monolingual and xenophobic tendencies, but more explicitly so (Siiner, 2014; Trumper-Hecht, 2009). Copenhagen is very multilingual, with large groups of Arabic, Turkish, Somali, and Urdu speakers; immigrants made up 22% of the population in 2012 (Siiner, 2014). In 2014, Danish language competence screenings were obligatory for multilingual children at the ages of three and five/six, and several times during primary school; should children score unsatisfactorily, additional Danish classes were offered (Siiner, 2014). At the moment, in Denmark, children from 'ghetto' neighbourhoods (defined partially by the ethnic background of the inhabitants) are obliged to follow 25 hours a week of Danish language and culture early childhood education and care from the age of one onwards (Barry & Sorensen, 2018; Graham-Harrison & Rasmussen, 2018). In other cities, the Linguistic Landscape is sometimes heavily policed: the municipality of Upper Nazareth refused to incorporate Arabic on city signs, even after the Supreme Court ordered them to do so in 2002, which signals the ethnic struggle between Hebrew-speaking and Arabic-speaking groups in the city (Trumper-Hecht, 2009). However, a surprisingly high number (41%) of Hebrew-speaking residents would in fact prefer Arabic to be included in the Linguistic Landscape (Trumper-Hecht, 2010).

Studies show that, if there is a mismatch between local needs and governmental provisions, language policies can be met with resistance. In Athens, for example there is a strong anti-racist, left-wing movement that disagrees with government policies and aims to celebrate multilingualism and accommodate the needs of multilingual citizens (Sierra, 2014). "The organisation of and support for the learning of languages and the celebration of cultural practices are [all] […] closely related to the political struggle for equal rights and against social exclusion, racism and xenophobia." (Skrandies, 2016, p. 140) Research has suggested that successful language policies aim to incorporate and support

bottom-up initiatives, instead of intervening top-down and ignoring citizens' wishes (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996; Siiner, 2014).

On the other end of the spectrum, we find cities which try to engage with the needs of multilingual citizens, such as Toronto, Thswane (South Africa), Boston, Helsinki, and Manchester. For Toronto, the superdiversity of the city has become its selling point and extensive multilingual provisions are available (Blommaert & Rampton, 2001; Stoicheva, 2016):

> The City of Toronto recognizes that the ethnic diversity of our community is a source of social, cultural and economic enrichment and strength. The City of Toronto recognizes that providing multilingual services is an effective way to reach individuals, groups and organizations of diverse communities to allow them to access City services and programs. (Toronto, 2002)

However, the city appears quite segregated, with the existence of certain 'immigrant' neighbourhoods and places as Greektown or Chinatown (Stoicheva, 2016). Sandeep Agrawal, an expert in urban planning in Toronto, notes: "The Greektown is not Greek; Chinatown is not Chinese. They are just ethnic business enclaves where you go, eat, play, have fun and go home." (cited in Keung, 2013). Thswane, a metropole in South Africa, also has an inclusive policy: there are six official languages, together encompassing the home languages of roughly 85% of the population (Backhaus, 2012). Ideally, this would mean that all six languages are used in municipal policy, municipal communication, and the Linguistic Landscape, but this is not always deemed feasible (Backhaus, 2012). In the case of signs, for example, the municipality may resort to a bilingual policy, erecting signs in English and the dominant language of the particular area (Backhaus, 2012).

In Boston, Manchester and Helsinki, similarly multilingual policies exist. For example, a language access policy was adopted in 2016 in Boston, because "everyone deserves to have meaningful access to the information and services they need" (Boston, 2019a). By 2020, all city departments should provide "language and communication access", and to this end, the City of Boston is studying multilingual citizens' needs (Boston, 2019a). So far, Boston's studies have shown that 37% of the city's residents use another language than English at home, and that 17% of inhabitants have difficulty using English (Boston, 2019b). Data have been collected about the linguistic make-up of each area of the city and the municipality aims to support translation and interpretation whenever at least 1,000 people, or 5% of people in a neighbourhood, use the language (Boston, 2016). A report about the linguistic situation in the city is available in eleven languages/scripts: English, Spanish, Haitian Creole, traditional Chinese, simplified Chinese, Vietnamese, French, Russian, Brazilian Portuguese, Cape Verdean Creole, and Arabic (Boston, 2016). In Manchester, too, the City Council facilitates extensive translation and interpretation services and some staff are multilingual, using languages such as Urdu, Cantonese, Swahili, and Hebrew (Donakey, 2007). The University of Manchester is promoting awareness and appreciation of multilingualism in Manchester through the project Multilingual Manchester

(Multilingual Manchester, 2015). In Helsinki, the municipality stipulates that students can follow education in their heritage language, alongside Finnish, Swedish, and English (Kraus, 2011). That said, they can only do so for two hours a week, so Helsinki's approach to multilingualism could be improved (Nuolijärvi, 2015).

Utrecht, in The Netherlands, is in between the two extremes outlined above, as is Madrid (Nortier et al., 2014; Skrandies, 2016). The City of Utrecht describes multilingualism as an asset, but has very few explicit policies about multilingualism – the few language policies they have fall under different departments, such as education and youth (Nortier et al., 2014). There appears to be a dichotomy between 'prestigious' and 'plebeian' multilingualism in Utrecht, meaning that English-Dutch bilingualism, for example, is valued much more than Turkish-Dutch bilingualism (Jaspers & Verschueren, 2011; Nortier et al., 2014). Of course, the municipality of Utrecht, like other municipalities, is also bound to national language policies, of the Dutch government in this case. These will be described in Section 2.3 below, as they also apply to the city of The Hague, and therefore directly to this thesis. In their report about Utrecht, Nortier and her colleagues (2014) do not focus on language policies in detail, demonstrating that there is a lack of research about municipal language policy as it relates to the multilingual city in general, and also in the Dutch context specifically. Therefore, this thesis will zoom in on municipal language policy and practice in the linguistically superdiverse city of The Hague.

2.4 The Hague: political, historical, and sociolinguistic background

In The Netherlands, three national language policies are relevant at the municipal level; in other words, they are relevant for The Hague. These are the abolishment of the heritage language education law in 2004, the language requirements to be eligible for social benefits, and the language tests for residence permits and citizenship. The municipality of The Hague was responsible for supporting heritage language education (OALT – *Onderwijs Allochtone Levende Talen*) from 1998, when the law was decentralised to the municipal level, to 2004, and at its peak, Turkish, Arabic, Hindi, Mandarin, Urdu, Spanish, and Portuguese heritage education were offered (RIS021780, 1998; RIS117058, 2004). The Dutch heritage language law was initially created to enable migrants' return to their home countries, then became a way for them to remain in touch with a heritage culture and language, but its focus became increasingly deficit-oriented, to facilitate the acquisition of Dutch, and aimed at assimilation, until it was abolished in 2004 (Bezemer & Kroon, 2006).

The Language Requirement Law (*Wet Taaleis*) from 2016 stipulates that welfare recipients in The Netherlands should have Dutch proficiency level 1F, which is comparable to the minimum level at the end of primary school (Rijksoverheid, 2015; Taal en Rekenen, 2019). If benefit recipients do not reach

or attempt to reach this level, the municipality is entitled to lower social benefits or deny giving them at all (Rijksoverheid, 2015). In The Hague, benefit recipients who do not possess this level of proficiency have to sign, within a month, an intention declaration stating that they will improve their Dutch (RIS302430, 2019). If they do not sign the intention declaration, benefits are cut by 20% for six months. If recipients do sign the declaration but do not improve their Dutch, they no longer receive benefits for one month during the first year, two months during the second year, and three months during the third year (RIS302430, 2019).

Lastly, Dutch national law requires that newcomers pass a Dutch language and culture exam at A2 level on the CEFR within three years (DUO, 2019; DUO Inburgeren, 2019b). If they do not do so, they might be fined or be unable to get a permanent residence permit (DUO Inburgeren, 2019a; Immigratie- en Naturalisatiedienst, 2019). There are exceptions for EU and EEA citizens, people with a Dutch passport, those from Turkey and Switzerland, or those under 18 or above 67 years old, as well as for expats, and other migrants that plan to stay temporarily (DUO Inburgeren, 2019b). Until 2013, the municipality was responsible for the offer of language courses and for newcomers to pass their exams. At the moment, however, language courses are privatised, and the responsibility for taking these courses and passing the Dutch language and culture exam lies with the newcomers themselves, at least until 2021 (Ministerie van Sociale Zaken en Werkgelegenheid, 2019). Inhabitants are informed of the obligation to pass these exams, and the possibility of taking language classes to prepare for them, through a letter that is written in Dutch only (Stoffelen, 2016; DUO Inburgeren, 2019b). If residents want to get the Dutch nationality, they also have to pass Dutch language exams at a minimum CEFR level of A2 and, preferably, at B1 or B2 (*Staatsexamen Nederlands als Tweede Taal I & II*) (DUO Inburgeren, 2019b).

As shown by these laws, the Dutch political climate has become polarised, with scepticism towards immigration and an emphasis on the Dutch language (Cornips, 2012; De Vries, 2018). Dutch is the official language of The Netherlands and a recent report found that citizens consider the Dutch language the most prominent aspect of Dutch identity, as well as the primary factor in belonging to The Netherlands (Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau, 2019a). Those that (allegedly) do not speak sufficient Dutch are criticised for excluding themselves from Dutch society and for not being Dutch enough (Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau, 2019a). Almost all respondents in The Netherlands in an investigation about the Dutch language agreed that children should be competent speakers of Dutch, whether these respondents were native or non-native speakers of Dutch themselves (Rys et al., 2017). However, already in 2000, scholars argued that the focus in The Netherlands should shift from standard Dutch only to multilingualism as a starting point (Bennis et al., 2000). Last year, a Royal Dutch Academy of Arts and Sciences (KNAW) report stated that The Netherlands should make greater use of multilingualism as a resource and look beyond Dutch and English in this effort (KNAW, 2018).

These national political sentiments are clearly visible in the political landscape of The Hague. The largest party after the most recent election in March 2018 is Groep De Mos/Hart voor Den Haag (18% of the seats), which describes itself as a local, populist party (Groep de Mos/Hart voor Den Haag, 2018b; Heijmans, 2018). The second largest party is self-described right-wing, namely VVD (16% of the seats). These parties formed a coalition council with the other two large parties: the self-described progressive social liberal party D66 (13% of the seats) and the self-described left-wing green party GroenLinks (11% of the seats), until corruption charges against two aldermen of Groep de Mos broke the coalition in October 2019 (*NRC*, 2019). The research on which this thesis is based, however, took place when the coalition was still together. A list of political parties that make up The Hague's municipal council, their political position, and their size in the council is attached at the start of this thesis (p. viii).

It is interesting to examine how The Hague's current municipal council deals with linguistic diversity in the city. More than half (of the 539,040) inhabitants in The Hague have a migration background as of 2019, and at the turn of the century, half of the children in the city's schools spoke another language besides Dutch at home (Extra et al., 2001; Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2019; Den Haag, 2019f). The Netherlands and The Hague have a rich migration history. In the 1960s and 1970s, migrant guest workers came to the city from Southern Europe, Turkey, and Morocco (especially the economically deprived areas), and many from Turkey and Morocco stayed and had their families come over (Jennissen, 2011; Cornips et al., 2018). At the end of the 1970s, there was an immigration wave from the former Dutch colony of Surinam, of which primarily Hindustani groups settled in The Hague (Jennissen, 2011; Lucassen, 2018). Since then, immigration has consisted to a large extent of refugees, for example from former Yugoslavia, Eritrea, and more recently, Syria (Jennissen, 2011; Cornips et al., 2018; Lucassen, 2018). In the 21st century, new residents and temporary workers have come from new EU countries in Eastern Europe to work, for example, in greenhouses (Cornips, 2012; Lucassen, 2018; Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau, 2018). In The Hague, there are also many 'expats' and 'internationals', defined respectively as temporary and more permanent high SES migrants, currently around 60,000 (RIS301560, 2019; Lelieveld, 2019).

As Table 1 shows, more than half of the total number of residents in The Hague have a migration background, meaning one of their parents, or they themselves, were born outside The Netherlands (Den Haag, 2019f). Large groups are inhabitants with a Surinamese background (8.6%), a Turkish background (7.5%), and an Eastern European background (6.1%) (Den Haag, 2019f). Interestingly, people with an Indonesian migration background are described as having a western migration background in the municipal statistics (Table 1). Figure 1 indicates that The Hague is quite segregated; some say it is the most segregated city in The Netherlands (Cornips et al., 2018; Den Haag, 2019e). Residents with a migration background and lower SES citizens tend to live 'on peat' (further away from

the sea), whereas richer neighbourhoods are built 'on sand' (the dunes next to the sea) (RIS298974, 2018).

Table 1. Ethnic background of inhabitants in The Hague in 2019 (n= 539,040) (Den Haag, 2019f).

Ethnic background	Percentage
Dutch	45.3%
Non-western: Turkish	7.5%
Non-western: Moroccan	5.9%
Non-western: Surinamese	8.6%
Non-western: Antillean	2.5%
Non-western: Other non-western	11.6%
Western: Eastern European	6.1%
Western: Indonesian	3.2%
Western: Other western	9.2%
	100%

Figure 1. Proportion of citizens with a migration background (as opposed to a native Dutch background) for each neighbourhood in The Hague (Den Haag, 2019e).
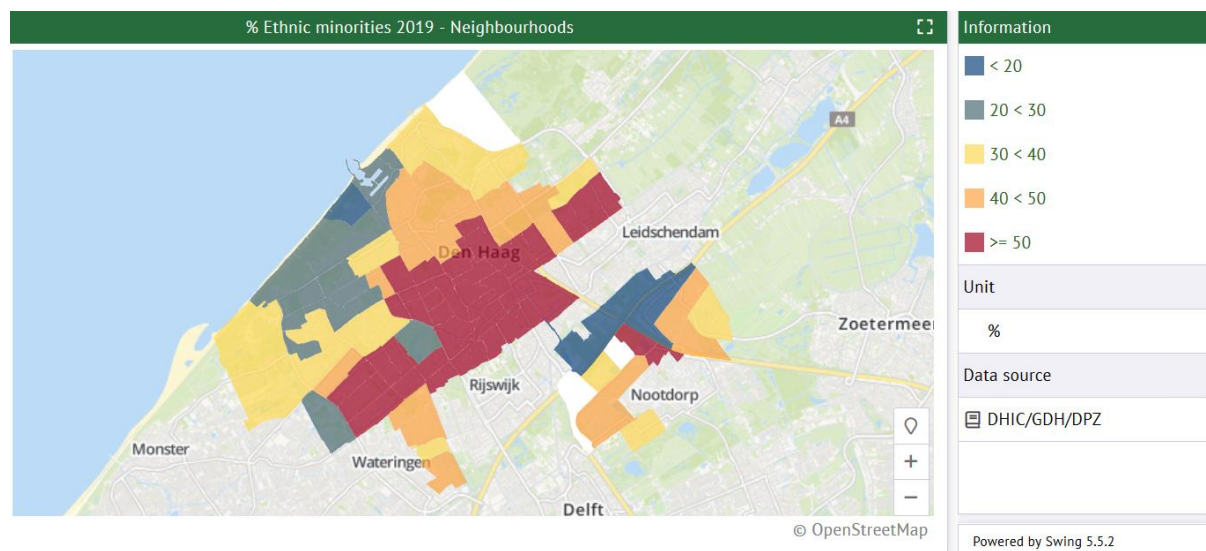
The municipality does not collect information about the languages that are currently spoken in The Hague, but the migration data above suggest that the city is linguistically very diverse (Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 2019). Twenty years ago, school children in The Hague self-reported speaking mostly Turkish, (what they described as) 'Hind(ustan)i', Berber, Arabic, and English, and 88 languages were mentioned in total (Table 2, Extra et al., 2001). These are, to the best of my knowledge the only data available about multilingualism in The Hague.

Table 2. Languages which were mentioned by more than 500 school pupils in a research about multilingualism in The Hague (n = 41,603) (G. Extra et al., 2001)

Language	Number
Turkish	4789
'Hind(ustan)i'	3620
Berber	2769
Arabic	2740
English	2170
Sranan Tongo	1085
Papiamentu	893
Kurdish	678
Spanish	588
Urdu/'Pakistani'	547
French	535

2.5 Concluding remarks

In this chapter, I have laid out the literature about urban multilingualism, municipal language policy, as well as the political, historical and sociolinguistic background of The Hague. Municipalities can take several approaches to urban multilingualism, ranging from a very monolingual to a very inclusive policy. It is unclear which approach The Hague takes, but it is interesting to examine this, as the city is linguistically very diverse. In this study, I will therefore research the municipal language politics, policies, and practice in The Hague.

3. This study

3.1 Introduction: research gap

Given the linguistic diversity and the level of segregation in The Hague, it is surprising that few studies have been published about multilingualism in The Hague in general, and municipal language policy specifically. There is a lack of research about municipal language policy within sociolinguistics, while the municipal level is the governmental level with which inhabitants communicate most on a daily basis (Backhaus, 2012; Skrandies, 2016). Municipal language policy, or the lack of it, has a large impact on multilingual citizens' lives, as these residents interact with the municipality for important administrative matters, and as the municipality can promote, ignore, or discourage multilingualism through their events, cultural products, educational policy, social policy, and the Linguistic Landscape, for example (Backhaus, 2012; Skrandies, 2016). There have been calls for policies which value and capitalise on the linguistic diversity in The Netherlands (Bennis et al., 2000; KNAW, 2018), and it is therefore interesting to examine to what extent municipalities like The Hague currently do so.

3.2 Research questions and hypotheses

In this thesis, I examine two research questions: (a) what are the language policy and politics regarding multilingualism in the current municipal council of The Hague, (b) and how are these reflected in municipal signage? My research is inspired by King and Carson's (2016) book on urban multilingualism, language policies, and ideologies. I mainly take a sociolinguistic and language policy and planning perspective, but throughout my thesis, I also use interdisciplinary theories and methods.

Regarding the first research question, I hypothesise that The Hague, like the Dutch city of Utrecht, takes the middle ground between a very monolingual policy on the one hand, and a multilingual policy on the other hand (Nortier et al., 2014). Similarly to Utrecht, I expect The Hague to regard multilingualism as a resource, but to have very few policies that explicitly promote multilingualism (Nortier et al., 2014). Previous studies show a dichotomy between prestigious and non-prestigious multilingualism in language policy, and I expect to see the same reflected in The Hague (Jaspers & Verschueren, 2011; Nortier et al., 2014; Skrandies, 2016). For the second research question, I predict that The Hague mainly has municipal signage in Dutch and prestigious languages like English, for example for tourists (Skrandies, 2016). There might be a mismatch between Linguistic Landscape language policy and actual Linguistic Landscape practice (Wodak, 2009; Backhaus, 2012).

3.3 Research methods

Because of these potential mismatches between policy, politics, and practice, I will use multiple methods to answer my research questions (Wodak, 2009; Backhaus, 2012; Wodak & Savski, 2018). This allows for triangulation and various perspectives on language policy, politics, and practice in The

Hague. First of all, I will use corpus methods to quantitatively examine municipal policy and political documents about language and multilingualism, highlighting examples to contextualise the quantitative data. Secondly, I will analyse two central policy documents in detail, namely the coalition agreement and the document outlining the translation policy, using a qualitative Critical Discourse Analysis. Based on these two analyses, in Part III of the thesis I will describe the language policy and politics regarding municipal signs and conduct a Linguistic Landscape analysis to examine language policy in practice.

These are the three main methodologies of this thesis, but I also conducted two exploratory interviews with three communication advisors of the municipality. These interviews were not analysed in detail because of consent and space issues, but the interviewees did agree to have the interview notes attached as an appendix (Appendix A). The interview notes were approved by the three participants prior to completion of this thesis.

3.4 Concluding remarks

This study therefore examines municipal language policy, politics, and practice in The Hague, using Corpus Analysis, Critical Discourse Analysis, and Linguistic Landscape Analysis. These three methods cover all three main areas of municipal language policy, namely internal administrative language, communication with the citizens, and the Linguistic Landscape, and they include all main goals of municipal language planning: status planning, acquisition planning, and prestige planning (Backhaus, 2012; Skrandies, 2016). These three methods will allow me to uncover the language policies, politics and practice of the municipality of The Hague and shed a light on linguistic ideologies about multilingualism in the city. In the next part of the thesis, language policy documents and political discussions about multilingualism in The Hague will be analysed to answer the first research question.

Part II. Texts: Multilingualism in language policy and politics on paper

In this part of the thesis, I will focus on policy and political documents, in other words, textual sources, as they are one of primary forms of language policy. Municipal language policy documents might deal with internal and external communication within the municipality, the use of languages in the city, language classes, cultural products, and events centred around linguistic diversity (Backhaus, 2012; Skrandies, 2016). The research question is: what are the language policy and poltiics regarding multilingualism in The Hague of the current municipal council? I examined the documents through Corpus Analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis, which implies that I used both quantitative and qualitative approaches, and descriptive and critical lenses (Wodak, 2009). This will provide a broad perspective on the textual language policy and politics of multilingualism in The Hague. These two analyses will shed light on the hierarchy of languages in evidence in The Hague and ideologies about multilingualism (Skrandies, 2016). In Chapter 4 below, I will explain the methodology for both these textual analyses, while Chapter 5 discusses the results of the analyses, and Chapter 6 provides a short interim discussion.

4. Methodology

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will first outline the methodology of the Corpus Analysis I conducted in Section 4.2, and then the methodology of the Critical Discourse Analysis I conducted in Section 4.3. I focused on municipal policy and political documents of the current municipal council (elected in March 2018), that is, the policy and politics that are relevant for current residents of The Hague.

4.2 Corpus Analysis

I conducted a Corpus Analysis to examine multilingualism and linguistic plurality in the current municipal council's policies and political debates about policies in The Hague (Fitzsimmons-Doolan, 2015). Corpus methods allowed me to take a descriptive and quantitative approach to language policy and to "the identification of ideologies encoded in political texts" (Fitzsimmons-Doolan, 2015, p. 107). This helped me begin to examine my first research question: what are the language policy and politics regarding multilingualism of the current municipal council in The Hague?

4.2.1 The corpus

The corpus I compiled consists of all council documents of the current municipal council of The Hague that were available online. The corpus was extracted from the publicly available records of the

municipality at https://denhaag.raadsinformatie.nl. The files from this website included written questions (*schriftelijke vragen*), motions, amendments, and initiatives (*moties, amendementen en initiatieven*), as well as miscellaneous policy documents (*overige bestuurlijke stukken*). These were all combined into one corpus. The corpus therefore includes both already established language policies and political discussions about language policy. Because the current municipal council was inaugurated on 29 March 2018, all documents from that date onwards were examined. In other words, written questions had to have been asked between 29 March 2018 and 9 May 2019. Motions, amendments and initiatives had to have been submitted between 29 March 2018 and 9 May 2019 and the miscellaneous policy documents had to date from the same period. The downloaded corpus, however, does not necessarily include all documents from the current municipal council, as only documents in pdf format could be exported from the website. The resulting corpus was in Dutch and had 3,028,118 tokens and 76,060 types.

4.2.2 Analysis

The corpus was analysed with Lancaster University's corpus tool LancsBox (Brezina, McEnery, & Wattam, 2015; version 4.0 September 2018). I used three search terms: *taal** ('language*'), *talen* ('languages'), and **talig** ('*lingual*') in order to retrieve most instances of language policy (and associated political discussions) in the documents and to keep the analysis feasible. It was deemed impossible within the scope of this thesis to include search terms for all languages and dialects (e.g. 'Dutch', 'English', 'Arabic') that are relevant for The Hague. The entire list of results would be too long to analyse, while it would lead to biased results if I included only a handful of these languages. Moreover, search terms like these might also return many references to culture or ethnicity, rather than language.

The search term *taal** was chosen to retrieve all occurrences of the word 'language', as well as all compounds with 'language' as the first component, such as *taalbeleid* ('language policy') and *taalonderwijs* ('language education'). No asterisk was included at the start of *taal**, because it would lead to many false positives (such as *totaal*, 'total' and *betaal,* 'pay' and compounds with these words). *Talen* had no asterisks because there are fewer compounds with 'languages', while there are many false positives (*totalen,* 'totals', *betalen*, 'pay', and *talent*, 'talent'). The last search term, **talig*,* was designed to catch words like *tweetalig(e)* ('bilingual'), *tweetaligheid* ('bilingualism'), *meertalig(e)* ('multilingual'), and *meertaligheid* ('multilingualism').

First, I examined the frequency of these search terms in the corpus and the lemmas that are associated with the search terms (e.g. *taalonderwijs* for *taal**). I analysed to what extent multilingualism becomes apparent from these search terms, giving examples where appropriate. Second, I performed a collocation analysis on these three search terms to see if they were used in multilingual (or monolingual)

contexts and if multilingualism is regarded positively or negatively. The five words preceding the search term and the five words following the search term were considered. To determine the strength of a collocation, I used the MI^2 (squared mutual information) statistic. The higher the MI^2-statistic is, the more exclusively the words are associated with each other (Gablasova et al., 2017). The MI^2-statistic was selected because it has no low-frequency bias (in contrast with the MI-statistic) or high-frequency bias (contrary to the t-statistic) (Gablasova et al., 2017). In other words, the MI^2 ensures that highly frequent word combinations, such as *de* + *taal* ('the language') do not occur at the top of the collocation list. After all, definite articles are very frequent in the corpus; it is therefore not very informative to see that they occur very frequently with the search terms as well. Moreover, the MI^2 does not have a strong bias for rare words (or misspellings) (Gablasova et al., 2017). For my Corpus Analysis, I set the threshold value of the MI^2-statistic at the standard 6.0 and included only collocations that occurred five times or more in the analysis. Again, examples were used to illustrate the occurrence of the collocations and the policies, political discussions, and attitudes surrounding multilingualism. The results of the Corpus Analysis will be presented in Section 3.2.

4.3 Critical Discourse Analysis

Alongside a quantitative descriptive Corpus Analysis, I examined multilingualism in policy documents in a more qualitative and critical way. This helped me examine my first research question further: what are the language policy and politics regarding multilingualism of the current municipal council in The Hague? Critical Discourse Analysis allowed me to construct the discourses surrounding multilingualism at the municipality of The Hague (Wodak, 2009; Reisigl, 2013; Fairclough, 2013). It is important to analyse these discourses about multilingualism as they reflect, construct, and perpetuate the social reality about multilingualism in the city (Tollefson, 2009; Fairclough, 2012). A critical lens was appropriate, because discourse is a social practice in which researchers are situated themselves and therefore cannot pretend to be neutral or objective (Wodak, 2009; Fairclough, 2012; Reisigl, 2013). Critical Discourse Analysis gave me the tools to evaluate and explain the municipal discourses that surround multilingualism in The Hague in terms of power relations, inequality, ideology, the role of institutions, and social identities (Wodak, 2009; Fairclough, 2012; Reisigl, 2013). This makes Critical Discourse Analysis very suitable for sociolinguistic and language policy research (Tollefson, 2009; Wodak, 2009; Reisigl, 2013). The continued importance of Critical Discourse Analysis to understand language policy is underlined by Pérez-Milans and Tollefson (2018).

4.3.1 Policy documents

As explained above, I examined two policy documents using Critical Discourse Analysis in detail. Contrary to the Corpus Analysis, they are all established policies: the coalition agreement and the document outlining the translation policy (Appendix C). The first of these two documents was analysed

because it sets the tone for the language policies under the municipal government, and the second of these documents because it was mentioned in interviews with the communication advisors at the municipality of The Hague (see Appendix A), and tackles the issue of multilingualism in the municipality directly through status planning (Skrandies, 2016).

4.3.2 Analysis

I used a modified version of Wodak's (2009) linguistic analysis of policy documents (cf. Reisigl & Wodak, 2005). Her Critical Discourse Analysis comprises three steps:

> after (1) establishing the specific *contents* or *topics* of a specific discourse, (2) the *discursive strategies* (including argumentation strategies) are investigated. Then (3), the *linguistic means* (as types) and the specific, context-dependent *linguistic realizations* (as tokens) are analyzed." (Wodak, 2009, p. 178)

Therefore, for each text, I described the contents and topics of the discourse surrounding multilingualism. I linked these to five broad discursive and argumentative strategies (Table 1 on the next page) (adapted from Wodak, 2015), and then described the linguistic devices that belong to these discursive strategies, giving specific examples (linguistic realizations). The results of the Critical Discourse Analysis are presented in Section 3.3.

4.4 Concluding remarks

In sum, I will use a Corpus Analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis to examine the language politics and policies of the municipality of The Hague. These provide a general, quantitative perspective and a detailed, qualitative perspective on the way the municipality deals with multilingualism in The Hague. In the next chapter, the results of the Corpus Analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis will be discussed.

Table 1. Discursive strategies, their objective and linguistic means (adapted from Wodak, 2015, p. 8)

Discursive strategy	Objectives	Linguistic means
Referential/nomination	Discursive construction of multilingualism and multilingual speakers	* membership categorisation devices, deictics, anthroponyms, etc. * tropes such as metaphors, metonymies, and synecdoches (*pars pro toto, totum pro parte*) * verbs and nouns to denote processes and actions
Predications	Discursive qualification of multilingualism and multilingual speakers (more or less positively or negatively)	* stereotypical, evaluative attributions of negative or positive traits (e.g. in the form of adjectives, appositions, prepositional phrases, relative clauses, conjunctional clauses, infinitive clauses, and participial clauses or groups) * explicit predicates or predicative nouns/adjectives/pronouns * collocations * explicit comparisons, similes, metaphors, and other rhetorical figures (including metonymies, hyperboles, litotes, euphemisms) * allusions, evocations, and presuppositions/implicatures
Argumentation	Justification and questioning of claims of truth and normative rightness about multilingualism	* topoi (formal or more content-related) * fallacies
Perspectivisation, framing, or discourse representation (intertextuality, johnson, 2015)	Positioning writer's point of view and expressing involvement or distance	* deictics * direct, indirect or free indirect speech * quotation marks, discourse markers/particles * metaphors
Intensification, mitigation	Modifying (intensifying or mitigating) the illocutionary force and thus the epistemic or deontic status of utterances	* diminutives or augmentatives * (modal) particles, tag questions, subjunctive, hesitations, vague expressions, etc. * hyperboles, litotes * indirect speech acts (e.g., question instead of assertion) * verbs of saying, feeling, thinking

5. Results

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will present the results of the Corpus Analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis of the municipal policy and political documents I selected for analysis. For ease of reference, a list of political parties that make up The Hague's municipal council, their political position, and their size in the council is provided at the start of this thesis (p. viii), as well as a list of frequent terms (p. vii) used in the following discussion. The position of political parties on the political spectrum is always self-describes (see p. viii). All translations in this chapter and in the rest of this thesis are mine, unless specified otherwise.

5.2 Corpus Analysis

5.2.1 Lemmas: taal*

The word *taal* ('language') and associated compounds occurred 409 times in the documents of the current municipal council (which comprise roughly one year). This search term, and language policy in general, therefore features quite prominently on the municipality's agenda. Table 1 on the next page displays the frequencies of the various lemmas associated with the search term *taal**.

Taal ('language') is the most frequent lemma with 217 occurrences. This includes all aspects of language, including *Helder Haags*, a 'Clear Language in The Hague' policy which entails that the municipality should communicate in clear and comprehensible Dutch with its citizens and in its policies (Ribbens, 2006, also see interviews in Appendix A). This clear language policy is supposed to accommodate for multilingualism in the city while still using the Dutch language in most types of communication (see interviews in Appendix A and translation policy document in Appendix C).

Another very frequent occurrence of *taal* is in relation to the Dutch language, as shown in the example below. The anti-Islamisation opposition party PVV notes the following when discussing a motion about the opening times of shops on 29 November 2018:

(1) *U ziet toch zelf bijvoorbeeld wat er gebeurt met het beheersen van de taal in Den Haag door hele groepen migranten, vaak moslims? Ze spreken vaak geen woord Nederlands of bijna geen Nederlands maar vooral Turks en Arabisch. Ik wijs op al die winkels met reclameteksten en teksten op de gevels in die talen en op het feit dat men bij Turkse bakkers het brood in het Turks bestelt.* You surely also see what happens, for example, to the proficiency of the [Dutch] language in The Hague of entire groups of migrants, often Muslims? They often do not speak a word of Dutch or almost no Dutch but mostly Turkish and Arabic. I'm talking about all those shops with advertisement texts and texts on their façades in those languages and the fact that people order their bread in Turkish at Turkish bakeries. (RIS301631, 29 November 2018, p. 111)

The PVV therefore proposes a policy to counter the 'Islamisation' of shopping streets in The Hague. This policy proposal, however, was rejected by the council (RIS301631, 2018).

Table 1. Lemma frequencies of search term taal* *(n=409) in the corpus.*

Token	Translation	Frequency
Taal	Language	217
Taaleis(en)	Language requirement(s)	36
Taalonderwijs	Language education	23
Taalles(sen)	Language class(es)	19
Taaleisregels	Language requirement rules	17
Taalachterstand(en)	Language deficiency(/ies)	15
Taalscholen	Language schools	14
Taalniveau	Language (competence) level	11
Taalaanbieder(s)	Language (course) provider(s)	10
Taalcursus(sen)	Language course(s)	10
Taalbeheersing	Language competence	7
Taalgebruik	Language use	6
Taalaanbod	Language (courses) offer	3
Taalvaardigheid	Language proficiency	3
Taal+	Language+	2
Taalbarrière(s)	Language barrier(s)	2
Taalproblemen	Language problems	2
Taaltraining	Language training	2
Taaltraject(en)	Language track(s)	2
Taalbevordering	Language (competence) promotion	1
Taalcertificering	Language certification	1
Taalinitiatieven	Language initiatives	1
Taalinkoop	Language (course) purchase	1
Taalkeurmerk	Language (course) hallmark	1
Taaloffensief	Language campaign	1
Taalontwikkeling	Language development	1
Taalvisie	Language vision	1
	Total	**409**

However, not all occurrences of *taal* relate to the Dutch language. For example, the largest local populist coalition party Groep de Mos/Hart voor Den Haag complained about weekend schools financed by the Turkish government on 14 August 2018:

(2) *Bent u met Groep de Mos/Hart voor Den Haag van mening dat de komst van dit soort scholen de integratie tegenwerkt, aangezien deze primair gericht zijn op de Turkse- taal, identiteit en cultuur?*
Do you agree with Groep de Mos/Hart voor Den Haag that the emergence of this type of schools hinders integration, as they are primarily focused on the Turkish language, identity and culture? (RIS300352, 14 August 2018, p. 2)

In their reply on the 2 October 2018, the Mayor and Aldermen state that weekend schools can be an enrichment for the children, allowing them to switch between various cultural worlds (RIS300352, 2018). However, they agree that language and culture-focused weekend schools should not hinder integration. They note, however, that the municipality cannot create a policy about weekend schools and check them, because it lies outside their domain (RIS300352, 2018).

After *taal,* the most frequent lemma is *taaleis* (36 occurrences). *Taaleis* refers to the Dutch national language requirements in the *Wet Taaleis* (Language Requirement Act) imposed on recipients of social benefits, as described in Section 2.3 (Rijksoverheid, 2015). The municipality of The Hague decides themselves how to execute this policy, but their current approach (Section 2.4) is not strict enough for right-wing coalition party VVD, who proposed the following in April 2019:

> (3) *Wij vragen de wethouder om na de intentieverklaring periodiek te toetsen of men al aan de taaleis voldoet en om, wanneer dit niet het geval is en de ontvanger onwelwillend is om te leren, de korting van de uitkering hoger en langer te maken dan nu het geval is. De vrijblijvendheid van de taaleis moet verdwijnen.*
> After the intention declaration, we ask the Alderman to periodically test if people already fulfil the language requirement and, when this is not the case and the [benefits] recipient is unwilling to learn, to increase the cuts of their benefits further in height and in length than is currently the case. The non-committal nature of the language requirement should disappear. (RIS302430, 19 April 2019, p. 11)

No official reply to this policy proposal was available on 23 July 2019 when I analysed the results of the Corpus Analysis, but it should be noted that VVD is part of the coalition, so it is more likely to be adopted.

Regarding the other lemmas, I would like to clarify that *Taal+* is a municipality-funded language school in The Hague, chiefly meant to tackle Dutch language deficiencies and improve Dutch or literacy skills (Den Haag, 2019j; ROC Mondriaan, 2019). *Taaloffensief* refers to a similar initiative by the municipality to improve Dutch proficiency and literacy, as laid out in the *Haagse Educatieve Agenda* policy document (Educational Agenda of The Hague 2018-2022; RIS298592, 2017).

As Table 1 and the examples above demonstrate, language is frequently mentioned in policy and political documents in relation to (Dutch) language proficiency, often in a negative sense ('deficiencies', 'barriers', 'problems'), (Dutch) language proficiency requirements, and (Dutch) language classes. In other words, the main policy area is that of Dutch language learning, as well as communication between the council and the citizens. Note that the search results often refer to the Dutch language implicitly, without explicitly mentioning the word 'Dutch', as if it is self-evident that language policies must be about the Dutch language. While the Dutch language therefore features prominently in these lemmas, multilingualism only emerges in relationship to a barrier to Dutch language learning, as examples 1 and 2 demonstrate. Multilingualism is therefore primarily treated negatively. These issues will be discussed further in Section 5.3.

5.2.2 Collocates: taal*

The search term *taal** ('language*') had 121 collocates (excluding a paragraph marker). For reasons of space, Table 2 lists only the twenty strongest collocates of *taal**. The entire collocation list is included as Appendix B. Table 2 and the table in the Appendix echo the themes of Table 1.

Table 2. Twenty strongest collocates for search term taal*. *The entire list of 121 collocates is included in Appendix B.*

	R/L	Collocate	Translation	MI^2	Frequency (coll.)	Frequency (corpus)
1	R	*leren*	learn	17.5	75	217
2	L	*Nederlandse*	Dutch[1]	17.2	87	382
3	R	*beheersen*	have a command of	16.9	29	52
4	R	*machtig*	proficient	16.3	11	11
5	R	*Arabisch*	Arabic	15.9	17	34
6	R	*uitgelegd*	explained	15.3	20	75
7	L	*taalbeheersing*	language competence	14.7	5	7
8	L	*onvoldoende*	insufficient	14.4	33	361
9	R	*beheerst*	has a command of	14.3	7	18
10	L	*inspannen*	make an effort	14.2	9	32
11	L	*inspanning*	effort	13.9	11	59
12	R	*expats*	expats	13.7	9	46
13	L	*vaardigheden*	skills	13.5	7	32
14	L	*nieuwkomers*	newcomers	13.4	13	115
15	R	*taal*	language	12.7	14	212
16	R	*Nederlands*	Dutch[2]	12.2	8	101
17	R	*gecombineerd*	combined	12.2	5	40
18	R	*spreken*	speak	12.2	15	365
19	R	*bijstandsgerechtigden*	those entitled to benefits	12.1	9	137
20	L	*moeite*	effort	12.1	8	111

There is an extremely strong collocation between *taal** and language learning and proficiency. Collocates *leren* ('learn'), *beheersen* ('have a command of'), *machtig* ('proficient'), *taalbeheersing* ('language competence'), *beheerst* ('has a command of'), *vaardigheden* ('skills') and *spreken* ('speak') can all be linked to language learning and proficiency. For example, the VVD thinks that translations on the municipal website and in municipal leaflets hinder language acquisition. They asked the following on 30 October 2018:

(4) *Bent u met de Haagse VVD van mening dat met de buitenlandse teksten een verkeerd signaal uitgaat naar mensen die de Nederlandse taal moeten leren?"*
Do you agree with the VVD in The Hague that these texts in foreign languages [Arabic and Turkish] constitute a wrong signal to people who should learn the Dutch language? (RIS300865, 30 October 2018, p. 2)

This specific case concerns the information that the municipality provides about language requirement rules for welfare recipients (i.e. they should (try to) reach Dutch fundamental level 1F, see Section 2.4). A summary of these rules is translated into and available in other languages. VVD did not agree with

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[1] Common gender adjective, neuter definite singular adjective, or neuter plural adjective.
[2] Noun or neuter indefinite singular adjective.

these translations and asked written questions about them twice (30 October 2018 and 18 December 2018). The Mayor and Aldermen replied that they do not agree that there should be no translations, because they want to ensure that welfare recipients comprehend these rules, regardless of their Dutch proficiency (RIS300865, 2018; RIS301492, 2018). They also remarked that the language requirement rules are not just translated into Arabic and Turkish, but also into English and French (RIS300865, 2018). However, the Mayor and Aldermen noted that all further communication should be in Dutch. More on the translation policy will be discussed further below and in Section 5.3. The Mayor and Aldermen did follow VVD's suggestion to register, from 2019 onwards, if welfare cuts result from "*het onvoldoende inspannen om de Nederlandse taal te leren*" ("insufficient efforts to learn the Dutch language"), referring to the Language Requirement Act (see above; RIS301492, 2 April 2019, p. 2).

As this example demonstrates, language learning and proficiency generally concern Dutch language learning and proficiency. This is demonstrated more clearly by the collocates *Nederlandse* ('Dutch', adjective) and *Nederlands* ('Dutch', noun or neuter indefinite singular adjective). The following example mentions a different language than Dutch, Tigrinya, but only in relation to the barriers Tigrinya poses to Dutch language learning and its role in the supposed failed integration of Eritrean newcomers. The VVD worried about the integration of Eritrean refugees on 21 November 2018:

(5) *Experts zien een grote afstand tussen Eritrese vluchtelingen en de Nederlandse samenleving. Hun moedertaal Tigrinya staat ver af van de Nederlandse taal, waardoor Nederlands leren moeilijker is.*
Experts see a large gap between Eritrean refugees and Dutch society. Their mother tongue Tigrinya is very different from the Dutch language, making it harder to learn Dutch. (RIS301124, 21 November 2018, p. 1)

A similar situation emerges when the anti-immigration party PVV (5% of the seats) voices concerns about a vacancy at a (private sector) healthcare organisation. The organisation was looking for an employee proficient in both Dutch and Turkish, to be able to connect with inhabitants with a Turkish background. PVV disagrees with the use of other languages than Dutch at work and in healthcare, and therefore asked the Aldermen on 30 January 2019:

(6) *Wat is het beleid van de gemeente inzake de taal die door zorgmedewerkers gesproken dient te worden op de werkvloer en tegen cliënten?*
[Antwoord coalitie op 2 april 2019:] Nederlands is de voertaal. Beheersing van de Nederlandse taal vindt het college essentieel voor de integratie van migranten in onze samenleving. Ook in de zorg. Bij uitzondering kan een specifieke doelgroep van cliënten in een andere taal worden benaderd, als de inhoud van de boodschap dit verlangt.
What is the municipal policy concerning the language that should be spoken by healthcare employees at work and with clients?
[Reply of the coalition on 2 April 2019:] Dutch is the language of communication. Proficiency in Dutch is essential for the integration of migrants in our society, according to the College of Aldermen. Also in healthcare. In exceptional cases, a specific target population of clients can be approached in a different language, if the contents of the message necessitate this. (RIS301737, 2 April 2019, p. 2)

Again, the use of other languages (specifically Turkish) is regarded as a barrier to Dutch language acquisition. Moreover, it is striking that the municipality comments on the languages used in the private

sector, as healthcare is privatised. The language policy they propose for the healthcare sector is similar to the communication policy of the municipality itself: Dutch only, with some exceptions (see Section 5.3).

However, the Mayor and Aldermen defend another instance of multilingualism in the city on 19 February 2019 after questions by anti-immigration party PVV (5% of seats): police officers learning some basic Polish (RIS301413, 2018). They pose that it can be helpful for police officers to be able to understand some Polish in order to facilitate contact between citizens and the police (RIS301413, 2018). However, the Aldermen do agree with the PVV that Polish newcomers should learn Dutch if they stay in The Netherlands for a longer period of time, even though they are not obliged to do so as EU citizens (RIS301413, 2018).

As the cases above show, many collocates that concern newcomers and benefit recipients are related to the collocates about (insufficient) Dutch 'proficiency' and 'effort'. Several documents discuss the insufficient Dutch language proficiency of newcomers and benefit recipients specifically, as was illustrated by example 3. As discussed above, benefit recipients might be cut on their benefits, or not receive them at all, if they do not make enough effort to achieve a sufficient level of Dutch. Moreover, Dutch national law requires that newcomers achieve level A2 on the CEFR within three years (DUO, 2019; DUO Inburgeren, 2019b). If they do not, they might be fined or be unable to get a permanent residence permit (DUO Inburgeren, 2019a; Immigratie- en Naturalisatiedienst, 2019). However, insufficient proficiency is not always the newcomers' fault, at least in the view of progressive coalition-party D66 on 7 March 2019:

(7) *D66 verzoekt om een kwaliteitsslag te maken in het taalaanbod. Stelt dat de taalcursus niet resulteert in een baan, omdat de nieuwkomers de taal onvoldoende beheersen en dat op lokaal niveau het beste gekeken kan worden van wat nodig is.*
D66 requests a quality improvement in the language courses on offer […] The language courses do not result in a job, because newcomers have insufficient proficiency of the [Dutch] language. (RIS302196, 7 March 2019, p. 3)

The Alderman responsible for this policy area replied on 7 March 2019 that he considered this an important point, though without committing himself to the issue in question (RIS302196, 2019).

'Arabic' is also a strong collocate. I will not mention any additional examples, as references to Arabic already appear in example 1 and example 4 above. Again, this language is portrayed in a negative light, as an obstacle to acquiring Dutch language proficiency. One last strong collocate is 'expats'. The term 'expat' is used in the policy documents to refer to highly educated temporary migrant workers (RIS301560, 2019). It emerges specifically in a document in which anti-immigration party PVV complains about the costs of Dutch classes for children of expats. The coalition replied on 19 February 2019 that there are increasingly more internationals (defined as people with stronger bonds to Dutch

society and a willingness to stay) than expats, but that these internationals still often follow international education, and that consequently no additional money is spent on them by the municipality (RIS301560, 2019).

To summarise, the picture that emerges from these collocates is that language is mostly discussed in a negative sense. There is a strong emphasis on the Dutch language and newcomers' and benefit recipients' insufficient proficiency in Dutch or efforts in language learning. Multilingualism emerges implicitly, and generally in a negative light, supposedly hindering Dutch language learning. Among all collocates in Appendix B, 'Arabic' is the only overtly multilingual collocate, but it is described negatively, allegedly forming a barrier to Dutch language acquisition. The examples show similar negative references to Turkish (several times) and Tigrinya. However, the coalition does defend the police's decision to learn some basic Polish, while stressing the importance of Polish citizens' Dutch language proficiency as well. These matters will come back in Section 5.3.

5.2.3 Collocates: talen

The search term *talen* ('languages') occurred only eighteen times in the corpus. This is striking, compared to the 409 occurrences of *taal* (a more monolingual term than the plural *talen*). Table 3 lists all *talen's* seven collocates.

Table 3. Collocates of talen *in the corpus.*

	R/L	Collocate	Translation	MI²	Frequency (coll.)	Frequency (corpus)
1	L	*meerdere*	several	13.6	6	485
2	L	*verschillende*	different/several	11.7	5	1233
3	R	*informatie*	information	11.5	5	1430
4	L	*in*	in	9.0	13	57198
5	R	*niet*	not	7.9	5	18072
6	R	*dat*	that	6.9	5	36110
7	R	*en*	and	6.4	6	69321

The collocates *meerdere* ('several') and *verschillende* ('different') emphasise a plurality of languages, combining with *informatie* ('information') to the provision of information (or not) in several languages. More specifically, left-wing opposition parties (PvdA, NIDA, and Islam Democraten) asked the coalition at least four times if information on particular topics can be provided in several languages (RIS300447, 2018; RIS301213, 2018; RIS302437, 2019; RIS302442, 2019). One left-wing coalition party (GroenLinks) also raised this issue in relation to refugees (RIS301999, 2019). All but one of these questions have not been answered (yet) by the coalition. The following question of 30 November 2018 has been answered and concerns the issue of food poverty:

(8) *Bent u bereid – gezien de substantiële doelgroep in de Marokkaanse en Turkse gemeenschap –*
intermediairs in te zetten (al dan niet via het welzijnswerk) om deze groepen beter te bereiken en naast
het Nederlands in meerdere talen te communiceren?
Are you willing – given the substantial target population in the Moroccan and Turkish communities – to
employ intermediaries (whether or not through welfare work) to better reach these groups and to
communicate in multiple languages besides Dutch? (RIS301213, 30 November 2018 by labour party
PvdA, p. 1)

Although not included in this corpus, the coalition replied on 25 June 2019 that a lot of volunteers are
already involved in these initiatives (RIS301213, 2019), who speak various languages and are able to
reach the Moroccan and Turkish community (RIS301213, 2019). In other words, the Aldermen do not
see a need to supply intermediaries themselves and rely on these volunteers instead.

This is a clear instance of a debate about multilingualism in the city and the need for translation. This
translation policy issue will be discussed further in Section 5.3. The low number of hits for the
multilingual search term *talen* as compared to the high number of hits for the monolingual term *taal**
is indicative of the monolingual, Dutch-centred focus of the municipality.

5.2.4 Lemmas: **talig**

Lastly, the search term **talig** can be found 30 times in the corpus, again much less frequently than the
more monolingual search term *taal**. **Talig** was used in relation to the English language ten times,
bilingualism (always English-Dutch) eight times, multilingualism six times, a different language than
Dutch four times (*anderstalig*), and the Dutch language twice.

The term *Engelstalig(e)* ('speaking/using the English language') occurred mostly in relation to tourism,
expats and the (high SES) international community in The Hague, namely nine times. For example,
right-wing coalition party VVD submitted a policy proposal on 2 October 2018 about including Dutch
and English information signs next to statues in The Hague:

(9) *Het kunst- en cultuur aanbod voor expats wordt hierdoor vergroot en daarnaast maken we Den Haag*
ook aantrekkelijker voor Engelstalige toeristen.
The artistic and cultural offer for expats is increased in this way and, furthermore, we make The Hague
more attractive for English-speaking tourists. (RIS300627, 2 October 2018, p. 7)

Although outside the scope of this corpus analysis, the coalition replied on 10 September 2019 that they
were planning to place new information signs in English and Dutch, both in cooperation with ANWB
and independently, but that this is costly, because a translation agency has to be involved to translate
the Dutch texts into English (RIS300627, 2019). The only other mention of *Engelstalig(e)* is in relation
to clear communication between municipality and government. Socialist party SP submitted the
following policy proposal on 6 June 2018:

(10) *[SP] [r]oept het beoogde college op in haar toekomstige communicatie en beleidsstukken geen jargon of Engelstalige termen op te nemen, zodat de Haagse politiek voor iedereen begrijpelijk en duidelijk is.*
[SP] calls on the prospective Aldermen not to use jargon or English terms in their future communication and policy documents, to ensure that the politics in The Hague are comprehensible and clear for all. (RIS299935, 6 June 2018, p. 1)

The Mayor and Aldermen reply that they support the intention behind the proposal and will try to avoid "*onnodig*" ("unnecessary") English terms and jargon (RIS299935, 2018).

The term *tweetalig(heid)* ('bilingual(ism)') tends to occur in contexts of English-Dutch education and English-Dutch early childhood education and care. For example, one of the aims of the 2017 – 2018 educational policy of The Hague was bilingual education, as illustrated in the following example:

(11) *We geven met de uitbouw van het universitaire onderwijs en het tweetalige onderwijs nieuwe impulsen aan de internationale stad van Vrede en Recht.*
With the expansion of university education and bilingual education, we give new momentum to the international city of Peace and Justice. (RIS301599, 16 January 2019)

Note that this educational policy was not formulated by the current coalition at the time of writing this thesis. The policy is repeated in this recent policy document because it is being evaluated by the coalition on 16 January 2019. In this evaluation document, bilingual education seems to include prestigious languages exclusively, mostly Dutch-English education (Jaspers & Verschueren, 2011; cf. Nuffic, 2019; RIS301599, 2019).

The term *meertalig(heid)* ('multilingual(ism)') came up in connection with a translation policy topic in four cases (see Section 5.3). It was also used in relation to education, again in the evaluation of the educational policy of The Hague:

(12) *Meertaligheid en internationale beroepsvaardigheden krijgen aandacht in de meerjarenplannen die po- en vo-schoolbesturen maken in het kader van 'professionele ontwikkeling' en versterking aansluiting mbo-hbo op de arbeidsmarkt.*
Multilingualism and international work-related skills receive attention in the multiple-years-plans which primary and secondary school boards make in relation to 'professional development' and the strengthening of the connection between *mbo* [vocational education] and *hbo* [applied university education] on the labour market. (RIS301599, 16 January 2019)

Again, however, this appears to relate only to multilingualism of prestige languages, mainly English-Dutch, but also, for example, French and German (as shown in RIS298150, 2017) (Jaspers & Verschueren, 2011; cf. Nuffic, 2019). It again shows the occurrence of terms like bilingualism and multilingualism in relation to language education in The Hague.

'Multilingualism' was once used in a more inclusive sense, as part of a self-described Islamic opposition party NIDA's discussion document of 27 March 2019:

(13) *Ook waarderen en ondersteunen we meertalige opvoeding en onderwijs, een meerwaarde voor de stad.*

We also value and support multilingual upbringing and education, they have added value for the city (RIS302217, 27 March 2019, p. 7)

This discussion document by NIDA is a list of policy proposals and aims to offer an alternative to the current policy on integration in The Hague, *"een radicale ommezwaai"* ("a radical U-turn") (RIS302217, 2019, p. 3). Multilingualism is used in an inclusive sense here: NIDA wants to formulate *"een inclusieve visie"* ("an inclusive vision") because The Hague is *"een superdiverse stad"* ("a super diverse city"), half of its inhabitants have a migration background (RIS302217, 2019, pp. 3, 4). The fact that example 12 is included in this "radical U-turn" document suggests that, currently, not all forms of multilingualism are regarded as a resource by the municipality.

Therefore, the search term **talig** emphasises multilingualism in the city, but mostly of the high status language English and other prestige languages, and relating to tourism, expats, the international community and foreign language education (Jaspers & Verschueren, 2011). This vision is challenged by Islamic party NIDA, which formulates an inclusive and positive vision on multilingualism in The Hague and wants to support it through policy.

5.2.5 Collocates: **talig**

Table 4 shows the eight collocates of **talig** (excluding a paragraph marker). These do not show clear themes and will therefore not be analysed further.

Table 4. Collocates of *talig* in the corpus.

	R/L	Collocate	Translation	MI^2	Frequency (coll.)	Frequency (corpus)
1	L	*zijn*	be	8.6	8	17224
2	L	*van*	from/of	8.2	18	113446
3	L	*en*	and	7.7	12	69321
4	L	*het*	the[3]	7.2	12	98673
5	R	*de*	the[4]	7.2	17	200481
6	R	*in*	in	7.2	9	57198
7	M	*een*	a	7.1	8	48109
8	M	*voor*	for	8.6	6	31996

5.2.6 Concluding remarks

Taking all these results together, the Corpus Analysis shows that language policies and discussions are often about Dutch only, in relation to communication between the municipality and the citizens and language learning. In this discussion, multilingualism emerges, but mostly in a negative perspective,

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[3] neuter definite article
[4] common definite article

relating to decreased use and proficiency of the Dutch language. Search terms that deal specifically with bilingualism and multilingualism often concerned the prestige language English, in relation to communication with tourists, high SES expats, and in relation to foreign language education.

5.3 Critical Discourse Analysis

To be able to examine these corpus results in more detail, I conducted a Critical Discourse Analysis of two policy documents (Wodak, 2009), i.e. the current coalition agreement and the translation policy document of the municipality.

5.3.1 Coalition agreement

The first of these is the coalition agreement of Groep de Mos/Hart voor Den Haag, VVD, D66, and GroenLinks (RIS299794, 2018). The relevant sections about language, multilingualism and communication from this 88-page document are included in Appendix C.

In line with Wodak's (2009) methodology, I will first establish the "specific *contents* or *topics*" of the discourse about multilingualism in the coalition agreement (Wodak, 2009, p. 178). Multilingualism or linguistic diversity are never mentioned in the coalition agreement, quite similarly to earlier findings from the Corpus Analysis (Section 5.2). This in itself constitutes a discourse: multilingualism is apparently not deemed a relevant aspect or resource of the city that should be discussed in a coalition agreement. It is striking that linguistic diversity does not come up, for example, when the coalition discusses successful communication between the municipality and its citizens (RIS299794, 2018, pp. 49–50). There is also no reference to linguistic diversity in an enumeration about equal rights, *"ongeacht religie, afkomst, leeftijd, ziekte of handicap, geaardheid, gender en sociale status"* ("regardless of religion, descent, age, illness or handicap, sexual orientation, gender and social status") (RIS299794, 2018, p. 68). Apparently, the link between language and diversity is not on the political agenda.

Multilingualism emerges implicitly in the nine references to language in the coalition agreement. Two topics arise: a negative perspective on multilingualism as related to Dutch language proficiency and a more positive perspective on international visitors, expats and inhabitants. There are seven examples of the first, more negative, topic, with various discursive strategies and linguistic means. Using referential and predication strategies, the coalition agreement makes a connection between low Dutch proficiency and negative linguistic descriptions of group membership (Wodak, 2015). I will give examples of this below. For example, low Dutch proficiency is linked to "*mensen die moeite hebben met het vinden van een baan", "jeugdwerkloosheid",* and *"kindermishandeling"* (RIS299794, 2018, pp. 61, 61, 64). That is, a low command of Dutch can be related to "people who have trouble finding a job", "youth

unemployment", and "child abuse". Argumentation and perspectivisation strategies are used to justify this latter, fierce statement: "*uit onderzoek weten we dat risicofactoren voor kindermishandeling armoede, taalachterstand en psychische problemen van ouders zijn*." ("from research, we know that risk factors for child abuse are poverty, language deficiencies and psychological problems of the parents") (Wodak, 2015; RIS299794, 2018, p. 64). The writers of the coalition agreement thus give an argument for why they brought up this claim about child abuse and language proficiency, at the same time distancing themselves from it. In other words, the coalition partners are suggesting that they are merely raising the issue of language in relation to child abuse because of research findings (intertextuality) (Johnson, 2015; Wodak, 2015), using this indirect speech act to lend credibility to the statement and to reduce emotional reactions. Research has shown, they argue, that linguistic backgrounds can be related to child abuse (Wodak, 2015). Employing an intensification strategy, the verb 'know' implies that it is an incontestable fact (Wodak, 2015). This lends credibility to the statement and decreases the possibility for discussion.

We find other referential strategies employed in order to make connections between language proficiency and specific populations. Further groups that come up in relation to low Dutch proficiency are:

- *"statushouders"* (accepted asylum seekers, to which Dutch language requirements apply, see Section 2.4) (RIS299794, 2018, p. 67);
- *"jonge kinderen met een (dreigende) taalachterstand"* ("young children with an (imminent) language deficiency") (RIS299794, 2018, p. 57);
- *"laaggeletterden"* (noun; "those with low literacy") (RIS299794, 2018, p. 60);
- *"jongeren met een migratieachtergrond"* ("young people with a migration background") (RIS299794, 2018, p. 61);
- *"nieuwe bewoners van onze stad"* ("new inhabitants of our city") (RIS299794, 2018, p. 68).

In the examples above, the negative referential and predication strategies adopted in the coalition agreement become apparent: "deficiency", "low literacy", "abuse", and "unemployment" are all negative terms. Note the ambivalent use of possessive 'our' in the last example. This possessive pronoun could be interpreted positively: every new inhabitant of The Hague is 'one of us'. This would fit in well with the earlier claim in the coalition agreement: *"waar je ook vandaan komt, en wie je ook bent: we zijn allemaal Den Haag."* ("wherever you are from, and whoever you are: we are all The Hague") (RIS299794, 2018, p. 9). It might also be read negatively. The Hague is 'our' city and 'they' are the newcomers to 'our' city, a reading which echoes nationalist discourses and aligns with the two coalition parties who are sceptical of (too much) immigration: Groep de Mos/Hart voor Den Haag and VVD (VVD, 2017, 2019; Groep de Mos/Hart voor Den Haag, 2018a).

We find a similar ambivalence towards those with a different language background in examples 1 and 2 below.

(1) *Het bestrijden van jeugdwerkloosheid is een belangrijke prioriteit. Dit vraagstuk speelt zeker voor jongeren met een migratieachtergrond. We moeten volop inzetten op een goede taalvaardigheid bij jongeren. Die hebben hier zelf ook een inspanningverplichting.*
Reducing youth unemployment is an important priority. This issue is definitely relevant for young people with a migration background. We should do everything to promote good language proficiency among young people. These also have an obligation to put in effort themselves. (RIS299794, 2018, p. 61)

(2) *Onderwijs, werk en taal zijn daarbij [bij kansgelijkheid] cruciaal. Het terugdringen van taalachterstanden begint bij de jongste Hagenaars bij de voor- en vroegschoolse educatie. Om goed mee te kunnen doen is het belangrijk dat iedereen goed Nederlands kan spreken en schrijven. Daarom zetten we extra in op het tegengaan van laaggeletterdheid en analfabetisme en zorgen we voor kwalitatief goed en toegankelijk taalonderwijs, zodat ook nieuwe bewoners van onze stad de taal op een goede manier leren. Hierin heeft een ieder ook een eigen verantwoordelijkheid.*
Education, employment, and language are crucial [when it comes to equal opportunities]. Reducing language deficiencies starts with the youngest citizens in early childhood education. To participate in a good manner [in society], it is important that everyone can speak and write good Dutch. This is why we make an additional effort to combat low literacy and analphabetism and why we ensure high quality and accessible language education, to ensure that new inhabitants of our city learn the language in a good way. Regarding this, everyone also has their own responsibility. (RIS299794, 2018, p. 68)

This ambivalence is reflected in the intensification/mitigation strategies in these excerpts (Wodak, 2015). On the one hand, the municipality wants to help citizens learn Dutch and employs powerful adjectives and adjective phrases like "important", "definitely relevant" and "crucial". The municipality "should do everything", "make an additional effort", and "ensure" good language education. On the other hand, citizens also have "an obligation" and a "responsibility" themselves. Furthermore, the municipality does not only want to help, but wants to impose the Dutch language on its citizens. This is done for the sake of the citizens themselves: to reduce unemployment and to help people "participate" in society.

However, there is a certain distrust towards inhabitants with a different language background. The use of the verb 'participate' can for example be related to the controversial national *Participatiewet* (Participation Act) (2015). This act emphasises that people have a duty to participate in society and find a job and it cuts welfare if they do not do so, but this has not generally had positive effects (Bierbaum & Gassmann, 2016; Delsen, 2016; Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau, 2019b). This is made explicit in examples 1 and 2: "everyone also has their own responsibility" and citizens "also have an obligation to put in effort themselves". This is similar to the *Wet Taaleis* (Language Requirement Act, see p. viii), which also supposes a certain lack of trust in citizens with a different language background and a forceful promotion of the Dutch language. In other words, the municipality thinks that learning Dutch is important, should be imposed, that citizens should be aided in this effort, but should crucially also take relevant steps themselves. There is an implicit fear that they might not do so, as echoed in the *Participatiewet* (Participation Act) and *Wet Taaleis* (Language Requirement Act).

Moreover, it is interesting that example 1 merely mentions "language proficiency" and does not specify that this concerns the Dutch language: this is a presupposition (Wodak, 2015). Many such examples can be found in this policy document, as well as in the Corpus Analysis, which shows how self-explanatory and obvious it is for these politicians to talk about the Dutch language only.

This focus on the Dutch language and on citizens' own responsibility in acquiring it contrasts with the second topic about multilingualism in the coalition agreement, which is more positive. It connects with tourists, visitors, expats and students, using referential strategies (Wodak, 2015). The municipality is proud of its international image and wants to attract more *"toeristen", "expats",* and wishes to profile itself as *"een (internationale) studentenstad"* ("tourists", "expats", "an (international) student city") (RIS299794, 2018, pp. 47, 59). Language is mentioned twice for this group, and strikingly, it is the English language. The first example is the following:

(3) *Internationale Zone [...] We zorgen voor Engelstalige communicatie in openbare ruimtes en in het openbaar vervoer voor de internationale bezoekers en bewoners.*
International Zone. [...] We provide communication in the English language in public spaces and in public transport for international visitors and inhabitants (RIS299794, 2018, p. 18)

The second example is: "*[w]e willen dat er meer Engelstalig cultuuraanbod komt voor expats."* ("we want a larger cultural offer in English for expats") (RIS299794, 2018, p. 53). The International Zone is a neighbourhood in The Hague where high-status international organisations reside, such as the Peace Palace, the International Criminal Court, Eurojust, Europol, the NATO Communications and Information Agency, and several embassies (Den Haag, 2019d). There is no ambivalence in these two statements, there are no mitigation strategies, nor is there any mention of any obligation or responsibility of international inhabitants and visitors with respect to language learning (Wodak, 2015). Moreover, these are the only instances of overt multilingualism in the coalition agreement, and it is high-status multilingualism with English (Jaspers & Verschueren, 2011). This agrees with my findings of the Corpus Analysis (Section 5.2).

On the one hand, then, the coalition agreement barely mentions multilingualism and instead focuses on low Dutch language proficiency and language learning, and does so mainly for inhabitants with a lower socioeconomic status, for example, those who are unemployed or who are asylum seekers. The only overt mention of multilingualism concerns the communication between the municipality and high-status citizens/visitors and the prestige multilingualism that is associated with the English language.

5.3.2 Translation policy

We find a similar dichotomy between monolingualism for the masses and prestige multilingualism for the elite in the official translation policy of the municipality. The full text of this policy is attached as

Appendix C (Den Haag, 2019k). Again, two topics regarding multilingualism emerge: multilingual communication between the municipality and citizens is considered undesirable in general, while it is encouraged for expats and the international community.

The translation policy originally stems from 2002 and was instigated by the commission of the then mayor, Wim Deetman (Den Haag, 2019k, p. 5). With an argumentation and perspectivisation strategy, the current policy is defended as following "*de richtlijnen van de RVD en de afspraken uit het coalitieakkoord (2010-2014)*" ("the guidelines of the National Government Information Service and the agreements of the coalition agreement (2010-2014)") (Wodak, 2015; Den Haag, 2019k, p. 1). This intertextuality justifies the translation policy and takes responsibility away from the authors (Johnson, 2015; Wodak, 2015). The core rule of the translation policy is "*Nederlands, tenzij…*" ("Dutch, unless…") (Den Haag, 2019k, p. 1). In other words, communication between municipality and citizens is generally in Dutch only. Exceptions are allowed based on need (where the use of Dutch would still be preferable) and want (where a more multilingual policy is desirable, namely for expats). I will first zoom in on the first category, in which monolingual Dutch communication is the end goal. After that, I will discuss the second category, a more multilingual communication form for high-status citizens.

In matters of life and death, the translation policy states that the municipality is allowed to provide one-to-one translations into another language (Den Haag, 2019k, p. 1). Life-threatening situations include "*gevaar voor de volksgezondheid, crisis, verstoring van openbare orde, aantasting van integriteit van het lichaam*" ("a threat to public health, crisis, disruption of public order, violation of bodily integrity") (Den Haag, 2019k, p. 1). However, the authors use a mitigation strategy here (Wodak, 2015) by adopting the prepositional phrase "*bij voorkeur*" ("preferably"), stating the municipality should preferably still keep translations to a minimum (Den Haag, 2019k, p. 2). Also, in all cases, the Dutch language should remain the most important and primary form of communication (Den Haag, 2019k, p. 3). Consequently, translating really is an exceptional case, as this sentence with a modal verb of obligation shows: "*[a]ls gekozen wordt voor een vertaling **dient** overleg plaats te vinden met het betrokken diensthoofd*" ("if a translation has been chosen, this **must** be discussed with the relevant person in charge") (Den Haag, 2019, p. 5, emphasis added; Wodak, 2015). Employees cannot decide to translate something themselves. Full multilingual communication in general is thus out of the question, unless it has been approved by the person in charge.

In certain other cases, a translated short summary might be included (*attenderingscommunicatie*, 'notification communication'), thereby allowing for some multilingualism. Using referential and mitigation strategies, this type of communication is allowed when the following conditions are met (Wodak, 2015):

(4) *- een groot deel van de primaire doelgroep bestaat uit oudkomers, net ingeburgerde Hagenaars, langdurig in Nederland verblijvende EU-inwoners of asielzoekers;*
- de communicatie alleen gericht is op anderstalige doelgroepen (zoals bij inburgering);
- bovenstaande doelgroepen zelf aangeven behoefte te hebben aan bepaalde informatie van de gemeente en de gemeente hier zelf ook baat bij heeft.
- A large part of the primary target population consists of *oudkomers* [first generation migrant worker, often from Turkey and Morocco, as later specified in the document], residents of The Hague who have just become citizens, EU citizens who have lived in The Netherlands for a longer period of time or asylum seekers;
- The communication is only targeted at a population with a different language background (like with integration);
- The target populations above have indicated that they have a need for certain information from the municipality and the municipality also benefits from this. (Den Haag, 2019k, p. 1)

The conditional statements in the last line are actually quite impactful (Wodak, 2015). This mitigation strategy means that, if the municipality does not think that the target population benefits from multilingual communication, the municipality should not use it (Wodak, 2015). In the quotation above, various groups are mentioned for which partial multilingual communication is allowed. As I will show below, this is only allowed from the perspective of necessity, not to promote multilingualism or because multilingual communication is more comfortable for multilingual citizens. I will demonstrate that there is an opposition between non-prestigious multilingualism (translations only out of necessity) and prestigious multilingualism (translations because they are desirable) in this respect.

To illustrate the argument of necessity, first-generation Turks and Moroccans may receive short summaries of municipal communication in their mother tongues, because they did not receive any language classes in the 1960s/70s when they arrived in The Netherlands (Den Haag, 2019k, p. 3). This argumentation strategy goes as follows: there was no possibility (nor obligation) for these first-generation migrants to learn Dutch before, so the municipality cannot expect them to have acquired the skills to fully communicate in Dutch (Wodak, 2015). This statement is immediately qualified, however, with a mitigation strategy: efforts are still made to teach these migrants Dutch and some of them are even obliged to reach a certain level in Dutch (Wodak, 2015; Den Haag, 2019k, p. 3). Another qualification is in order, though: the municipality might use intermediaries*: "[d]eze personen (vaak vrijwilligers) kunnen in het Nederlands informatie ontvangen om vervolgens mondeling door te geven aan de doelgroep, in de taal die het meest geschikt is"* ("these people (often volunteers) can receive information in Dutch and subsequently orally transmit it to the target population in the language that is most appropriate") (Wodak, 2015; Den Haag, 2019k, p. 3). This is immediately qualified once more: *"uit het gemeentelijk beleid [volgt] dat wij niet voor tolken zorgen"* ("it follows from municipal policy that we do not provide interpreters.") (Wodak, 2015; Den Haag, 2019k, p. 3). This reference to municipal policy is an example of perspectivisation/intertextuality (Johnson, 2015; Wodak, 2015). If it is also intended as an argumentation strategy, this would be fallacious, using an appeal to policy (ironically, in another policy) (Wodak, 2015). It should be noted, by the way, that the municipality does

have access to the Tolkentelefoon ('Interpreter Telephone Service') if they want to use it, see Appendix A.

It is interesting that Turkish first-generation migrant groups are explicitly mentioned here, while current Turkish newcomer migrant groups are not. Turkey has an association agreement with the EU, and new migrants are not obliged to learn Dutch (Ministerie van Sociale Zaken en Werkgelegenheid, 2013). There have been national political debates about this exemption from integration exams, though, and Turkish citizens may be obliged to learn Dutch in the future (NOS, 2019; Bas, 2019). However, for now, there is no obligation for them to do so. We would therefore expect partial translations and intermediaries for the Turkish newcomer group, too, as they do not have to learn Dutch (using the same argumentation strategy as above, Wodak, 2015). Apparently, however, the strategy is 'Dutch only' for this group and no practical provisions are made.

This situation stands in contrast with citizens who just passed their integration exams: they may receive partial translations for practical reasons. The argumentation strategy behind this is that these new citizens have an A2 level of Dutch on the CEFR, while the municipality tends to communicate in B1 or higher (Wodak, 2015; Den Haag, 2019k, p. 4). However, a short translated summary is supposed to stimulate citizens to acquire the Dutch language. For example:

(5) *Asielzoekers die in asielzoekerscentra (azc) verblijven zijn niet verplicht de Nederlandse taal te leren. Om hen toch te stimuleren dit te doen, mag ook hier attenderingscommunicatie worden ingezet.*
Asylum seekers who reside in an asylum seeker centre do not have an obligation to learn the Dutch language. To stimulate them to do so, [short translations] can be used. (Den Haag, 2019k, p. 4)

The same goes for EU citizens:

(6) *Onder deze groep vallen ook de inwoners van Midden- en Oost Europa (zgn. MOE-landers). Door voor deze groep alleen attenderingscommunicatie in te zetten en niet 1 op 1 te vertalen, stimuleren we hen de Nederlandse taal te leren. Deze groep is niet verplicht om Nederlands te leren.*
This group includes inhabitants of Mid- and Eastern-Europe (so-called *MOE-landers*). By only using [short translated summaries] for this group and by not translating one-to-one, we stimulate them to learn the Dutch language. This group is not obliged to learn Dutch. (Den Haag, 2019k, p. 4)

We see a noteworthy referential strategy in the first line: *MOE-landers* are explicitly included as EU-citizens (Wodak, 2015). These are Mid-Europeans and Eastern Europeans (especially Polish citizens) who come to The Netherlands to work, often temporarily (Van Gestel et al., 2013). This group must be mentioned explicitly because the municipality deems this policy to be particularly relevant for this group. Indeed, the language proficiency and 'integration' of the Mid/Eastern European migrant workers specifically has been criticised within The Netherlands (Van Gestel et al., 2013). The municipality must therefore want to encourage them to learn Dutch, even though they do not have to, by communicating with them in Dutch primarily, with minimal translations only.

Short, translated summaries, therefore, paradoxically reflect a rather monolingual, Dutch-focused language policy. As the municipality notes in its translation policy:

(7) *Door (alleen) gebruik te maken van attenderingscommunicatie geven we een signaal af dat het belangrijk is om Nederlands te kunnen lezen en spreken"*
By using (only) short translated summaries, we signal that it is important to be able to read and speak Dutch (Den Haag, 2019k, p. 4).

It is unclear whether this argumentation strategy means that reading and speaking Dutch is important for citizens' own wellbeing or for the political agenda of the municipality (or both) (Wodak, 2015). Moreover, if employees use translated summaries, *"moeten deze zo opgemaakt zijn dat men de doelgroep beweegt tot het beter beheersen van de Nederlandse taal"* ("they should be formatted in such a way that one encourages the target group to get a better command of the Dutch language") (Den Haag, 2019k, p. 2).

Nonetheless, the original translation policy of the municipality stated that the municipality did want to reach *"niet-westerse doelgroepen. Daarvoor zijn integrale vertalingen echter niet gewenst of noodzakelijk"* ("non-western target populations. To this end, full translations are, however, not desirable or necessary") (Den Haag, 2019k, p. 5). Again, this referential strategy is striking, in that it singles out citizens with a non-western background specifically (Wodak, 2015). As I will discuss below, this is partially because the municipality actually encourages multilingual communication with 'western' high SES migrants, i.e., expats and internationals (Koutonin, 2015; Vora, 2012). According to the translation policy document, other means of reaching "non-western target populations" are multicultural events (like e.g. The Hague Cultural Parade), intermediary organisations and the so-called *Helder Haags* policy (Clear Language of The Hague) (Den Haag, 2019k, p. 5). The latter policy focuses on clear and simple communication in Dutch between the municipality and its citizens (see list of frequent terms on p. vii). Moreover, multicultural events might in theory be multilingual in nature, so this might be one of the only (rather positive) references to multilingual events by the municipality.

All in all, this discussion shows an overrepresentation of low socioeconomic status groups in translation policy documents which focus on the acquisition of Dutch. This includes the decision to communicate using short translated summaries of Dutch texts instead of full translations, which are supposed to stimulate citizens to learn Dutch. For low-status citizens, it seems that real multilingual translation is only possible in potentially life-threatening situations.

This monolingual approach for certain migrant groups stands in stark contrast with another referential group: *"expats/de internationale gemeenschap in Den Haag"* ("expats/the international community in The Hague") (Wodak, 2015; Den Haag, 2019k, p. 1). As noted above, 'expats' and 'internationals' include mostly moderate to high socioeconomic status migrants, and there are indications that white or

'western' people are more readily regarded as expats (Vora, 2012; Koutonin, 2015; RIS301560, 2019). The strict rules about (partial) translation do not apply to this group; multilingual communication is always possible. The following argumentation strategy demonstrates this: *"het feit dat zij over het algemeen kortstondig in Den Haag/Nederland verblijven"* ("the fact that they are generally only in The Hague/The Netherlands for a short time") and are therefore not expected to learn Dutch (Wodak, 2015; Den Haag, 2019k, p. 1). This argumentation makes sense when using the traditional definition of an expat as a highly skilled temporary migrant worker (RIS301560, 2019). However, in another document, the municipality notes that there are increasingly fewer expats and more internationals, who stay for a longer period of time (RIS301560, 2019). Internationals are explicitly included in the referential strategy above: texts may be fully translated for them. This argumentation strategy about length of residency might therefore be flawed (Wodak, 2015). Moreover, migrant workers from, for example, Poland (quotation 6 above) are often in The Netherlands for a short period of time only as well, yet they cannot receive one-to-one translations and are stimulated to learn Dutch (van Gestel et al., 2013; Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2018).

There is another reason behind the exceptional position of high SES migrants, though:

(8) *Sterker nog, het past bij de gemeentelijke doelstellingen op het gebied van citymarketing en gastvrijheid dat we met hen juist zoveel mogelijk in het Engels en - in mindere mate ook - in het Frans communiceren.* In fact, it fits the municipal goals concerning city marketing and hospitality that we communicate in English with them as much as possible and – to a lesser extent – in French as well. (Den Haag, 2019k, p. 1)

Therefore, the wishes of high-status expats and international community members concerning language, communication and multilingualism are taken into account only, while other citizens are approached in Dutch as much as possible.

To give an example of this, Figure 1 displays a municipal letter that was distributed in the International Zone, where many expats, internationals and international organisations reside (RIS270672, 2014; RIS302352, 2019). A full English translation of this letter about paid parking is provided, which residents can acquire by sending an e-mail to the municipality or by visiting The Hague International Centre in the City Hall (also see Section 8.3.2) or their local district office.

This more multilingual approach for expats and internationals is also apparent in the translation policy of the municipal website. As of June 2019, the municipal website is available fully in Dutch, mostly in English and partly in French, all prestige languages (denhaag.nl) (Jaspers & Verschueren, 2011). Note, by the way, that the tourism page of the city is available in Dutch, English, French, German and Mandarin, again prestige languages (denhaag.com) (Jaspers & Verschueren, 2011). The referential strategy behind the translation policy of the general municipal website is as follows (Wodak, 2015):

(9) *Voor expats is een Engelstalige pagina beschikbaar. Daarnaast is het voor de juridische en diplomatieke internationale wereld van belang is dat ook in het Frans informatie beschikbaar is.*
For expats, an English page is available. Beside this, it is important for the judicial and diplomatic international world that information is also available in French. (Den Haag, 2019k, p. 5)

Figure 1. Municipal letter in the International Zone in Dutch, with a full English translation available upon request (DSB/2019/175).
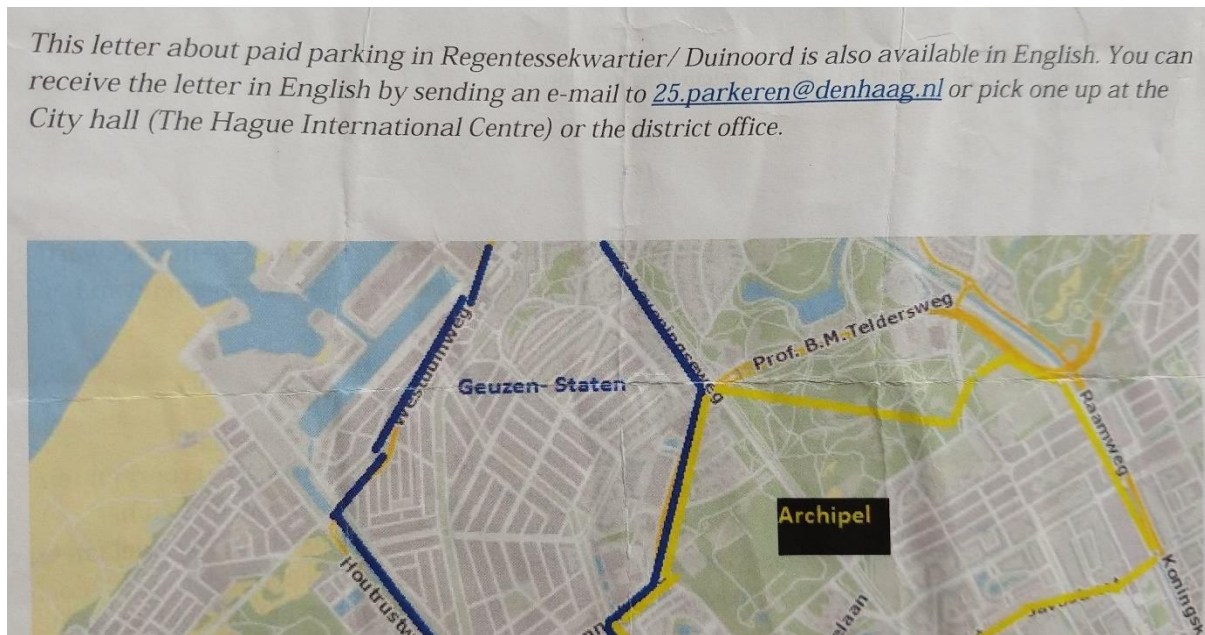
We again see a reference to high socioeconomic status groups (Wodak, 2015), though, in contrast with some municipal letters or leaflets, the website is accessible to all citizens of The Hague. Therefore, low socioeconomic status citizens may also consult the English or French parts of the website if they wish, even though these translated pages were not designed specifically for them.

5.4 Concluding remarks

In conclusion, the Critical Discourse Analysis and the Corpus Analysis show an opposition between the high status of ('western'/white) expats and the international community (and the prestige languages English and French), on the one hand, and the low status of (non-white/Eastern-European/'non-western') citizens with other non-Dutch language backgrounds, on the other. For the first group, multilingualism is encouraged, while for the second group, a monolingual Dutch approach is deemed most desirable. The rationale behind is that the latter group of multilingual citizens should focus on Dutch language learning and Dutch proficiency.

6. Preliminary discussion of textual analyses

6.1 Introduction

Below, the results of the Corpus Analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis will be discussed jointly. They together correspond to the first research question: what are the language policy and politics regarding multilingualism of the current municipal council of The Hague? Below, a preliminary answer will be formulated to this question, but the results will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 10. References to the literature will be made where appropriate.

6.2 Discussion of Corpus Analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis

Taking the results of the Corpus Analysis and the Critical Discourse Analysis together, we can start to formulate a preliminary answer to the first research question about the language policy and politics in The Hague. Contrary to my hypothesis and to the situation in Utrecht, there is no indication that the municipality regards multilingualism as a resource, except perhaps for some high status groups, as discussed below (Nortier et al., 2014). The municipality therefore ignores calls of the Dutch National Academy of Arts and Sciences and various scholars to acknowledge and value the multilingual reality (Bennis et al., 2000; KNAW, 2018). The results of my textual analyses instead suggest that the municipality has a monolingual mindset, as Clyne (2005) calls it, and focuses on the acquisition and use of Dutch.

In the Corpus Analysis, most references to language concerned the Dutch language, and more particularly, the perceived lack of proficiency in Dutch and efforts to learn Dutch of some inhabitants. When other languages came up, they tended to be identified as obstacles to learning and using Dutch. Some notable exceptions to this are proposals by left-wing (opposition) parties, such as NIDA's "U-turn" document, which describes "multilingual upbringing and education" as an "added value for the city" (RIS302217, 27 March 2019, p. 7). Overall, however, there were few overt references to multilingualism in the corpus, and they tended not to be positive, unless they concerned Dutch-English bilingualism, as I will explain further below.

The results of the Critical Discourse Analysis agree with those of the Corpus Analysis. The coalition agreement hardly refers to multilingualism and instead focuses on Dutch language proficiency and learning. Similarly, the translation policy of the municipality can be described as "Dutch, unless…". In terms of Ozolins' (2010) categorisation, it is a combination of complete neglect (Dutch only), ad hoc measures (volunteers, translated summaries), and some generic translation services (mostly for expats and internationals) (Ozolins, 2010). Municipal language policies in The Hague therefore have a monolingual perspective on status planning (i.e. the use of Dutch, also in the private healthcare sector, and the limited translations to other languages) and acquisition planning (i.e. the acquisition of Dutch

and the fear for heritage language schools), and do little prestige planning for other languages, using the three categories of municipal language policy that Skrandies (2016) discusses. This emphasis on the Dutch language could belong to a nationalist discourse, as connections are frequently made between the Dutch language and integration into Dutch society (Bauman & Briggs, 2003; Jaffe, 2012; May, 2015; Skrandies, 2016), which will be discussed further in Section 10. Nationalist sentiments can be seen because the municipality places responsibility on immigrants to learn the Dutch language and various political parties seem to expect a form of linguistic assimilation (Delander et al., 2005; Amit & Bar-Lev, 2015; Skrandies, 2016; Darden & Mylonas, 2016; Archakis et al., 2018).

As I predicted, then, there are very few policies in The Hague that promote multilingualism in general, which is similar to the situation in Utrecht (Nortier et al., 2014). Indicative of the overwhelming focus on Dutch, the search term 'language*' yielded 409 results, primarily about Dutch, whereas 'languages' and '*lingual*' (e.g. 'multilingualism') only resulted in 18 and 30 hits respectively. I did not find references to innovative varieties like youth language, and local accents/dialects, such as *Haags*.

In line with my hypotheses, however, a qualification needs to be made: some forms of multilingualism proved to be regarded more positively than others. The Corpus Analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis show that there is a dichotomy between the non-prestigious multilingualism of ('non-western') 'immigrants', on the one hand, and the prestigious multilingualism of ('western') 'expats' and 'internationals', on the other, or, using Jaspers and Verschueren's (2011) terminology, prestigious and plebeian multilingualism. This echoes findings in other cities around the world, like Utrecht (Jaspers & Verschueren, 2011; Nortier et al., 2014; Skrandies, 2016). In the Corpus Analysis, most positive descriptions of multilingualism entail Dutch-English bilingualism. Moreover, coalition party VVD wants to increase the English cultural offer and the use of English in the Linguistic Landscape for expats. In the Critical Discourse Analysis, we again find a reference to VVD's proposal in the coalition agreement. Moreover, the coalition parties stipulate that they want to use English in the International Zone, where many international organisations, expats, and internationals reside. Moreover, the 'Dutch, unless…' translation rules do not apply to "expats/the international community in The Hague" (Den Haag, 2019k, p. 1). For them, translation (into English and French) is encouraged, because "it fits the municipal goals concerning city marketing and hospitality" (Den Haag, 2019k, p. 1). This stands in stark contrast with lower SES multilingualism, that of ' low status immigrants', such as those with a Turkish, Moroccan, Eritrean, or Eastern European background, which is perceived as an obstacle to the acquisition and use of Dutch.

This contrast can be partially motivated by the short stay of expats in The Netherlands and the longer stay of these other groups of immigrants, but as discussed in Section 5.3.2, this does not tell the whole story. Internationals, whose multilingualism is supported, do settle in The Netherlands by (the

municipality's) definition, whereas Eastern European seasonal workers, who are approached in Dutch, might stay for a short period of time (Van Gestel et al., 2013; Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2018; Den Haag, 2019k; RIS301560, 2019). The difference in prestige between these two kinds of multilingualism might, instead, be motivated socioeconomically, as I will discuss further in Chapter 10. Prestigious multilingualism is economically advantageous (tourism, job opportunities), whereas non-prestigious multilingualism might only be perceived to bring political and socioeconomic trouble (Tollefson, 2009; Backhaus, 2012; Meyerhoff, 2015; Skrandies, 2016).

6.3 Concluding remarks

Of course, there are some limitations associated with analysing textual documents. These will be discussed in detail in Chapter 10. One such limitation is that written language policies might not be correspond to actual language practice. This is why the next part of the thesis looks at language policy in practice through Linguistic Landscape Analysis.

Part III. Linguistic Landscape: Multilingualism and language policy in practice

To examine how The Hague's language policy is reflected in actual practice, this part of the thesis focuses on multilingualism in municipal signage. As noted earlier, signs are one of the three main areas of municipal language policy (Backhaus, 2012). Many signs in the public sphere are erected by the municipality and are a form through which the municipality communicates with its citizens, which can be done in one or several languages (Backhaus, 2012). Municipal signs enact and reflect municipal language policy and ideology, as well as communicative considerations and the socio-political situation (Ben-Rafael et al., 2010; Gorter, 2013; Hult, 2018). They are indicative of the importance of particular languages in the municipality and of ideologies about multilingualism (Hult, 2018). My analysis of municipal signage neatly complements Part II of this thesis, by providing a more practical perspective on multilingual language policy in The Hague. In fact, "the real language policy of a community is more likely to be found in its practices than in management" (Spolsky, 2004, p. 222). The research question of this part of the thesis is: how are the municipal language policy and politics regarding multilingualism reflected in the public signs that are erected by the municipality of The Hague? In Section 7 below, I will explain the methodology of the Linguistic Landscape Analysis, while Section 8 discusses the results of this analysis, and Section 9 provides a short interim discussion.

7. Methodology

7.1 Introduction

Below, I will describe the methodology for the Linguistic Landscape analysis. Linguistic Landscape analysis can be defined as "the study of visual language use in public space" (Hult, 2018, p. 1). Municipal signs constitute a form of top-down signage, as they are the product of an official institution, which is the municipality of The Hague in the case of this thesis (Backhaus, 2008; Ben-Rafael et al., 2010).

7.2 Selection of municipal signs

In my Linguistic Landscape analysis, I focused on the following municipal signs to include the largest number of municipal signage:

- Street signs (e.g. street names, street name explanations);
- Traffic-related signs on municipal roads (e.g. traffic signs, detour signs, traffic information, signposts);
- Parking-related signs (e.g. parking information, parking meters);
- Information signs (e.g. tourist, visitor and citizen information, including information about rules and regulations in a specific place);
- Any other noteworthy language use in the public space by the municipality (such as monuments erected by the municipality).

This selection includes the most important manifestations of municipal signage according to current practice in The Hague, as described in municipal and national government documents (Ministerie van Algemene Zaken, 2015; RIS300627, 2018; Den Haag, 2019b, 2019c). Only signs erected or supported by the municipality were included in the analysis, to the extent that this could be ascertained. For example, signs with one of the former or current logos of the municipality were included in the analysis (see e.g. Figures 22 and 37 in Section 8.3 below). I did not photograph every municipal sign I encountered; that would have been unfeasible with the large number of street signs, traffic signs, parking signs, information signs, etc. However, I did take pictures of every multilingual sign I found that was erected/supported by the municipality (alongside many different types of monolingual Dutch signs). I focused on public signs, in other words, signs in public areas (Blommaert, 2013; Hult, 2018). In terms of ethics, I made sure not to take any recognisable pictures of people passing by when photographing a municipal sign.

7.3 Selection of areas in the city

I examined municipal signs in three areas of The Hague between 22 July and 8 August 2019: the City Centre, Morgenstond and the International Zone (Figure 1 on the next page). I chose these three areas because they all have multilingual inhabitants and visitors (see below), allowing me to examine if this multilingualism is reflected in the municipal signage. Moreover, the areas all reflect a different type of multilingualism, fuelled more by either tourism, migration or the presence of 'expats' in the areas concerned, as I will explain below. I selected these three neighbourhoods because they reflect the different types of multilingualism that emerged in Part II of this thesis. The analysis presented in Part II indicates that multilingualism is encouraged for tourists and expats (as in the City Centre and International Zone), while there is a focus on Dutch only for other sections of the population, for example citizens with a Turkish, Moroccan or Eastern European background (as in Morgenstond). I will discuss the demographic characteristics of these three areas further below.

The three areas also differ in terms of deprived status, as I will indicate below. The municipality calculates this deprived score for each part of the city, which is used in municipal policy to determine which areas are most disadvantaged (Den Haag, 2017b). Strikingly, the municipality calculates the deprived score partly on the basis of ethnic background, using the following components:

> (1) *aandeel ethnische culturele groepen, gemiddeld persoonlijk inkomen, aandeel langduring werklozen, gemiddelde WOZ-waarde woningen, aandeel verhuizingen in de laatste 3 jaar.*
> proportion of ethnic-cultural groups, average personal income, proportion of long-term unemployed citizens, average real estate value, proportion of people moving in the last three years.
> (Den Haag, 2017b)

In terms of size, the City Centre and Morgenstond are both larger districts (*wijk*), as opposed to smaller neighbourhoods (*buurt*), according to the municipality (Den Haag, 2017a). The International Zone is a separate, even larger zone, composed of several districts. In each of the three areas, I included municipal signage in four types of public spaces:

- shopping streets;
- residential areas;
- municipal parks;
- municipal public service offices (there are only two in the city as of 1 July 2019; there is no office in the International Zone, Den Haag, 2019i).

I chose these four types of public spaces to get a wide range of municipal signage and comparable municipal signage across city areas. These places have abundant municipal signage and also allow for different types of signs. Moreover, the four public spaces are frequently visited by inhabitants and visitors of The Hague and are therefore interesting to examine in terms of their Linguistic Landscape. Specifically, public service offices are a direct place of contact between citizens/visitors of The Hague

and the municipality. People need to contact these municipal offices for matters concerning municipal registration, parking, recycling and waste, as well as when applying for passports or driving licences, registering immigration, birth, marriage, or death, and accessing copies, transcripts, and personal records (Den Haag, 2019i). Part II of this thesis indicates that communication between the municipality and its citizens is encouraged to be in Dutch only, also for immigrants, unless these citizens are expats, tourists, or, in general, members of the high SES international community. It would be interesting to find out to what extent this is reflected in the municipal signs.

Figure 1. The three areas in the Linguistic Landscape analysis: the City Centre, International Zone and Morgenstond (in red), adapted from Google Maps (2019).
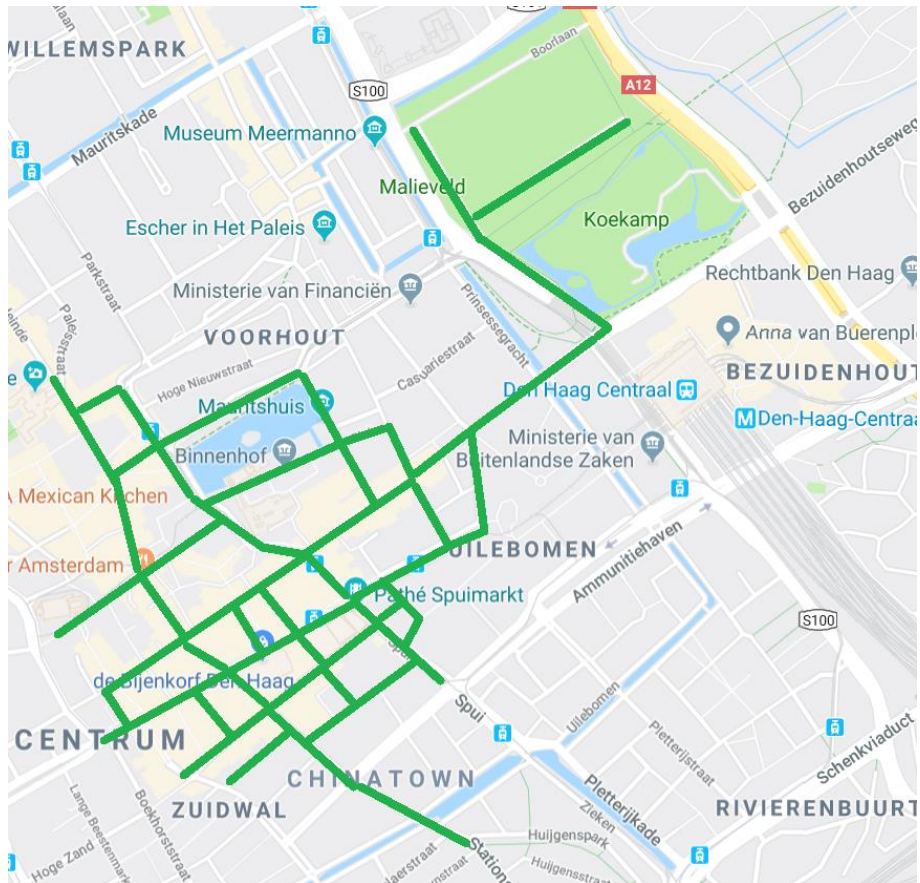

7.3.1 The City Centre

Below, I will give more information about each of the three areas I examined and how they display different kinds of multilingualism, starting with the City Centre area. The City Centre area that I examined spans from Stationsweg in the south, Koekamp in the west, Noordeinde Palace/Malieveld in the north and Grote Markt in the east (Figure 2). The City Centre is the most important area of the city: it is the centre of city life, it forms the main attraction for tourists and it is a place where inhabitants from all over the city meet, possibly resulting in enormous (linguistic) diversity. I examined residential

areas, the main shopping streets, which include the main tourist attractions, the City Hall (the main municipal public service office), and the Koekamp/Malieveld. The latter is not a real municipal park, as it is owned by the state, but it does contain municipal signage.

Figure 2. Linguistic landscaping in the City Centre area. All streets that are included in the analysis are marked in green. Adapted from Google Maps (2019).

Inhabitants of the City Centre area have diverse backgrounds: only 42.8% are "Dutch" (defined as having parents that were both born in The Netherlands and also having been born in The Netherlands themselves) (Den Haag, 2019f). Table 1 displays the ethnic background of the inhabitants in the City Centre area and shows that it is a very ethnically diverse area. This diversity is fairly typical of The Hague: most ethnic groups are represented similarly in the City Centre as in the wider city (Den Haag, 2019f). The proportion of every ethnic group is roughly average for the city of The Hague, except the percentage of inhabitants with a Turkish background, which is slightly lower than average, while the percentage of 'other non-western' groups and 'other western' groups is slightly higher than average (Den Haag, 2019f). In terms of deprived score (see above), the City Centre neighbourhood received a score of 2.7 in 2017, which means that it is (slightly above) average when it comes to deprivation, in category 3 out of 5 (Den Haag, 2017a).

Table 1. Ethnic background of inhabitants in the Centrum district (wijk) *in 2019 (n=19,893)* (Den Haag, 2019f).

Ethnic background	Percentage
Dutch	42.8%
Non-western: Turkish	2.9%
Non-western: Moroccan	5.3%
Non-western: Surinamese	6.2%
Non-western: Antillean	3.4%
Non-western: Other non-western	16.8%
Western: Eastern European	4.3%
Western: Indonesian	4.0%
Western: Other western	14.4%
	100%

7.3.2 Morgenstond

The streets I visited in Morgenstond are indicated in Figure 3. I examined the main shopping street Leyweg, residential areas, the municipal public service office Escamp, and two parks, namely the small Melis Stokepark and the main attraction in the area, Zuiderpark, which is immediately adjacent to the Morgenstond area. The municipal public service office Escamp is one of the two public service offices in The Hague, alongside the one in the City Centre (Den Haag, 2019i). Note that Escamp is the name of the larger city district, of which Morgenstond forms a part.

Figure 3. Linguistic landscaping in the Morgenstond area (all streets covered are marked in green). Adapted from Google Maps (2019).

Morgenstond is a very diverse district, but in a different way than the City Centre. Table 2 displays the ethnic background of citizens in the Morgenstond area. Just over 30 percent of the inhabitants have a Dutch background, which is lower than the average in The Hague (Den Haag, 2019f). Compared to the City Centre, there is a larger presence of people with a Turkish migration background (15.4%), a Surinamese migration background (12.9%), a Moroccan migration background (9.4%) and an Eastern European background (7.5%). Moreover, the proportion of inhabitants with a Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese, Antillean, and other 'non-western' backgrounds is relatively high, while that of inhabitants with an Indonesian or other 'western' background is relatively low (Den Haag, 2019f). On both a national and a municipal level, Morgenstond has been designated as a deprived district (*krachtwijk*) because of socioeconomic and safety issues (Musterd & Ostendorf, 2009; Den Haag, 2017a); its deprived score is 7.8, meaning the area is disadvantaged (category 2 out of 5) (Den Haag, 2017a).

Table 2. Ethnic background of inhabitants in the Morgenstond district (wijk) *in 2019 (n=19,363)* (Den Haag, 2019f). *While Zuiderpark is a separate district, it has few inhabitants (being a park) and is therefore not included here (n=105).*

Ethnic background	Percentage
Dutch	30.7%
Non-western: Turkish	15.4%
Non-western: Moroccan	9.4%
Non-western: Surinamese	12.9%
Non-western: Antillean	3.4%
Non-western: Other non-western	14.3%
Western: Eastern European	7.5%
Western: Indonesian	2.3%
Western: Other western	14.4%
	100%

7.3.3 The International Zone

I examined only part of the so-called 'International Zone', as the entire area is too large to examine fully (RIS270672, 2014). Specifically, I looked at the Statenkwartier/Zorgvliet/Westbroekpark area, which includes the World Forum, the Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons, Europol, Eurojust, Peace Palace/International Court of Justice, and numerous embassies. In the International Zone, I examined the shopping street Frederik Hendriklaan, residential areas, many streets where various international organisations are located and the nearby municipal park Westbroekpark. As of 1 July 2019, there is no municipal public service office in the area: inhabitants have to go to the City Centre office instead (Den Haag, 2019i). The streets I visited in the International Zone are indicated in Figure 4.

Figure 4. Linguistic landscaping in the International Zone (all streets covered are marked in green). Adapted from Google Maps (2019).
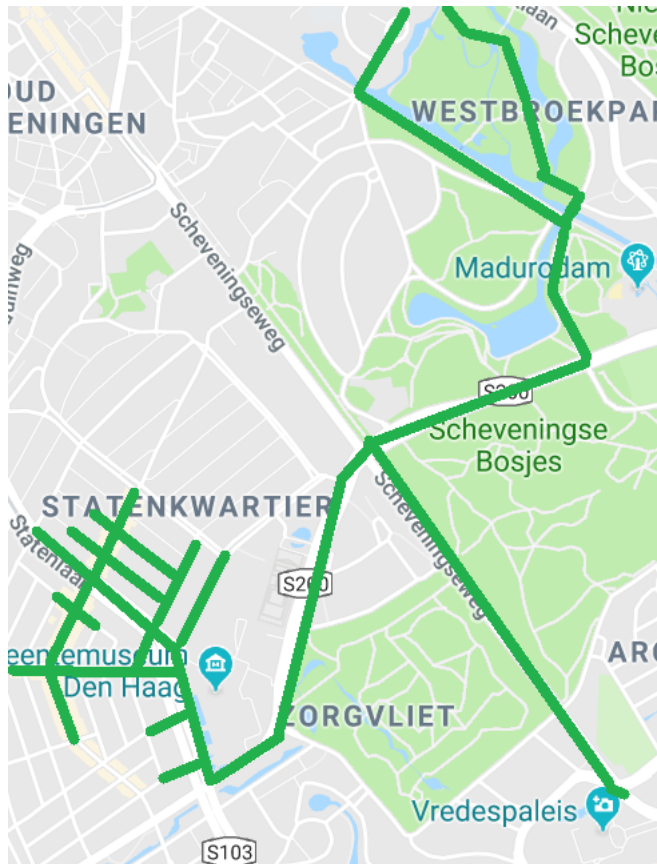
Many expats live in the International Zone (Wonen in Den Haag, 2019), which is reflected in the demographic statistics of Table 3, particularly the fact that almost a third of the inhabitants have a 'western' migration background. The proportion of citizens with a 'western' migration background (which includes Indonesian, interestingly) is much larger than the city average, except for inhabitants with an Eastern European migration background, which is much lower than the city average (Den Haag, 2019f). The International Zone is the only area I examined in which ethnic Dutch people form the majority (59.3%) and the proportion of people with a Dutch background is much higher than the city average (Den Haag, 2019f). Conversely, the percentage of inhabitants with any kind of 'non-western' migration background is much lower than the city average (Den Haag, 2019f). The area is well-off. There is no separate statistic for the entire International Zone, but Statenkwartier, the main residential area, has a deprived score of –16.2 for example (category 5 out of 5: not disadvantaged) (Den Haag, 2017b).

Table 3. Ethnic background of inhabitants in the International Zone in 2019 (n=42,376) (Den Haag, 2019f).

Ethnic background	Percentage
Dutch	59.3%
Non-western: Turkish	0.4%
Non-western: Moroccan	0.4%
Non-western: Surinamese	1.6%
Non-western: Antillean	0.9%
Non-western: Other non-western	7.9%
Western: Eastern European	3.1%
Western: Indonesian	5.7%
Western: Other western	20.7%
	100%

7.4 Analysis

As indicated above, I examined the language use on the municipal signs using Linguistic Landscape analysis, which is a central methodology in language policy research (Landry & Bourhis, 1997; Hult, 2018). Every sign was analysed individually, even though there might have been several signs in one picture, such as a signpost and a street name sign in the same photograph.

For all multilingual and non-Dutch signs, I followed the method of analysis of the Multilingual Manchester project (Gaiser & Matras, 2016). I adjusted the coding scheme they developed in the linguistic landscaping subproject for which LinguaSnapp was developed as a tool (Gaiser & Matras, 2016). Table 4 shows that I coded for languages, alphabet, city district, type, position, content, audience selection, language purpose, arrangement of languages, dominant language, and visual dominance of the dominant language. I will clarify some of these codes below.

In Table 4, audience selection refers to the reason behind the choice of languages: to target a specific audience (exclusive) or a larger, non-specific audience (inclusive) (Gaiser & Matras, 2016). For example, Figure 5a shows a sign which targets an exclusive audience through the use of English only, namely international tourists. This is a marked choice: the information is presented in English only because this is a language most tourists will speak, while there is no Dutch option because the sign is presumably not meant for (often Dutch-speaking) inhabitants of the city. Conversely, Figure 5b targets a more inclusive audience: the sign is interpretable for most people passing by, whether tourists or inhabitants of the city, and whether Dutch- or English-speaking.

Table 4. Coding scheme for multilingual/non-Dutch signs (adjusted from Gaiser & Matras, 2016)

Category	Codes
Monolingual/multilingual	Monolingual (insert language), bilingual, multilingual, other (elaborate)
Language(s)	Various
Alphabet	Various
City district	City Centre, Morgenstond, the International Zone
Type	Traditional (metal) sign, plaque, letters directly on wall, sticker, printed poster, printed leaflet, printed label, handwritten note (unique), handwritten leaflet/poster, electronic sign, graffiti, flag, engraving, other (elaborate)
Position	Stand-alone sign (outdoors), stand-alone sign (indoors), building (outdoors), building (indoors), pavement, wall, other (elaborate)
Content	Street/location name, traffic directions, parking-related, information (including information about rules/regulations), other (elaborate)
Audience selection	Inclusive, exclusive
Language purpose for each language	Communicative, emblematic
Arrangement of languages (if applicable)	Duplicating, fragmentary, overlapping, complementary
Dominant language (if applicable)	Open/no dominant language
Visual dominance of dominant language through… (if applicable)	Position, font size, colour, quantity, other (elaborate) [several answers possible]

Figures 5a (left) and 5b (right). Figure 5a: exclusive audience selection, namely international tourists, on an English-only sign. Figure 5b: inclusive audience selection, namely all people passing by, on a Dutch-English sign. More details about the photographs can be found in Appendix D (under number 1 and 33 respectively).

Language purpose denotes the intention behind the inclusion of a language, which can be communicative (to convey information) or emblematic (not primarily to convey content, but for emotional identification) (Gaiser & Matras, 2016). For example, in Figure 6a all four languages (Dutch, English, German, and French) serve to communicate a message, to convey information about this particular part of The Hague. This stands in contrast with Figure 6b, in which Hebrew primarily serves

for identification with a Jewish identity. It is not necessary to comprehend the quotation from the Tanakh to understand the message that is communicated in Dutch: that this is where the Main Synagogue used to be. The passage from the Tanakh in Hebrew mainly indicates a Jewish identity, instead of conveying information.

Figures 6a (top) and 6b (bottom). Figure 6a: communicative language purpose for all four languages. Figure 6b: emblematic language purpose for Hebrew. More details about the photographs can be found in Appendix D (under number 39 and 35 respectively).

Following Reh (2004), there are four possibilities for the arrangement of languages on a multilingual sign (Gaiser & Matras, 2016). Duplication entails that all texts on the sign are fully translated into all languages, possibly because not all readers are proficient in all languages on the signs, but it could also only have an emblematic function (Gaiser & Matras, 2016). Figure 5b above shows an example: the entire text in Dutch about this building is translated to English. In contrast, a fragmentary arrangement of languages means that some language(s) display the texts in full, while there are only partial translations to the other language(s) on the sign. In other words, one language is clearly dominant on the sign in terms of content. This is the case for Figure 6b above, in which all text is available in Dutch and only the Tanakh quotation in Hebrew. Overlapping multilingual signs also contain partial translations, but all languages convey slightly different information. The message in each language partially overlaps with the message in the other languages, while each language also gives additional content. This is true for Figure 6a above: the Dutch *hoffelijk, historisch en intiem* ('royal/polite, historical and intimate') is not translated into any other language. Only the Dutch and French texts mention the King's flag, and only the English, French, and German texts mention galleries and art and antique shops, for example. An extreme form of this is complementary language arrangement, when all languages convey different information without overlap. This usually means that the intended readers are expected to be fully multilingual in all languages on the sign (Gaiser & Matras, 2016). Figure 7 forms an example: the name of the festival is in English (which would translate to *Delfts Kamermuziekfestival* in Dutch*)*, while further information is available in Dutch only. Indeed, most citizens in The Netherlands are proficient in both Dutch and English (European Commission, 2012; Van Oostendorp, 2012; Education First, 2019).

Figure 7. Complementary language arrangement: Dutch and English both convey different information, without overlap. More details about the photograph can be found in Appendix D (under number 38).

7.5 Concluding remarks

The Linguistic Landscape analysis of municipal signs will therefore shed light on municipal practices concerning multilingualism in the city. In the next section, the results of this Linguistic Landscape analysis are presented. By analysing the Linguistic Landscape, the hierarchy between languages in the municipality and ideologies towards multilingualism become evident (Hult, 2018).

8 Results

8.1 Introduction

Below, the results of the Linguistic Landscape Analysis will be discussed. Following similar Linguistic Landscape analyses, I first discuss the official language policies in The Hague regarding municipal signage in Section 8.2 (Backhaus, 2008; Hult, 2018). Then, I analyse all multilingual/non-Dutch municipal signage in The Hague in Section 8.3, using the coding scheme in Table 4 of Section 7.4. After analysing multilingual/non-Dutch signage, I discuss monolingual Dutch signage in Section 8.4, giving some examples of monolingual Dutch signs.

8.2 Linguistic Landscape policy and politics

As shown in Part II of this thesis, municipal language policies mostly focus on Dutch, in the sense that Dutch monolingual communication is deemed desirable (Sections 5.2 and 5.3). Some other languages also have prestige, mainly English, and to a lesser extent French, German, and Mandarin, as reflected on the visitor website denhaag.com (Sachdev & Cartwright, 2016). An exception to the monolingual Dutch communication rule is made for expats, internationals, and tourists, for whom English (and French) communication with the municipality is encouraged. Other exceptions to the Dutch-only rule are made because of need, not because of want (as in life-threatening situations). Brief translated summaries are permitted for first-generation migrant workers who migrated in the sixties and seventies, new citizens, EU citizens and asylum seekers, but only if the summaries encourage the reader to learn Dutch.

Looking more specifically at The Hague's Linguistic Landscape, we find the following policy in the coalition agreement in Section 5.3.1:

(1) *Internationale Zone […] We zorgen voor Engelstalige communicatie in openbare ruimtes en in het openbaar vervoer voor de internationale bezoekers en bewoners.*
International Zone. […] We provide communication in the English language in public spaces and in public transport for international visitors and inhabitants (RIS299794, 2018, p. 18).

For a list of the political parties that make up The Hague's municipal council, their political position, and their size in the council, see the list at the start of this thesis (p. viii). Similarly, there is a policy proposal by the right-wing coalition party VVD in Section 5.2, to provide both Dutch and English information signs next to statues in The Hague. Again, this party relates English signs to expats and tourists:

(2) *Het kunst- en cultuur aanbod voor expats wordt hierdoor vergroot en daarnaast maken we Den Haag ook aantrekkelijker voor Engelstalige toeristen.*
The artistic and cultural offer for expats is increased in this way and, furthermore, we make The Hague more attractive for English-speaking tourists. (RIS300627, 2 October 2018, page 7)

On 2 July 2019 (and therefore not included in the Corpus Analysis of Section 5.2), the largest local populist coalition party Groep de Mos/Hart voor Den Haag lamented that the *Nieuwe Kerk* (New Church) in the City Centre is not open for visitors. They proposed to provide a multilingual information sign about the church:

> (3) *Is het college bereid om een interactief informatiebord in meerdere talen te plaatsen net buiten de Nieuwe Kerk met informatie over deze bijzondere kerk, de omgeving en de geschiedenis van Spinoza?*
> Are the Mayor and Aldermen willing to provide an interactive information board in multiple languages just outside the New Church with information about this special church, the surroundings and the history of Spinoza? (RIS303017, 2 July 2019, page 1)

All these positive instances of multilingual municipal signage refer to the City Centre, the International Zone, and the needs of tourists and expats, which mainly involve the English language. This stands in contrast with the sentiments expressed in other political documents. For example, in Section 5.2.1 I discussed the following statement by anti-immigration opposition party PVV:

> (4) *U ziet toch zelf bijvoorbeeld wat er gebeurt met het beheersen van de taal in Den Haag door hele groepen migranten, vaak moslims? Ze spreken vaak geen woord Nederlands of bijna geen Nederlands maar vooral Turks en Arabisch. Ik wijs op al die winkels met reclameteksten en teksten op de gevels in die talen en op het feit dat men bij Turkse bakkers het brood in het Turks bestelt.*
> You surely also see what happens, for example, to the proficiency of the [Dutch] language in The Hague of entire groups of migrants, often Muslims? They often do not speak a word of Dutch or almost no Dutch but mostly Turkish and Arabic. I'm talking about all those shops with advertisement texts and texts on their façades in those languages and the fact that people order their bread in Turkish at Turkish bakeries. (RIS301631, 29 November 2018, page 111)

The context, however, shows that this complaint about Turkish and Arabic signs does not concern top-down municipal signs, but bottom-up private signs instead. A similar complaint about a Turkish sign (included in my corpus but not mentioned in my analysis) was voiced by right-wing coalition party VVD on 18 June 2018, concerning a sign with the Dutch words "*Turkse verkiezingen*" ("Turkish elections"), and below that, "*TÜRKIYE SEÇIMI*" in Turkish, close to the Morgenstond neighbourhood:

> (5) *Heeft de gemeente dit bord zelf op de openbare weg geplaatst? Zo niet, heeft de gemeente toestemming gegeven dit bord te plaatsen? [...] Is het College met de Haagse VVD van mening dat met dit bord een verkeerd signaal uitgaat naar Nederlanders met een migratieachtergrond die de Nederlandse taal moeten leren?"*
> Did the municipality place this sign in the public space themselves? If not, did the municipality give permission to place this sign? […] Do the Aldermen agree with the VVD in The Hague that this sign constitutes a wrong signal to Dutch people with a migration background that should learn the Dutch language? (RIS299966, page 1)

This sign, being a road sign, seems to concern a top-down sign: the municipality probably either placed it themselves or gave permission to place the sign, as indicated by the VVD. No official reply was available at the time of writing this thesis.

To sum up, the written policy documents of the municipality indicate that The Hague's Linguistic Landscape should generally be in Dutch only. However, the municipality wants to provide multilingual (mainly English) signs in the International Zone and the City Centre for expats, international inhabitants

and tourists. Several right-wing parties express negative sentiments about multilingual signs that include Arabic and/or Turkish (one of them close to the Morgenstond neighbourhood). In general, the municipality thinks monolingual Dutch communication is desirable for most citizens, including those with a migration background (for some of whom short translated summaries should stimulate them to learn Dutch). The exceptions to this 'Dutch only' rule are expats, internationals and tourists, for whom English (and French, but also German and Mandarin) communication is encouraged.

In the sections below, I will investigate to what extent these written policies are reflected in actual practice by examining municipal signage in the Linguistic Landscape. To study this, I took a total of 484 pictures in the City Centre, Morgenstond, and the International Zone. Removing duplicates (photographs of the same individual sign) and irrelevant pictures resulted in a total of 165 individual signs, of which 75 were pictures of multilingual/non-Dutch signs.

8.3 Multilingual/non-Dutch signs

As indicated in the methodology section, I photographed all multilingual/non-Dutch municipal signs I encountered, which resulted in a total of 75 pictures of multilingual municipal signs, as mentioned above. Below, I will describe the characteristics of these 75 individual signs based on the adjusted coding scheme of the University of Manchester's LinguaSnapp, as laid out in Section 7.4 (Gaiser & Matras, 2016). I will show examples to illustrate the nature of municipal signs in The Hague.

8.3.1 Inclusion of languages

Table 1 shows that most multilingual/non-Dutch signs were bilingual or multilingual signs: 56% and 28% respectively. Twelve percent of the signs were monolingual English, while I encountered one monolingual Mandarin sign, one bidialectal sign and one in Braille paired with the Latin alphabet (not technically multilingual, but worth mentioning). I will discuss these types of multilingual signs below and give some examples.

Table 1. Type of multilingualism of the multilingual/non-Dutch signs in the three areas in the city (n=75).

Type of multilingualism	Number of multilingual/non-Dutch signs	Percentage of multilingual/non-Dutch signs
Bilingual	42	56%
Multilingual	21	28%
Monolingual English	9	12%
Monolingual Mandarin	1	1%
Bidialectal	1	1%
Braille/Latin alphabet	1	1%
Total	**75**	**100%**

Many monolingual English signs were found in the City Centre, which were clearly aimed at visitors of the city. To give some examples, the city marketing and tourism slogan of the city of The Hague is in English only: "The City. The Beach. The Hague." (see Figure 1). The information board in front of the tourism office is exclusively in English: both the front and back sides have the same English text (Figure 1). Figure 2 shows special temporary Rembrandt-related signs in the City Centre to commemorate the Dutch Golden Age period, which are also in English only. Additional information about the photographs in this part of the thesis is included in Appendix D, such as the place and date when they were taken, and evidence that the signs were placed/supported by the municipality.

Figures 1 (left) and 2 (right). The Hague's tourism signs in English only in the City Centre. Figure 1: tourism information sign in English only in front of the tourist information office. Figure 2: a large picture frame with English texts on it.

The monolingual Mandarin sign was also located in the City Centre, i.e. in China Town. Figure 3 shows a Dragon's Gate with Mandarin characters saying "The Hague China Town" on the red rectangle, without any Dutch text. The gates of China Town clearly display the linguistic make-up of the (supposed) inhabitants in the public space.

Figure 3. Mandarin in The Hague's China Town (City Centre) on a Dragon Gate, which includes Mandarin characters saying "The Hague China Town" on the red rectangle.

The bidialectal sign was also found in the City Centre and concerned the prominent *Haagse Harry* (Harry from the Hague) statue. This statue was financed with money from the municipality of The Hague and erected in honour of Marnix Rueb, who passed away in 2014 and wrote a famous cartoon in the accent of The Hague (*Trouw*, 2016). Figure 4 shows the statue, with text in The Hague accent and a standard Dutch caption: *"Kap nâh!! Lekkâh belangrèk"* which means "Stop!! Not important". The caption reads *"Haagse Harry. Stripheld van geestelijk vader Marnix Rueb, illustrator (1955-2014)"* ("Harry from The Hague. Comic hero of spiritual father Marnix Rueb, illustrator (1955-2014)").

Figure 4. The statue of Haagse Harry in The Hague accent (not translated to standard Dutch) with a standard Dutch caption (not in the picture and not 'translated' into the accent).

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The braille/Latin alphabet sign was located in Morgenstond's Melis Stokepark (Figure 5), which was part of an initiative by the municipality of The Hague to make more inclusive playgrounds, and sponsored by Madurodam (Carve, 2010). The entire playground information sign was written in Dutch, however, and is therefore not strictly multilingual.

Figure 5. Part of a playground information sign in Morgenstond Latin script and braille script (Dutch, titled "de speeltuin voor iedereen" = "the playground for everyone").

The most common languages on the signs were Dutch (87% of the signs), English (83% of the signs), French (28% of the signs), and German (28% of the signs), as Table 2 on the next page indicates. Interestingly, this means that not all municipal signs contained text in Dutch. Other languages that occurred on more than one sign were Mandarin (9%), Hebrew (7%), Arabic (3%), Italian (3%), Japanese (3%), Russian (3%), and Spanish (3%). The following languages were found once: Afrikaans, Albanian, Bahasa Indonesia (or Malay), Basque, Breton, Bulgarian, Catalan, Czech, Danish (or Norwegian), Dutch braille (not technically a language), Estonian, Faroese, Frisian, Greek, Hindi, Hungarian, Kurdish, Latvian, Lithuanian, Macedonian, Mongolian, Portuguese, Romanian, Serbian (or Croatian or Slovenian or Bosnian), Slovak, Swedish, Tagalog, The Hague accent (not technically a language), Turkish, and Ukrainian. Some examples will be given below. Given this selection of languages, the most common alphabet on municipal signs was Latin, as languages were generally displayed in their alphabet.

I encountered a group of signs with Dutch, English, French and German text: the 'Welcome to The Hague' signs. I found at least five different types (many more tokens) of these signs in the City Centre area (general sign, historic centre, shopping centre, China Town, royal neighbourhood) and three different types in the International Zone (International Zone, Frederik Hendriklaan/International Zone, and Peace Palace). The signs consist of three displays: one with a map of The Hague and a welcome text about The Hague (Figure 6a on p. 68), one with a map of the particular area (Figure 6b on p. 69), and one with information about the particular sight (Figure 6c on p. 70). An example from the International Zone can be found on pages 68-70. Strikingly, no such signs were found in the Morgenstond area (or the adjacent, popular Zuiderpark). It is also interesting that the information sign about China Town did not contain text in Mandarin, especially given the prominence of Mandarin in China Town, as will be discussed further below.

Table 2. The languages that were included on the multilingual/non-Dutch signs in the three areas in the city, multiple options possible (n=75).

Included language (multiple options possible)	Number of multilingual/non-Dutch signs	Percentage of multilingual/non-Dutch signs
Dutch	65	87%
English	62	83%
French	21	28%
German	21	28%
Mandarin	7	9%
Hebrew	5	7%
Arabic	2	3%
Italian	2	3%
Japanese	2	3%
Russian	2	3%
Spanish	2	3%
Afrikaans	1	1%
Albanian	1	1%
Bahasa Indonesia (or Malay)	1	1%
Basque	1	1%
Breton	1	1%
Bulgarian	1	1%
Catalan	1	1%
Czech	1	1%
Danish (or Norwegian)	1	1%
Dutch braille	1	1%
Estonian	1	1%
Faroese	1	1%
Frisian	1	1%
Greek	1	1%
Hindi	1	1%
Hungarian	1	1%
Kurdish	1	1%
Latvian	1	1%
Lithuanian	1	1%
Macedonian	1	1%
Mongolian	1	1%
Portuguese	1	1%
Romanian	1	1%
Serbian (or Croatian or Slovenian or Bosnian)	1	1%
Slovak	1	1%
Swedish	1	1%
Tagalog	1	1%
The Hague accent	1	1%
Turkish	1	1%
Ukrainian	1	1%

Figure 6a. Welcome text and map of The Hague on a 'Welcome to The Hague' information sign as photographed in the International Zone in Dutch, English, German, and French.

Figure 6b. Map of the International Zone on a 'Welcome to The Hague' information sign as photographed in the International Zone in Dutch, English, German, and French.

Figure 6c. Information about the International Zone on a 'Welcome to The Hague' information sign as photographed in the International Zone in Dutch, English, German, and French.

Mandarin signs were mostly found in China Town in the City Centre, for example sayings in Mandarin, with duplicating Dutch translations. Figure 7a and 7b together display an example, which is a Taoist saying that is translated as "The road that can be spoken about, is not the true road".

Figure 7a (top) and 7b (bottom). Chinese saying "道可道非常道" in 7a and Dutch translation "De weg waarover gesproken kan worden, is niet de ware weg" in 7b.

These sayings on the pavement are reminiscent of the *Spreuk op de Stoep* ('Sayings on the Pavement') project, which can be found in Stationsbuurt and therefore lies outside the scope of this thesis. However, the multilingual nature of this project deserves a mention. It is an initiative of Leiden University (professor Ingrid Tieken Boon-van Ostade and four students) which was supported and executed by the municipality in a renovation project (Den Haag, 2019h). On the Stationsweg, which leads from Hollands Spoor station to the City Centre, 34 sayings in different languages are engraved in the pavement (Den Haag, 2019h). The project aims to reflect the linguistic diversity in The Hague (Den Haag, 2019h). The languages that are included are *Haags* (local accent of The Hague), Russian, German, Afrikaans, English, Finnish, Papiamento, Arabic, Georgian, Hungarian, Icelandic, Greek, Polish, Lingala, Tamazight, Spanish, Farsi, Turkish, Frisian, Dutch, Croatian, Sarnámi, Japanese, Swedish, French, Italian, Armenian, Tamil, Nepalese, Bahasa Indonesia, Wolof, Sranan Tongo, Korean, and Yiddish. They therefore include the city's majority language, regional minority languages, (non-prestigious) migrant languages and prestigious languages (Ellis et al., 2010; Jaspers & Verschueren,

2011; Skrandies, 2016). Every saying is shown in its original script, followed by the Dutch name for the language, and a free translation to Dutch. Figure 8 displays a fragment of the saying for the Arabic equivalent of "Pick your travel companion before you pick the route." The Chinese and *Spreuk op de Stoep* sayings are the only multilingual pavement engravings that I encountered in this thesis and could both be found in the City Centre area.

Figure 8. Fragment of the Arabic saying "خذ الرفيق قبل الطريق" followed by Dutch "Kies je reisgenoot voor je de weg kiest".

Hebrew was mostly found in connection with Judaism in The Hague. One example is the Jewish monument to commemorate the Holocaust on Rabbijn Maarsenplein (Stichting Joods Monument Den Haag, 2019). One part of the monument with an explanation of its purpose is mostly in Dutch and ends with the Dutch "*hun nagedachtenis zij tot zegen*" and the Hebrew translation "זכרונם לברכה" ("May their memory be a blessing"). The other text on the monument is depicted in Figure 9a and includes a quotation from the Tanakh, first in Dutch, followed by Hebrew. Figure 9b is located next to Figure 9a and is the oldest monument, from 1948, and commemorates the deported Jewish children.

Figure 9a. Dutch-Hebrew sign commemorating the Holocaust.

Figure 9b. Dutch-Hebrew sign commemorating the Holocaust.

Other languages, such as Arabic, Japanese, Italian and Spanish, were featured on very multilingual signs. One of these was found in Morgenstond and the other in the International Zone. Figure 10 displays a multilingual Peace Pole with the text "May Peace Prevail on Earth" in several languages including Arabic, Dutch, English, German, Hebrew, Hindi, Italian, Japanese, Mandarin, Russian, and Spanish. Figure 11 shows the logo of the municipal library in Morgenstond, which featured the word 'welcome' in a duplicating, emblematic manner in over thirty languages, including Afrikaans, Albanian, Arabic, Bahasa Indonesia, Bulgarian, Czech, Dutch, Estonian, Faroese, French, Frisian, German, Greek, Hungarian, Kurdish, Portuguese, Romanian, Serbian (or Croatian/Slovenian/Bosnian), Tagalog, Turkish, and Ukrainian. When I looked through the library's windows, I also saw multilingual poems: an Arabic poem with a Dutch translation and a Spanish poem with a Dutch translation, for example. It was difficult to photograph these, and in any case, the interior of municipal libraries lies outside the scope of this thesis. These poems, however, do indicate that the municipal library in Morgenstond reflects the multilingual make-up of the population.

Figures 10 (left) and 11 (right). Very multilingual signs in The Hague. Figure 10: multilingual Peace Pole with the text "May Peace Prevail on Earth" in multiple languages in the International Zone. Figure 11: multilingual logo of the municipal library in Morgenstond.
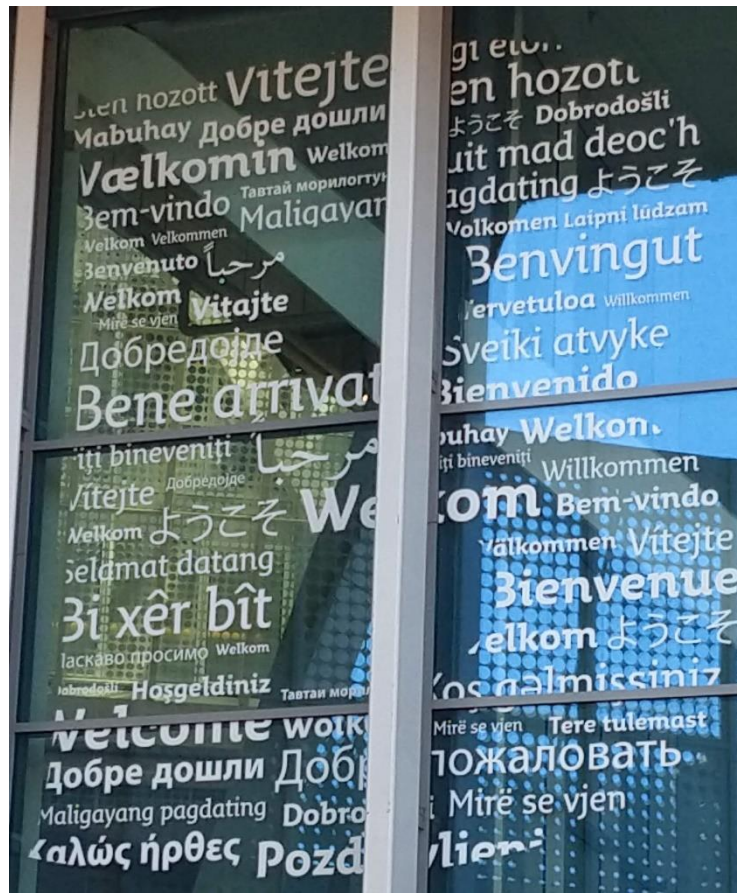
8.3.2 Presence of multilingual signs in the different areas of The Hague

As already became apparent from the examples above, the majority of multilingual/non-Dutch signs were located in the City Centre (69%, Table 3). A quarter of the signs could be found in the International Zone, while only 5% occurred in Morgenstond.

Table 3. Location of the multilingual/non-Dutch signs in my collection (n=75).

Area	Number of multilingual/non-Dutch signs	Percentage of multilingual/non-Dutch signs
City Centre	52	69%
International Zone	19	25%
Morgenstond	4	5%
Total	**75**	**100%**

To illustrate the differential spread of multilingual signs, the only park with multilingual signs could be found in the City Centre. Figure 12 displays part of a Dutch-English information sign at Malieveld park in the City Centre. The text in Figure 12 is fully translated from Dutch into English. Similarly, the municipal public service office in the City Centre was partially bilingual (English-Dutch), whereas the one in Morgenstond was not. Some names in the city centre's City Hall (Figure 13a), as well as art

exhibitions (Figure 13b) and art contests (Figure 13c) were fully translated and present in Dutch and English. The signs in Figures 13b and 13c were erected by *Stichting Atrium City Hall* (Atrium City Hall Foundation)*, which is a separate organisation from the municipality of The Hague, but founded in cooperation with them (Den Haag, 2019a). Moreover, art exhibitions by *Stichting Atrium City Hall* do have to fit the municipality's policies, as they are located in the municipality's building (Den Haag, 2019l).

Figure 12: Part of a Dutch and English information sign at Malieveld park.

*Figures 13a (top), 13b (middle), and 13c (bottom). The use of English translations in the City Hall. Figure 13a: "*Den Haag Informatie ©entrum*" is translated to English: "The Hague Information ©entre", while "*Gemeentarchief*" ("Municipal archive") is not. Figure 13b: the information signs of a temporary art exhibition are written fully in both Dutch and English. Figure 13c: part of the information sign of an art contest is written in English and Dutch.*
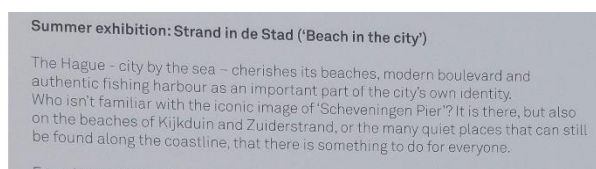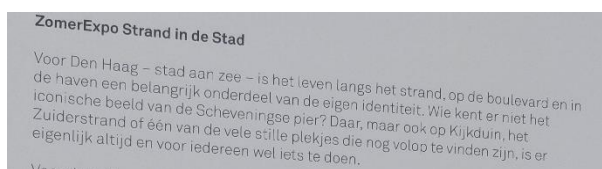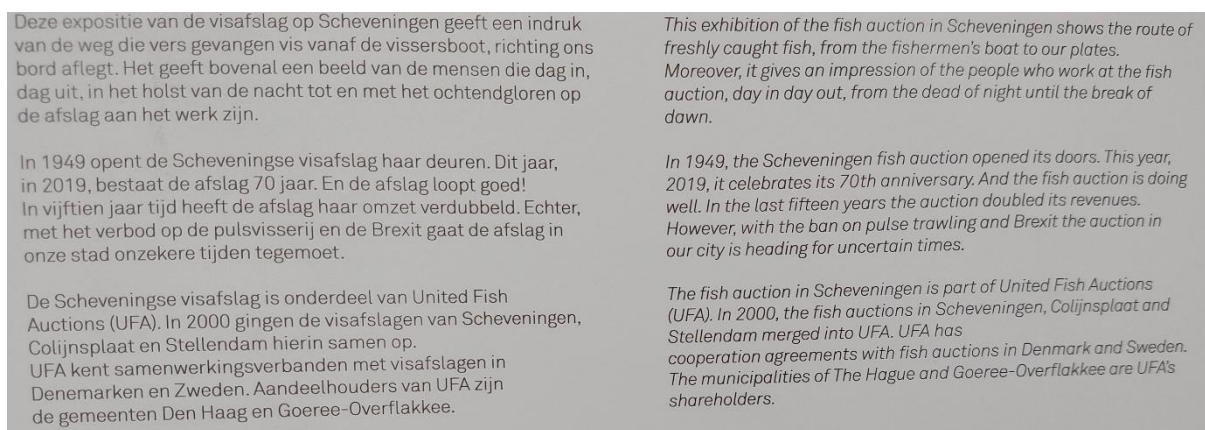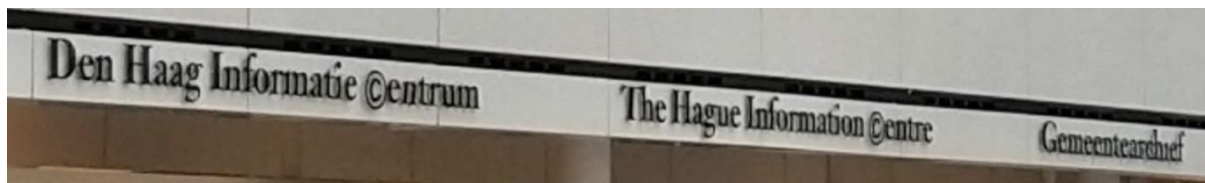
As indicated above, the municipal public service office in the City Centre was more multilingual than the one in Morgenstond. A direct comparison could be made in three ways, by comparing signs that were present at both locations. These are the opening times signs on the buildings, the opening times signs on the public service desks, and the appointment displays. In the City Centre, English and Dutch opening times of the City Hall building were available (Figure 14a). This was not the case for the Morgenstond building; these were only in Dutch (Figure 14b). That said, the opening times on both the City Centre's and Morgenstond's public service desks were in Dutch only (Figures 15a and 15b). Most strikingly, though, there was an English option on the appointment display in the City Centre, which citizens need to use if they have an appointment with the public service office (Figure 16a/b). This stands in stark contrast with the office in Morgenstond. The same display as the one in the City Centre office was present, except that the English option had disappeared (Figure 16c). At both locations, however, staff were available to help with language barriers or unclear instructions.

Figures 14a (below) and 14b (right). Opening times on the municipality's buildings in the city centre and in Morgenstond respectively. Figure 14a below: both Dutch and English opening hours are available in the City Centre. Figure 14b on the right: opening times are available in Dutch only in Morgenstond.
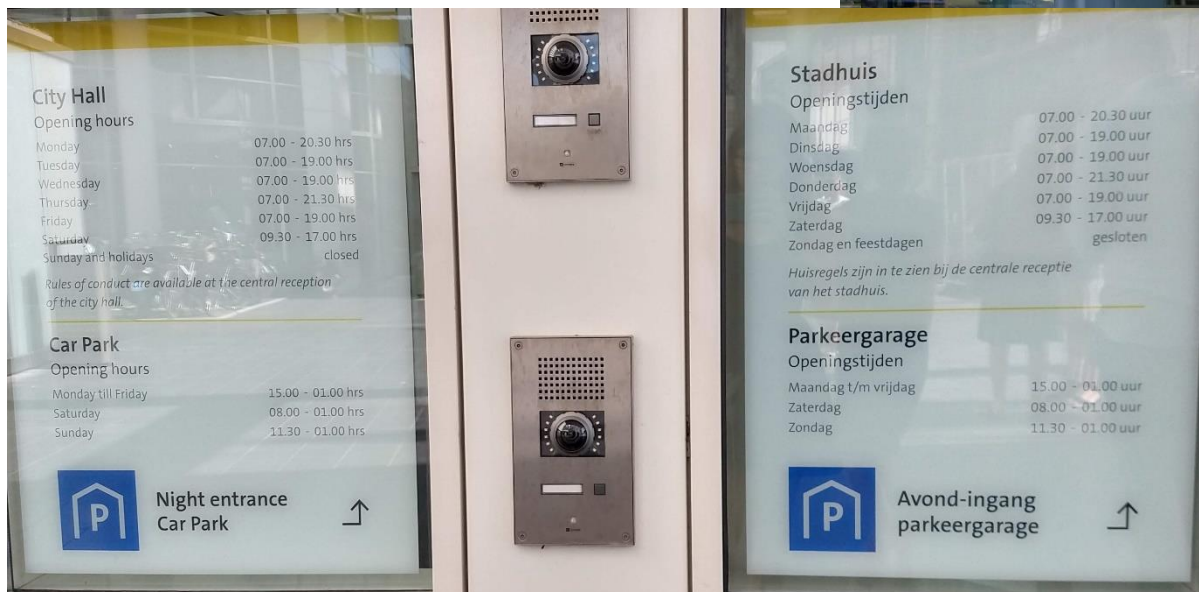
Figures 15a (left) and 15b (right). Dutch opening times on the public service desks in the City Centre and in Morgenstond respectively.

Figures 16a (left), 16b (right top), and 16c (right bottom). Appointment displays in the public service desks in the City Centre (16a/b) and Morgenstond (16c). At both offices, there are only Dutch options for "Ik heb geen afspraak" ("I don't have an appointment"), and "Sociale Zaken & Werkgelegenheid" ("Social Affairs & Employment"). Figure 16a: citizens can state their presence for an appointment in English ("I have an appointment"), alongside Dutch, in the City Centre. Figure 16b: clearer picture of figure 16a's "I have an appointment" in the City Centre. Figure 16c: citizens can state their presence in Dutch only for an appointment in Morgenstond.

In the City Hall in the City Centre, I also discovered the The Hague International Centre (figure 17), with the English slogan "Connecting internationals to The Hague region". This centre performs some of the functions of the public service office (The Hague International Centre, 2019b). It appears to be part of the municipality, as reflected by its location in the City Hall and its e-mail address (internationalcentre@denhaag.nl). The centre helps internationals with registering in the city, getting a residence permit, finding a house, and getting around (The Hague International Centre, 2019b). The registration service is exclusively available for internationals (The Hague International Centre, 2019b), who satisfy the following two requirements:

(1) - The employee works for an international organisation, embassy, non-governmental organisation, university, school, knowledge institute or company which is a recognised sponsor of the IND (Immigration Service, see Public Register of Recognised Sponsors) or assisted by The Hague Business Agency or InnovationQuarter.
- The employee will be living – or work for a company located in – the municipality of The Hague, Delft, Rijswijk or Leidschendam-Voorburg.
(The Hague International Centre, 2019b)

Figure 17. The Hague International Centre. Name and slogan (not visible in picture) in English only.

Besides helping with a "soft landing" for internationals, The Hague International Centre also tries to make "The Hague region more international-friendly [by e.g.] stimulat[ing] English-language services" (The Hague International Centre, 2019a). Because of the presence of The Hague International Centre and the translations to English, there is a large contrast between the Morgenstond and City Centre municipal offices, even though both are located in multilingual areas.

Outside the City Centre area, I found multilingual signs mostly in the International Zone. These included, as discussed, three types of 'Welcome in The Hague' signs in Dutch, English, German, and French. Another example is the World Forum, which was indicated on traffic signs in English only ("World Forum Convention Center" with American English spelling), as shown in Figure 18. This photograph also displays the many UN country flags that were present on the Johan de Wittlaan, which reflect the international image of the International Zone (as described in the photograph in Figure 6c).

Figure 18. Traffic sign showing directions to the World Forum with text in English only, and UN country flags in the background in the International Zone.

Surrounding the Peace Palace in the International Zone, I found as many as seven non-Dutch signs. These were mostly in English, sometimes duplicating the English into Dutch (for example Figure 19), sometimes in English only (for example Figure 20). The most multilingual sign in the International Zone was the abovementioned Peace Pole, which included "May Peace Prevail on Earth" in Arabic, Dutch, English, German, Hebrew, Hindi, Italian, Japanese, Mandarin, Russian, and Spanish (Figure 10). Linguistic diversity was therefore very evident on the square in front of the Peace Palace. It was, however, unclear to what extent these signs had been erected or were supported by the municipality. The exception is Figure 20, which explicitly states it was erected by the municipality. Interestingly, this sign was in English only, with no Dutch translations.

Figures 19 (left) and 20 (right). Photographs of multilingual signs in front of the Peace Palace, International Zone. Figure 19: information sign with text present fully in Dutch and English. Figure 20: information sign erected by the municipality with text in English only.

In Morgenstond, there were only four multilingual signs. These include the multilingual library logo (Figure 11) and the Dutch braille sign (not technically multilingual, Figure 5) mentioned above. The other two multilingual signs in Morgenstond concerned parking metres, which appear to be multilingual everywhere in the city. All the ones I examined throughout the city could be fully operated in Dutch, English, French and German (Figure 21a) and contained English-Dutch information in case of malfunction (Figure 21b). Parking hours information signs, however, were fully in Dutch (see Section 8.4). Given that these parking metre signs are not exclusive to Morgenstond and that the Dutch braille sign is technically not multilingual, Morgenstond only has one truly unique multilingual sign: the library logo.

Figures 21a (left) and 21b (right). Multilingual parking meters in all three areas of The Hague. Figure 21a: parking meters could be operated fully in Dutch, English, French, and German using a button with three flags and a globe, example from Morgenstond. Figure 21b: information in case of malfunction was fully translated from Dutch to English only, example from the City Centre.

8.3.3 Content

Parking-related signs only made up 9% of all multilingual/non-Dutch signs I examined. Most signs were information signs (55%), while 11% contained a street/location name and 7% showed traffic directions, as Table 4 indicates. Nineteen percent had other content, namely quotations, slogans, sayings, or they were merely decoration, like the library logo in Figure 11 or the pavement engravings in Figures 7a and 7b.

Table 4. The content of the multilingual/non-Dutch signs in the three areas of the city (n=75).

Content	Number of multilingual/non-Dutch signs	Percentage of multilingual/non-Dutch signs
Information (including rules/regulations)	41	55%
Street/location name	8	11%
Parking-related	7	9%
Traffic directions	5	7%
Other	14	19%
Total	**75**	**100%**

Most multilingual/non-Dutch signs were information signs, which could be found mostly in the City Centre for tourists. They were often written in both English and Dutch. Tourism information signs which were erected jointly by ANWB and the municipality of The Hague were in both Dutch and English (Figure 22), as was the royal walking route set out by the municipality through the City Centre (Figure 23, Den Haag, 2019d). Moreover, there were special temporary Rembrandt-related signs in the

City Centre to commemorate the Dutch Golden Age period. A monolingual sign is depicted in Figure 2 above, whereas Figure 24 shows a Dutch-English sign.

Figures 22 and Figure 23. Tourism information in full Dutch and English in the City Centre. Figure 22: joint sign by the ANWB and the municipality about the Butter Bell. Figure 23: One of the fourteen royal walking route information signs in both Dutch and English.

Figure 24. Rembrandt-related sign in English and partial Dutch in the City Centre.

While most street/location name signs were in Dutch (see Section 8.4), some included other languages. For example, all street name signs in China Town were in Dutch and Mandarin. Figure 25 displays an example. Furthermore, the tourist information office is indicated in both Dutch and English (Figure 26, *VVV* = "tourist information office"). Note that the sign for the municipal library (*Bibliotheek)* is not translated into English. This stands in contrast to another noteworthy example of a multilingual location name sign: the multilingual municipal library logo in Morgenstond (Figure 11 above).

Figures 25 (left) and 26 (right). Multilingual street/location name signs in the City Centre. Figure 25 shows a Dutch and Mandarin street sign. Figure 26: entrance to the tourist information office in the City Centre, with Dutch VVV *and English equivalent "Tourist Information Office".* Bibliotheek *is Dutch for "library".*

Multilingual parking-related signs have already been discussed above and included the multilingual parking metres throughout the city (Figures 21a and 21b). Some traffic signs were also multilingual: the tourist information office is indicated on signposts in both Dutch and English in the City Centre (Figure 27). The same is true for the information/direction signs next to Central Station (Figure 28). Both Figures 27 and 28 contain only partial translations to English, in contrast with the example from the International Zone that was referenced above (Figure 18).

*Figures 27 and 28. Partial Dutch-English tourist signs in the City Centre. Figure 27: Dutch signpost, with Dutch "*VVV*" and English equivalent "tourist info". Figure 28: Dutch direction signs with partial English translations next to Central Station in the City Centre.*

As the examples above already indicate, most multilingual/non-Dutch signs came in the form of a printed poster (25%), a traditional metal sign (20%), an electronic sign (13%), an engraving (11%), or a plaque (11%) (Table 5). An additional 9% were stickers, 4% letters on a wall, 3% flags, and 4% another type (decoration, or a combination of forms). Examples of these various types of signs will be given below.

Table 5. Types of multilingual/non-Dutch signs in the three areas analysed (n=75).

Type of sign	Number of signs	Percentage of multilingual/non-Dutch signs
Printed poster	19	25%
Traditional (metal)	15	20%
Electronic	10	13%
Engraving	8	11%
Plaque	8	11%
Sticker	7	9%
Letters on wall	3	4%
Flag	2	3%
Other	3	4%
Total	**75**	**100%**

An example of a printer poster is a sign which advertises archaeological tours as part of a renovation project by the municipality and the national government in both English and Dutch in a duplicating manner (Figures 29a and 29b). A traditional (metal) sign is shown in Figure 30. Multilingual visitors are told to watch out for slippery floors in duplicating Dutch, German, and French/English on a sign next to an underground tram station in the City Centre. Figure 31 displays an electronic sign which shows the city marketing slogan of The Hague in English only: "The City / The Beach / The Hague". An example of an engraving is found in Figure 32, which displays a statue's name in both Dutch and English.

Figures 29a (left) and 29b (right). English and Dutch printed posters about Binnenhof's renovation.

Figures 30 (left), 31 (middle), and 32 (right). Signs for multilingual visitors in the City Centre. Figure 30: a traditional metal warning sign in Dutch, German, and French/English. Figure 31: The Hague's tourism slogan in English only on an electronic sign. Figure 32: Dutch-English engraving on a statue.
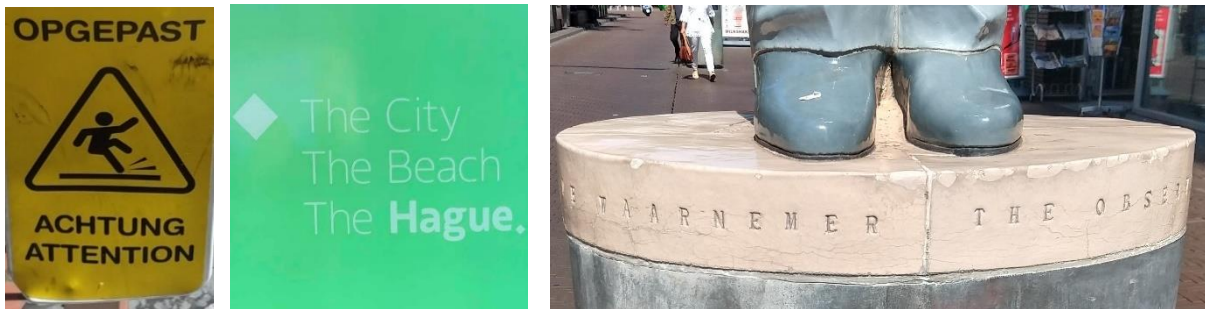
An example of a plaque can be found in Figure 33, which shows a Dutch-English information sign about a Jewish building in the International Zone. Window stickers (on the windows of municipal public service offices) are depicted in Figures 14a/b above. Some signs consisted of letters written on a wall or building: for example, the tourist information office location sign in Figure 26 above. Another type of sign is an English-only flag of the *Ambassade van Den Haag* (Embassy of The Hague). This municipal initiative aims to help tourists and welcome them to the city (Ambassade van Den Haag, 2019). It makes use of an English-only sign with "Tourist info", as indicated in Figure 34.

Figures 33 (below) and 34 (right). Figure 33: Dutch-English plate in the International Zone. Figure 34: English-only flag in the City Centre.

Most signs could be found outdoors: 59% as stand-alone signs (Figure 27 above) and 13% on a building (Figure 26). Five percent could be found inside a public building (i.e. a municipal public service office) as stand-alone signs (Figure 13b), whereas one sign could be found inside a building on the building itself (Figure 13a). Five percent of signs could be found on a separate wall (Figure 9a), Other positions

(8%) include parking metres (Figure 21a), statues (Figure 32), and decorations (the Dragon Gate in Figure 3).

Table 6. Position of multilingual/non-Dutch signs in the three areas of the city (n=75).

Position of sign	Number of signs	Percentage of multilingual/non-Dutch signs
Stand-alone outdoors	44	59%
Building outdoors	10	13%
Stand-alone indoors	4	5%
Wall	4	5%
Building indoors	1	1%
Other	6	8%
Total	**75**	**100%**

8.3.5 Reason for including languages

In terms of audience selection, signs could be multilingual/non-Dutch to either target an inclusive or exclusive audience (Gaiser & Matras, 2016). Figure 1 in Section 8.3.1 above shows a tourist information office sign which uses English only and thereby targets an exclusive audience, namely international tourists. This is a marked choice: the information is presented in English only because this is a language most tourists will speak, while there is no Dutch option because the sign is presumably not meant for (often Dutch-speaking) inhabitants of the city. Conversely, the Dutch-English sign in Figure 33 above targets a more inclusive audience: the sign is interpretable for most people passing by, whether tourists or inhabitants of the city, and whether Dutch or English-speaking. The vast majority of signs belonged to the latter group: they were multilingual/non-Dutch in order to reach a more inclusive audience (83%), whereas 18% targeted a more exclusive, specific group through their language choice (Gaiser & Matras, 2016).

Table 7. Audience selection for the multilingual/non-Dutch signs in the three areas of the city (n=75).

Audience selection	Number of signs	Percentage of multilingual/non-Dutch signs
Inclusive	62	83%
Exclusive	13	17%
Total	**75**	**100%**

Table 6 shows that, in 68% of the cases, the languages on the sign served a communicative function, to bring across a message (Gaiser & Matras, 2016). For example, information signs, such as Figure 33, (by definition) always had a communicative function. The remainder of the signs had an emblematic purpose only, where languages were used for identity purposes or rhetorical effects rather than to communicate a message (Gaiser & Matras, 2016). Twelve percent of the signs used English for emblematic purposes, as did 8% for Mandarin, and 5% for Hebrew. One sign used emblematic Dutch,

one used emblematic French, one emblematic *Haags* (local accent in The Hague), while two other signs included numerous languages for an emblematic purpose. I will illustrate these various cases of emblematic language use below.

Table 8. Language purpose for the multilingual/non-Dutch signs in the three areas of the city (n=75).

Language purpose	Number of signs	Percentage of multilingual/non-Dutch signs
Communicative	51	68%
Emblematic English	9	12%
Emblematic Mandarin	6	8%
Emblematic Hebrew	4	5%
Emblematic for numerous languages	2	3%
Emblematic Dutch	1	1%
Emblematic French	1	1%
Emblematic The Hague accent	1	1%
Total	**75**	**100%**

The Hague's city marketing slogan is a good example of emblematic English: "The City / The Beach / The Hague". This slogan does not directly communicate content, but it rather serves to attract visitors to The Hague. English might be used to give The Hague a welcoming international image, and because it is more widely spoken by tourists and visitors. The emblematic use of Dutch is quite similar and concerns the Dutch logo of the 'Embassy of The Hague' on an otherwise English flag (Figure 34).

Emblematic Mandarin was repeatedly found in China Town. These include the pavement sayings in Mandarin (Figures 7a/b) and the Mandarin text on the Dragon Gate (Figure 3). Mandarin in China Town seems to be used for rhetorical effect, with an emblematic rather than a communicative purpose. From the perspective of the municipality, it attracts tourists, but the Chinese community also wants to feel at home in China Town through the use of Chinese and Mandarin symbols (Zuidervaart, 2007; Venema, 2011).

Like Mandarin, the appearance of Hebrew in the City Centre area can also best be described as emblematic. It serves to strengthen the connection with (former) Jewish citizens and visitors and Judaism in general. This is apparent from Figure 35, which shows fragmentary bilingualism with Dutch and Hebrew. The Dutch text explains that the main synagogue of the city used to be located at this spot from 1723 to 1844. Below, a Hebrew quotation from the Tanakh is given with a Dutch translation. This quotation does not primarily convey a message but instead seeks to evoke a Jewish identity. Another quotation from the Tanakh can be found in Figure 9a above, which serves a similar function.

Figure 35. Emblematic Hebrew in the City Centre coupled with Dutch in a fragmentary manner.

The emblematic use of several languages in one sign has already been discussed above and concerns the Peace Pole in various languages with "May Peace Prevail on Earth" (Figure 10) and the municipal library logo in dozens of languages (Figure 11). Both do not primarily communicate information, but rather have a symbolic function. They appear to advocate an inclusive vision on diversity and multilingualism and show unity by including so many languages.

A case of the emblematic use of dialects can be found in Figure 4 above, using the accent of The Hague, *Haags*. The text *"Kap nâh!! Lekkâh belangrèk"* ("Stop!! Not important") is not included to tell people to actually stop doing what they are doing, but as an example of the use of *Haags* by comic book figure *Haagse Harry*.

An entirely different situation of emblematic language use in the City Centre concerned the French language. One signpost indicated *"Avenue Culinaire"* ("Culinary Avenue"), a catch-all name of the restaurants and bars along the canal at Bierkade in The Hague (with no Dutch translation, Figure 36) (Haagse Horeca, 2019). It is unlikely that this sign was erected to communicate a message to a French-speaking clientele. It is more probable that the French name is supposed to give a culinary, luxurious image to this restaurant street.

Figure 36. Dutch signpost with one (untranslated) French term "Avenue Culinaire".

8.3.6 Arrangement of languages

Looking at the bi-/multilingual signs only, the most common arrangement of languages was fragmentary (45%), as Table 9 shows. This means that one or more languages contain the full information, and one or more languages partially translate this information (Gaiser & Matras, 2016). A large proportion of signs (38%) arranged the languages with the aim of duplicating the information provided: all text was fully translated to all languages on the sign. Fourteen percent of the bi-/multilingual signs used a complementary arrangement: the languages on the sign all communicate different information. Two signs used an overlapping arrangement: every language partially contains the same information and partially different information. I will give some examples below.

Table 9. Arrangement of the languages on the bi-/multilingual signs in the three areas of the city (n=65).

Arrangement of languages	Number of signs	Percentage of bi-/multilingual signs
Fragmentary	29	45%
Duplicating	25	38%
Complementary	9	14%
Overlapping	2	3%
Total	**65**	**100%**

An example of a fragmentary language arrangement can be found in Figure 37 below, which fully translates the information text into English, but does not translate "*Luisterwandeling 'De buurt spreekt'*" ("Audio walk 'The neighbourhood talks'"). In other words, all information is available in Dutch, while only part of it is translated to English. This stands in contrast with a duplicating translation, in which all text is fully available in both languages, like in Figure 33 above.

Figure 37. Municipal information about former Jewish areas in a fragmentary arrangement with Dutch and English.

In a complementary language arrangement, all languages convey different information. This usually means that the intended readers are fully multilingual in all languages on the sign (Gaiser & Matras, 2016). This is true for Figure 38 below: the name of the festival is in English (which would translate to *Delfts Kamermuziekfestival* in Dutch), while further information is available in Dutch only. Indeed, most citizens in The Netherlands are proficient in both Dutch and English (European Commission, 2012; Oostendorp, 2012; Education First, 2019). In an overlapping arrangement, both languages partially convey the same content and partially add new information, like in Figure 39 on the next page. The Dutch *hoffelijk, historisch en intiem* ('royal/polite, historical and intimate') is not translated into any other language. Only Dutch and French are used to write about the King's flag, and only English, French, and German for galleries and art and antique shops.

Figure 38. Complementary language arrangement in the City Centre: Dutch and English both convey different information, without overlap.

Figure 39. Overlapping language arrangement in the City Centre.

Table 10 shows that the dominant language on most bi-/multilingual signs was Dutch (85%). This means that the most important language in terms of position, font size, colour, or quantity was Dutch (Gaiser & Matras, 2016). Mandarin was the dominant language in 5% of the cases and English in 3%. There was no dominant language (in terms of position, font size, colour, quantity, font type (e.g. bold), or default language option) on 8% of the signs. These tended to be signs with two sides, one for each language, with exactly the same information and lay-out on both sides. Examples will be given below.

Table 10. Dominant language on the bi-/multilingual signs in the three areas of the city (n=65).

Dominant language	Number of signs	Percentage of bi-/multilingual signs
Dutch	55	85%
Mandarin	3	5%
English	2	3%
No dominant language	5	8%
Total	**65**	**100%**

Table 11 indicates that, if there was a dominant language, this became apparent through the position of the language (88%), amount of text in the language (4%), font size of the language (42%), colour of the language (32%), as well as other factors (15%), including font type (e.g. bold vs italics) and the default language option on an electronic display.

Table 11. Manifestation of dominant language on the bi-/multilingual signs with a dominant language in the three areas of the city, multiple options possible (n=60).

Visual dominance of language through… (multiple options possible)	Number of signs	Percentage of bi-/multilingual signs
Position	53	88%
Quantity	26	43%
Font size	25	42%
Colour	19	32%
Other	9	15%

An example of a Dutch dominant sign can be found above in Figure 39. Dutch is the first language on the display (position), the font size is larger than for the other languages, and the Dutch text is white (colour), while the rest is black. All Mandarin pavement sayings had Mandarin as the dominant language (Figures 7a/b), because the quotation in Mandarin came before the Dutch translation (position). An English dominant sign is displayed in Figure 40 below. The text in English ("The Masters / The History / The Hague") is larger in size than the text in Dutch ("*Rembrandt & de Gouden Eeuw 2019*", "Rembrandt & the Golden Age 2019"). There were also signs with no dominant language. An example can be found in Figures 29a/b: the archaeology tours at Binnenhof in the City Centre. One side of the display showed the text in Dutch, while the other side contained the English information. The texts in English and Dutch were identical in terms of content, font size, and colour. This makes it impossible to determine which of the two languages is more dominant.

Figure 40. English-dominant sign in the City Centre. The text in English is larger in size than the text in Dutch.

To summarise, we can therefore see that there aren't many multilingual/non-Dutch signs in The Hague. Most of the signs I encountered are bilingual, mostly with Dutch and English (and to a lesser extent multilingual with French and German). They tended to be information signs that were stand-alone signs that were located outside and took the form of printed posters or official/traditional signs. Most were multilingual/non-Dutch to reach a wider, more inclusive audience, and for communicative purposes. Many multilingual signs had a fragmentary (some languages give the full information, others give partial translations) or a duplicating (full one-to-one translation into all languages) arrangement of languages. Dutch was the dominant language on most signs, often because of its position on the sign. However, not all municipal signs contained Dutch text, especially signs aimed at tourists and visitors. The vast majority of multilingual/non-Dutch signs were found in the City Centre area and the International Zone, while almost none were present in Morgenstond. In these areas, they often served tourists and other visitors of the city, as well as expats and internationals. Often, the multilingual signs were full translations from Dutch, but strikingly, some municipal signs in the City Centre and International Zone were in English only. A wide range of languages was shown on the library logo in Morgenstond and the Peace Pole in the International Zone, which were a good reflection of the linguistic diversity of the city of The Hague. China Town is another special case, where I found many Mandarin signs to indicate the (supposed) linguistic background of its citizens, whereas Jewish identities were indexed with the use of Hebrew on Jewish memorials. Morgenstond, in contrast with the other two areas, had barely any multilingual signs: only the logo of the municipal library displayed multilingualism, besides the parking meters that were multilingual throughout the city. There was a striking contrast between the two municipal public service offices: the City Centre office catered to an English-speaking population (next to Dutch) and offered exclusive services for internationals, while the Morgenstond office had Dutch signs only.

8.4 Monolingual Dutch signs

While the section above discussed multilingual signs, the vast majority of municipal signs I encountered were in Dutch only. I took 89 pictures of monolingual Dutch signs (but I encountered many more), compared to 75 pictures of multilingual signs (which are all the multilingual signs I encountered). I will give some examples below. Additional information about the photographs can again be found in Appendix D.

Interestingly, and in contrast with the City Centre, the public service office in Morgenstond was entirely in Dutch, as discussed above. In the City Centre there was the presence of The Hague International Centre and translations to English, while Morgenstond was Dutch only. There is therefore a large contrast between the Morgenstond and City Centre municipal offices, even though both are located in multilingual areas.

Moreover, almost all street signs in the City Centre were in Dutch (Figure 41a), the only exception being China Town, see Figure 25 in Section 8.3.3, as were all street signs in Morgenstond (Figure 41b), and all street signs in the International Zone (Figure 41c). Traffic signs were also almost always in Dutch in all three areas (Figures 42a, 42b, 42c). Signposts also showed Dutch names only (Figures 43a, 43b, 43c), with the exception of the "tourist info" (Figures 27 and 43a) and "*avenue culinaire*" (Figure 36) signposts in the City Centre, and the "World Forum Convention Center" in the International Zone (Figures 18 and 43c), as discussed above. Road work signs were also in monolingual Dutch (Figures 44a, 44b; there was no road work sign in the Morgenstond area). Parking information signs were always in Dutch only as well (Figures 45a, 45b, 45c), in contrast with parking meters (see above, Figures 21a/b).

Figures 41a (right top), 41b (left), and 41c (right bottom). Dutch street signs in the three areas in The Hague, namely in the City Centre (41a), Morgenstond (41b), and the International Zone (41c).

Figures 42a (left), 42b (middle), and 42c (right). Dutch traffic signs in the three areas in The Hague, namely in the City Centre (42a), Morgenstond (42b), and the International Zone (42c).

Figures 43a (left), 43b (middle), and 43c (right). (Mostly) Dutch signposts in the three areas in The Hague. Figure 43a: picture taken in the City Centre. "Tourist info" in English, rest in Dutch. Figure 43b: picture taken in Morgenstond. Figure 43c: "World Forum" in English, rest of the names in Dutch. Picture taken in the International Zone.

Figures 44a (left) and 44b (right). Dutch road work signs in two areas of The Hague, namely in the City Centre (44a) and in the International Zone (44b).

Moreover, all information signs were in Dutch in two of the three parks (not in the City Centre, Figure 21): see an example from Zuiderpark (next to Morgenstond) in Figure 46a on the next page and Westbroekpark (International Zone) in Figure 46b. Other information boards were also in Dutch, such as the swimming information at swimming pool Zuiderparkbad (Figure 47). Relatedly, rules and regulation signs were always in Dutch in all areas that I visited, e.g. the garbage rules in Morgenstond (Figure 48). There were also Dutch regulation signs in parks. For example, the skating park rules at Malieveld were in Dutch (Figure 49a), just like the barbeque rules in Zuiderpark (Figure 49b) and the

rules of conduct in the rose garden in Westbroekpark (Figure 49c). Interestingly, most regulation signs (bottom right corner Figure 46b, Figure 48, Figures 49a/b/c) show illustrations to aid comprehension if someone does not speak Dutch (well enough), instead of translating into other languages.

Figures 45a (left), 45b (middle), and 45c (right). Dutch parking information in the three areas in The Hague, namely in the City Centre (45a), in Morgenstond (45b) and in the International Zone (45c). Text in green rectangle in picture 45c is Dutch as well: "naar parkeerautomaat. Onthoud uw kenteken"*. ("To parking meter. Remember your license plate number")*

Figures 46a. Dutch information board in municipal parks, namely Zuiderpark (next to Morgenstond).

Figures 46a. Dutch information board in municipal parks, namely Westbroekpark (International Zone).

Figures 47 (left) and 48 (right). Dutch signs in Morgenstond. Figure 47: Dutch information sign at swimming pool Zuiderpark (next to Morgenstond). Figure 48: Dutch garbage rule sign.

Figures 49a (left), 49b (right top), and 49c (right bottom). Dutch rules and regulation signs with logo of municipality inside parks in the three areas in The Hague. Figure 49a: Dutch skating park rules at Malieveld in the City Centre. Figure 49b: Dutch barbeque rules at Zuiderpark near Morgenstond;. Figure 49c: Dutch rules inside the rose garden at Westbroekpark in the International Zone.

8.5 Concluding remarks

The use of pictograms above instead of translations is a good reflection of municipal signage in The Hague. Municipal signs appear to be monolingual and Dutch by default and whenever possible, as demonstrated by the pictures above. Pictograms are used to aid comprehension in the case of language barriers, rather than translation. As discussed in Section 8.3, multilingualism generally surfaces only in

relation to tourists, visitors and internationals and concerns the prestige multilingualism of English, French, and German (Jaspers & Verschueren, 2011; Skrandies, 2016).

9. Preliminary discussion of Linguistic Landscape analysis

9.1 Introduction

Below, I will discuss the results of the Linguistic Landscape analysis. The Linguistic Landscape analysis provides a practical perspective on the municipal stance towards multilingualism in The Hague. It corresponds to the second research question: how are the language policy and politics regarding multilingualism in The Hague reflected in municipal signage? Below, I will attempt to formulate a preliminary answer to this question based on the analyses in Chapter 8, while the results of the Linguistic Landscape analysis will be combined with the other two analyses in the general discussion in Chapter 10.

9.2 Discussion of Linguistic Landscape analysis

The results of the Linguistic Landscape analysis allow me to formulate a preliminary answer to the second research question about language practice in municipal signage. In line with my hypotheses, the majority of the municipal signs collected in The Hague were in Dutch, which reflects the largely monolingual Dutch language policy of the city. Multilingual signs mainly had Dutch as the dominant language and further included prestige languages like English, German, and French. They could be found in the tourist-focused City Centre, and to a lesser extent, in the high SES 'expat'/'international'-focused International Zone, whereas the low SES immigrant area Morgenstond almost exclusively had monolingual Dutch municipal signs. Moreover, visitors of the public service office in the City Centre encountered English signs and internationals had their own exclusive English municipal services in the City Centre (The Hague International Centre), whereas signs in the public service office in Morgenstond were exclusively in Dutch. This echoes the findings from earlier in this thesis and reiterates the following language hierarchy: Dutch as the national language on top, followed by prestige languages associated with 'expats', 'internationals', and tourists, and non-prestigious languages of low status immigrants at the bottom (Ellis et al., 2010; Skrandies, 2016).

As predicted, there are some notable exceptions to this pattern: practice does not always follow policy (Wodak, 2009; Backhaus, 2012). Some municipal signs in the City Centre and International Zone were in English only. This is remarkable, as the municipal language policy documents are very Dutch-focused. Furthermore, an extremely wide range of languages was shown on the library logo in Morgenstond and the Peace Pole in the International Zone. These signs therefore acknowledge and value multilingualism, and it is especially surprising that such a sign can be found in a low SES immigrant neighbourhood, given the results of Part II of this thesis. These two signs, and a few others, included languages that are arguably not very prestigious, such as Arabic or Turkish (Jaspers & Verschueren, 2011; Nortier et al., 2014).

Moreover, I encountered a statue with text in the accent of The Hague (*Haagse Harry)* in the City Centre, which contrasts with the lack of written language policies about dialects and accents. According to the literature, these types of local varieties are at the bottom of the language hierarchy, but this statue appears to celebrate the local accent (Ellis et al., 2010; Skrandies, 2016). China Town is a special case too, because I found many Mandarin signs there to indicate the (supposed) linguistic background of its citizens. Arguably, however, these signs of multilingualism are as much a marketing strategy as they are a celebration of multilingualism, as Agrawal notes about Toronto: "The Greektown is not Greek; Chinatown is not Chinese. They are just ethnic business enclaves where you go, eat, play, have fun and go home." (cited in Keung, 2013). The municipal information sign about China Town did not include Mandarin, which seems to support the hypothesis that Mandarin is primarily used symbolically, rather than to cater to a linguistic community, in China Town.

9.3 Concluding remarks

While the results of the Linguistic Landscape analysis are very informative, there are some important limitations, which I will discuss in the general discussion in the next chapter. In that part of the thesis, I will combine the preliminary discussions of Part II and Part III of this thesis to formulate more complete answers to the research questions and relate these to previous theories and research.

Part IV. General discussion and conclusion

10. General discussion

10.1 Introduction

Combining the results of the textual and the practical analyses, we see that the language policy, politics, and practice of the current municipal council in The Hague largely overlap, while each analysis provides a unique perspective as well. The Corpus Analysis gave a broad, representative, quantitative overview of language policy and politics about multilingualism in the current municipal council, the Critical Discourse Analysis allowed for detailed, qualitative analysis of two important policy documents, whereas the Linguistic Landscape Analysis gave a more hands-on perspective on language policy in practice. Together, they provide a wide-ranging perspective on multilingualism in language policy, politics, and practice in The Hague and allow for triangulation (Wodak, 2009; Backhaus, 2012; Wodak & Savski, 2018). Below, I will first attempt to answer my research questions in Section 10.2 by combining all three analyses, will then relate my findings to the literature in Section 10.3, which will be followed by a discussion of limitations in Section 10.4.

10.2 Answers to research questions

The three analyses suggest a similar answer to the first research question about the textual language policies and politics regarding multilingualism by the municipality of The Hague. The language policies and political discussions generally have a monolingual Dutch focus, centred around the status planning and acquisition planning of Dutch (Skrandies, 2016). The city is therefore different from places like Toronto, Thswane (South Africa) and Boston, and more like Athens, Limassol (Cyprus), and Copenhagen (Backhaus, 2012; Siiner, 2014; Skrandies, 2016; Boston, 2019a). Multilingualism does not generally appear to be regarded as a resource by the municipality of The Hague, which is surprising and contrasts with my hypotheses. As predicted, however, there is a dichotomy between the prestigious multilingualism of 'expats', 'internationals' and tourists and the non-prestigious multilingualism of other types of low status immigrants, such as those with a Turkish, Moroccan, and Eastern European background (Jaspers & Verschueren, 2011; Nortier et al., 2014; Skrandies, 2016). This corresponds with my hypotheses and many of the places, including Utrecht in The Netherlands, described in the LUCIDE project about multilingual cities (Nortier et al., 2014; Skrandies, 2016). This language ideology is an important finding that will be discussed further below.

For my second research question, I found that Linguistic Landscape practices by the municipality generally reflect their Dutch-centred language policy and the contrast between prestigious and non-prestigious multilingualism, which confirms my hypotheses (Jaspers & Verschueren, 2011; Skrandies, 2016). In line with my predictions, there are some notable instances in which language practice does

not match language policy, such as a couple of signs that celebrate (non-prestigious) multilingualism and multidialectism in the city (Skrandies, 2016). The results of the thesis also suggest that political parties have different perspectives on multilingualism: multilingualism is regarded more positively by left-wing parties (especially those with a connection to people with a migration background, like Islamic NIDA) than by right-wing parties, and more positively by the opposition than the coalition.

10.3 Relation of results to the literature

The results of this thesis might be related to nationalist ideologies. It seems that the national language carries highest prestige and that the language policy focuses unilaterally on the use of and acquisition of the national language (May, 2005; Jaffe, 2012; Bierbaum & Gassmann, 2016; Skrandies, 2016). Political discussions and policies emphasise that the use of Dutch is important for low SES newcomers and that this contributes to integration into Dutch society. The following quotations illustrate that:

(1) Local populist coalition party Groep de Mos: "Do you agree with Groep de Mos/Hart voor Den Haag that the emergence of [Turkish weekend] schools hinders integration, as they are primarily focused on the Turkish language, identity and culture?" (RIS300352, 14 August 2018, p. 2)

(2) Right-wing coalition party VVD: "Experts see a large gap between Eritrean refugees and Dutch society. Their mother tongue Tigrinya is very different from the Dutch language, making it harder to learn Dutch." (RIS301124, 21 November 2018, p. 1)

(3) Coalition: "Dutch is the language of communication. Proficiency in Dutch is essential for the integration of migrants in our society, according to the College of Aldermen. Also in [privatised] healthcare." (RIS301737, 2 April 2019, p. 2)

(4) Coalition: "To participate in a good manner [in society], it is important that everyone can speak and write good Dutch. This is why we make an additional effort to combat low literacy and analphabetism and why we ensure high quality and accessible language education, to ensure that new inhabitants of our city learn the language in a good manner. Regarding this, everyone also has their own responsibility." (RIS299794, 2018, p. 68)

This connection between the Dutch language, Dutch identity (example 1), and participation in Dutch society also surfaced in a recent report about The Netherlands carried out by the Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau (2019a). In this study, respondents named the Dutch language as the most important factor in Dutch identity and belonging to Dutch society (Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau, 2019a). This exclusive focus on Dutch could potentially harm other languages and their speakers in The Hague, by portraying these citizens as not fully Dutch, by lowering the prestige of their languages, by limiting the abilities of multilingual inhabitants to use and learn their home languages, and by taking a deficit-

focused approach to their multilingualism (Heller, 2006; Backhaus, 2012; Skrandies, 2016). Of course, there are clear advantages associated with proficiency in the national language, but this is perfectly compatible with the celebration and promotion of multilingualism; it does not have to entail linguistic assimilation (May, 2011; Meylaerts, 2011; Skrandies, 2016). Postmodernist theories show that multilingual citizens can have fluid, multi-faceted identities and are able to use languages in dynamic ways (Blommaert & Rampton, 2001; Pennycook, 2009). Moreover, some scholars would argue that acquisition of the home/heritage language is a linguistic human right (May, 2009, 2011; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2009; Skutnabb-Kangas et al., 2009). Furthermore, the municipality could capitalise on the multilingualism of the city and use it as a resource (KNAW, 2018).

As examples 1 and 2 demonstrate, however, the results of my analyses show that (non-prestigious) multilingualism is generally discussed in a negative light by the municipality. There is little evidence for either 'promotion-oriented' (action by the municipality to promote multilingualism) language rights in The Hague, especially when it comes to non-prestigious languages (Kloss, 1998; May, 2011). 'Tolerance-oriented' language rights (allowing citizens to freely use and promote languages in the private sphere) are also not always granted, as the municipality would even like to use a 'Dutch, unless…' policy for the privatised healthcare sector (RIS301737, 2 April 2019, p. 2). It would be interesting to examine in future research which power structures allow some privileged parts of society to linguistically determine the lives of other, disadvantaged groups (Brutt-Griffler, 2002).

My analyses also indicate that the municipality emphasises inhabitants' own responsibility to learn Dutch (example 4), which is in line with the stance of the national government (Ministerie van Sociale Zaken en Werkgelegenheid, 2019). There have been concerns in the literature, however, about putting too much pressure on and expecting too much of newcomers to achieve this, and about how this approach might ignore various social forces, such as a disadvantaged socioeconomic status and discrimination, that might relevant too (Lippi-Green, 1997; Delander et al., 2005; Lev-Ari & Keysar, 2010; Amit & Bar-Lev, 2015; Skrandies, 2016). Some scholars state that playing 'the language card' can be used to distract from solving difficult structural social issues and might hide underlying xenophobia and racism (Baynham, 2013; Skrandies, 2016). It is unclear to what extent these concerns apply to the situation in The Hague; future studies should look into this further.

The disadvantaged socioeconomic position of the low status immigrants described above might help explain the dichotomy between prestigious and non-prestigious multilingualism that is one of the most important findings of this thesis. 'Expats' and 'internationals' have high socioeconomic status and bring money with them, whereas 'traditional' immigrant groups might be more socioeconomically disadvantaged (Grin, 2009; Backhaus, 2012; Jaffe, 2012; Skrandies, 2016). This could explain why their multilingualism, and their languages, carry a different amount of prestige (Grin, 2009; Backhaus,

2012; Jaffe, 2012; Skrandies, 2016). This thesis points to a language hierarchy with the national language on top, followed by high SES 'expat' languages, and, finally, low SES immigrant languages at the bottom. This echoes language hierarchies described earlier, such as that of national languages on top, followed by foreign languages, and then community languages (Ellis et al., 2010). This thesis contributes a unique perspective to this discussion, because it shows that the 'foreign languages' higher up in the hierarchy can be languages of the community too, but only of the high SES community that is associated with 'expats', 'internationals', and tourists. This opposition between prestigious and non-prestigious multilingualism could be economically motivated, as discussed above, but it could also stem from and perpetuate classism, racism, and xenophobia (Vora, 2012; Baynham, 2013; Koutonin, 2015; Skrandies, 2016). Again, future research is necessary to untangle these forces.

10.4 Limitations

At this stage, therefore, no claims can be made about the reasons behind the language ideologies that were discovered. The results, moreover, only shed a light on one particular topic: the language policies, politics, and practice for the current municipal council of The Hague. There are also some limitations associated with the particular methodologies. For example, not all policy and political documents of the current municipal council are included in the Corpus Analysis, as not all of them were available online or could be exported. Moreover, the use of search terms for the Corpus Analysis means that some references to language policy might be missed, especially because it proved unfeasible, and would lead to biases, to enter the name of each language variety separately (e.g. 'English', see Section 4.2.2). This is why the qualitative Critical Discourse Analysis was included too, as it allowed me to analyse two important policy documents fully and in detail. The most important language policies of the municipality are therefore likely included in this thesis.

Also, some search results of the Corpus Analysis might be duplicated, as policymakers and politicians tend to copy-paste sentences from earlier, similar documents, or they might repeat another politician's questions. This will not have influenced the qualitative results of the thesis, but it might have slightly influenced the quantitative results of the Corpus Analysis. On the other hand, though, the fact that sentences of old policy documents are repeated in new policy documents is arguably unproblematic, as these sentences then also form part of the new policy.

Regarding the Linguistic Landscape analysis, I only examined municipal signs, while most signs in The Hague are private, bottom-up signs, and these are perhaps more likely to reflect the multilingualism in the city (Carson, 2016; Gaiser & Matras, 2016). Municipal signs, however, provide the clearest perspective on municipal language policy, so they were the focus of this Linguistic Landscape analysis. Furthermore, the analysis focused on very specific areas in a very specific time window, which means

that the results might not be representative for municipal signs in other parts of The Hague or other points in time.

Moreover, it would have been very interesting to look at erasure, in other words, municipal decision-making about the languages that should be excluded from signs (Pavlenko, 2009; Plessis, 2012; Rubdy & Said, 2015; Pütz & Mundt, 2018). However, I did not have any insight into this process, except for the few political discussions about municipal signs. These include PVV's complaints about the use of Arabic and Turkish on private shops and VVD's dissatisfaction with Turkish on a sign about the Turkish elections (RIS299966, 2018; RIS301631, 2018). Based on this very limited sample, it seems that non-prestigious, low SES immigrant languages like Arabic and Turkish were erased from the cityscape, by at least some parties, including coalition parties, in The Hague. This would fit the results of all three methodologies of this thesis: an absence of multilingualism in municipal language policy, especially of low SES immigrants, which stands in opposition to the prestigious multilingualism of the high SES 'expats' and 'internationals' that The Hague is so well-known for.

10.5 Concluding remarks

Notwithstanding these limitations, there are some important conclusions that can be formulated on the basis of this thesis. These will be discussed in Chapter 11 below.

11. Conclusion

This thesis revealed several language ideologies about multilingualism in the language policies, politics, and practice of the current municipal council in The Hague. The municipality operates from a monolingual mindset by focusing mostly on the acquisition and use of Dutch and by describing multilingualism negatively, instead of as a resource (Clyne, 2005; Skrandies, 2016). Additionally, the multilingualism of citizens who are already disadvantaged is viewed as an obstacle, while that of residents with high socioeconomic status is embraced. This points to a societal divide in The Hague based on socioeconomic class, language, and ethnic background (Grin, 2009; Skrandies, 2016). The municipality wants citizens with low socioeconomic status, for example those with a Turkish, Moroccan or Eastern European background, to improve their Dutch, to use it more and to put in more effort, perhaps at the expense of their home languages. In contrast, the municipality caters to the multilingualism of economically profitable groups, such as 'expats', 'internationals', and tourists, by approaching them in, for example, English and French and by providing multilingual signs in the Linguistic Landscape.

This thesis contributes to the literature by responding to the call for more research into municipal language policy in general, and multilingualism in The Hague in particular (Backhaus, 2012; Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 2019). Its three-faceted approach offers a unique perspective on language ideologies about multilingualism in the city and fits the need for triangulation in science in general, and language policy studies in particular (Wodak, 2009; Backhaus, 2012; Wodak & Savski, 2018). The linguistic ideologies uncovered by this thesis have immense implications for multilingual citizens' lives. The municipality runs the risk of, inadvertently, perpetuating the already existing inequality in the city through their differential approach to multilingualism (Backhaus, 2012). They acknowledge the multilingual realities of citizens with high socioeconomic status but seem to shut out the multilingualism of residents with low socioeconomic status (Backhaus, 2012; Skrandies, 2016). However, multilingualism is a reality, also among inhabitants with low status, that the municipality might better acknowledge, accommodate for, and perhaps even celebrate (Backhaus, 2012; Skrandies, 2016). This would allow citizens to participate equally in society, will make them feel heard and respected, and might even improve their proficiency in Dutch (Milani, 2008; De Houwer, 2011; May, 2011; Backhaus, 2012; Ortega, 2013, 2019; Spotti, 2013; Skrandies, 2016; Krumm & Plutzar, 2017).

Multilingualism, moreover, can also be exploited as a resource: linguistic capital that creates (job) opportunities and enriches city life (Backhaus, 2012; Skrandies, 2016; KNAW, 2018). The municipality might, for example, follow NIDA's proposal and express that multilingualism is "an added value for the city" (RIS302217, 27 March 2019, p. 7). They could provide comprehensive translation services, organise language classes in various languages, provide cultural products (e.g. books) in various

languages, and can create more events like The Hague Cultural Parade which celebrate (linguistic) diversity (Skrandies, 2016). For this, it might be profitable and necessary to conduct municipal research into the languages that are spoken in The Hague and, in general, more attention could be given to non-prestigious languages like Arabic, Turkish, and Polish. Municipalities like Toronto, Thswane (South Africa), Boston, and Manchester, and even Utrecht, show that it is possible to form a more inclusive vision on multilingualism in the city (Backhaus, 2012; Nortier et al., 2014; Multilingual Manchester, 2015; Skrandies, 2016; Boston, 2019a).

Future research should examine further why these language ideologies exist in The Hague and in other cities around the world, and to what extent they can be related to nationalist, economist, classist, and racist discourses (Grin, 2009; Skrandies, 2016). In future studies, I propose to use interviews with policymakers and politicians, such as those in Appendix A, to gain more insight into the formulation and execution of language policies. These interviews might also reveal language attitudes and ideologies that underlie the language policies about multilingualism. It would also be interesting to examine in future research which power structures allow some privileged parts of society to linguistically determine the lives of other, disadvantaged groups (Brutt-Griffler, 2002). My thesis showed a few municipal projects which deserve to be developed further in the future: the multilingual sayings, several multicultural events, and the multilingual municipal library logo in Morgenstond, for example. Future projects should also foster and create links between academia, language practice, and society, with the Multilingual Manchester and the aforementioned multilingual sayings project in The Hague as excellent examples (Multilingual Manchester, 2015; Den Haag, 2019h). These projects shed a light on the linguistic superdiversity in the city and demonstrate that it is possible - and profitable - to acknowledge these "linguistic realities", instead of "[shutting] them out" (Backhaus, 2012, p. 242).

Appendix A: Interviews with communication advisors

Peter Sips Café van Beek 27-02-2019
English summary of interview, included after review by and with permission of the interviewee
I spoke to Peter Sips on 27 February 2019. He is a senior communication advisor at the municipality of The Hague for the Communication & Citybranding department. More specifically, he is responsible for the communication regarding the Hollands Spoor area in The Hague (Loper Oude Centrum, Hollands Spoor station, Laakhavens, Central Innovation District). I took the following notes of our conversation.

Peter Sips explains that communication with citizens, whether it's in a letter or on the website, needs to follow the guidelines of *Helder Haags*. This means that it should be in clear Dutch. When it is about accessibility and road works, they use pictures that are also comprehensible by people with colour blindness. All communication is checked by a group of editors who assess whether it complies with KIS(S): 'keep it simple (and stupid)'. Sentences should be short and words should not have more than three syllables. The 'Online' department is involved in this checking process.

The general rule is that all communication should be in Dutch, whether it is communication with citizens or by citizens. For example, if a citizen files a complaint, this should be in Dutch. Of course, if it is hard to communicate, there is often the possibility of making an appointment (in Dutch). The exception is English for expats, who only stay for a short period of time, although they often have a higher proficiency in Dutch than people who have been here for years, Peter Sips notes.

The philosophy behind this general rule, Peter Sips says, is that we are in The Netherlands, in a Dutch municipality and integrating means learning Dutch. This philosophy of using Dutch already starts at the COA (Central Agency for the Reception of Asylum Seekers).

The radio channels and other municipality-organized channels (like TV for citizens with a Moroccan background) have been cancelled, there were very few listeners. The municipality does provide narrow-casting screens with municipal news, for example in community centres. Education in your own language, education in allochthonous living languages (OALT), has been abolished. There are, however, initiatives to improve citizens' Dutch.

Since 2011 (Geert Wilders (PVV) involved in national government coalition), there has been little money for communication initiatives. The program '*Krachtwijken*', in which weak neighbourhoods of the city were supported on many accounts, as Peter explains, was ended by the new government. Therefore, there is sadly no room anymore for initiatives that Peter organized in the past. For instance: There can no longer be a multicultural fair in Transvaal. There can no longer be language and writing classes for local newspapers. There can no longer be Dutch language and writing classes for shopkeepers who supervise internships. However, a lot of effort is put into *Helder Haags*, which is a unique initiative among Dutch municipalities. Like The Hague, other Dutch municipalities also have a Dutch language-only policy.

In the last years, the *Helder Haags* policy has become stricter, also for the website. This can be quite a hassle for communication advisors, Peter Sips explains, but they support the end goal, reaching and focusing on the citizen. Municipal texts about new policies and projects in the city are seen by a lot of people within the municipality: the municipal council gives it to the appropriate direction within the municipality, it becomes a council piece, it goes to the Alderman, to the municipal council, they can propose changes, which go back to the Alderman, then the final proposal goes back to the municipal council for approval. And then it gets executed by the civil servants.

Communication advisors like Peter Sips want to focus on citizens and what they want. Inhabitants are often invited to participate for plans in their environments. The public space for instance. There have been various initiatives by inhabitants of the city, like the proverbs in 34 languages on the Loper Oude Centrum.

This marked the end of our interview. I would like to thank Peter Sips very much for his help.

Lodewijk van Noort en Frank Welling 11-03-2019 stadhuis afdeling Communicatie & Citybranding
English summary of interview, included after review by and with permission of the interviewee
I spoke to Lodewijk van Noort and Frank Welling on 11 March 2019. They are communication advisors at the municipality of The Hague in the Communication & Citybranding department. I took the following notes of our conversation.

Lodewijk van Noort and Frank Welling are currently working on *Heldere Taal* ('Clear Language') at the municipality. Both have been involved in communication for many years: Lodewijk van Noort for roughly 10 and Frank Welling for approximately 20 years. Frank Welling works in communication because he enjoys writing and tries to do so in a simple and clear way. In the past, communication tended to use fluffy, complicated language, which he finds unnecessary and unfair. After having worked at Stichting Lezen en Schrijven (promoting literacy), Lodewijk van Noort is currently involved in municipal and nation-wide projects on clear language use by governmental organizations. He received the title of *Ambassadeur Heldere Taal voor de Overheid* ('Clear Language Ambassador for the Government') in 2017. Together, Frank Welling and Lodewijk van Noort organised a session on communication and language for the Communication department at the municipality last year and are working on a municipality-wide session this year. Their current project is inclusive language use: reaching out to vulnerable or more inaccessible populations.

They explain that the language policy of the municipality is twofold: there is a translation policy and a policy about comprehensible language.

Translation policy
The translation policy is very strict and simple: 'Dutch, unless…' Some basic information is available in English and French, targeting expats. The municipality can use other languages than Dutch to communicate about essential, potentially life-threatening issues. Lodewijk van Noort notes that this translation policy can be problematic. One example he gives are Polish migrant workers who do not learn Dutch because of their short stay in The Netherlands. One time, there were road works and the municipality asked the (Polish-speaking) citizens to move their cars in a Dutch letter. The message did not get across, resulting in the unnecessary removal of cars.

Governmental organizations are always politically governed. The political make-up of the college therefore also influences the translation policy. However, the translation policy is not working optimally, so Lodewijk van Noort and Frank Welling will try to start a discussion about it this year. There are a few things that the communication department can do under the current policy to accommodate for multilingualism. They might include a sentence in Arabic in a letter, stating 'if you want more information, please contact this organization / call this number'. For example, the main message of a letter about the Centrum Jeugd & Gezin ('Child and Family Centre') was translated into eight languages. The municipal councilor at that time had agreed to this. The municipality needs to refer citizens who speak other languages to other organizations, because relatively few languages are spoken by the municipal call center. Additionally, the municipality can use the Tolkentelefoon (a phone number for interpretation services). They do so for many integration topics, but it is not always very practical.

Comprehensible language
The second policy issue concerns the level of the Dutch language. Originally, the municipality had to communicate in the B1 level on the CEFR and had to follow requirements for clear language use (*Heldere Taal*). However, Lodewijk van Noort explains that CEFR levels are not always easily applied to texts and, therefore, texts might remain incomprehensible or inaccessible. The municipality is increasingly letting go off this B1 policy. Lodewijk van Noort and Frank Welling want a new policy: Communication with Everyone. This policy would allow communication to be targeted more specifically to the population. Letters, for example, are not always the right medium, maybe vlogs are

better in some cases. Communication might have to be different in every part of the city and for every target population. Still, Lodewijk van Noort explains that, of course, target populations are not homogeneous. Young people, for example, are all very different.

Quite a shift is necessary, going from a homogeneous *Heldere Taal* policy to a more targeted, diverse communication policy. Such a shift is quite difficult in an organization with a new municipal council every four years. The language policy will have to transcend those four years; it is important that the language policy continues to receive attention and funds. As an aside, when communicating about comprehensible language with councillors, it is easy to see their political affiliation. A communication advisor has an advisory position and cannot force anyone to adopt anything.

Recently, communication advisors have been granted the possibility to experiment with citizen feedback and targeting their communication more to the citizens. They might examine different ways to communicate within the same neighbourhood or street. They might get help from the Stadskamer, where research is carried out about citizens at all levels. If citizens say that letters are incomprehensible, or if they would prefer to communicate in a different manner, civil servants will have to listen. In other words, this type of research can help communication advisors convince others of their ideas. An example project is *Betere Brieven* ('Better Letters'), which has been going on for some time. At ROC Mondriaan's NT1 and NT2 courses, they used municipal letters as course material, and in this way, Lodewijk van Noort could find out how letters are read and what can be improved.

When deciding if communication is clear, there are three components. Has it been received and opened? Is the text comprehensible? Can the recipient apply the contents of the message and take the right steps? There was once a hype about video messages and infographics. Research institute Pharos in Utrecht carried out a research about video messages and clear language use. Video messages were evaluated very positively and respondents thought they were very enjoyable, but it turned out that the participants had not actually understood the message. People had different ideas about the main message of the video and had difficulty applying the message. Currently, Frank Welling and Lodewijk van Noort are examining inclusivity: how can they make sure they do not exclude anyone in their communication? In this project, they have a lot of room to experiment.

Heldere Taal
The project *Heldere Taal* is quite old and has received various amounts of funding throughout the years. After all, it is very easy to cut funds related to language. Sometimes there is a lot of money for language-related topics and many ideas are possible. For example, there used to be a full-time job position about language policy and *Heldere Taal* for three years. However, suddenly there was less money. The workshops about *Heldere Taal* are still there, but there was no one anymore who 'owned' the project, worked on it full-time. In Scandinavia, things are better: clear communication by government bodies is required. In The Hague, there are no requirements, no obligations, no checks, no sanctions. There is just a group of enthusiasts who give advice, but that's all they can do. There is only a total of 16 hours per week for *Heldere Taal* at the entire department, this is insufficient. However, if something is written down in policy-form, like *Heldere Taal*, it is impossible for the municipality to ignore it entirely.

Currently, *Heldere Taal* has several components. There is a helpdesk (with an associated e-mail address), they can give advice, there are quarterly trainings (two different trainings with voluntary attendance for the entire municipality), as well as (if requested) trainings organized for an entire department. As of last year, there is a '*wasstraat*' session (a session for communication professionals with workshops to refresh knowledge of clear communication), first for the entire Communication department, this year it will be larger. Unfortunately, the communication advisors behind *Heldere Taal* are sometimes called 'the clear language police'; this is a negative frame. That is why Frank Welling and Lodewijk van Noort prefer one large, all-encompassing language/communication policy. It will be called *'Stijl van het Huis'* ('Style of the House'), about an inquisitive attitude, clear communication, language policy, the house style. Lodewijk van Noort and Frank Welling are working on this now.

The municipality of The Hague remains behind when it comes to comprehensible language use. Rotterdam is a good example of a city that is further ahead, just like Oss, Etten-Leur and Enschede. Of the four largest cities in The Netherlands, The Hague is relatively far behind. This is also an opportunity: the municipality can make a lot of progress and can avoid beginners' errors. All municipalities are trying to improve their language policies, but there is little communication between the municipalities, they're all just reinventing the wheel. Lodewijk van Noort and Frank Welling want to change this. Additionally, all large cities are having trouble with their translation policies, this is a real challenge. Lodewijk van Noort indicates that it would be great to investigate translation policies and give municipalities some advice. Specific communication challenges are Eastern European migrant workers and the biggest group (almost a quarter) with an Arabic background.

This marked the end of our interview. I would like to thank Lodewijk van Noort and Frank Welling very much for their help.

Appendix B: Table of collocation analysis

Taal*

Index	R/L	Collocate	Translation	MI²	Frequency (coll.)	Frequency (corpus)
1	R	*leren*	learn	17.5	75	217
2	L	*Nederlandse*	Dutch	17.2	87	382
3	R	*beheersen*	have a command of	16.9	29	52
4	R	*machtig*	proficient	16.3	11	11
5	R	*Arabisch*	Arabic	15.9	17	34
6	R	*uitgelegd*	explained	15.3	20	75
7	L	*taalbeheersing*	language competence	14.7	5	7
8	L	*onvoldoende*	insufficient	14.4	33	361
9	R	*beheerst*	has a command of	14.3	7	18
10	L	*inspannen*	make an effort	14.2	9	32
11	L	*inspanning*	effort	13.9	11	59
12	R	*expats*	expats	13.7	9	46
13	L	*vaardigheden*	skills	13.5	7	32
14	L	*nieuwkomers*	newcomers	13.4	13	115
15	R	*taal*	language	12.7	14	212
16	R	*Nederlands*	Dutch	12.2	8	101
17	R	*gecombineerd*	combined	12.2	5	40
18	R	*spreken*	speak	12.2	15	365
19	R	*bijstandsgerechtigden*	those entitled to benefits	12.1	9	137
20	L	*moeite*	effort	12.1	8	111
21	R	*werk*	work	12.1	22	841
22	L	*de*	the (common)	12.0	338	200481
23	R	*praktisch*	practical	11.6	5	58
24	R	*cruciaal*	crucial	11.6	5	61
25	L	*beheersing*	command	11.5	7	127
26	L	*opleiding*	degree/education	11.4	6	96
27	L	*statushouders*	asylum seekers with residence permit	11.2	11	386
28	R	*en*	and	11.1	143	69321

29	L	*focus*	focus	11.1	6	124
30	R	*het*	the (neuter)	11.0	166	98673
31	R	*kinderen*	children	10.9	17	1096
32	L	*verplichting*	obligation	10.9	6	140
33	L	*om*	to, because of	10.9	70	19424
34	L	*van*	from, of	10.8	163	113446
35	L	*vervolgvragen*	follow-up questions	10.8	8	274
36	L	*geld*	money	10.7	13	758
37	R	*volgen*	follow	10.4	7	271
38	R	*in*	in	10.3	100	57198
39	R	*te*	to	10.3	77	35474
40	R	*moeten*	must	10.2	21	2760
41	R	*een*	a(n)	10.2	87	48109
42	L	*extra*	extra	10.0	15	1649
43	L	*geen*	no	10.0	28	5821
44	L	*door*	by, through	9.7	34	9970
45	R	*bijstand*	benefit/social security	9.7	6	325
46	R	*wordt*	becomes	9.7	39	13910
47	M	*voldoende*	sufficient	9.6	10	965
48	L	*mensen*	people	9.6	16	2483
49	R	*niet*	not	9.6	43	18072
50	R	*is*	is	9.5	62	40423
51	R	*naast*	next to	9.4	8	686
52	R	*voor*	for, in front of	9.4	54	31996
53	L	*pronk*	(Jan) Pronk, VVD party member in The Hague	9.4	5	283
54	L	*invoering*	implementation	9.3	5	288
55	L	*wet*	law	9.3	10	1153
56	R	*of*	or	9.2	28	9770
57	R	*wanneer*	when	9.1	9	1065
58	L	*die*	that (demonstrative or relative, common)	9.1	34	15346
59	L	*en/of*	and/or	9.0	8	942
60	R	*ook*	also	8.8	27	11886
61	R	*bereid*	prepared (to)	8.8	9	1346
62	L	*eigen*	own	8.8	8	1069
63	L	*aan*	to, on	8.8	35	20735
64	R	*maken*	make	8.7	14	3482
65	L	*goede*	good	8.7	8	1142
66	R	*stelt*	states	8.6	9	1506
67	R	*op*	on	8.6	43	34633
68	L	*ouders*	parents	8.6	5	490
69	R	*bij*	at, with	8.5	27	14756

70	L	*dat*	that (demonstrative or relative, neuter)	8.5	42	36110
71	R	*belang*	importance	8.4	7	1050
72	L	*als*	if	8.4	23	11409
73	R	*gemeenten*	municipalities	8.3	6	830
74	R	*bent*	(you, singular) are	8.3	7	1167
75	L	*mee*	with	8.3	8	1526
76	M	*werken*	work	8.3	6	871
77	L	*vanwege*	due to	8.1	5	652
78	L	*andere*	other	8.1	12	3834
79	R	*zich*	itself/herself/himself	8.1	11	3294
80	L	*luidend*	(being) called	8.0	6	1033
81	R	*worden*	become	8.0	23	15323
82	R	*met*	with	8.0	30	26391
83	R	*zo*	so	7.9	13	5343
84	L	*2016*	2016	7.8	5	804
85	R	*maar*	but	7.8	14	6363
86	L	*hebben*	have	7.8	14	6604
87	R	*ja*	yes	7.8	7	1683
88	L	*hun*	their, them	7.7	8	2317
89	L	*over*	about	7.6	20	15105
90	R	*moet*	must (singular)	7.6	9	3091
91	M	*bijvoorbeeld*	for example	7.5	6	1449
92	L	*gaat*	goes	7.4	11	5142
93	L	*er*	there	7.4	19	15460
94	L	*zij*	she/they	7.3	7	2266
95	R	*aandacht*	attention	7.3	5	1205
96	M	*nodig*	necessary	7.2	6	1825
97	L	*huidige*	current	7.1	5	1384
98	R	*via*	via	7.0	5	1472
99	R	*onderwijs*	education	7.0	5	1488
100	R	*zijn*	be	7.0	17	17224
101	R	*gebruik*	use	6.9	5	1498
102	L	*vvd*	VVD (self-described right-wing coalition party)	6.9	6	2176
103	R	*daarom*	because of that	6.9	5	1526
104	R	*je*	you	6.8	5	1625
105	R	*WAAR*	TRUE	6.8	7	3218
106	L	*ze*	she/they	6.8	5	1679
107	L	*Haagse*	Of The Hague	6.8	9	5447
108	R	*4*	4	6.6	6	2681
109	L	*doen*	do	6.6	6	2685
110	M	*college*	College of Mayor and Aldermen	6.6	16	19335

111	R	*gaan*	go	6.6	7	3732
112	L	*aanpak*	approach	6.5	5	1994
113	M	*beantwoording*	answering	6.5	8	5121
114	L	*schriftelijke*	written	6.5	6	2895
115	L	*sv*	written questions (*schriftelijke vragen*)	6.5	5	2016
116	R	*gemeente*	municipality	6.5	12	12134
117	R	*kan*	can	6.4	9	7133
118	R	*vinden*	find	6.3	5	2354
119	R	*veel*	many	6.1	5	2718
120	L	*mogelijk*	possible	6.1	6	3934
121	R	*we*	we	6.0	9	9157

Appendix C: Texts for Critical Discourse Analysis

Coalition agreement (relevant excerpts)

(RIS299794, 2018)

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Den Haag, Stad van Kansen en Ambities
Coalitieakkoord 2018 – 2022
[…]

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Kernthema's
Mobiliteit, Duurzaamheid, Groei van de Stad en Iedereen doet Mee zijn de kernthema's van deze coalitie.
[…]

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Den Haag voor iedereen
Deze coalitie ziet en biedt kansen, want in Den Haag moet iedereen mee kunnen doen. Dat geldt voor jong en oud, voor mensen die zorg nodig hebben en voor mensen met een afstand tot de arbeidsmarkt. We willen dat er in Den Haag minder mensen in armoede leven en minder mensen schulden hebben. Het aantal mensen in Den Haag dat afhankelijk is van de bijstand moet omlaag. Wie het echt nodig heeft, die kan op ons rekenen. Natuurlijk bieden we ook meer kansen aan ondernemers, vooral door ze meer ruimte te geven. Te vaak lopen mensen tegen bureaucratische muren op. Wij vinden: beleid is maatwerk en regels moeten helder en transparant zijn. Kansenongelijkheid pakken we hard aan, te beginnen in het onderwijs. Want het is de verantwoordelijkheid van de hele stad dat ieder kind zijn leven begint met een eerlijke kans op een mooie toekomst.

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Internationale stad
We zijn trots op onze stad, een stad die niet ophoudt bij onze stadsgrenzen. Den Haag speelt een hele belangrijke rol in de regio. Op nationaal niveau is Den Haag vaak voortrekker, bijvoorbeeld als het gaat om onze aanpak van radicalisering. En dat wij hierop trots zijn, dragen we uit. En dat geldt natuurlijk ook voor de positie van Den Haag in de wereld als Internationale Stad van Vrede en Recht. Voor bezoekers van buiten Den Haag willen we onze stad nog beter op de kaart zetten. Dit levert onze stad veel economische voordelen op. We hebben als stad ook veel te bieden, alleen al op het gebied van cultuur en festivals. En natuurlijk ons prachtige strand.

Stadsbestuur
De komende vier jaar gaat het nieuwe stadsbestuur van Den Haag werken aan de stad van de toekomst. Maar dat kunnen en willen we niet alleen doen. Dit stadsbestuur luistert, zoekt de dialoog en werkt samen met de stad. Wij realiseren ons dat het beleid van de gemeente vaak direct invloed heeft op het leven van inwoners. Dit betekent dat zij daarop ook invloed moeten kunnen uitoefenen. We gaan het dus samen doen met de stad: met Hagenaars en Hagenezen, Loosduiners, Scheveningers en expats. En dus ook niet alleen vanuit het stadhuis, maar juist en vooral vanuit wijken en buurten. Met dit akkoord zetten we een stip aan de horizon. Maar bovenal zorgen we met dit akkoord dat we Den Haag vanaf vandaag klaar maken voor de toekomst, een toekomst waarin iedereen mee kan doen. Want waar je ook vandaan komt, en wie je ook bent: we zijn allemaal Den Haag.
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- **Internationale Zone**

Er komt een nieuwe gebiedsvisie Internationale Zone. Hierin staan een concurrerend vestigings-klimaat en het creëren van economische ontwikkeling en banen centraal. Tegelijk verbeteren we hiermee het woon- en leefklimaat en beschermen we het groen. De verbetering van het Telderstracé is hierbij een belangrijke doelstelling. We zorgen voor Engelstalige communicatie in openbare ruimtes en in het openbaar vervoer voor de internationale bezoekers en bewoners. Ter bevordering van de bereikbaarheid van de internationale zone, wordt de halte Madurodam onderdeel van de OV-schaalsprong. Het vorige college heeft juridisch bindende afspraken gemaakt over de uitbreiding van Madurodam. We zien er op toe dat de gemaakte afspraken over natuurcompensatie ruimhartig worden uitgevoerd

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Snel Openbaar Vervoer
[…]

Als internationale Stad van Vrede en Recht zetten wij ons in voor goede internationale verbindingen, zoals een directe verbinding met Düsseldorf en goede aansluiting op de internationale treinen naar Brussel.
[…]

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Den Haag als toeristenstad
De toeristische sector in onze stad bloeit. Dit college wil meer bezoekers en bestedingen voor Den Haag en Scheveningen realiseren door meer kwaliteitstoerisme, meer retail en door een grotere bekendheid van Den Haag als Stad aan Zee. Dit door onder meer een eenduidiger marketing- en evenementenbeleid en investeringen in de (inter)nationale bekendheid van de stad. Hierbij kijkt het college of we Den Haag als toeristentrekker ook regionaal, samen met de regio, kunnen vermarkten. We zoeken de samenwerking met Amsterdam om toeristen te verleiden om naar Den Haag te komen, al dan niet met een overnachting. De Haagse binnenstad wordt steeds mooier en aantrekkelijker voor bezoekers. De invloed van toerisme op de leefbaarheid in de stad blijven we monitoren. Bij de heffing van toeristenbelasting letten we specifiek op overnachtingen in de particuliere verhuur (Airbnb).

Wij vinden het belangrijk dat de monumentale gebouwen van de stad zo veel mogelijk toegankelijk zijn voor publiek. Wij onderzoeken met het Rijk en de Carnegiestichting de mogelijkheden om het Vredespaleis open te stellen voor inwoners en (kwaliteits)toeristen, en hen daarmee de stad van Vrede en Recht optimaal laten ervaren. Dit binnen de beperkingen die het professionele gebruik door het Internationaal Gerechtshof en het Permanente Hof van Arbitrage stelt.

Den Haag is niet alleen de Stad van Vrede en Recht, maar is ook de zetel van de landsregering en van het Koningshuis. We stimuleren activiteiten waardoor bezoekers en inwoners dit op een kwalitatief hoogwaardige manier kunnen ervaren. Als icoon van de Nederlandse politiek is het Binnenhof een belangrijke trekpleister in de binnen-stad. De grote renovatie die vanaf 2020 gaat plaatsvinden, is een belangrijk aandachtspunt. Samen met bewoners en ondernemers zorgen we dat het Binnenhof ook tijdens de renovatie toegankelijk blijft. Bij het Centraal Station en het station Hollands Spoor zien we graag een toeristisch informatiepunt, bijvoorbeeld in de vorm van city hosts. Naast de binnenstad en het Museumkwartier, blijven we ook investeren in de ontwikkeling van Scheveningen.

Ruim baan voor de horeca
Een bloeiende horecasector is belangrijk. Het creëert banen, ook aan de onderkant van de arbeids-markt, en het zorgt voor levendigheid en vertier in de stad. Wij geven horecaondernemers de ruimte om te bouwen aan onze bruisende stad. Een stad waar Hagenaars kunnen genieten, waar we studenten en expats aan ons kunnen binden, en nog meer toeristen kunnen trekken. Daarom blijven we ons in de uitgaansgebieden samen met de horecasector inzetten voor ruimere openingstijden, realistische geluidsnormen in de horeca en een soepel terras- en vergunningsbeleid. Ook willen we een impuls

geven aan de dancescene. Binnen de uitgaanskernen bestaan nauwelijks potentieel geschikte locaties. Daarom komt er een pilot voor nachtontheffingen voor locaties buiten deze kernen.

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Bij incidenten in de horeca moet er een meer dadergerichte aanpak komen, waarbij ook wordt gekeken naar de verwijtbaarheid van de ondernemer. Door de gemeente opgelegde straffen moeten proportioneel zijn. De communicatie vanuit de gemeente, ook bij controles door de HEIT-teams, is erop gericht om samen met de sector de Haagse horeca nòg beter te maken. Het ontwikkelen van Scheveningen en Kijkduin als vierseizoenenbadplaatsen, beide met behoud van hun eigen karakter, zal bijdragen aan de werkgelegenheid. Op basis van de evaluatie wordt gekeken of meer jaarrondstrandexploitaties zinvol zijn.

Congressen, evenementen en marketing
We willen onze positie als stad voor toeristen en evenementen verder versterken. We zijn een gastvrije stad voor grootschalige congressen en hebben de ambitie om van Den Haag een omvangrijke congresstad van Nederland te maken. Dat is goed voor de Haagse economie en dus voor veel Hagenaars. Deze sectoren bieden bovendien kansen aan werkzoekenden, vooral ook aan de onderkant van de arbeidsmarkt.
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Dienstverlening en participatie
We hechten aan transparantie en een open bestuurscultuur. We willen een college zijn dat luistert. Niet omdat het moet, maar vanwege een oprechte behoefte aan dialoog. We willen een gemeente zijn die in verbinding staat met bewoners; die hen proactief en persoonlijk benadert, op basis van vertrouwen in de wijk. Vlotte dienstverlening, goede voorlichting, toegankelijke informatie en actieve communicatie horen hier allemaal bij. Bewoners en ondernemers moeten meer invloed krijgen op de besluitvorming. Zij weten vaak het beste wat er nodig is in hun straat, buurt en wijk en hebben vaak inventieve en praktische oplossingen. We moeten beter worden in de communicatie en voorspelbaar zijn wanneer mensen kunnen meepraten en meebeslissen. Onze besluitvorming gaat over verschillende onderwerpen, van groot tot klein en van sociaal tot ruimtelijk. We gaan experimenteren met verschillende vormen van inspraak en participatie die passen bij de diversiteit van de gebruikers en de te nemen besluiten.

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Perspectief van de Hagenaar
Wij willen de dienstverlening en participatie zoveel mogelijk vanuit het perspectief van de Hagenaar, bewoner en ondernemer organiseren. Er zijn veel slagen gemaakt en toch ligt er nog een grote opgave. In de volle breedte van onze gemeentelijke organisatie passen we onze houding aan. Onze blik en ons handelen is gericht op 'wat kan wel', in plaats van 'wat kan niet'. We maken gebruik van de Haagse kracht door zo vroeg mogelijk bewoners, ondernemers en andere stakeholders bij de besluitvorming te betrekken. Onze diensten, die we digitaal en verspreid over de stad aanbieden, organiseren we laagdrempeliger en logischer. Hierdoor kunnen bewoners ons zowel digitaal als fysiek beter vinden en kunnen meer vragen 'op locatie' worden opgelost. De stadsdeel-organisatie speelt hierbij een belangrijke rol als klankbord en voor de informatievoorziening voor de wijk en de buurt. Wij willen die rol van de stadsdeelorganisatie verder uitbouwen. Wij willen daarnaast Hagenaars zo veel mogelijk actief betrekken bij beslissingen die voor hen relevant zijn, zoals de inrichting van hun buurt. Dit doen wij onder andere door aanspreekbaar te zijn en mensen op te zoeken, bijvoorbeeld door in de stad (mobiele) spreekuren te houden. We blijven daarnaast experimenteren met manieren om de mensen te betrekken bij keuzes voor de stad, de buurt en de wijk.

Dienstverlening en digitalisering
Als het gaat om de dienstverlening is het belangrijk dat inwoners en ondernemers de mogelijkheid houden om te kiezen voor persoonlijk contact. Bewoners worden niet alleen via de bewoners-organisaties geraadpleegd, maar ook inidividueel, bijvoorbeeld door middel van mailings.

De Strategienota Dienstverlening vormt de basis voor de verdere verbeteringen van de gemeentelijke dienstverlening. We kiezen voor een wendbare ambtelijke organisatie die opgavegericht werkt.

Digitalisering heeft een steeds grotere impact op de maatschappij en daarmee op iedereen die woont en werkt in Den Haag. Naast de fysieke stad, begint er een digitale stad te ontstaan met nieuwe kansen, vraagstukken en bedreigingen. Digitale mogelijkheden worden beter benut.Onze inzet op verdere digitalisering van de dienstverlening moet er voor zorgen dat diensten en producten sneller, eenvoudiger en toegankelijker worden geleverd aan burgers, bedrijven en organisaties in de stad. Gemeentelijke diensten en producten zullen daardoor steeds meer tijd en plaats onafhankelijk (digitaal) geleverd worden. Inwoners en bedrijven moeten daarbij optimale toegang hebben tot informatie. Dat is van belang voor de democratische controle, de keuzevrijheid, zeggenschap en betrokkenheid. De gemeente gaat voort met het verder en klantvriendelijk en zoveel mogelijk op basis van open data ontsluiten van openbare informatie.

Privacy speelt bij deze ontwikkelingen een cruciale rol. Zorgvuldige omgang van de gemeente met de data over iedereen die woont en werkt in Den Haag is uitgangspunt. Dat vergt dat onze systemen goed beveiligd zijn en minimaal voldoen aan de geldende normen. Dataveiligheid is ook van belang voor onze partners in de stad. We stimuleren de kennisvergroting in het MKB om weerstand te bieden aan de gevaren van cybercrime.

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Participatie op stads-, wijk- en buurtniveau
Op het gebied van participatie krijgt de stad, de wijk, de buurt een grotere rol. Bestaande, succesvol gebleken, middelen blijven we inzetten. Denk daarbij aan de participatieladder en de buurtbudgetten. Wij staan open voor experimenten die de inwoners van Den Haag nog meer betrekt bij de inrichting en andere besluiten over hun buurt. Met de introductie van de aanstaande Omgevingswet zijn er extra kansen om tijdig alle betrokkenen uit de omgeving invloed te geven. Na een inspraaktraject laten we altijd duidelijk zien waarop de zienswijze invloed heeft gehad en welke inbreng wel en niet is overgenomen. Niet alleen bij gemeentelijke projecten, maar ook daar waar externen werken aan de groei van onze stad, stellen wij hoge eisen aan de informatie aan en de communicatie met de buurt. Een externe partij moet vroegtijdig en adequaat in gesprek gaan met de buurt en zorgen dat zij goed bereikbaar zijn bij vragen vanuit de buurt. Dit wordt een voorwaarde voor de gunning van een project. […]

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Kansen voor Iedereen
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[page 56]
Het bieden van kansen is voor ons een belangrijk uitgangs- punt. Dat geldt voor jong en oud, voor mensen die zorg nodig hebben of voor mensen die een afstand hebben tot de arbeidsmarkt. In Den Haag bieden we kansen aan iedereen. Zodat iedereen mee kan doen.

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Onderwijs
In het bieden van kansen aan kinderen en (jong)volwassenen in onze stad vervult het onderwijs een cruciale rol. In lijn met de Haagse Educatieve Agenda (HEA) merken we voor het onderwijs de volgende prioriteiten aan: meer kansengelijkheid, het aanpakken van het lerarentekort en de aansluiting onderwijs-arbeidsmarkt.

Kansengelijkheid
Sociale segregatie willen we tegengaan. Dat is niet alleen de verantwoordelijkheid van de overheid, ook scholen en schoolbesturen zijn daarbij aan zet. Want hoewel sociale segregatie een veel breder maatschappelijk vraagstuk is, kunnen we daarin, zonder aan de vrije schoolkeuze te tornen, samen met onderwijs wel belangrijke stappen zetten. En niet te vergeten, met de ouders: zij zijn primair

verantwoordelijk om kinderen te stimuleren en te ondersteunen. Om kinderen maximale kansen te bieden, moeten scholen kwalitatief goed onderwijs bieden, we zullen scholen daarin ondersteunen. Om alle kinderen en jongeren betere kansen te geven, kunnen extra lessen en faciliteiten helpen. Zowel in het basisonderwijs als in het voortgezet onderwijs stimuleren we scholen extra (huiswerk)begeleiding te organiseren die toegankelijk is voor iedereen.

Vroeg- en voorschoolse voorzieningen moeten breed toegankelijk zijn. Dit is een andere belangrijke maatregel om kansenongelijkheid te verkleinen. Dit geldt zeker voor jonge kinderen met een (dreigende) taalachterstand. Daarom ondersteunen wij zomer- en weekendscholen en brede buurtscholen. Bibliotheken spelen in ons beleid ook een belangrijke rol: als ontmoetingsplek, als plek om meer en beter te (leren) lezen, om mediawijsheid te vergroten en als plek om huiswerk te kunnen maken. Bibliotheek Bouwlust wordt weer geopend en er komt een onderzoek naar langere openingstijden van bibliotheken.
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Aanpak lerarentekort
Een andere prioriteit van ons is de aanpak van het lerarentekort. De leraar vormt het fundament voor kwalitatief goed onderwijs. Leraren verdienen het dan ook dat we in hen investeren. De aanpak lerarentekort en de wervingscampagne voor het aantrekken van leraren wordt gecontinueerd. Ook staan we open voor ideeën uit de samenleving om het lerarentekort op te lossen. De komst van een Haagse lerarenopleiding in het voortgezet onderwijs, waarin aandacht is voor de specifieke groot-stedelijke problematiek, is hiervoor van groot belang. Wij gaan ons hiervoor dan ook maximaal inspannen. De inzet van conciërges en klassen- of onderwijsassistenten is een maatregel waarmee we bijdragen aan het ondersteunen van Haagse leraren.

Goed burgerschap
Onderwijs heeft ook een rol bij de ontwikkeling van kinderen en jongeren tot burgers die in staat zijn om samen de samenleving vorm te geven. Daarom krijgt burgerschap expliciet aandacht in het onderwijs. Hoe vervul je in de Nederlandse democratische rechtsstaat je rol? En hoe kan je de stroom aan digitale informatie op waarde schatten? In de complexer wordende samenleving met alle grootstedelijke uitdagingen die Den Haag kent, kunnen leraren hierbij op onze waardering en steun rekenen.

Binnen het onderwijs moet er specifieke aandacht zijn om alle vormen van wij-zij denken en discriminatie tegen te gaan (zoals antisemitisme, discriminatie van moslims, homohaat, et cetera.) Dit zou kunnen met speciale lesprogramma's, excursies naar bijvoorbeeld Westerbork of Auschwitz, of deelname aan culturele projecten met dit thema. Ook ondersteunen we de Coming Out Week, een campagne gericht op de acceptatie van diversiteit in seksuele oriëntatie en genderidentiteit. We hebben ook aandacht voor het bestrijden van pesten. Elke school werkt met een anti-pest programma.
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Den Haag studentenstad
De ingezette weg van Den Haag als (internationale) studentenstad bouwen we verder uit. Dat geldt voor de ontwikkeling van de campus en het aantrekken van universitaire en hbo-opleidingen. Een wervend studentenklimaat met voldoende faciliteiten, zoals studentenverenigingen, is daarbij belangrijk. In de ontwikkeling rond Hollands Spoor ondersteunen we daarom ook studenten- roeivereniging Pelargos. Een studentenstad heeft voldoende studieplekken in de stad nodig, deze zullen we dan ook creëren. We realiseren voldoende woningen voor studenten en voor young professionals.

De bestaande samenwerking met universiteiten van Leiden, Delft en Rotterdam gaan we verder intensiveren. Deze samenwerkingen zijn van groot belang voor de ontwikkeling van Den Haag als kennisstad en voor de innovatie en kansen op de arbeidsmarkt die dat met zich meebrengt. Ook heeft Den Haag van oudsher een breed en gevarieerd palet aan internationaal onderwijs. Dat is een belangrijke

economische vestigingsvoorwaarde. In samenwerking met de regio komen we tot nadere afspraken over groei en vernieuwing.

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Aansluiting onderwijs – arbeidsmarkt
Onderwijs staat aan de basis van de sociale en economische groei van de stad. Den Haag kent een mismatch tussen werkgelegenheid en arbeidspotentieel. En die mismatch dreigt groter te worden. Daarom maken we werk van goede vakopleidingen, ambachtsscholen en leerwerktrajecten. Zeker op het terrein van energietransitie, bouw en zorg.

Ook is het belangrijk dat opleidingen goed aansluiten op de arbeidsmarkt, en dat we leerlingen of zij-instromers voorbereiden op de arbeidsmarkt van de toekomst. Om de doorstroming van school naar werk te verbeteren, is een goede samenwerking tussen beroepsonderwijs en bedrijfsleven cruciaal. Van bedrijven verwachten we dat ze een bijdrage leveren, zoals het creëren van stageplekken.

We investeren ook in de aanpak van laaggeletterdheid. Een voorbeeld van de aanpak van taal-achterstanden is de aanpak in Moerwijk, Mariahoeve en Laak. Daar zorgen 25 Haagse organisaties, vertegenwoordigd in De Haagse Taalketen, met een wijkgerichte aanpak dat meer laaggeletterden een taalcursus volgen. Deze aanpak verbreden we.
[…]

Meer (kans op) banen voor iedereen
De pilot 'Ondernemend uit de Bijstand' breiden we uit. De mismatch die in Den Haag bestaat tussen vraag en aanbod van werk moet verkleind worden. De banengroei aan de onderkant van de arbeidsmarkt wordt gekoppeld aan werkzoekenden. Daarbij zal ook de samenwerking gezocht worden met buurgemeenten die relatief veel lager geschoolde arbeid hebben. Het bedrijfsleven dat mensen zoekt en mensen die werk zoeken, moeten elkaar sneller kunnen vinden.

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Mensen die moeite hebben met het vinden van een baan, ondersteunen we. Dat kan variëren van bemiddeling naar (vrijwilligers)werk, het aanbieden van een stage en/of het omscholen of aanleren van specifieke vaardigheden zoals de Nederlandse taal of digitale vaardigheden. Naast het Haags Emancipatie Studiefonds (HES) komt er een opleidingleenfonds waarmee mensen in de bijstand opleidingen en trainingen kunnen volgen, die zowel passen bij het beschikbare werk als bij hun competenties. We gaan met werkgevers in gesprek, opdat ook senioren en mensen met een zwaar beroep die dit zware werk niet tot de pensioenleeftijd kunnen volhouden een omscholing en ondersteuning in hun zoektocht naar (ander) werk krijgen.

Het bestrijden van jeugdwerkloosheid is een belangrijke prioriteit. Dit vraagstuk speelt zeker voor jongeren met een migratieachtergrond. We moeten volop inzetten op een goede taalvaardigheid bij jongeren. Die hebben hier zelf ook een inspanningverplichting. Discriminatie op de arbeidsmarkt en bij stages wordt hard aangepakt. Samen met scholen, bedrijfsleven en maatschappelijke organisaties breiden we het aanbod van stages en leer-werkplekken uit om de overgang naar een betaalde baan makkelijker te maken.
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Jeugdhulp om trots op te zijn
We willen dat alle Haagse kinderen zich gezond en veilig kunnen ontwikkelen en hun talenten kunnen ontplooien. Voor de kinderen die dat niet goed lukt, zorgen wij voor een laagdrempelige zorg- en ondersteuningsstructuur. Kinderen en jongeren die (dreigen te) ontsporen, betrekken we er weer bij, evenals hun ouders. Ook hier is preventie van groot belang. Signalen moeten vroeg worden herkend en opgepakt door professionals die weten wat ze moeten doen. Uit onderzoek weten we dat risicofactoren voor kindermishandeling armoede, taalachterstand en psychische problemen van ouders zijn. Maar er kunnen ook factoren in de sociale omgeving van deze gezinnen zijn die juist voor extra veiligheid

zorgen. We willen de beste (ervaren en goed geschoolde) professionals vooraan zetten, zodat risicofactoren en beschermende factoren worden herkend en erkend, tijdig de juiste hulp wordt ingezet en onnodige inzet van hulp voorkomen wordt.
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Statushouders
We huisvesten en begeleiden de statushouders die jaarlijks via de wettelijke taakstelling aan Den Haag worden toegewezen. De ambitie om bovenop de wettelijke taakstelling extra status- houders te huisvesten vervalt. Mocht de situatie zich voordoen dat het Rijk een verzoek aan onze stad richt om hier tijdelijk opvang te faciliteren voor nieuwe vluchtelingen, dan staat Den Haag daar welwillend tegenover. We blijven inzetten op taalonderwijs en begeleiding. Waar mogelijk sluiten we bij de integratie van statushouders aan bij de gemeentelijke inburgerings- en integratie-aanpak. Daarbij is bijzondere aandacht voor mensen die zijn getraumatiseerd en de economische positie van jongeren. We kijken hoe we de kostendelersnorm bij groepslocaties beter kunnen laten aansluiten op snel veranderende woonsamenstelling. Gelet op het huidige aanbod en de huidige instroom zullen statushouders via de Haagse corporaties worden bemiddeld voor een reguliere en passende corporatiewoning en zal grootschalige opvang tot het verleden gaan horen. Onder de **[page 68]** voorwaarde dat alle statushouders zonder vertraging worden bemiddeld naar passende woningen, zullen ook specifieke reserveringen ten behoeve van statushouders op nog niet in gebruik genomen locaties vervallen en worden toegevoegd aan de reguliere sociale woningvoorraad.

In Den Haag slaapt niemand tegen zijn zin op straat. Daarom gaan we door met de bed-bad-brood-regeling (inclusief een zinvolle dagbesteding) en zetten in op een menswaardige structurele oplossing met het Rijk.

Een stad voor iedereen
Den Haag is een vrije stad. Hier telt je toekomst, niet je afkomst. Samenleven in een stad gaat niet vanzelf. In de visie van dit college zou samenleven met elkaar moeten gaan over fundamentele gelijkwaardigheid. Voor iedereen gelden dezelfde rechten en plichten, ongeacht religie, afkomst, leeftijd, ziekte of handicap, geaardheid, gender en sociale status. Verschillen zijn goed, maar kansen moeten gelijk zijn. Onderwijs, werk en taal zijn daarbij cruciaal. Het terugdringen van taalachterstanden begint bij de jongste Hagenaars bij de voor- en vroegschoolse educatie. Om goed mee te kunnen doen is het belangrijk dat iedereen goed Nederlands kan spreken en schrijven. Daarom zetten we extra in op het tegengaan van laaggeletterdheid en analfabetisme en zorgen we voor kwalitatief goed en toegankelijk taalonderwijs, zodat ook nieuwe bewoners van onze stad de taal op een goede manier leren. Hierin heeft een ieder ook een eigen verantwoordelijkheid.

Voor discriminatie en intolerantie is in Den Haag geen plaats. Dit wordt dan ook hard aangepakt. De aangiftebereidheid van discriminatie blijft een aandachtspunt. De laagdrempelige toegankelijkheid van het meldpunt discriminatie speelt daarbij een belangrijke rol. We zouden graag zien dat het anoniem solliciteren binnen de gehele gemeentelijke organisatie verder wordt uitgebreid. We zullen daartoe eerst een nieuwe pilot doen.

We zullen samen met COC Haaglanden blijven werken aan voldoende voorlichtingsmomenten voor de Haagse jeugd over seksuele en genderdiversiteit en zorgen voor positieve zichtbaarheid hiervan in eigen uitingen en evenementen zoals Coming Out Day en The Hague Rainbow Festival. Integratie- en emancipatiebeleid staan niet op zich, maar zijn integraal onderdeel van het collegebeleid. We streven als gemeente naar verbinding met de bewoners en stimuleren verbinding tussen bewoners onderling
[…]

[page 71]
Dit coalitieakkoord omvat diverse ombuigingen/bezuinigingen.
De belangrijkste hiervan zijn:

- Een herstructurering van de welzijnsbudgetten, zodat meer geld beschikbaar gesteld wordt voor kleinschaligere en wijkgerichtere voorzieningen.
- Het schrappen van het plan voor de brug over de Pijp, het plan migratiemuseum en het vrijvallen van de risicoreserve statushouders.
- De verkoop van de voormalige Amerikaanse Ambassade, zodat een nieuwe eigenaar kan bijdragen aan de ontwikkeling en versterking van het Museumkwartier.
- Een efficiencybezuiniging op de gemeentelijke organisatie (onder andere stroomlijnen processen, inhuur, inkoop minder extern onderzoek, het vinden van combinatiemogelijk- heden van functies in publieke-maatschappelijk vastgoed).
- Een taakstelling op het beleidsdeel binnen de programma's

[…]

[page 76]
Bijlage 1. Kandidaat-Wethouders

Hart voor Den Haag/Groep de Mos
Richard de Mos
Economie, Sport, Buitenruimte (ESB)
1e loco-burgemeester
Economie, Sport, Buitenruimte (exclusief afvalverwerking en inclusief speelplaatsen), Binnenstad, Dierenwelzijn, Groen, Stadsentrees
Stadsdeel Escamp

Rachid Guernauoi
Financiën, Integratie en Stadsdelen (FIS)
Financiën, Grondbedrijf, Integratie (exclusief emancipatie), Leerwerkbedrijven,Werkgeverservicepunten, Statushouders, Dienstverlening en Stadsdelen, Media, ICT, Personeel en organisatie, Communicatie, Facilitaire zaken
Stadsdeel Loosduinen

VVD
Boudewijn Revis
Stadsontwikkeling, Wonen en Scheveningen (SWS)
2e loco-burgemeester
Stadsontwikkeling en Wonen, Centrale vastgoedorganisatie, Programma De kust gezond, Strandbeleid, Project Rotterdamse Baan, Stations
Stadsdeel Scheveningen

Kavita Parbhudayal
Zorg, Jeugd en Volksgezondheid (ZJV)
Zorg, Wmo, Welzijn, Jeugd, Centra voor jeugd en gezin, Jeugd(gezondheids)zorg, Publieke gezondheidszorg, Prostitutiebeleid, Ambulancezorg
Stadsdeel Leidschenveen-Ypenburg

[page 77]
D66
Saskia Bruines
Onderwijs, Kenniseconomie, Internationaal (OKI)
3e loco-burgemeester
Onderwijs, Campusontwikkeling, Aansluiting onderwijs-arbeidsmarkt, Regionale economie, Kenniseconomie, Internationale Zaken, Innovatiebeleid, Smart city, Creatieve stad
Stadsdeel Haagse Hout

Robert van Asten

Mobiliteit, Cultuur en Strategie (MCS)
Mobiliteit, Regionale vervoersautoriteit, Cultuur, Culturele promotie, Broedplaatsen, Gemeentelijke lobbystrategie, Bibliotheken, Gemeentearchief, Archeologie, Monumenten
Stadsdeel Segbroek

GroenLinks
Liesbeth van Tongeren
Duurzaamheid en Energietransitie (DET)
4e loco-burgemeester
Duurzaamheid, Energiebeleid en-transitie, Milieu, Luchtkwaliteit, Circulaire economie, Afvalinzameling en -verwerking, Voedselstrategie, Verduurzaming bestaande woningvoorraad
Stadsdeel Laak

Bert van Alphen
Sociale zaken, armoede, maatschappelijke opvang (SAM)
Sociale zaken, Werk en Inkomen (exclusief leerwerkbedrijven en werkgeverservicepunten), Armoede, Sociale werkvoorziening, Maatschappelijke opvang, Emancipatie
Stadsdeel Centrum

Translation policy

(Den Haag, 2019k)

[page 1]
Samenvatting gemeentelijk vertaalbeleid 'Nederlands tenzij…'
We volgen in ons vertaalbeleid de richtlijnen van de RVD en de afspraken uit het coalitieakkoord (2010-2014). We bouwen hiermee voort op het reeds bestaande gemeentelijk vertaalbeleid. Deze toelichting is een praktische uitwerking hiervan.

Ons uitgangspunt blijft: zo weinig mogelijk vertalen. Het vertaalbeleid geeft hierop wel een aantal uitzonderingsregels. We hebben aanvullend op het bestaande beleid een beslisboom gemaakt. Het volgen van deze beslisboom geeft snel duidelijkheid op de vraag of er in een andere taal gecommuniceerd mag worden en op welke wijze: volledig vertalen of gebruik maken van attenderingscommunicatie. Dit zijn aankondigingen, kopjes, citaten of een korte samenvatting in een vreemde taal.

Uitleg van de regel:
In geval van levensbelang (gevaar voor de volksgezondheid, crisis, verstoring van openbare orde, aantasting van integriteit van het lichaam) mag de gemeente 1 op 1 vertalen. In andere gevallen niet. Wanneer er niet vertaald mag worden kan er soms wel attenderingscommunicatie worden ingezet. Dit mag wanneer:
 - een groot deel van de primaire doelgroep bestaat uit oudkomers, net ingeburgerde Hagenaars, langdurig in Nederland verblijvende EU-inwoners of asielzoekers;
 - de communicatie alleen gericht is op anderstalige doelgroepen (zoals bij inburgering);
 - bovenstaande doelgroepen zelf aangeven behoefte te hebben aan bepaalde informatie van de gemeente en de gemeente hier zelf ook baat bij heeft.

Door gebruik te maken van attenderingscommunicatie geven we een signaal af dat het belangrijk is om Nederlands te kunnen lezen en spreken.
Een praktische aanvulling op attenderingscommunicatie is het gebruikmaken van buurtvoorlichters/intermediairs. Deze personen (vaak vrijwilligers) kunnen in het Nederlands informatie ontvangen om vervolgens mondeling door te geven aan de doelgroep, in de taal die het meest van toepassing is op de doelgroep.

Expats
De basisregel 'Nederlands, tenzij..' geldt niet voor expats/de internationale gemeenschap in Den Haag. Vanwege het feit dat zij over het algemeen kortstondig in Den Haag/Nederland verblijven, wordt van hen niet verwacht dat zij zich de taal eigen maken. Sterker nog, het past bij de gemeentelijke doelstellingen op het gebied van citymarketing en gastvrijheid dat we met hen juist zoveel mogelijk in het Engels en - in mindere mate ook - in het Frans communiceren.

Beslisboom gemeentelijk vertaalbeleid 'Nederlands tenzij…'

Onderstaande beslisboom kan de communicatieadviseur raadplegen om te bepalen wat de mogelijkheden rond vertaling zijn.

Levensbelang

- Betreft het een situatie waarbij snel handelen noodzakelijk is en er direct gevaar heerst voor de volksgezondheid?
- Dreigt er een crisis of is er sprake van verstoring van de openbare orde?
- Is er sprake van aantasting van de integriteit van het lichaam?

Ja → Volledige vertaling is toegestaan. Gebruik bij voorkeur attenderingscommunicatie.

Nee →
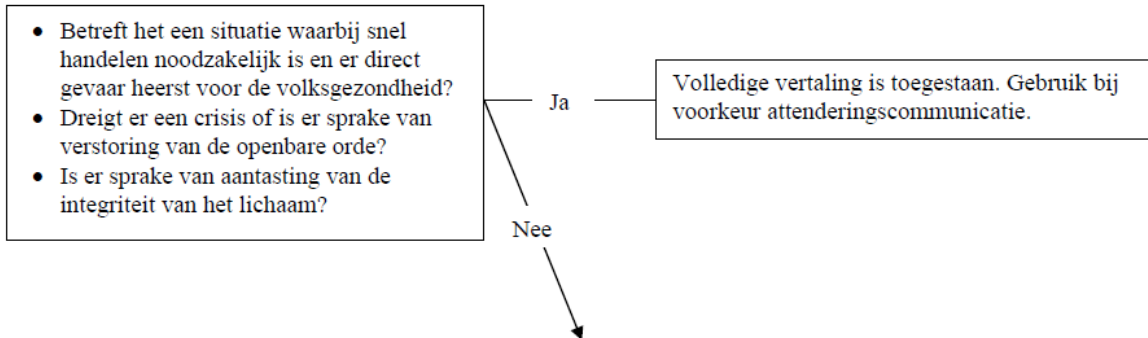
Oudkomers

Dit zijn vertegenwoordigers van de eerste generatie. Zij hebben in het verleden geen mogelijkheden gekregen voor het volgen van taallessen.
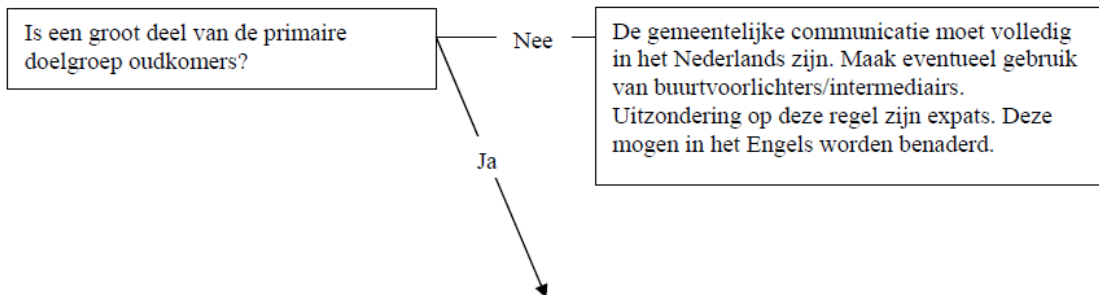
Is een groot deel van de primaire doelgroep oudkomers?

Nee → De gemeentelijke communicatie moet volledig in het Nederlands zijn. Maak eventueel gebruik van buurtvoorlichters/intermediairs. Uitzondering op deze regel zijn expats. Deze mogen in het Engels worden benaderd.

Ja →

Attenderingscommunicatie

Dit zijn aankondigingen, kopjes, citaten of een korte samenvatting in een vreemde taal. Bij het gebruik van samenvattingen moeten deze zo opgemaakt zijn, dat men de doelgroep beweegt tot het beter beheersen van de Nederlandse taal.

Bestaat een groot deel van de primaire doelgroep uit:
- oudkomers of net ingeburgerde Hagenaars?
- EU-inwoners die langdurig in Nederland verblijven?
- Asielzoekers?

Ja → Maak gebruik van attenderingscommunicatie.

Nee → De gemeentelijke communicatie moet volledig in het Nederlands zijn. Maak eventueel gebruik van buurtvoorlichters/intermediairs. Uitzondering op deze regel zijn expats. Deze mogen in het Engels worden benaderd.
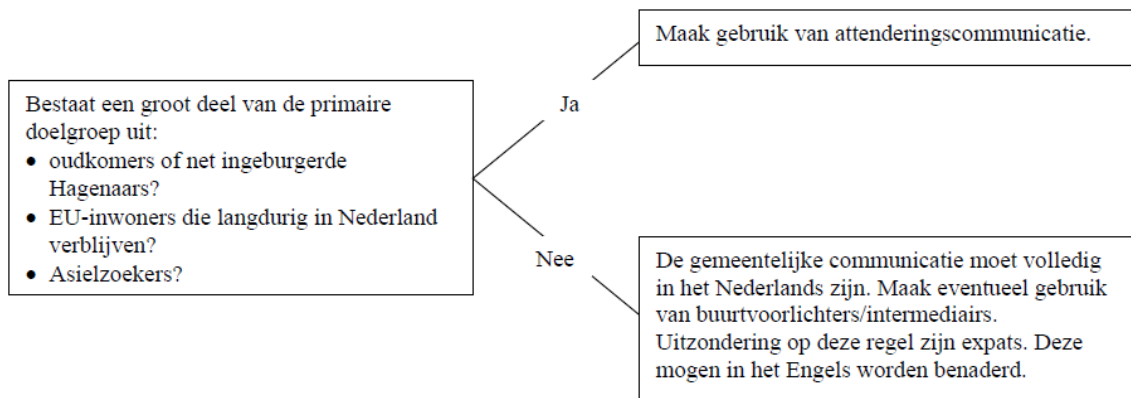
[page 3]
Toelichting gemeentelijk vertaalbeleid 'Nederlands tenzij…'
De uitzonderingsregels:

Levensbelang
Definitie van levensbelang volgens de Van Dale: 'iets dat voor het leven noodzakelijk is'. Voor deze uitzonderingsregel volgen we de richtlijnen van de RVD. Deze geven aan dat vertaling mag wanneer:
• er een risico voor de volksgezondheid dreigt;
• er een crisis dreigt of er sprake is van verstoring van de openbare orde;
• er sprake is van aantasting van de integriteit van het lichaam.
In bovenstaande situaties mag er in een andere taal gecommuniceerd worden. SMS-alerts in een andere taal of tolken van de gemeente bij bewonersbijeenkomsten kunnen dan ook worden ingezet. Nederlands blijft de hoofdtaal. Bij schriftelijke communicatie bijvoorbeeld bevat een tweetalige folder in ieder geval de Nederlandse taal. Bij internetpagina's is de hoofdpagina in het Nederlands. Via attenderingscommunicatie kan verwezen worden naar pagina's in andere talen. Dit advies heeft geen betrekking op wat er op denhaag.nl technisch en praktisch mogelijk is. Deze taak is belegd bij de Content Management Organisatie (CMO) van DPZ.

Oudkomers
In de meeste gevallen gaat het hier om de eerste generatie Turken en Marrokkanen. In het verleden heeft men geen mogelijkheden gekregen voor het volgen van taallessen. Nu wordt getracht hen de Nederlandse taal alsnog aan te leren. Een deel van de oudkomers is zelfs verplicht om in te burgeren (en dus Nederlands te leren). Het gaat dan om oudkomers die:
• geen Nederlands paspoort hebben;
• tussen de 16 en 65 jaar oud zijn;
• vóór 1 januari 2007 al in Nederland woonden en toen tussen de 5 en 17 jaar oud waren;
• op 1 januari 2007 minder dan acht jaar in Nederland woonden en toen tussen de 5 en 17 jaar oud waren;
• geen diploma's hebben die laten zien dat de Nederlandse taal goed wordt beheerst en er kennis over Nederland is.

Wanneer oudkomers (wel of niet inburgeringsplichtig) het grootste deel van de primaire doelgroep zijn mogen we attenderingscommunicatie inzetten. Ook kunnen we gebruikmaken van buurtvoorlichters/intermediairs. Deze personen (vaak vrijwilligers) kunnen in het Nederlands informatie ontvangen om vervolgens mondeling door te geven aan de doelgroep, in de taal die het meest geschikt is.

Worden er activiteiten zoals bewonersbijeenkomsten georganiseerd en zijn oudkomers een primaire doelgroep, dan volgt uit het gemeentelijk beleid dat wij niet voor tolken zorgen. Men kan er (via attenderingscommunicatie) op gewezen worden om zelf te zorgen voor een vertegenwoordiging (familielid, kennis etc.) die de taal verstaat.

Attenderingscommunicatie
Dit zijn aankondigingen, kopjes, citaten of een korte samenvatting in een vreemde taal. Attenderingscommunicatie geeft aan dat we het belangrijk vinden dat de doelgroep de informatie ontvangt. De informatie heeft direct betrekking op de doelgroep, of we willen graag dat de doelgroep mee doet aan iets

[page 4]
(gedragsverandering). Door (alleen) gebruik te maken van attenderingscommunicatie geven we een signaal af dat het belangrijk is om Nederlands te kunnen lezen en spreken. Attenderingscommunicatie kan worden ingezet voor:
• oudkomers;
• mensen die verplicht moeten inburgeren;
• mensen die hun inburgeringstraject net hebben afgerond;

• werknemers uit de Europese Unie die langdurig in Nederland verblijven;
• asielzoekers.

Inburgeringsplichtig
Naast de groep oudkomers zoals hierboven beschreven, is er nog een groep die verplicht moet inburgeren. Het gaat hier om mensen die:
• geen Nederlands paspoort hebben;
• tussen de 16 en 65 jaar oud zijn;
• na 1 januari 2007 in Nederland zijn komen wonen;
• geestelijke bedienaar zijn[1];
• asielzoeker zijn met een verblijfsvergunning.

[1] Een geestelijk bedienaar werkt als geestelijk voorganger, godsdienstleraar of zendeling voor een godsdienstige of levensbeschouwelijke genootschap.

Na het afronden van het inburgeringstraject kan niet verwacht worden dat iedereen de Nederlandse taal al goed beheerst. Om voor het inburgeringsexamen te slagen, moet men namelijk Nederlands op A2-niveau beheersen. De gemeentelijke communicatie ligt op niveau B1 of hoger. Wanneer aannemelijk is dat het grootste deel van de doelgroep de Nederlandse taal nog niet goed beheerst, mag gebruik worden gemaakt van attenderingscommunicatie.

EU-inwoners
Ook voor communicatie gericht op werknemers uit EU-lidstaten die langdurig in Nederland verblijven mag gebruik worden gemaakt van attenderingscommunicatie. Onder deze groep vallen ook de inwoners van Midden- en Oost Europa (zgn. MOE-landers). Door voor deze groep alleen attenderingscommunicatie in te zetten en niet 1 op 1 te vertalen, stimuleren we hen de Nederlandse taal te leren. Deze groep is niet verplicht om Nederlands te leren.

Asielzoekers
Op het moment dat een asielzoeker een verblijfsvergunning ontvangt, is deze verplicht in te burgeren. En dus de Nederlandse taal te leren. Asielzoekers die in asielzoekerscentra (azc) verblijven zijn niet verplicht de Nederlandse taal te leren. Om hen toch te stimuleren dit te doen, mag ook hier attenderingscommunicatie worden ingezet.

[page 5]
Vertaalbeleid op www.denhaag.nl
In gevallen waarbij de uitzonderingsregel 'van levensbelang' van toepassing is, is het toegestaan de informatie in meerdere talen aan te bieden op denhaag.nl. Voorwaarde is wel dat de hoofdpagina in het Nederlands is, waarna men door kan klikken naar de gewenste taal. Dit advies heeft geen betrekking op wat er op denhaag.nl technisch en praktisch mogelijk is. Deze taak is belegd bij de Content Management Organisatie (CMO) van DPZ.

Voor expats is een Engelstalige pagina beschikbaar. Daarnaast is het voor de juridische en diplomatieke internationale wereld van belang is dat ook in het Frans informatie beschikbaar is. Aangezien het vertaalbeleid aangeeft dat informatie voor expats in mindere mate in het Frans beschikbaar is, wordt in deze taal alleen statische informatie aangeboden op het internet. Voor andere talen wordt slechts een welkomsttekst op internet vermeld. Bij het aanklikken van deze taal wordt men doorgestuurd naar de Engelstalige pagina.

Aanleiding voor de uitwerking van het gemeentelijke vertaalbeleid 'Nederlands tenzij…'
In 2002 stelde de Haagse gemeenteraad een bondige richtlijn vast over het gebruik van vertalingen[2]:

[2] De richtlijn maakte deel uit van de nota "Gemeentelijk communicatiebeleid in multicultureel perspectief", die begin 2002 werd vastgesteld door de commissie ABPB (de toenmalige raadscie van burgemeester Deetman).

De gemeente communiceert in principe in het Nederlands, tenzij:
- de informatie van levensbelang is
- het oudkomers betreft in specifieke gevallen
- het om attenderingscommunicatie gaat in specifieke media
(Als gekozen wordt voor een vertaling dient overleg plaats te vinden met het betrokken diensthoofd.)

Het toenmalige multiculturele communicatiebeleid benadrukte tegelijk wel het belang van het bereiken van niet-westerse doelgroepen. Daarvoor zijn integrale vertalingen echter niet gewenst of noodzakelijk. Wel zou de gemeente - naast de genoemde attenderingscommunicatie - meer gebruik moeten maken van o.a. de Haagse doelgroepenradio, multiculturele beelden, multiculturele evenementen als podium voor gemeentelijke communicatie, allochtone intermediaire organisaties en netwerken, en 'last but not least' Helder Haags.

De toelichting bij de richtlijn uit 2002 is summier en niet zo helder. Het is dan ook niet vreemd dat er onder gemeentelijke communicatieadviseurs sterk behoefte is aan een duidelijker toelichting op:
- wat we onder 'levensbelang' verstaan;
- wie we onder 'oudkomers' rekenen;
- wat we onder 'attenderingscommunicatie' verstaan;

Communicatieadviseurs gaven aan meer handvatten nodig te hebben om duidelijkheid te kunnen geven aan hun opdrachtgevers over de regels en mogelijkheden rond vertalingen. Een duidelijke uitwerking en presentatie van het gemeentelijke vertaalbeleid kan helpen bij de 'onderhandelingen' van communicatieadviseurs met projectleiders over vertalingen en bovendien meer openingen bieden voor effectieve vertalingen.

Appendix D: Details of the Linguistic Landscape photographs

Figure (Sections 8.3/8.4)	Area	Street	Date	Why is this sign municipal and not private?
1	City Centre	Spui	22 July 2019	In front of municipal tourist information office. It includes the municipal city marketing slogan and municipal tourism website.
2	City Centre	Lange Vijverberg	22 July 2019	It includes the municipal city marketing slogan.
3	City Centre	Wagenstraat	22 July 2019	See Venema, 2011; Zuidervaart, 2007.
4	City Centre	Grote Marktstraat	22 July 2019	See Trouw, 2016.
5	Morgenstond	Melis Stokepark	22 July 2019	See Carve, 2010.
6a/b/c	International Zone	Stadhouderslaan	26 July 2019	Tourism website denhaag.com is mentioned.
7a/b	City Centre	Wagenstraat	22 July 2019	Pavement engraving.
8	Outside scope of thesis	Stationsweg	22 July 2019	See Den Haag, 2019h.
9a/b	City Centre	Rabbijn Maarsenplein	22 July 2019	Supported by municipality, see Stichting Joods Monument Den Haag, 2019.
10	International Zone	In front of the Peace Palace	24 July 2019	Unclear, but probably approved by municipality.
11	Morgenstond	Outside the municipal public service office on Leyweg	22 July 2019	Municipal library logo.
12	City Centre	Malieveld	24 July 2019	Sign states "*Gemeente Den Haag, Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken en Staatsbosbeheer*" ("Municipality of The Hague, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and State Forest Management").
13a/b/c	City Centre	Inside the City Hall on Spui	22 July 2019	Inside municipal public service office. The signs in figure 13b and 13c were erected by *Stichting Atrium City Hall* ('Atrium City Hall Foundation')*,* which is a separate organisation from the municipality of The Hague, but founded in cooperation with them (Den Haag, 2019a). Moreover, art exhibitions by *Stichting Atrium City Hall* do have to fit the municipality's policies, as they are located in the municipality's building (Den Haag, 2019l).

16a/b	City Centre	Inside the City Hall on Spui	1 August 2019	Inside municipal public service office.
16c	Morgenstond	Inside the municipal public service office on Leyweg	22 July 2019	Inside municipal public service office.
17	City Centre	Outside the City Hall, Kalvermarkt side	22 July 2019	Forms part of municipal public service office and has municipal e-mail address internationalcentre@denhaag.nl.
18	International Zone	Johan de Wittlaan	24 July 2019	Traffic sign is municipal (Den Haag, 2019b, 2019c; Ministerie van Algemene Zaken, 2015).
19	International Zone	In front of the Peace Palace	24 July 2019	Unclear, but probably approved by the municipality.
20	International Zone	In front of the Peace Palace	24 July 2019	Sign says "erected by the city of The Hague".
21a	Morgenstond	Tubbergenstraat	5 August 2019	Contains the municipal logo.
21b	City Centre	Heulstraat	5 August 2019	Contains the municipal logo.
22	City Centre	Grote Markt	8 August 2019	Contains the municipal logo.
23	City Centre	Noordeinde	22 July 2019	See Den Haag, 2019d.
24	City Centre	Lange Vijverberg	22 July 2019	Adjusted municipal city marketing slogan and link to municipal website.
25	City Centre	St. Jacobstraat	22 July 2019	Street name sign is municipal (Den Haag, 2019b, 2019c; Ministerie van Algemene Zaken, 2015).
26	City Centre	Spui	22 July 2019	On the building with the municipal library and municipal tourist information office.
27	City Centre	Noordeinde	22 July 2019	Signposts are municipal (Den Haag, 2019b, 2019c; Ministerie van Algemene Zaken, 2015). This signpost also contains a stork (symbol for The Hague).
28	City Centre	Next to Central Station	24 July 2019	Larger sign references the municipal tourism website denhaag.com.
29a/b	City Centre	Binnenhof	22 July 2019	Sign states that this is a project of the municipality and national government.
30	City Centre	Grote Marktstraat	22 July 2019	Unclear, but it is a traditional sign, so probably erected or approved by the municipality (Den Haag, 2019b, 2019c; Ministerie van Algemene Zaken, 2015).
31	City Centre	Kalvermarkt	8 August 2019	Municipal city marketing slogan.
32	City Centre	Spui	22 July 2019	Unclear, but this statue will probably have been approved by the municipality.
33	International Zone	Van Weede Van Dijkveldstraat	5 August 2019	Contains the former municipal logo.

34	City Centre	Herengracht	24 July 2019	The Embassy of The Hague is an initiative by the municipality (Ambassade van Den Haag, 2019).
35	City Centre	Grote Marktstraat, below street level	27 July 2019	Unclear, but probably approved by municipality.
36	City Centre	Gedempte Gracht	22 July 2019	Signposts are municipal (Den Haag, 2019b, 2019c; Ministerie van Algemene Zaken, 2015).
37	City Centre	Wagenstraat	22 July 2019	Contains the former municipal logo.
38	City Centre	Grote Marktstraat	22 July 2019	Followed by municipal city marketing slogan.
39	City Centre	Noordeinde	22 July 2019	Tourism website denhaag.com is mentioned.
40	City Centre	Plaats	22 July 2019	Contains the adjusted municipal city marketing slogan and link to municipal website.
41a	City Centre	Lange Poten	22 July 2019	Street name signs are municipal (Den Haag, 2019b, 2019c; Ministerie van Algemene Zaken, 2015).
41b	Morgenstond	Melis Stokelaan	22 July 2019	Street name signs are municipal (Den Haag, 2019b, 2019c; Ministerie van Algemene Zaken, 2015).
41c	International Zone	Frederik Hendriklaan	24 July 2019	Street name signs are municipal (Den Haag, 2019b, 2019c; Ministerie van Algemene Zaken, 2015).
42a	City Centre	Bezemstraat	22 July 2019	Traffic-related signs on municipal roads are municipal (Den Haag, 2019b, 2019c; Ministerie van Algemene Zaken, 2015).
42b	Morgenstond	Leyweg	22 July 2019	Traffic-related signs on municipal roads are municipal (Den Haag, 2019b, 2019c; Ministerie van Algemene Zaken, 2015).
42c	International Zone	Frederik Hendriklaan	24 July 2019	Traffic-related signs on municipal roads are municipal (Den Haag, 2019b, 2019c; Ministerie van Algemene Zaken, 2015).
43a	City Centre	Lange Poten	22 July 2019	Signposts on municipal roads are municipal (Den Haag, 2019b, 2019c; Ministerie van Algemene Zaken, 2015). This signpost also contains a stork (symbol for The Hague).
43b	Morgenstond	Melis Stokelaan	22 July 2019	Signposts on municipal roads are municipal (Den Haag, 2019b, 2019c; Ministerie van Algemene Zaken, 2015).

43c	International Zone	Stadhouderslaan	24 July 2019	Signposts on municipal roads are municipal (Den Haag, 2019b, 2019c; Ministerie van Algemene Zaken, 2015). This signpost also contains a stork (symbol for The Hague).
44a	City Centre	Noordeinde	22 July 2019	Contains the municipal logo and website.
44b	International Zone	Statenplein	24 July 2019	Contains the municipal logo and website.
45a	City Centre	Wagenstraat	5 August 2019	Parking-related signs are municipal (Den Haag, 2019b, 2019c; Ministerie van Algemene Zaken, 2015).
45b	Morgenstond	Koekangestraat	5 August 2019	Parking-related signs are municipal (Den Haag, 2019b, 2019c; Ministerie van Algemene Zaken, 2015).
45c	International Zone	Willem de Zwijgerlaan	5 August 2019	Parking-related signs are municipal (Den Haag, 2019b, 2019c; Ministerie van Algemene Zaken, 2015).
46a	Morgenstond	Zuiderpark	22 July 2019	Contains the municipal logo.
46b	International Zone	Westbroekpark	24 July 2019	Contains the former municipal logo.
47	Morgenstond	Swimming pool Zuiderpark	22 July 2019	Contains the municipal logo.
48	Morgenstond	Coevordenstraat	22 July 2019	Contains the municipal logo.
49a	City Centre	Malieveld	24 July 2019	Contains the former and current municipal logo.
49b	Morgenstond	Zuiderpark	22 July 2019	Contains the municipal logo.
49c	International Zone	Westbroekpark	24 July 2019	Contains the municipal logo.

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