What are Dutch-speaking Parents' Attitudes Towards their Children's Heritage Language Maintenance in the Migrant Setting in New Zealand?

A Critical Exploration

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Abstract

This study examines Dutch-speaking parents' attitudes toward their children's heritage language maintenance in a New Zealand setting. Earlier New Zealand-based research has concentrated mainly on heritage language maintenance, shift and loss amongst three generations of Dutch migrants. This ethnographic qualitative study used one-on-one interviews with parents via Zoom due to COVID-19 restrictions. The twenty-one participants were all Dutch-speaking parents who had at least one child between the ages of 5 and 12 years old and who lived in New Zealand. I recorded, transcribed, coded and analysed the interviews using Thematic Analysis.

The findings revealed that most parents had positive attitudes towards bilingualism and multilingualism. Almost all parents reported putting varying degrees of effort into fostering and maintaining an interest in the Dutch and Belgian Dutch culture and the Dutch language in New Zealand. Parents wanted to cultivate them so their children might have some language knowledge that would allow them to function well enough within a multicultural and bilingual extended family or community. Positive attitudes were influenced by contact with extended family members overseas. This was one of the main elements in parents' decisions to maintain the heritage language in the home.

The Dutch abroad are well-known for the rate at which they assimilate and switch from their native language to the dominant one, even in domains where there should

theoretically be less pressure. In line with the findings of previous research, not all of the parents interviewed in this study considered their language as a core value of their Dutch or Flemish identity. In fact, the study found that parents switched to English when their children indicated they needed it to maintain good-quality intergenerational communication. This represents one of the challenges addressed by many parents in this research, as they wished to retain the heritage language, but not at the expense of positive communication in the home. This meant that the maintenance of Dutch was laborious, and many found it difficult, except for those families who made extensive efforts to use and improve the Dutch language.

With regard to the future of their heritage language maintenance journey, most parents interviewed stated they would be quite disappointed if their children lost the aptitude to speak or even understand their heritage language. Many parents recognised that their children making the shift to English is a reality they could be faced with over time, living as they were in an English-dominated society.

Some parents who reported putting significant effort into nurturing and maintaining the heritage language in the home stated that they were unsure whether they would remain or move away from New Zealand at some point. Early Dutch immigrants were not concerned about this as, once they had moved to New Zealand, moving back to the Netherlands was not an alternative (Crezee; 2008, 2012).

The significance of this study lies in its discovery that some parents spoke of the prospect of their children moving to the Netherlands or Belgium for further studies.

Parents hoped that their children would at least understand the heritage language and develop receptive bilingualism, which would evolve into active bilingualism after a relatively brief period of immersion.

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Attestation of authorship

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly acknowledged in the reference list), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

The Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC) granted ethics approval for the research on 3rd March 2020: AUTEC Reference number 20/69.

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Chapter One: Introduction

This thesis reports on a study which asked 21 Dutch-speaking parents in Aotearoa New Zealand about their attitudes to and perspectives on maintaining the heritage language in the home domain. With over 200 different ethnicities, more than 160 languages, and a large and culturally mixed population, New Zealand is seen to be “superdiverse” (Languages in Aotearoa New Zealand, 2013), which makes the country an exceptional setting for the research described in this study. The Netherlands and New Zealand have been connected since Abel Janszoon Tasman’s navigating in service of the Dutch East India Company and ‘discovery’ of New Zealand in 1642. In 1874 the first Census reported 112 male and 15 female residents born in the Netherlands among 300,000 settlers living in New Zealand at the time (Schouten, 1992). According to the 2018 Census, there were approximately 29,820 self-identified Dutch and 888 Belgians in New Zealand (Statistics NZ, 2019). The number of Belgians living in New Zealand does not give any indication as to whether they identify as speakers of Dutch, French or German, the three official languages of Belgium. Unfortunately, there is no information available in regard to the number of Belgian Dutch speakers in New Zealand.

The linguistic climate of New Zealand is dominated by English monolingualism and English is undeniably the dominant language in society. As a consequence, some minority languages are often used only within the limits of specific ethnic communities (Bell, Harlow, & Starks, 2005). At times, these communities are committed to not switching to the dominant language in an attempt to retain their uniqueness (Bell, 2014). Often such commitments are supported by grassroots and government initiatives promoting multiculturalism (Lee. 2013). However, despite the growing number of bilingual and multilingual speakers (Languages in Aotearoa New Zealand, 2013), and the fact that a majority of New Zealanders now showing a more positive stance towards multiculturalism and multilingualism, many ethnic groups still fight to preserve their culture and ethnic language in a predominantly English society. Other groups aim to assimilate and become ‘invisible immigrants’ (Kuiper, 2005). The Dutch abroad are well-known for the rate at which they assimilate and switch

from their native language with the dominant one, even in domains where there should theoretically be less pressure to do so, such as the home and friendship domains.

In recent decades, academic research in heritage language communities in New Zealand has increased, which has seen regular patterns emerge in terms of heritage language use (Kaur, 2019; Kasarla, 2021). One recurring pattern was the link between speakers' positive attitude towards and ethnic mother tongue maintenance (e.g., Jeon, 2008; Kasarla, 2021). Pauwels (2005) emphasizes that 'attitude and behaviour toward language are important components of the language maintenance and shift processes' (p. 543). The correlation of a positive attitude and the maintenance of heritage languages has been demonstrated in a great number of studies of migrant groups in New Zealand. Some of these studies focused on Afrikaans (e.g., Barkhuizen, 2006), Arabic (e.g., Al-Sahafi, 2010), Cantonese (e.g., Cui, 2012), Farsi (e.g., Gharibi, 2016), Gujarati (e.g., Kaur, 2019), Italian (Berardi-Wiltshire, 2009), Japanese (e.g., Lauwereyns, 2011), Korean (e.g., Kim & Starks, 2005), Pasifika (e.g., Taumoefolau,Starks, Davis & Bell, 2002), Samoan (e.g., MacCaffery & Tuafuti; 2003), and Tagalog (Umali, 2016) language, Telugu (Kasarla, 2019) and on Spanish (Lee, 2013), Colombian and Ethiopian-speaking (Revis, 2015) communities in New Zealand.

Studies examining the Dutch attitudes towards heritage language maintenance have shown that the Dutch were more overtly assimilationist and not focused on ethnic and cultural preservation (Roberts, 1999; de Bres, 2004; Kuiper, 2005; Crezee, 2008, 2012). On the grounds of New Zealand's super-diversity (Chen, 2015), and in view of the considerable progress seen in host society attitudes toward heritage language maintenance, one would hope to see parents make more informed language choices, due to more favourable circumstances. One might therefore also expect Dutch-speaking parents to show more positive attitudes towards the maintenance of their heritage language.

1.1 Netherlandic Dutch and Belgian Dutch

Dutch as it is used in the Netherlands and Dutch as it is used in Belgium have undergone slightly divergent developmental pathways since the Kingdom of Belgium was established in 1830 (Edwards & Shearn, 1987; Dewulf, 2012; Delarue & De Caluwe, 2015). Some scholars hold that Dutch-speakers in Belgium (or Flemish) may assign a higher core cultural value (e.g., Delarue, 2013; Edwards & Laporte, 2015; Ulianitckaia, 2021; Zenner & Van De Mieroop, 2021;) to their language than do Dutch speakers in the Netherlands (van Onna & Jansen, 2006; Jiachen, 2021) or elsewhere (Hulsen, 2000; Crezee, 2008, 2012) for a host of historical and socio-political reasons. The study described in this thesis involved a total of 21 Dutch-speaking parents (both from Belgium and the Netherlands) all resident in New Zealand - this sample is too small to allow me as the researcher to draw any meaningful conclusions on the topic of core values. I am therefore only touching on this interesting area, but will not be able to explore it in any detail.

1.2 Aims of study

This study set out to explore Dutch-speaking parents' attitudes towards the maintenance of Dutch in the New Zealand setting through an ethnographical approach bringing forward participants' narratives in their natural setting (Creswell & Poth, 2016). The aim of this study was to discover what parents value and whether Dutch was being maintained, or whether a shift to English was still the prevalent course of action in the Dutch-speaking community. I adopted an ethnographically informed position, an insider status, which allowed me to interpret the data with a certain degree of awareness based on shared cultural experiences, previous knowledge, and relationships, which provides a 'depth' that may not otherwise exist (Harris, Jerome & Fawcett, 1997).

I hope that more recent arrivals of Dutch speakers to New Zealand can benefit from the findings of this study and that this could perhaps start a debate about language

maintenance and language shift within the Dutch-speaking community in New Zealand.

1.3 Structure of the thesis

In Chapter Two, I start by reviewing the literature on heritage language, heritage language speakers, and heritage language maintenance (HLM). I consider the main theoretical concepts used. I explore and critique previous studies on heritage language maintenance and language shift, and review previous studies on HLM, its functions, and factors affecting these functions at the individual level, community level and intergenerationally. I then briefly touch on language shift and attrition before focusing on language maintenance and shift models. I look at the domains in which heritage language is used, and finally, I consider Family Language Policy (FLP) and Management before defining the gap in the literature my study set out to address.

Chapter Three outlines my methodological approach and then locates me as a researcher in the research setting to uncover any biases and prejudices that I may have had during the research process. Next, the chapter positions this research in the research setting, which includes the current demographic concentration of Dutch speakers in the New Zealand context. Next, I elaborate on the research design, including the research instruments used and the data analysis process. Finally, I discuss the ethical issues I encountered while conducting this research.

In Chapter Four I outline the findings collected in the interviews with twenty-one Dutch speaking parents living in New Zealand in order to assess their ideologies, beliefs and attitudes towards the heritage language. I also focus on the possible actions taken and challenges parents might encounter on their journey, as this might give an indication of perceptions and attitudes towards language maintenance among Dutch-speaking parents in New Zealand.

And finally, in Chapter Five I review the most salient findings within the context of previous studies, before discussing my methodology and the extent to which it was useful in addressing my research questions. I also formulate the contribution I feel my research has made to the field overall. Finally, I discuss the limitations of my study before making some suggestions for further research.

Chapter 2: Literature review and critical theoretical concepts

2.1 Introduction

The study reported on here set out to explore the perspectives on language maintenance among Dutch-speaking parents of children aged between five and twelve in New Zealand. The research question was *What are Dutch-speaking parents' attitudes towards their children's heritage language maintenance in the migrant setting in New Zealand?* In this chapter, I will start by reviewing the literature on heritage language (HL), heritage language speakers, and heritage language maintenance (HLM). I will consider the main theoretical concepts used. I will explore and critique previous studies on heritage language maintenance and language shift, and will review previous studies on HLM, its functions, and factors affecting these functions at the individual level, community level and intergenerationally. I will briefly touch on language shift and attrition before focusing on language maintenance and shift models. I will then look at the domains in which heritage language is used and, finally, I will consider Family Language Policy and Management before defining the gap in the literature my study set out to address.

2.2 Defining heritage language and heritage language speakers

2.2.1 Heritage language (HL) and Heritage speakers

When we use the term *heritage*, we refer to 'knowledge or goods from the past that can be used now as well as in the future' (Aalberse et al., 2019, p.1). As the term *heritage* is often used with respect to endangered heritage, it often implies vulnerability and threat. In addition, Blackledge and Creese (2010) assert that the notion of 'heritage' is more complex than 'passing on' a language or cultural values. Language is a vehicle by which values and cultural background are transmitted (Fishman, 1991).

The term *heritage language* emerged in Canada with the inception of the Ontario Heritage Languages Programs in 1977. Later, in the 1990s, scholars such as Tse (1997) and Krashen (1998) began using the term ‘as a neutral and inclusive alternative to the terms minority, indigenous, immigrant, ethnic, second, or foreign language’ (Hornberger, 2005 p. 102). Though the terms *heritage language* and *heritage speaker* are relatively new, the underlying phenomenon has most likely existed for as long as migration and language contact have happened (Benmamoun, Montrul, & Polinsky, 2013).

Heritage languages are non-dominant languages 'associated with one's cultural background' (Cho et al. 1997, p. 106) that are 'neither an official language nor an indigenous language' (Cummins, 2005) and compete with the dominant language of the country of residence. The element of competition with a dominant language strengthens the association of vulnerability or threat, but it is ‘not felt by all’ (Aalberse et al., 2019, p. 1). Within the framework of this study, it will be used in its more neutral meaning of something with a link to the past and always includes the passing on of patterns, beliefs, and customs from one generation to the other.

Inheriting a language from our parents does not automatically make us heritage language speakers. What most heritage language learners share is learning a home language that is different to the dominant language of the country they reside in. Valdes (2000) provides the most commonly used definition of the term *heritage learners* as ‘an individual raised in a home where a language other than English is spoken, who speaks or at least understands the language, and who is to some degree bilingual in that language and in English’ (p. 38). Though this definition is formulated to apply to Spanish speakers in the United States, English can be substituted for any other dominant language.

Many definitions of heritage speakers presuppose a shift in proficiency in the heritage language, which is directly related to a dominance shift (Aalberse et al., 2019). There is usually a shift in proficiency whereby speakers become more proficient in the dominant

language of the country they reside in because it is used in more domains. A further component of this definition points to the immense variation in heritage language ability observed by several researchers (e.g., Polinsky & Kagan, 2007), which puts the heritage language proficiency on a continuum rather than a binary model where speakers are proficient or not proficient. The phenomenon of language shift is discussed in more detail in section 2.2.3.

Understanding the concept of heritage language and its speakers is very relevant for this study in the context of Dutch speakers' migration, especially given recent globalisation trends and population movements across linguistic borders.

2.2.2 Heritage language maintenance (HLM)

The term *language maintenance* refers to the process whereby members of a speech community "continue to use their language in some or all spheres of life despite competition with the dominant or majority language to become the main/sole language in these spheres" (Pauwels, 2004, p. 719). Baker (1997) relates language maintenance to 'relative language stability in its number and distribution of speakers, its proficient usage in children and adults, and to retaining the use of language in specific domains' (1997, p. 43). In her study of three generations of Dutch in New Zealand, Hulsen (2000) found that the maintenance of Dutch dropped noticeably from the first generation to the second and third generation of speakers.

Fishman (1991) believes that if a language is used at home, it has a better chance of survival and places the family and the home at the core of language maintenance as a barrier against outside pressure (Schwarz & Verschik, 2013). The viability of a heritage language depends largely on the parents' motivation to pass the language on to their children and the daily use of the heritage language (Wilson, 2017), specifically in the home and community domain. The family unit has generally been regarded as the most important domain in research on language maintenance and shift (Garcia, 2003; Pauwels, 2004). Languages do not exist independently from their environment (Schwartz and Verschik, 2013), however, and children are not merely

members of their families but also of other communities such as school, circle of friends, recreational groups and possibly also church (Barkhuizen, Knoch & Starks, 2006).

Research has consistently shown that in a language contact situation, the dominant language (Holmes, Roberts, Verivaki and ‘Aipolo, 1993; Fishman, 2001) gradually displaces the minority language, and a shift to the language of the majority group becomes inevitable (Starks, 2005). In his eight-stage scale to reverse language shift, the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS), Fishman (1991) accentuates the sixth stage as the critical stage of reversing language shift. It refers to the intergenerational informal language transmission, requiring extra careful attention. Fishman’s (1991) GIDS model will be discussed more elaborately in section 2.3.3 of this chapter.

2.2.3 Language shift

Language maintenance occurs when users continue to use a heritage language despite the competition of a majority language. However, when there is a gradual ‘shift from the predominant use of one language to the predominant use of another language’ (Crezee, 2008, p. 32) often ‘under pressure of assimilation from a dominant group’ (Zhang, 2004, p. 32), language shift occurs. Hulsen (2000) found that in the migrant context the shift away from the ethnic language to the dominant language is often complete within three or four generations. The Dutch surpass this pattern of language shift generally found in ethnic communities by (at least) one generation (Hulsen, 2000). Studies involving Dutch speakers in Australia as well as New Zealand (e.g., Kroef, 1977; Clyne, 1992; Folmer, 1992; Roberts, 1999; Hulsen, 2002) have found that the Dutch undergo the most rapid shift (Clyne, 1992) with a significant shift to the dominant language within the first generation and second generation of Dutch predominantly using English (Hulsen, 2000). This focus on assimilation has earned the Dutch the reputation of invisible migrants (Kuiper, 2005).

For present purposes, heritage language is defined as the language of the migrant community; in this study, Dutch speakers in New Zealand. Heritage language maintenance is relative language stability and fluency of that language despite the competition of the majority language English. Language shift will be defined as a process in which speakers of a minority language gradually lose proficiency in their heritage language in exchange for the majority language as their primary mode of communication. There are linguistic models in the literature which assist in applying the concepts of heritage language and heritage language maintenance to the Dutch-speaking community in New Zealand, which could facilitate efforts by that community to maintain their heritage language.

2.3 Models of language maintenance and shift

Three major models used to investigate factors favourable to heritage language maintenance relevant to this study include Giles' (1977) ethnolinguistic vitality model affected by status, demographic and institutional support factors; Smolicz's (1981) core value theory for maintaining ethnic differential and Fishman's (1991) GIDS model of language maintenance and shift, designed to assist in intergenerational continuity. Fishman's (1991) theoretical concept has had a significant influence on sociolinguistics and many scholars are implementing his approach today. For this reason, I will present research based on Fishman's sociolinguistic theoretical model, and will emphasise benefits along with potential gaps.

2.3.1 Ethnolinguistic vitality

Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977) developed the concept of ethnolinguistic vitality, which describes the connection between language and ethnicity. Ethnolinguistic vitality is defined as "that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations" (Giles, Bourhis & Taylor, 1977, p. 308). It has been argued that a group with high ethnolinguistic vitality would have a greater chance of preserving its social identity, maintaining its language in various

domains of life and surviving as a separate group (Hulsen, 2000; Wilson, 2017), but low-vitality groups would not survive as a separate group (Giles et al., 1977).

Giles et al. (1977) identified several objective variables that influenced a group's ethnolinguistic vitality. They contribute to predicting the relative strength of ethnolinguistic groups in a language contact situation and ultimately in maintaining an ethnic language: status, demography, and institutional support (ibid.). The status, a combination of prestige variables, of a collective of heritage language speakers is related to that group's vitality, specifically the higher a community's status, the higher the vitality of that community and its language will be. In this setting, Baetens Beardsmore (2003) identified other attitudes towards bilingualism, particularly in the host country towards bilingual migrants.

These attitudes are of importance for this thesis as there is considerable evidence that, in the past, many Dutch immigrants in New Zealand were advised to stop using Dutch at home (cf. Crezee, 2008, 2012). This likely contributed to their shift from Dutch to English (Crezee, 2008, 2012). The demographic factors make reference to the number and the distribution of members of an ethnolinguistic group over a particular territory. It was hypothesised that favourable demographic trends would lead to a higher group vitality, while unfavourable demographic trends would inhibit the survival of an ethnic minority. A third factor that would affect a group's ethnolinguistic vitality is institutional support, which makes reference to the support an ethnolinguistic community receives in the institutions of a country, region, or community. Giles et al. (1977) distinguished two types of support: informal and formal. Groups who organised themselves in pressure groups, for example, and receive more institutional support through mass media, education and government services, were hypothesised to have a higher group vitality.

Despite its implementation in different research settings, the concept has not remained free from controversy (Sachdev & Bourhis, 1993) since its introduction in 1977. Clyne (1991), for example, points out that the model revolves too much around

stable minority-majority scenarios and is perhaps not applicable to dynamic multicultural societies, such as the New Zealand environment, where many languages are spoken and new heritage languages are introduced with the influx of migrants and refugees from different origins. Further criticism argues that ethnolinguistic vitality tends to be dominant-centred (Tollefson, 1991) and is heavily defined by the judgement of the dominant group of the status of the minority language (Husband and Khan, 1982). It is interesting to note that in the New Zealand context, societal attitudes toward bilingualism have changed over the last several decades and are more positive than in the earlier years of Dutch immigration in the 1950s and 1960s (e.g., de Bres, 2004; Crezee, 2008).

2.3.2 Core value theory

A second model used to understand patterns of language maintenance, shift or loss of minority languages is Smolicz's (1981, 1992) theory of a culture's core values. From the perspective of Smolicz, each cultural group has a set of values such as ethnic languages, customs, music, native dances, food, religion, family structure, arts, traditional health management, and the educational system. These components are ‘symbolic of the group and its membership’ (Smolicz, 1981, p.76). When one of these elements is considered crucial and directly associates with the group identity, it then becomes a core value to that group. Smolicz (1981) explains that *not all of these elements are of equal importance for the identification of individuals as group members*. Some elements may be altered or even dropped, without weakening the unity of the group. There are, however, also aspects of the culture that are so fundamental to the viability of the group that they are regarded as pivotal and 'act as identifying values that are symbolic of the group and its membership' (p. 105). These core values are the foundations around which the whole system is built, and if they were to be removed by external pressure from a dominant group, for example, the coherence of the group would be at risk.

Social groups' core values are what sets them apart as distinctive ethnic communities. When these core values are lost, it could result in the group's disintegration as a community that can perpetuate itself as an authentic entity across generations (Smolicz, 1981). The core value theory predicts that if language is a core value and symbolises a group's identity, the chances of that language being maintained are greater. Individual attitudes and behaviours toward language maintenance could be shaped if an individual group member considers their heritage language a core value of their cultural identity (Umali, 2019).

Smolicz argued (1981) that not all groups value their native languages to the same extent. Some groups, such as the French in Quebec (Laurin, 1977), continually stress the significance French as being at the heart of their culture. French-speaking Quebecers rely on the use of French hoping to preserve their culture. Here, the mother tongue is not a neutral instrument used for the simple purpose of communication but becomes a symbol of ethnic identity and functions as a defining characteristic of the group. It shapes and transmits the group's identity (Dassargues & Perrez, 2014). For members of the group to be considered 'authentic', speaking French is simply a prerequisite. Other groups, like the Dutch in Australia and New Zealand, do not appear to consider their language as a core value (e.g., Hulsen, 2000; Nemoto, 2011), and the maintenance of Dutch does not play this role. The Dutch value cultural aspects such as '*gezelligheid'* (feeling of wellbeing and social togetherness), other historical and cultural customs and events such as *Kings Day* and *Sinterklaas*, and a taste for Dutch food (Hulsen, 2000). As shown by de Vries, Willemyns and Burger (1994) in a chapter titled *Nederlands buitengaats* (Dutch offshore) the Dutch were not focused on spreading their culture or language but were before all else seeking profit. The Dutch have an established tradition of world exploration and international trade which has led them to have an open mind and the ability to speak other languages – as this facilitated doing business. This may be an attribute that has left the Dutch focusing more on learning other languages than championing their own (van der Wal & van Bree, 1994). In New Zealand, Dutch finds

itself in competition with English, a well-established global language, and, in the past, the focus has been mainly on assimilation (e.g., Kuiper, 2005; Crezee, 2008). This focus on assimilation has earned the Dutch the reputation of ‘invisible migrants’ (Kuiper, 2005).

2.3.3 Fishman’s (1991) GIDS model of language maintenance and shift and Reversing Language Shift (RLS)

Out of 7,139 languages spoken around the world today, roughly 42% are now endangered, often with less than 1,000 speakers remaining. When a language's users begin to speak and teach a more dominant language to their children, a language is at risk of becoming endangered (Eberhard et al., 2021). Since languages could disappear and, on occasion, die (Wilson, 2017), Fishman (1991) developed what is perhaps known as the best method of evaluating where any given language is situated on a scale of disruption from full use by many speakers to no use by any speakers (Lewis & Simons, 2010). Fishman proposed the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) as part of his Reversing Language Shift model (RLS), which represents a revitalisation movement to compensate for the deterioration of many of the world's languages (Wilson, 2017). Fishman's (1970) GIDS has been used to gauge the condition of endangered languages and is used to determine the extent of disruption of intergenerational language transmission. Low numbers on the GIDS scale represent more vital languages while higher numbers represent the more endangered languages. The higher up the scale a language sits, “the greater the extent of disruption of 'normal' transmission pattern and characteristics” (Lo Bianco & Rhydwen, 2001, p. 392). The GIDS (Table 2.1) comprises eight stages to reverse language shift: Stage 8 sits at the end of the scale where a language is classified as endangered and only has a few isolated users. At stage 1 a language is considered healthy and is used for education, mass media, and government at the nationwide level. Fishman (1991) labels stage 6 as the critical stage of reversing language shift. The family is central to this stage and has "a natural boundary that serves as a bulwark against outside pressure, customs and influences” (Fishman, 1991, p. 94).

This stage is the most relevant to this study as focusses on the intergenerational transmission of language. The GIDS scale is part of Fishman's Reversing Language Shift (RLS) theoretical model which aims to improve sociolinguistic conditions (Fishman, 2006) attempting heritage language maintenance at the level of the community and the family. As previously mentioned, Fishman (1991) argues that the family acts as a natural ‘bulwark’ fighting to reverse language shift as it is "the most common and inescapable basis of mother tongue transmission, bonding, use and stabilisation" (p. 94). Fishman (ibid.) identified the transmission of the heritage language in the home as the most crucial aspect of intergenerational language transmission and that the family and community are pivotal for maintaining the home language. It is Fishman's (ibid.) belief that the family and the community represent the earliest phase in the child's language socialisation. The home and the family are fundamental in language maintenance and a language has greater chances of survival if spoken at home.

Stage 6 comprises not only the family domain but also the community domain, where community-building institutions and mother-tongue schools foreshadow the development of informal oral language proficiency in ethnic language communities (Kaur, 2019). The study at hand will investigate the parental attitudes and efforts in terms of home language use and taking opportunities in the wider Dutch community.

Table 2.1. Fishman’s (1991) Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS)

Stage 1	Some use of Xish in higher-level educational, occupational, governmental and media efforts
Stage 2	Xish in lower governmental services and mass media but not in the higher spheres of either
Stage 3	Use of Xish in the lower work sphere (outside of the Xish neighbourhood/community) involving interaction between Xmen and Ymen
Stage 4	Xish in lower education (types a and b) that meets the requirements of compulsory education laws

Stage 5	Xish literacy in home, school, and community, but without taking on extra communal reinforcement of such literacy
Stage 6	The attainment of intergenerational informal oralcy and its demographic concentration and institutional reinforcement
Stage 7	Most users of Xish are a socially integrated and ethnolinguistically active population, but they are beyond childbearing age.
Stage 8	Most vestigial users of Xish are socially isolated old folks, and Xish needs to be re-assembled from their mouths and memories

*Xish refers to minority languages, while dominant languages are called Yish

Fishman's (1991, 1993, 2000) RLS theory has guided revitalisation scholars, practitioners, and enthusiasts worldwide. One well-established example of the GIDS concept is the Navajo language (Lee and McLaughlin, 2001), a language Krauss (1998) described as severely endangered, and “a major American tragedy […] people do not want to know about or talk about” (p.15). Lee and McLaughlin (2001) found that though the local community supported the maintenance of the language, it was the ethnic community's youth who were resistant to develop their Navajo proficiency for fear of being mocked. The GIDS concept explained that "western-based institutions like schools cannot rescue the native language; parents, families, and native communities must deal directly with the issue of language loss" (Lee & McLaughlin, 2001, p. 40) and, in this way, empower language activism efforts to focus on intergenerational language maintenance.

In New Zealand, Te Reo Māori, the language of the *tangata whenua* (people of the land), has been on a trajectory of revitalisation of its own in the last thirty to forty years (Albury, 2016). When European explorers first settled in New Zealand in the late 18th century, the travellers embraced the language. Then, in 1867, a shift started to happen after the New Zealand government passed the Native Schools Act (Simons, 1998), which created a state system of schooling that the settlers imposed on the Māori to assimilate Māori into Pākehā (European) society (“Ngā Kura Māori”, 2017). The Act established Native Māori primary schools where only English would be taught in the centre of Māori communities (Simons, 1998). After almost a century,

most Te Reo Māori speakers had moved into English monolingualism (Spolsky, 2005) and Te Reo Māori was, at least at the macro-level, “teetering on the brink of stage 8”, spoken only by the elderly and the socially isolated (Benton & Benton, 2001, p. 425). Then, in 1987, the Māori Language Act was published, which legitimised Te Reo Māori as an official language of New Zealand. Language immersion environments such as Kōhanga Reo (Te Reo Māori kindergarten), Kura Kaupapa Māori (Māori-language immersion schools), and Wharekura (Māori-language secondary school) were created to revive the language. Today almost 1 in 5 Māori adults say they can speak Te Reo Māori, and 1 in 3 say they understand the language at least adequately (Tatauranga Aotearoa Stats NZ, 2020). Still, there is yet to be a language restoration regarding intergenerational transmission (Spolsky, 2005).

2.4 Criticism

GIDS and RLS have received a fair amount of criticism over the years, which was also acknowledged by Fishman in 2006. One of the criticisms points out the GIDS model's focus on pursuing a high-status language and the role of literacy (Hinton, 2003; Walsh, 2006). A high-status language is a language that is used in the public domain and has a written form. A low-status language, such as an indigenous or an ethnic language, does not typically have a written form and is often only used in the family domain (Marby, 2015). Hinton (2003) points out that the role of literacy is quite different for indigenous languages as these rarely have a tradition of literacy. Since the GIDS concept focuses quite heavily on literacy, it might not be the most suitable model in these settings. Fishman's GIDS's emphasis on language and language management has been criticised (e.g., Spolsky, 2004), and, in particular, its failure to consider the social and economic factors that could play a part in language shift.

2.4.1 Expanded GIDS

While Lewis and Simons (2010) recognise the importance of Fishman's work, they argue that the GIDS is ‘more focused on the level of disruption rather than the level of maintenance’ (p. 6). According to Lewis and Simons, the GIDS focuses heavily on language shift rather than language development and does ‘not provide an adequate description of all of the possible statuses of a language’ (Lewis & Simons, 2010, p. 7). Thus, Lewis and Simons (2010) present their Expanded GIDS (EGIDS), which is largely based on Fishman's (1991) GIDS, but also incorporates the UNESCO Framework (Brenzinger et al., 2003) and the Ethnologue (Grimes 2000; Gordon 2005; Lewis 2009) approach of categorising language vitality. The numbering of the levels is consistent with Fishman's (1991) GIDS and includes three additional levels; levels 0, 9, and 10 and details Fishman's more generally described levels 6 and 8 with a letter (Table 2.2). In the Expanded GIDS, levels 6a and 6b replace Fishman's GIDS Level 6. Levels 8a and 8b replace the original (GIDS) Level 8. The added levels comprise languages of international level at the lower end of the scale (level 0), and dormant and extinct languages at the higher end (levels 9 and 10) show the EGIDS categories viewed from a language revitalisation angle rather than language loss. The labels for each level were amended and the description for each level was changed to reflect the upward trend of language revitalisation.

Table 2.2 Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS)

Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (adapted from Fishman 1991)*			
LEVEL	**LABEL**	**DESCRIPTION**	**UNESCO**
0	International	The language is used internationally for a broad range of functions.	Safe
1	National	The language is used in education, work, mass media, government at the nationwide level.	Safe
2	Regional	The language is used for local and regional mass media and governmental services.	Safe
3	Trade	The language is used for local and regional work by both insiders and outsiders.	Safe
4	Educational	Literacy in the language is being transmitted through a system of public education.	Safe
5	Written	The language is used orally by all generations and is effectively used in written form in parts of the community.	Safe
6a	Vigorous	The language is used orally by all generations and is being learned by children as their first language.	Safe
6b	Threatened	The language is used orally by all generations but only some of the child-bearing generation are transmitting it to their children.	Vulnerable
7	Shifting	The child-bearing generation knows the language well enough to use it among themselves but none are transmitting it to their children	Definitely Endangered
8a	Moribund	The only remaining active speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation.	Severely Endangered
8b	Nearly Extinct	The only remaining speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation or older who have little opportunity to use the language.	Critically Endangered
9	Dormant	The language serves as a reminder of heritage identity for an ethnic community. No one has more than symbolic proficiency.	Extinct
10	Extinct	No one retains a sense of ethnic identity associated with the language, even for symbolic purposes.	Extinct

Lewis and Simons (2010) also introduce a diagnostic decision tree (Figure 2.1). It allows answering five key questions to promote a rapid evaluation and categorisation of every language of the world. Lewis and Simons (2010) suggest that any language situation can be assessed in terms of the EGIDS by answering five key questions

(see Figure 2.1). For the lower levels at the bottom of the tree, answering the first question is sufficient. For levels zero to three, two questions need to be answered and for the remaining levels (3 to 8b) a total of three questions must be answered. For Lewis and Simons (2010) this evaluation process provides a baseline from where a strategy can be developed to move from a less robust level to a more robust level of language vitality.

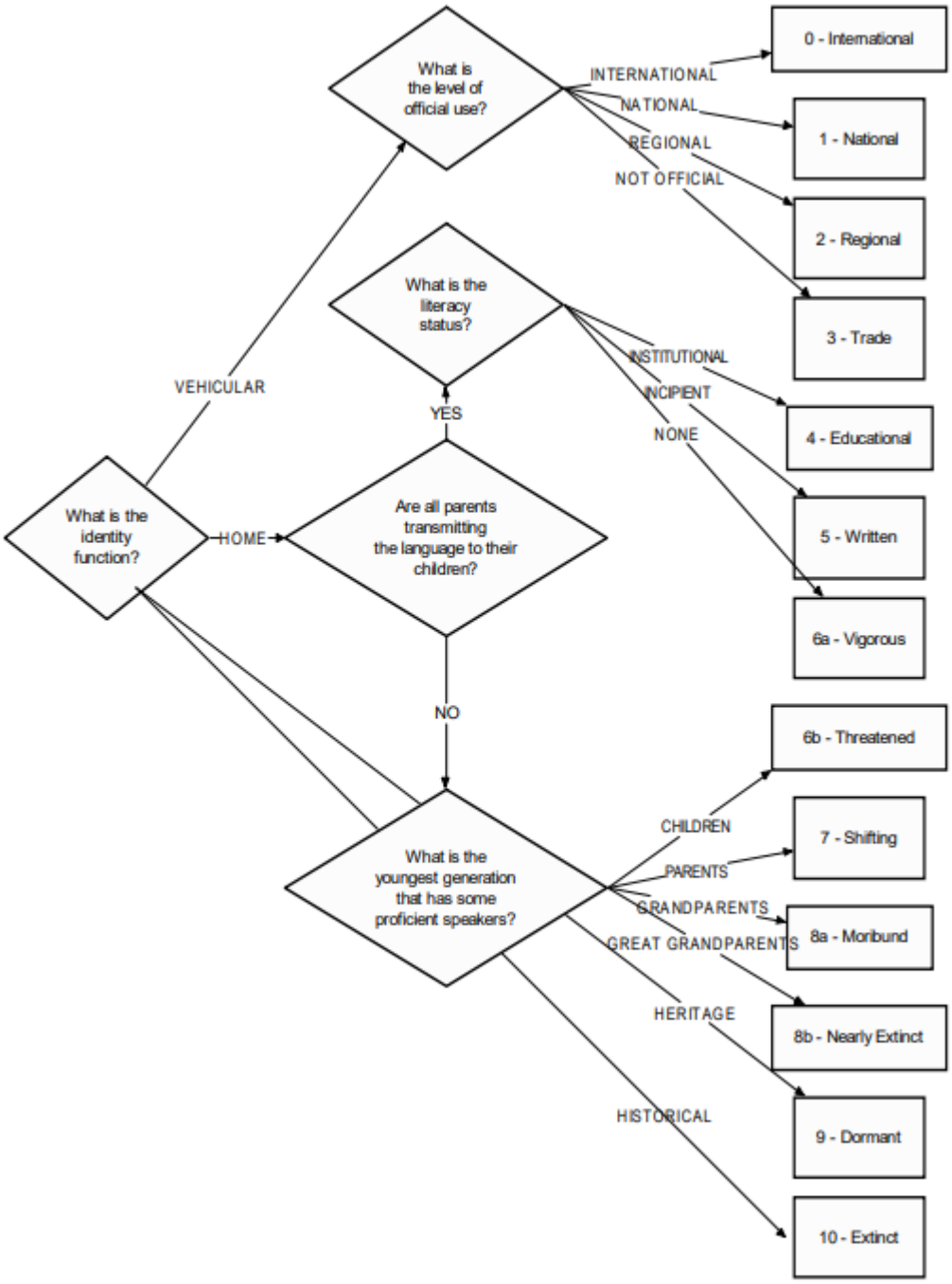

Figure 2.1 Lewis and Simons' (2010) diagnostic decision tree

This approach aims to simplify the identification process as to which aspect warrants attention for an ethnic language to move from an unfavourable level to a more desirable level on this scale. This would allow for a simpler and clearer strategic

process and help direct resources. In this study, I will be using Lewis and Simons' (2010) EGIDS, including the diagnostic decision tree, to determine the status of Dutch as a heritage language in New Zealand.

Fishman (1991) labels stage 6 as the critical stage of reversing language shift. The family is central to this stage and has "a natural boundary that serves as a bulwark against outside pressure, customs and influences" (Fishman, 1991, p. 94). Children need to learn languages from their parents to have a chance to pass that language on to their children. In addition to the intergenerational transmission as an individual parental decision, GIDS considers the societal and institutional choices that influence those decisions. These societal factors create social spaces identified by Fishman and other academics as "domains of use". This is very relevant to the current study which explores intergenerational transmission of the home language by Dutch-speaking parents in New Zealand.

2.5 Domains of language use

2.5.1 The concept of domains and definition

Fishman (1972) introduced the concept of 'domains' and defined them as:

> *[a] socio-cultural construct abstracted from topics of communication, relationships between communicators, and locales of communication, in accord with the institutions of a society and the spheres of activity of culture, in such a way that individual behaviour and social patterns can be distinguished from each other and yet related to each other.* (Fishman, 2000, p. 94)

The concept refers to the context in which languages are used and includes, but is not limited to, the family or home, school, the neighbourhood, communities, workplace, religion, public media and the government (Spolsky, 2007), areas where people "habitually employ" their own language on societally "clusterable occasions"

(Fishman, 1972b, p.80), each consisting of an array of participants, location, and topic closely connected to a particular language (Lewis & Simons, 2010). Over time, language choice becomes engrained as a social norm and its use becomes implied in a particular context. If these norms of language use begin to weaken, language shift will begin as the language loses domains in which it is believed to be useful and in which its use has become expected (p. 5). Though the stability of an ethnic language or heritage language largely depends on the language being spoken in various domains, Fishman (1991, 2000) suggests that the family and community are the most ambivalent domains in the facilitation of heritage language maintenance. Fishman (1985) insists that the key to maintaining heritage languages in a minority language situation is “maintaining intracultural boundaries” (p. 226) by minimising the use of the dominant language when communicating internally.

The following section presents a review of studies conducted on both the family and community domains, as these are particularly relevant to the present study.

2.5.2 Family Domain

Granted Fishman (1985) argued that the key to successful HLM is for the heritage language to be actively used in a number of different domains, the home or family domain is generally considered one of the most critical domains where heritage language is passed on (Fishman, 1964; Roberts, 2005; Lee, 2013; Wilson, 2017). Roberts (1999), who studied three immigrant communities in New Zealand, found that the use of the heritage language in the family had favourable effects on the language transmission in the Samoan and Gujarati communities. The Dutch migrants in her study had made the switch to using English in the family, which resulted in the second-generation Dutch being monolingual English-speakers. The Samoan and Gujarati speakers, however, had continued to use the ethnic language in the home, which led to second-generation Samoan and Gujarati being able to speak their heritage language.

Scholars have long argued that the family is vital to the socialisation of children (Waite, 2001; Morris & Jones, 2008) and that families help children adjust to their environments through a set of values and manners. In addition, the family has been demonstrated to be essential in children's heritage language learning, maintenance and loss. It is argued that, if not hindered, the transmission of a heritage language occurs within the family (Fishman, 1991; Spolsky, 2012). Schwartz (2010) describes the family as "the driving force" behind children's heritage language maintenance and loss (p.171). Subsequently, the family domain was viewed as the critical domain in language policy research. This study will focus on the family domain.

2.5.3 Factors influencing language use in the family

Insufficient effort

The literature reveals a strong link between parents' positive attitudes towards the heritage language and the motivation to teach the heritage language (King & Fogle, 2006; Park & Sarkar, 2007). De Houwer (1999) holds that the way in which parents interact with their children is guided by their beliefs and attitudes, and so is the language they use when addressing the children as well as the language policies they put in place. All of these factors influence the children's language use and development (Barkhuizen, 2006). It is important to mention that positive parental attitudes towards heritage language maintenance are not enough to make heritage language speakers. As Yu (2010) shows, parents' attitudes do not always translate to sufficient effort. Parents may assume that if children hear the ethnic language at home, they will absorb it and become bilingual (Wong Filmore, 1991; Curdt-Christiansen, 2013). Merino (1983) argues, however, that children do not instinctively become a speaker of the HL, and parents need to see to it that the children use the heritage language at home. In his (2006) study, Guardado found that those parents who spoke the heritage language consistently in the home were successful at transmitting it. In addition, they used different resources, such as storytelling, reading and contact with extended family members. Parents in his study

also expressed the maintenance of ethnic identity was important for communication with grandparents and extended family. The ability to do this is often believed to be an essential benefit of heritage language maintenance (e.g., Seals, 2013). If immigrant children fail to acquire their heritage language, the communication in the family may be at risk and children might find themselves disconnected from their ethnic community (Yates & Terraschke, 2013). This study will explore what happens in (extended) families that may promote the maintenance of the home language among Dutch-speaking families in New Zealand.

Economic factors

Strongly associated with families' language choices is the perception of the value of the heritage language, in particular in terms of economic progression or marketplace value (Yu, 2005, Wilson, 2017). Berardi-Wiltshire's (2018) study showed that Spanish-speaking parents in New Zealand believed languages had cultural, social and economic value. They are highly conscious of the importance of Spanish as an internationally spoken language and the benefits their children could see from being English-Spanish bilinguals in the present global marketplace.

In some cases, parents give more importance to the language of the dominant society for the upward socio-economic mobility of their children (Crezee, 2012) and discourage the use of the heritage language as a home language as they fear it will affect their children's academic success at school.

Outside influences

The family environment facilitates the negotiation of different language policies and practice and is subject to a variety of interacting factors (Wei, 2012) including parental beliefs and attitudes toward language, different backgrounds, older family members in the home, and language status (Edwards, 2010). It has been pointed out that there is a chance that minority languages prevail as long as they can be maintained within the family. Edwards (2009) points out, though, that this is a difficult

task given the pressures that lie outside the family home. Crezee (2008, 2012) found that Dutch immigrants had been advised by persons in the position of power, such as teachers, doctors and Plunket nurses (New Zealand Child Health visitors), in their decision about the language they would use in the home. Dutch parents had been encouraged to speak only English at home as it was feared using Dutch would affect the children's academic progress. This led many parents to abandon Dutch in favour of English.

Not surprisingly, formal schooling is one of the first domains where a shift to the dominant language presents itself. Once children start going to school, they bring a new language into the home, and start negotiating the use of one language or the other (Curdt-Christiansen, 2013). Most migrant students adjust to the dominant culture mostly considering convenience, and if they are not supported their heritage language will be lost (Park, 2011). Many ethnic minority groups have set up community schools to help promote heritage languages and teach more about heritage culture (Wilson, 2017). Communities like the Cantonese, Dutch, Gujarati, Greek, and Samoan communities have continued to offer ethnic language and culture classes for several decades (Roberts, 1999).

2.6 Critique

Some of the scepticism about Fishman's concept was related to the abstract nature of the concept of domain loss and how domains are related to languages. In this respect, May (2013) argues that the concept of domains is not applicable to actual language choice paradigms in multilingual settings. May (2013) questions what modus operandi would have to be applied in situations with extensive use of code-switching, which is shifting between two (or more) languages within the same turn or completely switching from one language to another (Yu, 2005). Fishman (1972a) stated that "only one of the theoretically co-available languages or varieties will be chosen" in certain domains (p. 437). In code-switching, though, languages cannot

be assigned to individual domains unless "one considers patterns of code-switching as [an] option" (Haberland, 2005, p. 234).

2.7 Family Language Policy (FLP) and Family Language Management

A language policy is ‘a political decision and a deliberate attempt to change/ influence/affect the various aspects of language practices and the status of one or more languages in a given society’ (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009, p. 352). They are planned explicitly, or implicitly acknowledged and practised in a society, group or system, including the family domain, to accomplish planned language change (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997; Shohamy, 2006; King et al., 2008). Considering the importance of the home environment for language maintenance, it is not surprising that studies of language choice pay particular attention to what happens within families, leading to the emerging field of ‘family language policy’ (e.g., Pauwels, 2005; Spolsky, 2009; Kopeliovich, 2010; Schwartz & Verschik, 2013). Family language policy (FLP) is generally defined as “explicit planning in relation to practicing language use within the home and among family members” (King & Fogle, 2017, p. 315). FLP is an area within applied linguistics that explores how families manage, learn and negotiate languages (King, Fogle & Logan-Terry, 2008). Typical of the family language model is the more explicit attention for the approach parents take to control their children’s language use, examining actual conversations in heritage language speaking families. Aalberse, Backus, and Muysken (2019) posit that most studies in the field strive to understand parents’ attitudes about the importance of maintenance, how they attempt to establish their ‘language policy’, and to what extent interactions in the family follow that policy. There seem to be notable differences with reference to which families strive to keep the heritage language alive within a community. Some parents believe it is essential for their children to have proficiency in the heritage language to represent the ethnic identity. At the opposite end of the scale are parents who consider the heritage language useless resulting in heritage language maintenance being considered less important and secondary to integrating into the host society.

In a country of immigration, even one where heritage language maintenance is viewed favourably by the host society, such as Australia or New Zealand, HLM is dependent on the individual initiatives and efforts. Especially in an English-dominant society where the dominant language is a global lingua franca, HLM does not happen by itself. Pennycook (2004) labels English as a 'feral' language, 'a language that has escaped to upset the delicate ecological environment in which other languages exist' (Pennycook, 2004, p. 215). He labels English as a language that could lead to neglect and suppression of other languages due to its importance in ever more emerging domains. Yates and Terraschke (2013) believe that children may become more resistant to using the heritage language as they use English more competently for school and friendships and start to identify more with the world outside the home. It is imperative for parents aiming to maintain the heritage language successfully that they agree and commit to a language policy. Tannenbaum (2012) considers family language policy as a constant deliberation between parents' expectations and the pressures of the outside world. All the same, Kind and Fogle (2013) detail that FLP is not merely a combination of parental beliefs and approaches, but an ever-changing system through which children are active agents in shaping their family's language choices. Berardi-Wiltshire (2017), who conducted a small-scale study on Spanish-speaking migrants to New Zealand, states that the list of factors that can influence outcomes is comprehensive.

Spolsky's (2004, 2009) theoretical model of family language policy proposes the assessment of language ideology, practices and management, 'three interrelated components' (Curdt-Christiansen, 2018, p.3). Language beliefs refer to "beliefs about language and language use; language practices, which are the habitual patterns of selection among the varieties that make up its linguistic repertoire"; and language management, which covers "any specific efforts to modify or influence that practice by any kind of language intervention, planning or management" (Spolsky, 2004, p.5). The study of FLP has grown considerably in recent years (Gharibi and Seals, 2020). Where early researchers examined topics such as the difference

between monolingual and bilingual learning (e.g., De Houwer, 1990), more recent research tried to find “links between ideologies, practices and outcomes” (King, 2016, p. 6). King, Fogle and Logan-Terry’s (2008) publication can be viewed as the foundation of FLP as a discipline as it set in motion a movement of including different sources of data such as “parental interviews, qualitative observations, and audio and video recorded naturalistic data collection at home and beyond” (King, 2016, p.2) to learn about the link between FLP and child language development.

2.8 Models of parent-child language practices

It is important to review two studies by Döpke (1992) and Lanza (1997), who pioneered how we make sense of the interactional mechanisms families use to negotiate, deal with and adjust their FLP, and emphasises how parents’ language teaching approaches impact early childhood bilingual development. Döpke (1988, 1992) analysed parent-child conversations in six German-speaking families in Australia. She was interested to find out what parents did who were successful in intergenerational language transmission of their minority language. She found that parents capable of applying different creative language teaching strategies to entice the child to speak the minority language are more successful by acting as a language teacher who applies diverse creative teaching techniques. The quality of the input is more important than the quantity of child directed speech (Curdt-Christiansen, 2013). Finally, Döpke found that parents who were sensitive to the child’s interactive needs achieved more rapid results in German language development in the child. Lanza (1997) studied American-Norwegian families and found a one-parent-one-language (OPOL) strategy was successful when one parent exclusively used the minority language while the other parent used a flexible approach, speaking either the minority language or the dominant language. Three further parental language strategies were identified by Curdt-Christiansen (2013): *highly organised* (Lanza, 1997), where the child’s development is regularly checked; a *move on* strategy, where the adult does not interrupt or correct; and a *laissez-faire* strategy where mothers allowed both codes to be used. Lanza (2007) suggests that the ‘minimal

grasp' policy is most useful. When parents apply this strategy, they insist they do not understand the child's choice of language. Wilson (2021) point out that this strategy might be unsustainable from the point where children realise their parents *do speak* the majority language.

Family language policy is not a combination of parental ideologies, strategies and management, but an ever-changing process "in which children play an active role of influencing code choice and shaping family language ideologies" (Fogle, 2013, p. 197) as a collaborative achievement. Most importantly, Fogle (2013a) states that from the point of view of the children, language policy was not merely about the language, but about family alliance, identity and belonging.

The micro planning involved in the maintenance of ethnic languages involves deliberate planning inside the family to determine which language is to be used inside and outside of the home, and the specific strategies to assist (King et al. 2008). Much of the responsibility in this strategic process falls on the shoulders of the adults in the family. However, as Yates and Terraschke (2013) state, it is not simply because a family plans to maintain the heritage language that children will learn their heritage language. Parents may be determined to raise their children bilingually, the impact of the setting is significant, and there are numerous hurdles on the way (Yates & Terraschke, 2013).

2.9 Chapter summary

This chapter has reviewed the literature to date on heritage language in relation to maintenance or shift, domains and functions. Different models, with a particular focus on HL and its maintenance, were identified to represent different perspectives. Fishman and other scholars pointed to the family as the critical domain in minority language maintenance and sustainability as reflected through the GIDS model and the RLS theory. Exploring these concepts describes ethnolinguistic minorities' experiences and can clarify reasons for the continuous changes minority languages undergo in multilingual host societies. HLM has enjoyed a growing interest among

language scholars in recent years. Various factors concerning parental perspectives have been explored including attitudes, beliefs and values, their influence, demographic factors, the presence of older family members, and duration of residency. They have all been found to play a role in determining language choice among the younger generation.

Studies addressing attitudes and behaviours of minority language speakers (e.g., Baker, 2006; Barkhuizen, 2006; Lee, 2013), have analysed the condition of minority languages and worked out the direction in which they may be moving. More research toward Dutch speakers' attitudes and mindset can reveal whether the community is still leaning towards assimilation to English or if a need to maintain the heritage language is growing stronger among Dutch-speaking parents. This research will explore whether the Dutch language in New Zealand is heading in a new direction.

The next chapter will describe my chosen methodology, together with a rationale for this approach.

Chapter Three: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This study investigates the attitudes of Dutch-speaking parents of children aged between five and twelve toward maintaining Dutch as a heritage language in New Zealand. The methodology chosen will allow me to answer questions on how parents enable their children to acquire their heritage language and language skills in a minority group setting in New Zealand.

This chapter outlines my methodological approach and then locates me as a researcher in the research setting to uncover any biases and prejudices that I may have had during the study. Next, the chapter positions this research in the research setting, which includes the current demographic concentration of Dutch speakers in the New Zealand context. Next, I will elaborate on the research design, including the research instruments used and the data analysis process. Finally, I will discuss the ethical issues I encountered while conducting this research.

3.2 Research approach

This chapter describes the selected research and methodological approach employed in this study, as well as my rationale for choosing this approach. I will then establish my role in the research setting and will review any biases I may have had, which may have affected the collection and interpretation of the data. My role in the research environment and my engagement with the Dutch-speaking community, and its advantages or disadvantages, will also be discussed.

My ontology is constructivism, and my epistemological approach involves my belief that the researcher needs to interpret reality to uncover the hidden meaning of behaviours. My conceptual framework is critical inquiry, my methodological approach consists of ethnography, and I have adopted a qualitative method. I will unpack all the above in more detail below.

3.2.1 Ontology and epistemology

The underpinning philosophical beliefs and values that guided this research lie in interpretive constructivism, which propounds that reality is not simply "out there", and easily described, explained or translated by researchers. Reality and knowledge are considered to be a "text" that the researcher reads, deconstructs, analyses, and interprets (Tracy, 2013).

The interpretivist paradigm is based on the understanding that physical science research methods cannot be used to perceive knowledge associated with human and social sciences because an individual's behaviour is based on their interpretation of their world while the world does not (Hammersley, 2013, p. 26). For that reason, interpretivists adopt a relativist ontology in which what exists may be interpreted in a multitude of ways rather than one single interpretation determined by an objective measurement process.

When answering a research question, interpretivists combine multiple points of view from multiple participants with their own (Tracy, 2013). As Cohen et al. (2002, p. 36) articulate, researchers using interpretivist and constructivist strategies have the objective of interpreting "the world of human experience", which suggests that "reality is socially constructed" (Mertens, 2005, p. 12). Virtually, using the interpretivism perspective, researchers 'seek understanding of the world in which they live and work, and leading the researcher to look for the complexity of views rather than narrow the meanings into a few categories or ideas' (Creswell, 2007, p. 20). In the same vein, Hammersley (2013) emphasises that interpretivist researchers need to endeavour to understand the diversity in the way people see and interpret their world, and take great care to avoid their own preconceived notions while conducting their study.

Using the diversity lens, interpretivist researchers not only classify objects, events, or people but also seek to comprehend phenomena in their context rather than generalise to a population (Farzanfar, 2005). In order to obtain authentic information

from the object of research and gain an insider's perspective, researchers can use critical methodologies such as grounded theory, ethnography, case studies, or life histories (Tuli, 2010).

Interviews, to name one ethnographic method, have the advantage that they allow the researcher to investigate the participants' thoughts, values, prejudices, perceptions, and feelings, and to prompt phenomena we simply cannot observe otherwise (Wellington & Szczerbinski, 2007). This process of interpretation of phenomena, people and data by the researcher tends to be more subjective than objective (Mack, 2010), which is why the research outcome is unquestionably affected by the researcher's own beliefs, preconceptions, interpretations, and cultural preferences. There is a constant struggle with the polarity between objectivity and subjectivity, objectivation and engagement (Denzin, 1992), and researchers can have difficulty drawing a line between themselves as researchers and their research objects (Schwandt, 1994). In adopting the interpretivist and constructivist approach, the researcher acknowledges the impact of their own background and experiences on the research (Kahn, 2014). Issues of power and agency may be implicitly neglected in this theoretical perspective, though this particular restriction may have paved the way for critical inquiry in further enhancing the feasibility of research (Mack, 2010).

Constructivism is a research paradigm that rejects an objective reality, "asserting instead that realities are social constructions of the mind, and that there exist as many such constructions as there are individuals (although many constructions will be shared)" (Guba & Lincoln, 1989, p. 43). People are the ones who construct reality as they make sense of the world around them through social interaction **with others around them via continual communication and negotiation** (Appleton & King 2002, p. 643). **This mode of inquiry considers there is** no one objective truth that can be assessed through research inquiry and meaning does not lie dormant in objects, waiting to be revealed, but is constructed by people as they interact with these objects (Crotty, 1998). **Each person’s experiences and the context in**

which they occur are considered valid and are incorporated into the emerging construction(s) (Appleton & King 2002, p. 643). Rather than objective observers, researchers are part of the research project, and their own values must be acknowledged as a substantial part of the result (Guba & Lincoln, 1989; Stratton, 1997). Constructivism rejects claims of objectivity and unwaveringly recognises that researchers "cannot help but come to almost any research project already 'knowing' in some ways, already inflected, already affected, already 'infected'" (Clarke, 2005, p. 12; Charmaz, 2017). Researchers must challenge their "theoretical leanings" to then manage them more competently when gathering and analysing data rather than adopt the position of the "distant observer"(Hordge-Freeman, 2018).

Charmaz (2006) suggests that data and analysis are co-created through a process whereby both researcher and participant negotiate a shared reality. Constructivism highlights the interdependence between researcher and participant, the viewer and the viewed (Charmaz, 2003, 2006) and the co-construction of meaning (Pidgeon & Henwood, 1997). Within this approach, the role of the researcher is that of an active co-constructor of the final theory (O'Connor et al., 2018), and they construct their theories through their involvement in the world they study (Charmaz, 2014). Constructivist grounded theory is "…inductive, indeterminate, and open-ended. An emergent method begins with the empirical world and builds an inductive understanding of it as events unfold and knowledge accrues" (Charmaz, 2008b, p. 155). Charmaz (2003) also finds fault with the 'objectivist' stance within classic grounded theory, and in lieu promotes a partnership between researcher and participants, which results in the construction of a shared reality. This means that researchers are part of the investigation, and their positions, privileges, perspectives, and interactions influence it (Charmaz, 2000, 2006; Clarke, 2005, 2006). Constructivism also considers researchers' and participants' perspectives and standpoints as critical elements of the research process (Charmaz, 2017). Then the problem becomes one of pinpointing these positions and considering their effect on research practice, instead of denying their existence (Charmaz, 2017).

Consideration for these concerns fosters developing critical questions and moving into critical inquiry (Charmaz, 2020).

One can argue that constructivist grounded theory is noticeably different to the classic methodology. The original objective of grounded theory was to conceive a latent pattern of behaviour; however, the constructivist paradigm has re-reconstructed this. Constructivism seeks to understand how participants construct their realities and present multiple views (Breckenbridge et al., 2012). Tuli (2010) summarises the interpretivist and constructivist paradigm as portraying "the world as socially constructed, complex, and ever-changing in contrast to the positivist assumption of a fixed, measurable reality external to people" (p. 103).

In essence, the present research is based on an interpretive and constructivist approach considering I am aiming to discover the social realities from the participant's position and to observe their understanding of the world (Edwards & Skinners, 2009), thus trying to gain insider perspective. This presents an opportunity to discover the significance and importance of behaviour or make the meaning of a specific action understandable and straightforward for others. It needs to be decoded and understood so that other people can easily comprehend.

In this regard, I have selected an interpretive constructivist approach which is most suitable for collecting data within an interpretive paradigm. In this study, I attempt to convey the subjective experiences of the New Zealand Dutch-speaking community on a small scale. My role as a researcher is to understand the inside perspective of the culture of the community involved.

3.2.2 Conceptual framework

Critical inquiry

Researchers may develop an unwarranted sense of comfort or complacency about what they do, which may lead to unintended assumptions about the world (Mills,

Bonner, & Francis, 2006). Cheek (2011) asserts that these presuppositions and the complacency about them can prevent researchers from analysing their own assumptions and actions as qualitative researchers. Charmaz (2017) suggests researchers develop a new methodological self-consciousness in order to assess how, when, and to what extent our unquestioned self-direction shapes our thinking and behaviour. Critical inquiry is an approach that explores the factors researchers may be impacted by and can be useful in asking us to challenge our taken-for-granted assumptions that sit beneath the surface. It offers a way to interpret the world and question it in various ways, providing a lens through which researchers can look at the world and what makes it tick (Lambert & O'Connor, 2018). Suter (2011) states that research is a journey inspired by a researcher's willingness to look beyond apparent answers and commit to social change. Research in general and critical inquiry more specifically aim to advance a more socially just society (Roof et al., 2017).

Hordge-Freeman's (2013) critical stance included more than the injustices she found in her study of black Brazilian women who had been "taken in" by white families under the pretense of adoption when their own families could not provide for them. Throughout her study and from hearing their stories, Hordge-Freeman delved further into critical inquiry about the women's situations. Her engagement in the strong reflexivity of constructivist grounded theory forced her to reassess her taken-for-granted assumptions and her stance towards her own work. In doing the research reported on here I was similarly forced to reassess my own assumptions and stances.

Critical inquiry is tasked with taking our compelling questions and create deliberate, often thought-provoking, analyses that challenge current social and economic principal ideologies and structures. Constructivist grounded theory, with its origin in pragmatism, can assist with this endeavour (Charmaz, 2017). A close focus on what "is" all too often results in overlooking larger "why" questions that locate people and interactions in wider structures (Charmaz, 2020). A social constructionist approach

to grounded theory enables us to concentrate on “why” questions while preserving the intricateness of social interactions (Charmaz, 2008a).

Critical inquiry implies a profound exploration of problems and frequently depends upon continued involvement with the research participants. The constructivist paradigm is compatible with critical inquiry seeing that the method prioritises responsiveness to the empirical world. Critical inquiry as well as constructivist grounded theory emerge from a position of doubt and reject value-free inquiry (Charmaz, 2017). Charmaz (2017) suggests researchers scrutinise their own person, practices, and data through inquiry to take a critical stance and change the way they see the research participants, the research goals, and themselves as researchers. Researchers can develop critical inquiry throughout the research process by using an open-ended, emergent method, such as constructivist grounded theory, which supports the development of a critical stance as it is "…inductive, indeterminate, and open-ended. An emergent method begins with the empirical world and builds an inductive understanding of it as events unfold, and knowledge accrues" (Charmaz, 2008b, p. 155). The qualities of a critical methodology are understanding the consequential nature of our work as researchers and being critically reflective (Roof et al., 2017).

Social justice is at the heart of critical inquiry. Lambert and O’Connor (2018) argue that critical inquiry bears on involvement as “we can move beyond simple research or finding out answers to difficult questions. There are complex questions about how we operate in the world and how the world operates upon us” (Lambert & O'Connor, 2018). This theoretical perspective of social justice and empowerment purposely intends to empower and gain equality in society. However, change does not manifest itself easily, as action results may take time for reflection in reality due to the complexity of social issues (Pham, 2018).

3.2.3 Methodology

Ethnography is challenging to describe as it is used in different ways in various disciplines drawing on different traditions (O'Reilly, 2012), with considerable diversity in prescription and procedure (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2019). Willis and Trondman (2000) define ethnography as "a methodology that draws on a family of methods involving direct and sustained social contact with agents, and on richly writing up the encounter, respecting, recording, representing, at least partly in its own terms, the irreducibility of human experience" (p.6).

Ethnography is an aesthetic and existential undertaking, suggesting that every culture has an essence to be discovered, interpreted, and articulated. To understand the essence of a culture the researcher needs engagement with the culture (Clair, 2003). Dörnyei (2007) holds that ethnography provides a *rich narrative* describing the actions and habits of members of a particular collective and the meaning the collective itself ascribes to these. In this way, ethnography can be seen as the quintessence of qualitative research. Blommaert (2007) confirms this fundamental feature of ethnography and its capacity to meticulously analyse and describe complex matters and thus do justice to the research participants' thinking. O'Reilly (2012) argues that ethnography is not a prescription for the techniques to be used, as much as it is a theory about how research should be conducted. It entails involvement in the daily life of the research participants, the building of relationships, and an awareness of the social world's complexity to gain insight. However, prolonged engagement with the research participants is a stumbling block for many researchers, as it involves time many cannot afford to invest (Lee, 2013).

Dörnyei (2007) defines the three critical aspects of ethnographic research as being: participant meaning at the heart of the research, sustained involvement by the researcher in a natural environment, and the emergent nature of the research as the study focus evolves and develops from the fieldwork. Contemporary ethnography aims to be reflexive and is carried out with complete awareness of the considerable amount of limitations linked to humans studying other humans. It implies a degree

of objectivity, taking distance from the culture, the group or the individual, and observing and recording what happens (O'Reilly, 2012).

One of the most notable characteristics of qualitative research, especially ethnography, is that the researcher is principally the research tool (Wolcott, 1975). This characteristic is the source of some of the most persistent complaints about using qualitative research procedures (Borman et al., 1986). As O'Reilly (2012) points out, there have been debates within ethnography about the extent of a researcher's involvement as an insider to be able to remain objective. The data collected is filtered through the eyes of the collector, who is both filter and interpreter, and the results could be regarded as being too intuitive, too personal and individualistic. Researchers can carefully create detachment and practice an insider-outsider role (Wax, 1971) by setting aside periods with reduced involvement with subjects in the field or by taking time away from the field to regain perspective. This time away from the field promotes perspective and encourages the researcher to see things as if they were new and different again (Borman et al., 1986).

Researchers taking an ethnographic approach in New Zealand is uncommon; questionnaires have been the preferred instrument in the study of language maintenance. Qualitative interviews with smaller groups of participants often added complementary information to the researcher's questionnaires (e.g., Roberts, 2005; Crezee, 2009). Kim and Stark's (2005) work on the Korean community departs from this practice as the study used participant language diaries. The researchers sourced these from acquaintances with an interest in language maintenance, due to the demanding nature of the instrument. Lee (2013) conducted an ethnographic study focusing on understanding the insider perspective of the Chilean Community in Auckland. Samu, Moewaka Barnes, Asiasiga and McCreanor (2018) used focus group interviews to raise the concern of young Pasifika people deeply concerned about heritage language loss in New Zealand. Talmy (2010) defines the ethnographic interview as a research instrument, which aims to retrieve and uncover the "participants' beliefs, attitudes, perceptions and experiences" (p. 133), giving the

participants a voice, which was ultimately the aim of this study. Interviews are semi-structured to allow for a more free flow of information from the interviewees.

Merriam and Tisdell (2016) describe ethnography in qualitative research, which "strives to understand the interaction of individuals not just with others, but also with the culture of the society in which they live" (p. 24). Madden (2017) defines ethnographers as social scientists who observe and write about people attempting to understand them through participation in their lives. It is my responsibility as a researcher to direct my attention to uncovering and understanding the insider perspective of the Dutch-speaking community in New Zealand. I adopted an ethnographically informed position and an insider status to interpret the data with a certain degree of insight based on shared cultural experiences, and previous knowledge and relationships, which provides a 'depth' that may not otherwise exist (Harris, Jerome & Fawcett, 1997). I fully acknowledge my own subjectivity as an active member of the Dutch-speaking community in Auckland for the past seven years. This connection is a privilege not many researchers enjoy, considering it allows me the continued engagement required for ethnographic research. As an insider in the Dutch-speaking community in Auckland, I put a conscious effort into distancing myself from the field to be able to look at things again as if they were new. I took some time away from the community and the research data, seeking to gain the advantages of both the insider and outsider perspectives and be able to look at the interview data with some distance.

3.2.4 Method

Qualitative: interviews

Methods for studying community languages comprise two categories: quantitative techniques including surveys, and qualitative techniques comprising ethnographic methods, including case studies, participant observations, recorded interactions and diaries (Holmes, 1997). Holmes argues that quantitative and qualitative approaches are complementary, with quantitative research, drawing data from large sample

groups, which allows the researcher to make conclusions that are more general. Qualitative data can present more in-depth insight. She asserts that "the result is a rich database of qualitative material in the form of interpretive comment to illuminate the quantitative data which forms its backdrop" (p. 27).

In contrast to quantitative studies, qualitative research implies that researchers rely on text data rather than numerical data, which is analysed in its textual form, rather than deriving numbers for analysis (Cater and Little, 2007). The researcher aims to understand the meaning of human behaviour and action (Schwandt, 2001), whereby open questions are used about certain situations as they exist in their context. As stated by Burns and Grove (2009), qualitative research is a methodical and subjective modus operandi to putting daily life and events in the spotlight and giving them meaning. It enables researchers to thoroughly study behaviours, different perspectives, and life experiences and uncover the situation's complexities by applying a holistic framework (Holloway & Wheeler, 2002). Creswell (2007, p. 15) defines qualitative research in this way:

> 'Qualitative research is an inquiry process of understanding based on distinct methodological traditions on inquiry that explore a social or human problem. The researcher builds a complex, holistic picture, analyses words, reports details of informants, and conducts the study in a natural setting'.

This approach is also explained by McLeod (2001), who states that understanding the human world scientifically is undeniably very complicated and challenging. Observations and interpreting people's perceptions of unique events (Guba & Lincoln, 1994) are the foundations of the interpretive and naturalistic approach that is qualitative research (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Neuman, 2011). The focus is mainly on obtaining an insider's viewpoint and on subjective experiences and the perceptions of individual participants (Silverman, 2013).

The researcher has conducted semi-structured interviews for the present study rather than design a new qualitative method. It is vital that I acknowledge my

subjectivity as an active member in the Dutch community in New Zealand for the past seven years.

My position in the research setting

I am a Dutch-speaking Belgian mother of one New Zealand born daughter. I was born in Belgium and moved to New Zealand in 2009. Before my daughter was born, I had never stopped to question whether or not my child would learn and speak my heritage language (HL), Dutch. I had assumed that Dutch-speaking parents speak their mother tongue with their children and that the children would simply absorb the language to become fluent speakers.

In our daughter's first years of life, I was a stay-at-home mother, and we spent most of our time in each other's company, which meant that most of my daughter's language input was Dutch. My husband is English speaking, so the communication with him was mainly in English, but he was often away for work for more extended periods of time, so the home language was Dutch. As I always spoke my heritage language with her, we were making good progress, and I planned to make sure my daughter learned and mastered the language. I expected her to speak both English and Dutch and anticipated her Dutch would improve, the same way her English did, expecting the same level of fluency and proficiency in both languages, without her HL being subject to attrition. We attempted to work with Dutch-speaking au pairs and babysitters and used Dutch as much as possible. We read Dutch books to our daughter and watched Dutch children's TV shows and videos. It was not until our daughter started attending a daycare centre and had more contact with English-speaking carers that she started to use English more than Dutch, even in conversations with me. I started looking for more Dutch interaction and found a Dutch playgroup in Auckland, which meets up once every month to sing Dutch songs, read Dutch books and give children of Dutch descent the opportunity to spend time with other Dutch speakers. I contacted the Dutch School in Auckland, where children between the ages of 4 and 12 can learn to speak, read and write Dutch. The

school, established in 1994, is associated with the NOB (*Nederlands Onderwijs Buitenland*, which translates as: The Foundation for Dutch Education Worldwide), a network of nearly 200 schools worldwide, which offers Dutch culture and language classes to Dutch and Flemish students living abroad. I contacted the founder and principal of the Dutch School Auckland, Sabine Berkman, to find out whether our daughter would be eligible to start. As my background is in language teaching and the school was looking to expand its programme on the North Shore of Auckland with a class for children aged four and five, I joined the teaching team, and our daughter joined the programme. For me, joining the Dutch School was a fabulous decision, as I met so many parents who found themselves in a situation similar to mine. Most parents were trying to pass on their heritage language to their children and found that this becomes more challenging once the children start attending daycare and even more so once they start school at the age of five.

Through conversation with the teachers at the Dutch School and with some of the Dutch-speaking parents, my interest in a bilingual education grew, and the idea of researching the matter of heritage language emerged. I was mainly interested in parents' attitudes towards maintaining their heritage language in their families and their strategies to teach and maintain Dutch in the New Zealand setting. At that point, I had met Professor Crezee through her work as a translator and, after finishing a professional Master's degree at the Auckland University of Technology (AUT), I started having conversations with her around researching Dutch heritage language maintenance and, more specifically, the role of the parents. Professor Crezee was interested, and we started working together on this project.

When I started the data collection process, my identity as a Dutch speaker allowed me to approach the research setting as an insider, and my proficiency in the Dutch language allowed me to communicate with those parents who signalled their English proficiency potentially was not at a level where they felt they could be interviewed in English. Apart from this, though, all parents chose to speak Dutch during the data collection phase.

While collecting the data, I set myself the aim to put aside the theories of language acquisition in other multilingual communities and focus on listening to each participant's experience on the matter. Being a Dutch-speaking Belgian mother did not mean I understood everything about being a Dutch-speaking parent living in a community where the dominant language is English. What I knew came from my personal experience, and I learned that every family's background and challenges are different, even when we live in the same community and we are working towards the same goal of teaching our children our heritage language.

3.3 Research Process

3.3.1 Sample and recruitment

Roberts (2005), Kim and Starks (2005), Kuiper (2005) and Crezee (2008) demonstrate the versatility of involving qualitative research in research inquiries about human behaviours, social perceptions and experiences in studies. In her study of language use among older, retired Dutch-English bilingual migrants, Crezee (2008) complemented interviews with questionnaires and self-assessment. Roberts (2005) used interview data to complement the data she had collected through questionnaires in her study of Gujarati, Dutch and Samoan language maintenance in Wellington. Qualitative studies include the ones by Kim and Starks (2005) on the Korean community and by Kuiper (2005) in his report on the language shift among Dutch immigrants in New Zealand.

For this study, 10 participants were sought initially, and I intended to limit the number to 20 individuals. Each participant would need to:

be a migrant to New Zealand

be Dutch-speaking

have at least one child between the ages of 5 and 12 years old

In New Zealand, children can start primary school at the age of five and, though there are efforts to introduce Te Reo Maori into the educational system, the language of education is primarily English. English, via the educational system, government transactions, the economy and social life, is the dominant language in New Zealand (May, 2009; McCaffery & McFall-McCaffery, 2010; Hunkin, 2012; de Bres, 2015). Children may speak their heritage language at home, yet when they start school, they may go through a language shift to the use of the dominant language and more consistent use of English (Brown, 2011; Guardado, 2006; Nesteruk, 2010). The fact that school-aged children generally speak the language they hear the most suggests a connection between school and language use (De Houwer, 2015). Contact with the dominant language, English, intensifies once children start attending primary school as they start to learn to read and write in the dominant language.

I collected the data from 21 respondents, all parents of at least one child between 5 and 12 years old. General demographic information, such as the children's gender, age and country of birth, was collected. Except for one parent, all the participants were mother-tongue speakers. This parent had lived in both the Netherlands and the Dutch-speaking part of Belgium for a considerable amount of time, which resulted in them being fluent in Dutch. As can be the case with this type of study, it seemed easier to attract the interest of mothers when discussing their children's language learning. I actively encouraged the mothers who had volunteered to contribute to convincing their partners to take part, which resulted in the gender of the participants being slightly skewed toward females (n=13) as opposed to males (n=8).

Practically, I had envisaged working with parents living in the Auckland area, but lockdown restrictions were put into effect and New Zealand entered a national lockdown on 26 March 2020 as a measure to combat the spread of COVID-19. Strict measures restricting one-to-one contact at the time made meeting in person impossible. I adapted the data collection method to conduct the interviews via video chat or a Zoom call and could then expand the scope to parents living outside the Auckland region. Recruiting the sample for this study was fairly straightforward.

Once ethics approval from the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Commission (AUTEC) had been obtained (see Appendix A), the invitation was sent through to be posted on three Facebook pages: 1) The Dutch School in Auckland, 2) the Dutch in New Zealand/Nederlanders in Nieuw-Zeeland, and 3) Belgians in New Zealand* Belgen in Nieuw-Zeeland* Belges en Nouvelle Zélande pages. I initially recruited 20 Dutch-speaking parents, of whom 18 had a Dutch background while 2 had a Belgian Dutch-speaking background. I believed it would be interesting to involve more Dutch-speaking Belgians in the project, so I contacted two Belgian parents through the Dutch School. In the end, of the total number of participants, seventeen (n=17), were Dutch speakers with backgrounds in the Netherlands while four (n=4) were Dutch-speaking Belgians. Historically, Dutch and Dutch-speaking Belgians have a different outlook and attitude towards their mother tongue, so I considered they might have different attitudes towards their heritage language maintenance. The final sample comprised seven sets of parents and seven individual parents, giving a total of twenty-one.

3.3.2 Location

As mentioned earlier, I had initially planned to organise the interviews at a neutral location most practical to the participants, whether it be the premises used by the Dutch Association, a library, a café, or the participant's home. As I was getting ready to start the data collection process, New Zealand recognised the scope of the COVID pandemic, and by the time I found the first participants, in March 2020, the country entered its first lockdown, which made face-to-face interviewing impossible. AUTEC ethics approval was gained to conduct the interviews online via Zoom's videoconference tool. Though I still prefer sitting down with people face-to-face, this opened up more possibilities for me as it allowed me to expand my scope to include Dutch-speaking parents who lived in other locations across New Zealand.

3.3.3 Data collection

Interviews

It is common for qualitative methods used in research, such as interviews, to have a small sample size, as the objective is to present precise and detailed analysis, which in essence carries large amounts of data (Lee, 2013). I intended to keep the sample size between 10 and 20 participants as I felt I needed to gather enough data to produce generalisable data, but not too large to the extent that it would move beyond the scope of my Master's studies.

Participants were asked for general demographic information at the start of the interviews to add a backdrop to their stories, including age and country of origin of the children. Next, semi-structured, open-ended, informal interview questions were used to allow a flow of information. The interviews took around 40 minutes and were recorded on Zoom and my smartphone. They were designed as an opportunity to ask participants about their language and language practices. According to Talmy (2010), "interviews as a research instrument are theorised as a resource for investigating truths, facts, experience, beliefs, attitudes, and/or feelings of respondents" (p. 33).

As previously mentioned, my insider status as part of the Dutch community potentially posed ethical issues in recruiting the participating families and will be discussed in the next section.

3.3.4 Data analysis

While quantitative research can have clearly defined steps in terms of data collection and data analysis, qualitative data collection is a far less straightforward process. Dörnyei (2007) sees this process as a "zigzag' where researchers go between data collection, and analysis and interpretation of data, which allows the researcher to start analysing the data early in the research. In this study, I began analysis immediately as data collecting began. All the participants opted to be interviewed in Dutch, and the transcription was carried out in Dutch as well. I transcribed the audio

files using Amberscript, and they were all immediately checked against the recordings to warrant accuracy. The Dutch data was later analysed using Dutch codes as well. Codes are the significant ideas that categorise the data collected in coding. Creswell (2013) defines this process as one "of organising the data by bracketing chunks (or text or image segments) and writing a word representing a category in the margins" (p. 247). Coding was used to identify and describe frequently emerging patterns and themes. I coded the entire data collected using QSR International's NVivo 12 data analysis software.

Vogt (2014) posits that researchers can identify various recurrent themes that may surface naturally from the data rather than a process-driven theory. Thematic analysis is a common feature of qualitative ethnographic research when interviews and observations are used as the research instruments (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016), in which data is aggregated into a smaller number of themes. Booth (2014) opted for coding and thematic analysis as the data analysis method in her ethnographic study of Indian cultural events in Auckland. Similarly to Booth and her hand-coding to identify key themes, I coded the interview transcripts and identified the most frequently identified salient themes, which were then categorised. Every new theme was categorised separately, with the direct quotes from each interview that illustrated them best. While I was well aware of the outcomes of earlier research into language maintenance and shift in the Dutch community in New Zealand (e.g., de Bres, 2004; Crezee, 2008), I also understood that the themes emerging from the data in front of me might somewhat differ from those studies.

3.4 Ethical issues considered in the research

A qualitative research design must acknowledge the importance of ethical factors, such as respecting the participants' rights, needs, values, and desires (Creswell, 2013). Critical ethical concerns were to be considered while preparing and before using the research instrument selected for this study. When engaging with participants who are close to the researcher through personal, social or community

contact, the sensitivity of ethical and methodological issues is intensified, such as the insider/outsider dilemma (Dhillon and Thomas, 2018). As most of the interview participants and the researcher were members of the same social networks, the potential ethical issues that arose were the interviewees' privacy, confidentiality, and anonymity. The confidentiality of interview participants was ensured by providing participants with a pseudonym to ensure anonymity unless they had specified that they wished to be quoted and have their name included in the thesis (Walford, 2005).

Informed consent was an essential principle before conducting the interviews and was gained through consent forms prior to each interview. Each participant received a participant information sheet (see Appendix C) stating the study's objectives and was given the option to withdraw from the interview in the event they no longer wished to participate or felt uncomfortable at any stage of the interview process, without giving a reason.

The data collected for this study will be kept for future reference or for conducting further research for up to six years and can only be accessed by the principal researcher. Ethics Approval from AUTEC was granted for this research on 3rd March 2020 (see Appendix A).

Limitations concerning data collection

As mentioned before, the interviewing process saw some changes when meeting participants face-to-face was no longer possible due to COVID-19 restrictions, which did enable me to be quite flexible in terms of timing. I estimated interviews to take 40 minutes to one hour, and participants had complete freedom to choose when they would take place. The participants and I managed to arrange interviews between work, homeschooling, and bedtime routines between us. All participants chose to be interviewed from their living rooms or their home office, and thus, as far as Creswell (2007) is concerned, researching was in a natural setting. This situation resulted in both the participants and the researcher being more relaxed and probably also more instinctive than when one or both parties travel and meet in a more neutral location.

3.5 Chapter summary

This chapter has outlined the theoretical framework of this study, the underpinning philosophies, the research process, and the research instruments used in collecting the data. It also described my position in the study and the key ethical considerations linked to biases or prejudices I may have encountered throughout the research process. The next chapter presents my findings from the semi-structured interviews, followed by a discussion and a conclusion.

Chapter Four: Findings

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will present and analyse the findings collected in the interviews with twenty-one Dutch speaking parents living in New Zealand in order to assess their ideologies, beliefs and attitudes towards the heritage language. I will also focus on the possible actions taken and challenges parents might encounter on their journey, as this might give an indication of perceptions and attitudes towards language maintenance among Dutch-speaking parents in New Zealand

As reviewed in Chapter Two, families achieving “intergenerational mother-tongue transmission” within the family (Fishman, 1991, p.6) is of crucial importance for the maintenance of heritage languages. Findings from interviews in this study point in the direction of heritage language use in the family domain being of significance in heritage language maintenance.

The data discussed in this chapter is based on interviews with a sample of seven sets of parents (n=14) and seven individual parents (n=7). Although different points were emphasised by individual parents, a general interpretation of the data has revealed a number of patterns and themes, which will be considered in the following section. The findings of this study will be presented in five main categories: ideologies, attitudes and beliefs about the heritage language, expectations of heritage language use, strategies, resources used by parents, challenges, and future, aspirations and goals. Each section will begin with a brief introduction of the overall findings in regard to the relevant category, which will be followed by a more detailed review of the information gathered. In doing so, I hope to emphasise concerns which were shared by the cross-section of the members of the Dutch speaking community in New Zealand interviewed by me. Most of the parents interviewed for this study shared positive attitudes towards the use of Dutch, albeit to different degrees, either in terms of it constituting a factor in their Dutch identity or in the cohesion of their families. I found that those parents who held strong beliefs

regarding the children's heritage language made substantial efforts towards its maintenance. In addition to learning and speaking Dutch in the home domain, some children attended the Dutch School or were taking online courses from the comfort of their homes.

4.2 Ideologies, attitudes and beliefs

In this section, I will explore parents' values, beliefs and attitudes towards bilingualism as well as towards their own heritage language, Dutch. Parents' own life experiences, social and cultural backgrounds as well as societal pressures guide parental ideologies (Berardi-Wiltshire, 2017). These constitute the most significant factors in the linguistic decisions made by children (Barkhuizen, 2006) and foreshadow successful family language management policies. Research suggests that migrant children are more likely to maintain their heritage language if their parents have strong beliefs about the maintenance of that language (Nesteruk, 2010; Park & Sarkar, 2007; Tse, 1996), which would lead us to believe that the children's heritage language maintenance is largely influenced by their parents' attitudes and efforts.

Almost all interview participants shared positive attitudes toward the use of Dutch in their families, albeit in slightly different ways and to different extents. It appeared that parents who had stronger beliefs in relation to their children's heritage language made considerable efforts in its maintenance. Children were attending community schools, were receiving Dutch language lessons at home and parents were setting clear rules about speaking Dutch at home. Common reasons participants mentioned for maintaining the heritage language involved intergenerational communication, cultural identity and the value of bilingualism.

4.2.1 Perceived value of bilingualism or multilingualism

Bilingualism and multilingualism are often correlated with cognitive advantages (King & Fogle, 2000) and acknowledged as beneficial to a person's academic development (e.g., Cummins, 2000). It is believed to be an asset to one's identity as well as one's economic value (Lee, 2002; Baker, 2006). All parents interviewed for this study agreed that English is the most important language in their children's lives, as they were living in a country where English was the dominant language at school as well as in the vast majority of their extracurricular activities and social lives. Additionally, most of the participants acknowledged the status of English as a *lingua franca,* not only in New Zealand, but in the Netherlands as well:

> *I think it is more important than Dutch. Especially because we have our lives here, in New Zealand. Look, you just don't want them to speak poor English, or English with an accent, but that they speak it fluently. And that they can fully use it. That is happening, of course, at school. But sometimes, you do wonder, you know, is it possible? Shouldn't we be pushing her more towards English rather than Dutch? And if we were to return to the Netherlands, we'd like to keep up the English for them, but it would no longer be the focus. It's really country specific.* - FLORIS

Even though, in New Zealand, English is the predominant language of education, the government and the media (Bell et al., 2005), some participants in this study acknowledged that speaking one or more additional languages absolutely is an asset, and viewed as being bilingual or multilingual is an advantage. One of the participants described it this way:

> *You know, I think being able to express yourself, to express yourself in different languages, in different ways is a huge superpower.* - TALIA

And Tuur addressed what he considered to be a tradition of being bilingual and the added advantages in terms of cultural intelligence:

> *My parents always reinforced that is was important to know a different language, so I certainly think it is important. You live as many times as you know languages.*

Three parents interviewed in this study stated being motivated due to the cognitive advantage bilinguals have over monolingual speakers, which is consistent with research which asserts that bilinguals analyse meaning more efficiently than monolinguals (Cummins, 1989).

With New Zealand's significant increase in ethnic diversity, assimilation to the dominant language and English monolingualism is no longer expected by the New Zealand host society (Kuiper, 2005; Spolsky, 2005; Crezee, 2008). The growing constitutional support for multiculturalism seems to have helped minority groups to express their culture more openly through their language (Auckland Languages Strategy Working Group, 2018). Speaking an ethnic language is more common now than it was even a decade ago. Similar to many other ethnic languages in New Zealand, Dutch has its own values and is used in the personal relationships within the family, with friends and acquaintances within the Dutch community.

4.2.2 Perceived value of the heritage language

In terms of weighing up the importance and the use of English as a *lingua franca,* and Dutch, as a language spoken by approximately 23 million people worldwide, most parents interviewed for this study appreciate the value of English now.

> *And Dutch, unfortunately, Dutch isn't a language like French or Italian or Spanish, where you think: if you master that, you might get something out of it later, in certain jobs… of course Dutch is… well, there are not very many people who speak Dutch, just the Dutch and Belgians, really.* - RUNE

Even so, though Dutch may not share the spread or the reputation of the English language, it is valued to such an extent that most parents in this study decided to keep their heritage language alive within the family. Parents spoke of a desire to cultivate it so their children might have some knowledge of the language that would allow them to function well enough within a multicultural and bilingual extended family or community, sometimes tying it back to children being able to more easily pick up an additional language as a result of their Dutch-English bilingualism.

> *I think that at first I thought... I think it is very important they speak both languages fluently. I switched, but I do think it is important they have a foundation in Dutch, so they also have the ability to learn different languages more easily.* - TALIA

Generally speaking, positive views about the value of Dutch were reflected throughout the interview data in some way, demonstrating that a greater number of parents in this study appreciated and sometimes even cherished Dutch, and considered it an important resource to be nurtured and passed on to the next generation of speakers. In the next section, I will clarify the findings in regard to the expectations parents had of the use of Dutch as a heritage language.

4.3 Expectations of heritage language use

Fishman (1991) along with other scholars (Al-Sahafi & Barkhuizen, 2006; Park & Sarkar, 2007; Yu, 2010) has suggested the family is at the core of intergenerational language transmission for children. Parents have referred to the family as “the central driving force” in heritage language maintenance (Schwartz, 2010, p. 171) and the home is the first place, apart from the community, where children get a chance, to and could be asked to, use the heritage language. Out of 21 individual parents interviewed in the context of this study only two confirmed that they did not have any expectations as far as the use of Dutch in their family was concerned and that Dutch was not passed on to the children.

> *Now that we are living here in New Zealand, we only speak English because Dutch is no longer relevant. We moved here 2.5 years ago and we deemed it important that our younger children got a good foundation in English, which is why we focused on English.* - JAN

All the other parents (n=19) confirmed that Dutch was present in their house in some shape or form and was used to some extent in their daily lives. In some families there was an expectation that everyone would speak the heritage language, while other parents were happy to let the children take the lead.

4.3.1 Communication and cohesion

Research shows that parents nurture their children's heritage language maintenance with the intention of facilitating the communication among family members (e.g., Hashimoto & Lee, 2011). Using Dutch at home is not considered an easy task in an English-dominated society and some parents found it rather challenging to strike a balance. Though participants in this study confirmed that learning and maintaining Dutch was important for their family to facilitate communication with grandparents and relatives overseas, sometimes it was more important to keep the lines of communication open and speak English, rather than insist that the children speak Dutch at all times.

> *So sometimes it's hard to keep it up. And what you don't want is that, in the middle a serious conversation, your child is trying to express themselves, you sometimes don't want to say: "Come on, speak Dutch." And that they end up saying: "Don't bother. I just won't tell you." So it's about finding a balance between holding on to the language but also not becoming annoying to the point where the children start to dislike it. That I am finding hard to do.* - RUNE

The ambition to pass on the heritage language may be at risk when the dominant language is chosen over the heritage language to facilitate easier and more fluent interactions, and the conversation is not stopped to ask the children to switch to the heritage language (Yu, 2005). Yu (2005) also found that the children have considerable influence on language choices within the immigrant family and the language choices of their parents. Parents in this study reported on this as well and said they would often switch to speaking English with their school-aged children rather than forcing the conversation to be carried on in Dutch. Lynn reported on situations where she believed her Dutch might be too difficult for the children to understand, which then spurred her to make the switch to English.

> *I do believe there is more Dutch than before, but I do have to say that, for example, I am talking in Dutch and I get this thought: "This is much too complicated for those children to understand. I have to say I've been talking for a long time." Then I just switch to English. … I do try a lot more, but, as I said, when I am explaining something complicated, I do notice it: "I've been talking for a very long time." then I switch to English.* - RUNE

4.3.2 Language for family and elders

Contact with the home country has been recognised as a way of measuring attitudes towards heritage language maintenance (e.g., Cherciov, 2012), and it appears to tellingly forebode ethnic language competence among immigrants (e.g., Hulsen et al., 2002). Almost all participants stated that they had regular contact with their extended families in the Netherlands or in Belgium through phone or video chats. Most parents in this study indicated that they hoped their children would learn Dutch to connect with their extended family in the country of origin (e.g., Umali, 2016, Gharibi & Seals, 2020). In some families, where the relatives were living overseas, parents expressed positive attitudes towards the use of Dutch as it enabled the children to communicate with others whose English was perhaps limited. Most participants stated that their parents and some relatives do not have very good levels of English, so the communication could only take place in Dutch. In some cases, the communication was quite easy and fluent, while for others the process was more arduous. Tuur explained why his children mainly spoke Dutch with his parents.

> *My parents actually speak little to no English. So there… but with relatives, like my sisters for example, they mainly speak Dutch, I believe. They [*the children*] always, or often, answer in English, for example. So it is really only after a while that they [*children*] start using a few words of Dutch.*

Tuur's wife, Lynn, explained that such conversations could be quite a challenge for the children.

> *You can tell that at the start of the conversation, Rik* [son] *really tries to speak Dutch. But it's exhausting for him, I think, or unnatural and he switches to English.*

The data in this study indicates that the role of the grandparents was "silent" in the family in terms of transmission and maintenance of the heritage language (Kaur, 2019). Grandparents' non-English speaking status encouraged the use of the grandchildren's heritage language (Pauwels, 2005). In this context, the findings of the study are in agreement with other studies, such as those by Nesteruk (2010) and Park & Sarkar (2007), who also investigated the role of grandparents in heritage

language maintenance. Participants here acknowledged that the heritage language might have been long lost had it not been for the communication with relatives and grandparents overseas. This is what Floris mentioned in regard to using Dutch with the grandparents.

> *That is basically the reason why we devote so much energy to it. Or, at least so does Nora* [wife]*. I can tell you this: I am not going to beg, because it's not like that. Nora tries really hard, but it is because of that* [grandparents] *that we do it. Because it is of course really fun if she can still communicate with oma and opa, because they don't speak English.* […] *She is really crazy about her oma. And she rings her regularly on her own accord, every week she rings her to have a chat.* […] *If it weren't this way, I think she* [Nora] *would have given up on it.*

Floris expressed what was probably the main reason the family worked so hard towards their heritage language maintenance; the ability to communicate with immediate family. Studies such as Brown's (2011) and Guarado's (2006) found that heritage language transmission is fundamental to maintaining intergenerational family connections (Guardado, 2006; Brown, 2011; Hammer & Rodriguez, 2012), as well as it being closely associated with cultural identity.

4.3.3 Language and identity

It is not unusual for families to strive to maintain the heritage language as a means to transmit preserve the culture and promote a sense of cultural identity among young immigrants (Fishman, 1991; Cho, 2000; Lee, 2002). Questions about identity and core values were not included, however, issues around Dutch identity were sometimes brought up informally by parents during the interviews. Participants in this study were especially focussed on passing on the language as part of their culture, as part of who they are as Dutch people and as Dutch speakers. This is expressed in the example below from Lotte, mother of two:

> *It is part of...part of them and part of us. And I do think that is important.*

One of the parents interviewed, Kor, considered being able to speak the heritage language not only practical for communication with Dutch-speaking relatives, but also a moral obligation, as a way to show respect for your roots.

> *Look, I think it would be a bit odd; being Dutch and not speaking the language. I see it as a moral obligation. Apart from that, it is practical as well: the family is Dutch. And it's still your family and your heritage is still Dutch. So for me it is a matter of respect for where you are from*.

Isabel expressed her wishes for her children to know and feel where their roots were and for the children to realise how important it is to stay in touch with those roots.

> *I do feel that it is the language, but also more. We've been back once and we just realised: this is us, you know… our roots. I do think it is so important that you* [the children] *understand – and not just rationally – but that you experience it too, you know. Just because… I think by living here* [in NZ] *you notice a lot more how big the cultural differences really are, and, yes, language is part of that, but actually just in a wider sense. You feel that, for everything, you think: "I want this to be your foundation. And that you know it or feel it."… You feel that your roots are within you and I believe it is important to stay connected to them. And that you can speak with oma and opa, nieces and nephews, and just people in the Netherlands. To be able to experience that, not as a foreigner, but from within, as a Dutch person.* - ISABEL

Participants in this study reported that Dutch was important for their own identity and their children's wider cultural identity. Some parents saw their roots as part of their children's heritage and put a considerable amount of effort and resources into passing on the heritage language. Rosalie's children took Dutch classes online as part of this process:

> *Because despite the fact they were not born there, it is still part of what they inherit from us. So I'm obviously not pouring 2,000 dollar per child into it every year, to then turn around in, say, 10 years or so and think: "Well then!"* - ROSALIE

Many parents felt their heritage language is the medium through which their identity and heritage was passed on to the children. However, not all parents see the heritage language as being imperative to the process. Carol explains that she feels that making sure the children know their roots, not just the language, will lead them

to feel more secure in who they are. And later, she expresses concerns in regard to her children losing their heritage language and, as a result, losing a part of their cultural identity.

> *So their Dutch roots… I want them to know clearly where they come from and that they remember that. I think you can show this too. Not by speaking Dutch necessarily, but… I think it is important, certainly in these times, because everyone comes from different corners of the world, that you know where you come from. If you know your own identity, you'll feel more comfortable wherever you are in the world. If not, you might start feeling displaced, I believe*. […] *For that matter, we focus on the language, actually we do. I would be disappointed if they were to forget. I do notice that. Because, at the start I did struggle with that, thinking: Christ, we are here now and for me Dutch is… it really is my first language. Just imagine, you know, they grow up and they become Kiwis. And I really hated that idea. Especially at the beginning. I really thought: "Yes, but will they still be my kids?" You know. I just want to be able to continue to communicate in Dutch with them. That is purely instinctive, emotionally speaking.* - CAROL

Parents' opinions were divided about the way in which cultural identity was transmitted to the children. Dutch language is not a core value in the Dutch social system (Smolicz, 1981) and proficiency in the heritage language is not the only prerequisite for transmitting cultural identity. Children's cultural identity can be developed through the passing on of the heritage language, but also by having a connection of affiliation to the heritage culture. There are a number of cultural traditions through which this can be accomplished, such as *Sinterklaas* (some would say this is the Dutch equivalent of Santa Klaus), *Koningsdag*, the day the Dutch celebrate their King's Birthday, and *Dutch Week*, to name a few. This is in line with a study by Pauwels (1980) who found that her Dutch-Australian informants showed very little concern about the maintenance of the Dutch language. Valued over language was the Dutch concept of *gezelligheid* (social togetherness), some of the cultural traditions mentioned earlier, and typical Dutch foods, for example.

4.4 Strategies

4.4.1 *Family Language Policy*

Family Language Policy has been defined as the “explicit and overt planning in relation to language use within the home among family members” (e.g., King et al., 2008, p. 907) as well as the “implicitly and covertly” process (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009, p. 352) in regards to the management of languages at the micro level, the family. In much of the research on multilingual families, the family language policy is built on Spolsky’s (2004) definition of “language policy”, with three inter-related components of language practices, strategies around language management and language ideologies. Language ideologies encompass beliefs and attitudes about languages, which underpin the language use in the home as well as conscious ways in which the language use is managed. In this section, we will take note of all language management strategies parents may plan in their home vis-à-vis language use, when they use it and with whom. Research shows that parental language ideologies and management may have significant implications for the children’s heritage language learning experience and, equally, on the outcome (Wilson, 2019; Thomas, 2012). More positive and entertaining strategies of family language management are more successful (e.g., Guardado, 2002). Even so, Thomas (2012) found that the strategy used does not seem to determine the outcome and the heritage speakers’ level of fluency. This calls into question the recommendation to use particular language management strategies as they do not ensure increased levels of success.

4.4.2 Home Language

One of the families in this study was particularly well prepared for bringing up a child in a Dutch-speaking family in an environment where English is the dominant language. Before their child was born, Bram and Nienke made a conscious decision to gain as much knowledge as possible about bilingual education and made a well-informed commitment to the maintenance of the heritage.

> *When I was pregnant with Mats* [son]*, I took a course* […] *about, let's say, whether it is possible to bring children up bilingually and how that affects their brain. For me that was an important aspect, because I did think about it, we did think about what exactly it was that we wanted. And we wanted him to get the opportunity to just speak Dutch, as I think it is important to keep his options open.* - NIENKE

The home language was Dutch and the family also use Dutch in private conversation outside the home. There were very few exceptions to this rule and both parents insist their child speak Dutch with them. This family often used the 'minimal grasp' (Lanza 1997) method where children's utterances in English were not understood by the parents. Comments or requests simply need to be made in Dutch.

> *Nienke and I always* [speak Dutch]*. And sometimes, since Mats* [son] *has been at school, he mixes in more and more English words. Occasionally he speaks English to us as well, but we just pretend not to hear this. He has to speak Dutch.* – BRAM

The extent to which the heritage language is allowed or used is not uniform across all the participating families and ranges from no Dutch at all, in one family, to a Dutch-only rule at home in two families. In Carol's family, where the colloquial home language is Dutch, even the children cooperate and make sure this rule was respected and family members correct one another.

> *Colloquial Dutch and that... just in conversation we do correct them. Actually we correct each other.* […] *My youngest is good at it. He says: "No, mum, that's wrong."*

The majority of the parents interviewed confirm they use Dutch in the family domain with some amount of English mixed in at times.

For two families in this study the concept of Family Language Policy was something they had given a lot of thought. Other families had not purposefully considered the concept or a set of language management tools. Through discussing the topic during the interview, some parents became more aware of the, sometimes unspoken, rules in their own families.

4.4.3 Language use between parents and children

One parent-pair in this study confirmed they had let go of Dutch since having moved to New Zealand. Anna explains English was the only language in their home since the family moved away from Europe.

> *Dutch, yes... we don't have a real connection to the Netherlands, not even for me.* […] *We speak English only. Everyone speaks English.* - ANNA

Jan, Anna's partner, confirms they no longer speak any Dutch at home:

> *Since we now live in New Zealand, we speak English exclusively, because Dutch is no longer really relevant.* […] *No, and we do not have plans to move back to Europe at all.* – JAN

For nine parents in this study the heritage language was the one everyone in the family was expected to use. Parents aimed to speak Dutch at home when they spoke with their partners as well as with the children.

> *We both speak Dutch at home. All of us. Though the children often reply to us in English, Dutch is still our language of communication.* - ELSE

> *We speak almost exclusively Dutch. Sometimes we ignore that rule, but that is by and large when we repeat a conversation from work and we need to use the exact words… if you translate there will always be a fine nuance. And if you want to explain with the correct word, then we switch to English. But that usually doesn't last long. Jolijn* [wife] *is very mindful about that*. - JAKKE

While ten participants reported having positive attitudes towards Dutch and used it as a home language, they also noted that some English words did slip into their daily conversations. Some of these English words were used because there were no known equivalents in the heritage language, as the concept was not widely known or used in the Netherlands or in Belgium. Participants mentioned that some of the words frequently used in the school environment in New Zealand did not have a Dutch equivalent.

Many of the parents who reported using some English said this was mainly in response to the language use of the children. While parents set out to have one

language at home, Dutch, they also wanted their children to feel comfortable and feel free to speak English when they need to.

> *It can be quite hard to maintain. You don't want to have a serious conversation, when your child wants to express their emotions and you interrupt to say: "Wait, just say that in Dutch." And they turn around and say: "Never mind, I won't tell you then." So you try to find a balance between trying to hold on to the language, and not being irritating to the point where the children start to hate it. I find that fairly difficult.* - RUNE

Children did not always have the ability to express complex concepts in the heritage language, mostly in connection with events or concepts from an English-speaking setting. Parents understood they may risk a communication breakdown if they do not allow the children to convey these experiences in the majority language. Nineteen out of the 21 parents interviewed in this study state this was generally not an obstacle to free communication within the family and children were allowed to use the dominant language. This acknowledges that the home language is a two-way collaboration, with children having influence almost as much as parents do at times (e.g., Fogle & King, 2013). This brings to mind an optimistic and flexible approach to family language policy, referred to as the *Happylingual*, which represents a delicate balancing act between efforts to protect and progress the heritage language, and avoiding a fight against sociolinguistic forces that could ultimately be a catalyst to children being more compelled to speak the dominant language (Kopeliovich, 2013). Parents may choose to relinquish control in terms of heritage language use in the family domain, rather than rigidly push the children towards the use of the heritage language at all times.

4.4.4 *Language use among children*

In families with multiple children, the eldest child's heritage language proficiency is generally higher than that of the other siblings, which has been demonstrated in the literature (e.g., Seals, 2013; Gharibi, 2016). Carol's children, for example, both spoke Dutch at home, and even though she described her eldest as biliterate, the youngest child was mostly the person who policed the use of spoken Dutch in the home. Isabel

also confirmed that her children spoke Dutch to one another, with the occasional use of an English word where the children had not learned the Dutch equivalent. It would happen that the eldest child would correct the younger siblings by pointing out they had unwittingly used an English term instead of a Dutch one.

> *Sometimes my oldest would tell the others: "this is not a Dutch word" you know, when they are unaware. Or: "You can't say that like that in Dutch."*- CAROL

Two further parents reported their children using a mix of the dominant and the heritage language when speaking amongst each other, with children sometimes unaware of which language they were using at any given time. Lotte, mother of two, talked about her children coming home from school and using English in play, until they suddenly realised that they were speaking English and immediately switching to using their home language again. All other participants with more than one child noted that the preferred sibling language (Barron-Hauwaert, 2011) was English.

> *The children actually only speak English among each other. As soon as they address us, they switch to Dutch. But then as soon as you leave them alone for five minutes, they start speaking only English together. - JAKKE*

4.5 Resources used by parents

Only two parents interviewed confirmed that they did not make any particular efforts to support the maintenance of the heritage language. All other parents supported the maintenance of Dutch in one or more ways, for example: get-togethers with other Dutch-speaking families. Other popular approaches are scheduled video chats with relatives, use of technology (Guardado, 2002) including websites and apps, heritage language books, audiobooks, visits from Dutch-speaking family members, trips to the heritage-language country, Dutch School, online classes or parent-taught lessons. One parent uses lesson plans obtained via either a provider or publisher of heritage language textbooks to teach their children themselves in a home schooling setting.

Resources used by the families in this study fit into three categories

- Entertainment resources for native Dutch speakers
- Dutch language learning resources and materials, and Dutch language school (books, school-start books, etc.)
- Visits from relatives or immersion through travel to the home country

Families reported using a range of resources, and books were without question the most popular and most used resource in heritage language maintenance, followed closely by other sources of heritage language entertainment, regular contact with Dutch-speaking relatives and Dutch language education.

4.5.1 Dutch books and Dutch entertainment resources

The prevalent practice among Dutch-speaking parents was to read books to maintain their children's heritage language. Sixteen participants reported that books were their leading and most used language learning resource. A large number of parents in this study had children who had not learned to read Dutch, so parents or even grandparents used the opportunity to read Dutch books to the children. Kor, the parent of two young children, explained the importance of books and reading in their family.

> *We do read a lot anyway. The children are always engrossed in books, even in the morning when they wake up, they'll reach for a book instead of just heading out. So we read a lot, we read to them a lot. It's part of it… opa does it less, but my mother, oma, and Nienke's mother as well, yes, she is* […] *oma really enjoys it, so in the evenings, now, at quarter to seven, oma reads to the children via facetime.* […] *Let's see how long this will continue, but oma enjoys it very much and the children enjoy it, so… So two to three times per week, oma rings up and then they both take the same book to read. Oma reads to them and the children read along. And that's it. It's a matter of practice, and to keep offering and correcting.* - KOR

One family reported combining two resources by letting one of the grandparents read a book to the children via video chat; so the children would receive Dutch language input and the family's intergenerational communication was being supported.

The second highest resource used were entertainment resources such as Dutch TV-shows, DVDs, online streaming platforms such as Youtube and Netflix and Dutch music. Families generally watched well-known Dutch youth programmes or TV shows such as Peppa Pig that have Dutch equivalents, which most parents access via Youtube or VPN. Jakke's family have a regular TV night, when the family watches the same TV show together every week. He reported this as a great source of new vocabulary for the children. Other parents let their children watch Dutch television series and the Dutch news for children on a regular basis. Parents saw these forms of Dutch language media as another opportunity for their children to learn about current events, experience the culture and learn some contemporary new vocabulary as well.

4.5.2 Dutch School

Sending children to heritage language schools or programs is the prevalent practice among immigrant parents (e.g., Li, 2006). There are many reasons why parents do so. One of the participants in this study mentioned the friendships her child had built over the years of going to heritage language school. Being able to mingle with fellow heritage learners can form a special bond that sets children apart from others in their English medium school. Five parents in this study had children at the Dutch School in Auckland. Classes at the Dutch School are offered in three-hour blocks on Wednesdays and Thursdays at two different venues on the North Shore of Auckland and at Holland House, the "home" of the Dutch Community in one of Auckland's suburbs, where many cultural events are held. The school teaches a curriculum set out by the NOB (*Nederlands Onderwijs Buitenland*, which translates as: The Foundation for Dutch Education Worldwide), a network of nearly 200 schools worldwide, which offers Dutch culture and language classes to Dutch and Flemish students living abroad. The NOB's programmes fulfill the requirements of the Netherlands Ministry of Education. The school in Auckland seems to be the only Dutch language school for children currently offering classes for children in New Zealand. One parent mentioned that their children used to go to this school, but had

to give it up when the family moved away from Auckland. Two additional parents reported that their children went to the Dutch School in Wellington for a short while until classes were no longer available. Some of the parents who did not have the option of enrolling their children at the Dutch School because they lived outside of Auckland opted for online Dutch language classes.

4.5.3 Online classes

Three parents without access to a face-to-face language and culture school looked elsewhere for Dutch language classes and found online providers. Kor and Rosalie's family opted for the Dutch language curriculum offered by IVIO Wereldschool, which offers a Dutch Language curriculum to children between the ages of two and a half and eighteen. The course the family chose helps families teach the children with Dutch heritage to understand, speak and write Dutch. The teaching package used by this family requires a parent to help the children at this point, as the children in this family were only young and have not learned to read. Else's family uses an online education provider, Edufax, who specialise in tailor-made solutions for Dutch-speaking children abroad. This online teaching resource suited the family well and both children and parents were happy with the progress the children were making. Both families say they were happy with this method, but they also report it being quite expensive.

Lotte, whose family also does not have access to in-person Dutch culture and language classes, opted for a different parent-taught method. She purchased the Dutch textbooks the children had used in their old schools directly from the publisher and gained access to the online teacher guide. Lotte now teaches her children Dutch grammar and spelling half a day per week at home and makes a conscious effort to make it a special time for the children. When the family just moved to New Zealand, it was difficult for the children when they were also learning English, but it was now regarded as quality time for all three of them.

> *At first I looked into Edufax, I think, but that method was quite… quite pricey, I thought. And seeing I had the time, I looked around and in the end we chose to buy books directly from the publisher who released the textbooks they used at school. And actually that's quite practical, because I got the textbooks and a visitor from Belgium brought them here. You get access to a teachers guide online. It is super simple, because it says: show this image, do this… That Is really very much okay. And as it's one-on-one… we try to create an enjoyable moment and bake pancakes for lunch etcetera.* - LOTTE

4.5.4 Regular visits from relatives and visits to the Netherlands and Belgium

Another common practice to immerse children in a heritage language environment is to take the children on regular visits to the country of origin (Nesteruk, 2010; Kung, 2013; Berardi-Wiltshire, 2017). Using the heritage language during these trips has been recognised as a catalyst sans pareil for the maintenance of the heritage language (Bennett, 1990; Cherciov, 2012). The parents in this study who have been on a holiday to the Netherlands and Belgium reported only positive effects of these visits. Since their move to New Zealand, eleven parents had been back at least once. Most families who travel to Europe with their children noted that, under normal circumstances, they try to do this at regular intervals, between once per year to once every two to three years. All families reported that these trips prove to be excellent motivators and the proficiency of their children's heritage language improved dramatically while on the trip. Pim recounted that the trip to the Netherlands encouraged the children to try harder, to speak Dutch more frequently at home and to start using certain words they may not have been familiar with before the visit. He stated that it was interesting to observe the children when they began to understand that there was such a large community of Dutch-speakers. This in turn encouraged the children to speak more Dutch at home. It gave the children an insight into the Dutch culture as a whole.

Two families had organised trips to a different country where the family met up with their Dutch-speaking relatives to spend time together. The effects were similar to the ones described by the parents who organised trips to the home country. These two families travelled to meet relatives at a holiday destination and spent the entirety of

the time in the company together. The children were exposed to Dutch through conversations held in Dutch and were forced to use any Dutch knowledge they had to communicate with their relatives.

Three parents spoke of family members who had visited them in New Zealand, coming to stay with them for a number of weeks. Rosalie recounted her parents' visit not long before the interview. Her parents intended to come to New Zealand for a three-week holiday, when New Zealand entered its first lockdown in reaction to the COVID19 pandemic. When their airline stopped flying due to COVID restrictions, they were unable to leave New Zealand. This extended their stay by three weeks, and so they spent a total of 6 weeks in New Zealand, of which the last three were in a lockdown situation. Having their grandparents live with them for an extended stay had a tremendous impact on Rosalie's children's' heritage language proficiency. She reported a noticeable improvement, given her parents do not speak English and the children spent all day with their grandparents, practising Dutch.

4.6 Challenges

It was clear from the data collected that heritage language maintenance comes with its challenges and requires significant efforts on the part of the parents. The most prevalent challenge in maintaining Dutch in New Zealand was the exposure to English at school and in the community. Participants reported that their children hear English at school every weekday and also around the community, hobbies and their friends.

4.6.1 Formal schooling

In New Zealand, formal schooling is primarily in English, with a small amount of Te Reo Māori taught. When children are introduced to English in an academic context,

they are expected to become proficient in English, maintaining the heritage language becomes more challenging (Nesteruk, 2010), and there can be a shift away from the heritage language toward the dominant language (Guardado, 2006; Nesteruk, 2010; Brown, 2011; Seals, 2013). Research shows that when children start formal schooling, a majority stop using the heritage language even at home when communicating with their parents (Nesteruk, 2010; Brown, 2011). Parents in this study reported that the children's use of English at home had increased significantly since they had begun childcare or primary school. Some parents also expressed that this was a surprisingly swift process, in some cases a matter of months.

> *When he was five, he almost exclusively spoke Dutch. And as soon as he started school… he probably had some catching up to do for English, once he started going to school, because he predominantly spoke Dutch. Well, he caught up in no time and English took over in no time.* […] *My oldest son, he spoke it* [Dutch] *very well until he was five. Then he started school. He still speaks it well, but he has to think about it more.* - RUNE

For some children the preference for English was merely for the reason that it was 'easier', not because they had an emotional preference for English (Taliancich-Klinger & Gonzalez, 2019). One parent mentions she does not believe her children do this intentionally.

> *It does happen that they've been at school all day, come home and speak English to each other. And suddenly they ask themselves: "Why are we speaking English to each other?"* - LOTTE

Other children no longer understand the need to speak the heritage language if they do not have any peers who speak it. This was the case for Else's children.

> *Our children, as soon as they started going to school, they flipped a switch and spoke English. They speak English to us as well. Really, they actually don't feel like speaking Dutch. If you don't have children your age* [to speak it with]*…* - ELSE

All parents interviewed for this study agree that English was in fact the most important language in their children's lives, as they were living in a country where

English is the working language at school as well as in the vast majority of their extracurricular activities and social lives.

> *Yes, they have to go to an English school here, so, I do think it* [English] *is very important. I think it has to be their first language. Dutch is clearly their second language. So, yes, that's definitely top priority.* - MILOU

A number of parents told of conversations the families had with the children's school around heritage language maintenance and the school's attitude towards it. The families who had this conversation with the school report schools encouraging multicultural education and giving support to the heritage language maintenance. This corroborates Gharibi and Seal's (2020) study, which showed New Zealand teachers encouraged Iranian families to continue to use the heritage language in the home to help them develop and preserve it (p. 12).

> *When we got to school in New Zealand, we went to visit the primary school, who said very clearly: "Try to continue to speak Dutch at home as much as possible, your own language. That will in fact help the children pick up English. If not, they might get confused. You want them to learn and know at least one language properly, so they can pick up the other language well." And that actually worked.* - CAROL

It seems that the host society attitudes toward heritage language maintenance has come a long way, moving away from advising parents that their heritage language would not be of much use to the children and high English proficiency would boost the children's educational outlook (Crezee, 2008).

4.6.2 *Expressing emotions*

As reported earlier in this chapter, a large number of parents in this study considered maintaining Dutch as valuable for their children. A total of nine parents reported that their home language was Dutch. Out of this group, six parents expected the children to use the heritage language at home, and three of these parents acknowledged that they were quite strict. These parents had clear rules around the use of the heritage language in the family.

Three further parents reported having the “heritage language only” rule in their homes, unless this became a stumbling block for the children when they talked to their parents about their day or when they felt the need to connect to them and Dutch was just too hard. In that case, parents often recognised the issue at hand and allowed English, to prevent a breakdown of communication. Many parents spoke of *picking your battles* when it came to the home language. They might tolerate the occasional English word or sentence structure, and when this happened, one of the parents would correct the children. In Carol’s family it was actually the younger child who corrected everyone else when the heritage language rule in the home was broken.

Ten participants conceded that they allowed a mix of the dominant and the heritage language in their home domain. In these families parents spoke Dutch with the children as often as possible and sometimes the children might reply either in Dutch or in English. Most parents in this group said they did correct the children when they spoke English, but not consistently. Nora was one of the parents who pointed out that the heritage language was important in the family’s life, but being able to keep the lines of communication open was paramount. The ambition to pass on the heritage language may be at risk when the dominant language is chosen over the heritage language to facilitate easier and more fluent talk, and the conversation is not stopped to ask the children to switch to the heritage language (Yu, 2005).

> *So, I’m not so strict. I know there are parents who are very strict, who have a Dutch only rule as soon as they enter their house. But our daughter has her life here, you know. So if she wants to tell me something that happened between Monday and Friday, you know, regular school… well, she’s lived it in English, so she’ll tell me in English. Sometimes there’s a Dutch word here or there, or she tells me in Dutch. You know, I don’t fret about it. She’s allowed to speak what she wants, but* [at home] *we just speak Dutch*. - NORA

Dutch was generally highly valued in most participating families in relation to communication, and, to a lesser extent perhaps, as an expression of culture and identity. For most parents it was clear that the children live in a community where

English was the dominant language. The children need to be able to take part in it without being hindered by a lack of English proficiency.

> *Look, if you want to live and work in New Zealand, want to go to school, for the children to make normal social connections, then speaking and writing English well is just essential. Yes, and later on for their careers as well, wherever that may be, it is really a prerequisite now to be able to speak English well, I think. So yes, it is in fact a no brainer, they have to know both well.* - KOR

4.7 The future, aspirations and goals

When asked about the future of their heritage language maintenance journey, most parents interviewed stated they would be quite sad if their children would no longer have the ability to speak or even understand Dutch, specifically in terms of family dynamics with grandparents. For some parents intergenerational communication was the main reason why they felt the need to cultivate the heritage language. Floris' daughter had a fabulous relationship with her Dutch-speaking grandparents. They were part of the reason she had been learning and maintaining their heritage language. He believed there was a likelihood his daughter may no longer feel the need to use the heritage language once her grandparents were no longer alive.

> *Look, if she wants to keep it up, it will be up to her soon. We are just providing a foundation and if she chooses to, when her grandparents are no longer around, or whatever it is… it will be her choice and it will be all up to her.*

A small number of participants expressed their concern around ageing themselves, losing the ability to communicate in English and perhaps losing the ability to communicate in their mother tongue with their children.

> *I do think about… you know, you do hear about older people losing their English, so they would no longer be able to understand us. That, ehm…* […] *Ido think it is important that they maintain it.* -MILOU

Parents realise that teaching and passing on the heritage language in the home does not guarantee high proficiency in its maintenance. They may put considerable effort into heritage language maintenance, success can only be achieved if the children

admit the validity of it. Living in New Zealand, where the dominant language is English, heritage language loss as the children grow up is a reality parents have to take into account (Guardado, 2006; Brown, 2011). Many parents realise this is a reality they could be faced with when living in an English dominated society. Nora, mother of one, believes it will almost inevitably be a consequence of growing up in New Zealand.

> *You know, when it happens, I won't be able to stop it, of course. Because she is growing up here. Look, it's all good and well for me to have these ideals in my head – riding your bike to the village and carrying the grocery bags on the handlebars, but she's never experienced that.* […] *And she's growing up here, her life is here. But one day it will... Look, imagine she stays here and has a family here, because she's growing up here. I think it will, it will just fade away.*

Even when parents acknowledged there are no certainties that their children will grow up to be bilingual, they found comfort in knowing they are putting effort into teaching the children Dutch. If the children do eventually become monolingual, parents hoped would be easier for the children to *pick up where they left it* in future.

4.7.1 Future education

Apropos parental motivations to raise children with two languages, a leading motivator is the economic value of knowing two languages (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009). This idea hinges on the status of the language in question in the global and local subtleties, with some languages indeed being perceived as bringing more to the economic value of their speakers and others not creating more economic or professional benefits. The parents in this study, much like many other immigrant parents, attached a high value to learning English for academic and professional success. Many parents stated they did not rate Dutch at the level of English, but valued it for different, distinct reasons.

> *Certainly. Obviously because it* [English] *is the language used at universities, at many universities around the world. I believe it's important that they can hold their own. So, for us, it is currently our number one priority, for them to be able to write and understand it properly. Dutch is just very important, in*

> *case they wanted to make the switch to the Dutch educational system and want to live in the Netherlands again. And, above all, for family and friends.* - CAROL

Some parents who put significant effort into nurturing and maintaining their heritage language stated that they were unsure whether they would stay or move away from New Zealand at some time in the future. Other parents spoke of the prospects of their children moving to the Netherlands or Belgium for university studies. With a combined total of 13 universities ranked in the top 200 worldwide (World University Rankings, 2022) to choose from, students heading to the Low Countries are almost spoiled for choice when it comes to choosing a university where Dutch is used. Though the working language in some universities is in fact English, parents acknowledged the importance of speaking Dutch to function well in social settings.

> *We decided early on: we want our children to learn Dutch because we, well, we don't know whether or not we'll go back. And if we were to… We really want that if we go back… and also if they went to university, or university college and they'd want to do that overseas, in the Netherlands, for example, they'll just have to be able to speak Dutch.* - ROSALIE

Parents who addressed this possible move to a Dutch or Belgian university emphasised that they put a considerable amount of energy into the maintenance of their oral heritage language in the hope that it will offer the children the freedom to do so without language being an obstacle.

4.8 Chapter summary

This chapter has presented the findings of my interviews with 21 Dutch-speaking parents under five main headings, while also citing relevant previous studies. All but one family in this study strongly agreed on the importance of maintaining Dutch in New Zealand. Interviewees tended to express positive attitudes toward Dutch, with some highlighting its value for generational communication to foster family cohesion with grandparents and extended family members. Some parents described the heritage language as a catalyst for cultural identity development for their children. Most interviewees have a strong connection with their roots and the country they

grew up in, and frequent visits to the Netherlands and Belgium help the children find motivation to maintain their heritage language.

The findings discussed in this chapter indicate that most participants acknowledged the cognitive and academic advantages of being bilingual, particularly considering the world is becoming a smaller place and travel or perhaps even a relocation to the home country are at times on participants' minds. In this context, many parents in this study expressed the desire to pass on the heritage language should the children decide they want to pursue further studies in the Netherlands or Belgium. Though a great number of classes at universities are now taught in English in the Low Countries, participants acknowledged the importance of the children's heritage language proficiency in the interest social connections and integration.

Even when most parents have a strong interest in heritage language maintenance and express the intention and the desire to pass Dutch onto the future generation, they did occasionally allow the children to use English in the home. Parents reported they would allow this if the children indicated it was easier to keep the lines of communication open if they could use English. Thus, despite parents' positive attitudes in maintaining their heritage language, a decrease in its use in the home domain could push to the Dutch language to a shift to the dominant language and second and third generation Dutch and Flemish may no longer speak Dutch.

The next chapter will present a discussion of the most salient findings in light of the literature, as well as a discussion of the methodology used and the limitations of this study, before concluding with recommendations for future research.

Chapter Five: Discussion and Conclusion

5.1 Introduction

This study set out to explore the attitudes of Dutch-speaking parents in New Zealand towards heritage language maintenance involving their children. I did this through semi-structured interviews with 21 Dutch-speaking parents living in New Zealand. In this chapter, I will discuss the most salient findings within the context of previous studies, before discussing my methodology and the extent to which it was useful in addressing my research questions. I will also formulate the contribution I feel my research has made to the field overall. Next, I will discuss the limitations of my study before making some suggestions for further research.

5.2 Findings

As illustrated in the literature, parental influence has been considered as one of the most fundamental elements shaping children's heritage language maintenance (Brown, 2011). Previous studies amongst Dutch migrants in Australia and New Zealand have presented a particularly low rate of first language maintenance, even in the first generation (e.g., Hulsen, 2000; Donaghey et al., 2008; Crezee, 2008, 2012).

From this study among Dutch-speaking parents in New Zealand, one could argue that parental contribution in heritage language maintenance does not seem as unambiguous as has been previously indicated. In the next sections, I will discuss findings observing the following themes: the first one discusses ideologies, attitudes and beliefs in relation to parental attitudes towards bilingualism, the value of the heritage language. The second relates to expectations of heritage language use in the home domain. Next, parental strategies, the resources used by parents, the challenges they encounter, and future aspirations and goals, will be considered in the light of existing research. Lastly, my contribution to the literature and implications for further research will be discussed.

5.2.1 Ideologies, attitudes and beliefs

Earlier studies amongst several language communities in Australia and New Zealand showed a markedly fast rate of language shift and particularly Dutch migrants were some of the heritage language speakers who assimilated fastest (Roberts, 1991, Hulsen, 2000; Pauwels 2005, Crezee, 2008). The fact that the Dutch in New Zealand are considered well assimilated, culturally as well as linguistically, may reflect rather low attitudes toward language maintenance (Hulsen, 1997; Roberts, 1998; Hulsen et al., 1999). However, New Zealand is continuing to be a culturally hyper diverse society, speaking an ethnic language is more accepted than ever (Lee, 2013) and assimilation to the dominant language and English monolingualism no longer constitute a prerequisite to integration (Kuiper, 2005; Spolsky, 2005; Crezee, 2008). Dutch-speaking parents in this study are more comfortable now in openly expressing their culture through their language than Dutch-speaking immigrants only a few decades ago (see e.g., Crezee, 2008). Similar to many other ethnic languages in New Zealand, the Dutch see their language as having its own values and it is used within the family as well as with friends and acquaintances in the Dutch community. Most parents in this study appear committed to Dutch language maintenance.

Almost all interview participants shared positive attitudes toward the use of Dutch in their families and it appeared that parents who had stronger beliefs in relation to their children's heritage language made considerable efforts in its maintenance. Common reasons participants mentioned for maintaining the heritage language involved intergenerational communication, cultural identity and the value of bilingualism. This is in alignment with a previous study by Julia de Bres (2004), who found that more recent Dutch immigrants in the early 2000s attributed more importance to passing on Dutch to their children, and to put more effort into heritage language maintenance than earlier arrivals in the 1950s. Some of the reasons mentioned by the respondents in de Bres's study included retaining links with the heritage,

understanding the culture, communicating with Dutch-speakers in general, and communicating with Dutch-speaking friends and family.

Interestingly, all parents interviewed for this study agreed that English is the most important language in their children's lives, as they were living in a country where English was the dominant language at school as well as in the vast majority of their extracurricular activities and social lives. Additionally, most of the participants acknowledged the status of English as a *lingua franca,* not only in New Zealand, but in the Netherlands as well.

Most parents in this study appear to associate bilingualism and multilingualism with cognitive advantages also alluding to enhanced intelligence of bilinguals. Some participants in this study acknowledged that speaking one or more additional languages absolutely is an asset, and viewed being bilingual or multilingual as an advantage. This is in keeping with Gharibi and Seals's (2020) study investigating language policies of Iranian immigrant parents living in New Zealand. Parents in their study refer specifically to the increased intelligence of bilinguals and recognise being bilingual as beneficial to their children's future career opportunities.

Generally speaking, positive attitudes and belief in the value of Dutch were reflected throughout the interview data, demonstrating that a greater number of parents in this study appreciated and treasure Dutch, and considered it an important resource to be nurtured and passed on to the next generation of speakers.

The findings of this study showed that even though participants generally hold positive attitudes towards heritage language maintenance, Dutch may not be maintained. As Fishman (1991) has noted, supportive approaches and educational assistance can only be of influence if the initiative of heritage language maintenance starts with the family, where heritage language learners get the opportunity to practice and use the ethnic language.

5.2.2 Expectations of heritage language use

Cohesion and communication

Parents expressed positive attitudes towards the use of Dutch as it enabled the children to communicate with others whose English was perhaps limited. Most parents stated that they hoped their children would learn Dutch so they can connect with their non-English-speaking relatives in the Netherlands or in Belgium. This is aligned with Park and Sarkar's (2007) study of nine Korean immigrant families and their efforts to maintain their heritage language in Montreal, Canada. All participants in Park and Sarkar's study reported encouraging their children to connect with their Korean-speaking family members and grandparents using the heritage language. Parents believed the knowledge and use of Korean was key to efficient communication with their non-English-speaking extended family members and grandparents. Almost all participants in the present study had regular contact with their families and friends in the Netherlands or in Belgium over the phone or via video chats. Many families reported having extended family members and grandparents who do not speak English. The close relationship with these family members helped create a more positive attitude toward Dutch, as they provide a way to help children develop and maintain the heritage language at home. The data in this study indicates that the role of the grandparents was "silent" in the family in terms of transmission and maintenance of the heritage language. This corresponds with Kaur's (2019) study of the Panjabi community in Auckland. Kaur found that parents saw having non-English-speaking grandparents in the home contributing greatly to the development and use of the grandchildren's Panjabi. Spending a large amount of time with the non-English-speaking grandparents gave the children more opportunities to practise their Panjabi. None of the Dutch-speaking parents in the current study have grandparents or other non-English-speaking family members living with them, but report having very regular contact with Dutch-speaking family members and grandparents.

A major contributing part mentioned by many parents is the evolution in technology, which allows easy access to extended family members in the Netherlands and Belgium. Regular text messaging or video chats with extended family members and grandparents are among the most preferred tools used by the participants in this study to help maintain intergenerational relationships as well as support the heritage language learning process. The way in which these connections with extended family members in the home country are maintained is a pole apart from the letters Dutch immigrants used to have to write and send before emails, text messaging and video chatting became more widespread. The significance Dutch-speaking parents attach to having regular contact with Dutch-speaking relatives is acknowledged in Hulsen, de Bot and Weltens's (2002) study among three generations of Dutch speakers in Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch, New Zealand. This research showed that the value attached to language maintenance and use within the family was positively impacted by the Dutch immigrants' contacts in the Netherlands. Maintaining contact with native Dutch speakers appeared to be a key factor in the heritage language maintenance and represents an important source for first-generation informants, but equally significant for the second and third generations.

Most parents reported that using Dutch at home was not an easy task in an English-dominated society, and some found it rather challenging to strike a balance between attempting to cultivate and maintain the heritage language and allowing the use of English for efficient communication with their children. Though participants in this study confirmed that learning and maintaining Dutch was important for their family to facilitate communication with grandparents and relatives overseas, sometimes they considered it more important to keep the lines of communication open and speak English, rather than insist that the children speak Dutch at all times.

When children have difficulty expressing their inner emotions to their parents in the heritage language, parents often allow the children to use English. When the dominant language is chosen over the heritage language to facilitate easier and more fluent interactions and the conversation is not stopped to ask the children to

switch to the heritage language, the ambition to pass on the heritage language may be at risk (Yu, 2005). Yu also found that children have a significant influence on language choices within the immigrant family and the language choices of their parents. Some parents in the present study reported on this as well and stated that they would often switch to speaking English with their school-aged children rather than forcing the conversation to be carried on in Dutch. None of the parents voiced real concerns about this as it was a way to keep the children communicating on what could potentially be conversations that are more difficult to have if they had to take place in Dutch. This brings to mind Kopeliovich's (2013) "happylingual" strategy; where parents seek balance between efforts to safeguard and nurture the heritage language while also avoiding pointless fights over the use of the dominant language that drive the children further towards that language. In her sociolinguistic study based on the researcher's personal experience raising multilingual children, Kopeliovich (2013) makes mention of a shift in attention from the family's more systematic language policies to allowing the children's behaviour and initiative to influence a more ecological linguistic environment.

Dutch-speaking parents report on their heritage language reality in a similar way. Most parents set out to use Dutch as much as they feel they can with the children, but when they meet a linguistic obstacle that they think might hinder the communication between parents and children, they are happy to allow the children to use the language with which they feel most comfortable. In most cases the parents in this study report their children communicating in English and parents either responding in Dutch or shifting to English as well. This is not a situation parents were particularly happy about, but parents who report doing this speak of compromising and *picking your battles* before reverting to the Dutch-only rule as soon as they feel it is appropriate again.

Regular visits from relatives and visits to the Netherlands and Belgium

Along with regular contact with non-English-speaking extended family members, most participants in the present study report arranging yearly or bi-yearly visits to holiday with their families in the Netherlands or Belgium. More than half of the parents in this study had travelled back at least once since moving to New Zealand and reported these visits to have only positive effects, and that this was an element to success in the children's heritage language maintenance. Parents reported it seemed their children had noticed that they were not isolated in using Dutch and had to use the language to be able to communicate with non-English-speaking extended family members and friends as well as their peers. Children had been more motivated to speak Dutch during and after the visits. This is consistent with previous findings by Pauwels (2005) who asserts that these visits provide an opportunity for children to be immersed in the heritage language and to practise with their peers.

Language and identity

The Dutch abroad are well-known for the rate which they assimilate and switch from their native language with the dominant one, even when, theoretically, there should be less pressure to do so (Roberts, 1999; Hulsen, 2000). This may indicate a rather muted attitude toward the heritage language (e.g., Klatter-Folmer & Kroon, 1997; Crezee, 2012). Though many parents in this study reported switching to English now and again for smooth communication, they stated this was not with the intention to assimilate linguistically to the dominant societal language. These parents felt their heritage language was the medium through which their Dutch or Belgian cultural identity and heritage was passed on to the children and they expressed the desire to maintain this by nurturing and maintaining the Dutch language within their family. It might well be that Dutch was a core value for those families who wanted their children to learn and maintain their heritage language.

The core value theory of language asserts that language is maintained in some communities as it is central to the group's distinctive identity. Some of the

participants here were found to value Dutch as part of their identity, reflecting stronger beliefs and more positive attitudes toward the maintenance of Dutch with their children. Parents who wanted their children to maintain Dutch as a token of their cultural identity made considerable efforts toward language maintenance. In essence, these findings correspond to the findings in studies including Lee (2013) and Kaur (2019) which highlight the correlation between cultural identity and heritage language amid ethnic immigrants. For some of the participants in this study the Dutch language was a powerful marker of their cultural identity as Dutch or Flemish even when their children may not use the language in every aspect of their lives. However, parents reported allowing the children to use English in certain situations and only in order to facilitate smooth communication. This, though, was not generally supported in all aspects of family life. This is in contrast with previous studies by Pauwels (1985), Klatter-Folmer and Kroon (1997), de Bres (2004), and, Crezee (2008, 2012) who describe a shift to English much faster in most Dutch communities than in other immigrant communities. Crezee's (2012) research revealed that many respondents had made the shift to English as soon as their children started formal education in an effort to facilitate the children's participation in school and culture. In almost every case, this language shift had occurred following recommendations from a person in a position of authority warning parents that children might fall behind academically if the parents continued to speak Dutch with them at home. In contrast, none of the parents interviewed in this study mentioned having received this kind of advice, quite the opposite. The parents who had received advice from teachers and school principals indicated positive attitudes toward heritage language maintenance at home and continuing to speak Dutch at home was generally encouraged.

Not all parents interviewed here considered the heritage language as being essential to cultural identity and heritage, and mastering the language was not regarded as the only key to access into the Dutch-speaking community. By contrast, Berardi-Wiltshire (2017) reports that a small number of Spanish-speakers living in New Zealand state that a person's identity is constructed and presented through language

use, which aligns with a sociocultural attitude to language as a trademark of, and a broker to, culture. Many Dutch-speaking parents in the present research believed that their children's cultural identity can be developed through the passing on of the heritage language, but also by having a connection of affiliation to the heritage culture. There are a number of cultural traditions through which this can be accomplished, such as *Sinterklaas* (some would say this is the Dutch equivalent of Santa Klaus), *Koningsdag*, the day the Dutch celebrate their King's Birthday, and *Dutch Week*, to name a few. These traditions did not require children to speak Dutch to be able to comprehend them and in order to be part of the Dutch-speaking community in New Zealand.

5.3 Strategies

5.3.1 *Home language*

As has been discussed earlier, many of the parents who reported using some English with the children at home said this was mainly in response to the language use of the children. While parents may set out to use one language at home, Dutch, they also wanted their children to feel comfortable and feel free to speak English when they need to. Children do not always have the ability in the heritage language to express complex concepts, mostly in connection with events or concepts from an English-speaking setting. Parents understand they may risk a communication breakdown if they do not allow the children to convey these experiences in the majority language. Most parents in this study state that this was generally not an obstacle to free communication within the family and children were allowed to use the dominant language. This acknowledges that the home language is a two-way collaboration, with children having influence almost as much as parents do at times. This is in agreement with Fogle and King (2013) who illustrated some of the ways in which older children in particular influence parents' explicit as well as implicit language strategies around communication in the family and find agency in everyday interactions. They point out that the family language policy, much like all types of

language policy, is an ongoing process involving both parent-directed outcomes and child negotiation of those outcomes.

This aligns with an optimistic and flexible approach to family language policy, referred to by Kopeliovich (2013) as the *Happylingual*. The concept represents a delicate balancing act between efforts to protect and progress the heritage language, and avoiding a fight against sociolinguistic forces that could ultimately be a catalyst to children being more compelled to speak the dominant language. Parents may choose to relinquish control in terms of heritage language use in the family domain, rather than rigidly push the children towards the use of the heritage language at all times. The data presented here shows that the extent to which the heritage language is expected to be used or is used in the home is not uniform across all the participating families and ranges from no Dutch at all, in one family, to a Dutch-only rule at home in two families.

5.4 Resources used by parents

5.4.1 Dutch books and Dutch entertainment resources

The prevalent practise among Dutch-speaking parents was to read books (see Chapter 4) to maintain their children's heritage language. Sixteen participants reported that books were their leading and most used language learning resource. A large number of parents in this study had children who had not learned to read Dutch, so parents or even grandparents used the opportunity to read Dutch books to the children.

The second highest resource used were sources of entertainment (see Chapter 4) such as Dutch TV-shows, DVDs, online streaming platforms such as Youtube and Netflix and also Dutch music. Families generally watched well-known Dutch youth programmes or TV shows such as *Peppa Pig* that have Dutch equivalents, which most parents access via Youtube or VPN. Parents report having easy access to Dutch children's movies and TV shows children realise the language they speak at

home is not isolated and exists in a wider context. In fact, other children in a different country or countries speak the same language. This, in a way, increases motivation to learn and use the heritage language.

5.4.2 Dutch School

Five parents in this study had children who attended the Dutch School in Auckland. The school offers Dutch culture and language classes to Dutch and Flemish students living abroad. Sending children to heritage language schools or programmes is the prevalent practice among immigrant parents. One of the parents interviewed in this study acknowledges that sending their child to the Dutch School is about more than simply learning the heritage language. It is a way to connect with other children who are learning Dutch as a heritage language and connecting with them. Li (2006) found that complementary schools for immigrant and ethnic minority children in the UK are a unique context where parents and children find a special social network with its own culture and set of values. In the current study a small number of parents did not have the option of sending their children to the Dutch School in Auckland, but looked elsewhere for Dutch language classes and found online providers. Finding online language learning providers and resources has become significantly more straightforward in recent years and parents liked the flexibility online classes offer. One parent decided to purchase the Dutch textbooks their children had used in their former Dutch medium schools directly from the publisher and gained access to the online teacher guide. They were taking their children out of school one afternoon per week and teaching them Dutch at home.

5.5 Challenges

5.5.1 Formal schooling

All participants in this study who aim to maintain the heritage language state that this is not a straightforward process. Parents in this study seemed to be very aware of the tremendous influence of the dominant language and the assimilative forces the community and school exert on the language use in their families. Many report their children had spoken Dutch until they started going to mainstream English-medium childcare or school. The children's use of English at home had since increased gradually but significantly. Brown (2011) asserts that when children start formal schooling, a majority stop using the heritage language even at home when communicating with their parents. This is in line with Guardado's (2006) findings, which identified that children who were primarily educated in English also mainly spoke English at home and at school. Some participants in the current study stated that this was a problem they were facing and it was a surprisingly swift process, in some cases a matter of months. It was reported that it seems to become harder for children to report on school stories in Dutch when they get older. Parents acknowledged that maintaining a strict Dutch-only rule at home was increasingly difficult for this reason, and described it as one of the occasions when parents allowed their children to use English.

Crezee (2008, 2012) found that participants were influenced by the advice of monolinguals such as Plunket Nurses (New Zealand Child Health Visitors) and teachers who advised switching to the use of English at home. It was suggested that Dutch would no longer be useful to the children and proficiency in the dominant language should be favoured as it would improve their academic prospects. Much of this type of advice had been given by monolinguals with little or no expertise in bilingualism. Crezee's respondents reported a swift uptake of this advice as they seemed determined to do what they believed was best for their children. Although my participants did exhibit similar pragmatic attitudes towards language maintenance, they did not mention such advice. Interestingly, a number of parents reported having had conversations with the children's school around heritage language maintenance and inquired about the school's attitude towards it.

Participants reported that, rather than discouraging the use of the heritage language at home, schools encouraged and supported the use of the heritage language at home. This corresponds with Guardado (2006) and Gharibi and Seals' (2020) findings, reporting that parents had not received specific instructions from school to stop speaking the heritage language at home. Gharibi and Seals (2020) reported that New Zealand teachers really did encourage Iranian families to continue to use the heritage language at home to help develop and preserve it.

5.6 The future, aspirations and goals

When asked about the future of their heritage language maintenance journey, most parents interviewed stated they would be quite disappointed if their children lost the ability to speak or even understand their heritage language, specifically in terms of family dynamics with grandparents. For some parents intergenerational communication was the main reason why they felt the need to cultivate the heritage language. Many parents put extensive effort into nurturing an appreciation for the heritage language amongst the children, but realised that teaching and passing it on in the home does not guarantee high proficiency in its maintenance. Many parents recognised that their children making the shift to English is a reality they could be faced with over time, living in an English dominated society. Some believed it would almost inevitably be a consequence of their children growing up in New Zealand. This was not, however, something that parents would be particularly happy about, and many expressed they would be disappointed if this were to happen.

5.6.1 Value of Dutch

All parents interviewed here in this study, much like many other immigrant parents, attached a high value to learning English for academic and professional success. All participants acknowledge that, as they were living in New Zealand, English proficiency was paramount for their children as they spend their days surrounded by it. Many parents stated that they did not rate Dutch at the level of English, but valued it for different reasons. Many parents showed a high awareness of the advantages

of language learning as a stepping-stone to learning more. Parents did not consider speaking Dutch to be of great economic value as such, but rather as a basis from where children could learn more foreign languages and become multilingual. Their own identities as bi- or multilinguals in New Zealand allow them to understand the advantages and to think strategically about language management in the home. This aligns with studies by Guardado (2002) and Lee (2013) who found that parents held instrumental beliefs that their children would be more likely to find good employment, and to gain more economic benefits from becoming bilingual or multilingual.

Some parents who reported putting significant effort into nurturing and maintaining the heritage language in the home stated that they were unsure whether they would remain or move away from New Zealand at some time in the future. This is not something early Dutch immigrants were concerned about as once they had moved, moving back to the Netherlands was not an alternative (Crezee, 2008, 2012). Some parents interviewed in light of this study stated there was always a possibility they would move away from New Zealand, possibly back to the Netherlands or Belgium. If this were to happen, parents expressed the desire to facilitate a smooth transition. This is reflected in a study by Kang (2013) exploring Korean-immigrant parents' ideologies and practices on the subject of their American-born children's heritage language maintenance. Kang found that the idea of returning to Korea lingered in the back of some of the participants' minds. Some of the Dutch-speaking parents were concerned their children would fall behind if they were to return to a Dutch medium school without an acceptable level of Dutch literacy.

5.7 Contribution to the literature

The significance of this study lies in its discovery of the fact that some parents spoke of the prospect of their children moving to the Netherlands or Belgium for further

studies. With a combined total of thirteen universities ranked in the top 200 worldwide to choose from(World University Rankings, 2022), students heading to the Low Countries are almost spoilt for choice when it comes to choosing a university where Dutch is used. Though a number of courses at some of these universities are taught in English, parents acknowledged the importance of their children being able to speak Dutch to function well in social settings. Parents who addressed this possible move to a Dutch or Belgian university emphasised that they put a considerable amount of energy into the maintenance of their oral heritage language in the hope it would offer their children the freedom to do so without language being an obstacle in their private lives. Parents hoped that their children would at least understand the heritage language and develop receptive bilingualism, which would evolve into active bilingualism after a relatively brief period of immersion in which it would be necessary to speak the language. Some participants argued that they anticipated that acquiring even basic proficiency in Dutch now would enable their children to improve quickly once they become fully immersed in the culture and the language. If they were to fail and the children would not have good proficiency in Dutch, parents hoped to at least have given them the opportunity to learn the language and hoped that the children would recover forgotten knowledge when immersed in the language again.

5.8 Reflections on my methodology

As stated earlier, this study involved one-on-one semi-structured interviews as its method to examine participants' perceptions, beliefs and attitudes towards their children's heritage language maintenance. Language learning is socially constructed and it was important for me to explore the extent to which parents made efforts to maintain the home language with their children, what challenges they faced, and what their ultimate objectives and aspirations were. It is common for qualitative methods used in research, such as interviews, to have a small sample size as the objective is to present precise and detailed analysis, which in essence carries large amounts of data (Lee, 2013). One significant limitation was the sample size of 21

participants, which was as such limited by the fact that a single researcher conducted the study. Overall, though, the instrument used provided a good basis for investigating the research question and produced abundant data. Recruiting the sample for this study was a fairly straightforward process. Once ethics approval from the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Commission (AUTEC) had been obtained (see Appendix A), the invitation was posted on three different Facebook pages.

I explained my positionality as a Dutch-speaking parent and a teacher at the Dutch School in the Auckland, which allowed me to approach the research as an insider. I was aware of any biases, set the objective to put aside any beliefs around heritage language maintenance, and was very eager to allow my participants to express their perspectives.

5.9 Conducting research during the Covid-19 pandemic

Face-to-face interviews have been regarded as the norm for qualitative interviewing, as they offer the potential to draw out honest views on sensitive matters by building trust with the participants (Sy et al., 2020). As mentioned earlier, I had initially planned to organise the interviews at a neutral location most practical to the participants, whether it be the premises used by the Dutch Association, a library, a café or the participant's home. As I was getting ready to start the data collection process, the country began to realise the seriousness of the COVID-19 pandemic and by the time I found my first participants, in March 2020, the country saw the implementation of unprecedented social distancing measures and entered its first lockdown on 26 March 2020, which made it impossible to conduct face-to-face research. I then had to consider a way to conduct interviews in a safe socially distanced manner, that would still achieve results similar to those I had hoped to achieve in a face-to-face setting. AUTEC ethics approval was obtained (AUTEC number 20/69) to conduct virtual interviews via the Zoom videoconferencing tool and

I took this opportunity to continue the data collection process, as initial responses from participants had been positive.

I experienced some challenges associated with the virtual nature of the interviews, such as poor connectivity and one dropped call. However, it presented me with the unexpected benefit that it served as an icebreaker when the participant and I had to work together to resolve the issue. While this adaption was ad hoc and in response to an unprecedented crisis, it also provided benefits. An advantage of conducting the interviews online was that it dispensed with some of the tasks that are needed to conduct face-to-face interviews, such as finding a convenient venue and driving to the location, and that remote interviewing proved to be flexible, convenient and cost-effective.

The most significant advantage for me as a researcher was that it opened up the scope of my research, as I was now able to interview more geographically dispersed individuals from all over New Zealand. In terms of advantages for the participants, they were all interviewed at home, which would have made them feel more at ease, enabling them to be more comfortable sharing confidential information. In contrast to Cater's (2011) suggestion that collecting qualitative data via digital platforms might make it more difficult to establish rapport with the interviewees, I found the benefits outweighed the challenges encountered.

5.10 Limitations of the study

This research was conducted with a relatively small sample of Dutch-speaking parents living in New Zealand. As argued earlier, a major limitation was the small sample size, which was in itself constrained by the fact that a single researcher conducted the study. It is important to note that the findings reported here may not be generalisable to all Dutch-speaking parents in New Zealand, since only twenty-one participated. It may also be argued that the small number of participants and the highly biased views expressed implies that the results might not be typical for the wider Dutch-speaking population in New Zealand, and cannot be extrapolated to

other migrant groups. Overall, though, the instrument used provided a good basis for investigating the research question and produced abundant data.

5.11 Recommendations for future research

The findings from the current study represent the perspectives of a small group of Dutch-speaking parents living in New Zealand. It showed that the participants hold mostly positive attitudes towards the maintenance of Dutch. Given the small scale of this study, which involved parents' perspectives, the researcher recommends conducting studies toward Dutch-speaking children's own attitudes towards heritage language maintenance. It would be helpful to carry out studies on a larger scale and to involve a younger generation of Dutch language learners to explore this group's sense of welfare around the process of their heritage language maintenance.

Apropos suggested future research approaches, as this study has explored the beliefs that parents themselves put forward, useful complementary research would ideally focus on other possible factors in the family setting that contribute to the language shift to English. While language ideologies may be viewed as highly significant in defining family language policies, they do not always lead to respective practices. For this reason, it would be appropriate to endeavour to investigate the interconnection between language ideology, practice and management. Moreover, research should not only be limited to documenting the perspectives, practices, and challenges, but should take a step forward to evaluate the effectiveness of parental efforts.

A matter for future discussion is whether the Dutch identity and community are themselves changing. Though some Dutch-speaking parents still consider identity as deeply tied to language, others are alternatively inclined. They are moving on to construct more hybrid Dutch identities that accommodate other languages as well. The re-definition of core values demonstrates how Dutch-speaking families negotiate, revise, and adjust their heritage language maintenance goals. It would be essential to establish an insider perspective on how families negotiate heritage

language maintenance with respect to the different challenges they face in immigrant life if we are to reach a balanced understanding of GIDS.

A more detailed examination is warranted of socio-demographic and sociolinguistic factors including the impact of age at the time of migration, intermarriage, the frequency of visits to the country of origin and the length of the visits, length of residence, and so on.

5.12 Recommendations for parents

Overall, the data shows that most Dutch-speaking migrants interviewed for this study showed positive attitudes towards the maintenance of the Dutch language. Most participants hold clear beliefs, goals and expectations based on strong opinions on the value of the heritage language and bilingualism. Factors that affect the attitudes and behaviours of Dutch-speaking parents in heritage language maintenance include the close rapport with the children's grandparents, extended family, the home country, future educational opportunities for the children and their cultural identities.

One finding that represents the current state of Dutch in New Zealand and that may have implications for the preservation of the heritage language was the use of English in the home domain. All indications point towards a shift to English as the dominant language for second-generation Dutch-speakers. This shift to the use of English is no longer linked to the need to assimilate to the dominant language and culture, as was often the case with earlier generations of Dutch-speaking immigrants in New Zealand (Hulsen, 2000; de Bres, 2004; Crezee, 2008). One might ask whether language shift is different when encouraged by the host society, in this case New Zealand.

In terms of identity politics, we could reflect on the social class system that was evident in the Netherlands in the 1950s and 1960s, when many of the earlier migrants came to New Zealand (Crezee, 2008, 2010, 2012). Many of those migrants worked in manual occupations, and some had little schooling, as they had to leave

school to work and help support the family. When those migrants came to New Zealand, they did not always have a good grasp of their own first language, Dutch. This is in contrast to the more recent migrants from the Netherlands: they almost certainly had a good education – as this is a prerequisite for being able to apply for residency in New Zealand – and can be said to have a better grasp of their first language. They are not easily persuaded to give up the language of a country that they envisage their children returning to for study purposes.

When parents in this study allow the use of the dominant language in the family they do so to keep the lines of communication open when children indicate it is easier for them to express feelings or complex concepts in English. Though most parents were not consciously using English in the home for reasons of integration, using the dominant language at home does not leave enough time for children to be exposed to Dutch. Considering English becomes the dominant language once children start school, even tireless efforts on the parents' part do not guarantee heritage language maintenance success and if English takes over the heritage language can be lost (Pennycook, 2004; Yates & Terraschke, 2013).

International and local studies emphasise the importance of active use of the heritage language as the main home language to guarantee the transmission as passive exposure is not sufficient to transmit the heritage language. As Fishman (1991) has noted, supportive approaches and educational assistance can only be of influence if the initiative of heritage language maintenance starts with the family, where heritage language learners get the opportunity to practise and use the ethnic language. Many parents hold positive attitudes towards the maintenance of Dutch. These are beneficial for the maintenance of identity and heritage language, and will help the children develop and enhance Dutch language skills. Nevertheless, a positive attitude toward heritage language maintenance, in and of itself, is a major factor in shaping the motivation needed for heritage language maintenance, but not a guarantee against heritage language loss.

Considerable perseverance is required to guarantee that deliberate and consistent procedures are put in place to use and maintain the Dutch language. Parents and extended family members may need to encourage their children to speak Dutch within and beyond the family home. The use of technology and the internet is likely to support this challenging process. Using more relevant Dutch-medium media in homes such as Dutch movies and TV shows, music, language-learning apps, digital Dutch learning resources, and books, will make sure there is more Dutch absorbed and used in family homes.

5.13 Final reflections and concluding remarks

Continuity of the Dutch language as a heritage language in New Zealand requires that Dutch is used across generations and varying settings. This warrants proactive progress within each of the domains of heritage language use. The role of the family is essential as the primary site of socialisation and intergenerational transmission of a language (Fishman, 1991), and parents and extended families are instrumental in the intergenerational maintenance of the language. Though the nuclear family is often the only option for minority languages to develop, we must acknowledge that families meet considerable challenges and may require superhuman perseverance for successful heritage language maintenance.

This study shows that, to a large extent, the Dutch-speaking community in New Zealand has a positive attitude toward their linguistic and cultural preservation. As a Dutch-speaking parent in an English-dominant society, I strongly believe in the importance of maintaining my heritage language and in maintaining it for future generations to use. I hope that this study will be a means to promote and maintain the Dutch community's linguistic and cultural identity.

I would like to leave you with the words of one of my participants that particularly resonated with me:

> *You live as many times as you know languages.*

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Appendix A: Ethics Approval

4 March 2020

Ineke Crezee
Faculty of Culture and Society
Dear Ineke

Ethics Application: **20/69 A critical exploration of parental attitudes towards heritage language maintenance among Dutch speaking immigrants in New Zealand**

Thank you for submitting your application for ethical review. We are pleased to advise that a subcommittee of the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC) approved your ethics application, subject to the following conditions:

1. Provision of the authorising signature for section 0.3 of the application;
2. Update the researcher safety protocol to include an escalation plan if the researcher does not respond to the supervisor;
3. Amendment of the Information Sheet as follows:
    a. Inclusion of advice as to how they were identified. For example, you responded to an advertisement on Facebook etc;
    b. Update the exclusion criteria to include 'not temporary expats';
    c. Clarification as to whether they will be interviewed one on one or as a couple;
    d. Use of the withdrawal statement as given in the current exemplar;
    e. In the section on concerns update the Executive Secretary to Dr Carina Meares.

Please provide us with a response to the points raised in these conditions, indicating either how you have satisfied these points or proposing an alternative approach. AUTEC also requires copies of any altered documents, such as Information Sheets, surveys etc. You are not required to resubmit the application form again. Any changes to responses in the form required by the committee in their conditions may be included in a supporting memorandum.

Please note that the Committee is always willing to discuss with applicants the points that have been made. There may be information that has not been made available to the Committee, or aspects of the research may not have been fully understood.

Once your response is received and confirmed as satisfying the Committee's points, you will be notified of the full approval of your ethics application. Full approval is not effective until all the conditions have been met. Data collection may not commence until full approval has been confirmed. If these conditions are not met within six months, your application may be closed and a new application will be required if you wish to continue with this research.

To enable us to provide you with efficient service, we ask that you use the application number and study title in all correspondence with us. If you have any enquiries about this application, or anything else, please do contact us at ethics@aut.ac.nz.

We look forward to hearing from you,

(This is a computer-generated letter for which no signature is required)

The AUTEC Secretariat
Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee

Cc: mertensel@hotmail.com; elfried.mertens@aut.ac.nz

Appendix B: Interview Invitation

Are you helping your child learn Dutch?

Hello!

My name is Elke Mertens, and I am a Master of Philosophy student at Auckland University of Technology.

I am exploring parents' attitudes on maintaining the Dutch language at home and possible strategies and approaches to help their children maintain their heritage language.

I would like to invite you to participate in my research project on 'parental attitudes towards heritage language maintenance among Dutch-speaking immigrants in New Zealand'. Your participation will help me to complete my MPhil degree.

I am looking for parents (both Dutch-speaking) of children between the ages of 5 and 12.

Interviews will take about 30-45 minutes and will be held via video chat. You will receive a $30 online voucher as a thank you for sharing your views with me.

Heel hartelijk bedankt alvast!

Researcher Contact Details:

Elke Mertens, Auckland University of Technology, School of Language and Culture, elfried.mertens@aut.ac.nz, 021 480 122.

Project Supervisor Contact Details:

Associate Professor Ineke Crezee, ineke.crezee@aut.ac.nz, 09 921 9999 ext 7851, Auckland University of Technology, School of Languages and culture, Private bag 92006, Auckland 1142, New Zealand.

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 04 /03 /2020 AUTEC Reference number 20/69

Appendix C: Participant information sheet

Date Information Sheet Produced:

14 February 2020

Project Title

A critical exploration of parental attitudes towards heritage language maintenance: among Dutch-speaking migrants in New Zealand

An Invitation

Hello

My name is Elke Mertens. I am a Master of Philosophy student at Auckland University of Technology in the School of Language and Culture. I would like to invite you to participate in my 'critical exploration of parental attitudes towards heritage language maintenance among Dutch-speaking migrants in New Zealand', which will help me complete my degree of Master of Philosophy. I will be conducting my study under the supervision of Associate Professor Ineke Crezee.

What is the purpose of this research?

I would like to find out how you feel about your child or children learning or maintaining the Dutch language while living in New Zealand. I am also interested in finding out what strategies you use in this respect. The findings of this research may be used for academic publications and presentations.

How was I identified and why am I being invited to participate in this research?

I am inviting you because you are a Dutch-speaking parent of a child between the ages of 5 and 12, and because you live in the Greater Auckland area. I am looking for 20 participants.

How do I agree to participate in this research?

I would like to invite you to participate in a remote interview using a Zoom meeting, which will take approximately 45-60 minutes. If you agree, I will send you an email with a link you can click on. If you choose to participate, you will receive a supermarket voucher in appreciation of your time.

In light of the COVID19 crisis, I will be interviewing remotely via the Zoom app. I would ask that before the interview, you read this information sheet and I will ask you if you have any

questions. It would be great if you could print the Consent Form as I will ask you to sign it once our meeting has started and before I ask you any questions.

If you are unable to print the Consent Form, I will send you the text of the Consent Form in an email. I will ask you to return that email to me, and that you place a capital X before sentences that you agree with to indicate your agreement.

If you would like to participate, please send me a short email with your contact details. You can contact me, Elke Mertens, elfried.mertens@aut.ac.nz to arrange a convenient time.

What will happen in this research?

Your participation in this research is voluntary (it is your choice) and you will be able to withdraw from the study at any time.

The data collected will be used for the partial fulfilment to the requirements for the degree of Master of Philosophy.

What are the benefits?

You will be able to add your voice to the growing body of literature around first-language maintenance. I would like to be able to suggest some approaches which may be of benefit to Dutch-speaking parents who are keen to their children learn or maintain the Dutch language.

How will my privacy be protected?

All participant comments will be anonymised and de-identified. Participants will be able to read and approve their transcripts before I use any of their statements.

What are the costs of participating in this research?

Your participation to the interview could take between 45 minutes and one hour.

What opportunity do I have to consider this invitation?

The timeframe for the data collection will be the month of April 2020. If I have not heard from you within two weeks, I will send you a reminder to see if you are still interested in taking part in this study. I will not contact you after that.

Will I receive feedback on the results of this research?

I would like to provide all participants with some of the findings and will provide an URL where you will be able to read a summary of the results.

What do I do if I have concerns about this research?

Any concerns regarding the nature of this project should be discussed in the first instance to the Project Supervisor Associate Professor Ineke Crezee, ineke.crezee@aut.ac.nz, 09 921 9999 ext 7851 and the primary researcher Elke Mertens, elfried.mertens@aut.co.nz.

Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary of AUTEC Dr Carina Meares, ethics@aut.ac.nz , 921 9999 ext 6038.

Whom do I contact for further information about this research?

Please keep this Information Sheet and a copy of the Consent Form for your future reference. You are also able to contact the research team as follows:

Researcher Contact Details:

Elke Mertens, Auckland University of Technology, School of Language and Culture, mertensel@hotmail.com/elfried.mertens@aut.ac.nz

Project Supervisor Contact Details:

Associate Professor Ineke Crezee, ineke.crezee@aut.ac.nz, 09 921 9999 ext 7851.

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 04/03 AUTEC Reference number 20/69.

Appendix D: Consent Form

Project title: **A critical exploration of parental attitudes towards heritage language maintenance among Dutch-speaking immigrants in New Zealand**

Project Supervisor: ***Associate Professor Ineke Crezee***

Researcher: ***Elfried Mertens***

○ I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Information Sheet dated 14 February 2020.

○ I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.

○ I understand that notes will be taken during the interviews and that they will also be audio-taped and transcribed.

○ I understand that taking part in this study is voluntary (my choice) and that I may withdraw from the study at any time without being disadvantaged in any way.

○ I understand that if I withdraw from the study then I will be offered the choice between having any data that is identifiable as belonging to me removed or allowing it to continue to be used. However, once the findings have been produced, removal of my data may not be possible.

○ I agree to take part in this research.

○ I wish to receive a summary of the research findings (please tick one): Yes○ No○

Participant's signature: .....

Participant's name: .....

Participant's Contact Details (if you wish to have a summary of the research findings mailed or emailed to you):

……..

……..

……..

……..

Date: ……..

○ I hereby confirm receipt of the $30 supermarket voucher as koha for my time.

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 04/03/2020 AUTEC Reference number 20/69

Note: The Participant should retain a copy of this form.

Appendix E: Indicative Interview Questions

I. Language Practice

1. What language(s) do you speak at home?

    • Probe for dynamics of language use:

    parent–parent, parent–child, child–child

2. What language do you use the majority of the time?

    If two languages (or more) come up;

    • Probe whether one is used more than another or both were used equally.

    Do you use different language(s) for different things or activities? • Probe: Are there certain subjects they/you usually talk about in your native language and certain ones for which you switch to English? (If participants are not sure how to answer give options such as talking daily routine, school stuff, behavioural and cultural issues, etc.) • Probe: why?

3. Do you find it challenging to speak Dutch at home/one language at home and one outside home?

4. How much access do/did your child have to Dutch-speakers now/when growing up?

    • Dutch friends and family members living in Aotearoa?

    • Probe: is/was there a community of Dutch-speakers around them here? • If participant responds positive to the previous probe ask: did/do those communities have cultural activities you do/would attend with your kids?

    • If not mentioned in the above questions, probe: Who took care of the child when he/she was growing up? • Options (parents, grandparents, nanny, babysitter, daycare, etc.)

    • If daycare comes up; probe: When did (s)he start daycare?

5. Did going to school affect native language use at your home?

• If yes Probe: How so? And (how) did that impact your kids' proficiency in Dutch? • Probe if parents did anything in reaction.

II. Beliefs and ideologies about language and language use

6. How important do you think is having a community of Dutch-speakers in maintenance of native language in children?

7. To what extent do you think the external factors such as school, peers, media, and community have impacted your child/children's proficiency/ lack of proficiency in Dutch?

8. How important do you think learning English is for kids like yours?

• If the family has small kids probe: What language or languages would you like your child to know when he/she is older? Why? • If parents mention more than one, ask if one is more important than the other given the context they are living in and why?

9. Has the change in your children's language use patterns changed how you think of Dutch and English over the years?

10. How would you feel if your child forgets Dutch over time?

• Probe if no: Why?

• Probe If yes: Do you do anything to prevent it? (if yes) What?

III. Language management

11. Do you have a ''language strategy'' or ''language policy'' at home? Explain:

e.g.

a. No strategy. Anyone can speak any language he/she wishes

b. We only allow our native language at home

c. We only allow English

d. One parent speaks the native language and the other speaks English to them.

e. We speak in our native language and they respond to us in English

- Probe: How did you and your partner come up with this decision?