‘One Society, One Language’:
Comparing the Language Ideologies of Dutch Language Experts in the Dutch East Indies during the Late Colonial Period (1899-1942) & the Dutch Civil Integration Period (1998-2020).

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Introduction

In 2018 Dutch Minister Koolmees of Social Affairs and Employment introduced a new Dutch civil integration policy system, which would be put into practice by 2021. In this new system, the language requirement was raised from CEFR-level A2 to CEFR-level B1, emphasizing the importance of the Dutch language for gaining Dutch citizenship. In an article concerning the Dutch language ideology presented in the Dutch civil integration system, Bjornson wrote that "The Dutch language is the key technology to the Dutch state's integration program."[1] Bjornson continues by stating that this emphasis on the Dutch language in the current civil integration policies is paradoxical, since the Netherlands was the only nation during the colonial period that ruled using a non-European language.[2] While Dutch during the seventeenth to nineteenth century did not play a large role in the Indonesian Archipelago, the same cannot necessarily be said for the late colonial period. During the twentieth century knowledge of the Dutch language increased dramatically among the non-European population. In 1900 there were roughly 5000 non-European speakers of the Dutch language, which had risen to 1,294,000 in 1942.[3] This shows that in the late colonial period, the Dutch language was rapidly gaining importance, which is contradictory to Bjornson's statements. In order to clearly understand the development of the Dutch language ideology, further research is needed. This thesis hopes to fill that gap.

Comparing Dutch as a second language education during the colonial period and the civil integration period is and has not been a common practice. Groeneboer states that when building Dutch as a second language education in the seventies and eighties, themes such as Dutch as a first or second language, direct or indirect language learning, and formal vs. functional grammar, were re-introduced in the Netherlands, even though these themes were already discussed in the late colonial period in the Dutch East Indies. Dutch language teaching methods, such as the Delftse methode, were also presented as new and revolutionary, even though a similar rational language teaching model had been in use during the late colonial period.[4]

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[1] Marnie Bjornson, 'Speaking of Citizenship: Language Ideologies in Dutch Citizenship Regimes', *Focaal* 49 (2007) 65-80, 65.
[2] Ibidem, 65-66.
[3] Kees Groeneboer, *Weg Tot Het Westen: Het Nederlands Voor Indië 1600-1950: Een Taalpolitieke Geschiedenis* (Leiden 1993) 239-240.
[4] Ibidem, 275.

These themes were of importance in both instances due to the similarities in the Dutch language education in both situations. First of all, both situations consisted out of multilingual settings. In the late colonial period, languages such as Malay but also many local languages and creoles competed with the Dutch language.[5] In the civil integration debate, aside from the prevalence of the English language, migrants also have a variety of first languages that are often still spoken among speech communities in the Netherlands.[6] Second, in both situations the Dutch government decided that Dutch should be learned. In the civil integration period this is done via the civil integration policies and in the late colonial period in the Dutch Indies, the Dutch government required Dutch to be taught in the education system. Through these policies, there appears to be an important connection between language and nationality in the two situations, which fuels the drive behind teaching the Dutch language to non-Dutch speakers. During the civil integration debate, language learners learn the Dutch language in order to gain Dutch citizenship. In the late colonial period, the Dutch East Indies were a part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands.

The connection between nationality and language also emerges when looking at language ideology research. The field of language ideology focuses on the perceived role of a language. It does not look at language policies, but the arguments used in favour of these policies.[7] With regards to language and nations, there is often an ideology that a language belongs to a people, which in turn belongs to a nation. To take this further, languages are often viewed as a symbol for group membership and political allegiance.[8] Several studies have looked at language ideologies presented in civil integration debates in Europe. Milani and Hansen-Thomas have looked at the language ideologies of politicians in respectively Sweden and Germany, while Bjornson has looked at language ideology in the Netherlands by observing civil integration courses in Rotterdam.[9] However, neither of these has looked at the way in which language

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[5] Ibidem, 238-239.
[6] Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Talen voor Nederland (Rapport, Amsterdam 2008) 26-29.
[7] Kathryn A. Woolard, 'Bernardo de Aldrete and the Morisco problem: A study in early modern Spanish language ideology', *Comparative studies in society and history* 44 (2002) 3, 446-480, 446.
[8] Kathryn A. Woolard and Bambi B. Schieffelin, 'Language Ideology', *Annual Review of Anthropology* 23(1994) 1, 55-82, 60-61.
[9] M. Tommaso Milani, 'Language Testing and Citizenship: A Language Ideological Debate in Sweden', *Language in Society* 37 (2008) 1, 27-59; Holly Hansen-Thomas, 'Language Ideology,

ideology is presented by Dutch as a second language experts and teaching materials. Furthermore, the language ideology of the Dutch language in the Dutch East Indies has been largely overlooked by current and past research, with the exception of Kees Groeneboer. Groeneboer has written a book on the Dutch language in the Indonesian Archipelago spanning from the seventeenth until the twentieth century. He has not focused specifically on language ideology, but states to have used a historic-sociolinguistic approach.[10]

This thesis hopes to fill the above mentioned gaps in the literature by focusing on the language ideology of the Dutch language in the Dutch East Indies from 1899 until 1942 and the civil integration debate in the Netherlands in the period from 1998 until 2020. It will look specifically at the language ideologies presented by Dutch as a second language teaching materials and experts, since these sources have been largely ignored by previous research and can provide information concerning arguments used for teaching the Dutch language to non-Dutch speakers. By comparing two time periods, this thesis hopes to provide information about how language ideologies have changed or remained constant over the years. Previous research has also shown a connection between nationalist identities and language ideologies. By analysing the language ideologies of Dutch as a second language experts, this study also hopes to shed light on Dutch nationalist identities in both periods and whether these identities can be discerned by analysing language ideologies.

To do so, this thesis will attempt to answer the following research question: How has the language ideology of Dutch as a second language experts in the civil integration debate in the Netherlands in the period from 1998 to 2020 developed from the language ideology present in the Dutch East Indies in the period from 1899 to 1942? In order to answer this research question several sub-questions have been formulated. The first subquestion is as follows: What is the language ideology of the Dutch language of Dutch as a second language education experts in the Dutch East Indies during in the period from 1899 to 1942? This question will be studied in the second chapter of the thesis. The second subquestion is the following: What is the language ideology of the Dutch language of Dutch as a second language education experts in the Netherlands during the civil integration debate in the period from 1998 to 2020? This question will be answered in the third chapter of the thesis.

Citizenship, and Identity: The Case of Modern Germany', *Journal of Language and Politics* 6 (2007) 2, 249-264; Bjornson, 'Speaking of Citizenship', 71.

[10] Groeneboer, *Weg tot het Westen*. 2-7.

Methodology

The aforementioned questions will be answered using a combination of historical research and (socio-)linguistic research. To be more precise, a linguistic approach will be used to study historical sources. More detailed information on this approach will be presented in the first chapter of the thesis. These historical sources consist of a combination of metalinguistic discourses about the Dutch language, and Dutch language teaching materials within a Dutch as a second language context. The former will involve an analysis of the arguments used in favour of the use of the Dutch language. The latter will involve the studying of unconscious language ideology stemming from speech practices. By combining conscious and unconscious language ideologies, this study hopes to provide an overview that is as complete as possible on the language ideologies of Dutch as a second language education experts. For both periods, sources have been selected based on the presence of a metalinguistic discussion, the importance and representativeness of the source within the Dutch as a second language field, and the presence of a similar source in both time periods in order to ensure a fair comparison.

In the civil integration case study, metalinguistic discourses from the Taalunie and the ITTA have been selected. The Taalunie is an organisation that develops and stimulates language policies for the Dutch language in the Netherlands and Flanders. As one of their focus areas they mention Dutch as a second language education inside and outside the language area. From this organisation one publication or 'vision text' has been selected based on its focus on the Dutch language within the civil integration law in the Netherlands and Flanders.[11] The second source that will be studied in this part of the thesis entails two publications and the mission statement of the ITTA, a language knowledge centre of Dutch as a first and second language connected to the University of Amsterdam. This organisation has been selected due to their involvement in Dutch as a second language education by educating language teachers, influencing Dutch education policies, and publications about civil integration and Dutch language learning.[12] In order to look further into the language ideology presented by ITTA, publications of members of the

[11] Taalunie, 'Wie wij zijn' (n.d.), https://taalunie.org/over-de-taalunie-/wie-wij-zijn (29 November 2020); W.E. Coumou, E. Maton, E. Peytier, and I. Schuurmans, Visietekst inburgering. Doelbewust inburgeren: een visie op de inburgering van nieuwkomers en oudkomers in Nederland en Vlaanderen (Visietekst, Den Haag 2002) 1-2.
[12] ITTA, 'Onze Visie' (n.d.), https://www.itta.uva.nl/onze-visie-23 (29 November 2020).

organisation in the magazine *Les* will be studied. *Les* is a periodical focused on Dutch as a second language and language education in general.[13]

In the late colonial period, two comparable source materials have been selected in order to look at the conscious metalinguistic discourse concerning the Dutch language. The first of these concerns several periodicals from the Indonesian group of the *Algemeen Nederlands Verbond* (A.N.V.). This group was founded in 1899, profiled itself as a language federation, and influenced all matters relating to the Dutch language in the East Indies.[14] This subgroup has published two periodicals: *Ons Volksbestaan* was published monthly in the years 1905 until 1908, and *Tropisch Nederland* was a similar publication in the years 1913-1914. Both of these periodicals have been studied and articles discussing the use of the Dutch language have been selected. These articles encompass the mission statement from the organisation that was published in the first periodical of *Ons Volksbestaan*, a monologue from Th. J.A. Hilgers published in the April 1905 edition of *Ons Volksbestaan*, the revised statutes of the group *Nederlands-Indië* (N.I.) that were published in February 1906, an article by Habbema published in *Ons Volksbestaan* in 1907, the revised mission statement of the group N.I. presented in the first edition of *Tropisch Nederland* in 1913, an article on the future of the Dutch language of the same edition, and an article from the department of Semarang discussing a speech from Atmodirono published in 1913 in *Tropisch Nederland.*[15] In the colonial period, a larger variety of articles is discussed. However these articles are significantly smaller in size than the articles discussed in the civil integration period.

The second source material that has been selected in order to analyse the conscious metalinguistic discourse of Dutch as a Second language experts entails *Het Nederlandsch in Indië: Een Bronnenboek*, written by Dr. G.J. Nieuwenhuis. With the *Bronnenboek,* Nieuwenhuis

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[13] Simon Verhallen, 'Meedoen in de praktijk: Praktijkervaring en praktijkleren in de nieuwe inburgering', *Les* 145 (2007) 5-6; Elwine Halewijn and Petra Popma, 'Wat vinden de klanten ervan? Staatsexamens NT2 en de werkgevers', *Les* 179 (2012) 26-29.
[14] Groeneboer, *Weg tot het Westen,* 240-244.
[15] A.S. Carpentier Alting, 'Een Woord Vooraf', *Ons Volksbestaan* 1 (1905) 1-2; Th. J.A. Hilgers, 'Ons streven en werken in het belang van de Nederlandsche taal', *Ons Volksbestaan* 1 (1905) 42-43; J. Habbema, 'Maleisch of Hollandsch in de Kazerne?', *Ons Volksbestaan* 3 (1907) 239-240; Groep Nederlandsch-Indië van het Algemeen Nederlandsch Verbond, 'Een nieuw blad', *Tropisch Nederland* 1 (1913) 2-3; Groep Nederlandsch-Indië van het Algemeen Nederlandsch Verbond, 'Toekomst' *Tropisch Nederland* 1 (1913) 5-6; Afdeling Semarang, 'Het Nederlandsch en de Javanen', *Tropisch Nederland* 1 (1913) 96-97.

introduces a new language education that has had a significant effect on the Dutch language education in the Dutch Indies. Groeneboer estimates that roughly half a million children have had Dutch education using the teaching method. Furthermore, by publishing his *Bronnenboek*, Nieuwenhuis has inspired a discussion concerning language pedagogy, education, and, most importantly for this study, the role of the Dutch language for the Dutch Indies. Aside from his didactical and linguistic ideas, Nieuwenhuis also presented a chapter on the history of the Dutch language and the meaning of this language. This chapter will form the basis of the analysis, due to the large amount of metalinguistic thought that Nieuwenhuis has presented.[16]

Finally, for each time period two language teaching methods have been selected in order to study the unconscious language ideologies of Dutch as a second language education experts. The selected teaching methods are both part of the so-called rationalist movement, which entails that language learners receive a purposefully limited amount of language input that has been selected based on frequency of use. This particular teaching method has been chosen because of its heavy focus on texts to learn the Dutch language and because it has two distinct learning methods in both time periods who use this method, which enhances the comparability. For the civil integration debate, the fifth edition of the textbook, published in 2018, will be discussed, as well as the teacher's manual (*De Delftse Methode voor Docenten*) dating from 2012.[17] The Delftse teaching method was developed in 1983 and has been in use for learning the Dutch language to non-Dutch speakers ever since. In the late colonial period, a Dutch teaching method called *Een Nieuwe Wereld: Nederlandse Taalmethode voor het Inlands onderwijs,* published first in 1938/1939 and written by J.F.H.A. de la Court with the help of Muhd Rasjid has been selected.[18] The method did not have a great impact in the Dutch Indies, but according to

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[16] G.J. Nieuwenhuis, *Het Nederlandsch in Indië: Een Bronnenboek Voor Het Onderwijs in De Nieuwe Richting* (2nd edition; Groningen 1930) 1-22; Groeneboer, *Weg tot het Westen,* 274-275.
[17] Alied Blom*, De Delftse methode voor docenten: Didactiek, gebruik en implementatie* (Amsterdam 2012); Bondi Sciarone, Piet Meijer, Conny Wesdijk, Sonja van Boxtel, and Astrid van Laar, *Nederlands voor Buitenlanders: Delftse methode, vijfde herziene editie* (5th edition; Amsterdam 2018).
[18] J.F.H.A. de la Court and Muhd Rasjid, *Een Nieuwe Wereld: Nederlandse Taalmethode voor het Indonesisch Onderwijs: Eerste Deeltje* (7th edition; Batavia/Djakarta 1949); J.F.H.A. de la Court and Muhd Rasjid, *Een Nieuwe Wereld: Nederlandse Taalmethode voor het Indonesisch Onderwijs: Tweede Deeltje* (6th edition; Batavia/Djakarta 1949); J.F.H.A. de la Court and Muhd Rasjid, *Een Nieuwe Wereld: Nederlandse Taalmethode voor het Indonesisch Onderwijs: Derde Deeltje* (4th edition; Batavia 1947); J.F.H.A. de la Court and Moehd Rasjid, *Een Nieuwe Wereld:*

Groeneboer this was not due to a lack of quality of the materials. *Een Nieuwe Wereld* was first published in 1939, only three years before the Japanese invasion, and did not have enough time to make an impact.[19] Nevertheless, the method was successful enough to warrant at least seven editions, printed from 1939 to 1949.

All of these materials have been accessed through the KITLV archives at the Leiden University Library or via materials available on the websites of the language organisations. A final note should be made that materials are presented in chronological order and that attention has been paid to select materials that span the entirety of the time period selected.

Nederlandse Taalmethode voor het Indonesisch Onderwijs: Vierde Deeltje (3rd edition; Batavia/Djakarta 1949).

[19] Groeneboer, *Weg tot het Westen,* 274.

Chapter 1: A Linguistic Approach to Historical Sources

As previously mentioned, this thesis aims to study the development of the language ideology of the Dutch language by using a linguistic approach combined with historical sources. Combining the fields of (socio-)linguistics and history may lead to surprising new findings and shed new light upon historical topics and language ideology theory. This chapter aims to provide contextual information about the theoretical field of language ideology research in order to illuminate the choice for and lay the foundation of the approach used in the upcoming two chapters.

Language Ideology as a Field of Study

The field of language ideology has an interdisciplinary nature and contains influences from linguistics, sociology and anthropology.[20] Its focus lies on language ideologies, which Silverstein defines as "sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalisation or justification of perceived language structure and use".[21] In a different work, Woolard describes language ideology as "the cultural construals of the intersection of language and human beings in a social world".[22] She continues to explain that language ideology is of importance due to its wider scope than just language. Language ideologies illuminate a people's perceived relation to others and how they view themselves. In other words, it explains how people place themselves within a larger world. When looking at language ideologies, Woolard states that it is important not to just look at the general policy, but also at the arguments used for the policy. One should not look at the imposition of one language over another, but for the reasons why the language is thought to be superior.[23] According to Woolard and Schieffelin, the field is divided on the topic of the consciousness of actors concerning their language ideology. This debate is related to how ideology can be studied. When looking at ideology as an unconscious part of language use, ideology might be able to be discerned from linguistic use. However, researchers can also look at

[20] Woolard and Schieffelin, 'Language Ideology', 55.
[21] M. Silverstein, 'Language structure and linguistic ideology', in: R. Clyne, W. Hanks, and C. Hofbauer (ed.), *The Elements: A Parasession on Linguistic Units and Levels* (Chicago 1979) 193-247, 193.
[22] Woolard, 'Bernardo de Aldrete and the Morisco problem', 447.
[23] Ibidem, 446.

metalinguistic discourse, in which the language is a topic of discourse.[24] As previously mentioned, this thesis aims to combine both of these approaches. Combining methods to study unconscious and conscious language ideologies provides a more complete view of the language ideology, as well as provides answers concerning whether there is a difference in conscious and unconscious language ideology and to what extend speakers are conscious about their language ideology.

The Use of Language Ideology in Historical Research

Using a linguistic approach to historical sources has several advantages. As Woolard explains, "language ideologies are of broad interest, because they are never about language alone. They also delimit peoples, define their natures, order their relations, and channel their movements through the world".[25] In her article, Woolard studies Aldrete's work, *On the origin and beginnings of the Castilian language or, Romance, which is used in Spain today* published in 1606. Through this historic text, she analyses Aldrete's claims in order to see how he views the world around him, in particular Spanish society and the 'marisco problem'.[26] A similar approach was taken by Kasuya and Nana, who, respectively, analysed the language ideology of the French language within a historical context, and the language ideology in Cameroon Schools from a colonial perspective.[27] Through the use of language ideology, one can see how people viewed the world around them and gain insights into social and political arguments that are deemed important at the time.

Language ideologies are particularly interesting to study with regards to national identities. The concept of language is highly interwoven with the concept of nation. According to Gal the concept of language stems from Europe. Its roots can be traced back to the enlightenment period, although there are signs that 'language' as a concept was already discussed before that.[28]

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[24] Woolard and Schieffelin, 'Language Ideology', 57-58.
[25] Woolard, 'Bernardo de Aldrete and the Morisco problem', 447.
[26] Ibidem, 447-448.
[27] Keisuke Kasuya, 'Discourses of linguistic dominance: A historical consideration of French language ideology', *International review of education* 47 (2001) 3-4, 235-251; Genevoix Nana, 'Language ideology and the colonial legacy in Cameroon schools: a historical perspective', *Journal of Education and Training Studies* 4 (2016) 4, 168-196.
[28] Susan Gal, 'Migration, minorities and multilingualism: Language ideologies in Europe', in: Clare Mar-Molinero and Patrick Stevenson (ed.), *Language ideologies, policies and practices* (London 2006) 13-27, 14; Woolard, 'Bernardo de Aldrete and the Morisco problem', 446.

An important aspect of this concept is the relationship between a language and a people. To take this even further, there seems to be an ideological relationship between language and nation. This concept is often also called the Romantic or Herderian concept of language, or simply 'one nation, one language'.[29] In these discourses, languages are generally viewed as homogeneous, and boundaries are clearcut by the inability to comprehend speakers from another language, even though these ideals are highly unrealistic.[30] The idea concerning the relationship between language, nation and people is Western-centered, according to Woolard and Schieffelin, yet has found its way across the globe during the colonial period.[31] The thought that a language ought to be distinctly different from others and can therefore be named and counted, has also been used in cases of social domination.[32] With regards to the connection between language ideology and nationalist ideology, Blommaert and Verschueren state that language plays a fundamental role in distinguishing members from non-members of a nation or ethnic group. Nations are hereby often represented as an objective, natural and near biological unit.[33] Woolard and Schieffelin also mention the importance of language as a symbol of political allegiance, group identity, or moral worth.[34] Language ideology research can thus be seen as a method of analysing and viewing a person's view of the world, nationalist identity, and group membership.

Language Ideology & the Case Studies

Looking at nationality through the lens of language ideology is particularly interesting to study for Dutch as a second language in the late colonial period and the civil integration debate, since in both cases nationality takes up an important role with regards to knowledge of the Dutch language. In the colonial period, orientalism is likely to have played a large role in how Europeans positioned themselves in the world and the language ideologies they held. Orientalism according to Said, can be described as an academic discipline, a style of thought focusing on the dichotomy between the East (or the Orient) and the West (or the Occident), and as a Western

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[29] Kathryn A. Woolard, 'Language Ideology: Issues and Approaches', *Pragmatics* 2 (1992) 3, 235-249, 239.
[30] Gal, 'Migration, minorities and multilingualism', 15.
[31] Woolard and Schieffelin, 'Language ideology', 60-61.
[32] Woolard, 'Language Ideology: Issues and Approaches', 238.
[33] Jan Blommaert and Jef Verschueren, 'The role of language in European nationalist ideologies', *Pragmatics* 2 (1992) 3, 355-375, 367, 375.
[34] Woolard and Schieffelin, 'Language Ideology', 60-61.

manner of dominating the East.[35] Gal and Irvine state that language analyses have strengthened orientalist narratives in which Western language ideologies were reinforced by being opposed to specific representations of the East.[36] Important in this view is the idea of the Orient as one of Europe's "deepest and most recurrent images of the Other".[37] Alongside Orientalism, Pennycook mentions three other poles that made up the English Colonial language policy: imperial global capitalism, the European insistence to bring 'civilisation' to the East, and local instances related to race, class, ethnicity and economic situations.[38] Nana also mentions the use of the argument that language education was thought to bring 'civilisation' to the Cameroon by the colonial language policies of the French and British.[39]

In the civil integration debate, several secondary sources have looked at language ideologies surrounding civil integration debates in Europe. Hansen-Thomas found that in the German civil integration debate there was a prevailing 'one nation, one language' ideology. Furthermore, Hansen-Thomas also reported a connection between language, citizenship, identity and Germanness, which has influenced immigration and integration policies in Germany.[40] Milani has looked at language ideology of the Swedish language during the debate concerning the implementation of a language test in a new integration policy. He concludes that claims in favour of the language test seem to create identities based around the idea of self vs. other, in which the national identity of who is allowed to call oneself a Swede is of large importance. Milani ends his article by stating that the concept of language mastery is used in language ideologies in which language is used as an in-group, out-group measure.[41] Bjornson has looked at the language ideology of the Dutch language in the civil integration debate in the Netherlands. She emphasises the linguistic nationalism that lies at the centre of the inclusion of linguistic restrictions to Dutch citizenship, which, according to Bjornson, exposes the fragility of the

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[35] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York 1979) 2-3.
[36] Judith T. Irvine and Susan Gal, 'Language Ideology and Linguistic Differentiation', in: Alessandro Duranti (ed.), *Linguistic Anthropology: A Reader* (2nd edition; West Sussex 2007) 402-427, 423.
[37] Said, *Orientalism,* 1.
[38] Alastair Pennycook, 'Language, Ideology and Hindsight: Lessons from Colonial Language Policies', in: Thomas Ricento (ed.), *Ideology, Politics and Language Policies* (Amsterdam 2000) 49-66, 50.
[39] Nana, 'Language ideology and the colonial legacy in Cameroon schools', 174, 180.
[40] Hansen-Thomas, 'Language Ideology, Citizenship, and Identity', 261.
[41] Milani, 'Language Testing and Citizenship', 52-53.

hegemonic state.[42] Furthermore, Bjornson states that the Dutch integration policy seems to combine the 'one nation, one language' ideology and the 'language as a commodity' ideology. Whereas the former seems to refer to the idea that each nation ought to have one language, the second idea focuses on linguistic skills as commodities that are of importance on the knowledge-focused job market. According to Bjornson, the 'language as a commodity' ideology has come to dominate the earlier 'one nation, one language' ideologies.[43]

[42] Bjornson, 'Speaking of Citizenship', 76.
[43] Ibidem, 67.

Chapter 2: Language Ideology & the Ethical period in the Dutch East Indies, 1899-1942.

This chapter will look at the language ideology of the Dutch language during the ethical period in the Dutch East Indies. It will do so using the following research question: What is the language ideology of Dutch as a second language education experts in the Dutch East Indies from 1899 to 1942? A historical overview will be presented first, followed by a contextual overview of the Ethical period and a brief description of the didactical field of Dutch language education during the late colonial period. In the second part of this chapter, the language ideology of Dutch as a second language experts will be analysed from several primary sources. Through this analysis, insight into the Dutch national identity will hopefully be gathered.

2.1 The History and Context of the Dutch language in the Dutch East Indies

During the seventeenth to eighteenth century, the Dutch language only played a small role in the Indonesian Archipelago. It had to endure fierce competition from lingua francas such as Malay and Portuguese, as well as many local languages, pidgins and creoles.[44] Over the years, several researchers have put forward several explanations for the insignificant position of the Dutch language overseas during the VOC-period. Some state that this may be due to the size of the Asian communities, which proved to be resistant against the new language. Others state that this may be because Portuguese was already an established European language.[45] According to Willemyns, the Dutch had adopted a pragmatic strategy by communicating via other languages.[46] The use of interpreters came with some risks, and thus, Pytlowany and Van Hal, conclude that knowledge of local languages was necessary.[47] Furthermore, teaching the Dutch language was also seen to lead to certain risks. According to Willemyns, the company was afraid that when the local inhabitants learned the Dutch language, they might use this knowledge against the Dutch colonial rulers.[48] The VOC went bankrupt and was officially disbanded on the first of January, 1800. The overseas properties of the company were immediately transferred to the Dutch

[44] Groeneboer, *Weg Tot Het Westen,* 16.
[45] Ibidem, 21-22, 388, 383.
[46] Roland Willemyns, *Dutch: Biography of a language* (Oxford 2013) 212-214.
[47] Anna Pytlowany and Toon van Hal, 'Merchants, scholars and languages. The circulation of linguistic knowledge in the context of the Dutch United East India Company (VOC)', *HEL: Histoire, Épistémologie, Langage* 38 (2016) 1, 19-38, 22.
[48] Willemyns, *Dutch,* 197; Pytlowany and Van Hal, 'Merchants, scholars and languages', 23.

government. According to Ricklefs, there this did not lead to significant immediate change in the Indies.[49]

In the first half of the nineteenth century, Groeneboer states that the European population was the focus of the education system of the East Indies. The Dutch language was not deemed appropriate for the local population, due to the complicatedness of the language and because it may affect the requirement for Dutch officials to learn Malay. The Dutch government encouraged the European inhabitants to learn Malay, Javanese and other local languages.[50] In the nineteenth century the European population consisted mainly out of Indo-Europeans (80-70% of the European population) who rarely were brought up with Dutch as their first language. This was made worse since the wealthy Dutch population sent their children to the Netherlands for their education or to schools that were meant specifically for the wealthiest. As a result, schools that were meant for the less wealthy Europeans were often populated by children whose first language was Malay, Javanese or a creole of Malay and Dutch.[51] At the end of the nineteenth century the language problem remained. Attempts to change the main language in education officially to Malay were rejected fiercely, since this might give the children the idea that Dutch is not their language. In 1900 at the first class of the public primary school, Groeneboer estimates that 30% of the pupils spoke Dutch, 35% knew a little of the language and 35% had no knowledge of Dutch. Languages that were spoken at the time included simplified version of Malay, Javanese, and Petjo, a Dutch-Indonesian creole.[52]

At the start of the twentieth century, there were roughly 42,000 Dutch speaking people in the entirety of the Dutch East Indies, whose population counted 35 million. Roughly 36,000 of these were Europeans who spoke Dutch at home or at work. This left roughly 6,000 non-Europeans with knowledge of the Dutch language.[53] During the next fifty years, the Dutch language reached its peak popularity. In 1942, at the brink of the Second World War, there were roughly 300,000 Dutch speaking Europeans, 1,294,000 Dutch speaking local inhabitants, and 337,000 Dutch speaking other Asian inhabitants[54] Influences such as the expanded power of the

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[49] Merle Calvin Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia since c. 1200* (New York 2008) 144.
[50] Groeneboer, *Weg tot het Westen*, 105-106.
[51] Ibidem, 114-115.
[52] Ibidem, 141-144.
[53] Ibidem, 236.
[54] Ibidem, 392.

Dutch government, and the increase of the bureaucratic system that followed, played a role in this development, as well as the increased non-governmental interest in the Indonesian markets. But the most important influence, according to Groeneboer, came from changes made in the educational system due to the Ethical course.[55]

The Ethical Course

The ideas behind the ethical course stem from the late nineteenth century. According to Lelyveld the foundation of this policy comes from A. Kuijper who stated in his anti-revolutionary party that the exploitation of the colonies for the state or the individual should be replaced by a moral calling in which the raising of the colony should take a central role.[56] According to Locher-Scholten, Kuijper already discussed a moral obligation towards the colonies in 1874.[57] The governmental policies in the Indies were only changed 1900, due to the work of P. Brooshooft in 1901 and C.Th. van Deventer in 1899. Brooshooft appears to be the coiner of the term 'the ethical course' in his brochure that strives for the protection of the weaker Javanese by the stronger European. Two years earlier, Van Deventer had criticised the government of the Indies by discussing what he called 'an honorary debt'. This entailed that the Dutch government had earned a lot in the Indies and that, in return, it ought to provide elementary provisions such as education and healthcare.[58]

Locher-Scholten furthermore states that ethical arguments were not solely used in colonial politics. Such terms had been used in international relations since the 1840's and gained in use during the 1890's due to the intensifying international tensions in Europe. Morality was furthermore a popular narrative used in defending policies towards the general public.[59] Raben and Bloembergen also mention the importance of ethical arguments in order to justify the interventions of the colonists in non-Western parts of the world.[60] Complimenting the ethical

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[55] Ibidem, 239-240.
[56] J.E.A.M. Lelyveld, "... waarlijk geen overdaad, doch een dringende eisch..." Koloniaal onderwijs en onderwijsbeleid in Nederlands-Indië 1893-1942 (PhD thesis, Utrecht 1992) 37.
[57] Elsbeth Locher-Scholten, *Ethiek in Fragmenten: Vijf Studies over Koloniaal Denken En Doen Van Nederlanders in De Indonesische Archipel, 1877-1942* (Utrecht 1981) 178.
[58] Locher-Scholten, *Ethiek in Fragmenten,* 177-178; Lelyveld, "... waarlijk geen overdaad, doch een dringende eisch...", 37.
[59] Locher-Scholten, *Ethiek in Fragmenten,* 178-180.
[60] Marieke Bloembergen and Remco Raben, *Het Koloniale Beschavingsoffensief: Wegen naar het Nieuwe Indië 1890-1950* (Leiden 2009) 7.

discourse was the association-theory. This theory stemmed from J. Harmand and entails that the Western culture ruled over the indigenous culture because the former is more civilised.[61]

Defining the ethical period is a difficult task. Perhaps the most succinct definition stems from Locher-Scholten who states that ethical politics entail "policies that are focused on putting the entire Indonesian archipelago under a realistic Dutch authority and on the development of the land and population of this area working towards self-government under a Dutch ruler following a Western model".[62] This definition ties into Raben and Bloembergen's statement that the focus on civilising was an instrument and a means to legitimise imperialist increases of power.[63] Raben and Bloembergen also mention the difficulty of defining the ethical period. According to them, the late-colonial period in the Dutch Indies was a complex time filled with tensions and contradictions concerning civilising and repressing, and acknowledging indigenous cultures and emphasising western superiority.

They emphasise the concepts of modernity, citizenship, and civilisation as a way of viewing the late colonial period. Modernity is connected to the ethical period, since ethical policies were focused on leading the colony towards modern times.[64] Citizenship is mentioned due to the discussions that were held concerning nation and the participation of different kinds of citizens and subjects. Raben and Bloembergen mention the rise of a cultural colonial citizenship, which would intertwine modern culture in both locations.[65] Civilisation was finally mentioned as a way to describe the strife for a modern society. It manifested itself in two ways. On the one hand there was the aspirations towards a modern society, but on the other there was also an increased interest in the history of the local civilisation. The latter could also be interpreted as a method of legitimising the nation, which would then fulfil a modern need.[66]

It is quite complicated to pinpoint when exactly the ethical period began. For this master thesis, the date of 1899 is seen as the start of the ethical policies. This date has been chosen since it was year in which Van Deventer published his article concerning the honorary debt. This article has been seen as the beginning of the debate concerning the ethical course in the Dutch

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[61] Lelyveld, "... waarlijk geen overdaad, doch een dringende eisch...", 38.
[62] Locher-Scholten, *Ethiek in Fragmenten,* 201.
[63] Raben and Bloembergen, *Het Koloniale Beschavingsoffensief,* 7.
[64] Ibidem, 9
[65] Ibidem, 13.
[66] Ibidem, 13-14.

East Indies.[67] Regardless of the difficulties defining (the start of) the ethical politics and the practical effects of the policies concerning the explorative practices, the ethical course did have an effect on the Dutch education in the East Indies.[68] As Ricklefs states: although very little changed with regards to exploitative practices, the importance of the ethical policies was significant.[69]

Dutch Language Education

The Dutch language in the Indies was taught through the education system implemented by the Dutch government. In the period between 1901 until 1914 the foundation of an education system was created which would remain in place until 1942. This system is known for its division into layers. Lelyveld discusses a duality in the system, referring to the Indigenous education and the European education.[70] The European primary education was further divided into the first Europese Lagere School (ELS) and the non-first ELS. The first ELS was only open to Europeans who could afford the higher tuition fees, whereas the non-first ELS was open to all Europeans (and some 'natives' where also allowed to attend). These schools were based on the Dutch primary education system. The schools for the indigenous population were also divided into the first class school and the second class school.[71]

Secondary education in the Dutch East Indies was organised similarly to the education system in the Netherlands. Students of the first ELS could automatically enrol in the *Hogere Burgerschool* (HBS), whereas students from the non-first ELS and HIS first had to complete the *Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs* (MULO) before being able to participate in the HBS entrance examinations. Alongside the HBS there were several vocational schools. Based on this education system, Luttikhuis argues that there is a threefold division into a "European" school, "Western"

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[67] Locher-Scholten, *Ethiek in Fragmenten,* 178; Groeneboer, *Weg tot het Westen,* 237.
[68] B. Luttikhuis, Negotiating Modernity: Europeanness in Late Colonial Indonesia (PhD dissertation, Florence 2014) 103; Lelyveld, "... waarlijk geen overdaad, doch een dringende eisch...", 76-77; Groeneboer, *Weg tot het Westen,* 237-238.
[69] Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia,* 193.
[70] Lelyveld, "... waarlijk geen overdaad, doch een dringende eisch...", 77.
[71] Luttikhuis, Negotiating Modernity, 104-106.

school for the indigenous population and a 'native' education for the general non-European population.[72]

During the ethical period, several changes took place in the education system that positively influenced the number of Dutch speakers in the Indies. The entrance requirements for the ELS were loosened, allowing for more non-Europeans to follow a Dutch taught programme.[73] Furthermore, the first class 'native' schools were changed to the Hollands-Inlandsche school (HIS) and switched their main language to the Dutch language.[74]

With regards to the didactical approach to Dutch as a second language, the first half of the twentieth century was subject to several new findings and methods with regards to language education. At the first quarter of the century, the teaching method called *Mijn Hollands Boek* (My Dutch Book) by J.W. Croes was used. This method is characterised by a focus on formal language and learns speakers to learn Dutch by learning idioms.[75] In 1925, G.J. Nieuwenhuis published *Bronnenboek door het nieuwe onderwijs in Indië.* This work and the accompanied language teaching method were very different to Croes's and led to great discussion concerning Dutch language education. Based on the latest international linguistic research, Nieuwenhuis is the first to distinguish between Dutch as a first language, a second language, and a foreign language. He links these distinctions to the school system. Dutch as a first language should be taught at the E.L.S., Dutch as a second language at the H.I.S., and Dutch as a foreign language at the native education. Nieuwenhuis emphasises on the individuality of language mastery, language education should be able to change based on the wishes of the learners. The changing of the teaching method from Croes to Nieuwenhuis at schools caused for a lot of disruptions and criticisms, due to the haste with which it is implemented and the lack of focus of the method on grammar and spelling.[76] Nevertheless, the method of Nieuwenhuis remained popular for at least a decade, until a new method arrives: De La Court's *Een Nieuwe Wereld.* This method was published in 1938/1939 and adhered to the relationist movement of language education. This movement was also inspired by international linguistic research and focused on a deliberate restriction of language input based on frequency of use. Instead of focusing on individual needs,

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[72] Ibidem,106-107.
[73] Groeneboer, *Weg tot het Westen,* 307.
[74] Luttikhuis, Negotiating Modernity, 106.
[75] Groeneboer, *Weg tot het Westen,* 261-265.
[76] Ibidem, 261-270.

De La Court's method emphasised the selection of material based on frequency instead of individualism.[77]

2.2 Language ideology of Dutch as a Second Language Experts with regards to the Ethical period

In the following part of the chapter, several primary sources will be discussed and the language ideology of the sources will be analysed. The sources are presented in chronological order. Sources that include conscious metalinguistic discourse (Periodicals of the Group N.I. Of the A.N.V. And the *bronnenboek* of Nieuwenhuis) are presented first, followed by an analysis of the unconscious language ideology of the writers of the textbook *Een Nieuwe Wereld*, a Dutch as a second language teaching method.

Periodicals of the A.N.V.

In order to study the language ideology of the group N.I. of the A.N.V., several periodicals will be studied. In particular, parts of the periodicals that discuss the Dutch language will be analysed in order to be able to study the metalinguistic thoughts concerning the Dutch language. These periodicals were published by the group itself and can therefore be seen as representative of the views of the group. The first periodical that will be studied concerns several issues of *Ons Volksbestaan*. The first issue of *Ons Volksbestaan* was published on January 16 1905. On the front page of this issue the goal of the *groep Ned-Indië van het Algemeen Nederlands Verbond* is explained. Here, it is stated that the group aims to defend the Dutch 'tribe' in a land that is habited by 'millions of Indonesian people, and strangers of Eastern or Western descent'.[78] In order to reach this goal, the group aspires to spread and maintain the Dutch language by supporting education, spreading reading materials to the less fortunate, inspiring interest into the Dutch science, art and literature, encouraging the use of correct Dutch, and so much more.[79] These goals and means to reach them are further expanded upon in the October edition of the paper where the statutes of the A.N.V. are presented. As their first goal, the increase of the material and moral power of the Dutch 'tribe' is mentioned. The second goal is to expand and maintain the Dutch language, although a side note immediately states that this goal is actually a

[77] Ibidem, 271-273.
[78] Carpentier Alting, 'Een Woord Vooraf', 1.
[79] Ibidem, 1.

means to reach the first goal. The statutes furthermore state that the federation is open to all and does not affiliate with a particular church or political party.[80]

What is interesting in this claim is the immediate connection between nation and language. The Herderian concept of language, as mentioned before, can be clearly seen in the argument that is stated by the group N.I.: by spreading the Dutch language, they hope to reach their goal of 'defending the interests of the Dutch tribe'. The Dutch nation is connected to the Dutch people and further connected to the Dutch language. What is even more interesting is that apparently, in the view of the N.I., a belief or a political preference does not make one a 'tribe', but a language does. This seems to give the Dutch language quite a high amount of prestige and importance. Furthermore, the Dutch language is seen as a means to expand the power of the Dutch tribe. It is seen as an instrument or a vehicle of power for Dutchness. This increase of power is created through the means of supporting education, spreading reading materials, and inspiring interest into Dutch science and culture.

In a later edition, a monologue from Th. J.A. Hilgers concerning the importance of the Ducth language was published. Th. J.A. Hilgers was a Dutch author who wrote children's literature situated in the Dutch Indies. Hilgers mentions a 'much-heard' complaint of the Dutch that there is so little opportunity to practice the Dutch language, even though the public no longer thinks that teaching Dutch to the indigenous population would decrease the influence of the Colonial government. In this monologue, Hilgers states that the Dutch government uses the Dutch language as a simple means to serve both their interests and the interests of their subjects, without properly thinking about how. Instead, Hilgers proposes that the Dutch government should focus their efforts of teaching the Indonesian people the Dutch language on the top ten percent. It would be very unwise to provide all levels of society the same language education, since education has to develop itself, he states. Hilgers extends this argument by explaining that the development of the masses should come about slowly since the civilisation of 'nature people' could not be rushed. A small number of 'influencers' should be 'brought to development' with the help of European educators using the Dutch language. These influencers would then slowly and after several years, influence the masses to follow their lead. According to Hilgers, a leap of faith should be made to bring these influencers on the road towards civilisation, even though this

[80] Groep Nederlandsch-Indië van het Algemeen Nederlandsch Verbond, 'Een bij de Oprichting van t' A.N.V. gehouden rede over het Nederlandsch in Indië', *Ons Volksbestaan,* 1 (1905), 74-75.

might bring them closer to their European rulers. The large masses, on the other hand, should be left alone for quite some time.[81]

The article of Hilgers seems to illustrate the ideals of the 'ethic course'. The raising of the indigenous person and the civilising of the colony can clearly be seen. It is also interesting to see the role of the Dutch language in this ethical course. As could be seen in the statutes of the group N.I., the Dutch language is viewed as a means to achieve a goal. For the group N.I. the goal was to increase the power of the Dutch, and in Hilgers's text the Dutch language seems to be used as a means to bring about the development of the Indonesian people. Hilgers furthermore also seems to see the Dutch language as a vehicle for the Dutch culture and society. What is also interesting is how Hilgers does not view the Dutch language as suitable for all, only a select number of Indonesian people is seen as fit to study the Dutch language.

A much-discussed topic in 1906 and 1907 of *Ons Volksbestaan* is a change in the statutes of the group N.I. These new statutes allow the group N.I. to become more independent from the A.N.V. The statutes now state that the group aims to increase the Dutch power and spread of the Dutch language by utilising all of the methods explained in the statutes of the A.N.V. plus several new methods. The most important new methods with regards to the Dutch language are as follows. First of all, the group promotes the strife for progress with a distinctly Dutch character. Secondly, the group strives for knowledge of the Dutch language by those of European descent and the population of equal prominence (the exact terminology was *gelijkgestelde bevolking*). Thirdly, the group will promote the increased knowledge of the Dutch language among the suitable elements of the indigenous population and those of equal prominence. Fourthly, the group hopes to increase interest in the Dutch arts, science, humanities and in particular the practical scientific works.[82] What is interesting to see is the connection between the Dutch language and the European population. The group appears to find knowledge of the language most important for the Europeans and only certain parts of the general population are suitable for learning Dutch. In that sense, there appears to be a connection between the Dutch language and social status. Those of a higher status seem to be viewed to have more use of the Dutch language. As could be seen in Hilger's piece, there appears to be a clear sentiment of

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[81] Hilgers, 'Ons streven en werken in het belang van de Nederlandsche taal', 42-43.
[82] Groep Nederlandsch-Indië van het Algemeen Nederlandsch Verbond, 'Ontwerp voor een Reglement van de Vereeniging "Groep Nederlandsch-Indië van het Algemeen Nederlandsch Verbond"', *Ons Volksbestaan* 2 (1906) 102-103, 175.

selectivity regarding who should learn Dutch. Furthermore, the article also connects the Dutch language once more to the Dutch arts, science, and humanities, emphasising the importance of the cultural and intellectual to the language and the Dutch nation.

The focus of Dutch as something that ought to be reserved for the Europeans and, perhaps, the upper class Indonesians is also apparent in an article that was published in *Ons Volksbestaan* in 1907. This article is written by J. Habbema and appears to be a reaction to an article that was published in *Indisch Militair Tijdschrift* in 1906. In this article a (anonymous) writer argues for implementing the Dutch language as a replacement for Malay for the indigenous soldiers of the Dutch East Indies. Habemma is against this implementation and provides the reader with several arguments. One of the main arguments Habbema puts forward is that the Dutch language is too difficult for the population. The ideal of indigenous sergeants and corporals knowing enough Dutch to understand complex military terminology and education seems unreachable to him. Teaching even intelligent and educated Indonesians has proven to be too costly, according to Habbema.[83] To expand on that, Habbema states that the small number of educated and civilised Europeans ought to adjust to the large number of uneducated inlanders who are too uncivilised for the Dutch language and do not have the proper time to learn it. Habbema suggests that the Dutch officers should be educated thoroughly in Malay and in the basics of the Javanese language as well. In the rest of his piece, Habbema focuses on arguments for the use of Malay and he states just one more thing about the use of the Dutch language: "We should think that it is just the Dutch who find it ridiculous when foreigners do not speak our language correctly".[84] In this piece one can see the dichotomy between Dutch as civilised and educated, and the indigenous 'other' (be it Malay or Javanese) as uneducated and uncivilised. The argument that the Dutch language is too difficult for the average non-European person is also an argument that is mentioned in the previous pieces and seems to tie in with the view that the Dutch language should be reserved for the (perceived civilised and educated) elite. This elite seems to be perceived to include all Europeans and a few 'exceptional' non-Europeans. From these ideas, a practice seems to come into view in which there is a sentiment that the local inhabitants ought to be brought civilisation and education per the ethical course, but at the same

[83] Habbema, 'Maleisch of Hollandsch in de Kazerne?', 239-240.
[84] Ibidem, 246-247.

time this civilisation should only be brought to the local inhabitants of higher standing and Europeans.

Although in *Ons Volksbestaan,* a sentiment remains that the Dutch language ought be reserved for the (European) elite, this sentiment appears to have weakened in *Tropisch Nederland* a second publication of the group N.I. Published in 1913-1914. In the first issue, the group states that in the Dutch Indies, there should be a lesser focus on 'tribe interests' and more on expanding the Dutch culture. The Dutch spirit ought to be the leading example of the road to civilisation and the Dutch language should become the main language of the archipelago. Therefore, the A.N.V. needs to widen its scope since there is a call for development amongst all layers of the Indigenous population of the Indies.[85] This appears to be a different perspective on the Dutch language than previously presented. Although the Dutch language is still very much tied in with ideals of civilisation and education, it is perceived to no longer only be made available to the upper parts of society. This view seems to tie in more with the ideas presented in the ethical course. Furthermore, the article states that a large part of the privileged Indonesian population wants a calm evolution under Dutch rule, in which the Dutch language holds an important position. The writer of the article also states that years have passed since the publication of *Ons Volksbestaan* and that development has taken place and more people are seeking further development.[86]

In the following article a similar sentiment is presented. This article is titled 'Future' and states that the A.N.V. is an organisation that aims to build the future of the Dutch language, people, and civilisation from a firm basis in the past. The article discusses Th. Van Deventer, one of the previously mentioned instigators of the ethical course in the Indies and member of the group N.I., who had said that he had found a great demand of the inhabitants of the East for the Western civilisation to be learned via mastery of the Western language. The role of the A.N.V. in the Indies was, according to Van Deventer, to decrease the unfamiliarity between the Europeans and the indigenous population in order to reach the 'beautiful goal' of an association between East and West.[87] Although the ideology that the Dutch language is solely for the elite seems to have decreased, the connection between the Dutch language and civilisation seems to remain potent. What is also interesting to note is that with *Tropisch Nederland*, the group N.I. seems to

[85] Groep Nederlandsch-Indië van het Algemeen Nederlandsch Verbond, 'Een nieuw blad', 2-3.
[86] Ibidem, 2-3.
[87] Groep Nederlandsch-Indië van het Algemeen Nederlandsch Verbond, 'Toekomst', 5-6.

be more explicit in their alignment with the ethical course and the association thought, when before they emphasised their neutrality on the all matters political.[88]

Another interesting article in *Tropisch Nederland* stems from 1913. In this article the department of Semarang discusses a speech given by Atmodirono concerning the importance of the Dutch language for the Javanese people. According to the article, those who master the Western sciences are more capable of contributing to the Inland sciences and companies. By filling up the gap in Indigenous intellect, the resources of the Indies could be developed better. The best way to master the Western knowledge is via the Western language. When the population masters this knowledge, the indigenous languages will slowly be able to adapt to the new ideas. Thus, the article states that a foreign language is a good method to increase the level of a lesser developed language. In the case of the Dutch Indies, the Dutch language appears to be preferable, since the language has been in the Indies for quite some time and is the language of government. Dutch should become the main lingua franca in the Indies, even though the language is more difficult to learn for most of the population. Furthermore, by knowing the Dutch language, the Dutch and the indigenous population would understand one another better, which would also lead to greater loyalty and a better position to work together.[89]

In this view of the Dutch language, the connection between civilisation, the West, and the language is ever-present. Only via the Dutch language can the local population gain access to Western thought. The Dutch language is thereby viewed once more as a vehicle of knowledge and development. It is portrayed as a means of gaining access to Western knowledge. What is interesting to note however, is how in this view, knowledge of the Dutch language affects local languages. The language seems to be viewed as a powerful entity that is capable of changing other languages. The Herderian view of language can be viewed more clearly as well, in the sense that knowing the Dutch language would lead to a greater loyalty. Furthermore, the connection between language and cultural and scientific knowledge is also emphasised, since the article states Dutch language would be able to fill a gap in intellect. The Dutch language thus appears to show a Dutch nationality that is focused on a civilisation in which Western knowledge is highlighted. Finally it is also interesting to see how through the Dutch language, greater loyalty is expected, this idea ties in nicely with the idea of ‘one nation, one language’.

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[88] Groep Nederlandsch-Indië van het Algemeen Nederlandsch Verbond, ‘Een bij de Oprichting van t’ A.N.V. gehouden rede over het Nederlandsch in Indië’, 74-75.
[89] Afdeling Semarang, ‘Het Nederlandsch en de Javanen’, 96-97.

Het Bronnenboek of Nieuwenhuis.

Aside from the periodicals published by the group N.I. of the A.N.V., this study will also look at *Het Nederlandsch in Indië: Een Bronnenboek*, written by Dr. G.J. Nieuwenhuis. In this book, Nieuwenhuis presents a chapter on the history of the Dutch language and the meaning of this language. This chapter will form the basis of this analysis, due to the large amount of metalinguistic thought that Nieuwenhuis has presented.

In the first part of the chapter, Nieuwenhuis discusses the history of the Dutch language in the Indies and the current situation. Here, he states that there is a good chance that the Dutch dialect will develop towards a 'general civilised' (algemeen beschaafd) version, which is also spoken by other Dutchmen. He continues by saying that like how the civilised Indonesian is merely a Dutchman with a somewhat darker skin, more lively facial expressions, and stronger emotions, the Indonesian language is a sort of Dutch with nuances ranging from a strong accent to a pure variant.[90] Nieuwenhuis emphasises the spread of the language from the higher classes of society down to the lower classes. He mentions that the type of Dutch that was heard forty years ago among the upper class Indonesians was now the Dutch that was spoken among the paupers. In the higher classes a purer form of Dutch can be heard, which he expects will soon trickle down to the masses.[91] Furthermore, he states that there is little chance of 'language decay' since the Dutch language is taught widely and by European teachers. Any comparison with South-African Dutch should be avoided, since the Dutch in the Indies were more civilised and still maintained a (crucial) steady contact with the Netherlands.[92]

With regards to the meaning of the Dutch language in the Indies, Nieuwenhuis sums it up in one sentence: the task of Dutch in the Indies is to create a future for the Indonesians and to preserve a past for the Dutch. He expands upon the importance of the Dutch language for the Indonesians and states that the time of the West raising the East has passed. East and West ought to educate and complement one another. A new culture should be formed, combining the freedom of the west with the happiness of the east. European logical thought should be taught to the East, and in the Indies there is no better group to do so than the Dutch. Nieuwenhuis continues by explaining that the Dutch culture is one of the oldest of Europe and that the Indies,

[90] Nieuwenhuis, *Het Nederlandsch in Indië,* 6.
[91] Ibidem, 5.
[92] Ibidem, 7-8.

of course, share a past with the Dutch. If the Dutch can bring Western thought to the Indies, should the Dutch language be used as a medium for this transfer of knowledge?[93] Nieuwenhuis states that it should, because in a translation of Western thought nuances might be lost. According to him, "the language is a manometer of a culture".[94] The fear of mistranslation of important concepts is too great to risk. The Dutch language should become "as the Latin language was for Dutch and take the Indonesian languages under her wing".[95] A second argument for using the Dutch language, according to Nieuwenhuis, is that by translating key works to Malay, the Indonesians still won't have access to a broader discussion that was caused by the original work. Nieuwenhuis states that the Indies require the full stream of thought, not a distilled version. Within this argument, Nieuwenhuis often discerns between social classes. The higher classes would benefit from a full understanding of the Dutch language, whereas the middle classes may suffice with a passive understanding. The largest part of society, the lower class, has no use for the Dutch language, he states. People who are a part of a rich and complex culture may pick up the Dutch language more easily than their less civilised counterparts.[96] The importance of spreading the Dutch language for the Dutch is to be found, according to Nieuwenhuis, in binding the Indonesian people to the Dutch. He writes that: "when one million civilised Indonesians speak or understand our language […] the Dutch books, the Dutch workers, the Dutch thoughts will remain influential".[97]

From the summary above, a specific language ideology of the Dutch language becomes apparent. Nieuwenhuis relates the Dutch language directly to the Netherlands and the Dutch culture and the West. Implicitly he states that the 'purest' variation of Dutch can be maintained with contact to the Netherlands, thus implying that Dutch in its purest form is only found in the Dutch nation. Furthermore, in his argumentation for the use of the Dutch language he states that 'the language is a manometer of a culture', which seems to signify a connection between culture and language. He also states that Western concepts require a Western language, linking the connection between world of thought and language and emphasising the connection between the 'West' and the Dutch language. The second argument Nieuwenhuis uses for knowledge of the

[93] Ibidem, 9-11.
[94] Ibidem, 11.
[95] Ibidem, 11.
[96] Ibidem, 12-13, 16.
[97] Ibidem, 14.

Dutch language entails the idea that through the Dutch language, others will gain access to broader discussions and more knowledge. This argument implies that the Dutch language is a gatekeeper of knowledge. Learning the language would allow the speaker access to this knowledge, even though the Dutch language was one of many European languages. With regards to arguments in favour of the spread of the Dutch language among the Dutch population, Nieuwenhuis only gives one argument: use of the Dutch language would allow the Dutch to be able to remain influential. This argument implies that through language, a people can bond with a spatially distant country. Once again, the Dutch language is thought to be a vehicle of power for the Dutch nation, which seems to be in line with the 'one nation, one language' ideology. In Nieuwenhuis' view, the Dutch language can be a carrier of thoughts, culture, and nation. He even says so himself when he states that the Dutch language should be used as a medium for the transfer of Western knowledge. These arguments show the importance of (Western) knowledge, culture, and thought for the Dutch nationality.

Another interesting part of the language ideology that can be distilled from Nieuwenhuis' view is the relationship between the Dutch language and social class. As Luttikhuis has stated, to say that the social system in the Dutch Indies is divided in European and Non-European appears to be too simplistic.[98] Instead, there appear to be (at least) a threefold division between Europeans, upper class Indonesians and lower class Indonesians. In Nieuwenhuis's *Bronnenboek* this distinction also becomes apparent. Nieuwenhuis speaks of civilised and uncivilised Indonesians and higher and lower classes.[99] He explains that the Dutch language has trickled down from the upper classes to the paupers and that the higher classes will have more use of a full understanding of the language than the lower classes.[100] By doing so, Nieuwenhuis appears to imply that the Dutch language is meant for the civilised upper classes. The 'purest' form is spoken by the most upper class and the lower classes should perhaps only enjoy a passive mastery. The relationship between civilisation and the Dutch language is emphasised further by Nieuwenhuis's wish that one million *civilised* Indonesians speak the language.

[98] Luttikhuis, 'Negotiating Modernity', 107.
[99] Nieuwenhuis, *Het Nederlandsch in Indië,* 12.
[100] Ibidem, 5.

Een Nieuwe Wereld

The third source that will be discussed concerns a teaching method called *Een Nieuwe Wereld*, written by J.F.H.A. de la Court together with Muhd Rasjid. The teaching method consists out of four parts and was created specifically for Dutch language education in the Dutch Indies. This can be seen throughout the method by the use of Malay and Arab sounding names, such as Salinah, Aladin and Sindbad. The books also provide Malay translations for specific words in the text. What is interesting to see is that the method has been adapted to fit into everyday life of the Indonesian language learner. In the first book, topics that are discussed in the texts include the classroom, the house, the evening, body parts, and coming home late. All of the texts and topics are situated in the Indonesian archipelago, which can be seen in the illustrations used. Also, the texts mention mountains and gardens with flowers that have Malay sounding names.[101] The second part of the teaching method uses texts that are stories or fairytales. The fairytales include Arab sounding names, such as Aladin, Sindbad, and Ali, and illustrations portraying mosques, turbans and clothing typically associated with the Middle East. Several of the texts appear to be stories from One Thousand and One Nights, such as Aladin and his lamp (Aladin en zijn lamp), and Sindbad the sailor (Sindbad, de zeeman).[102] Fairytales are also present in the third part of the teaching method, but this time they stem from a variety of sources. The tale of Sleeping Beauty is present, as well as the Emperor's New Clothes and Ali Baba and the forty thieves. All of the names have been changed to Arab sounding names and that the stories have been situated in an Arabic world. For example, when the daughter of the king finally wakes, the king thanks Allah, instead of God.[103]

What is interesting in these books is the focus on the Indonesian daily life. Dutch is learned through fairytales and stories that at first glance, do not seem to be connected to the Dutch nationality in any way. Instead, the Dutch language is connected to the Indies by using illustrations that seem to be about the Indonesian archipelago and include references to the Islamic faith and Arabic sounding names. The use of fairytales from various sources also shows a detachment from the language to the Dutch culture. Although connecting the Dutch language

[101] De la Court and Rasjid, *Een nieuwe wereld: Eerste Deeltje*, 14-15, 28-29, 71.
[102] De la Court and Rasjid, *Een nieuwe wereld: Tweede Deeltje,* 3-11, 17-18, 26, 63.
[103] De la Court and Rasjid, *Een nieuwe wereld: Derde Deeltje*, 3-7, 20, 27, 70, 117.

to stories does seem somewhat reminiscent of the idea that through the Dutch language knowledge, art and thought can be accessed.

This detachment changes in the fourth and final book of the teaching method. All of the texts in this book together form a story about a boy who lives in Batavia and moves with his family to Soerabaja and later to Holland. An interesting part of this text concerns the journey of the protagonist from the Indies to the Netherlands. Although the other books were primarily focused on life in the Indies, this book is focused more on the Netherlands and the West. Furthermore, the main family in the story is an upper class family, since the father is a doctor (*gouvernementsarts)*, and they send their son to Leiden for his studies. This is a decidedly different focus than the other books of the series. Furthermore, when the son boards the ship to the Netherlands, his father tells him to "be strong and trust God." In previous works, the method focuses specifically on the Islamic faith. The book includes a description about the journey to the Netherlands. The ship sailed past other islands belonging to the Dutch Indies where ships from all over the world come together and all sorts of languages are spoken. It mentions the houses of the Europeans, situated on the top of the mountains where it was cool and discusses how it sailed past Ceylon, to the African coast, through the Suez channel to Crete. The author of the text was clearly very fond of Europe, as all the descriptions are very positive. Snow on the mountain tops was more beautiful than imagined, the view on Messina was breathtaking and Marseille was the most beautiful city the protagonist had ever seen.[104] This is even more evident when compared to the first trip from Batavia to Soerabaja described in the book, which does not include positive terms and is mainly described as taking a long time.[105] The book also compares Indonesia to the Netherlands. In Leiden, the houses are close together and do not have galleries, and outside of the city there was gras and chickens and cows. This was very different to the Indies. Finally, the protagonist describes trips to the Hague and Amsterdam, which he described as busy yet beautiful. He also talks about Parlement and the palace of the Queen, who is said to have ruled over the Netherlands, the Dutch Indies and the West Indies for forty years.[106]

This book is interesting because it seems to be a break from the previous three. It still uses Malay names such as Abdoel, Siti, and Hoeroen, and partly takes place in the Indonesian archipelago. But other than that, it focuses on a wealthy family that sends their son to the

[104] De la Court and Rasjid, *Een nieuwe wereld: Vierde Deeltje,* 77-78.
[105] Ibidem, 66-69.
[106] Ibidem, 82-83.

Netherlands to study, discusses the Dutch government and Dutch geography and includes the Christian faith instead of the Islamic. The book also emphasises the ruling of the Queen over the Netherlands and the Dutch Indies. It seems to connect the Netherlands to the Indies, and simultaneously compares and contrasts the two. By doing so in a Dutch language teaching method, a connection between the Netherlands and the Dutch language is highlighted. This is in line with the ideology of 'one nation, one language'. The author of the book also appears to have a positive ideology of the Netherlands that is viewed as very different compared to the Indies. Simultaneously, by using such a different story in the final part of the teaching series as compared to the previous ones, the writers also imply that knowledge of the Dutch culture should be reserved for those who have mastered the Dutch language to a higher degree. Furthermore, the shift from (Arabic) fairytales with an Islamic focus, to a story about a wealthy Christian family also seems to signify that the final part of the teaching method is meant for a different audience, thereby appearing to imply that lower levels of Dutch are meant for Islamic Indonesians and higher levels of Dutch for Christian wealthy Indonesians.

Conclusion

When looking at the language ideology of the Dutch language in the Dutch East Indies during the ethical course period, a nationalist ideology can be distilled consisting out of several themes. First of all, the Herderian concept of language with a relationship between language, people and nation can be seen. The A.N.V. hopes to reach their goal of increasing the power of the Dutch nation by spreading the Dutch language and Nieuwenhuis hopes that the Dutch influence will remain when the Dutch language is spread through the Indonesian Archipelago. Through the connection of language and nation, a view of the Dutch nationality can be seen. During the late colonial period, this focus appears to lie on Dutch culture, knowledge, and school of thought. The dichotomy between East and West can also emerges, as described in Said's Orientalism. In this view, the Dutch language is often seen as a medium for transferring Western civilisation to the East. These ideas can be seen in Hilgers' article in *Ons Volksbestaan,* Th. Van Deventer's speech in *Tropisch Nederland*, Atmodirono's speech in *Tropisch Nederland* and Nieuwenhuis' *Bronnenboek*.[107] Modernity and citizenship often appear to be interwoven, in which spread of the

[107] Hilgers, 'Ons streven en werken in het belang van de Nederlandsche taal', 42-43; Nieuwenhuis, *Het Nederlandsch in Indië,* 9-11; Afdeling Semarang, 'Het Nederlandsch en de

Dutch language would lead to a modern society that was closely and culturally connected to the Dutch nation. What is interesting to note is that the connection between the Netherlands and the Dutch language is not emphasised as explicitly in the language teaching method *Een Nieuwe Wereld.* In the first three parts of the method, the only connection that could be detected was a subtle link between Dutch and arts, via the use of fairytales for language learning. In the fourth part of the series, the connection did become apparent, when the protagonist travelled to the Netherlands in order to study.[108]

Furthermore, *Een Nieuwe Wereld* touches upon the connection between the Dutch language in social class by seeming to imply that the highest level of Dutch is meant for a more wealthy and Christian audience than the lower levels.[109] This theme can also be seen in other primary sources. The group N.I. states in their statutes that spread of the Dutch language should by strived for among the European population and Indonesian population of equal prominence. With regards to the indigenous population, they state that only suitable elements should be learned. This similar sentiment can be found in Habbema's article in which he argues that the Dutch language is too difficult for the indigenous population. Hilgers argues that only the top ten per cent of the Indonesians should be taught Dutch, since the civilisation process should not be rushed. Years later, in 1930, Nieuwenhuis holds a similar sentiment, by stating that the lower classes have no need for the Dutch language.[110] These arguments and ideas seem to imply that the Dutch language should be reserved for the Europeans and the Indonesian elite.

The findings above seem to hold several implications that can be discerned from the language ideology of the Dutch language of Dutch as a second language experts in the late colonial period. The spread of the Dutch language is connected to an increased connection between the Dutch nation and the Dutch speakers in the Indies, which suggests that a certain Dutchness is transferred by speaking the Dutch language. Simultaneously, there is also a widespread sentiment that the Dutch language ought to be preserved for the upper classes and the

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Javanen', 96-97; Groep Nederlandsch-Indië van het Algemeen Nederlandsch Verbond, 'Toekomst', 5-6.

[108] De la Court and Rasjid, *Een nieuwe wereld: Eerste Deeltje*, 14-15, 28-29, 71; De la Court and Rasjid, *Een nieuwe wereld: Tweede Deeltje,* 3-11, 17-18, 26, 63; De la Court and Rasjid, *Een nieuwe wereld: Derde Deeltje*, 3-7, 20, 27, 70, 117; De la Court and Rasjid, *Een nieuwe wereld: Vierde Deeltje,* 77-78, 66-69, 82-83.

[109] De la Court and Rasjid, *Een nieuwe wereld: Vierde Deeltje,* 77-78, 82-83.

[110] Nieuwenhuis, *Het Nederlandsch in Indië,* 5; Habbema, 'Maleisch of Hollandsch in de Kazerne?', 239-240.

‘civilised’ inhabitants of the Indonesian archipelago. Perhaps this hesitance is due to a perceived transference of more than just the language?

Chapter 3: Language Ideology & the Dutch Civil Integration Policies, 1998-2020.

This chapter will answer the following sub-question: What is the language ideology of Dutch as a second language education experts in the Netherlands during the civil integration debate in the period from 1998 to 2020? Through analysing the language ideology, it also hopes to shed light on views on Dutchness and the Dutch nationality held by Dutch as a second language experts at the time. In this chapter, a brief historic overview of the history and context of the civil integration debate in the Netherlands will be presented, followed by a brief description of the (didactical) field of Dutch as a Second language education. After establishing the context of the time period, this chapter will continue by analysing a variety of primary sources in order to distil a conscious and unconscious language ideology of Dutch as a Second language experts and provide insight into the national identity of the Dutch (language).

3.1 History and context of the civil integration policy of the Netherlands

Since the Second World War, three types of migrants found their way to the Netherlands: migrants from the former colonies, migrants looking for work, and refugees. Until 1979 the Dutch government saw these migrants as temporary inhabitants of the Netherlands and went to great lengths to avoid the defining of the Netherlands as a 'migrant-country. It called migrants 'guest workers' or 'fellow citizens from overseas'. The government even segregated migrants from former colonies from the Dutch population due to the notion that these individuals would return to their countries of origin.[111] In 1973 the economic situation in the Netherlands changed for the worse when the oil-crisis hit. This period of time was characterised by its decreasing need for labourers. The unemployment rates of individuals with a migration background began to climb.[112] The Dutch government responded by promoting the return of guest workers to their countries of origin by offering return bonuses and providing 'return-education'. Simultaneously, the period following 1974 was characterised by the migration of families belonging to the

[111] Fouzia Driouichi, *De Casus Inburgering en Nationaliteitswetgeving* (Amsterdam 2007), 12-15.
[112] Ibidem, 15-16.

labourers who had migrated in the decade previously.[113] The denial of the settlement of migrants in the Netherlands continued until the *Wetenschappelijke Raad voor het Regeringsbeleid* (WRR) published a report in 1979 advising the Dutch government to accept that migrants would stay indefinitely. The report of the WRR also stated that the Dutch government should look into creating policies that would improve the social position in order to avoid an ethnically layered society.[114]

Following the report of the WRR, the Dutch government published the first policy on ethnical minorities in 1983, called the *Minoritiesnota*. This policy had as its goal to create a Dutch society in which ethnicities had equal opportunities and standing.[115] Migrants would emancipate within their own social sphere, decrease the difference in legal standing and improve their social and economic position. According to Driouichi, at first the focus of the Dutch government was on facilitation and acceptation of the differences in culture, yet when the employment rate of the labour force of individuals with a migrant background increased to around 40-50%, the focus of the policies shifted to a more social and economic position.[116]

The new focus of the Dutch government was also influenced by a second report from the WRR, published in 1989. This report advised the government to decrease efforts on cultural emancipation and increase the focus on education and work in order to elevate the weak position of the migrants. This report leads to the publication of *the Integration Policy Ethnic Minorities* in 1994. This policy on education and work introduces the new concept of '*inburgering*' or civil integration. Civil integration includes rights, but also duties such as learning about the Dutch language and Dutch society.[117] Furthermore, in this policy the migrant was expected to actively take part in the integration process in order to participate better in the Dutch society. In 1998 this

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[113] M.J.A. Penninx, '"Integratie met behoud van eigen cultuur?": Terugkijken naar beleidsleuzen, beleidskeuzes en misvattingen daarover', *Groniek: Historisch Tijdschrift* 208/209 (2015) 203-207, 205-206.
[114] Wetenschappelijk Raad voor het Regeringsbeleid, Ethnische Minderheden (Rapport, Den Haag 1979) XVIII.
[115] Driouichi, *De Casus Inburgering en Nationaliteitswetgeving,* 19.
[116] Ibidem, 20-21.
[117] Driouichi, *De Casus Inburgering en Nationaliteitswetgeving* 24-25; Penninx, 'Integratie met behoud van eigen cultuur', 210.

policy was followed by the *Civil Integration Law Newcomers*.[118] This is also the starting point of the civil integration period in this thesis.

In 2004, 2007, and 2013 several revisions of the integration law were presented by the Dutch government. The revision of 2004 introduced the *Civil Integration Abroad Law,* which states that before family migrants can come to the Netherlands they have to prove that they have mastered a basic command of the Dutch language.[119] The revisions of the integration law in 2007 and 2013 were each more restrictive versions of the civil integration law published in 1998. In 2007 the Dutch government decided that in order to gain Dutch citizenship, immigrants had to speak Dutch at the CEFR-level A2. In 2013 the immigrant was given more responsibility with regards to finding a language school and fines were introduced if integration goals were not met within a three-year period.[120] The civil integration law that is in place in 2020 entails that migrants have three years to sign the participation-declaration, reach A2 level of the Dutch language in reading, writing, speaking and listening, pass an exam concerning knowledge of the Dutch society, and partake in an exam focused on finding a job in the Netherlands.[121]

The Netherlands is not the only country that has adopted a civil integration policy. Most EU-countries including France, Germany, Austria, the Czech Republic, Denmark, and the United Kingdom have defined integration requirements. Most of these policies include a language component and a component concerning knowledge of the local culture.[122] The trend towards creating and restricting citizenship requirements has also been called the 'civic turn'.[123] The civil turn seems to be largely ideological in nature. Although policies seem to be highly restrictive,

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[118] S. Bonjour, *Grens en gezin: Beleidsvorming inzake gezinsmigratie in Nederland, 1955-2005* (Amsterdam 2009) 197-198.
[119] Ibidem, 22.
[120] Marnix Norder, Wijzigingen Wet Inburgering op een rij (Brief, Den Haag 13 November 2012) 1-3.
[121] Dienst Uitvoering Onderwijs, 'U gaat inburgeren' (n.d.), https://inburgeren.nl/u-gaat-inburgeren/ (24 October 2020).
[122] A. Böcker and T. Strik, 'Language and knowledge tests for permanent residence rights: help or hindrance for integration?', *European Journal of Migration and Law* 13 (2012) 2, 157-184, 157-158.
[123] Tamar De Waal, 'Conditional Belonging: Evaluating Integration Requirements from a Social Equality Perspective', *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 41 (2020) 2, 231-247, 231; Per Mouritsen, K. Kriegbaum Jensen, and Stephen J. Larin, 'Introduction: Theorizing the Civic Turn in European Integration Policies', *Ethnicities* 19 (2019) 4, 595-613, 595.

deportation or actual exclusion as a result of noncompliance very rarely takes place.[124] Even the Dutch integration policy states that migrants have to reach A2 mastery of Dutch, but may be exempt from this when they can show that they have studied for 600 hours and have not been able to reach this level. In her paper concerning the integration policy of Austria, Permoser writes that the Austrian integration measurements are intended to have a symbolic effect, rather than a material effect.[125] A similar idea can be found in De Waal's article, where he also mentions that the most important effects of the European integration policies are symbolic.[126]

Dutch as a Second Language Education

An important part of the civil integration policy in the Netherlands concerns the Dutch language. Four of the seven exams that a migrant has to pass in order to gain the Dutch citizenship are language exams at CEFR-level A2 (speaking, writing, reading, and listening). The other three are taken in the Dutch language as well. Moreover, in 2018 minister Koolmees proposed an extensive revision to the civil integration policy. One of the most important parts of this revision included raising the language requirement from CEFR-level A2 to level B1.[127] Driouichi also mentions that knowledge of the Dutch language is being viewed as crucially important in the integration policy.[128] He also states that several parliamentary discussions had been held concerning the policy, but the idea that the Dutch language was essential was widely agreed upon.[129]

Along with the influx of migrants and the civil integration policies, Dutch as a second language education was developed. Most sources state the seventies as the start of this education within the Netherlands.[130] Appel and Kuiken mention how the influx of migrants in the 1970's

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[124] De Waal, 'Conditional Belonging', 232; Julia Mourão Permoser, 'Civic integration as symbolic politics: insights from Austria', *European Journal of Migration and Law* 14 (2012) 2, 173-198, 193.
[125] Permoser, 'Civic integration as symbolic politics', 177.
[126] De Waal, 'Conditional belonging', 232.
[127] W. Koolmees, Hoofdlijnen veranderopgave inburgering. (Kamerbrief, Den Haag 2 July 2018).
[128] Driouichi, *De casus inburgering,* 30.
[129] Ibidem, 36.
[130] Bart Bossers, Folkert Kuiken, and Anne Vermeer (ed.), *Handboek Nederlands als Tweede Taal* (Bussum 2018) 397-399; René Appel and Folkert Kuiken, 'Nederlands als tweede taal. Geschiedenis van een jong vakgebied', in: J. Coenen and M. Hoefnagel (ed.) *Symposium nt2 revisited. 25 jaar Nederlands als tweede taal: de stand van zaken* (Amsterdam 2006) 1-12, 1-2.

combined with new findings in the field of second language acquisition taking place in the same period led to creation of the field of Dutch as a second language education.[131] Bossers, Kuiken, and Vermeer state that in the beginning language courses were generally offered by volunteers and the field developed towards a more professional field when the first civil integration law was passed in 1998.[132] As mentioned by Groeneboer, all of these sources seem to have forgotten the knowledge of Dutch language education that was present during the colonial period.[133] Describing the language education used in the 70's Bossers and Appel even state that Dutch as a second language education was mostly a method of trial and error, since there were barely any teaching materials or teachers available.[134]

With regards to didactical approaches, the language education initially had a large emphasis on grammar, translation, and receptive skills (reading and listening). These approaches did not always lead to the preferred level of language mastery, since interaction appeared to play an important role in the language acquisition process. As a result of this finding in the 1980's, Dutch as a second language education had a large focus on communication.[135] Since the 1990's, a 'competence focused' education is used in the educational field of Dutch as a second language. This view focuses on the competences of the language user in which practical use of a language is more important than the language system itself. Language tasks based on the goals of a learner form the core of these Dutch language curricula, combined with language courses that combine language learning with practical professional skills.[136]

3.2 Language ideology of Dutch as a Second Language Experts with regards to the Civil Integration Policies

In the following part of the chapter, several primary sources will be discussed and the language ideology of the sources will be analysed. The sources are presented in chronological order. Sources that include conscious metalinguistic discourse (The Taalunie and ITTA) are presented first, followed by an analysis of the unconscious language ideology of the writers of the textbook and teacher's handbook of the *Delftse Methode*, a Dutch as a second language teaching method.

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[131] Appel and Kuiken, 'Nederlands als Tweede Taal', 1.
[132] Bossers, Kuiken, and Vermeer, *Handboek Nederlands als Tweede Taal,* 399.
[133] Groeneboer, *Weg tot het Westen,* 275.
[134] Appel and Kuiken, 'Nederlands als Tweede Taal', 9.
[135] Bossers, Kuiken, and Vermeer, *Handboek Nederlands als Tweede Taal*, 60-62.
[136] Ibidem, 63-64, 69.

The Taalunie

As previously mentioned, the publication from the Taalunie that will be studied is the *Visietekst Inburgering, Doelbewust Inburgeren: een Visie op de Inburgering van Nieuwkomers en Oudkomers in Nederland en Vlaanderen*. The text was published in 2002, four years after the first civil integration law had come into being. The fact that an organisation who focuses on the Dutch language publishes such a text seems to be a sign of the importance of the Dutch language for the integration policy. In the introduction the writers of the article, Coumou, Maton, Pettier, and Schuurmans, provide a summary of their view. They mention that the goal of the civil integration for the migrant is usually a job and at least includes a certain level of participation in the migrant's immediate surroundings. The introduction also states that many different factors, including language proficiency, influence the ability of migrants to be able to independently function in a specific environment. Language should not be the end goal of the integration process. This should be whether the migrant has found his or her place in society. The text continues by critiquing the current Dutch as a second language education. Instead of focusing on education in classrooms, there should be more contact with the outside world. Learning Dutch in the classroom and then venturing out into the world should change into learning the Dutch language whilst being in contact with the outside world. The writers continue by stating that language is a means and not an end. The learner should participate in their own living environment in order to allow for a successful language acquisition to take place.[137]

What is interesting in this vision is its insistence that language is a means and not a goal. The Dutch language should support the end goal of participating in society. Paradoxically, the Dutch language should also be learned through participating in society. These ideas seem to be in accordance with the didactical approach of competence. In this approach the practical use of the language and the goals of the learner are more important than the language system itself.[138] Furthermore, this view also relates to the 'one nation, one language' view, albeit in an implicit manner. Throughout the introduction a connection between society and language is emphasised, since learners can only partake in society through learning the Dutch language. However, the terminology is generic, making the connection less evident. Terms such as 'language' and 'society' are used, even though the writers are clearly speaking about the Dutch language and the

[137] Coumou, Maton, Peytier, and Schuurmans, 'Visietekst inburgering', 1-2.
[138] Bossers, Kuiken, and Vermeer, *Handboek Nederlands als Tweede Taal,* 69.

Dutch society. Coumou et al., also make an interesting statement concerning the goal of the civil integration policy, which for migrants would be a job or at least societal participation. By doing so, a nationalist ideology seems to emerge that describes Dutchness as the ability to participate in Dutch society.

Further, Coumou et al. write that the topic of 'social language policies' was put on the organisation's agenda due to the language deficiencies of migrants. Dutch language education could help with the decreasing of these deficiencies and increase the level of participation and emancipation of migrants. The paper also mentions that the civil integration policy focuses only on the 'newcomers', which entails the migrants who migrated to the Netherlands in recent years, and not on the 'oldcomers' which refers to migrants who migrated in earlier years but also have a so-called diminished social position (*achterstandspositie*). With regards to the needs of newcomers, the organisation states that newcomers require a basic level of Dutch, because without the Dutch language 'you can't get very far'.[139] Further in the same chapter they also state that participating independently in the Dutch society mostly entails being able to have enough income. In order to earn a good enough income, Coumou et al. state that migrants have certain capabilities. In order to use these capabilities there is a need to be able to do certain activities in the Dutch language and a Dutch education programme is needed.

Dutch language knowledge is also mentioned as a cause for issues in the communication with for example childcare and schools. Coumou et al., conclude that migrants with a primary social perspective (meaning those who do not wish to find a job) would need classes in which social information is combined with language courses. These language courses should focus on the language that is needed in those particular information areas.[140] The text emphasises that the average Dutchman would reply when asked why migrants don't have a better position in society, that the level of proficiency of the Dutch language is the cause. Learning of the language is seen as the remedy, however the writers argue that all of the activities within the civil integration programme should be focused on participating in society, not learning the language. Language is a tool, but not the only one.[141]

In this case, Coumou et al. emphasise a causal relationship between (Dutch) language ability and level of participation and emancipation of migrants. Language learning is often

[139] Ibidem, 13.
[140] Ibidem, 15.
[141] Ibidem, 19.

viewed as a solution and a tool for greater societal participation, even though no evidence for this statement is given. Language deficiencies and communication problems are mentioned, without providing numbers or citations to other sources. At the same time, the Dutch language is viewed as crucial for Dutch society since without it 'you can't get very far'. These statements clearly reflect the ideology of 'one nation, one language', even though the term 'nation' appears to have been substituted for 'society'. What is interesting is that the article provides further information about what it means to participate in society: speaking to Dutch people, walking on the street, watching Dutch television, reading Dutch newspapers. A large emphasis is also placed on earning an income as a way to participate independently. This gives a more detailed view of what the Dutch language is thought to encompass and enable. What is interesting to note is the generalisation in which the authors speak about the Dutch language. Instead of saying that learning Dutch is essential for taking part in the Dutch society, they state that learning a language makes participating in a society easier.

ITTA

The second source that will be studied entails several publications of the ITTA, a language knowledge centre of Dutch as a first and second language connected to the University of Amsterdam. On their website, itta.uva.nl, they have published their mission statement. Here they state that language learning is an important key for social, personal and societal development. With the use of their knowledge concerning language development and education, ITTA hopes to provide others with this key. Further, they state that they aim for a society in which language education and language practice go hand in hand. In which they think that languages are learned better through a meaningful and challenging environment. With regards to civil integration, they state that a language is not learned for the exam, but to participate. Language learners are said to benefit from education that matches their preferred outcome. This is thought to motivate speakers of all education levels and offers learners opportunities to practice their language in the real world.[142]

What is interesting in this mission statement is that several arguments are put forward, without a clear connection between them. First, language is described as a key towards development. This argument almost seems reminiscent of colonial arguments that were

[142] ITTA, 'Onze Visie' (n.d.), https://www.itta.uva.nl/onze-visie-23 (29 November 2020).

mentioned by Nana and Pennycook in chapter 1, which state that language education would bring progress and civilisation to language learners.[143] Second, a connection between language and society is mentioned, in which language (learning) appears to be a part of society. Third, language is linked to participation, in which goals of the learner play an important role. These last two statements seem to imply that language is of importance to participate in society, which would reflect the statements made by the Taalunie. 'One nation, one language' appears to be replaced by 'one society, one language'. However, the statement of the ITTA is very generic and unspecified, making these sorts of implications difficult to say with certainty.

In order to look further into the language ideology presented by ITTA, several publications of members of the organisation in the magazine *Les* will be studied. *Les* is a periodical focused on Dutch as a second language and language education in general. The first article that will be discussed is called '*Meedoen in de Praktijk'* or *Participating in practice*. A note should be made that the Dutch word 'praktijk' has a meaning that refers to doing, applying what one has learned, or carrying out what one has learned in theory.[144] This article written by Simon Verhallen, director of ITTA, has been published in Februari 2007. The article concerns the new civil integration policy that was put into place in 2007 in which both 'newcomers' and 'oldcomers' had to participate in civil integration. Verhallen describes how the old integration policy required migrants to be separated for society for a year or two in order to learn the language, and would then participate in society. In the new integration policy this would change, because according to Verhallen the Dutch government has chosen for 'participation'. This entailed that migrants would have to start participating in society whilst taking part in the civil integration process. This taking part ought to be related to their desired goal, such as in the neighbourhood, in volunteer work, during an education, or on the job. Migrants would no longer be artificially practicing language, but also practice in the real world. Verhallen continues by encouraging educators to include excursions or assignments outside the classroom into their curriculum. These types of assignments would lead 'to hooks upon which migrants could hang their knowledge'. Verhallen concludes his article by stating that it is regrettable that programmes

[143] Pennycook, 'Language, Ideology and Hindsight', 50; Nana, 'Language ideology and the colonial legacy in Cameroon schools', 168-196.
[144] *Vandale online dictionary,* s.v. praktijk.

that integrate education and practice have not been implemented for newcomers and those with a higher education level.[145]

Again, language appears to be viewed as a crucial part of (participating in) society, emphasising the one society, one language ideology. Verhallen even provides several examples of what participating in society would entail. He mentions volunteer work, 'in the neighbourhood', work, and education. Verhallen also seems to create a dichotomy between real language and artificial language. The former can be found outside the classroom and by participating in society, whereas the latter can be found inside the classroom. This seems to provide language with a specific spatial characteristic that defines whether it is real or not. What is interesting is that this article concerns the policies that are focused on gaining Dutch citizenship, but the article only discusses the importance for language learners of participating in Dutch society. By doing this, a nationalist ideology emerges in which being Dutch appears to be connected to participating in society. Furthermore, as in the previously discussed sources, the didactical competence approach and a tendency towards generic terminology can be found in Verhallen's article.

The second article dates from 2012 and is written by Elaine Halewijn and Petra Popma. Halewijn is the director of adult education of ITTA and Popma is a senior advisor of the organisation. The article concerns the state exam Dutch as a second language, which is focused on higher educated migrants and is on the CEFR-level of B1 or B2, and focuses on what clients (employers) think of the exam. The article begins by stating that it is well-known that many highly educated migrants work far below their education level. Better knowledge of the Dutch language, and being able to verify that with a diploma, would increase job perspectives. Especially concerning the economic climate, having a State Exam diploma would increase mobility of the migrant on the labour market. Halewijn and Popma continue by stating that, sadly, not all employers understand the worth of the State Exam NT2 diploma. Some employers value the diploma by organising State Exam lessons for their employees. The authors state that good contact between employees and customers, is an important reason for employers to invest in language classes for their employees. Employers motivate their employees by putting language barriers on career opportunities within the company. Halewijn and Popma state that many employees turn these external motivators into internal ones, when they see the benefits of

[145] Verhallen, 'Meedoen in de praktijk', 5-6.

the diploma for their careers. Further, the article also emphasises the effects of increased career opportunities on the motivation to learn (Dutch) as a second language. The article continued by emphasising the importance of practice oriented language learning for higher educated learners. They state that a specific level of mastery of the Dutch language is needed to follow a higher education or to find a job on a higher level. The article concludes by explaining a demand for an exam for a higher CEFR-level exam, which would cause higher educated migrants to have a better chance on the job market and allow them to be able to speak the level of Dutch needed for a challenging and higher position, although this might also lead to even higher language demands from employers.[146]

In this article the relationship between work prospects and (Dutch) language skills becomes apparent. Bjornson's ideology of 'language as a commodity' appears to be prevalent in this source through the emphasis on increased career opportunities when improving Dutch language skills.[147] Furthermore, language is also viewed as both a barrier (having a lower mastery of Dutch can cause one to not have access to certain jobs) and an enabler (having a larger mastery of Dutch opens doors to new positions). The Dutch language in this article appears to become a gateway to the Dutch job market. Again, generic terms are used when discussing the Dutch language and the Dutch job market, and it appears that mentioning 'Dutch' in general appears to be something that Dutch as a second language experts avoid. Although it is not entirely clear why.

The Delftse Methode

The final primary source that will be studied concerns a teaching method called the *Delftse Methode*. For this study, the fifth edition of the textbook, published in 2018, will be discussed, as well as the teacher's manual (*De Delftse Methode voor Docenten*) dating from 2012. The Delftse teaching method was developed in 1983 and has been in use for learning the Dutch language to non-Dutch speakers ever since. This particular teaching method has been selected due to the large number of texts that are present. These texts have been selected based on 'the wishes of teachers and learners, and on the recent developments in the Dutch society'.[148] The introduction of the method begins by stating that the topics of the texts have been selected because they were

[146] Halewijn and Popma, 'Wat vinden de klanten ervan?', 26-29.
[147] Bjornson, 'Speaking of Citizenship', 76.
[148] Sciarone, Meijer, Wesdijk, Van Boxtel, and Van Laar, *Nederlands voor Buitenlanders,* 7.

necessary, interesting, or of use for non-Dutch speakers in the Netherlands. The introduction text also emphasises that the learners can use what they have been taught in practice immediately. In a part of the book that focuses on providing extra information for language educators, the authors state that the texts of the book discuss all sorts of aspects of Dutch society that are of importance for foreigners.[149] When looking at the index of the textbook it becomes apparent what topics are deemed necessary, interesting, and of use for non-Dutch speakers. Topics such as introducing yourself, explaining where you are from, days of the week, doing groceries, transportation, where do you live, school, the doctor, the Dutch population, a map of the Netherlands, from republic to kingdom, politics and holidays are presented. It is interesting to see that many of these titles are presented in a question form, such as: what is your name?, where do you live?, and who does the house work?.[150]

The language ideology that becomes apparent in this piece of text also seems to focus on the relationship between language and society, tying in to the 'one society, one language' ideology that has become prevalent in the analyses of previous sources. This ideology can also be seen in the choice of topics that can be found in the index, which are all related to Dutch society. Furthermore, the focus on topical texts, instead of language-specific ones such as grammar, syntax or morphology, shows a language ideology in which language isn't viewed as just a linguistic system but as something directly related to society. This also relates to the didactical competence approach, which states that language practice is more important than the language system.[151] What is interesting to see is that the terminology in this source is more specific compared to the previous sources. 'Dutch' has been added in front of words such as society, speaker and language. Furthermore, specific topics such as the Dutch population and 'from republic to kingdom', show a far more explicit connection to the Dutch nationality than in the previous sources. The insistence on society instead of nationality or nation remains present, underlying the language ideology of 'one society, one language'.

The teacher's manual of the Delftse Methode discusses extra teaching materials for each chapter (or class, as the method calls it), and explains how teachers should prepare for each class. The third chapter focuses on why people learn the Dutch language. It is titled 'One speaks Dutch everywhere'. In order to prepare teachers for the class, several example scenarios are given. In

[149] Ibidem, 11.
[150] Ibidem, 5-6.
[151] Bossers, Kuiken, and Vermeer, *Handboek Nederlands als Tweede Taal,* 69.

the first scenario a learner states that he wants to learn Dutch because he lives in the Netherlands. When the teacher asks why it is important to learn the Dutch language, the learner replies that Dutch is spoken everywhere. The teacher then asks if all Dutch people speak Dutch all the time, to which the learner replies that the Dutch also speak a lot of English. The learner is asked if this is good, and they state that it is not, because they want to learn how to speak Dutch.[152] A note should be made that this chapter is presented in the teacher's manual from 2012, but that it was removed from the fifth edition of the textbook, published in 2018.

This chapter shows a clear argument for the use of the Dutch language: it is everywhere. In this statement a strange generalness can be found. Dutch is not spoken everywhere, it is spoken everywhere in the Netherlands. Again, there seems to be a shying away from mentioning the Dutch nation. What is also interesting is that this chapter provides an argument against learning the Dutch language: the Dutch speak English. Why would a migrant need to learn the Dutch language then? The only logical explanation seems to be that speaking Dutch is apparently inherent to having the Dutch nationality and living in the Netherlands.

Another chapter discusses eating habits. In the introduction it states that this text will focus on what the Dutch eat in the morning, how often they eat, and so on. It also states that teachers should ask their students about the eating habits of their own country. When looking at the topics discussed in the text, the book provides several ideas for teachers to discuss in class. These topics include: a Dutch lunch, milk is for small children, a good breakfast, what do you eat in the evening, how many times a day do Dutch people eat, and do you always eat at home. Below each topic example questions are shown. For all topics, except the one concerning eating at home, several questions focus on what the Dutch people do and/or discuss particular Dutch foods, generally followed by questions about the country of the learner.[153] A similar situation can be found in chapter 10, named *A Lovely Climate*. This chapter focuses on days of the week, seasons, the weather and the climate. When looking at the topics to be discussed in class, the book advises teachers to discuss what day it is today, when do the shops close, weather changes with each season, autumn, going on a holiday, and typically Dutch. Again, when looking at the questions mentioned underneath each topic the first questions focus on the Dutch situation, for example: when do the Dutch have holidays? When does autumn start in the Netherlands? And

[152] Blom*, De Delftse methode voor docenten*, 40-41.
[153] Ibidem, 79, 82-83.

how many seasons do we have in the Netherlands? Questions about the Dutch situation are generally followed by questions about the situation in the country of the students, for example: At what time do the shops close in your country? How many seasons does your country have? Do you have many flowers in your country? It should be mentioned that the questions about the Netherlands outnumber the one's concerning the country of the learners.[154]

As previously mentioned, these chapters tie in to the 'one society, one language' ideology, in which the Dutch language is connected to the Dutch society. This connection can be seen in the topics discussed in these chapters. What is interesting to see is the dichotomy between the Dutch and the non-Dutch presented in the questions of the teaching method. Language learners are constantly asked to compare Dutch customs to 'their own country'. This creates a juxtaposition between self (the Dutch) and other (own country). Furthermore, if learning the Dutch language is done via reading and learning texts about Dutch customs, there appears to be a very direct link between the Dutch language, the Dutch customs and the Netherlands presented in this teaching method. Learners are not just taught about Dutch grammar or expanding their Dutch vocabulary, they are taught about the Dutch culture.

Conclusion

All in all, from these primary sources a language ideology of 'one society, one language' emerges. This language ideology is conceptually the same as the language ideology of 'one nation, one language', except for that the term 'nation' appears to be replaced by the term 'society'. Through this change a shift in national ideology can also be seen. Nationalist terms such as the Netherlands, Dutch, or the Dutch nation seem to be avoided. Especially the conscious metalinguistic discourse materials that have been studied heavily prefer the use of 'society' instead of the Dutch society or the Netherlands, and language instead of the 'Dutch language'. This tendency appears to be less prevalent in teaching materials. During the study of the unconscious Dutch language ideology, Dutch was used in front of society, language, or population far more often, although the Netherlands and the Dutch nation were still avoided. It is unclear why this tendency towards generality has occurred. Perhaps it comes from an attempt of second language experts to sound impartial, or maybe there is a general dislike of 'nationalism'?

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[154] Ibidem, 99-101.

Furthermore, the sources above also seem to hold a language ideology in which the Dutch language is seen as a means to participating in society. Participation has been mentioned often, and seems to include having a job, reading Dutch newspapers, walking in the street, and earning an income. Participating in society is seen as a method of language learning, as well as a goal. This seems to relate to the didactical approach of competence learning, in which language practice is seen as more important than the language system. This approach can clearly be seen in all of the sources. The discourse of this approach with regards to Dutch as a second language learning in a civil integration context seems to lead to a strange dichotomy between 'artificial' and 'real' language, in which artificiality is created based on where one speaks the language: inside or outside the classroom. Another dichotomy could be found in the teaching material of the Delftse methode, between self and other. Language learners using this method were often asked to juxtapose Dutch customs to customs 'in their own country'. This finding was only present in the teaching method, but this was also the only study of unconscious language ideology in this part of the thesis. Through analysing the language ideology in these sources, a national identity comes into view. This identity focuses heavily on participation in society. Thus, in order to be Dutch, one has to actively partake in specific activities within the Dutch society. In this view, there is still a spatial connection between the Dutch language and Dutch society, one can only partake in activities outside the classroom and in the real world.

Conclusion

This study has looked at the development of language ideologies in the late colonial period and the civil integration period. This research has found that the use of the Dutch language in the civil integration policies is by no means a break from the past, nor paradoxical. In both situations the ideology of 'one nation, one language' was present, highlighting a connection between the Dutch language and the Dutch nation. During the late colonial period, the spread of the Dutch language was often referred to as a method of increasing the power of the Dutch and expanding the Dutch influence in the Indonesian Archipelago. In the civil integration period, the Dutch language is viewed as a means through which migrants can participate in Dutch society and through Dutch language education, Dutch customs and history are taught. These findings also show that through studying the Dutch language ideology, a Dutch nationalist ideology becomes apparent. As Woolard states: through language ideologies one can see how language users view the world around them.[155]

What this ideology entails has changed over the years. The time between the late colonial period and the civil integration debate spans at least half a century. During this time, the Dutch nation has gone through the Second World War, decolonised, and received an unprecedented number of migrants. It is no surprise that alongside the changing world, concepts about the Dutch language and the Dutch nation also changed. During the colonial period, arguments concerning the Dutch language entailed the attachment of the Indies to the Netherlands through the transfer of Western culture and science. A large emphasis on knowledge and culture suggests that these were of importance for the Dutch nationalist identity. In these mentions, 'Western' was often put before terms such as civilisation and knowledge. This seems to be in line with Said's Orientalism, in which there is a dichotomy between East and West in which the West is dominating the East.[156] Furthermore, Pennycook's statements concerning the prevalence of the civilisation argument and instances related to race and class were also found in this analysis, since there was a dominant idea that through the Dutch language, civilisation could be brought to the Indies. [157] Furthermore, during the late colonial period social class was of great importance and the Dutch language was thought to be reserved for the most civilised. The focus on class has

[155] Woolard, 'Bernardo de Aldrete and the Morisco problem', 447-448.
[156] Said, *Orientalism*, 2-3.
[157] Pennycook, 'Language, Ideology and Hindsight', 50.

disappeared in the Dutch civil integration period, but the focus on Dutch as a way to connect speakers to the Dutch nation has remained, except that the term 'nation' has been replaced by 'society'. During the civil integration period, the Dutch language is viewed as a means towards societal participation and simultaneously something that ought to be learned by participating in society. Language has changed from a medium through which one can access culture and science, to a medium with which one acts 'in the real world'. Furthermore, a dislike of terms such as 'nation' and 'Dutch' can be seen, especially in conscious metalinguistic discourse. Why this change has come into being is unclear.

In order to analyse language ideologies, this study has used a combination of conscious metalinguistic discourse and unconscious language ideology analysis. It has found that although both methods of language ideology analysis showed similar tendencies, there were differences between the time periods. During the colonial period, conscious metalinguistic discourse was quite explicit in mentioning the perceived importance of the Dutch language. Primary sources continually discussed the Dutch language ideology and the importance of the Dutch language to expand the power of the Dutch 'tribe' and for the Dutch to remain influential in the Indies. At the same time, when studying the Dutch language ideology presented unconsciously in Dutch teaching method *Een Nieuwe Wereld,* a language ideology was more difficult to discern. The teaching method used fairytales and stories set in the Indonesian archipelago to teach Dutch. The only connection to the Netherlands can be found in the final part of the teaching method, which includes a story of a boy travelling to the Netherlands for his studies.[158] With regards to the language ideology of Dutch as a second language experts in the Dutch Indies, it appears that more can be learned through analysing conscious metalinguistic discourse than via unconscious methods.

In the civil integration period, this finding was reversed. In conscious metalinguistic discourse, Dutch as a second language experts use generic terminology such as 'society' or 'language' when referring to the Dutch society and the Dutch language. The use of 'nation' is avoided as much as possible, turning the 'one nation, one language' ideology into a 'one society,

[158] De la Court and Rasjid, *Een nieuwe wereld: Eerste Deeltje*, 14-15, 28-29, 71; De la Court and Rasjid, *Een nieuwe wereld: Tweede Deeltje,* 3-11, 17-18, 26, 63; De la Court and Rasjid, *Een nieuwe wereld: Derde Deeltje*, 3-7, 20, 27, 70, 117; De la Court and Rasjid, *Een nieuwe wereld: Vierde Deeltje,* 77-78, 66-69, 82-83.

one language' ideology. Furthermore, often-used terms such as 'participation' seem to be quite vague, especially since definitions of what it means to participate are provided rarely. A different picture can be seen when using unconscious methods of language ideology research. Looking at the teaching method *De Delftse Methode*, a more explicit language ideology emerges. In this method, the word 'Dutch' is no longer avoided and is instead used often and widely. The texts in the method discuss Dutch customs, history and geography, solidifying a connection between the Dutch language and the Dutch nation that is far more explicit than can be seen in previous sources. Furthermore, the book continually asks language learners to compare the Dutch culture to their own culture, creating a dichotomy between self and other that cannot be found in conscious metalinguistic discourse.[159] The absence of this dichotomy in conscious discourse becomes even more apparent when one is reminded that the entire goal of the civil integration law is to turn migrants into Dutch, or other into self.

This difference in findings between conscious and unconscious methods of language ideology has several implications. First of all, it raises the question of whether one true language ideology exists and which method would be more suitable for studying that language ideology. Second, it suggests that a difference between conscious and unconscious language ideology can be affected by time period and perhaps also other by contextual factors. This seems to underline the need for further research concerning the difference between conscious and unconscious language ideology, especially since this study only used a limited amount of unconscious language ideology sources. It also shows that one method of studying language ideology may be preferred when looking at different case studies and time periods. Aside from these methodological consequences, the difference in unconscious and conscious language ideology in the civil integration debate may also have an effect on Dutch as a second language research in general. If language ideologies are mostly implicit, it seems as if biases are more easily overlooked. If a researcher is not aware of their own language ideology, how can they be sure it does not influence their research? It is true that the language ideology emerging in the late colonial period is filled with ideas that have been proven untrue and even dangerous in later periods, such as the idea that 'nature people' are not suited to learn certain language or that local inhabitants of the Dutch Indies should be brought to civilisation through learning the Dutch

[159] Blom*, De Delftse methode voor docenten*, 40-41, 79, 82-83; Sciarone, Meijer, Wesdijk, Van Boxtel, and Van Laar, *Nederlands voor Buitenlanders*, 7, 11, 5-6.

language, but by expressing these ideologies explicitly these issues become easier to spot and overcome. The current tendencies of using implicit terminologies and underplaying language ideologies may make it more difficult to discover and overcome harmful biases both in and outside Dutch as a second language research. Hopefully, future research on conscious and unconscious language ideologies can provide solutions for this problem.

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