

The Effect of Ethnicity on the Linguistic Landscape of Utrecht

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In this study the linguistic landscape of three neighbourhoods in Utrecht, the Netherlands, is analysed to discover whether the languages found there reflect the languages spoken by the community, and to discover how the use of visual language can distinguish one neighbourhood from the other based on its ethnic makeup. In order to do this, three neighbourhoods in Utrecht were analysed: the multicultural inner city, the almost purely Dutch Wittevrouwen and the mostly immigrant Kanaleneiland. All of the text in these neighbourhoods was photographed and analysed. The results showed that Dutch and English were very frequent, and eighteen other languages appeared infrequently. The expected result, Arabic and Turkish being more frequent in Kanaleneiland, was not supported by the findings: the ethnic makeup of the neighbourhoods in Utrecht does not seem to be related to the visual language encountered in the linguistic landscape.

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CONTENTS

Chapter 1 - Introduction	3	Chapter 5 - Results	35
1.1 - Hypotheses.....	5	5.1 - Languages Encountered	35
1.2 - Relevance.....	6	5.2 - Results (per sign)	35
1.3 - Outline	6	5.2.1 - Overall Results.....	36
Chapter 2 - Conceptual Framework.....	7	5.2.2 - Inner City.....	37
2.1 - What is the Linguistic Landscape?	7	5.2.3 - Kanaleneiland	38
2.2 - Actors	9	5.2.4 - Wittevrouwen	38
2.3 - Proper Names on Signs	12	5.3 - Results (per shop)	40
2.4 - Summary	14	5.3.1 - Overall Results.....	40
Chapter 3 - Sociolinguistic Context of Utrecht.....	15	5.3.2 - Inner City.....	41
3.1 - The Netherlands	15	5.3.3 - Kanaleneiland	42
3.2 - Utrecht	16	5.3.4 - Wittevrouwen	43
3.3 - Immigration	17	Chapter 6 - Discussion and Conclusion.....	44
3.4 - Globalisation.....	20	6.1 - Analysis of the Results	44
3.5 - Immigrant Businesses	21	6.1.1 - Languages Present.....	44
3.6 - Sociolinguistic Situation	23	6.1.2 - (In)Frequency of Languages	45
3.6.1 - Sociolinguistic Situation in the Survey	25	6.2 - Answer to the research questions	47
3.7 - Summary	27	6.2.1 - Question 1: languages present	47
Chapter 4 - Methodology.....	28	6.2.2 - Question 2: differences between	
4.1 - Methods Applied in Previous Research.....	28	neighbourhoods.....	49
4.2 - General Methodology	30	6.3 - Summary of the Study.....	54
4.2.1 - Survey Areas.....	30	6.4 - Conclusion.....	58
4.2.2 - Survey Items	34	6.5 - Recommendations for the City of Utrecht ..	58
4.2.3 - Coding	34	6.6 - Recommendations for Future Research	60
4.2.4 - Proper Names	34	Works Cited	61

Chapter 1 - INTRODUCTION

The visual language that is used in a city is an important part of its culture and society. It is also a complex affair composed of many different motivations, actors and processes. The use of more than one language in a city is more prevalent than can seem at first glance. On signs that use more than one language, it is especially interesting which words and languages are given positions of prominence or indeed positions of obscurity.

The study of the linguistic landscape is a fairly recent phenomenon that started around the 1970s but only gained popularity in the late 1990s with the article by Landry and Bourhis (1997) titled "Linguistic Landscape and Ethnolinguistic Vitality, an Empirical Study." Since then, the field of linguistic landscape research has expanded and grown and is becoming a vital part of sociolinguistic research.

This thesis describes a study of the linguistic landscape conducted in three neighbourhoods in Utrecht, a city in the centre of the Netherlands. Utrecht is a diverse city, with immigrants making up almost a third (32.1%) of its population (ABF-Research, 2013). Utrecht is also a historic city. According to the provincial council the city of Utrecht attracts 26,3 million "day trips" a year and 275.000 overnight stays a year (Briene, Meurs, & Wierhoven, 2012). Their data does not specify how many of these visitors are foreign. The city of Utrecht does see enough reason to profile itself as the multilingual hotspot of the Netherlands (Sakkers, Egmond, Stoop, Broek, & Martinovic, 2009), based on the fact that 77% of its population speaks at least three different languages. This mix of ethnicities and languages makes Utrecht an excellent place to conduct a study on the linguistic landscape.

Three different neighbourhoods in Utrecht were selected. The first was the main shopping district in the city centre, which has few actual inhabitants but many different commercial establishments and shops originating in many different countries, giving the linguistic landscape an increasingly multicultural aspect. The second was Kanaleneiland, the neighbourhood with the largest Moroccan and Turkish immigrant population. The third was Wittevrouwen, a neighbourhood with a good combination of commercial and residential use and a population consisting almost exclusively of native Dutch residents (more on this in Chapters 3 and 4).

All the signs in these three neighbourhoods were photographed and coded based on the languages found on them. Then they were coded a second time, this time on a per-store basis. With these results, the study aims to answer the following questions:

1: Which languages are present in the linguistic landscape of different neighbourhoods in Utrecht?

1b: Do these languages reflect the languages spoken by the community?

2a: How does the use of visual language distinguish one neighbourhood from the other?

2b: How can these differences be explained?

1.1 - HYPOTHESES

The Netherlands as a country prides itself on being tolerant of minorities and immigrants. The amount of immigrant entrepreneurship has steadily increased over the past decades (see section 3.5). EliezerBen-Rafael (2009) offers four different possible motivations that influence actors in the LL (see section 2.2). Most have to do with the presentation of products but the second motivation, “collective identity”, concerns stores that advertise specifically to a sub-section of the population that the owners of the store belong to. While each actor is influenced in different degrees by each of the four motivations, a significant part should be influenced by the notion of collective identity.

This leads to the hypothesis that the languages present in each neighbourhood should reflect those of the largest few ethnic groups present, plus English. The presence of English will be explained in section 3.4. Therefore Dutch and English are expected to be present in all neighbourhoods, with Arabic and perhaps Turkish in Kanaleneiland. The inner city will most likely be a mix of Dutch, English and a large assortment of small languages: there are a large number of brand name stores, and these brand names can come from any language.

In a neighbourhood with, for example, a high amount of Turkish people the presence of a Turkish supermarket or a halal butcher will be more likely than in a purely Dutch neighbourhood, if only because the store’s owner and intended clientele live in this neighbourhood. There are several reasons why these stores could have different signage: there simply are no Dutch words for what they are selling (lexical gaps), the language they are advertising in has a certain appeal or connotation, or they appeal to the part of the population that is not fluent in Dutch. This leads to the hypothesis that as far as question 2a is concerned, there will indeed be a visible difference in the linguistic landscape of the studied neighbourhoods.

This difference can likely be explained by the different ethnic makeup of the population. Other influences could be factors such as average income, geographical location (proximity to the station and tourist attractions, for example), and population density (many shops or many houses). However, in this thesis the hypothesis is that the main factor is the ethnicity of the population.

1.2 - RELEVANCE

The answers to the research questions stated above should provide insight into how the linguistic landscape in each neighbourhood reflects the different preferences, needs and interests of the various ethnic groups present in that neighbourhood. From this data we can gather whether the different languages are present in all domains or only in a select few (like, for example, restaurants or fashion). This could give city councils valuable information on the subject of language planning and the integration of immigrants into Dutch society.

1.3 - OUTLINE

Chapter 1 of this thesis serves as an introduction. This chapter states the research questions and hypotheses, addresses the relevance of this research and outlines the rest of the study.

Chapter 2 of this study describes the conceptual framework underlying the notion of the linguistic landscape and the history of research into this area. This chapter also discusses several problem areas that research of this nature is likely to encounter, specifically the question of “what counts as a sign” and the problem of given names and nonce words on signs.

The third chapter of this thesis expands on the history and background of the Netherlands, the city of Utrecht and the neighbourhoods that were surveyed. Utrecht’s history with immigration and globalisation is also discussed in order to provide an accurate and relevant framework for the rest of the data.

The fourth chapter outlines the methodology of the experiment. First it provides an overview of previous research, and then it describes the methods used to survey each neighbourhood, including how specific streets were selected and how the data is coded. This chapter also provides the solution used in this experiment to deal with proper names on signs.

Chapter 5 outlines the results of the study. The results will first be discussed on a per-sign basis, and then the data will be condensed to a per-shop basis. This chapter also looks at the presence of multilingualism on signs.

Chapter 6 draws on the assorted knowledge and results gathered in the previous chapters in order to discuss the findings presented in chapter 5 and attempts to answer the research questions posed earlier in chapter 1. Additionally, this chapter provides a summary of the study, a conclusion, and recommendations for the city of Utrecht and ideas for future research.

Chapter 2 - CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter will define what is meant by a 'linguistic landscape', giving a clear definition and describing what is and is not included. The history of the field of linguistic landscape study will also be discussed. This chapter will also discuss the handling of various problems that can be encountered when studying the linguistic landscape, namely the use of given names, what counts as a sign, and how to analyse a sign.

2.1 - WHAT IS THE LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE?

This paper presents an empirical study of the linguistic landscape in various neighbourhoods in the Dutch city of Utrecht. It will use the definition of 'linguistic landscape' proposed by Landry and Bourhis (1997), which is also maintained by much of the literature that is referenced (Backhaus, 2006; Ben-Rafael, Shohamy, Amara, & Trumper-Hecht, 2006; Cenoz & Gorter, 2006; Gorter, 2006a, 2006b; Huebner, 2006) and of course also in the Landry and Bourhis paper itself.

The definition is as follows:

The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration. (Landry & Bourhis, 1997, p. 25)

Although many researchers use this definition, it is also often extended or modified and becomes more inclusive or exclusive depending on the researcher and the subject and area of the study. In a study on the linguistic landscape of Israel, Ben-Rafael et al. define it as "any sign or announcement located outside or inside a public institution or a private business in a given geographical location (Ben-Rafael et al., 2006, p. 14)". In addition to the Landry & Bourhis definition, this definition also includes signs inside stores or establishments, which Landry and Bourhis do not state specifically. Dailey, Giles, and Jansma (2005, pp. 30-31) have a much broader definition that also includes mail and flyers sent to the inhabitants of the specified area, the language spoken in the households, languages heard on television and used by teachers. This definition is extended to not only include written language, but spoken language as well, and language that originates outside of the area that is studied (mail, television broadcasts, etc.). Shohamy & Waksman (2009) have a very radical notion of the linguistic language that includes all possible discourses in the

landscape, including audio, images without text, and human beings themselves. They argue that is the optimal approach because meaning is not only constructed using language. The drawback of this approach is that it is hard to document and quantify.

The Landry & Bourhis definition implies that any visual language encountered in a clearly defined public space is part of the linguistic landscape. It only extends to signage (road signs, billboards, shop signs, etc.) so items like graffiti are not explicitly included in this definition. It also does not include moving objects that happen to be in the defined area, such as advertising written on the side of cars or bikes. This means that the linguistic landscape includes all of the following: street signs, advertising, shop names, sale signs, road signs (as long as they have text), posted flyers, government buildings, signs describing monuments, “no parking” signs, and so on. Any textual item, including graffiti, is a part of the linguistic landscape.

The area studied can be anything, from (part of) a street, to a neighbourhood or even a whole city. Theoretically it could extend to an entire country or even the world, but this research would be too impractical to actually conduct.

A commercial district is filled with language, and one street can easily feature over four hundred signs and other various texts. In a study of the linguistic landscape, these would all need to be indexed and categorised, which makes studying the linguistic landscape of a large area very time consuming. In studies that do survey a larger area, this is usually handled by selecting various neighbourhoods or localities in that area and commercial centres within those, and studying the linguistic landscape there. The amount of different localities in this approach can vary from simply comparing two (Cenoz & Gorter, 2006), to numbers up to 28 (Backhaus, 2006; Ben-Rafael et al., 2006; Huebner, 2006).

One of the major decisions after defining the linguistic landscape is the definition of a sign. Most any definition of LL will include signs. Most recent studies (and most older studies, implicitly) adhere to the definition posed by Backhaus (2006):

A sign was considered to be any piece of written text within a spatially definable frame. The underlying definition is rather broad, including anything from handwritten stickers to huge commercial billboards. Also such items as 'push' and 'pull' stickers at entrance doors, lettered foot mats or botanic explanation plates on trees were considered to be signs. Each sign was counted as one item, irrespective of its size.

Other possible definitions take each store as one very large sign (El-Yasin & Mahadin, 1996), or in the case where the store has more than one side, both sides are counted together as one sign (Cenoz & Gorter, 2006) or possibly separately.

2.2 - ACTORS

This section will explain the practical side of the linguistic landscape: what items form the LL, where do they come from, what is their purpose? This section also considers who constructs these signs, which parties are at work and what their intent is.

Landry and Bourhis' definition of the linguistic landscape is widely accepted, but parts of it still draw criticism. Ben-Rafael et al. (2006) argue that Landry and Bourhis see the linguistic landscape as a static thing: their concern is simply to look at the LL and report about it. Ben-Rafael et al. argue that it is also important to study the dynamics of the linguistic landscape: to learn more about how it is constructed and by whom.

The linguistic landscape is part of the public sphere. This is a concept coined by Habermas in 1989. There are several different formulations of this concept, but the one that is most relevant here is the one that includes every area in the community or society, except those that are private property. Ben-Rafael sees the LL as a 'gestalt', "observations of different phenomena understood as elements of one structured setting" (Ben-Rafael, 2009, p. 43). In other words, a gestalt is a whole made from several parts. In the case of the public sphere, these parts can be the different actors, the physical landscape and architecture, and so on.

Edelman and Gorter (2010) define five groups of actors that influence the linguistic landscape:

1. Businesses: the ones that display signs and "furnish" the LL with textual items. They can have many different reasons for wanting to create a sign which influence the linguistic landscape.
2. Designers: the ones that design the signs for the businesses. They have a large impact on how the signs are displayed, and on how effective they are. This category also includes the people responsible for producing and selling the signs.
3. Private persons: people that put up signs or announcements, but that are not commercial. Posters advertising an event would fall into this category, as well as graffiti, lost cat posters, and so on.

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4. Authorities: the local government also provides signs, often in the form of road signs, directions to landmarks and signs stating rules and prohibitions. The authorities also determine what is and is not acceptable in the LL.
 5. Passers-by: the 'audience', everyone that walks or drives near a sign and perceives it, be it consciously or subconsciously.

Each of these groups of actors has different intentions when interacting with the LL, be it putting up signs or simply walking past the signs on their way to work. Ben-Rafael (2009) offers four different possible motivations that influence actors in the LL. He states that:

Individual, corporate and public actors, who all participate in the formation of the LL, are bound to use LL items to attract the attention of potential clients. This, they may hope to achieve, only by [...] setting themselves as much as possible in contrast with each other. Even when attached to different services or goods [...] everyone quite unavoidably struggles against everyone else over the public's attention. (Ben-Rafael, 2009, p. 44)

This shows the LL is not simply a collection of signs in a certain area, but is in fact a more dynamic entity where actors must constantly refer to each other in order to stand apart.

Spolsky (2009) emphasises that every sign must be seen as:

[T]he result of a process with several participants – let us call them the initiator or owner of the sign, the sign-maker, and the reader. But there is also a significant fourth party, the implied "top" in the "top-down" model.

The 'top' here refers to what Ben-Rafael classifies as the fourth group as well, namely the authorities, especially language management authorities like the *Loi 101* in Quebec. The Netherlands does not have the strict regulations of Quebec, Brussels or even Japan or Malaysia.

Many LL researchers distinguish between top-down and bottom-up signs. Top-down signs are signs that are placed by the 'top', the government or other relevant authorities. Bottom-up signs are the signs that are placed by shop owners and any other member of the general public. Road signs, street name signs, signs explaining the history of a monument, and so on are usually top-down signs. Top-down signs can be subject to different rules than bottom-up signs. In the Netherlands, this is generally not the case.

According to Ben-Rafael there are four different sociological principles at work.

The first is the “presentation of self”. From this point of view actors try to achieve their intended goals (in this case, to attract clients) by “articulating their appearance and presenting to ‘others’ advantageous images of themselves” (Ben-Rafael, 2009, p. 45). In the case of the LL this translates into items competing over being the most attractive, most convincing sign in sight. This principle is probably the biggest driving force for most actors and plays a large role in the LL in a dense urban environment quickly turning into a forest of signs: the more signs there are, the bigger the need is to stand out, which leads to more signs and an increased need, and so on.

The second principle is the “good reasons” principle. As said, actors compete for the attention of the same audience, which puts some restrictions on its diversity: some tactics simply do not attract customers. The actors have to keep the audience’s tastes, values and sensibilities in mind. Things such as luxury, comfort or prestige are desirable to a large part of the public and within the context of the LL of a city cultural norms such as fashion, colour connotations and popular culture will also be similar. These values limit the range of options that actors have “good reason” to use in their advertising.

The third principle is that of “collective identity”. This principle is of special interest in multicultural societies because it signals very clearly who the actors “are”, and shows a commitment to a specific (sub-)group of the audience. The collective identity principle signals the group to which the actor belongs and shows that they want to attract customers that belong to the same group. An example of this principle is signs that state the shop sells “kosher” or “halal” items.

The fourth and final principle that can account for certain aspects of the LL is “power relations”. This principle most often shows itself in the regulations imposed on the actors. In ‘democratic settings’ these regulations are often limited by inalienable rights such as free speech, which leaves room for LL items aimed directly at minorities. However, even in this setting power relations show in what is considered “nice” and “decent” in the dominant culture, or in the imposition of the national language.

Each of these four principles can be present to different degrees in different LLs, but Ben-Rafael considers the first two (presentation of self and good reasons) endemic to any present-day urban area.

Ben-Rafael poses this set of principles to substantiate how sociological theory can contribute to the investigation of LL as a specific field of research. He also states that it can be used to guide investigations by encouraging researchers to focus systematically on contexts, circumstances and relations.

Important to the study of the linguistic landscape, besides the definition of LL, is the definition of "a sign". When is a sign a sign? Shops and institutions will have all kinds of "signs" on the windows, in the streets, and so on. However, not all of them count as items for the study of the linguistic landscape.

The first category of signs that is not (always) part of the linguistic landscape are signs that consist only of an image. Even though they do have semiotic content, they are generally not counted in linguistic landscape research because they have no textual content, except in some studies with a very broad definition of LL, such as Shohamy & Waksman (2009).

This study does not count signs that contain no textual elements (see chapter 4).

Second, some signs consist only of numbers, such as price tags, discounts or opening times. These signs are most often found inside the stores, and as such are only relevant for studies using definitions of LL that include the inside of stores, such as Ben-Rafael et al. (2006). Numbers can be defined as text: they have symbolic meaning, they refer to a concept as well as a word, and they can be assigned a font, point size and can be edited like text. Yet they cannot clearly be categorized as belonging to a particular language if no other text is present, so a decision has to be made whether to include these signs in the analysis.

This study has found no numbers-only signs, as they occur more frequently inside stores and this study only looks at the outside of the establishments (see chapter 4).

2.3 - PROPER NAMES ON SIGNS

This section discusses one of the more prominent problems that researchers face when studying the linguistic landscape: the problem of the proper name. In the analysis of a linguistic landscape, one often encounters given names. Businesses often have big signs simply stating "Albert Heijn", "Vroom & Dreesmann", "Philips" or "Anna Scott". It is difficult to classify these signs, as these are names and not referential words ("Subway" or "Schoenenreus" would be an example of the opposite). While names do have a language of origin it can be difficult to trace, and often the origin of the name does not match the origin of the store, or the brand has been bought by foreign investors, making the matter more complicated. Many of these names also refer to specific persons, for example the founders of the store or fashion line and these persons have a nationality which does not always match the country where the store was created. An example of this would be the "Dreesmann" in the "Vroom & Dreesmann" brand. This is a name of German origin, but the mister Dreesmann it is named after was a Dutchman and the store has only ever operated

out of the Netherlands. In 2010, the brand was bought by an American investment firm (V&D, 2013). This is an example of the complexity of this problem.

Sometimes, because of a difference between the country where the name has its origin and the country whose LL is being studied, the names are pronounced differently and have been assimilated into the non-native country's culture. It could be argued that in these cases the name is a (loan)word in the non-native language.

Apart from the given name that refers to a person, many signs on stores feature, or are solely composed of, a brand name that doesn't necessarily fit into any specific language. A sign such as "Smullers" can be classified as Dutch, but a brand name that consists of a nonce word such as "Geox" or "Zara" is more difficult to categorise.

Multiple solutions to this problem can be imagined. In her 2008 paper on the classification of proper names by language, Loulou Edelman defines three basic ways in which this problem can be approached.

The first is to exclude proper names entirely. However, the proper names encountered in the LL are generally brand names. These take up positions of prominence on signs and storefronts, and they often occur multiple times per store. This means they make up a large part of the linguistic landscape (Edelman, 2009, p. 152). Because proper names often come from various languages foreign to the LL, they contribute a great deal to its multilingual nature. Excluding proper names from the analysis, then, provides an incomplete picture of the linguistic landscape. On the other hand, it can provide a more accurate picture of the languages that are actually spoken in the area.

The second option would be to classify all brand names as belonging to their original language, while taking into account the exact nature of the sign. If it includes other text as well as the name, the language in which the other text is written is counted as the language in which the name is written. If the sign only consists of the name and no other text, it is coded as belonging to its original language.

The third option is the one that is most often used by linguistic landscape researchers, and the one that Edelman defends. An effort must be made to trace proper names back to their origins; either the origin of the name itself or the origin of the brand. These languages are then coded to be the language the sign is in. However, the observation can be made that "proper names can be part of any language, depending on the context in which they occur" (Edelman, 2009, p. 152). As a counterpoint, she offers the reasoning that some proper names can be translated, and as such are definitely part of a particular language. Care must be taken to conduct proper research, because many names can appear to belong to

one language while in reality they originate somewhere else (possibly a country with a linguistically related language), and a choice must be made whether to categorise a sign based on the language of the country where the name originated, or the language of the country where the brand originated.

2.4 – SUMMARY

In this chapter, the conceptual framework surrounding the notion of linguistic landscape was discussed, including the current theory as well as the history of the field. The most used definition of the concept of a linguistic landscape, and the one used in this study is:

The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration. (Landry & Bourhis, 1997, p. 25)

This definition varies among researchers.

The study of the linguistic landscape is a fairly recent phenomenon that started around the 1970s but only gained popularity in the late 1990s with the article by Landry and Bourhis (1997). Ben-Rafael (2009) poses a sociological framework that can be used to study contexts and relations in a LL, which consists of four principles: presentation of self, good reasons, collective identity and power relations.

The notion of a 'sign' and what is and is not counted in the course of LL research depends on what the study is concerned with. Signs consisting only of images or numbers are not counted in this study.

A major problem that LL researchers often face is the presence of proper names or nonce words on signs. These are often brand names. There are several ways to handle these signs, which include simply not counting them or assigning them to their language of origin, or counting as the same language as the rest of the text on the sign, if present, and otherwise counting them as their original language.

Chapter 3 - SOCIOLINGUISTIC CONTEXT OF UTRECHT

None of the items in the linguistic landscape exist in a vacuum. They are created by people that are in turn influenced by their culture, individual experiences and personal history. In researching the linguistic landscape we must also learn about the people that make it, not just the theoretical framework, because it provides us with important data. The linguistic landscape is formed by the people that inhabit that landscape. In the Netherlands, these people come from many different backgrounds. Even though the official language is Dutch, the multicultural nature of the country makes it possible for many different languages to make up the linguistic landscape.

The historic and cultural background of the city also plays a large role when attempting to draw relevant conclusions about its linguistic landscape. Therefore, in this chapter a short overview is given of the linguistic and cultural history of the Netherlands, then of Utrecht as a whole and finally of the three surveyed areas specifically. Extra attention is paid to the processes of immigration and globalisation in the Netherlands and Utrecht.

3.1 - THE NETHERLANDS

Before discussing how the Netherlands receives its new immigrants, it makes sense to first discuss the country and its interests. Then recent immigration can be examined.

As any country, the Netherlands has many internal differences and disputes. In the history of the Netherlands, never have all inhabitants shared equal rights, although the division has shifted over time. Different from many other countries, inequality in the Netherlands has always been divorced from distinctions between natives and immigrants (Lucassen & Penninx, 1997). Instead, historically, distinctions were made between gender, prosperity, religious orientation and sexual orientation. According to Lucassen and Penninx, the history of the Netherlands can be seen as "the continuing conflict of interests between religious and socio-economic groups" (1997, p. 96).

After the Second World War, the Netherlands emphatically did not consider itself an immigration country. In fact it was only concerned with short-stay immigrants, such as 'guest workers', Moluccans and people from 'the overseas part of the Kingdom' (Surinames and Antilleans). Even repatriates from the former

Dutch East Indies were assumed to be temporary residents and great effort was put into finding a destination for them 'elsewhere' (Lucassen & Penninx, 1997, p. 142). However, fairly soon the Dutch orientation of these groups, their legal status as Dutch citizens and their bonds with other groups in the Netherlands prompted the Dutch government to adopt a policy of integration (more on this in section 3.3).

The Netherlands has two official languages: Dutch and Frisian. Frisian is generally only spoken by inhabitants of the Northern province of Friesland. However, the Netherlands has a tradition of being a monolingual country. While according to the Covenant on Frisian Language and Culture the responsibility for the protection and promotion of the Frisian language is shared between national, provincial and local authorities – in practice, however, the provincial government is the first actor. The national government, due to the monolingual tradition and other political decisions, prefers to decentralise responsibility to the provinces and regions. It can be argued that these provinces and regions do not get adequate funding to take on these responsibilities; this creates tension between the different levels of government where it comes to the matter of language policy (Gorter, van der Meer, & Riemersma, 2008).

3.2 – UTRECHT

The history of the city of Utrecht is marked by the Romans, the Protestant/Catholic divide, the Second World War and finally rapid growth and modernization.

It is estimated that the city had roughly 20.000 inhabitants in the year 1500, which grew explosively to around 30.000 by the year 1525 and then fluctuated around the 30.000 mark (because of things like plague, fires, and floods) until the 1800s; it had been the largest city in the Netherlands ever since gaining city rights (Genderen & Rommes, 1995).

In 1672, when the Netherlands was at war with France, England, Cologne and Münster, a French army occupied Utrecht for a year and enforced Catholicism. Afterwards, new government officials had to be appointed and they were all selected on the basis of being strictly Reformed royalists (Bruin, Hoekstra, & Pietersma, 1999). In the 19th century, Napoleon, king of the Netherlands at the time, had a house built in Utrecht and declared the city to be the capital for about a year. The population suddenly tripled due to the restoration of the economy and an influx

of immigrants. Many of these immigrants were Catholic, which led to tension in the now overwhelmingly Protestant city and a shift in religious power. Utrecht was restored as a diocese, and became the main seat of power for the Dutch Catholic church (Bruin et al., 1999).

Around 1870 Utrecht had become a major hub in the Dutch railroad network, which led more trade, industry and people into the city. The city grew explosively, gaining many more industrial venues and workers. Eventually Utrecht became the Netherlands' fourth biggest city.

When the Netherlands began attracting more and more immigrants in the latter half of the 20th century (see section 3.3), these immigrants chose to live primarily in the larger cities, of which Utrecht ranks fourth. These days, most of the immigrant population of Utrecht is of Moroccan descent (ABF-Research, 2013).

Around the 1960s, Utrecht experienced explosive growth. Several new neighbourhoods were built, including Kanaleneiland, Overvecht and Hoograven, which are now home to around 60,000 inhabitants of Utrecht. Each of these neighbourhoods is roughly similar in that they consist mostly of tall, prefabricated apartment complexes that are relatively cheap to live in. Each of them has seen an almost complete overhaul in the 1990s to counteract the deterioration of the real estate and the decay of the neighbourhoods' 'image'.

Utrecht's university is the most successful in the country. Around the 1960s the university moved most of its faculties to a new area called the Uithof on the outskirts of the city. In 2011 the Uithof was extensively remodelled and rebranded as Utrecht Science Park.

This shows that since the 1960s, Utrecht has only been expanding and working to renovate the 'lesser' areas of the city. In 2008 it was expected that the population of Utrecht would have increased by 36% by 2025.

3.3 – IMMIGRATION

Considering its history, Utrecht has always been a 'melting pot' type of city. Located in the middle of the country, it is almost literally a crossroads of different cultures, beliefs and values. Many different groups of immigrants have travelled to the Netherlands since the late 16th century. Immigrants have come in four different groups as described by Lucassen and Penninx (1997):

- a. Immigrants that find themselves forced to travel to the Netherlands because of shifts in religious and/or political power in their own country;

these *refugees* usually arrive in large numbers over a short period of time.

- b. Those who stay in the Netherlands for a period of a few years. This category is mostly composed of young adults looking to save money and start a business later on. These *labour migrants* consist mostly of seamen, soldiers, and in the second half of the twentieth century also of 'guest workers'. Other temporary migrants such as students, academics, representatives of foreign industry and so on also fall under this category but are often called *transients*.
- c. Immigrants who regularly stay in the Netherlands for a few months on a seasonal basis to work, for example in agriculture or construction. The length of the stay of these *migrant workers* could be a few weeks to almost a year.
- d. Those who, attracted by the opportunity of earning a good living, travel to the Netherlands to settle there. *Economic immigrants*.

The first group, the refugees, first appeared in large numbers in the late 16th century when the Eighty Years War drove people from the Southern Netherlands to the North. Over the years there was also a large influx of Jewish refugees, first from Spain and later from Central and Eastern Europe. Apart from these larger groups, many smaller groups of refugees also made their way to the Netherlands in these early years. Most of these refugees were fleeing religious differences in their homeland. In the 20th century a large group of Belgian refugees fled the First World War for the neutral Netherlands. The revolutions that followed the First World War, especially in Eastern Europe, caused more people to be displaced and choose the Netherlands as their place of refuge. The years leading up to the Second World War saw an influx of Jewish and political refugees from Germany. At the time of the German invasion of the Netherlands in 1940, there were 20,000 German and Austrian refugees in the Netherlands (Lucassen & Penninx, 1997, p. 38).

After the Second World War the Netherlands saw two kinds of immigrants: repatriates from the decolonisation of the former Dutch Indies, New Guinea and Surinam, and numerous political refugees. In the thirty years between 1945 and 1975 about 300,000 people from Indonesia settled in the Netherlands, mostly Dutch nationals that had been living in Indonesia when it gained its independence and people of mixed Dutch and Indonesian descent.

When Surinam gained independence from the Netherlands in 1975 many of its inhabitants feared this change and the friction between the two dominant groups,

the Hindus and the Creoles. Due to this fear many Surinam citizens fled the island to the Netherlands in the years leading up to 1975. The fact that Surinam was legally a part of the Netherlands (which meant there was freedom of movement between the two territories) already prompted many people from Surinam to travel to the Netherlands. After the 'December massacre' in the 1980s, a third of the population of Surinam left for the Netherlands. In 1995 there were about 296,000 people of Surinamese origin in the Netherlands (Lucassen & Penninx, 1997, p. 45).

After 1975 the flow of "invited refugees" declined but the flow of asylum seekers increased sharply. An appeal for asylum does not guarantee admission; the explosive growth of applications means that there is also a growth in the number of applications that are rejected. Rejection does not always mean the refugee has to return to the country of origin: if the danger there is deemed too high, they are allowed to stay temporarily until the situation changes. This means it is difficult to acquire reliable figures on asylum seekers.

The second category of newcomers, the labour migrants, has always been of great importance to the Dutch economy. Due to the inherently temporary nature of their stay, their contact with the Dutch people was different from that of the refugees. The labour migrants' stay was coloured primarily by returning to their home country with the money they earned.

Special attention must be paid here to the "guest workers", twentieth century labour migrants. In the early 1900s the Dutch mining industry in the province of Limburg escalated to the point where sufficient labour could not be found locally. A large amount of them were laid off in the 1930s and had to leave the country, but some settled in the Netherlands permanently (Lucassen & Penninx, 1997, p. 54). The economic growth which led to structural shortages on the labour market in the 1960s caused many industrial and agricultural firms to recruit foreign labour again. At first these labourers came primarily from Italy and Spain, later from Yugoslavia and Greece, and from the mid-60s the sights were on Turkey, Morocco and Indonesia. In the 1970s, a clear difference emerged: the return rates decreased dramatically, particularly for the Turkish and Moroccan migrants. This turned the labour migrants into the last category of migrants: economic immigrants.

In 1960 the number of registered aliens in the Netherlands was only 116,000, one per cent of the population at the time. In 1994 this number had increased to 780,000, just over five per cent of the population (Lucassen & Penninx, 1997). In 2013, this number has increased to just over 3,5 million ("Bevolking; generatie,

geslacht, leeftijd en herkomstgroepering, 1 januari," 2013). This increase can be largely explained by the arrival of the labour migrants and the change in the nature of the labour migrants' stay around 1970; after this time it is possibly better to simply refer to them as immigrants.

Several factors can account for this shift. First, a number of the immigrants had already been in the country for an extended period and brought their families to the Netherlands. Another factor was a change in nationality: after first recruiting mostly Spanish and Italian guest workers, these had made way for large numbers of Turks and Moroccans. While the Spaniards and Italians often went back to their countries, the Turks and Moroccans often chose to stay and work towards family reunion. This could be explained by the fact that the levels of prosperity were rising in Italy and Spain, whereas economic "backwardness" in Turkey and North African countries continued for a longer period. The third factor is the immigration policy in the Netherlands after 1968: it became steadily more restrictive. Immigrants needed prior approval to enter the Netherlands, and more importantly, departure led to the loss of a residence permit, making later return to the Netherlands impossible. This caused many immigrants to choose the certainty of their situation in the Netherlands over the uncertainty of returning to their home land (Lucassen & Penninx, 1997).

Lucassen and Penninx end their discussion of immigration in the mid-1990s, which is when their book was published. Since then, during the latter half of the 1990s, the number of non-Western immigrants increased much more rapidly than the rest of the population. Since 2001 the amount of immigration to the Netherlands has dropped considerably. It is the number of immigrants from non-Western countries that has declined sharply, especially the number of asylum seekers (Edelman, 2010, p. 30).

3.4-GLOBALISATION

The Dutch education system requires all high school students to take at least 3 years of English, and most also take at least 3 years of French and/or German. The position of English has become stronger in recent years, with education now beginning in the last two years of primary school. Of course children also receive much of their English input from television, radio and the internet. In the Netherlands, foreign television programming is subtitled and English language programs are very popular. It is estimated that 40 to 60 per cent of the programs on Dutch television networks are in English, and many British and American networks

are available as well. Additionally, 54 per cent of printed magazine advertisements is in English. (Edelman, 2010, p. 28).

In his study on globalisation in the Netherlands, Thrift (1994) argues that “the Dutch economy is now one of the most highly globalised in the world economic order – often rated second only to Switzerland”. He demonstrates this in five ways:

First, the high degree of export orientation that many Dutch firms have. This is concentrated mostly in a few industries, namely agriculture, chemicals and machinery. The relatively small size of the Dutch domestic market has to do with this.

Second, there is a large number of multinational corporations that operate in the Netherlands, both foreign and originally Dutch.

Third, the Netherlands is a ‘transit region’ for international trade. Its seaports, especially Rotterdam, airports and roads act as a first or last stop for goods transported into or out of Europe.

Fourth, the Netherlands is a centre for financial business, especially Amsterdam.

Lastly, the Netherlands is part of an international social structure, realised in the many Dutch cities that are tourist/cultural hubs and the importance of cities like Amsterdam as a meeting place for the transnational class (Thrift, 1994).

This enables the inhabitants of the Netherlands to come into contact with many different foreign languages, and the amount of time spent on foreign language education reflects this as well. Research done by the city council of Utrecht shows that 77% of the inhabitants of the city speak at least three different languages, and 17% speak five or more (Sakkers et al., 2009). Based on this statistic, the city has labelled itself as the “multilingual hotspot of the Netherlands”.

3.5 - IMMIGRANT BUSINESSES

This study takes its data from urban commercial areas and is interested in the languages used on commercial signs. This makes the background of the business owners an important factor to consider.

Immigrant entrepreneurship has been on the rise in the Netherlands in recent years. This could be seen as the outcome of the increased number of immigrants on the one hand and the rise in self-employment in general on the other. However, this does not have to be the case. In the 1990s, when the Dutch economy was booming and the unemployment rate for the native Dutch population was only 6.3%, the unemployment rate for immigrants was still at 18% (Kloosterman, Van Der Leun, & Rath, 1999). Turks and Moroccans were hit especially hard (31% and 24% unemployment rate respectively). Because these groups were excluded from the

mainstream labour market an increasing number chose to set up shop themselves. Kloosterman et al. report that “the share of self-employed in the total population of immigrants from non-industrialized countries rose from 3.3% in 1986 to 7.4% in 1997”.

Kloosterman et al. gathered data from the four largest cities in the Netherlands, namely Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Den Haag and Utrecht. While Utrecht has the smallest amount of immigrant entrepreneurs, it also has a smaller amount of immigrants in general when compared to the other three big cities. About 44% of the population from non-industrialized countries lived in these four cities in 1997 (Kloosterman et al., 1999). This means that immigrant entrepreneurship is somewhat skewed towards the bigger cities. It is also skewed towards certain fields. Most immigrant business is started in the fields of wholesale, retail or restaurants. Kloosterman et al. explain this trend:

“These are not only economic activities that may cater for an ethnic demand [...] but also sectors where businesses may be started with [...] relatively small outlays of capital and limited educational qualifications.”

The same is the case in Utrecht. In this city, by far most of the immigrant entrepreneurs are in the restaurant business, followed by retail and finally wholesale. This is different from Amsterdam, Rotterdam and Den Haag, where the three fields have a much more equal distribution (Kloosterman et al., 1999, p. 255). In Amsterdam and Rotterdam, neighbourhoods with high shares of immigrants in their population show relatively higher rates of immigrant businesses (Edelman, 2010, pp. 40-41). Due to the housing policies in the Netherlands, these neighbourhoods cannot be equated to, for example, ethnic neighbourhoods in the United States where the population can be made up almost exclusively of immigrants from the same country. In the Netherlands one almost always finds a mix of immigrants from different cultures. This leads to a situation where the language on the shops must still be intelligible to more than just one group.

Immigrants often start their businesses in fields that have low standards of entry, such as the sectors mentioned above. This also means that these fields tend to be over saturated with other, very similar businesses. Small immigrant businesses such as Islamic butchers tend to only last three to four years before going bankrupt (Kloosterman et al., 1999). Aside from illegal measures such as refusing to pay taxes or ignoring minimum wage or working hours laws, another way to survive is simply to out-do all other shops in terms of customers and profit.

This means that small, entry-level establishments such as the ones that immigrants often start out with cannot exclude the Dutch population (or any other immigrant group) by overuse of their native language; they simply need their custom to stay afloat.

	Number	Percentage
Total Population	16,730,348	100%
Dutch	13,236,155	79.1%
Total Non-Dutch	3,494,193	20.9%
Western Immigrants	1,556,542	9.3%
Total Non-Western	1,937,651	11.5%
Turkey	392,923	2.3%
Moroccan	362,954	2.1%
Surinam	346,797	2%
Antillean	143,992	0.08%
Other Non-Western	690,985	4%

TABLE 3-1 - POPULATION FIGURES FOR THE NETHERLANDS IN 2012

3.6 - SOCIOLINGUISTIC SITUATION

The Netherlands has not held a census since 1971, and even then the census did not include a question about language. As such no data is available on the languages spoken by the population. However, some information can be inferred by studying the ethnicities and scientific literature instead. Table 3-1 shows the ethnicities of the

Dutch population, specifically the non-Western immigrants, since they are the largest immigrant group in the areas that this study is concerned with.

This 2012 data by the *Centraal Bureau voor Statistiek* shows that the Dutch are by

	Number	Percentage
Total Population	316,277	100%
Dutch	214,707	67.9%
Total Non-Dutch	101,570	32.1%
Western Immigrants	33,147	10.5%
Total Non-Western	68,423	21.6%
Morocco	28,139	8.9%
Turkey	13,579	4.3%
Surinam + Antillian	10,251	3.2%
Other Non-Western	16,454	10.5%

TABLE 3-2 - POPULATION FIGURES FOR UTRECHT IN 2012

far the largest population group in the Netherlands, followed by the Non-Western immigrants. Of these, the Turkish immigrants are the largest group, followed closely by the Moroccan immigrants. The number of Surinam immigrants in the Netherlands is also still rather high. The reasons for these three large groups are explained in the earlier section on immigration. These tables show ethnicity rather than nationality, because many immigrants came to the Netherlands in the 1960's and 1970's, and their children are now second or third generation migrants and have a Dutch nationality. Based on nationality alone, 96% of the population of the Netherlands has the Dutch nationality (often combined

with a non-Dutch nationality) (Edelman, 2010, pp. 32-33). These other nationalities are scarcely documented. This makes the data for ethnicity much more salient.

If we compare the figures for the whole of the Netherlands in Table 1 to the figures just for Utrecht in that same year in Table 3-2 (ABF-Research, 2013), some differences become apparent. The most major difference is that compared to the country as a whole, Utrecht has over 10% more immigrants. This difference can be ascribed to Utrecht being a large urban centre. The data for the Netherlands as a whole also takes the rural areas and villages into account, and these areas simply do not attract as many migrants. Because Utrecht is a large city, the amount of immigrants there will be relatively high, as can be seen in the table.

The second difference is that in the Netherlands as a whole, Turkish, Moroccan and Surinamese immigrants are more or less evenly distributed. In Utrecht, the Moroccan immigrants outnumber the other immigrants almost two to one.

Utrecht as a big city in the Netherlands is different from other big cities in the Netherlands. No city is the same. The other "major cities" of the Netherlands are Amsterdam, The Hague and Rotterdam. Amsterdam is known for its 'high culture'

and international business. The Hague is known for being the seat of the government and many international venues such as embassies and the International Criminal Court. Rotterdam is known for the harbour and trade. Utrecht, then, is known for its university, technology and tourism. These different profiles for each city matter because they present different profiles and can, to a certain extent, predict the type of people that live in such a city and the LL that they create.

Because there is no census data on home language, data on this is fragmented at best. Extra, Aarts, Avoird, Broeder, and Yagmur (2002) show that in a survey conducted between 1997 and 2000 among 138,911 primary and secondary school students, 96 different home languages are used. Of these 96 languages 12 occur more than 1,000 times. Turkish, Arabic and Berber are the languages most frequently spoken at home,

often in addition to Dutch. However, these languages still only make up 6, 5 and 5 per cent respectively of the languages mentioned. Edelman (2010) notes that this data was gathered only in urban environments and as such cannot be representative of the Netherlands as a whole.

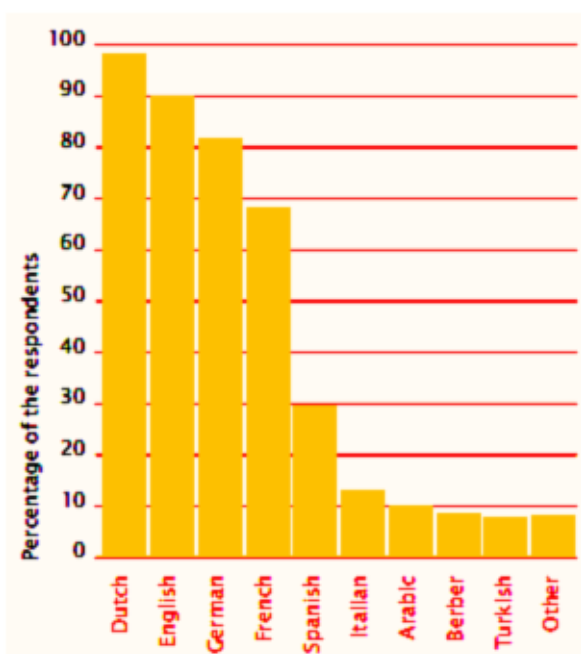


FIGURE 3-1

The reason these three languages occur relatively frequently is that they are spoken by the three largest immigrant groups in Utrecht: the Turks (Turkish), and Moroccans (Arabic and Berber).

A report by the city of Utrecht on the subject of multilingualism showed that 70% of the people of Utrecht speak at least 3 languages. The report also includes a survey on which languages are spoken. 3655 inhabitants of Utrecht participated in the study, 71% of whom were Dutch and 29% were minorities (7% Moroccan, 4% Turkish, 3% Surinamese/Antillean, 4% other non-western, and 11% western). The results of this study are shown in figure 3-1 (Martinovic, 2011).

These figures do not have to correspond exactly to what is found in the linguistic landscape, most obviously because the LL concerns written language and the data presented here concerns spoken language. Berber does not have a written tradition, and often people that speak multiple languages are not equally proficient in all of them; "speaking a language" does not have to equate to being proficient in writing it.

3.6.1 - SOCIOLINGUISTIC SITUATION IN THE SURVEY

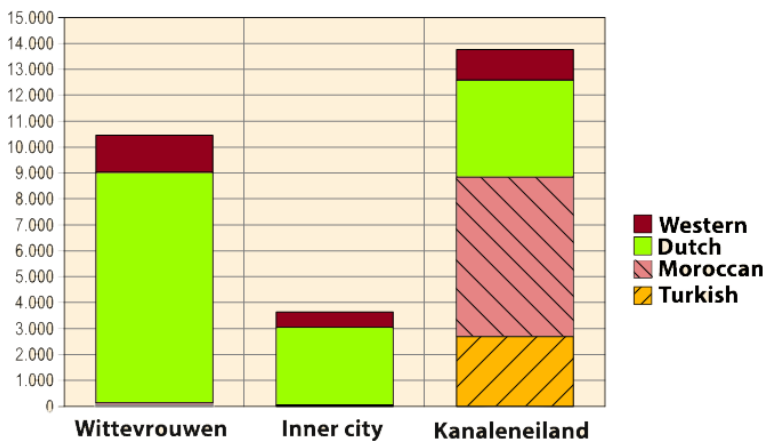


FIGURE 3-2 – DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION IN THE SURVEYED AREAS

The graphs below show the distribution of Turkish, Moroccan, and Dutch inhabitants of a number of neighbourhoods in Utrecht. Figure 3-2 shows the real numbers, whereas Figure 3-3 shows percentages (ABF-Research, 2013). Not included are the Surinamese and Antillean population and the 'other, non-western' population, as the numbers are so small that they do not show on the graph.

It is important to note that, while 40-45% of Moroccans in Morocco belong to one of the three Berber-speaking communities and many of the Moroccans in the Netherlands will belong to these groups or be descended from people that belong to these groups, Berber is not likely to be found in the linguistic landscape of the Netherlands. It does not have a strong written tradition (Edelman, 2010, p. 35). Only since 2003 attempts have been made to formalise the script for one of the three varieties.

Several things stand out immediately: first, the large amount of Dutch (versus almost no non-western) population in Wittevrouten, second, the low overall population of the inner city, and third, the varied population of Kanaleneiland.

The population of Wittevrouten has the highest average income of the three, and the inhabitants are also the best educated. The inner city comes second in these categories and Kanaleneiland comes last. Wittevrouten also has the most expensive houses and is one of the most popular, well-reviewed neighbourhoods in the city (ABF-Research, 2013; Plazilla, 2012). This forms an interesting contrast with Kanaleneiland, where most of the rental flats are very cheap. Kanaleneiland is also known for its boring architecture, the groups of menacing youths that roam the streets at night and its high crime rate (ABF-Research, 2013; Plazilla, 2012).

Wittevrouten is the older neighbourhood, having existed since at least 1573. These days it is composed of mostly buildings from the mid-19th century. This can explain some of the fact that the area is very expensive to live in. The construction of Kanaleneiland was completed in the 1970s, and the prefabricated apartment buildings started out as cheap housing and have only become cheaper since. The high initial appeal of the neighbourhood and the cheap housing attracted many of the immigrants that came to the Netherlands in this period.

The inner city is the odd one out in that it has very little population to speak of, but is still one of the most crowded neighbourhoods in the city. This is of course because of the many shops, cultural sites and tourist spots that can be found here, as well as the main public transport hubs and its central location within the city.

In the light of the hypotheses in this study, one would assume that in Wittevrouten most items in the linguistic landscape would be in Dutch and English, whereas Kanaleneiland should have a higher rate of Turkish and Moroccan signs.

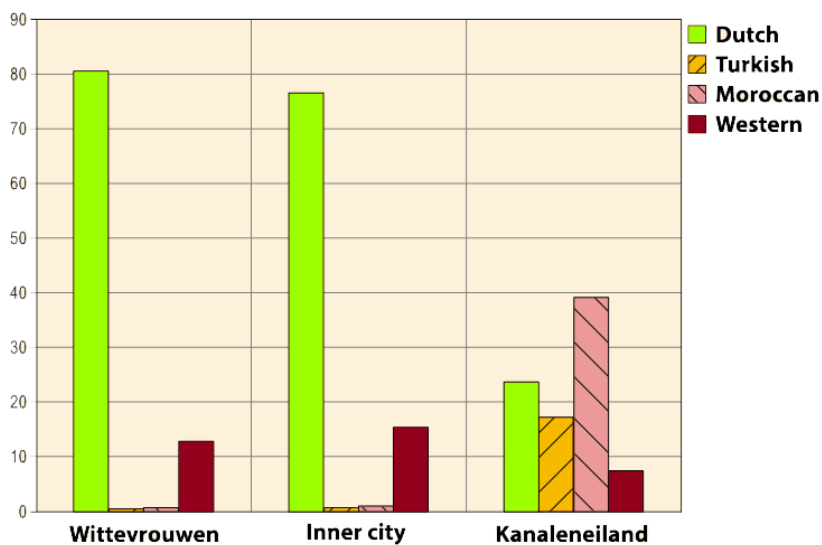


FIGURE3-3 - POPULATION OF THE SURVEYED AREAS (PERCENTAGES)

The inner city with its multicultural, tourist orientation should reflect this in the languages used in its LL, so there we should find a good mix of various languages that are not (as) present in the other two neighbourhoods.

When trying to contact the city council or neighbourhood administrations to gain information about things like language policy, history or population statistics, there was either no reply or a standard response directing any inquiries to the city's or

neighbourhood's website. Contacting the company behind the mall in Kanaleneiland also had little effect. This means that the data presented here is perhaps not as complete as it could have been.

3.7 – SUMMARY

The more recent history of the Netherlands is marked by pillarization and the Second World War. Although the Netherlands "did not consider itself an immigration country" it has seen many different types of immigration: refugees, labour migrants, migrant workers and true migrants.

The Netherlands has a highly globalized economy, which enables the Netherlands to come into contact with many different languages and the country spends a lot of time and money on foreign language education.

Immigrant entrepreneurship has been on the rise in the Netherlands in recent years. In Utrecht, as well as the rest of the country, most of the immigrant entrepreneurs work in the restaurant business, followed by retail and wholesale. Because these fields are over saturated, immigrant businesses often only last a few years before going bankrupt. This threat means that they cannot use their native language too much, because this risks alienating a large part of the population.

Because there is no census data from the Netherlands no real figures exist on which languages are spoken. However, some data can be inferred from the ethnicities of the recent immigrants, studies among primary school students and multilingual inhabitants of Utrecht. The Dutch are still by far the largest group in the Netherlands (79.1% of the population in the country and 67.9% in Utrecht). The largest immigrant group in the Netherlands is from Turkey (2.3%, almost 400,000 people), but in Utrecht the largest group is Moroccan immigrants (8.9%), outnumbering the Turkish immigrants more than two to one.

Of the three Utrecht neighbourhoods surveyed in this study, Wittevrouwen, Kanaleneiland and the inner city, Kanaleneiland has the most immigrants by far. The inhabitants of the other two areas are almost exclusively Dutch. The inner city has far fewer inhabitants than Wittevrouwen, though, because of the large amount of commercial areas and tourist sites.

Chapter 4 - METHODOLOGY

The field of linguistic landscape research analyses “the language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration(Landry & Bourhis, 1997, p. 25).” This means that any study concerning the composition of the linguistic landscape must find, catalogue and code the various written texts in the chosen geographical area in order to be able to draw any conclusions at all.

As stated in chapters 1 and 2, linguistic landscape research is a relatively young field. This means it is important to be very thorough when describing methodology, both to avoid undermining the credibility of LL research and to make things easier on future researchers.

This chapter is concerned with the methodology used to reach an answer to the research questions stated in chapter 1. First, the methods that have been applied in previous research will be discussed and then the methods used in this study. Finally, we come back to the issue of given names on signs and show how this issue has been handled in the present study.

4.1 - METHODS APPLIED IN PREVIOUS RESEARCH

Many of the previous studies into the linguistic landscape take their methods from other, closely related fields such as sociolinguistics, pragmatics and discourse analysis (Edelman, 2010, p. 51). Of course in each study the methodology is slightly different in the way it is set up to accommodate for differences in the research questions and to work with the particular difficulties of the surveyed areas.

Most LL research is only concerned with the present-day situation, perhaps hazarding a prediction of the future. Edelman reports on some studies that took an old-versus-new approach as well (Edelman, 2010, p. 54). She also mentions some modern versions of the research, involving a computerized map with a location for each sign.

One area where researchers differ in the methods is their definition of ‘sign’. The decision as to which items are counted and catalogued and which are not is of course very influential on the research. Most researchers count every sign, but some only count the ones that have at least two languages on them (Backhaus, 2006). It is also possible to select signs based on their domain, such as commercial,

government-issued or religious, which is done in the research conducted by Ben-Rafael et al. (2006), which focused on several domains specifically.

The definition of 'sign' that is used most often is

A sign was considered to be any piece of written text within a spatially definable frame. The underlying definition is rather broad, including anything from handwritten stickers to huge commercial billboards. Also such items as 'push' and 'pull' stickers at entrance doors, lettered foot mats or botanic explanation plates on trees were considered to be signs. Each sign was counted as one item, irrespective of its size. (Backhaus, 2006, p. 55)

This is also the definition used in this study.

Another area where different researchers make different choices is the selection of the survey areas themselves. Some opt to choose to analyse the signs in only one major commercial street or centre. Others choose to analyse and compare two major commercial streets, each in different areas (Cenoz & Gorter, 2006). These different areas can be in entirely different cities or countries, or they can simply be different neighbourhoods within the same city. It is also possible, albeit a lot of work, to analyse a neighbourhood as a whole instead (Barni, 2006). Often it is possible, relevant and preferable to conduct a more large scale study. Ben-Rafael et al. (2006), Huebner (2006) and Backhaus (2006) surveyed eight, fifteen and 28 different places respectively that were relevant to their research. In larger studies such as these it is not the entire neighbourhoods that are studied but rather the main shopping areas in them. These areas have the highest degree of signage and are a place where people come together, making them ideal places to use as representative of the larger area.

4.2 - GENERAL METHODOLOGY

4.2.1 - SURVEY AREAS

In 2012, the city of Utrecht had a resident population of 312,277. This includes immigrants from many different places, yet the population is overwhelmingly Dutch and Moroccan, with 67,9% and 8,9% respectively (ABF-Research, 2013).

To acquire a set of data that properly reflects the linguistic landscape in Utrecht and the influence of the many foreign languages that are spoken three of the city's neighbourhoods were selected for this study.

Because shopping streets have a relatively high number of signs per building, all of the research took place in the main shopping streets or shopping centres of the selected areas.

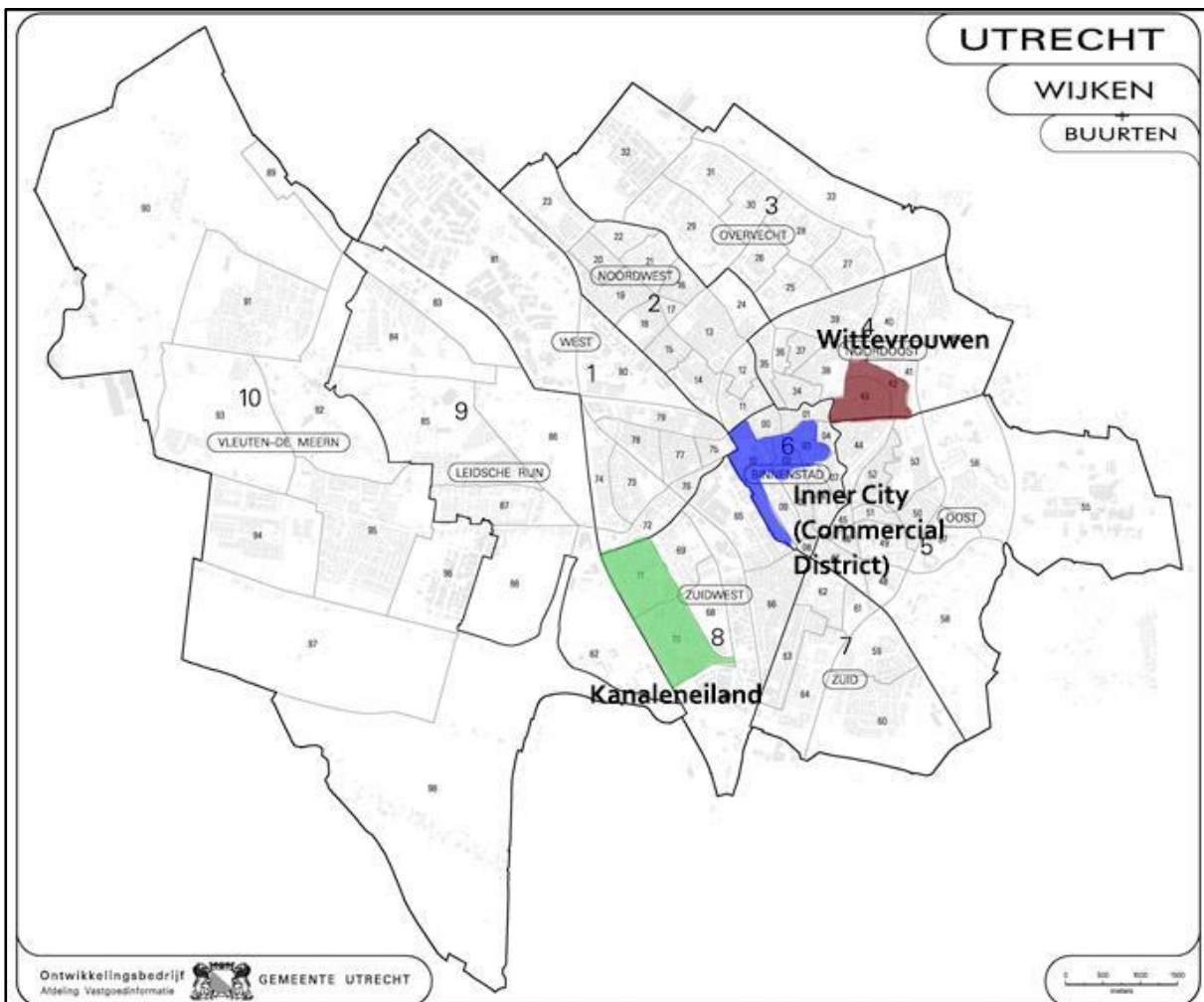


FIGURE 4-1 - MAP OF UTRECHT SHOWING THE SURVEYED NEIGHBOURHOODS (AD VAN DEN DIJSSSEL, 2006)

4.2.1.1 - INNER CITY

The first neighbourhood, the inner city shopping district, was selected because of its expected high ratio of signs and mix of cultures, which in combination with the expected high number of tourists should lead to an interesting combination of languages.

In the inner city, the street that was surveyed was the Steenweg, from the Vredenburgplein directly outside the central station to the Choorstraat. Initially a part of the Vismarkt and Oudegracht were also surveyed, but this produced a number of signs that was around four times greater than the other neighbourhoods, so the area was reduced to this intersection. This was a distance of about 500 metres. 292 individual signs were collected from this area.

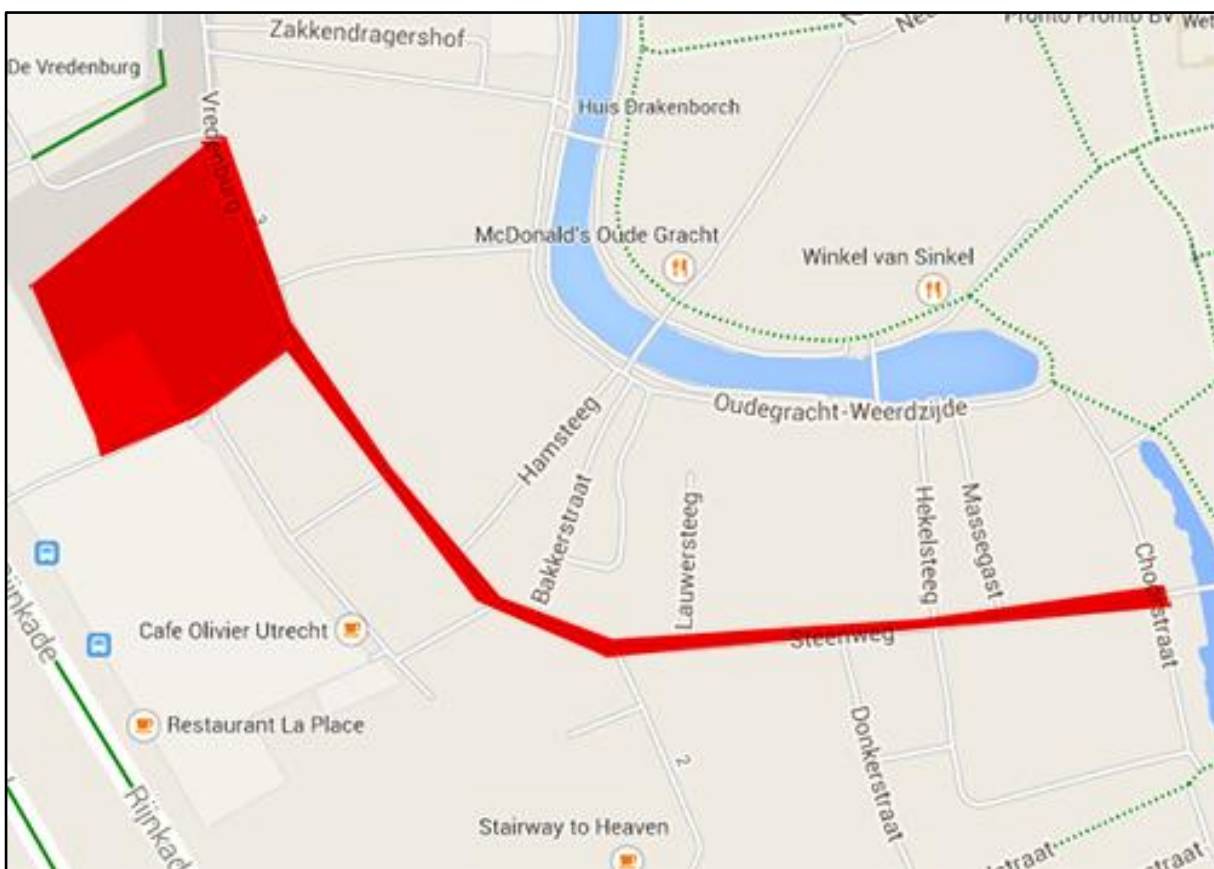


FIGURE 4-2 - THE SURVEYED AREA IN THE INNER CITY

4.2.1.2 - KANALENEILAND

The second, Kanaleneiland, was selected because it is the neighbourhood that has the most immigrant residents while still possessing a sizable shopping centre to gather data on signs. Various other neighbourhoods with high immigrant populations were considered and dismissed because of the absence of a clear commercial district.

Kanaleneiland is home to a large mall. The area surveyed was the inside of the mall, the shops on the outside and the exterior of the parking garage, which featured mostly advertising and large signs for the supermarket. While the photos were being taken there was a weekly market, but as these signs were not permanent features of the linguistic landscape (or belonging to a store that is a permanent feature) the market was not included in the data. This produces 246 total images.



FIGURE 4-3 - THE SURVEYED AREA IN KANALENEILAND

4.2.1.3 - WITTEVROUWEN

The third and final neighbourhood, Wittevrouten, was selected because the population is almost exclusively Dutch and, unlike other neighbourhoods with the same profile, it still has many commercial buildings available to gather LL data.

In Wittevrouten, a part of the Biltstraat was surveyed, from the Obrechtstraat to the Poortstraat, then the Poortstraat and Bouwstraat into the Obrechtstraat to the rest of the Biltstraat back to the starting point. This route produced 257 individual signs. Part of the route cut through a residential area, which still provided a fair number of commercial signs but did leave Wittevrouten with a higher number of top-down signs than the other neighbourhoods.

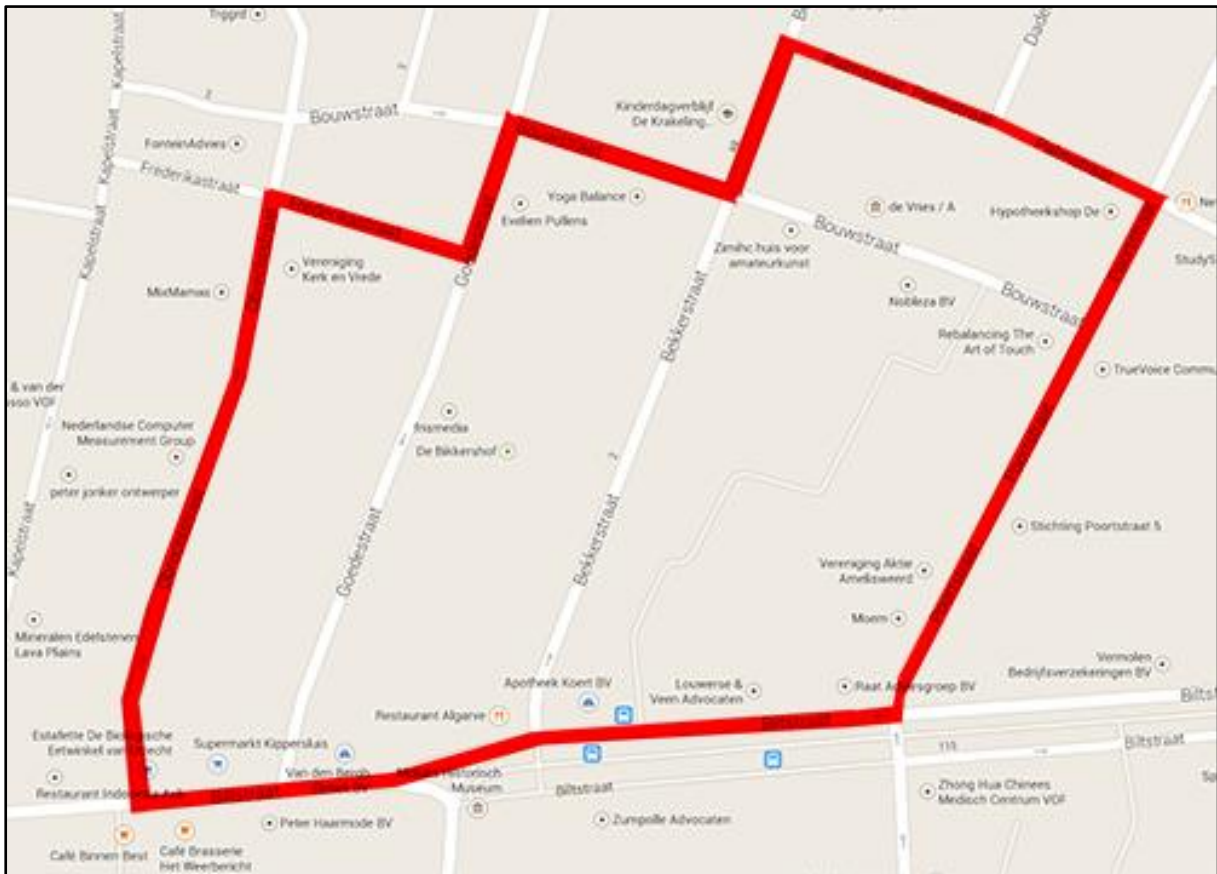


FIGURE 4-4 - THE SURVEYED AREA IN WITTEVROUWEN

4.2.2 - SURVEY ITEMS

In this study, a “sign” is any legible text. This excludes many graffiti tags, only the ones that can be read are counted. Spolsky (2009) signals a problem: often the signs have no clear boundary. There often are multiple ‘signs’ within the boundary of one shop window. In these cases, an effort has been made to separate each different element into individual signs. For example, a list of opening hours next to a slogan with no identifiable boundary in between will still be counted as separate signs, unless the two elements are obviously part of a single design. A boundary was not deemed necessary for an item to be counted as a sign, which means that items such as graffiti can be counted.

Multi-sided signs are coded once for each side, even in cases where both sides are the same.

4.2.3 - CODING

Results were coded based on which neighbourhood it was found in, whether it is monolingual or multilingual, bottom-up or top-down and on which language(s) are used. Each sign was coded once, and then each shop was coded separately a second time in order to allow more types of analyses.

4.2.4 - PROPER NAMES

The methodological concerns in regards to proper names on signs have been discussed in chapter 2. In this study, the analysis will be performed according to Edelman (2009)’s third and most often used option: any proper name is to be traced back to the language of its origin. In cases where this process was difficult or inconclusive, the language spoken by the brand’s founders was selected. For example, the word GEOX is meaningless (apart from some kind of relationship to the Greek ‘geo’) but the brand is Italian. Some of the signage encountered on the GEOX stores is also in Italian. This is enough evidence to code the GEOX sign as Italian.

To determine which languages some signs were in, the words were entered into Google Translate. As this study does not require a correct translation, just an identification of the language, Google Translate is sufficient to provide a clue. The language provided by this tool was then double checked for accuracy.

Chapter 5 - RESULTS

This chapter will provide an overview of the results from the research conducted in the three chosen neighbourhood in Utrecht. First the global results will be addressed, and then each neighbourhood will be viewed separately. Results will be presented both on a per-sign and a per-shop basis.

Analysis of the result can be found in Chapter 6: Discussion.

5.1 - LANGUAGES ENCOUNTERED

The following twenty languages were encountered in various amounts in the linguistic landscape of Utrecht:

- Arabic
- Chinese
- Dutch
- English
- French
- German
- Greek
- Indonesian
- Italian
- Japanese
- Latin
- Latvian
- Norwegian
- Pashto (Afghani)
- Polish
- Portuguese
- Russian
- Spanish
- Swedish
- Turkish

The distribution of these languages will be discussed in the sections below. Naturally, not all languages occurred in all neighbourhoods.

5.2 - RESULTS (PER SIGN)

The results of the study will first be presented on a per-sign basis. This means that each individual sign is coded and counted separately. A total of 796 items was encountered, of which 601 were monolingual and 195 multilingual. Of the 796 total signs, 292 were found in the inner city, 257 in Wittevrouwen and the remaining 246 in Kanaleneiland.

5.2.1 - OVERALL RESULTS

OVERALL:	795		
LANGUAGES:	Total	Mono	Multi
Arabic	13	2	11
Chinese	3	2	1
Dutch	597	423	174
English	299	134	165
French	29	10	19
German	6	2	4
Greek	2	1	1
Indonesian	2	2	0
Italian	20	5	15
Japanese	1	0	1
Latin	7	2	5
Latvian	1	0	1
Norwegian	1	1	0
Pashto	6	2	4
Polish	1	0	1
Portuguese	3	0	3
Russian	2	0	2
Spanish	33	13	20
Swedish	1	0	1
Turkish	10	1	9

Table 5-1

The per-sign results for all three neighbourhoods are laid out in table 5-1. The overall number of signs encountered was 796. The number of items in the table is higher because of multilingual sentences and multiple phrases or utterances in different languages on a single sign. As predicted in section 3.6.1, Berber is indeed not encountered in this data as it does not have a written tradition.

Because this set of data shows all neighbourhoods, all languages are found at least once. However, some languages do not appear on monolingual signs (Japanese, Latvian, Polish, Portuguese, Russian and Swedish), and some do not appear on multilingual signs (Indonesian and Norwegian). Because they are so infrequent, this likely has little significance.

Dutch and English are the most frequent by far, to the extent that the figures for the other languages on the bar chart below become very difficult to read. For clarity the exact numbers have been provided in the table on this page (Table 5-1).

The amount of Dutch multilingual signs is much lower than the amount of monolingual signs, but for English the amounts of multi- and monolingual signs are roughly equal.

Chart 5-1 shows the distribution of several groups of languages. French, Italian and Spanish are grouped because they are the languages often associated with fashion stores and viewing them together can shed more light on the composition of the stores in each neighbourhood.

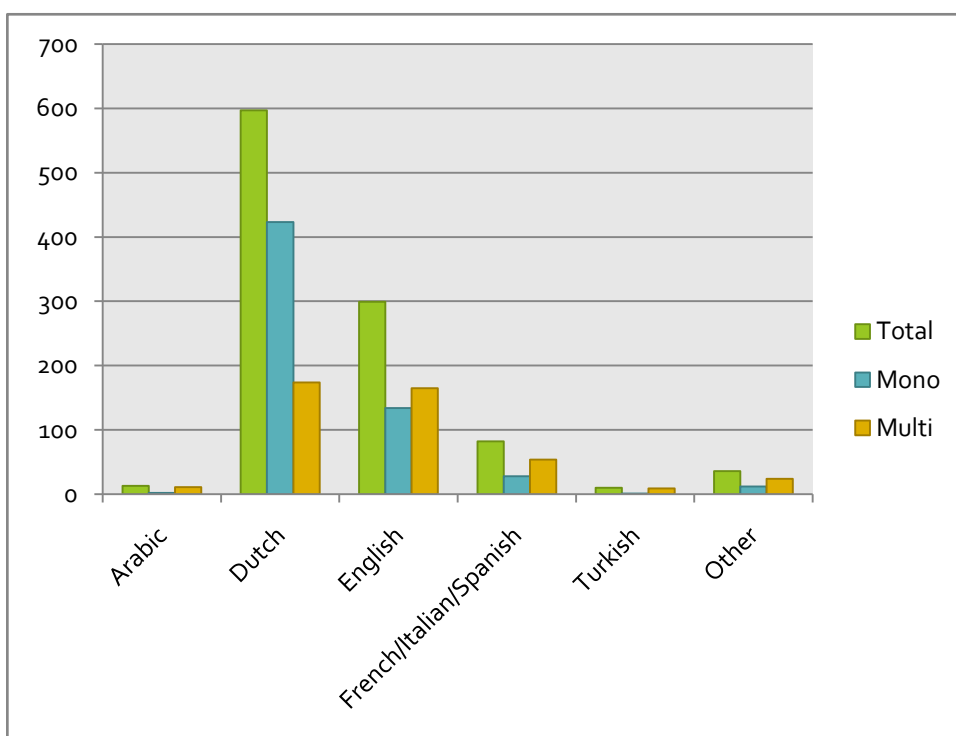


CHART 5-1

90 of the total signs were top-down signs; the other 705 were bottom-up. All of the top-down signs were monolingual Dutch. This means that the local government does not see a necessity to provide immigrants or tourists with non-Dutch versions of the top-down signs that were encountered (most often street names and road signs).

5.2.2 - INNER CITY

Inner City: 292			
LANGUAGES:	Total	Mono	Multi
Arabic	2	1	1
Chinese	2	2	0
Dutch	166	103	63
English	157	92	65
French	17	6	11
German	3	2	1
Greek	0	0	0
Indonesian	1	1	0
Italian	4	2	2
Japanese	0	0	0
Latin	0	0	0
Latvian	0	0	0
Norwegian	1	1	0
Pashto	0	0	0
Polish	0	0	0
Portuguese	1	0	1
Russian	0	0	0
Spanish	15	8	7
Swedish	0	0	0
Turkish	5	0	5

Table 5-2

Table 5-2 shows the results from the inner city. The total number of signs in the survey area was 292, and as in the other tables the total number of items in the table is higher than 292 because of multilingual signs.

Not all languages were found here: Greek, Japanese, Latin, Latvian, Pashto, Polish, Russian and Swedish are missing. Chinese, Indonesian, and Norwegian only have monolingual signs, whereas Portuguese and Turkish only appear on multilingual signs. All of the Norwegian in the study is encountered in this area.

As in all neighbourhoods, Dutch and English are most frequent. The amount of multilingual signs is still lower than the monolingual signs, but not to the same degree as in the overall results. The amount of English is disproportionately high when compared to the other two neighbourhoods.

Of the 292 total signs, 38 were top-down signs. All of the top-down signs are monolingual Dutch.

Chart 5-2 shows the distribution of the figures per group. It shows that the fashion languages make up a significant portion of the non-Dutch, non-English languages in this neighbourhood, as could be expected. However, it

also shows that the 292 items are spread a little more evenly across the board than in the other neighbourhoods because of the lower total numbers of English and Dutch; the relative distribution remains roughly the same apart from the aforementioned higher amount of English.

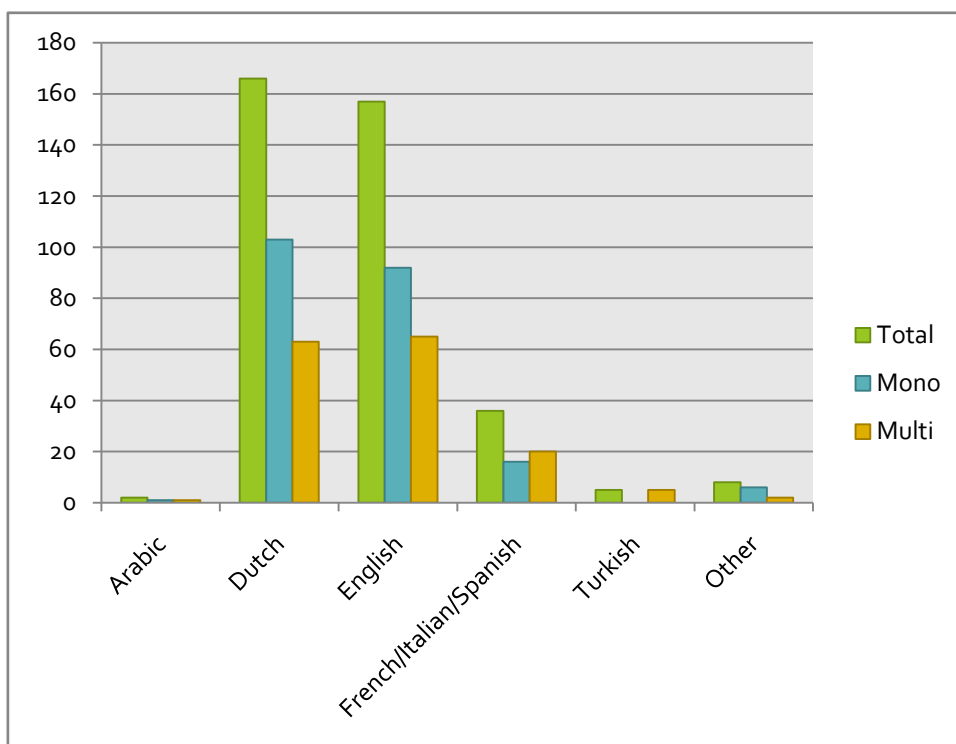


CHART 5-2

5.2.3 - KANALENEILAND

Kanaleneiland		246		
TALEN:	Total	Mono	Multi	
Arabic	5	1	4	
Chinese	1	0	1	
Dutch	205	151	54	
English	73	20	53	
French	9	4	5	
German	2	0	2	
Greek	2	1	1	
Indonesian	0	0	0	
Italian	10	1	9	
Japanese	0	0	0	
Latin	4	2	2	
Latvian	1	0	1	
Norwegian	0	0	0	
Pashto	0	0	0	
Polish	1	0	1	
Portuguese	1	0	1	
Russian	1	0	1	
Spanish	16	4	12	
Swedish	0	0	0	
Turkish	4	0	4	

TABLE 5-2

Table 5-3 shows the data from the mall in Kanaleneiland. The total number of signs encountered was 246. Indonesian, Japanese, Norwegian, Pashto and Swedish were not encountered in Kanaleneiland and Chinese, German, Latvian, Polish, Portuguese and Turkish only appeared on multilingual signs. All of the Greek, Latvian and Polish was encountered in this area. The 'culprit' here was a single sign featuring no less than 13 different languages (pictured on this page). This sign alone was responsible for many of the languages that only occur once in the total data.

Dutch and English are the most frequent here, consistent with the rest of the neighbourhoods.

Of the 246 total signs, 29 were top-down, all of which were monolingual Dutch.

Chart 5-3 shows that the amount of fashion-language stores here is slightly lower than in the other neighbourhoods. This could be caused by the fact that the surveyed area was a mall that was also populated with

various 'day to day needs' stores instead of mainly luxury goods stores (more on this in chapter 6).



FIGURE 5-1

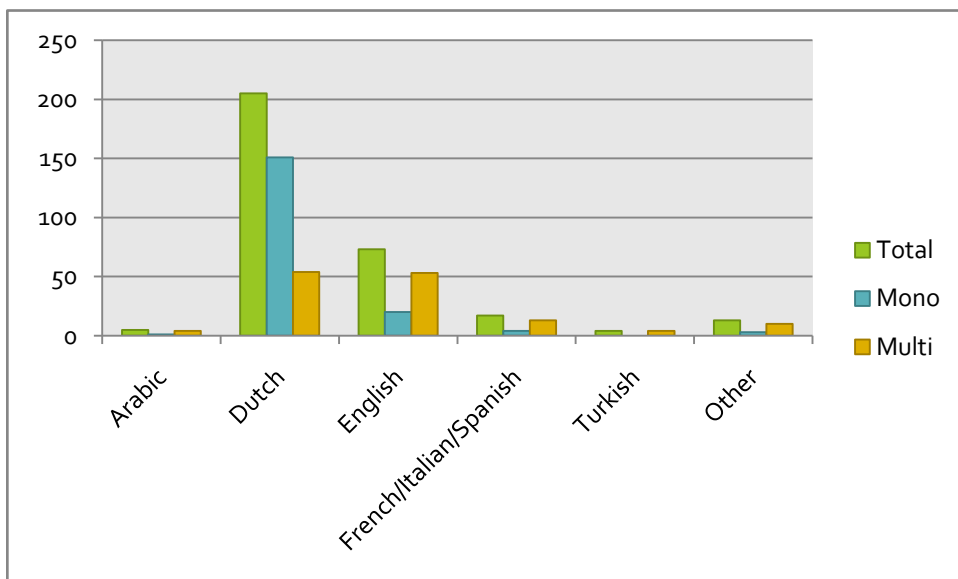


CHART 5-3

5.2.4 - WITTEVROUWEN

Wittevrouwen		257	
TALEN:	Total	Mono	Multi
Arabic	6	0	6
Chinese	0	0	0
Dutch	225	169	56
English	69	22	47
French	3	0	3
German	1	0	1
Greek	0	0	0
Indonesian	1	1	0
Italian	6	5	1
Japanese	1	0	1
Latin	2	0	2
Latvian	0	0	0
Norwegian	0	0	0
Pashto	6	2	4
Polish	0	0	0
Portuguese	1	0	1
Russian	1	1	0
Spanish	2	1	1
Swedish	1	0	1
Turkish	1	1	0

TABLE 5-3

In Table 5-4, the data for Wittevrouwen is presented. The total number of signs was 257. Chinese, Greek, Latvian, Norwegian and Polish are not encountered here, and Arabic, French, German, Japanese, Latin, Portuguese and Swedish only appear on multilingual signs. Indonesian, Russian and Turkish only appear on monolingual signs.

All of the Japanese and Pashto in the study was found in this neighbourhood. The Pashto was found on a clothing restoration shop.

Dutch and English are the most frequent, having roughly the same distribution as Kanaleneiland.

Of the 257 total signs, 23 were top-down, all of which were monolingual Dutch.

Chart 5-4 shows the grouping of the different languages. It shows that there is less Turkish and

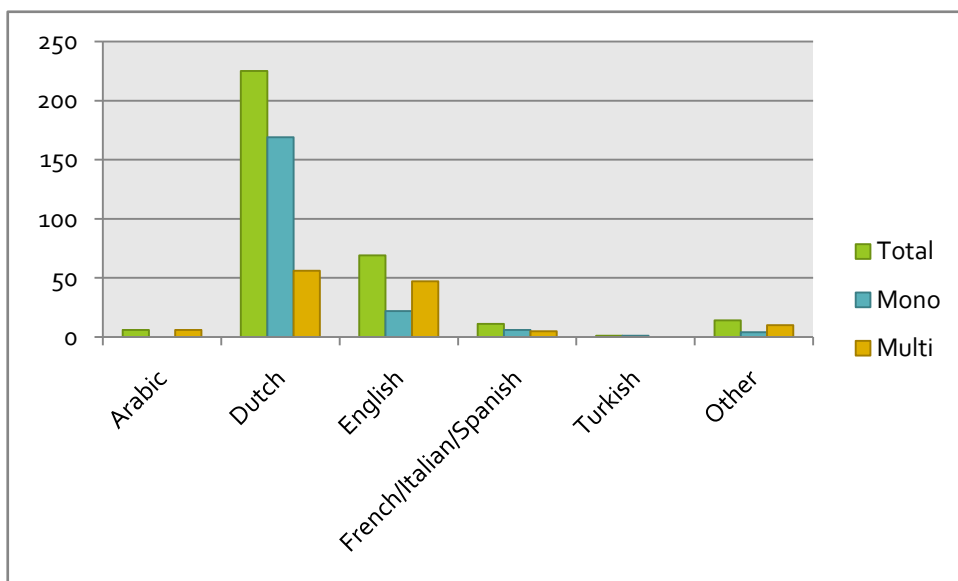


CHART 5-4

5.3 - RESULTS (PER SHOP)

The following tables and graphs display the same data, the difference being that all signs for each particular store were merged and counted as one. This produces a more accurate picture of the distribution of each language and accounts for shops that have one sign in many different languages or many monolingual signs.

5.3.1 - OVERALL RESULTS

The results for all the neighbourhoods combined can be seen in table 5-5 and chart 5-5. The amount of total data points is 333, less than half of the 795 total signs in the corresponding table 5-1. The distribution of languages remains almost the same as can be seen by comparing charts 5-1 and 5-5.

Arabic, Chinese, Japanese, Latin, Latvian, Norwegian, Pashto, Polish, Portuguese, Swedish and Turkish only appear on multilingual stores.

OVERALL:	333		
LANGUAGES:	Total	Mono	Multi
Arabic	6	0	6
Chinese	2	0	2
Dutch	294	174	94
English	129	46	82
French	21	2	19
German	4	2	2
Greek	2	1	1
Indonesian	2	1	1
Italian	8	2	6
Japanese	1	0	1
Latin	2	0	2
Latvian	1	0	1
Norwegian	1	0	1
Pashto	1	0	1
Polish	1	0	1
Portuguese	1	0	1
Russian	2	1	1
Spanish	16	3	13
Swedish	1	0	1
Turkish	5	0	5

TABLE 5-4

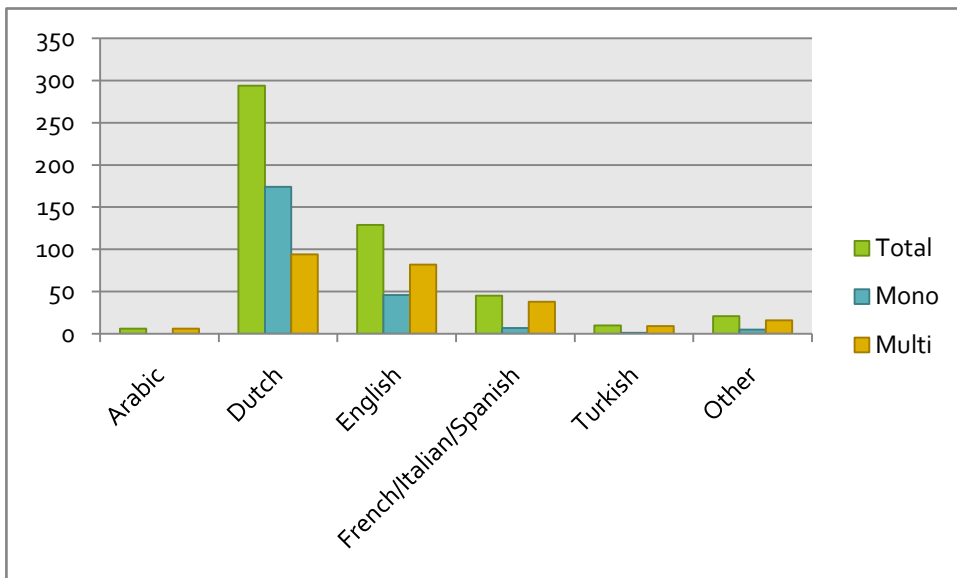


CHART 5-5

5.3.2 - INNER CITY

City Centre:	158		
LANGUAGES:	Total	Mono	Multi
Arabic	1	0	1
Chinese	1	0	1
Dutch	109	62	47
English	80	36	44
French	12	10	2
German	2	2	0
Greek	0	0	0
Indonesian	1	0	1
Italian	3	2	1
Japanese	0	0	0
Latin	0	0	0
Latvian	0	0	0
Norwegian	1	0	1
Pashto	0	0	0
Polish	0	0	0
Portuguese	1	0	1
Russian	0	0	0
Spanish	9	2	7
Swedish	0	0	0
Turkish	3	0	3

TABLE 5-5

Table 5-6 and graph 5-6 show the distribution on shop-basis for the Inner City. The total number of items is 158, a little more than half of the per-sign data.

Chart 5-2 and 5-6 show some differences, not just in the total amounts but in the distribution of monolingual and multilingual items. Chart 5-6 shows there are fewer monolingual English stores, while Chart 5-2 shows there are many monolingual English signs.

While the languages that are completely absent from this neighbourhood remain the same, there are a number of languages that appeared on multiple signs in Table 5-2, but only appear on 1 store in Table 5-6. These languages are Arabic and Chinese.

Chart 5-6 shows the grouped data. An interesting difference with corresponding table 5-2 is that the exorbitant amount of English found in table 5-2 is somewhat lessened here, but still more than average (chart 5-5).

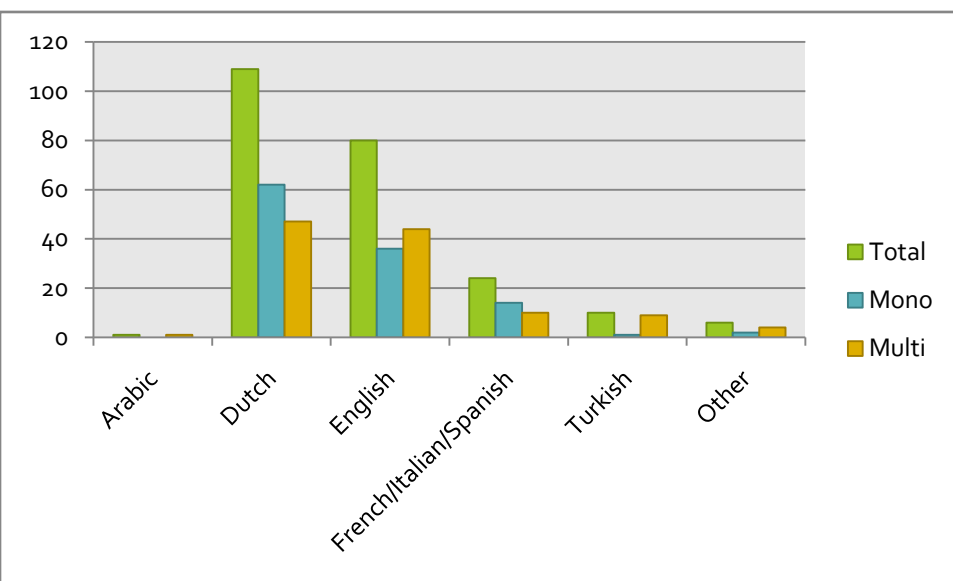


CHART 5-6

5.3.3 –KANALENEILAND

Kanaleneiland	75		
LANGUAGES:	Total	Mono	Multi
Arabic	4	0	4
Chinese	1	0	1
Dutch	68	47	21
English	22	4	18
French	6	0	6
German	1	0	1
Greek	2	1	1
Indonesian	0	0	0
Italian	2	0	2
Japanese	0	0	0
Latin	1	0	1
Latvian	1	0	1
Norwegian	0	0	0
Pashto	0	0	0
Polish	1	0	1
Portuguese	1	0	1
Russian	1	0	1
Spanish	5	1	4
Swedish	0	0	0
Turkish	2	0	2

TABLE 5-6

Table and Chart 5-7 show the per-shop distribution for the items in Kanaleneiland

The total number of items is 75, only a fourth of the original count. This shows that the stores in Kanaleneiland have a relatively high number of signs per shop compared to the other neighbourhoods.

The languages that are not present in Kanaleneiland of course remain not present in this data and none disappear, but several languages suddenly appear to only occur on one shop (while they do have multiple signs before). These languages are German and Greek.

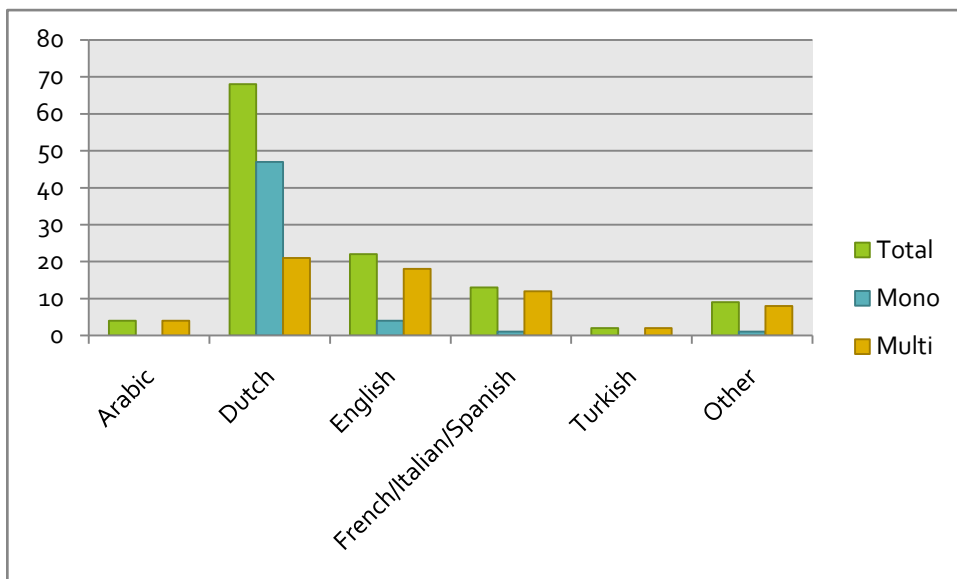


CHART 5-7

5.3.4 - WITTEVROUWEN

Wittevrouwen	100		
LANGUAGES:	Total	Mono	Multi
Arabic	1	0	1
Chinese	0	0	0
Dutch	92	65	27
English	27	7	20
French	3	0	3
German	1	0	1
Greek	0	0	0
Indonesian	1	0	1
Italian	3	1	2
Japanese	1	0	1
Latin	1	0	1
Latvian	0	0	0
Norwegian	0	0	0
Pashto	1	0	1
Polish	0	0	0
Portuguese	1	0	1
Russian	1	1	0
Spanish	2	0	2
Swedish	1	0	1
Turkish	1	0	1

TABLE 5-7

The final table and chart, 5-8, show the new distribution for items in Wittevrouwen. The total number of items is reduced from 257 to 100, between half and a third of the original. Comparing the charts shows that the distribution of the languages remains almost exactly the same.

The languages that turn out to only exist on one store in Wittevrouwen are Arabic, Latin and Pashto.

It is worth noting that the amount of stores in Wittevrouwen was the lowest of the three, and many of the signs encountered were instead found on private houses, lamp posts, and so on. For the purposes of this graph each house or other such item was counted as one 'shop'.

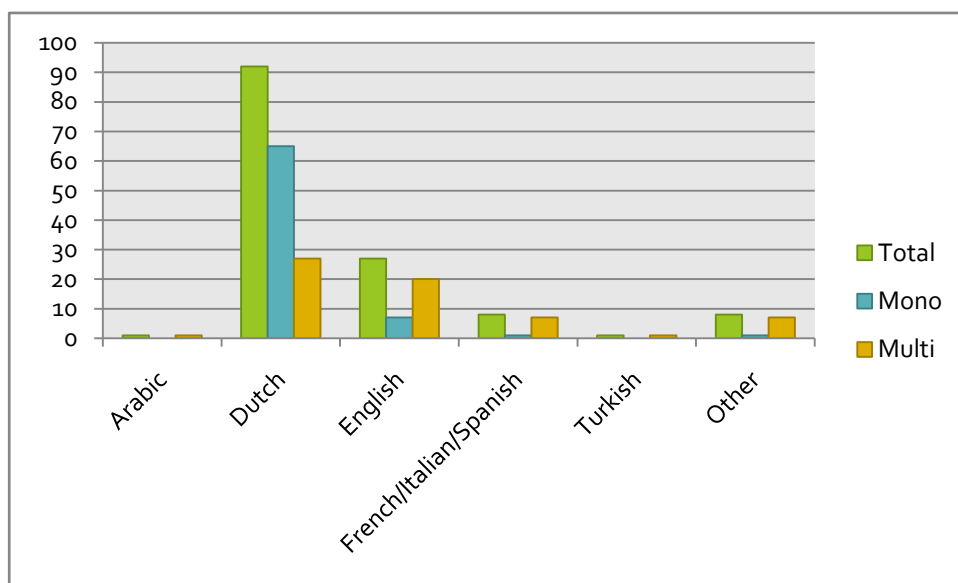


CHART 5-8

Chapter 6 -DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In this section the results presented in chapter 5 will be discussed and analysed. Then the study will be briefly summarized, before moving on to answer the research questions. Finally, some recommendations for the city of Utrecht and recommendations for possible future research will be presented.



FIGURE 6-1 – A PORTUGUESE RESTAURANT
IN WITTEVROUWEN

6.1 - ANALYSIS OF THE RESULTS

6.1.1 - LANGUAGES PRESENT

This section is concerned with the reasons for the languages being present. Before analysing the frequency of the languages encountered, some attention must be given to the presence of certain languages. The full list of all the languages in the study, found in chapter 5.2, includes some languages that do not correspond to a significant group of the population. For example, Portuguese immigrants are a small group: Western immigrants only make up 10.7% of Utrecht (chapter 3.7). Many of the languages present do not correspond to significant immigrant groups in the population, so there must be another explanation.

One explanation is signs like the one presented in figure 6-2, and the previously shown figure 5-1. These signs contain the same word in many different languages. The languages here seem to be used for no reason other than promotion: the store in figure 6-2 is not using the Spanish 'rebajas' to appeal to a Spanish demographic, but rather to appeal to a sentimental "holiday-like" connotation in order to attract shoppers. The sign in 6-2 especially uses the languages associated with both fashion and/or vacation. While some of the languages are also used elsewhere, these two signs alone explain the presence of Greek, Latvian and Polish in the data.



FIGURE 6-2 – A MULTILINGUAL SIGN
INSIDE THE 'SIX' ACCESSORIES SHOP IN
THE INNER CITY



FIGURE 6-3 – A MULTILINGUAL DUTCH/ITALIAN SIGN
ADVERTISING FASHION BRANDS IN THE INNER CITY

Some of the other languages are very specific to a single field. Italian, Spanish, and French are the languages of fashion stores. They frequently occur as brand names on multilingual stores (see figure 6-3).

Italian has a double connotation both as a language of fashion and a language of food: many of the occurrences of Italian are in fact restaurants, pizza stores and other advertisements for food. Likewise, nearly all of the Arabic items (save two) were simply the words "halal" and all of the Turkish items were found on kebab or shoarma shops.

The presence of Chinese is due to one 'toko' shop in the inner city, which included signs both using Chinese characters and Western letters. The sign using letters was still in the Chinese language.

The presence of Latin is due to both shop names and Latin slogans for companies, as well as texts on old buildings and heraldry.

The presence of Pashto, a language spoken in Afghanistan, is due to one clothing restoration shop in Wittevrouten, with the name in Pashto and everything else in Dutch and English.

The Swedish and Norwegian items are also from store names, such as Björn Borg.

Russian only occurred on the sign in 5-1 and on a sticker (possibly advertising a brand of beer) on a lamp post.



FIGURE 6-4 – A CHINESE SIGN IN THE INNER CITY

Most of the other 'smaller' languages in this study are shop names, and are not used for regular communication. Even in the Inner City, with its many tourist attractions, there is only one 'one-on-one' multilingual sign (the same text presented both in Dutch and English). While signs pointing towards landmarks will often have a picture of the landmark on them, all of these are in monolingual Dutch. The situation is the same for maps and instructions ("no parking" signs or explanations on when it is prohibited to be in an area, for example). This means that all of the non-Dutch languages belong to stores and other commercial interests, either as a brand or store name or on an advertisement.



FIGURE 6-5 – A SLOGAN ON A BJÖRN BORG STORE.

6.1.2 – (IN) FREQUENCY OF LANGUAGES

In this section the frequency of the languages will be discussed.

The first thing to stand out in all of the neighbourhoods is that Dutch and English are much more frequent than any other language. The exceptions discussed in the previous paragraph account for many of the 'interesting' outliers.

While the large presence of Dutch is not surprising and the large presence of English was expected due to the highly globalised nature of the Netherlands (see chapter 3,5), the fact that they eclipse all other languages to such a degree is remarkable: even in places where English is relatively infrequent (Kanaleneiland and Wittevrouwen) it still outnumbers all the other languages combined. It would appear that the Dutch globalisation is focused primarily on English-speaking nations and less so on any other market. Other languages belonging to big global powers, such as Chinese and Hindi, or in a European context, German and French, are present to a much smaller degree ("The World Factbook," 2013-14). These languages, when they occur, only occur in the names of brands or products, not in full sentences. English is used in all contexts, including full sentences and even paragraphs, as demonstrated in figures 6-5 and 6-6. The text in figure 6-6 even seems specifically geared to the shoe market in the United Kingdom, and yet it is still displayed in a Dutch shopping street.

The Dutch are known for their proficiency in English. Research by Education First shows that out of 54 countries, the Netherlands ranks third in English proficiency, outdoing even countries such as Singapore and India where English is an official language (EF, 2012). This could contribute to the large amount of English advertisements.

The more infrequent languages, Arabic, Italian, Spanish and Turkish, occur mostly in very specific contexts. There is no knowledge of the languages needed to understand the signs. Out of the 13 total Arabic signs, 7 are food-related, often simply saying "halal" or "shoarma". The other 6 include the word "yes" in Arabic (figure 5-1), and the name Yasmin. Of the 20 Italian signs, 12 are food-related, mostly pizza shops. Four more are fashion stores. There are 33 Spanish signs in total, of which 17 are fashion related. Lastly, there are ten Turkish signs, eight of which say "döner". The remaining two are the signs in 5-1 and 6-2. This shows that certain languages frequently (or almost exclusively) in certain fields. As the demand for these fields grows, the amount of signs in these languages should also grow.

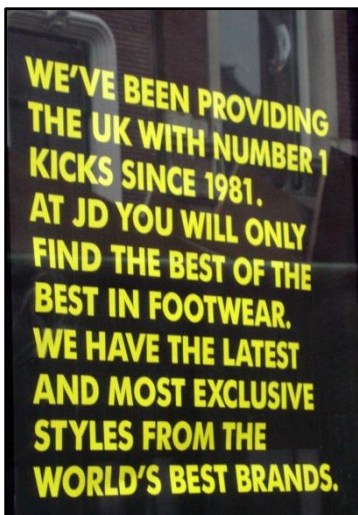


FIGURE 6-6 – A SIGN ON A JD SPORTS STORE.

6.2 – ANSWER TO THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The first chapter of this study poses the central research questions:

1: Which languages are present in the linguistic landscape of different neighbourhoods in Utrecht and do they reflect the languages spoken by the community?

2a: How does the use of visual language distinguish one neighbourhood from the other?

2b: How can these differences be explained?

6.2.1 – QUESTION 1: LANGUAGES PRESENT

All that needs to be done in order to answer question one is to check the languages listed in chapter 5 against the sociolinguistic background described in chapter 3. Data on the languages spoken by the community is spotty at best, but can be inferred from the ethnicities (figures 3-2 and 3-3, table 3-2) and the study by the city of Utrecht shown in figure 3-1, but these are only subsets of the population and they may not be representative of the population as a whole.

The table shows that according to the hypotheses stated in chapter 1, at the very least Arabic, Turkish, and Dutch should be encountered in the data as a whole. These languages are indeed all encountered to some degree. However, there are still many other languages that are encountered that are not in the list of ethnicities. They would fall under “Western” and “other non-Western”. Regrettably, because the data on the languages spoken is so limited, any language at all could fall under those categories and it is difficult to answer this question accurately.

The frequency with which the languages appear is interesting. The large amount of Turkish and Moroccan inhabitants, especially in Kanaleneiland, would lead to the assumption that there should also be a higher amount of Turkish and Arabic language in the linguistic landscape of this neighbourhood compared to the other neighbourhoods. This assumption is based on previous research by Ben-Rafael et al. (2006), Edelman (2010), El-Yasin and Mahadin (1996), Backhaus (2006) and others that did find a correlation between ethnicities and the languages in the LL. Comparing the various tables in chapter 5, we can see that there is a slightly larger amount of Arabic and Turkish signage, especially on a per-shop basis, but the

difference is so minor compared to the total number of items that it is not significant.

It could be possible that the mall that was surveyed is simply a bad cross-section of the neighbourhood. A quick exploration of the rest of Kanaleneiland reveals a few Turkish or Arabic signs, for example a tea house and a halal butcher. A number of extra Turkish and Arabic signs can be found in the other neighbourhoods as well, so the choice of surveyed area does not appear to have a significant effect on the results. However, this could be subject to a more in-depth study that covers more of the city at a later date.

It is important to note that this also means that the inverse of this hypothesis is also untrue: the relatively high amount of, say, Spanish and Italian does not necessarily mean that a corresponding percentage of the population is a native speaker of these languages.

In conclusion, this study shows that the ethnicities found among the population of Utrecht do not necessarily dictate the languages that will make up the linguistic landscape.

6.2.2 – QUESTION 2: DIFFERENCES BETWEEN NEIGHBOURHOODS



FIGURE 6-7 – THE ONLY SIGN ON A SWAROVSKI STORE IN THE INNER CITY

This section will attempt to answer the second research question. In order to do so, the differences between the signs in the various neighbourhoods must be defined and explained.

6.2.2.1 - TYPES OF STORES

The first way in which the neighbourhoods differ is in the amount of text that is found there. The inner city has more shops than the other two neighbourhoods, even though the area surveyed in Kanaleneiland was a mall.

After combining the signs into a per-store count, the inner city has half the number of items left. The other two neighbourhoods keep around a quarter and a third of the original number of items, which means that for all of its many stores the inner city has the fewest signs per shop. In the raw pictures we can see that this is true. The inner city shops that do have many signs and various languages are often either food-related or beauty-related.

This difference can be explained two ways. The first is the types of stores encountered in the different neighbourhoods. In both Kanaleneiland and Wittevrouten many of the stores are stores that provide basic needs for the people that live in these neighbourhoods. There are supermarkets, butchers, bakers, and so on. Because the inner city has very few actual inhabitants (see figure 3-1) these types of stores are not present in the surveyed area. There are some small supermarkets outside the surveyed area, but they are still the smaller “on the go” varieties of the stores.

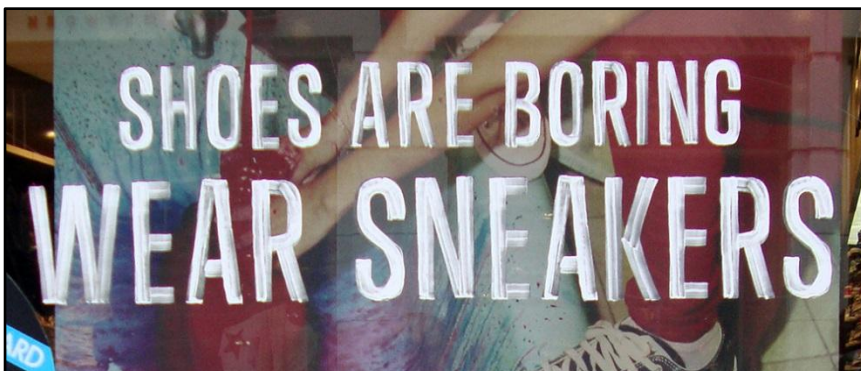


FIGURE 6-8 – ONE OF THE SIGNS ON A CONVERSE SHOE STORE IN THE INNER CITY

When comparing the basic needs stores to the rest of the stores, it appears that they often have multiple signs per store and often feature different languages whereas the other stores often have simpler signs (often the same one repeated a few

times) and use fewer different languages. The purpose of these signs is to advertise special offers and deals in order to attract customers away from the competition: stores that often sell the exact same product.

The stores in the inner cities are not basic needs stores at all. They are luxury stores, clothing stores and (fast) food stores related. Their intended audience is a much more focused group. They are more focused on presenting the image of the store than on advertising specific items. This is illustrated in figures 6-7 and 6-8, which show examples of branding. In the case of the Swarovski store, this was the only sign on display. The sneaker store had additional signs, one with the name of the brand and one with another slogan. When a customer buys their shoes here, they are not just buying a product but also an image.

Figure 6-9 shows a sign outside a supermarket in Wittevroutwen, which is all about the savings and not so much the image; the name of the store is not even on the sign. The product that is advertised here can be bought at any other supermarket (of which there are many) so this supermarket can only advertise with the fact that theirs is cheaper.

These kinds of differences in advertising are one way in which the differences between the amountsof signs in each neighbourhood can be explained.



FIGURE 6-9 – A SIGN OUTSIDE A SUPERMARKET IN WITTEVROUWEN

Another difference between the neighbourhoods, this time in the smaller languages, is the fact that French and Spanish are present mostly in the inner city and (to a smaller degree) in Kanaleneiland. In Wittevroutwen these languages are practically absent (on a scale with Russian, German and Latin, and outnumbered by Pashto). The reason for this difference is that there were very few fashion stores in the area of Wittevroutwen that was surveyed. As stated before, Spanish and French (and to some degree Italian, although it doesn't experience the same progression due to its dual association with food) are commonly associated with fashion stores and this trend remains when examining the French and Spanish items in this study. The fact that there aren't any fashion stores in the surveyed area leads to the amount of French and Spanish being greatly reduced. Other areas of Wittevroutwen that do have these types of stores would probably show a different distribution of languages.

6.2.2.2 – SIZE OF STORES

Another reason for shops in the inner city to have a lower number of signs on average is simply the size of the stores. The storefronts in the inner city are much smaller and have much less room to display signs. If store owners also want customers to be able to see the displays and products in the windows, or the inside of the shop, they simply have less space to work with than the much broader shops in Kanaleneiland and Wittevrouwen do.

6.2.2.3 – COMMERCE AND TOURISM

The final difference between the results for the different neighbourhoods is the difference in distribution between Dutch and English. For Kanaleneiland and Wittevrouwen (charts 5-3 and 5-4) they are almost identical, but in the chart for the inner city (chart 5-2) the amount of English spikes.

This difference can probably be explained by the tourist and commercial focus of the inner city. As mentioned in the previous paragraphs, the inner city shops are not for the people that live there, they are focused on people that travel to the inner city (from other areas of Utrecht, or from different cities or countries) specifically to shop or entertain themselves. There is a higher amount of international brands

and international products, leading to both an increase in English language store names and in English advertising. Tourism is surprisingly not an influential factor in the inner city (or anywhere else). All signs pointing towards landmarks and museums are monolingual Dutch signs, save for the sign displayed in figure 6-10. This is a bottom-up sign placed by the museum itself to inform the public that the entrance to the museum has been moved. The original front of the museum is still Dutch-only. This is the only sign in the inner city geared specifically towards international tourists, which means that tourism is not a crucial factor for the distribution of the languages in this neighbourhood.



FIGURE 6-10 – THE ONLY SIGN IN THE INNER CITY THAT HAS THE SAME TEXT BOTH IN DUTCH AND ENGLISH

6.2.2.4 - SIMILARITIES

The similarities between the three neighbourhoods are just as interesting as the differences between them, especially the similarities that were originally not expected.

In chapter 1, the following hypothesis was formulated:

The languages present should reflect those of the largest few ethnic groups present, plus English. The presence of English will be explained in chapter 3. Therefore Dutch and English are expected to be present in all neighbourhoods, with Arabic and perhaps Turkish in Kanaleneiland. The inner city will most likely be a mix of Dutch, English and a large assortment of small languages.

While the inner city does indeed have a mix of Dutch, English and a large assortment of small languages, this turns out to be the case for all of the neighbourhoods. The hypothesis fails in its prediction that Arabic or Turkish would be more prevalent in Kanaleneiland simply because the population is largely Moroccan and Turkish. This is unexpected because other similar studies, such as Edelman (2010) and Ben-Rafael et al. (2006) did find that the ethnicity of an area's inhabitants predicted the languages found in their linguistic landscapes.

In this study it appeared that the distribution of immigrant languages was more or less equal in all neighbourhoods, regardless of the population.

In chapter 3, it became apparent that Utrecht does have many immigrant businesses, and part of the reason provided was that starting a business made it easier for immigrants to provide cultural goods, foods and needs. However, these stores seem to be completely absent in the surveyed area. The reason for this remains unclear. It could have to do with the area selected for the survey – other areas of Kanaleneiland (or Utrecht) may have more Arabic or Turkish signage, and the mall that the survey was taken in could have a policy on the languages or types of stores allowed on the property. Contacting the firm in charge of the mall to get more information on any such policies did not result in any answers, nor did contacting the city council in regards to any specific zoning or language guidelines.

The prices of the properties could also be a factor. The mall could be more expensive than property in the actual streets, or the latter could be more attractive to smaller ethnic shops. Inner city commercial real estate is understandably more expensive as well and Witte Vrouwen is one of the most expensive neighbourhoods

in the city (ABF-Research, 2013), which could explain the absence of immigrant-owned stores with smaller budgets

It may also have to do with the fact that almost all of the Arabic and Turkish signs are found on fast food stores. In the mall in Kanaleneiland alone, there were four such places and a café. The market for these establishments is quickly saturated and there could simply be no more need for another döner or shoarma store on the same block.

It is important to note that Utrecht has other neighbourhoods with a large immigrant population. It is not beyond imagining that the situation in those neighbourhoods could be completely different, and that there could be many Turkish and Arabic signs there. However, if it was indeed the case that the ethnicities in those neighbourhoods predicted the languages used in the LL (as hypothesised) then this should be the case in all neighbourhoods including Kanaleneiland and Wittevrouten, not just several specific neighbourhoods or streets. This means that even if there are other neighbourhoods that do confirm the hypotheses it is of no consequence because there are some that seem to disprove it.

6.3 - SUMMARY OF THE STUDY

This study investigates the linguistic landscape in the city of Utrecht in the Netherlands, and aims to answer the following questions:

1: Which languages are present in the linguistic landscape of different neighbourhoods in Utrecht and do they reflect the languages spoken by the community?

2a: How does the use of visual language distinguish one neighbourhood from the other?

2b: How can these differences be explained?

It was hypothesised that the languages present would indeed reflect the ethnicities of the populations, and that any significant differences could be explained through corresponding differences in ethnicity. That would mean that the linguistic landscape in Wittevrouwen would be predominantly Dutch, Kanaleneiland would have a large amount of Arabic and Turkish compared to the other neighbourhoods, and the inner city would be a mix of different languages. English would be found everywhere, due to the Netherlands being a heavily globalised (Anglicised) country.

The definition used to define the linguistic landscape in this study is the one first posed by Landry and Bourhis (1997):

The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration. (Landry & Bourhis, 1997, p. 25)

Another important definition is the definition of 'sign'. The one used in this study is the one posed by Backhaus (2006):

A sign was considered to be any piece of written text within a spatially definable frame. The underlying definition is rather broad, including anything from handwritten stickers to huge commercial billboards. Also such items as 'push' and 'pull' stickers at entrance doors, lettered foot mats or botanic explanation plates on trees were considered to be signs. Each sign was counted as one item, irrespective of its size.

Combined, these two definitions mean that every linguistic item on the street was counted, excluding mobile items such as items printed on the side of cars. Also excluded were the nameplates of residents. Anything else, including graffiti (excepting illegible graffiti), stickers and temporary signs was included.

While Landry and Bourhis see the linguistic landscape as a static thing, Ben-Rafael argues that the linguistic landscape must be analysed as a dynamic entity so that the different influences and actors can be studied (Ben-Rafael, 2009).

The linguistic landscape is part of the public sphere; a concept coined by Habermas which includes every area in the community or society, except those that are private property. Eliezer Ben-Rafael sees the linguistic landscape as a 'gestalt', "different phenomena understood as elements of one structured setting" (Ben-Rafael, 2009, p. 43).

Edelman and Gorter (2010) define five groups of actors that influence the linguistic landscape: the businesses, the people that design the signs, the (private) people that put up signs or announcements, the authorities and the audience. Each of these groups of actors has different intentions when interacting with the LL, be it putting up signs or simply walking past. Spolsky (2009) emphasises that every sign must be seen as "the result of a process with several participants: the initiator, the sign-maker, the reader and the authorities.

A major problem that LL researchers often face is the presence of proper names or nonce words on signs. There are several ways to handle these signs, which include simply not counting them or assigning them to their language of origin. Each of these possible methods has its own advantages and disadvantages. In this study, all brand names and proper names are assigned to their languages of origin (if necessary, the language of the country where the store was founded), nonce words that bear some resemblance to a real word (such as the brand "Monki") are assigned to the language of the word they resemble, and nonce words that seem to have no connection to existing words at all are counted as the same language as the rest of the sign. Nonce words with no existing counterpart and no other language on the sign were not encountered.

In order to be able to interpret the results of the study it is important to keep the history of the Netherlands in regards to immigration and globalisation in mind.

Although the Netherlands "does not consider itself an immigration country" it has seen many different types of immigration: refugees, labour migrants, migrant workers and true migrants.

The Netherlands has a highly globalized economy, which enables the Netherlands to come into contact with many different languages, also because of the time spent on foreign language education.

Immigrant entrepreneurship has been on the rise in the Netherlands in recent years. In Utrecht, as well as the rest of the country, most of the immigrant entrepreneurs work in the restaurant business, followed by retail and wholesale.

Because there is no census data from the Netherlands no real figures exist on which languages are spoken. However, some data can be inferred from the ethnicities of the recent immigrants and previous studies. The Dutch are still by far the largest group in the Netherlands (79.1% of the population in the country and 67.9% in Utrecht). The largest immigrant group in the Netherlands is from Turkey (2.3%, almost 400,000 people), but in Utrecht the largest group is Moroccan immigrants (8.9%), outnumbering the Turkish immigrants by more than two to one.

Of the three Utrecht neighbourhoods surveyed in this study, Kanaleneiland has the most immigrants by far. The inner city has far fewer inhabitants than Wittevroutwen, because of the large amount of commercial areas and tourist sites. The inhabitants of the other two areas are almost exclusively Dutch. The exact figures can be found in chapter 3.

In order to answer the research questions, three different neighbourhoods were selected. The first is the shopping district in the inner city, selected because of its many signs and mix of different cultures and tourist attractions. The second is Kanaleneiland, which has the most immigrant residents in Utrecht (more than half of the population) and a sizable mall to provide an adequate number of signs. Various other immigrant neighbourhoods were considered and dismissed because they did not have a similarly clear shopping district. The third neighbourhood that was studied was Wittevroutwen, which was selected because its population is almost exclusively Dutch, well-educated and wealthy and the neighbourhood also houses a shopping street.

All signs and textual items in the areas were photographed: 292 in the inner city, 246 in Kanaleneiland, and 257 in Wittevroutwen.

The photographs were then cleaned up and the signs isolated; in cases where there were two signs in one image, they were separated. They were then coded as being either top-down or bottom-up, monolingual or multilingual, and with all the languages present. Multi-sided signs were coded once for each side. Then each picture was coded again, this time according to the store to which it belonged in order to make the per-shop analysis possible.

The study showed that there were twenty languages present in the surveyed area. Dutch and English were very prevalent in all of the neighbourhoods, with Spanish, French and Italian as the runners-up.

The results do not show a significant difference between the amount of Arabic and Turkish in Kanaleneiland and other neighbourhoods, or any relation between the population and the languages encountered.

There are several differences between the neighbourhoods, namely the amount of signs per shop, the amount of English used (considerably more in the inner city than elsewhere) and the amount of French and Spanish (almost absent in Wittevrouwen). Finally, there are similarities where differences would be expected, such as the amounts of Turkish and Arabic being the same in all neighbourhoods.

station and the area around it is reduced to one small paragraph of text per page when the site is switched to English ("CU2030," 2013).

This striking difference is similar to what can be observed in the area surveyed by this study: Utrecht is a large, old city, filled with different cultures, but all of the multilingualism is bottom-up. Nothing is done by the city itself to promote multilingualism or to simplify or explain things for tourists. The classification as 'multilingual hotspot' seems to be based solely on the fact that many of the inhabitants are multilingual (which is due, in part, to the presence of the university), and while there is indeed a lot of history and culture next to nothing is being done to appeal to non-Dutch speaking tourists.

The Dutch culture is becoming increasingly more globalized, and more and more tourists, foreign businesspeople and immigrants (Western or otherwise) are coming to the Netherlands, and therefore also to Utrecht (ABF-Research, 2013). If Utrecht is to truly become a cultural hub and multilingual hotspot, it is perhaps important to take all of the public into account instead of just the inhabitants and Dutch-speaking tourists.

There is certainly more that could be done, even when keeping in mind the Dutch tradition of monolingualism and the legal status of Dutch as the only official language in the province of Utrecht.



FIGURE 6-12 – A STREET NAME SIGN IN THE INNER CITY, EXPLAINING THE ORIGINS OF THE NAME

Something like a city-wide language policy or guidelines could be imagined, including such things as multilingual signs concerning landmarks and museums. Leaving these matters to individual museum owners, guidebook publishers, tourist organisations, historic conservation societies, church boards of directors, and so on has created and will create a much less uniform result. Creating a uniform, multilingual standard for touristic signage across the city would be useful in promoting the

city as a tourist hub and preferable to letting each establishment or organisation set its own standard. For a city so focused on tourism and international cultural events, it can be beneficial to stop depending on each separate establishment to add multilingual signage and instead set some sort of guideline for them to follow.

Considering the Netherlands' monolingual tradition and its language requirements for immigrants, multilingual signs on every store or establishment

should not be required. It is only in the field of culture and touristic attractions that they become a necessity. Having left it up to each establishment to handle individually leaves us with a situation where in the surveyed area only one attraction has a multilingual sign. The city council has placed a number of signs of its own around the area which should mean that there are many important sites that only feature monolingual signs.

6.6 - RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

One interesting fact about this study is that similar studies in other cities (Ben-Rafael et al., 2006; Edelman, 2010) have shown different results. These studies do show that the different ethnicities in the neighbourhoods (partially) determine the frequencies of the languages encountered in the linguistic landscape. It is not yet clear why this is not the case in this study. Future research could investigate why this difference has occurred. One factor could be, especially in Wittevrouten which has been a mostly Dutch only neighbourhood for over a century, that the neighbourhoods are simply 'set' the way they are, and any new population has not had the chance yet to set up shops and signage. The inner city is probably always changing. However, Kanaleneiland has been in its current state since the 1970s, which should have given the immigrant communities enough time to settle in and adapt the neighbourhood to their needs. Another study could be conducted in the same neighbourhoods, either surveying the entire neighbourhood or simply a different area to see if this was a factor. Perhaps the other-language signs are simply in other parts of the neighbourhoods, as the area surveyed in this study is not enough to be representative of the entire neighbourhoods.

Another option is that, instead of each neighbourhood having a different LL it is in fact each city that has its own profile. A study could be conducted comparing Utrecht to the other major Dutch cities (each with its own distribution of immigrant population) to see if the differences that were expected on a per-neighbourhood basis can be found on a per-city basis.

A final thing to be investigated is the attitudes of the public towards signs with languages other than Dutch or English. Perhaps the audience is simply not influenced by these signs and this is why they are so rare.

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