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1 Introduction

HUGO BAETENS BEARDSMORE & ELS WITTE

Urbanization is probably the most significant socio-demographic feature to characterize the twentieth century. In Western Europe and North America the urbanization process represents a steadily growing phenomenon over the centuries, gathering momentum after the Industrial Revolution and increasing ever more rapidly as one approaches the present day. Outside Europe urbanization has tended to be far more a twentieth century phenomenon, and in certain parts of the world has reached an alarming momentum with predictions of megalopolis dimensions for places like Mexico City or Los Angeles.

Galloping urbanization in developing countries is the result of migrations of vast numbers of agrarian peoples, usually of mixed ethnolinguistic backgrounds, to cities where the indigenous inhabitants may speak a totally different language which is usually that of the socio-economic élite. In the past the linguistic consequences of the coming together of different ethnolinguistic groups have not attracted much attention, though it is felt that at present it would be potentially dangerous to ignore this feature, for several reasons.

Right across the world one can see the development of increased ethnolinguistic awareness, be it in immigrant communities of Australia or the United States, or in ex-colonial countries such as Tunisia, Morocco or Singapore. Australia has officially opted for the status of a multicultural society whereby the former Anglo-Saxon predominance is gradually being attuned towards an awareness of the linguistic and cultural needs of its ever-diversifying and extending non-Anglo-Saxon immigrant population (Smolicz, 1979). In the United States there is growing apprehension about predictions that by the year 2000 over 50% of the population of places in California may well be Hispanic, with particular concentrations in Los

Angeles and San Diego. In Tunisia a certain amount of unease has been expressed (see Fitouri, 1983) about the post-colonial legacy of French–Arabic bilingualism as a factor of widespread education retardation and social deprivation, whereas in Morocco the similar legacy has led to the emergence of linguistically determined social class divisions between Arabic–French bilinguals on the one hand, particularly in the urban centres, and speakers of indigenous varieties of Arabic or other languages on the other (Bentahila, 1983). The Republic of Singapore, which is an island city state, and therefore a unique example of an urban nation, recognizes four official languages which coincide with the major ethnic groups in the population, five major and three minor languages, and two (Mandarin and English) which are officially promoted for unificatory purposes (Kuo, 1984). The places mentioned have been singled out as illustrations but many more could be found.

In other parts of the world linguistically mixed urban settlements have been a more permanent feature of the demographic landscape, in places like Montreal where French and English have long co-existed, Barcelona, with its Catalan and Castillian speakers, Brussels, where French and Dutch have been attested for several centuries, and Helsinki, where Swedish and Finnish have long existed side by side. These urban centres have had a chequered linguistic history with fluctuations in the significance of the different languages present over time but in recent decades their official or non-official bilingual status has been tempered by a trend which also affects other cities where bilingualism has never been a characteristic feature, namely mass immigration from ethnolingustic groups outside the national frontiers.

Hardly a capital city of the developed world has escaped the influx of migrant worker labour so that places that have traditionally been considered as linguistically homogeneous can hardly claim this status today. London, Paris, New York, Berlin, all comprise sizeable linguistic minorities often living in ghettoized circumstances which enhances the maintenance of linguistic differentiation. It is here that the link with the traditional bilingual cities mentioned above comes to the fore.

The so-called traditionally bilingual cities like Montreal, Brussels, Barcelona and Helsinki have long experience of coming to terms with bilingualism, from which the newly forming urban entities which are likely to contain mixed ethnolinguistic groups can perhaps take a lead. For one should not underestimate the complexity of mixed ethnolinguistic interaction in all walks of life, and in the fast-growing urban centres of the developing world such complexities are compounded not only by purely linguistic factors but also by sociocultural phenomena such as the clash

between rural mentalities and technically determined advanced urban lifestyles.

Attempts to study urban bi- or multi-lingualism are beset with the difficulties inherent to the dimensionality of the problems. It is highly likely that a thorough bibliographical research of studies from a wide variety of fields connected with urban phenomena would bring to light aspects of urban bilingualism in different cities that could be enlightening, though it would be a daunting task. It would probably also represent a fairly fruitless endeavour, since the results for any one city would be so fragmentary as to confuse the global picture rather than clarify it. This is because scholars working in a particular field, say health care, for example, would primarily work within the paradigms of their discipline whereby the linguistic focus of the study might not be central and whereby related work in other fields might well be ignored. Furthermore, pure chance may account for the fact that a particular domain of relevance, such as the mass media or religious practice and their relationship to language, have been investigated, so that significant lacunae might appear in the overall investigation.

It is probably the immensity of the task at hand that has accounted for the lack of investigation into urban bi- or multi-lingualism as an interdisciplinary field of study. For it is evident that no one discipline can satisfactorily cope with this problem. To our knowledge no studies of the type presented in this volume exist to date.

There are studies of rural areas or whole regions which attempt to be as complete as possible; for instance, Verdoodt's *Zweisprachige Nachbarn* (1968), covering German-speaking eastern Belgium and its frontier neighbours, or Egger's *Bilinguismo in Alto Adige* (1978), which looks into demographic, historical, media, educational and linguistic aspects of German–Italian bilingualism in an Italian province, but these are one-man endeavours of necessity limited by the inability of a single scholar to master the techniques of several disciplines. For urban bilingualism one could turn to Fishman *et al.*'s *Bilingualism in the Barrio* (1971). This study, however, concentrates primarily on a sociological approach to Spanish–English bilingualism in a small area of New York and makes no attempt to give a global picture either for a whole city or of all the potentially relevant aspects which might account for language usage among different ethnolinguistic groups. A similar type of study conducted in a limited area is that based on the ethnolinguistic approach produced by Attinasi *et al.*, *Intergenerational Perspectives on Bilingualism: From Community to Classroom* (1982), which thanks to the network interaction techniques applied does attempt to provide a wide frame of reference as back-up to the results but which, as the title implies, restricts itself to specific aspects of mixed ethnolinguistic usage.

Indeed, it is our conviction that no study of a phenomenon as variegated as urban bilingualism can be conducted satisfactorily within the confines of one discipline by a single scholar, which accounts for the multidisciplinary approach taken in the study of Brussels.

The number of questions that arise in an investigation of this dimension readily brings to the fore the inadequacy of a single disciplinary approach. One needs to know answers to the following types of question, and many more that come to mind as the investigation proceeds.

How did the bilingual city come about? How has its bilingual status evolved over time? What are the bilingual city's relationships to the rest of the country? What legal, political and economic forces reflect the bilingual status of the city in question? What are the linguistic components of the city, how reliable are statistics concerning the speakers of the languages involved and how have these been compiled? What is the demographic picture of the city, how are its residence patterns distributed, is there a formation of ethnolinguistic ghettoes? What sociological forces impede or enhance language shift among sectors of the population? What are the consequences of immigration, internal migration, endogamy, exogamy? What attitudinal patterns vis-à-vis language characterize the different populations? What is the reality of day-to-day bilingual contacts in an urban setting? What are the effects of commuters on the linguistic balance in the city? What is the effect of the "street image" on the linguistic aspect of the urban environment? What linguistic forces operate in the labour movement, trade unions, etc.? How do schools, hospitals, churches, the work-place, professional bodies, welfare, cultural associations, the police, the media, advertising operate in an environment where more than one language form part of daily life? What consequences does the bilingual status of a city have on its surrounding monolingual neighbourhood?

To these and many other questions a research team from the Interdisciplinary Centre for the Study of the Brussels Language Situation of the Vrije Universiteit Brussel has been trying to formulate replies since its foundation in 1977. In order to do so a team of specialists have been working together, coming from such fields as history, political science, human geography, sociology, communication sciences and linguistics, in an attempt to arrive at some co-ordinated thrust of investigation which would unravel the complexities of the Franco–Dutch capital of a country already notorious for its linguistic tensions. The interdisciplinary approach adopted did not imply that one single sociological or sociolinguistic model served as a basis for handling the data. Instead, by working together round a number of central themes there grew an inevitable unity in collaboration which proved to be

particularly fruitful. From a multiplicity of complementary approaches there gradually developed a set of common hypotheses.

Since its foundation in 1977 the Centre has published an annual series of volumes in Dutch, with English and French abstracts, under the title *Taal en Sociale Integratie (Language and Social Integration)*, providing a detailed analysis of sub-components of the kaleidoscopic series of questions enumerated above. To date the series consists of 8 volumes comprising more than 3,000 pages. Two further publications have appeared in French, one of which, edited by Hamers, Gendron & Vigneault (1984), *Du disciplinaire vers l'interdisciplinaire dans l'étude du contact des langues,* represents the fruit of collaboration with the International Center for Research on Bilingualism at Laval University, Quebec. The second French volume, *Le bilinguisme en Belgique: le cas de Bruxelles* (1984), published by the Editions de l'Université Libre de Bruxelles, is an attempt to present to the French-speaking public of Belgium, some of the findings that had already appeared in Dutch.

The present volume gives a synthesis of several years of research within the different disciplines represented in the Brussels Centre but goes further than merely presenting the fruits of a long-term research project. The aims can be considered as threefold.

The first intention is to present the non-Belgian with as coherent a picture as possible of the linguistic scene in the Belgian capital from the viewpoint of insiders who are not laymen but specialists. This is felt necessary because Belgium often gets cited in literature dealing with language contact and language conflict but much of the material published by non-Belgians suffers from over-simplification or from erroneous presentation of facts due to an inability to consult the relevant literature in both Dutch and French.

The second aim is to present the reader with a model of the type of research that has been conducted into a complex urban setting in the hope that it will stimulate interest in carrying out similar, much-needed, in-depth research in other centres across the world where analogous circumstances can be found. Contacts have already been established with scholars working in Montreal, Barcelona, Hong Kong and Singapore to discover means of working together on models similar to those developed in Brussels in order to reduplicate some of the findings and test the thinking behind the research into bilingualism as an urban phenomenon in Brussels. Now although each specific urban centre might well be confronted with different circumstances the type of questions to be asked should be similar and the answers already found for Brussels might well serve as a guideline for future research elsewhere. Indeed, the unique character of Brussels, particularly in its

historical and political backgrounds, could well serve to bring out the particular conditions present in other urban settings that might account for similar tendencies and developments. The change-over in linguistic predominance from Dutch to French for the majority of inhabitants of Brussels is probably a unique phenomenon in Europe but the question arises whether this is also the case outside Europe. It may well be unusual for a bilingual city like Brussels to be geographically located in an island position which makes the dominant language, French, different from that of its immediate hinterland, where Dutch predominates. The fact that the territory of the capital is situated entirely within the Dutch-language part of Belgium is a factor which evidently contains within it matter for conflict. The fact that the language dominant in the city is the statistically non-dominant language of the country as a whole and that the city in question also forms the country's capital may also be unique. French-speakers, in a minority position on the national level, request and obtain parity in central government. In exchange the Dutch-speaking national majority, in a minority position within Brussels, insists on political equality within the city by pointing out its functions as capital to both language communities. With the spread of urbanization in developing countries it is possible that similar conditions are arising elsewhere. Hence the uniqueness of the particular case study may in no way detract from its service as a model.

The third aim has been to go beyond the merely descriptive and illustrative stages and build up hypotheses that represent seed-beds for testing. Many of the chapters of this book should bring this clearly to the fore. What is striking in the interdisciplinary approach undertaken is the interlocking of hypotheses which might escape the inattentive reader. It is the strength of the historical dimension that represents the overarching framework for the whole collection and at no point do the historical contributions rest merely on the presentation of facts. On the contrary, the refinement of analysis is linked to explanatory models which, while showing how language dominance has shifted from Dutch to French, also reveal general trends and patterns that are likely to be reduplicated in similar contact situations elsewhere, both present and past.

A further interdisciplinary link comes from the historical domain in the attempts to test some of the class-related hypotheses that have long been prevalent among sociolinguists to explain language shift, particularly the relationship between upward social mobility and language change. What is striking here is that from a totally different discipline conclusions similar to those of linguists working on contemporary society have been reached, thereby providing a diachronic element which confirms current synchronic approaches. Labov (1970, 1972) and Trudgill (1974) have both shown that

the lower middle-classes are the groups most sensitive to prestige factors in monolingual language settings which account for language change. Trudgill has also shown how impermeable the lower-classes in Britain, particularly males, can be to the prestige code and its characteristics. The historians from the Brussels team have shown how the "labour aristocracy", latching onto the linguistic values adhered to by the middle-classes, were the prime operators of mass language shift in Brussels. Not content with this simplistic finding the historians and political scientists have then extended the quest for explanatory factors by looking into the ideological and sociopolitical forces which enhance or impede a trend towards language shift. The sociological contribution extends the discussion even further to reveal how a variety of interpersonal and structural relationships may converge to work either in favour of or against language shift, while the human geographers, looking particularly into migration and settlement patterns, have tested hypotheses about ghettoization and its relationship to language maintenance.

The political section brings to the fore those conscious forces which contribute to language awareness, language identity and language maintenance or shift through the link between ideology and ethnolinguistic feelings. A number of well-known hypotheses dealing with political decision-making are central to Chapters 2 and 3. All the politico–linguistic measures affecting Brussels can be seen as closely linked with the socio-economic and sociopolitical relationships governing the two major linguistic communities in the country. Against a background of these primary power relationships language was and is clearly perceived as a power factor. As long as French-speakers dominated Belgium and its capital they made use of linguistic politics to strengthen their established position. When Dutch-speaking Flanders began to exert strong pressure at the national level French-speakers, in exchange for concessions in Flemish Belgium, increased their Frenchification pressures on the capital. With the gradual acquisition of a stronger socio-economic position in the north, the Flemings, for their part, increasingly affirmed their wishes with respect to the capital and strengthened their politico–linguistic ties with Brussels.

Reference is also made to the relatively limited impact of politico–linguistic measures on the process of language shift. Although both major linguistic communities have built up a strong tradition of attempts to control and manipulate the language situation by means of political measures, nevertheless it becomes apparent that linguistic legislation by itself brings about few fundamental changes in language behaviour unless the legislation keeps in tune with changes of a social-psychological nature. In Brussels, as elsewhere, it is clear that the social-psychological pressure exerted by a high language variety, French, can be so strong as to give a weak social reference

value to the other variety in presence, Dutch. It is true that language changes in political structures implemented by legislation can to some extent affect the language behaviour of individuals but what is striking in the case of Brussels is that the strategies employed by French-speakers which capitalize on spontaneous processes of language shift in favour of the high status variety are more successful than the Dutch-speakers' strategies which attempt to achieve linguistic equality by means of political equality.

A third hypothesis dealt with is the role of the political élite. It can be observed how this group tends to perceive social reality in such a way that it coincides with the quest for power, and this is true on a politico–linguistic level as it is for any other, leading to the development of particular strategies. In Brussels, both past and present, political dynamism emanates primarily from the élite in the service sector. This can be clearly gauged from the high political awareness prevalent in those belonging to this social group, together with the attention paid by policy makers to linguistically determined career opportunities. It is only from this political constellation that one can account for the fact that individual bilingualism has not become a model goal in Brussels. The comfortable language position enjoyed by French-speakers brought in its wake the priority creation of *bilingual structures* based on *individual unilingualism*. These same political élites made their influence concrete with the introduction of a federalistic model in Brussels leading to the official recognition of two official political language communities with their own structures and organizations; this has tended to reinforce individual unilingualism even though trends are developing within the population of Brussels to move towards individual bilingualism.

The linguists from the Brussels centre have concentrated specifically on shattering the simplistic view of the Belgian capital as made up simply of Dutch- and French-speakers and bilinguals and have shown how very complex the subtly differentiated language usage of the indigenous population can be. This has been done by borrowing a hypothesis originally developed by T'Sou (1980) for dealing with multilingualism in South-East Asia and adapting it to analyse the data from Brussels. T'Sou took over Fishman's (1967) well-known framework of the relationship between bilingualism and diglossia and gave it a dynamic perspective which takes account of sociolinguistic realignment in bilingual societies undergoing language change.

> "The dynamic perspective is significant in part because sociolinguistic realignment has gone hand in hand with political changes and transformations. Very often the realignments are the results of language planning or language policies which contributed to or are the consequences of the political changes." (T'Sou, 1980: 264.)

His model modifies the traditional high–low dichotomy of diglossia with bilingualism by adding the notion of a supreme or super-superposed variety which has a status higher than that of the regional high language and which may not be indigenous to the area under investigation. This is the situation in Brussels, as Chapter 7 illustrates, where the linguistic jig-saw (ignoring immigrant languages) is made up of three central strands which determine the relationship between bilingualism and diglossia. The French–Dutch bilingual strand represents one element, the high–low dichotomy between these two represents the second element, while the third fits into the first two in the form of a further high–low dichotomy within the umbrella reference terms of French and Dutch. Since the Dutch community is characterized by vigorous and highly differentiated dialect varieties for which the French community's counterpart is represented by a set of equally differentiated Walloon dialect varieties, the high–low differentiation within the respective umbrella languages has to be grafted onto the bilingual component of the Brussels linguistic scene. Hence, in their presentation of the linguistic codes available to Belgians in their capital the linguists have distinguished between a supreme variety (S), a high variety (H) and a low variety (L) which intertwine with the primary bilingual element in the city.

A significant dimension that has been dealt with in the present analysis is the complex relationship between minority and majority status for a given linguistic community, since in the Belgian context it could be said that everyone belongs to a minority to one extent or another. On the one hand the Flemish community in Brussels is a minority, on the other hand in the wider Belgian context Brussels Flemings form part of the statistical majority within the nation state. Consequently, although French-speakers form the majority in the capital they represent a minority within Belgium as a whole. With respect to the standard languages for either community both Flemings and French-speakers might be burdened with minority complexes, given that the centres of gravity for norm-related language status (the supreme or S language variety) are to be found outside Belgium, in the Netherlands for the Dutch-speaking community, in France for the French-speaking community. Willemyns (1984) refers to this dimension in relation to language standardization, drawing significant comparisons between the position of Dutch in Flanders and French in Quebec and in this volume Chapter 7 shows how this aspect has been worked into the supreme language hypothesis which refers to the extra-territorial norm which may or may not be aspired to at the summit of the upward social mobility drive.

The question of minority status is also linked with issues of *ethnolinguistic vitality* and *ethnolinguistic identity*. Saint-Blancat (1984) has used these concepts in her study of a rural community that shows many points of

convergence, namely the French-speaking Valdotan minority in northern Italy.

Although the Brussels centre has not been working on the same model as Saint-Blancat it is surprising where the points of convergence lie. Saint-Blancat took her concept of linguistic vitality from Giles, Bourhis & Taylor (1977) who consider that there are three main factors which determine this vitality: status variables (e.g. economic, political and linguistic prestige), demographic factors (e.g. absolute numbers, birth rate, geographical concentration, mixed marriages, immigration, emigration), and institutional support factors (e.g. representation in the mass media, education, government, industry, religion and culture). These three sets of factors have been gone into in considerable detail in this volume.

The importance given to the historical dimension in the analysis of Brussels shows how ethnolinguistic vitality fluctuates over time, revealing how the period of decline for the Flemish community has been followed by a resurgence of vitality in the wake of increased democratisation. The political changes which arrested this decline have led to increased ethnolinguistic identity (Giles & Johnson, 1981), revealing the strategies taken by the minority to achieve positive distinctiveness.

Although the present volume presents information on the two major linguistic communities in presence in Brussels, the French- and the Dutch-speaking communities, nevertheless it should become apparent to the reader that a bias has been built in towards those aspects of primary concern to the Dutch-speaking community. The reasons for this are twofold. On the one hand, the Vrije Universiteit Brussel, which houses the Interdisciplinary Research Centre into the Brussels Language Situation, is a Flemish university serving its own community. The second is that it was felt more useful to concentrate on the minority group in the Belgian capital, i.e. the Dutch-speakers, rather than the majority community, since it is more difficult, though perhaps more revealing, to examine a minority in a situation of languages in contact, given that the majority, being as large as it is, may tend to smother the presence of the minority to the outside observer.

The present volume represents no more than a synthesis of very detailed studies published primarily in Dutch and consequently not every aspect of the relevant findings has been covered. The most important research results so far produced have been condensed as faithfully as possible, but it should be obvious that this does not present the complete picture. The requisites of the interdisciplinary approach also led to considerable attention being paid to other aspects of the linguistic scene not incorporated in this volume. For example, the methodological contributions to the Dutch series have not

been included, particularly those reflecting the fruitful discussions between historians, linguists and sociologists which led to the data being submitted to the rules of historical criticism and resulted in fundamental contributions towards the reconstruction of the language shift process.

All members of the team were inspired by the premise that a large number of diverse external structures influence language behaviour and several chapters of the present collection reflect this, particularly the results concerning the role played by the family, the work-place, the school, health-care services, certain political institutions and the administration. However, there are a large number of other organizations which have been subjected to systematic observation but which have been only incidentally touched upon here. The different political parties and pressure groups are significant examples in this respect. The same is true for cultural (e.g. theatrical) and religious organizations. The manner in which the Roman Catholic church reacted to language policy and some of the recent changes in language behaviour have clearly been brought to the surface. As was the case with other institutions the Church's linguistic strategy was first and foremost directed towards the maintenance of its own position. Another area covered has been the mass media. Using extremely detailed content analysis techniques carried out by means of systematic random samples, the close relationship between the contents of the dailies and weekly periodicals and gradual politico–linguistic evolution was revealed. The press to a large extent serves the interests of the political élite and fulfils an undeniable role in the determination of any political agenda referring to Brussels. Research into the role of the television medium also revealed that it stimulated bilingualism amongst the group with the lowest social status.

How the private sector reacts, which in contrast to the public sector is not directly influenced by linguistic legislation, has been the subject of other studies not covered in the present collection. Both studies on the advertising media and those concerned with the labour market have shown that both sectors are in evolution and to a certain extent reflect the changing linguistic situation.

There is one further field that the Brussels team has been obliged to consider, namely that of interaction with the non-Belgian ethnolinguistic groups present in the city. The presence of numerically significant language communities originating from outside Belgium is not an entirely new phenomenon in Brussels. Nineteenth century liberal Brussels represented a pole of attraction which led to the establishment of significant immigrant colonies from neighbouring countries. The second quarter of the present century saw the settlement of mainly Spanish and Italian migrant labour. As

an important European centre Brussels subsequently attracted civil servants and managers from European Community countries, while the late 1960s saw the beginning of massive immigration from Morocco and Turkey. The task facing the Centre in the immediate future is to study how these foreign ethnolinguistic groups adapt to and influence indigenous bilingual patterns in the Belgian capital.

A note on terminology

Certain difficulties have been encountered in rendering culturally-bound concepts familiar to all Belgians in a clear and consistent manner to the English reader. This is primarily because the connotations attached to certain terms are not immediately transparent in English. The reader is asked to bear in mind the use of the following terms.

Flemish refers either to the people who live in the northern, Dutch-speaking part of Belgium, or to their culture and folklore, or to the dialects of Dutch spoken in the regions inhabited by Flemings. It does not refer to the language of the Flemish unless specifically a dialect variety, since the standard language is Dutch.

Brussels may refer to three different entities and is used as an abbreviation for any of the three unless clearly specified otherwise. It may refer to the totality of the 19 boroughs or municipalities that form the urban agglomeration of the capital; it may also refer to the central borough from which the wider agglomeration gets its name, alternatively designated as the borough of Brussels — in this way it is similar to London which can designate the City proper or the wider capital; finally it can refer to the electoral district of Brussels which comprises the 19 boroughs of the capital and part of the adjoining Flemish hinterland.

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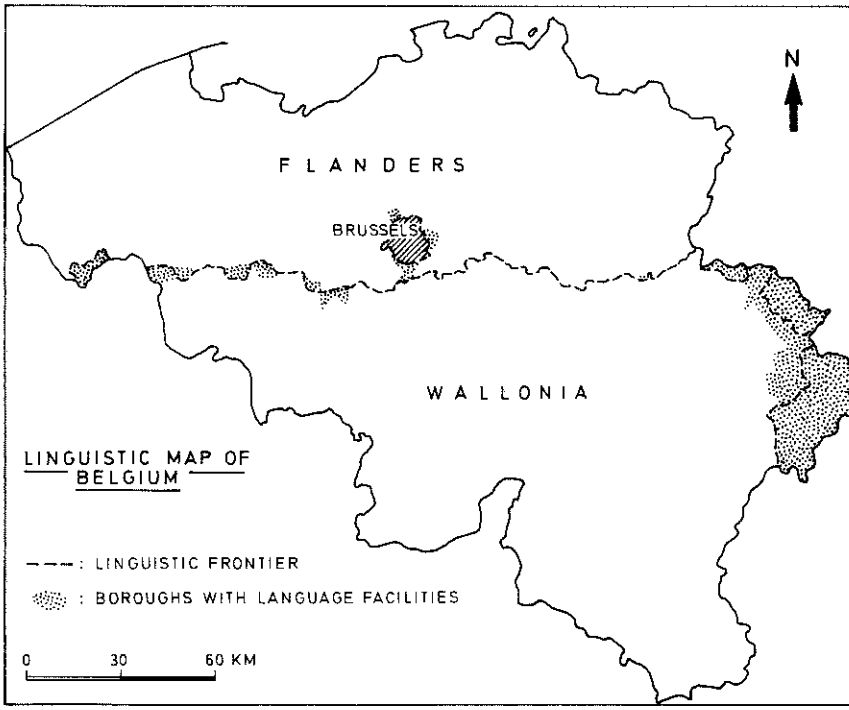
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2 Historical Aspects
The process of language shift in Brussels: Historical background and mechanisms

HARRY VAN VELTHOVEN

Introduction

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the Burgundian dukes united a large number of fairly autonomous principalities, located between France and Germany, into a personal union. Shortly afterwards this region was included in the Habsburg Empire within which it received a separate status. However, the revolt of the Netherlands against Spain led to a schism in the sixteenth century. The Northern part became independent and developed into the present Kingdom of the Netherlands. The Southern part, on the other hand, remained under the rule of the Spanish Habsburgs. Subsequently, the region was governed by the Austrian Habsburgs (1715–1794) absorbed by France (1795–1814), and reunited with the Kingdom of the Netherlands (1814–1830). Finally, this Southern part became the independent Kingdom of Belgium after a revolution in 1830.

At this time the newly independent country numbered around 4 million inhabitants and included four Flemish provinces, four Walloon provinces and the province of Brabant which was subdivided into three different districts: the French-speaking district of Nivelles, the Dutch-speaking district of Louvain and the predominantly Dutch-speaking district of Brussels. Brussels, the country's capital city and part of the wider electoral

district of Brussels, was located in the centre of the country, near the linguistic border which divided the country horizontally from east to west. Brussels was a Flemish region. A large bilingual area was to develop in the city, together with a transition to Francophone predominance.

The present chapter will seek to explain this radical process of language shift, the phenomena of language contact and tension, and the development of a triglossic situation. The broader Belgian context will be our point of departure.

The Belgian context

The mid-nineteenth century linguistic censuses confirmed the ethnic heterogeneity of Belgium, with 50% monolingual Dutch-speakers, 42.4% monolingual French-speakers, 0.7% monolingual German-speakers and 6.9% multilingual speakers. However, the newly established state declared itself officially monolingually French, since the constitutional principle which stated that "the use of languages is free" was interpreted in this sense. The origin of this decision lay in the fact that public life in Belgium had become drastically Frenchified, with Dutch excluded from official use during the 20 year period of French rule. In this way, a generation of young intellectuals belonging to the élite had been immersed in an entirely French cultural environment, among other things through their formal education. In conjuction with the already existing prestige of French as a dominant, international language of culture, French rule brought about an important phase in the process of Frenchification of the nobility and of the upper middle classes, especially in Flanders. When William I of the Netherlands, during his rule over the area (1814–1830), attempted to follow a similar language policy with respect to Flanders by promoting Dutch as the state's language his attempts soon foundered upon this sociological phenomenon.

Owing to the property voting right representing around 46,000 voters, it was precisely this social élite who monopolized political power in 1830. There was no linguistic problem in the Belgian parliament since parliament was not primarily interested in the social or linguistic condition of the masses. Consequently, French became the only official language in the administration, courts of justice, the army, secondary and higher education, etc., and there appeared symptoms characteristic of linguistic oppression. For instance, civil servants and magistrates were not required to know Dutch even in Flanders, whereas anybody who wanted to hold a job, even of the humblest sort, was expected to have some knowledge of French. It was

all the easier to impose French since, owing to historical and economic developments in earlier centuries, there were only regional Flemish dialects in Flanders and the shift towards Dutch, the cognate language of culture, had not yet been taken. The élite justified its behaviour by considering French as the only available language of culture and by recognizing two dialect groups, Flemish and Walloon. In this way French became a symbol of unity for the new state, and was depicted as a patriotic necessity.

This French supremacy was reinforced by the lopsided development of the Belgian economy. Large-scale capital investment in heavy industry took place in Wallonia while Flanders sank into poverty in its agrarian and domestic industrial structure. The lowpoint of "poor Flanders" was reached around 1850. This made it even easier to identify Dutch with poverty and backwardness. This economic inferiority, coupled with the lack of compulsory education until 1914, also led to the failure of French to penetrate deeply into Flanders; its use was confined to urban areas. In the countryside, Dutch was used by the clergy as a traditionalistic weapon against modernization. The different degrees of industrialization were, moreover, mirrored in a growing asymmetry in power relations between Flanders and Wallonia: on the one side, a predominantly anti-clerical and liberal, subsequently socialist, Wallonia, with on the other a strongly Catholic Flanders. Whereas Wallonia had few problems in adopting French as its standard language, this was not the case for Flanders. Instead, a Flemish movement began to oppose linguistic oppression, championing "the Flemish cause". The Flemish committed to this cause are often called "Flamingants", their movement "Flamingantism". It was a movement *sui generis*, for it defended the interests of the majority of the population. It initiated a process leading from a linguistic category to a linguistic group, then to a linguistic community, and finally to linguistic identification. One of the first steps was to provide a standardized norm for spelling and to arrive at a general Dutch language of culture. This Flamingantism was rooted in the lower middle-classes and exhibited features proper to that group. For a long time it did not recognize the importance of the "social problem" and consequently received little support from the lower strata of the population. Faithful to the Belgian state, it expressed the hope that every Belgian would become bilingual. Divided by clerical and anti-clerical opinions, the Flamingants split and joined Catholic and liberal political parties, respectively. Nevertheless, they managed to pass the first language laws in justice (1873, 1889, 1891), the administration (1878), and secondary education in state-supported schools (1883; this law states that for Dutch-speakers in Flanders, Dutch would be taught as a subject and serve as the medium of instruction for two other subjects; that meant around eight hours a week in Dutch). These laws

guaranteed a number of elementary rights and represented a transition towards a bilingual status for Flanders, at least for those services which were in direct contact with the population. Nonetheless, French remained the superior, national language and Wallonia remained monolingually French.

Social developments eventually rendered this linguistic situation untenable. Such developments were essentially spurred by socialism (with the foundation of the socialist party in 1885) and were mainly supported by the Walloon industrial proletariat. In 1893 they obtained the universal plural voting right for men over 25, still with supplementary property and capability votes to a maximum of three. The number of voters increased tenfold. Though the movement towards democratization was still considerably curtailed, the Francophone property élite in Flanders was thenceforth exposed to electoral pressure from the masses ignorant of French, and from Flamingantism which capitalized upon this fact.

Towards World War I the Flemish movement renewed its organization and broadened its ideological perspective (i.e. a link was made between linguistic discrimination and material disadvantage) and the Flemish movement grew considerably. This occurred against the background of a fledgling Flemish economy and the growth of a language-specific service-sector in Belgium. The latter yielded new pressure groups, such as the "Association of Flemish Civil Servants" and the "Association of Flemish Employers" which competed with Francophone "high finance" and relied for the most part on small and medium-sized companies. Flamingantism began more and more to confront the Belgian power élite with the choice of either generalized bilingualism (based on the principle of the individual) or monolingualism for the separate regions of Flanders and Wallonia (based on the principle of territoriality); the latter implied the abolition of French as an official language in Flanders. The primary goal of the Flamingants was the Dutchification of the state university at Ghent and the concomitant abolition of French there as a medium of instruction. This would create a Flemish intellectual élite and the Francophone élite would lose its major basis for assimilation and recruitment in Flanders.

Both options met with violent opposition on the part of Francophones. In a Walloon counter movement these people recruited those who favoured the permanent hegemony of the French language. Their main strategy was monolingualism for Wallonia, and bilingualism for Flanders, where the position of French was to be upheld. However, this counter movement had to deal with disagreements between its Flemish and Brusssels component, on the one hand, and its Walloon component, on the other hand. It was the Walloon socialist movement, and not the Flemish movement, which was the first to come up with the "principle of governmental division". It saw

governmental division as a realistic alternative if the Flamingants did not cease making Flemish demands. Their proposal was related to the asymmetrical power relations and the resulting political situation on a national level described above. These factors constantly caused the anti-clerical, progressive majority in Wallonia, led by Walloon socialism, to be overpowered by the clerical, conservative majority in Flanders. The latter was able to form homogeneously Catholic governments throughout the period from 1884 to 1914. The Walloon majority felt left out and experienced Flemish linguistic demands as another form of discrimination at the national level. Hence, they assumed an ambivalent attitude of either fighting within Belgium to safeguard the Francophone language power-basis in Flanders and Brussels, or opting for Walloon autonomy and fighting against Belgian centralization. Under no condition did they want to hear of bilingualism throughout Belgium. In their opinion, this would only strengthen Flemish supremacy since Walloons were generally "unable" or "unwilling" to learn Dutch.

Because of this counter pressure, the Flamingants were dissatisfied with the language laws of 1910 (concerning Catholic secondary education), 1913 (the army) and 1914 (primary education). One faction, for whom the language problem had priority, began to doubt whether the package of Flemish demands could be realized, and inclined toward the principle of governmental division. Developments abroad were to speed up this process. France had buttressed Francophone hegemony in Belgium via cultural support since Belgium's independence. Germany's influence had been negligible in comparison to France's. However, when the Germans occupied part of Belgium during World War I they tried to make the problem of nationalities serve their interests, as they did elsewhere. Their "Flamenpolitik" was designed to exploit Flemish frustrations. A minority of Flamingants were ready to establish an independent state structure by collaborating with Germany. These "activists" were members of the "Council of Flanders" (1917), which was under German custody and could not count on much support from Flanders. In 1917 this council proclaimed governmental division; at the outset of 1918 it declared Flanders autonomous. Similar radical views began to be expressed at the Ijzer Front, a small coastal area near the Belgian border where the Belgian army had resisted the Germans. A Front movement arose as a reaction against daily linguistic humiliation within the ranks and advocated federalism.

The end of World War I influenced Belgian politics drastically. The power élite was hastily compelled to introduce universal male suffrage. This made the socialist party almost as strong as the Catholic party during the interwar period. The unequal distribution of political parties between the

regions was accentuated even more. The Catholic party retained its majority in Flanders (in 1919: 47.77% Catholics; 25.58% socialists; 14.26% liberals; 7.88% Front party), while the socialist party obtained the majority in Wallonia (51% socialists; 27.88% Catholics; 18.85% liberals). Thereafter, national coalition governments became necessary. Though the socialist party was excluded as much as possible and was only tolerated in tripartite coalitions, the principle of obtaining a parliamentary majority was essential to them. The prospect of governmental power and important social concessions eclipsed the idea of federalism for Walloon socialists. Federalism had to yield to the idea of state nationalism, which had emerged strongly since the war. The Walloon movement lost its impetus and stagnated while this was not so for the Flemish movement, which became more influential thanks to the continuing process of democratization and the economic development of Flanders. Two trends appeared: firstly, Flemish nationalism which had grown out of the war, organized itself on a political level through the Front party and advocated federalism. Secondly, Flamingants belonging to the traditional parties (mainly the Catholic party) wanted to realize a minimum programme within the unitary state: the complete Dutchification of Flanders and bilingualism in the central administration.

The hope on the part of Belgian, patriotic anti-Flamingants to put an end to the entire Flemish movement by severely prosecuting its activists was therefore in vain. In order to safeguard monolingualism in Wallonia the Walloon politicians were forced willy-nilly to abandon the élite Francophone minority in Flanders. Consequently, the Flemish minimum programme stipulating monolingualism in Flanders could be realized in the 1930s: the Dutchification of the state university in Ghent (1930), the administration and education (1932), justice (1935), the army (1938). These language laws provided the basis for a first generation to grow up entirely in Dutch, albeit with French in a place of honour. This new generation could be made familiar with standard Dutch as the general language for the whole Flemish community. The evolution would be most visible after World War II.

This did not at all mean that linguistic confrontation was over. Compelling sanctions were missing from the laws and the lack was felt most in the remaining sites of tension, along the language border, in the central administration and in metropolitan Brussels. Moreover, the mentality of oppressed minority vis-à-vis Francophone Belgium had not yet disappeared in Flanders. Francophone economic power was still strong in the private sector and French still served a social-symbolic function. The last years before World War II were eventful.

During the German occupation in World War II, a considerable part of the organized Flemish nationalist movement again collaborated with the Germans. In the 1930s, the Flemish nationalist movement had lost its democratic character and had opted for the right-wing authoritarianism of the New Order. As during World War I, an autonomous Flanders was hoped for. But now collaboration implied an ideological agreement with National Socialism, or at least leniency and co-operation with a Europe dominated by Nazi-Germany. Once again, the German occupier tried to manipulate the language cause to his advantage by substituting German for French influence. Provisionally, the Flamingants were seen as allies. Governmental division was no longer spoken about. It was sufficient to implement the Belgian language laws actively, in order to purge abuses in the disputed areas to the advantage of Dutch.

Brussels

The region of central Brussels underwent a very specific development as a consequence of the confrontation described above: it became more Francophone as Flanders became more Flemish. It could neither function as the bilingual capital of a bilingual country, nor as a symbol of unity between Flanders and Wallonia. Instead, it was to become a continuous source of irritation for the Flemish community. Before expanding on this point we will first gauge the size and characteristics of the process of language-shift.

In the middle of the eighteenth century central Brussels was still practically homogeneously Dutch-speaking. As was the case for almost all Flemish cities, it also had a small top stratum of French-speaking nobility and patricians. The first linguistic census after independence, held in 1846, already suggested a sharply different picture. Whereas the process of Frenchification had remained a marginal phenomenon in Antwerp (1.9%) and in Ghent (5%), more than one third of the capital's inhabitants were counted as French-speakers (38.4%) This result was based on answers given to a very general question in the census about the language most frequently used. In the subsequent decennial censuses this question was refined and yielded a more accurate picture. These later censuses also allowed for subtler language divisions, as since 1866 there have also been questions about multilingualism, and since 1910 about the language most often used by multilinguals (Table 1).

These statistical data must, however, be interpreted very cautiously. First, the target groups differed: children under the age of two were sometimes counted, sometimes not. Second, the area surveyed changed, since

TABLE 1 *Central Brussels: Results of the Linguistic Censuses Conducted between 1880 and 1947 (From Lindemans, 1963: 17)*

		Monolingual speakers speak exclusively			*Multilingual speakers*							
						speak				*speak mostly*		
Year	*Total No. of inhabitants*	*Dutch*	*French*	*German*	*Trilingual*	*Dutch and French*	*Dutch and German*	*French and German*	*Other*	*Dutch*	*French*	*German*
1880	162,498	59,212 36.4%	40,741 25.0%	1,700	1,815	48,752 30.0%	190	1,930	8,158	—	—	—
1890	176,138	40,502 22.9%	35,505 20.1%	910	5,226	90,420 51.3%	292	3,010	273	—	—	—
1900	183,686	36,309 19.8%	42,321 23.0%	137	4,961	87,897 47.8%	227	3,738	7,096	—	—	—
1910	177,078	29,081 16.4%	47,385 26.7%	247	4,537	85,414 48.2%	230	4,285	4,899	50,147 28.3%	42,132 23.8%	2,187
1920	154,801	12,744 8.2%	50,790 32.8%	43	2,552	83,267 53.7%	32	915	4,458	36,391 23.5%	50,308 32.5%	67
1930	200,433	25,858 12.9%	67,408 33.6%	517	3,303	95,991 47.8%	210	2,052	5,094	43,666 21.7%	57,361 28.6%	519
1947	184,838	17,788 9.6%	65,219 35.3%	358	9,790	83,260 45.0%	445	3,289	4,689	27,140 14.6%	67,767 36.6%	301

three Flemish municipalities were annexed to Brussels in 1921. Third, the Flamingants disputed the results of a number of censuses on the basis of their content and because of the way the surveys were conducted. They suspected deliberate manipulation in the refusal to probe into language use at home and in the fact that a very limited knowledge of French was sufficient for anyone to be classified as bilingual. The question about which language was most often used could indeed bear upon situations either in the family or in the working environment, which would make a significant difference. The Flamingants also complained of tendentious instructions and pressure exercised by census gatherers. From 1900 onwards the answers of people who had a profession presupposing a certain knowledge (commercial travellers, shop assistants . . .) and of those who had been to school in Brussels had to be corrected where they claimed no knowledge of French. The authorities had taken this measure to avoid "false" testimonies from Flamingants. Further, the surveys of 1920 and 1947 were conducted in a distinctly hostile climate toward Dutch, particularly hostility due to Flemish nationalist collaboration with the Germans during the war. War-time collaboration had become a hot issue, particularly in Brussels. Finally, there were the political consequences, and the resultant tensions have to be explained from this point of view.

Although the censuses display strong tendencies rather than exact proportions, the trend is nevertheless quite clear. Since 1880 bilingualism had increased enormously (from 30% to 50%) and would remain around that percentage despite the population growth. At the same time, the number of Dutch-speaking monolinguals decreased spectacularly (from 39.1% in 1866 to 9.6% in 1947), to a level well below the growing percentage of French monolinguals (from 20% to 35.3%). Equally striking is the substantial shift in the bilingual group from Dutch to French predominance. The percentage of speakers who used exclusively or mostly Dutch dropped from 60.2% in 1846, to 44.7% in 1910, and to 24.2% in 1947. Similarly, the percentage of exclusive, or predominant, French-speakers first rose from 38.4% to 50.5% and then to 71.9%. The result was a complete reversal of the linguistic situation. This process did not so much result from Walloon or Francophone immigration to Brussels but rather from the large-scale process of Frenchification of Dutch-speakers, both natives of Brussels and immigrants from Flanders. This happened over a time period of three or four generations by a process of subtractive bilingualism. While in 1947 24.2% of the people were registered as (exclusively or primarily) Dutch-speakers, half of the French-speakers still had a knowledge of Dutch (either standard Dutch or a Flemish dialect). The ethnic Francophones, on the other hand, mostly remained monolingual French-speakers.

A similar process of Frenchification took place in the geographically much larger area of metropolitan Brussels. Until 1795 Brussels included central Brussels and eight surrounding rural municipalities. During the period of rule by France these borders were abrogated and limited Brussels to central Brussels. Since then Brussels has tried to regain the territory of 1795 and even to expand it. Reasons for the annexation of bordering municipalities were the need for residential space, the socio-economic expansion of the city and the fact that the peripheral municipalities needed the centre: forming a unit with it, they benefited from the services it offered (e.g. education, medical care), without contributing to the city's revenues. Despite several attempts, Brussels had to make do with the annexation of several neighbourhoods (1853, 1864 . . .), and of the three Flemish municipalities mentioned earlier (1921). Co-ordinating institutions and deliberative bodies were also founded (e.g. 1874: the Conference of the Mayors of the different boroughs of Brussels). Metropolitan Brussels expanded administratively and included nine municipalities in 1878, 16 in 1932 and 19 in 1954; however, these municipalities kept their autonomy. The growth of metropolitan Brussels had a far-reaching impact on the linguistic status of the municipalities concerned and on their official languages.

This development coincided with the urbanization of the surrounding rural area. Socio-economic and demographic processes caused tremendous waves of migration, as elsewhere in Europe. This suburbanization (i.e. the evolution from nuclear villages to suburbs) occurred in concentric circles around central Brussels until the geographical and administrative integration of the present-day 19 municipalities was attained. In 1830, metropolitan Brussels had 140,322 inhabitants. This figure rose to 626,075 in 1900, to 915,752 in 1930, reaching its peak in 1967 with 1,079,181 inhabitants. In short, about 10% of the Belgian population has been living in metropolitan Brussels since the beginning of this century.

Along with these spectacular migrations and transmigrations, similar and even more massive processes of Frenchification were taking place in metropolitan Brussels. The pattern of this process of Frenchification was not everywhere the same; it depended upon the location of the municipalities and was shaped by the significant distinction between industrial and residential municipalities. This is especially clear from Table 2. Between 1866 and 1947, the percentage of Dutch monolingualism decreased from 46.2% to 9%, while the percentage of French monolingualism increased from 19.3% to 37%. In 1846, none of these municipalities had yet reached 50% exclusively or predominantly French-speakers, although Elsene/Ixelles and Sint-Joost-ten-Node/Saint-Josse-ten-Node (the municipalities in the lead) ran close to that figure. In 1947, all of them had reached 50%, no

TABLE 2 *The 19 Municipalities of Metropolitan Brussels: % of People who Exclusively Speak Dutch (D) or French (F).*

Figures Based on the Linguistic Censuses Conducted between 1846 and 1947 (Logie, 1981: 91)

	1846[1]		1866		1880		1890		1900		1910		1920		1930		1947	
	D	*F*	*D*	*F*	*D*	*F*	*D*	*F*	*D*	*F*	*D*	*F*	*D*	*F*	*D*	*F*	*D*	*F*
Anderlecht	89.9	9.6	71.5	9.9	59.4	13.3	46.5	11.7	37.2	14.4	37.8	17.4	30.1	15.6	26.2	19.2	16.7	21.6
Oudergem	—	—	87.5	3.0	76.9	2.8	69.7	5.3	62.5	8.5	49.9	14.9	20.1	18.5	18.0	32.3	9.0	36.6
St. Agatha Berchem	97.8	2.2	90.3	—	88.0	1.1	81.4	2.2	78.8	2.5	72.0	4.2	49.5	8.3	33.0	22.0	19.3	22.6
Brussel	60.3	38.4	39.1	20.0	36.4	25.1	23.0	20.0	19.8	23.0	16.4	26.7	8.2	32.8	12.9	33.6	9.6	35.3
Etterbeek	96.1	2.9	76.5	11.2	29.8	22.3	27.3	25.9	23.6	26.2	19.8	33.4	11.5	42.0	8.0	50.0	4.5	47.3
Evere	99.5	0.1	90.2	0.5	76.1	1.5	78.8	2.4	67.5	6.2	59.0	7.4	50.4	9.6	37.5	14.5	21.8	20.3
Vorst	92.1	7.3	81.6	5.9	63.9	9.3	46.0	13.8	36.7	18.6	21.6	32.5	13.1	39.0	9.3	43.9	5.6	43.7
Ganshoren	100.0	—	95.6	0.2	84.4	1.6	92.8	1.9	82.5	3.1	69.0	9.8	50.6	15.9	47.1	19.0	20.1	25.3
Elsene	52.6	44.9	27.4	48.9	20.9	48.1	10.4	49.8	6.7	47.5	9.2	54.0	4.3	58.3	4.2	63.1	2.8	57.9
Jette	87.3	12.7	81.3	5.8	77.5	6.7	64.4	7.5	49.4	8.8	52.4	12.2	43.6	13.1	27.8	19.7	15.5	23.6
Koekelberg	97.0	1.5	83.8	1.6	70.4	1.0	74.4	4.8	46.4	9.9	44.7	13.9	35.8	15.6	23.3	19.3	13.9	21.4
St. Jans-Molenbeek	83.9	15.4	61.3	11.2	60.5	11.1	60.5	11.0	39.4	11.2	34.2	15.8	26.7	15.5	26.9	18.8	16.6	19.1
Sint-Gillis	81.5	16.1	40.3	18.7	31.9	35.4	16.0	33.8	11.9	34.0	9.0	38.6	8.2	45.4	5.6	49.9	3.4	48.4
St. Joost-ten-Node	48.8	49.3	31.4	28.9	26.1	27.5	13.5	24.8	9.8	27.8	10.5	33.0	10.7	38.9	6.1	40.0	5.9	36.4
Schaarbeek	70.5	27.4	37.4	20.0	35.2	23.3	19.6	19.0	17.9	20.2	16.5	25.4	10.0	31.8	9.8	40.3	6.7	36.4
Ukkel	94.8	4.5	87.7	4.7	75.7	5.6	55.7	6.9	44.0	13.0	33.6	21.5	20.1	29.0	12.7	38.6	6.6	41.4
Waterm.-Bosvoorde	98.1	1.1	97.1	1.3	91.0	0.4	94.4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Waterm.-Bosvoorde	98.1	1.6	93.9	2.1	66.6	10.6	40.3	10.2	39.3	16.6	31.0	23.2	18.7	29.2	12.7	40.1	6.7	42.4
St. Lambr. Woluwe	1.2	0.4	94.6	0.8	84.4	0.7	81.1	1.7	71.4	5.4	43.2	22.9	29.5	26.9	19.0	37.6	9.4	43.0
St. Pieters Woluwe	98.8	1.1	97.1	1.3	91.0	0.4	94.4	1.8	78.6	5.0	50.3	20.5	30.7	29.0	34.2	38.4	11.3	37.1
Laken	77.9	21.2	58.6	9.2	51.1	11.0	37.8	10.4	38.3	10.6	36.3	13.5	20.4	17.2	—	—	—	—
Haren	99.9	0.1	90.5	0.7	89.7	—	88.0	2.2	78.2	1.8	79.8	2.1	78.1	4.2	—	—	—	—
Neder-over-Heembeek	99.0	1.0	95.7	2.2	87.7	0.3	85.6	0.2	81.5	0.4	77.5	1.9	65.1	2.0	—	—	—	—
Metropolitan Brussels	66.0	32.0	46.2	19.3	42.0	23.2	29.6	20.1	25.5	22.3	23.2	27.1	16.4	31.6	14.3	37.1	9.0	37.0

1. It should be recalled that in the linguistic census of 1846 there were only questions about the language regularly used (Dutch or French) and not about mono- or multilingualism.

matter how homogeneously Dutch-speaking some of these municipalities had originally been. A thorough study of the language use, linguistic behaviour, and place of residence of immigrants and natives of Brussels is therefore of the utmost importance.

The above survey clearly explains why Brussels was not perceived by Flemish sympathizers as the common bilingual capital, but was instead seen as a loss for Flanders.

The continuous shrinkage of Flemish territory around the capital and the loss of cultural identity on the part of so many Dutch-speakers was acutely felt. When the same mechanism got under way after World War II in the so-called "green belt" boroughs (peripheral to metropolitan Brussels), and from there threatening to affect the area of Flemish Brabant entirely, a vociferous desire arose in Flemish circles to stop what had come to be called "the Brussels oilspill". Thenceforth, Flanders also demanded effective guarantees for the protection of the Flemish minority within metropolitan Brussels.

An analysis of the factors of Frenchification, and of the content and significance of bilingualism in its transitional function, is therefore of the utmost importance. Discovering how and why fundamental changes occur in the linguistic behaviour patterns of large sectors of the population is never an easy task. Nonetheless, two significant variables can be discerned. First of all, there are factors of a social nature; second, there is the pressure exercised by various external structures.

Socio-psychological factors

(This section is mainly based on E. Witte (1984: 14–17).)

Brussels derives its specific function from its geographical location and from the fact that it is the capital. It fulfilled the function of capital from the Burgundian period until an abrupt interruption under French rule. It was the royal residence and the seat of central government bodies. This entailed the presence of courtly life, noble families, ambassadors and civil servants. Thus, a small, élite island, consisting of the originally French-speaking moneyed classes, developed in the upper part of the city; here they were safe from the periodic floods of the river Zenne (the Zenne was drained in 1870). The lower middle class and the lower class lived in the lower part of town. There was little interaction between the upper class and the lower middle and lower classes. The city's administration remained in Dutch.

The period of French rule (1795–1814) changed this situation drastically. During this period, public life was completely Frenchified, and French

had an enormous impact on the Brussels upper middle class and the intellectual middle class. Subsequent Dutch rule (1814–1830) could not alter this situation, partly owing to the circumstance that an important colony of French political exiles had settled in Brussels. Not only did these refugees embody the prestige of French, forming a permanent example for imitation; they also constituted a hard core of opposition against the Dutch king's policy of Dutchification. His attempt to establish Dutch as the exclusive official language, first in Flanders, later in the district of Brussels, failed. In June 1830 he was forced to restore language freedom everywhere.

Brussels played a major part in the Belgian revolution which led to Belgium's independence a couple of months later. As the capital, Brussels became the symbol and patriotic centre of the new state, both politically and administratively. French, as the only *de facto* official language, had to contribute to unity. This was more strongly felt in Brussels than anywhere else. One's chances for work in the central administrative departments and in the whole governmental apparatus located in Brussels depended on one's knowledge of French. Consequently, many Walloon immigrants arrived to fill these positions and strengthened Francophone power even more. The same occurred on the level of the city's administration where French also functioned as a precondition for employment. Owing to Belgium's policy of centralization, the capital also became the home of most large commercial and financial institutions who mainly worked with the more advanced Walloon industry. Therefore, they primarily attracted French-speakers. For cultural and fashionable life the capital remained under the influence of Paris. This only reinforced the prestige of French and the refined culture that was associated with it.

The numerical expansion of the Francophone group in Brussels between 1790 and 1850, as well as the social position of its members, thenceforth had a decisive impact on the pattern of linguistic behaviour of the middle classes in Brussels. The mechanism can be outlined as follows: language attitudes, like other kinds of attitudes, are formed in social situations and are mainly determined by social relations. These social relations spring from the power relations between the social groups using the language. Appropriating the language of the higher social group and of the politically dominant class is part of the process of socialization of the lower groups, which seek identification with this top class. Thus, social mobility can contribute to language shift. French and politico–economic power coincided in Brussels. The Frenchified upper middle class became the main supporter of nationalist ideology and dominated Brussels and Belgium from 1830 onwards. Frenchification was essential to their supremacy and provided an additional instrument for social control via processes of integration.

There was very little opposition on the part of the Brussels middle class toward this language policy, since it offered societal perspectives and social advancement to those who adapted. Moreover, the Brussels Flemish dialect had very little prestige, so that the lack of an equivalent Dutch model was felt even more acutely in Brussels. *Nouveaux riches* adopted the upper middle class language ideology most easily. Those who switched to French in public life looked down on Dutch and their own Flemish origin and pretended not to understand any Dutch, except for contacts with their servants (in 1866, 11% of the population belonged to the latter group and was, therefore, also put under language pressure). This helps to explain why, around 1842, one-third of the population had already been converted to French. Immigration also strengthened the growing Francophone character of the middle class. Several studies have shown that Flemish immigrants (who were in the majority) generally belonged to the lowest social categories (service personnel; day-labourers; labourers), whereas part of the Walloon immigrants belonged to the middle class (civil servants; employees).

Thus, the working class was confronted more and more with a language barrier which also formed a social barrier. However, there had also been a minor immigration of Walloon labourers mainly coming from the nearby regions of Walloon-Brabant and Hainaut. These settled in downtown Brussels. It has not been investigated yet which social strata of the Walloon working class they belonged to. This information might be vital to understand why the shift towards bilingualism itself is connected to the emancipation of the working class. From 1880 onwards, this was mediated via two important channels: the educational system (see below) and the workers' movement which began to get organized. If the immigration of Walloon labourers consisted of leaders of the movement, such as typographers, the remarkable Francophone predominance in the Brussels socialist party could be partly explained. Indeed, the socialists strongly promoted bilingualism among their supporters through their highly developed network of associations and the emphasis on French in them. The composition of the working-class in Brussels facilitated this process, since there was no large industrial proletariat in the capital. There were many small handicraft-industries, often employing highly skilled labourers from the luxury and precision industries. This "workers' aristocracy" lived in symbiosis with the tradespeople and were concerned with social advancement and, therefore, were more amenable to bilingualism. Precisely this group took the lead in the Brussels socialist movement. This is an important factor since the end of the nineteenth century was not only marked by a tremendous growth of the middle class in Brussels (in the commercial and service sector), but also by a moderation in social polarization.

Gradually a strategy of class integration was applied in order safely to channel potentially explosive worker opposition within the borders of the liberal state. This was accomplished by a social, political and cultural process of democratization. Democratization might also have contributed to the increase of the number of bilinguals, since it was stimulated by the reformist majority of the workers' movement. This was strongly influenced by the Francophone middle class intellectuals belonging to progressive liberalism. Integration implied the transmission of French. Primary schools were used for this purpose. The workers' movement did not experience French as a class-weapon in Brussels any more than elsewhere. On the contrary, appropriating the language of the social élite was seen as the only way to cover the gap between the classes and overcome "individual shortcomings".

Since the majority of the lower and middle classes were immigrants it is probable that many of them were thereby motivated to appropriate the language connected to higher status. Language generally constitutes an important element in the overall process of integration of immigrants into urban society. Even in a linguistically homogeneous area, the social contempt of city-dwellers, certainly if they are from the capital, is great; especially if the social position of the immigrants is low. This social contempt was intensified in Brussels by the linguistic difference, since many immigrants spoke only a Flemish dialect. Adapting to this urban society usually meant switching to bilingualism. Undoubtedly, this appeared most strongly in the middle classes; but the workers, too, must have been very sensitive to the language barrier since they wanted to be integrated and desired the social advancement of their children.

In short, this language climate promoted the mutilation and humiliation of Flemish identity and had an impact on the situation in metropolitan Brussels until well into the twentieth century. The growing collective contempt towards Dutch, which was associated with poverty, filth and cultural backwardness, shamed many natives of Brussels and Flemish immigrants into using the status language in their extra-domestic contacts. The quality of the language used (often a mixture of French and Flemish dialects) was not as important as escaping the feeling of inferiority and appearing respectable. In the anonymous city atmosphere, where social judgements are made on the basis of external features, this was a practical necessity. This is the mechanism whereby Flemish immigrants from the lowest social strata repeatedly started at the bottom, while the first middle class generation took the further step of integrating French into the domestic domain. The external governmental structures not only allowed this process of Frenchification to proceed smoothly, but also stimulated and fostered it.

The impact of external structures

In addition to interaction among individuals, the numerous individual and communicative aspects, the role of formal structures, organizations and systems in the process of language shift should not be underestimated. These factors exhibit great diversity: the family, schools, churches, the working environment, professional associations, hospitals, health care schemes, political parties, cultural associations, all sorts of administrations, the law, the police, the media, advertising, etc. Thus, all external structures with which the individual comes into contact affect his choice of language to a greater or lesser extent. It is, for instance, remarkable how the church in Brussels initially retarded the process of Frenchification, while after 1880 it contributed considerably to this process by way of parochial activities, and the confinement of Dutch sermons to the early masses (the so-called servants' masses). For most organizations, however, there is no descriptive material available concerning their internal and external language use. The most elementary data are also lacking concerning the linguistic situation in the economic sector (industrial, commercial and service organizations), or concerning the social pressure exerted by professional associations, health care, cultural and leisure sectors. . . . Of necessity, therefore, we will limit ourselves to the impact of governmental institutions. One can distinguish two mutually supportive levels of decision-making which gave Brussels a different linguistic profile from that of Flanders with respect to their effect on Frenchification: a local and a national level. The study of this area also leaves a number of *lacunae*, especially after World War I.

Before World War I

Decision-making on a national level. When, during the period 1870–1914, the Flemish movement acquired the first, modest language laws, the question arose as to what should happen in the region of the capital. For the Flamingants it was clear that Brussels, as a predominantly Flemish city, had to receive a solution which was similar to the minimal rights that were obtained for Flanders. This view met with vehement Fancophone resistance on the part of Walloon and Brussels members of parliament, as well as a considerable percentage of Francophone-minded members from Flanders. In their opinion Brussels was a *ville mixte* with a strong Francophone presence, where French was gaining ground every day. As a patriotic meeting-place *par excellence* for the two segments of the population, it could belong neither to Flanders nor to Wallonia. Free from all duality, Brussels would be the site of a coalescence into a kind of *âme belge*, in which French

would dominate. As a consequence, all legal linguistic constraints were to be avoided as much as possible in order to leave room for spontaneous processes to develop freely; this was a liberal ideology which also dominated in a number of other levels of Belgian political life. In this context the crucial position and the pressure of the Brussels constituency cannot be overlooked. Of the 186 seats in the lower house, this constituency had 26 in 1912, in contrast to 72 for Wallonia and 88 for Flanders, while in the national parties the influence of the Brussels members was dominant.

From the very first linguistic legislation the Flamingants realized that parliament would make concessions to Flanders only on condition that Brussels received a distinct status. A tradition then began in which the linguistic emancipation of Flanders was bought at the price of forsaking Brussels together with an increasing number of peripheral municipalities. It was remarkable how skilfully the phenomenon of bilingualism was manipulated in these negotiations. For example, the government had to lay down criteria for drawing a distinction between Flemish and Walloon municipalities, on the ground of the linguistic law of 1889. The government would eventually use three methods of counting for that purpose. In Flanders, bilinguals were counted as Dutch-speakers. In the Brussels district, they were not considered, and the number of Dutch-speakers was compared to the number of French-speakers. In central Brussels the function of the city as a capital was invoked, in view of the fact there was still Dutch-speaking dominance there. For the first time the linguistic status of a municipality was made dependent upon the results of a linguistic census with the result that four Brussels municipalities were separated from Flanders. Nevertheless, this procedure was not continued. Francophone dominance in parliament could still determine rather arbitrarily how many Flemish border municipalities were accorded the divergent status of Brussels: Brussels and the first eight surrounding municipalities on the basis of the law of 1878; a nucleus of 13 municipalities in the case of the educational law of 1910. According to the census of 1900, there were more monolingual Dutch-speakers (36.7% to 49.4%) than monolingual French-speakers (8.8% to 18.6%) in seven of these 13 municipalities.

In practice, this special status of Brussels amounted to maximizing the continuance of linguistic freedom. Through this process one not only fostered the sociological process of Frenchification, but one also strengthened it by withholding elementary rights from those ignorant of French, thereby caricaturing the "principle of personal liberty". The facilities provided by the linguistic laws were totally inadequate. No guarantees for the preservation and protection of the Flemish community were established; nor were guarantees for a real bilingualism built in. Although the systematic

policy of Frenchification and the resulting abuses on the part of the municipal councils were common knowledge, these were granted a lot of power and any evasions of the few legal constraints were often ignored.

Theoretically, most progress was made in the legal field. The judicial district of Brussels was cut loose from Flanders in 1873. This meant that Dutch-speakers in Brussels received less protection than in Flanders, both in the civil courts and in the criminal court of Brussels. As late as 1906, on the occasion of a murder case, the whole trial was conducted in French, through an interpreter, although three of the defendants were monolingual Dutch-speakers. The subsequent scandal led in 1908 to a new law whereby Dutch-speakers in Brussels were granted a number of judicial rights. This was 20 years after these rights had been granted in Flanders. However, the strong social pressure coming from the magistrates and the bar did not stop there. On the whole, the extent to which Dutch was used in the Brussels courts was to remain very limited.

In 1830 French had become the official language at three levels of government: national, provincial and municipal. This meant that the central administration located in Brussels and the Brussels municipal councils functioned in French. Consequently, monolingual Walloons could, without any problem, hold public offices in Flanders and, *a fortiori*, in Brussels. The governmental law of 1878 mutilated the very Flemish bill that was its foundation, by neglecting to regulate linguistic usage on the provincial and municipal level, so that it remained "free" and therefore French. The law was applicable only to national departments in Flanders and Brussels. In contrast to Flanders, it was determined for Brussels that letters directed to municipalities and individuals would be composed in Dutch only upon the request of those involved. Reports and communications directed to the public, however, had to be bilingual. Nothing was said about interior services, so that the official hierarchical contacts remained monolingually French. In short, little changed at the three levels of government in Brussels. As for the central adminstration, the Flamingants themselves spoke pejoratively of the "Walloon bureaucracy in Brussels". In the interests of their careers these bureaucrats attempted to secure their monolingual position against the "bilingual" competition. This helps to explain why the Flemish movement always had to contend twice for a language law: first in order to pass it, then in order to get it applied. Furthermore, it appeared that metropolitan Brussels served as a reward for the dwindling employment and advancement opportunities of monolingual French-speakers in Flanders. In any case, in 1913 the Ministry of Finance reserved the capital region for Walloon civil servants ignorant of Dutch on the basis of this argument.

However, the most serious parliamentary defeats, with respect to Brussels, were suffered by the Flamingants in the field of education. Realising that the most efficient instrument of Frenchification was at stake, they fought until the very end for appropriate regulations in this area: first, in the area of language laws concerning secondary education. The law of 1883 had left the situation in Brussels uncertain and would therefore be applied there least, since the school administrations were mostly ignorant of Dutch. The supplementary law of 1910 explicitly provided for a seperate status for 13 Brussels municipalities. There were to be "Dutch-speaking" (about eight hours of Dutch) and French-speaking sections, to which pupils were assigned on the basis of their mother-tongue (this being specified by the head of the child's family). This marked the legal introduction of the "freedom of the head of the family" on a linguistic level. "The freedom of the head of the family" would become a major issue in 1914, upon the introduction of compulsory education, when the Flamingants could not prevent the same basic principle from being transferred *de facto* to the area of primary education. For Flanders, parliament had accepted the principle of "mother-tongue = medium of instruction". For Brussels, a ministerial decree and its publication in the "Official Gazette" made a "moderate application" of this principle possible, as long as it did not hinder the thorough acquisition of the pupil's mother-tongue. This was an insufficient guarantee, and yielded so vague a guideline that one could take it in any direction.

Furthermore, the mother-tongue had to be specified by the head of the family. The declaration had to be accurate, something which could be checked by the principal of the school and by the school inspector. In accordance with this specification, the pupils would be placed in French or Dutch classes. Although the government was well aware of the systematic sabotage of Dutch education in Brussels, to the extent that Dutch education was either non-existent or abolished in a number of municipalities, it made a big issue of this regulation. The Flamingants were finally compelled to resign themselves to this situation in order to prevent further Frenchifying abuses in Flanders. In practice, what "freedom of the head of the family" meant for Flemish parents in metropolitan Brussels was heavy social pressure, dependence upon the local organizational authorities, and perhaps a possibility of choice.

Decision-making on a local level. The national legislation of 1830 had left the determination of the local linguistic profile up to municipal autonomy. The tributary voting right protected the political power of the rich on a local level until 1895. Afterwards, the universal plural voting right to a maximum of

four votes was introduced, and after World War I universal male suffrage was introduced.

When Belgium became independent the Brussels élite gave the capital a monolingually French appearance in the administration, education, street-names, etc. The Flamingant opposition in Brussels did not recruit its force from its own middle class, as was the case in the other Flemish cities, but would get its impulse primarily from Flemish immigrants. These belonged to the lower middle class of civil servants, employees and teachers, and were bilingual. They found a basis of support in the literary societies, which had remained Dutch-speaking, and in Dutch language folk theatre, which was fairly popular with the working class. They limited their activities to cultural life, the promotion of standard Dutch and petitioning. But there was much which lay beyond their abilities, and at times they felt discouraged and regarded the city as a lost cause. Only during the last quarter of the nineteenth century did they develop more clout, due to the political support they found in the democratic and progressive, liberal movements; these movements realized the significance of the language of the people as a means of emancipation. This yielded some results, among them the acquisition of a Royal Flemish Theatre.

They owed most to the personal input of K. Buls, alderman for education in 1879, mayor of Brussels between 1881–1899. This liberal figure made a great effort to emphasize the bilingual character of the capital and strove effectively for its realization. Under his administration, public servants had to know both national languages, bilingual street-signs appeared, and the official registers were thereafter written in the language chosen by the people affected. He also wished to re-orient municipal education. This proved to be the symbol of his failure.

Up to that time the municipal council in Brussels had hardly concerned itself with primary education. In the limited number of municipal schools, French functioned as the exclusive medium of instruction, and a considerable number of the teachers did not know Dutch. In most schools an abrupt transition was made from dialects to a non-related standard language. The result was that most pupils did not understand their teachers, and *vice versa*. The Frenchification of the Brussels population was rather limited due to an insufficient school infrastructure and the fact that illiteracy remained at a high level. Around 1880 the municipal councils initiated drastic improvements: the school system was largely expanded and teaching methods were completely renewed. Buls discovered how large the number of pupils was whose native language was Dutch; in four of the seven schools studied there were about ten times as many Dutch-speakers as French-speakers. He

wanted to put an end to these pedagogically irresponsible conditions and proceed on the principle of the mother-tongue as the language of instruction. He also had to take into consideration the explicit desire of nearly all Flemish parents that their children should acquire sufficient knowledge of French. Consequently, in 1881, he replaced the existing system by a system of transmutation. Briefly, this functioned as follows: In the first grade (1st and 2nd years of study/6- to 8-year-olds) pupils were assigned to French or Dutch classes according to the language the children spoke. This had to be determined by the school principal and not by the head of the child's family. Buls was radically opposed to the freedom of the family, which he regarded as pedagogically unjustifiable. The second grade (3rd and 4th years of study/8- to 10-year-olds) functioned for Dutch-speaking children as a transitional grade. In the third grade (5th and 6th years of study/10- to 12-year-olds) French was the language of instruction for everyone and Dutch was taught as a second language. The Francophone children had to be prepared so that they could understand the Dutch lessons. The difficult "one long jump" was replaced by "two short jumps": dialect → dialect/related standard language → dialect/related standard language/non related standard language. In this way, a certain form of bilingualism, which Buls regarded as proper to the character of the capital, was striven for. Nevertheless, French was still implicitly regarded as the superior language.

The success of the system of transmutation was contingent upon a number of external conditions: an honest classification of the pupils according to their mother-tongue, a fully bilingual teaching staff, an appropriately directed curriculum in kindergartens and in the training of teachers, the inculcation of respect for both languages and provision of relevant information for parents. Despite the vigorous efforts of mayor Buls and alderman André none of these conditions was fulfilled. They ran up against the hostility of many principals and teachers who felt threatened in their position of power based on French monolingualism. When, in 1888, Buls and André wanted to introduce strict measures in order to secure the implementation of this system they could not depend upon their political majority in the municipal council, and they had to surrender.

From that point on the system of transmutation degenerated into a caricature. Prejudices on the part of Dutch-speaking parents were reinforced and the Flemish classrooms were emptied. The most important linguistic sluice was formed by those kindergartens which produced bilingual toddlers so that these could go to the French-speaking classes. Monolingual children could continue their Dutch education only up to grade one. Finally, only the poorest Dutch-speaking children attended the Dutch classes, which were pejoratively called "the classes of the liceheads". This reflects the daily

embarrassment experienced by the Flemish: Dutch was synonymous with inferiority and poverty while only French counted as a language of culture, and offered the prospect of respect and advancement. The consequences of the abrupt transition to French for Dutch-speaking children in school had become very conspicuous: Dutch-speakers were three years behind in their school progress and the special classes for children with learning disabilities contained 80 to 90% Dutch-speaking children. It can easily be understood why the remaining Dutch first grade classes were emptied when the city council introduced the freedom of the head of the family for primary education in 1914. Only six classes remained of the approximately 40 classes in 1914. The number of Francophone classes in the three grades amounted to 405, despite the fact that Dutch was still the home language of more than half the pupils.

Finally, we should note the negative influence of the competition with the Catholic schools, and the threat of parents to transfer their children to a Catholic school. The circle was now closed: from French, through transmutation, back to French. This pattern of development was not confined to Brussels. Data from the eight municipalities in the first belt around Brussels show a similar three-phase scenario: first exclusively French education, then the system of transmutation or a system where Dutch and French were taught simultaneously, and finally back to exclusively French education. The condition of the educational system reflected the degree of Frenchification which had been reached.

Bilingualism as pivotal. The importance of bilingualism as a means of transition to French monolingualism and the enormous increase in the number of bilingual speakers after 1880 already emerged clearly from looking at the censuses. Manipulation of this bilingualism, both with respect to content and numerically, was decisive for the evolution of the region of the capital. After the honourable intentions of Buls failed in their effect, the authorities in Brussels no longer sought bilingualism, although they maintained the pretence of doing so. Dutch served only as a necessary means for the transition to French. It no longer had a chance to develop into a cultivated and competing standard language. In consequence, the French-speakers scarcely learned any Dutch and remained, in essence, monolingually French. The Dutch-speakers were stuck in their Flemish dialects, and a rather impoverished, makeshift French. This was a cultural impoverishment which was audible in the mixture of French and Flemish dialects. This mixture still scored higher than Dutch on the social scale of values, leading to total Frenchification in later generations. The popular play "Le Mariage de Mademoiselle Beulemans" illustrates this situation very well; in

it the Brussels Flemish Beulemans family tries to improve its social situation and makes use of this mixed language variety.

It is also in this context that we have to understand the opposition of Flemish sympathizers to the questions asked in the decennial censuses. The censuses represented a manipulation of information which fitted well into the schemes of the Francophones, since no questions were asked about the home language, and a very modest knowledge of French sufficed to qualify as a bilingual. The increasing bilingualism of Dutch-speakers did not strengthen the dualistic character of the metropolis numerically, but only monolingual French power in it. According to Francophone logic, bilingualism functioned as a pivot. Either the bilinguals were neutralized and did not count in determining which linguistic group dominated Brussels and its environs, or the bilinguals were counted as French-speakers along with the French monolinguals. A turning point was reached from the moment when the number of monolingual Dutch-speakers lay below the number of monolingual French-speakers. With greater confidence it was then claimed that every Dutch language or bilingual public service and educational facility was superfluous since Dutch monolingualism was disappearing. The consequence was that locally the Brussels municipalities concerned themselves even less with Dutch-speakers, while on a national level a twofold development was visible. On the one hand, the demand for a special linguistic regulation for an ever-increasing number of municipalities. (This corresponded with the expansion of the capital, and anticipated the formation of metropolitan Brussels.) On the other hand, the first voices were raised against the pretence of the *ville mixte* character of the metropolis.

The dynamics of the linguistic situation in Brussels were clearly connected with the power relationships on a municipal and national level. The foregoing analysis allows us to conclude that the Flamingants lost their already limited influence on the municipal council after 1888, and wound up in a situation of continually decreasing power. That was due as much to inner division of the Flamingants as to the growing political involvement of the numerous Walloon organizations in Brussels. It is no accident that the Walloon movement began at that moment and was most militant there. The earlier and contemporary Walloon immigrants felt that their careers were threatened in Brussels, and they were numerous enough to organize an effective interest group. They comprised civil servants and other interested parties from the upper middle classes of professionals, e.g. many lawyers. They were opposed to bilingualism, passionate defenders of the ideals of 1830 and of monolingual French dominance. They fought for the freedom of the head of the family for Flemish parents. Naturally, Buls was one of the first targets of their attack. Their influence on the governing liberal party

increased, and this strengthened their link with the Brussels Francophone circles. In contrast with the evolution in Flanders, the democratization of the right to vote would change little in the power position of the Francophone faction in the metropolis.

Improvements in the Brussels linguistic situation would have to be obtained by force on a national parliamentary level, and within the national parties. That was impossible at the time because all the attention of Flemish sympathizers was concentrated on the emancipation of Flanders. Nevertheless, their power had already created a Walloon movement. Brussels, a symbol of Francophone inspiration, appeared as a link between Wallonia and the Francophone élite in Flanders. All agreed that the capital region should serve as a Francophone bastion and consequently maximized their demands for the city. However, in addition to the parallelism of interests, there were already faint glimmerings of friction between those favouring centralized unitarism and those in favour of decentralized autonomy for the different regions of the country. Walloon socialists and their liberal allies began to emphasize the artificiality of the Belgian state and to despise the *âme belge* which they identified with people of the Beulemans type and with their unacceptable form of bilingualism. Consequently, these groups formulated the alternative of governmental division, which at the time was no more than a threat. Large sections of Brussels, the Francophone factions in Flanders and Walloon Catholics, who together represented Belgian nationalism, were most displeased with this trend. They feared that this evolution would jeopardize the strategic position of the capital.

Through World War II

During World War I the activists tried to get hold of Brussels with the support of the German occupier. They wanted an effective application of the school-law of 1914, by means of accurate language declarations from the heads of families. They also wanted to organize an appropriate Dutch educational system. This attempt was a relative failure, owing to an overall boycott by the Francophones and everybody else who was opposed to collaboration. The radical resolution of 1917 which required a governmental division between Flanders and Wallonia also failed. Under this resolution the Flemish ministers could stay in Brussels whereas the Francophone ministers had to move to Namur.

During the interwar period, mainly during the 1930s, Flanders almost developed into a homogeneously monolingual region. The Walloon civil servants departed and the political power of the Francophone élite dwindled.

The Flamingants had to make new concessions regarding Brussels and these were no longer unilateral. The tide turned in the sense that an effective application of the "principle of personal freedom" was now striven for. Further, equal rights for Dutch-speakers, with bilingualism as a foundation, were sought. However, the application in some areas left much to be desired, owing to the lack of sanctions.

At the governmental level a question arose concerning which language should be used in the municipalities of the metropolis and in the national deparments which were located in Brussels. Again a fundamental choice had to be made. Should all civil servants be bilingual or should a bilingual administration be established with monolingual civil servants?

For the national departments, the Walloons rejected the first option and the second option was implemented. Dutch and French linguistic quotas were drawn up. On the basis of of these the linguistic composition of public services was determined in such a way as to assure a linguistic balance between both language groups. "Linguistic adjuncts" were attached to monolingual departmental supervisors in order to guarantee uniformity in the management of the departments. In practice, this meant that the Dutch-speaking civil servants ensured the bilingual character of the service. The Dutch numerical inferiority in these services was gradually made up, but was not eliminated. At the beginning of the 1950s, 60% of the senior civil servants in the ministerial departments were still French-speakers. In some ministries the linguistic representation of both groups remained markedly disproportionate (e.g. Ministry of Foreign Affairs 152–89).

In contrast to what happened on the national level, the provincial government of Brabant and the municipal boards in metropolitan Brussels opted for bilingualism of personnel. However, the stringency of the requirement was made dependent on the position, from elementary knowledge of the second language to thorough knowledge for the personnel who were in direct contact with the public. Thorough knowledge of the second language was, therefore, required only of occupants of the lower positions. Language proficiency exams were introduced for the various positions. The acceptance of external bilingualism and the equal status of both languages in the service sector was certainly an improvement. However, what happened in practice was, once again, much less encouraging. Most municipal councils reduced the Dutch linguistic proficiency exam to a formality, so that Francophone supremacy remained in the highest categories of civil servants. As late as 1963, about 90% of the civil servants in the metropolis were Francophone. This situation also resulted from the fact that the law had left it up to the municipal councils to decide which language would be used internally. After

a joint deliberation the municipal councils decided not to choose bilingualism. Twelve municipal councils chose French monolingualism; the remaining four also chose French, but showed some tolerance of Dutch. Internally, all the affairs would be treated in French: French maintained its superior position and little changed for the Dutch-speaking inhabitant of Brussels who still experienced that fluency in French was essential. Furthermore, this had an effect on the central services, which could claim a greater need for personnel from the French linguistic quota, considering the amount of correspondence which had to be conducted in French. Once again, during this period, the attempts to unify Brussels, and to put an end to the local authority of a number of municipalities, failed.

When the governmental law of 1921 was passed the delineation of the Brussels metropolis had again been a point of discussion. On the one hand, this had led to a new expansion: the annexation of three Flemish municipalities to central Brussels and an increase in the number of municipalities around the centre of the city to 15. On the other hand, the practically homogeneous Flemish municipalities beyond this first belt of municipalities around Brussels had received the same regulation as the rest of Flanders. However, this bordering zone was continuously exposed to the threat of further expansion. The law of 1932 did, indeed, stipulate that if a municipality counted more than 30% Francophones (according to the census criterion "uses most or only") external bilingualism had to be adopted. If the municipality counted more than 50% Francophones, French also had to be introduced in the internal municipal administration. This sharpened the sensitivity about the referendum-character of the linguistic censuses even more.

Three municipalities were linked to metropolitan Brussels through the law of 1935. This law further specified language use in the courts. The judicial district of Brussels remained a bilingual area where the language in civil and criminal courts was determined by the linguistic preference of the parties involved. In practice, however, French remained dominant in civil cases, whereas a more normal proportion appeared in criminal trials. Here again, compulsory bilingualism on the part of the judicial personnel ran up against Francophone opposition. Eventually, a complicated system was accepted, involving linguistic quotas depending on the level of proficiency demanded in the second language. The efficiency of the system would, however, depend on those who supervised the nominations. Internally, little changed in the Francophone character of the department. The language law of 1935 was, nonetheless, considered the strongest, since it also contained sufficient sanctions; namely, invalidation in case of infringement.

The Achilles heel remained education. The mechanism of Frenchification and the process of de-ethnicizing Flemish children could not be stopped.

In addition to the unfavourable factors mentioned so far, the main vehicle of Frenchification was the language declaration of the head of the family. Since this was formulated as "freedom of the head of the family", illegal evasions, condoned by school principals, became the order of the day. In 1916, there was no Dutch language infrastructure in two municipalities of the metropolis. In 1921, this held for five municipalities with respect to Catholic education and for seven municipalities with respect to the municipal school system (in each of these cases central Brussels was included). The sabotage of the language law of 1914, on the part of local authorities, was possible only because the ministers responsible permitted the abuses and sometimes even concealed them. C. Huysmans (1925–1927) was the big exception to this tradition. He insisted that the law be followed strictly. He ordered a large-scale investigation, disregarding sharp protests, and threatened to withdraw subsidies from the state. In this way he partly succeeded in getting the law applied; only temporarily, though, since the old situation was restored in most municipalities when he stepped down.

The language law of 1932 changed little, owing to the lack of efficacious control and sanctions. There was more. The law provided for transmutation classes in Flanders. These classes allowed children whose mother-tongue was not Dutch to receive education meeting their needs. At the same time they had to be prepared to attend Dutch language secondary schools. These special provisions for non-native speakers of Dutch would be stripped of their original intention in the region around Brussels, in order to give the process of Frenchification new and supplementary stimuli. This became apparent in the ease with which Flemish children were accepted in the transmutation classes. Francophone children could continue their studies in the Francophone secondary schools of metropolitan Brussels and consequently did not adapt. This regulation, originally intended as a favour to the Francophones in the Flemish region around Brussels, degenerated. Instead, it stimulated Francophones to migrate from Brussels to these municipalities. In this manner, the law became a threat to the administratively Dutch character of the area.

During World War II German policy was geared, once again, towards strengthening the Dutch element in Belgium, through a strict application of the language laws. Metropolitan Brussels was the main target, presented in the propaganda as "Brussels, Flemish territory to be reconquered". This was to be achieved in two ways: by regaining all those who had a Flemish origin, and by making sure that Flemish immigrants to Brussels preserved their linguistic identity. The law concerning the national administration was now applied much more effectively. The main intervention was directed toward the educational system. A Commission for Linguistic Supervision

(*Commissie voor Taaltoezicht*) was created. Contrary to what happened during World War I this commission was successful. For example, by 1943 the number of children in Dutch language classes had doubled and an adequate Dutch base-structure was developed for the first time.

TABLE 3 *Metropolitan Brussels*

	Pupils				*Classes*			
Year	*D*	*%*	*F*	*%*		*D*	*F*	*Bil.*
1. *Kindergarten*								
1938–39	3,264	23	10,797	77		95	364	
1942–43	6,738	43	9,308	57		234	293	
1946–47	3,996	24	12,612	76	1947–48	123	345	
2. *Primary school*								
1938–39	13,236	19	55,325	81		444	1919	
1942–43	22,625	40	34,344	60		917	1561	
1946–47	14,386	26	41,103	74	1947–48	662	1723	39

Lindemans, 1963: 86–95.

The attempt to reorganize the Francophone university in Brussels, the only university in the capital region, failed. This reorganization was aimed at creating Dutch language sections in addition to the Francophone sections. The academic staff agreed to some extent, but did not tolerate interference in matters relating to personnel. When this appeared to be unavoidable, they preferred to close the university. Also important to note is the fact that Greater Brussels was formed in 1942, following the German policy of creating large urban zones. Greater Brussels included 19 municipalities and 930,000 inhabitants. The local municipal councils were dissolved and replaced by a council consisting of 12 members. The composition of this council was intended to maximize Flemish rights in Brussels. These rigorous interventions, achieved by means of collaboration with Nazi-Germany, displeased not only Francophones in the capital, but also many other inhabitants of Brussels. They identified the constraints imposed by the occupation with the constraints of the language laws; in both cases, they saw violation of liberty. These infringements were exemplified by the way in which thousands of children were forced out of the Francophone classes against their parents' will.

As a consequence, the anti-Dutch atmosphere was extremely strong after the liberation in 1945, especially in metropolitan Brussels. This resulted in the rapid destruction of everything which had been achieved for the

Dutch-speakers and in the revival of Walloon organized social life. It also appeared in the linguistic census of 1947. The Flemings vehemently contested the value of this survey, so that the results were only published in 1954. After that, three other municipalities, to which the judicial law of 1935 already applied, were fully annexed to metropolitan Brussels. Greater Brussels, as an administrative unity, was dissolved, and the 19 municipalities involved returned to their municipal particularism.

An improved traffic system and the need for more living space accelerated the rush of city-dwellers to the "green belt" residential areas around metropolitan Brussels. Speculation in real-estate mainly attracted rich, predominantly Francophone immigrants to the pleasant neighbourhoods in that area, where local authorities and tradespeople were most obliging and the linguistic facilities were very favourable; in short, this rural region was well-adapted to these new residents. Consequently, the Francophones, who were accepted as a positive reference group, felt neither the need nor the inclination to adapt linguistically to their new home environment. They formed, therefore, new enclaves of Frenchification. Flanders saw a familar mechanism of Frenchification re-emerge on a large scale. The draining of the Brussels "oilspill" and the acquisition of effective guarantees for the preservation of Dutch language rights in metropolitan Brussels became the most important desiderata for the Flemish. By this time it had become clear that language laws did not suffice, as long as the Flemish population in and around Brussels lacked linguistic awareness and self-respect. The decisive industrial development of Flanders and the Flemish economic boom in the 1960s, whereby Wallonia was surpassed for the first time, provided the necessary foundation and Flemish material progress for final emancipation. The end of "fraudulent one-way bilingualism" was near.

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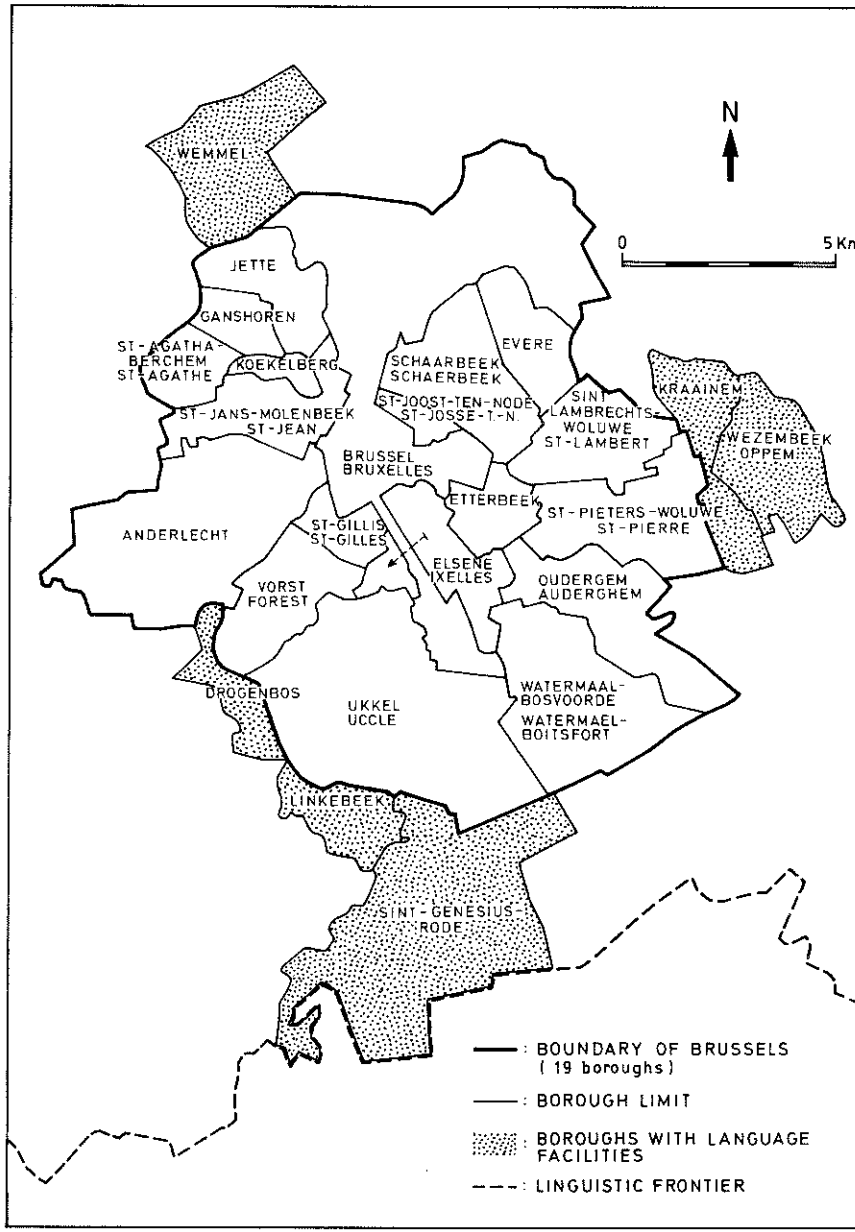
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WATERMAAL-BOSVOORDE
WATERMAEL-BOITSFORT
LINKEBEEK
SINT-GENESIUS-RODE
: BOUNDARY OF BRUSSELS (19 boroughs)
: BOROUGH LIMIT
: BOROUGHS WITH LANGUAGE FACILITIES
: LINGUISTIC FRONTIER

3 Socio-Political Aspects
Bilingual Brussels as an indication of growing political tensions (1960–1985)

ELS WITTE

Introduction

From the historical introduction in Chapter 2 we learned that the language situation in Brussels was an essential component in the struggle between Flanders and Wallonia. Not before our own time, however, did this specific language problem grow into a conflict that was to dominate Belgian politics for more than 20 years. From 1960 onwards and until a few years ago it was almost permanently fought out in the most hostile of atmospheres, was accompanied by every form of spectacular demonstration, caused great changes in voting patterns and gave rise to momentous crises. To examine the societal context from which this decision-taking process arose, to analyse what precisely constitutes the content of the language legislation and to formulate hypotheses as to its impact on the linguistic behaviour of the inhabitants of Brussels constitutes the aim of this overview.

Anyone who wishes to study the interaction between political decisions and concrete linguistic behaviour will, however, find himself treading on thin ice. In processes of linguistic change it is above all the psychological factors that come into play and these cannot be manipulated by political measures alone. Political measures do, of course, influence communicative interaction between individuals but whether they are decisive is a different matter altogether. As is also the case with other issues, there is very often a

discrepancy between a complex social reality and the way in which the political élite interprets this reality and builds its own strategy on it. Political action, moreover, implies clear-cut situations, applicable criteria and norms. The more complex the situation — and this is very much the case with linguistic situations — the more difficult it is to formulate the aims, draw up the strategies, carry out the legislative work and measure its enforcement.

The language development of Brussels is a truly striking illustration of the different aspects of this problem. On the eve of the period which is being analysed here the linguistic situation in Brussels is extremely difficult to define. The fact is that there is a mingling of very diverse elements. Not only is there a contact between two languages, i.e. Dutch and French, but between many more codes, since there are internal tensions between the main standard languages, the regional language variants and the different dialects. The relationship, moreover, between French and Dutch must be seen in terms of high and low language varieties, the Dutch dialect being used as the everyday language and standard French or Brussels French for formal and official occasions. The standardization processes are very different in the various language groups depending on the level of education and social status. Bilingual people also feature a whole range of more or less fully completed language acquisition processes. Brussels French, moreover, contains many traces of the Flemish dialect. Furthermore, bilingual people are prone to code-switching and there can be no talk of a real language–ethnic segmentation of society. To define precisely where one category begins and the other ends is therefore impossible. Roughly speaking, one can say that the majority is constituted of bilinguals. The remaining categories consist of monolingual French speakers (standard French and/or Brussels French) and Dutch speakers with a certain knowledge of standard French or Brussels French, the monolingual French speakers being the more numerous (cf. Chapter 7).

The fact that this complex language contact is the result of a vast process of language shift need not be explained here. It has already been explained in Chapter 2 and will again be mentioned later. To understand the psychological climate in which the language conflict developed between 1960 and 1985 it is, however, useful to have another look at major phases. Because French was a springboard for greater social recognition and a more favourable position in society and because Dutch was not very competitive as a cultural language, the socio-economically powerful French-speaking community was able to impose its language on the mass of Flemish dialect speakers. These were first assimilated to bilingual speakers on the basis of an approximate knowledge of French and totally Frenchified after a few

generations. A tradition developed which enabled French-speakers to dismiss every form of equality between the two languages. Convinced as they were that French as a world language was to be associated with higher social status, a civilized and refined form of culture and with intellectual superiority, the French-speakers decided that under no circumstances could they be forced to learn a language with a very restricted social status — a process which might prove detrimental to the acquisition of standard French. The inferior character of Dutch, associated as it was with everything popular, peasant-like, coarse and brutal, induced the Flemings to use French as the higher language variant.

It was mainly the social and psychological pressure exerted by the French-speakers that until 1960 had been responsible for the large-scale shift to French of native Dutch-speakers and Flemish immigrants. When the status of a language community is so low that it is ridiculed, the members of that community then lose all self-respect and the group no longer has a role to play as a social reference. The strategy of the Flemings after 1960 was therefore mainly aimed at taking the necessary political measures that would help the Dutch-speakers in Brussels recover their self-respect by consolidating the status of the Dutch language and making Dutch competitive with French. By means of compulsory bilingualism and parity between the two language communities, what was aimed at was political equality between the two languages. As a result, Flemish politicians collided head-on with the French-speakers whose aim was to maintain the situation as it stood and who were more than ever the proponents of individual language freedom and thus of spontaneous processes of language change to the benefit of the language with the greatest prestige and utility. None of them, or at least very few, were prepared to support measures imposed from above that might help a community to emerge from a position of inferiority. It is against this background of fundamental opposition that the political evolution of the language situation, which we shall attempt to analyse in the following pages, took place.

The Flemish offensive focussing on language legislation (1960–1965)

The places of Brussels in the Flemings' language demands

To understand how the language situation in Brussels became a central element in the policy of the Flemings around 1960 one must take into account the fundamental socio-economic changes that took place in the

Flemish part of the country at the time and gave a new and strong impetus to the Flemish Movement. Contrary to what happened in the Walloon part of the country, the population increased, economic development gradually eased the shortage of wealth and new layers of middle-class Flemings appeared. The expansion and democratization of the tertiary sector resulted in an increase in the group of intellectual *petits bourgeois*, who traditionally formed the basis of the Flemish Movement. In these and in other circles there was a massive and intensive striving towards the recognition of a genuine Flemish élite. In the wake of this movement a new generation of Flemish politicians rose against the monopoly of the Belgian, anti-federalist and unitarist rulers and demanded that the demographic and social relations be from then on reflected in the political system. The hard core of Flemish nationalists emerged once again, but so did conscious Flemish organizations with a broader and more democratic basis and it was mainly in the Catholic movement that the Flemish wing was heard.

These culture-conscious Flemings, who had studied in Dutch only, now demanded the right to build a career in Brussels without having to know French. Furthermore, these clerks, civil servants and executives settled in Brussels and were no longer prepared simply to adjust linguistically. Inevitably, they created a force which stimulated the Flemish Movement of the older generation of Brussels Flemings. As far as organization was concerned the evidence of change was certainly clear. The existing Flemish organizations, such as regional organizations, the cultural Flemish Club, the Flemish Theatre, the three (Catholic, liberal and socialist) cultural organizations as well as the Catholic and free-thinking students' associations all came back to life. Other initiatives also came into being. A central Flemish Committee for Brussels came into action around 1950, concentrated on propaganda for Dutch-speaking schools, and published its own journal. More youth clubs appeared and in some areas the local associations were given a co-ordinating structure.

Both in Flanders and in Brussels there was unanimity among these culture-conscious Flemings concerning the fundamental basic options: everything that reflected the inferior position of Flanders had to be eliminated, the Francophone language hegemony had to be stopped and the cultural aspects of government had to be determined by the Flemings themselves. The language situation in Brussels was seen as the most striking remnant of Francophone domination. The fact that Brussels was becoming more French as Flanders was becoming more Flemish was, therefore, a permanent source of irritation for the Flemish language community. Priority demands consequently included that an end be put to the shift to French of the Flemish peripheral area of Brabant, that there be effective bilingualism

in the boroughs of Brussels, the consolidation of Dutch-speaking education and the creation of supervisory bodies.

As far as the first demand is concerned, there is no need to dwell on the reasons why the ever more Francophone capital city managed to extend its influence over an ever larger and more distant number of areas around Brussels, nor is there any need to further underline the effect the manipulated language censuses had on the language status of these areas. According to the 1947 language census, the language regime of no fewer than 23 districts was to be revised. Four districts became bilingual and in the other districts there were signs of a similar evolution. The fear that the whole of Flemish Brabant would eventually become French-speaking and Brussels would merge with the Walloon part of the country was therefore no longer unthinkable. Flemish demands on this count were consequently very clear: the censuses were to be abolished, the bilingual Brussels area was to be fenced in once and for all, the language minorities were to be encouraged to adjust to the cultural character of the Flemish area; there could be no question of Brussels merging with Wallonia and, to ensure the language homogeneity of Flemish Brabant, the 19 boroughs of Brussels were to be surrounded by monolingual Dutch-speaking administrative entities. Needless to say, each of these demands was met by stubborn resistance on the part of the French-speakers. Arguing for the superiority of French, for the need for socio-economic expansion of the capital and for the willing adaptability of the local population, they demanded language rights in the peripheral areas in matters of education, administration and culture and supported the idea of a Brussels metropolis that would extend over the whole province of Brabant. In order, strategically, to give more strength to their language demands, they coupled their minority situation in the periphery to that of the Dutch-speaking minority in Brussels. Concessions to the former would entail similar measures for the latter.

As the law of 1932 concerning the bilingual status of Brussels had been of little comfort to the Flemings — Francophone hegemony in higher administration was maintained, departments internally still worked in French only and the language exam was a mere formality — the Flemish Movement tried to obtain the strict enforcement and improvement of this language law. The boroughs of Brussels would in future be allowed to employ only bilingual people who had passed an official exam. To consolidate the status of equality of the Dutch language and in exchange for the parity which the Walloons obtained at the national level, an equal numerical presence was demanded in all public institutions of the Brussels area. The French-speakers experienced these demands as highly unfair, not only because it was regarded as an attack on the right for French-speaking civil

servants and clerks to speak only one language and therefore also as a threat to hundreds of jobs and promotion prospects, but also because the analogy with the national situation was seen as an abuse of power by the Flemings: French-speaking preponderance in Brussels could in no way be compared with the far more limited minority situation of the Walloons in the national state. Those who were prepared to negotiate a form of bilingualism would only accept proportional representation as a point of departure. The choice of the internal administrative language was to be left as free as possible and the provincial and national administrations were to adapt to this choice. Comforted by their majority position, the monolingual French-speakers and French-speaking bilinguals argued for the enforcement of the democratic rules, which gave the Flemings of Brussels only a small share in the structures of power.

The policy which the German occupier had pursued in favour of Dutch-speaking education in Brussels and the post-war anti-Flemish climate had encouraged the councils after 1945 to make no or very little effort where Flemish education was concerned. The fact that half the Flemish pupils changed to French-speaking schools comforted them in their position. Taking into account the impact of education in the process of the shift to French, it is not surprising that the Flemings insisted on having enough Dutch-speaking schools. To put an end to language shift they also demanded that the statement by the head of the family concerning the language spoken be strictly controlled. Avoidance of the language law with the complicity of the head of the family — a fact which took place on a large scale — was therefore to be curbed. But it was not only in education that the lack of compelling penalty provisions had been the reason why language laws had not been applied. By way of official bodies that could effectively put an end to the avoidance of language laws, the Flemings strove to obtain the necessary means to make bilingualism truly effective and preserve the identity of the Flemish community of Brussels.

The parliamentary Harmel Study Centre, in which Flemish Catholics and socialists played an important role, should be mentioned as a first step in the mobilization process of the culture-conscious Flemings with regard to Flemish demands concerning Brussels. When its results were published in 1958 it appeared that Flemish demands concerning the capital had been taken into account. Meanwhile, the Flemish pressure groups concentrated their efforts on the Brussels section of the Flemish programme. This was not only the case for the traditional extremist organizations (the Volksunie party, the IJzer pilgrimage, Flemish Song Festival, Golden Spurs celebrations), but also for the Flemish Economic Association (*Vlaams Economisch Verbond*), the Catholic trades unions and other worker organizations and the Flemish Tourist Board. The link between most of these organizations was the

over-arching Flemish People's Movement (*Vlaamse Volksbeweging*). The fact that both the socialist and liberal cultural organizations joined this movement was important as a symbol of unity among Flemings. The Flemish People's Movement generated the Flemish Action Committee for Brussels and the Language Border, which was set up in 1958 and was soon very busy organizing extra-parliamentary action and lobbying Flemish ministers. The boycott of the language census was the first step. The Committee succeeded in convincing the Flemish local authorities to participate — over 500 boroughs joined the movement — and organized a "No Language Census Day" in November 1959 in which thousands of Flemings took part. The organization of Flemish marches on Brussels became the next goal. A network of local committees was set up in Flanders with very often the boroughs as the mainstay; support funds were created; the Flemish press joined the movement and the membership of the organizations involved was spurred to political action. As a result, tens of thousands of Flemings demonstrated in Brussels in October 1961 and 1962 against "Frenchification and territorial annexation". Both these marches were expressions of Flemish strength and growing Flemish awareness.

These demonstrations greatly influenced the Flemish wing of the Catholic party. The fear that Flemish voters would once again join the ranks of Flemish nationalism induced the Catholic party to take up the Flemish cause. In 1960 a compromise agreement was reached between the Dutch-speaking and far weaker French-speaking wings of the Catholic party that satisfied many of the Flemish demands. The CVP (Flemish Catholic party) even supported the first march on Brussels. It then insisted that the government should deal with this conflict situation without delay. The pressure on the socialist coalition partner — a Catholic–socialist coalition was in office from 1961 till 1965 — was far less effective. The Flemings within this party were forever faced with a strongly dominant French-speaking Brussels–Walloon block. But in both government parties even the anti-federalists were agreed that the separatist currents had to be defused and the language problem dealt with without further delay.

For the French-speaking people of Brussels the marches were no more than a provocation. Post-war anti-Flemish Movement feelings were still very much alive in the capital and for many inhabitants of Brussels these demonstrations brought back memories of war-time collaboration of the Flemish extremists. Not only did they find Flemish demands utterly extremist, but they regarded these demonstrations as an intolerable interference by Flanders in the affairs of their city. The immediate result was a strong counter-mobilization. There was certainly no lack of French-speaking pressure groups. Since the language laws of 1921 and 1932 political organizations

concerned with the language situation had already become very bellicose in Brussels. The Walloon Movement had a section in Brussels; the recently created *Mouvement Populaire Wallon* was particularly active in the capital; the numerous cultural organizations became more radical; the opposition grew in the professors' and students' circles of the U.L.B. (Free University of Brussels); the *Bloc de la Liberté*, created in reaction to the language law of 1932, was given new impetus while the solidly structured and well established *Association Wallonne du Personnel des Services Publics* began more than ever to fight for the safeguard of job opportunities in Brussels. After the first march a central *Comité de Défense* was set up that organized counter-demonstrations against "Flemish imperialism". These demonstrations received the total support of leading Brussels newspapers such as *Le Soir* and *La Libre Belgique*. The fact that the liberal mayor of the city of Brussels played a vital role in French-speaking resistance was, moreover, symptomatic of the climate in the French-speaking parties of Brussels. The *Comité de Défense* could rely on a great deal of sympathy from socialists and liberals alike. The French-speaking reaction to the Flemish offensive from 1962 onwards therefore became a non-negligible component in the political constellation which saw the emergence of the language legislation.

The language legislation of 1963

The problem which was dealt with first and most rapidly by the government was that of the language census. After the "No Census Day" demonstration the population census was postponed. When forms in the two languages were later sent round — a procedure which the Flemings considered as a disguised form of language census — there was again a wave of protest and the population census was once more postponed for one year. In July 1961 a law was finally voted that abolished the language aspect of the population census.

Defining the limits of the bilingual Brussels area caused far more political tensions. On the basis of the changes that had already taken place in four peripheral boroughs as a result of the previous language census (1947), the government agreed that strong French-speaking minorities in a number of peripheral boroughs would be entitled to language facilities. Brussels would otherwise remain restricted to 19 boroughs. The compromise agreement of the Catholic party (1960) had mentioned eight boroughs with language facilities. The bill introduced by the French-speaking Minister of the Interior recommended facilities in six boroughs and suggested that these be attached administratively to Brussels. The Flemish Movement naturally

opposed the proposal and put the Flemish Catholic MPs under heavy pressure. Counter-proposals were made by the Flemings, which resulted in yet other French-speaking alternatives being put forward and eventually led to the resignation of the government. The king, however, did not accept this resignation and the government parties held a conclave in the castle of Hertoginnedal/Val-Duchesse. The compromise agreement that was reached in July 1963 gave French-speakers the language concessions they had asked for in six peripheral communes: Drogenbos, Linkebeek, Kraainem, Wemmel, Wezembeek-Oppem and Sint-Genesius-Rode. French-speakers would be allowed to use French in their contacts with the local authority and it would be possible to set up French-speaking infant and primary schools. Flemish attempts to restrict these measures to the people already living in these boroughs failed. In no way were these measures interpreted by French-speakers as a means of adjusting more easily to the Flemish environment. On the contrary, they were seen as an important step towards total assimilation with the Brussels language regime. More account was taken of Flemish demands at the administrative level. Internally, Dutch would remain the only language of officialdom in these six boroughs with language facilities which would not be attached to Brussels but would form a separate district administered by the Dutch-speaking area of Halle-Vilvoorde. The electoral district of Brussels-Halle-Vilvoorde was not split, however, so that the Brussels parties could maintain their electorate. The Hertoginnedal/Val-Duchesse compromise was regarded as a defeat by the Flemish Movement: the shift to French in the area around Brussels, moreover, had not effectively been contained by the legislator.

In an attempt to make the agreement on language facilities more acceptable for the Flemish Catholics, concessions were made during the Hertoginnedal/Val-Duchesse conclave on other points of the package of language demands. The fact that French and Dutch in Brussels became practically on the same footing can only be understood in this context. The language law of August 2, 1963 consequently imposed strict regulation in the internal services of the local institutions. These include not only the administration but also related public utilities, church control, community centres and health institutions. All instructions are in two languages and the dossiers are treated either in the language of the area concerned, in the language of the person whose dossier is being treated, or in the language of the clerk who is handling the case. Each member of staff officially belongs to one of the two language rolls but must have an elementary knowledge of the other language. If a member of staff is to be in contact with the public, then he or she must have a better knowledge of the other language. When staff is recruited, half the jobs must be allotted equally to each language group. As

far as executive functions are concerned, however, there must be strict equality between the language groups. A transition period of ten years was accepted to adjust to the new law. All communications to the public are in two languages and written and oral contacts with individuals henceforth occur in the language of the individual. Language exams are organized by a Permanent Recruitment Secretariat supervised at national level. These directives do not apply to monolingual institutions and the central administration established in Brussels. The rejection, however, by the Walloons of individual bilingualism for the civil servant in official services only left room for different language rolls. Three kinds of officers are considered in the central administration established in Brussels: Dutch-speaking and French-speaking officers — who must be present in equal numbers — and bilingual officers occupying 20% of the jobs. Monolingual heads of department are assisted by language assistants.

The law on education which was accepted by parliament on July 30, 1963 also contained concessions forced by the Flemings in compensation for acceptance of the Hertoginnedal/Val-Duchesse compromise. The government proposed to create as many Dutch-speaking schools as were required to satisfy needs. Transition classes between Dutch-speaking and French-speaking schools were abolished, population norms for Dutch-speaking schools were lowered and the number of hours devoted to second-language learning was increased in Brussels and the boroughs with language facilities. There was also initial agreement on the control to be exercised on the language statement by the head of the family. Children from Dutch-speaking families would no longer be enrolled in French-speaking schools. This part of the law, however, caused heavy protest, not only from French-speakers, but also from Flemish parents who wanted to ensure social promotion for their children via the French-speaking school system. The French-speaking politicians, with those from Brussels at the forefront, rose collectively under lobbying from the pressure groups in defence of language freedom and the law was later changed accordingly. Play schools, kindergartens, infant and primary schools were then set up at an accelerated pace in response to Flemish demands.

Flemish demands were also satisfied by the creation of two supervisory bodies. A wide-ranging Committee for Language Supervision was set up in July, 1964. Its task was to examine all breaches of the language laws, whether these breaches concerned the letter or the spirit of the law. Its circumstantial annual reports constitute a useful collection of precepts in the matter of language use and the advice of the Committee is taken into account by the government when measures are decided. Yet another body was set up for Brussels and the boroughs with language facilities: a govern-

ment commissioner with the status of a provincial governor. The tasks of this vice-governor is to supervise strict enforcement of the language legislation and to promote the harmonious development of both language communities in the capital. He may take disciplinary measures if he has to: the government commissioner may dismiss, annul and impose penalties.

These measures were all symptomatic of the strategy which in this phase of the conflict lay at the root of the Flemish offensive: language laws had to modify the situation in Brussels. A defeat on two major points — the recognition of limited language facilities and the freedom for the head of the family — and the granting *mutatis mutandis* of the remaining Flemish language demands was the final political outcome of it all.

The language policy for Brussels at the centre of the conflict between the two communities (1970–1980)

Modified sociopolitical relations

When the conflict around Brussels flared up again towards the end of the 1960s it was no longer the language situation in the restricted sense that was the most important factor, rather the language situation of the capital as a crucial element in a much wider field of tension between mutually antagonistic Flanders and Wallonia. How can this development be explained? It is directly related to the relationships which had meanwhile sprung up between the two communities. Although before the period in question certain voices had expressed the idea that autonomy should not be restricted to cultural affairs alone, yet it was from the middle of the 1960s onwards that the programme of the entire Flemish movement was broadened to include economic federalism. Hence the situation was no longer viewed in terms of linguistic legislation within the unified state, rather, Flemish underdevelopment was seen as a reflection of an undemocratic position of strength held by the Francophone bourgeoisie in the economic and political life of the country. Cultural autonomy and economic decentralization were now downgraded to the role of minimum demands while the idea of federalism pure and simple was pushed into the forefront.

The belief within the Walloon Movement that the centralizing state was not giving Wallonia its due grew stronger as Flemish cultural policy took shape and economic expansion continued in Flanders. This impression was reinforced by the fact that the South, with its ageing production plants and dying basic industries, was being abandoned by the Belgian holding com-

panies. The recession in Wallonia was therefore seen as a result of an inferior position within the centralizing state. The demographic recession, moreover, lent political dimensions to these Walloon frustrations. The new Flemish élite was quite simply accused of gaining power on the backs of the Walloons. This socio-economic development turned *wallingantism* (the Walloon movement) into a mass feeling and gave it the support of the socialist workers' movement. An autonomous, socialist government was seen as a way out of the recession for Wallonia. Economic autonomy within a federal state was therefore prominent in the *wallingant* programme that was supported by the powerful pressure group which the *Mouvement populaire wallon* had since become, by a separate party, the *Rassemblement Wallon*, and by the socialists. The more radical wings of all these organizations became progressively more anti-Belgian and anti-Flemish and even evolved towards separatism.

Around 1970, when reforming the state had become inevitable, unitarists were still seeking ways of slowing down the move towards straightforward automomy but they could not prevent the outcome being in the direction of the separation of cultural communities and economic regions. A modified constitution (1970) provided for the creation of two autonomous cultural councils with decision-taking powers in the social-cultural sphere and agreed in principle to grant normative powers in the economic sector to Flemish and Walloon regional institutions. The 1980 state reform later provided for the ways in which the decision-taking powers of these regional councils could effectively be put into practice. The fact that the language conflict had now been filled in with elements from all the other sectors of society and had now become a large-scale community matter greatly affected the problem of Brussels. The conflict could no longer simply be restricted to mere language aspects. It now occupied a central position in both the struggle between the cultural communities and the competition between the economic regions.

A new element in the political relations was the fact that radical Francophone Brussels had in the meantime grown into a strong autonomous political movement. We have already seen how the French-speaking countermobilization started as a reaction to the Flemish marches. In 1964 the various pressure groups merged into one Brussels language party, the *Front Démocratique des Francophones* or F.D.F. The main emphasis in the F.D.F. programme lay on the unfettered free choice of language and separate Brussels identity. Fearing that the result for Brussels in a federal Belgium consisting of only two entities would be a loss of influence and subjugation to Flanders, the F.D.F. regarded an enlarged, autonomous third Brussels region as the best means of defence in the struggle to preserve

the position of the French-speakers of the capital within the Belgian state. Unlike the Flemish and Walloon Movement, the F.D.F. was not intent on defending a community but on developing a strategy that would limit the grip of a hostile Flanders on the capital.

Whereas the party originally attracted mainly well-to-do French-speakers, many of whom felt threatened in their promotion prospects by the language legislation and the breakthrough of the Dutch-speakers, in a later phase it was Brussels "nationalism" and the ideology of freedom of the F.D.F. that became attractive for other categories and people from lower status groups. The electoral success of the party grew surprisingly fast. In 1970 the F.D.F. had already reached 20% of the electorate of Brussels, in 1976 34% and, thanks to a coalition with like-minded liberals, the party even succeeded in obtaining the overall majority at the elections for the greater Brussels council. The mayor's seat was theirs in seven of the 19 boroughs and in nine boroughs they were part of the council. They scored best in the most Francophone and residential southern boroughs; less spectacular was the party's breakthrough in the northern boroughs that bordered on Flanders. But in all these boroughs, the F.D.F. managed to get a firm hold and consolidate its position by service network and ancillary organizations. This strong local position in the Brussels area enabled the party to make itself heard at national level also. The problem of Brussels, moreover, was indissoluble from the reform of the state for which special majorities were needed. The language parties were therefore indispensable negotiation partners, so that the F.D.F., at the height of its power, could voice its demands in optimal conditions and turn the question of Brussels into a real stumbling block. Backed by the language solidarity of the Walloons, the F.D.F. also called upon ties with Wallonia: Flemish demands with regard to Brussels symbolized the recession of the French-speakers at national level. In the period between 1970 and 1980 the F.D.F. could therefore rely upon the support of all the other French-speaking parties.

Taking all numerical relations into consideration, the position of the Flemings in Brussels was likewise greatly reinforced during this period. As the electoral district of Brussels-Halle-Vilvoorde forms a whole, the Dutch-speakers initially had no separate political structures: all parties in the capital were bilingual with French-speakers having the upper-hand. The organizing activities of the Flemings were mainly focussed on cultural aspects and were not reflected at party-political level. The membership of the 800-odd organizations that existed in 1970 did, however, potentially constitute a political power basis and the network of relationships that was set up by these ramifications reinforced the internal cohesion of the Flemish Movement in Brussels. In response to the F.D.F. offensive two trends

appeared from around 1970 onwards: the separation of Flemish parties and electoral co-operation between the Flemings beyond strict party boundaries. The snubbing which the Flemings received in the unitarist socialist party because they had supported the language legislation was the reason why the "Red Lions" (i.e. Flemish socialists in Brussels) were the first to go their separate way. The other parties followed, so that from the local elections of 1970 onwards there were monolingual Flemish lists in practically every borough. In 1974, 15% of the electorate of Brussels voted for Flemish candidates and in 1979 this percentage had risen to 20%. In the northern part of the agglomeration and in the borough of Brussels, this average percentage lay much higher; in the southern part on the other hand, it was much lower. The fact is that the electoral share of the Flemings grew but the trend was slowed down by a lack of community feeling on the part of acculturated Flemings on the one hand and the native Dutch-speakers who remained faithful to bilingual organizations on the other. The close ties with Flanders and closer ties with Flemish Brabant constituted an important additional component in the bid for power. The fact that Flemish Brussels was considered as an extension of the Flemish community and that Flanders became more than ever a privileged economic partner of the capital meant that the true position of the Dutch-speaking community by far exceeded the actual electoral results.

If Flemish demands — which, as far as Brussels goes, had so clearly been formulated in the 1960s — were maintained, the fact is that the community conflict caused new points to appear on the political agenda. The F.D.F. plan to turn Brussels into a separate region was resolutely rejected. Brussels was on the contrary to receive a status within the federal state that would ensure its role as a link between Flanders and Wallonia. Bilingualism and equality remained the key concepts. The positive results achieved in the cultural and educational sectors, as well as the cultural autonomy which Flanders had conquered in the meantime, led to further extension of Dutch-speaking monolingual structures becoming one of the top-priority goals. The Flemings wanted the necessary powers and means in Brussels to set up separate institutions in all areas connected with people (education, culture, health care, social aid), so that it would no longer be necessary to switch over to another language. By offering separate services, the aim was to create organizational ties that would counteract acculturation. It was also seen as a strategy to extend the Dutch-speaking community by including the large group of linguistically indifferent people of Flemish origin.

Brussels and the reform of the state

The constitutional reform of 1970 satisfied one of the most important demands of Francophone Brussels: the 19 boroughs would together form an autonomous, third region, with separate legislative and executive bodies, empowered to act in economic matters. Cultural and personal matters would remain within the competence of the Flemish and Francophone communities. The agglomeration council, which could be set up immediately and would deal with the more technical aspects of the administration (fire service, refuse collecting, etc.), would have a built-in alarm system in favour of the Flemings and in the executive body there would be near parity between the two communities. The Flemish plan to surround Brussels with monolingual Dutch-speaking peripheral federations in which the strong Francophone minorities could be neutralized was not carried through. What did happen was that a Dutch-speaking and French-speaking Committee for Culture was set up by the Brussels agglomeration council. It consisted of an equal number of separately chosen Dutch-speaking and French-speaking members and had two equal budgets.

Hence, the state reform of 1970 did in fact lay down the principle of the formation of three economic regions but it was agreed that special majorities would be needed to determine the composition of these bodies. There was, however, little desire on the part of the Flemings to set up a true Brussels regional council. In the meantime there were many negotiations, but the electoral relations were such that there seemed no way out of the stalemate situation, so that Flanders and Wallonia had to be content for the time being with cultural autonomy.

In 1977–78 it seemed as though the deadlock would be broken. A government was formed which included the strongest parties of the Flemish and Walloon regions (Catholics and socialists) and two language parties (F.D.F. and Volksunie). The formation of the new government was negotiated in the Egmont Palace in Brussels and it was there that a solution was sought. In exchange for increased autonomy for Flanders the Flemish majority present at the negotiating table were prepared to accede to Francophone demands concerning Brussels. French-speakers residing outside the boroughs with limited language facilities were in seven boroughs granted enrolment rights which entitled them to vote in Brussels and use French in their contacts with the administration. Brussels became the third economic region and the Flemings were not equally represented in the regional council. French-speaking community committees could be set up in the boroughs with limited language facilities. The compensatory measures for the Dutch-speakers included: the extension of the powers of the Dutch-

speaking Committee for Culture to include matters connected with persons, an alarm bell procedure in the Brussels regional council, the limiting of Brussels to the 19 boroughs, the splitting of the electoral district of Brussels-Halle-Vilvoorde and the creation of community committees at local level with a minimum budget of 20% for the Dutch-speakers.

For most of the pressure groups that belonged to the Flemish Movement the concessions to Francophone Brussels went too far. They anticipated that because of the enrolment right the shift to French of the peripheral area would continue and that the French-speaking electorate would reinforce its position in the capital and in Flemish Brabant. By departing from equality in the administrating bodies of Brussels and accepting the analogy between the minorities in and outside the capital, one was confirming the structural minority position of Flemings in Brussels, depriving the Flemings of a strong moral incentive and endangering the system of bilingualism. As a result, a fundamental break appeared between the party chairmen and their followers. An anti-Egmont Committee went into action and protest demonstrations were organized. But the unitarists, for whom federalization was going too far, also started to manoeuvre in an attempt to slow down the process. State reform came to deadlock once again.

It was only when the political constellation changed around 1980 — with as a result of the economic recession the liberals gaining ground and the community parties suffering a setback — that an agreement was reached. The Walloons dissociated themselves from the irreconcilable F.D.F. and were prepared to accept a Flemish–Walloon dialogue without hindrance from the problem of Brussels. The government's state reform plan of August 1980 consequently provided for further federalization and led a few years later to the creation of a Flemish council and government, with the power to act in matters connected both with territory and persons, and to a Walloon economic region and a French-speaking community which also included the Francophones of Brussels. Flemish Brussels interests connected with persons are looked after by Flanders. For the rest, the question of Brussels remained a pending matter and all the precarious points of the Egmont pact were carefully removed. The agglomeration of Brussels was for the time being granted a regional executive body, but its members belong to the national government and are therefore controlled by the national parliament. Its powers are also more restricted than those of Flanders and Wallonia. The capital therefore did not become a *région à part entière*. Furthermore, the ministers for Brussels no longer have administrative powers over the borough of Brussels. Brussels itself remained national territory. In other words, a provisional solution in 1985 is the outcome of

many years of bitter struggle between the Dutch-speaking and French-speaking communities around the problem of Brussels.

The interaction between language policy and the language situation

In the present state of research it is still not possible to make concrete statements concerning the true impact of this complex decision-taking process in the matter of language policy on the actual language situation in Brussels. A number of studies, however, do enable us — very carefully, it is true — to formulate a number of hypotheses. These will be presented in the paragraphs that follow.

The results of the language legislation

As far as the problem of the boroughs around Brussels is concerned, it is a fact that the "oil slick" spread rapidly after Hertoginnedal/Val-Duchesse. The six communes with limited language facilities were granted a status that was little different from that of the capital. The immigration of French-speaking citizens took place on a large scale. Towards the end of the 1960s, more administrative documents in French were being delivered than in Dutch and from the electoral results it appears that the French-speakers obtained roughly 50% of the votes. There was little talk of integrating into the Dutch-speaking community. French-speakers' children were sent to the local French-speaking primary schools, after which they attended secondary schools in Brussels. Culturally, they were completely tuned to Brussels. The middle-class sector adjusted and became bilingual. The apparent language pattern is therefore very similar to that of Brussels. It can, however, be assumed that segregation between the language communities is greater. Bilingualism is less widespread than in the capital because of the absence of a systematic policy of shifting to French and monolingual French-speakers are faced with a far larger group of monolingual Dutch-speakers than is the case in Brussels.

But the immigration of French-speakers also increased after Hertoginnedal/Val-Duchesse in the boroughs around Brussels where there were no limited language facilities. If the election results are taken as a gauge of the presence of French-speakers it appears that various boroughs had average concentrations of 20% in the 1970s. The presence of French-speakers is,

however, unevenly spread. Geographically speaking, the areas with the highest percentage of French-speakers are an extension of those in the agglomeration. In the southern communes, French-speakers obtained roughly 25% of the votes, whereas in the northern communes their score rarely exceeds 15%. Although this immigration of French-speakers had no influence on the level of language policy, it did change the apparent language pattern. More especially in the southern part that lies between the southern half of Brussels and the northern part of Walloon Brabant — an area where many executive-class people speaking different languages have settled (Americans, British, Germans) — did the middle-class sector really switch over to bilingualism.

Though the trend is hard to define on the basis of the numerical data alone there are sufficient qualitative data to venture that there has been a certain stabilization of the language situation in the area around Brussels since the 1970s. A few demographic studies indicate that immigration from Brussels is no longer on the increase in certain boroughs; that on the contrary immigration from Flanders is increasing. The administrative data related to pension allowances, identity cards, building permits and details of conscripts of three communes with limited language facilities also seem to indicate that the number of French-speakers is no longer on the increase. Since the mid-1970s the figures have remained practically stable or have even changed to the benefit of the Dutch-speakers.

Other factors also point to an evolution of the climate in general. The economic recession made travelling dearer and led the local councils in Brussels to make the town more attractive in an attempt to curb depopulation. A demographic shift towards the cheaper capital city and away from the more expensive boroughs around Brussels, with or without limited language facilities, is slowly taking shape in certain social groups. The weaker economic basis of the agglomeration of Brussels also appeared more clearly, so that the separation of the area around Brussels from the more dynamic Flemish Brabant and attachment to Brussels became a less attractive prospect. Flemish Brabant is, moreover, a growth area for the Flemings and its importance in the Flemish economic and political system is such that the Flemings would never dream of parting with it. This appears clearly from the defence mechanisms which, especially after the Egmont proposals, went into action. At that moment the Dutch-speakers felt more threatened than ever. In reaction to the systematic shift towards French of the Brussels building companies, a Flemish property and habitation policy took shape that was to attract mainly Dutch-speakers. Campaigns were organized in co-operation with the building and other economic sectors to increase

Flemish awareness and slow down French-speaking immigration. Wherever the conscious Flemings were in the majority, the local councils adopted a less compliant attitude. In sharp contrast to the very flexible policy that was once pursued, the language legislation is now applied very strictly, Dutch lessons are organized for immigrants and information campaigns receive full support.

The fact that the Flemish population of the area around Brussels is increasingly associating itself with the changing Flemish political system and is delegating politicians that do the same can only be seen from recent election results. The grip of French-speaking Brussels politicians on the area is gradually weakening. All Flemish parties are therefore in agreement that the area around Brussels will never be taken away from Flanders and it is being suggested that the language facilities should be limited to the present inhabitants.

The change has apparently also affected the linguistic situation. Studies in Sint-Genesius-Rode, a commune with limited language facilities, have shown that the younger generation, as far as language attitudes are concerned, will reject anything that reflects the domination of the French language. The social utility value of Dutch has in no way declined. The direct link with Flanders undoubtedly lends greater functionality to the language. There is also a higher assessment of standard Dutch, which is mastered much better than it used to be and is seen as a means of curbing the shift towards French. There is in fact no real social barrier anymore between Dutch and French. The practical knowledge of French is usually good enough to enable these Dutch-speakers to be considered as bilinguals on the job market, a fact which again increases their confidence.

How the French-speakers react to these recent changes in the area around Brussels remains an open question. Can a number of them reconcile themselves to this novel social situation? Does the French-speaking inhabitant of Brussels realize that the Flemish wish to preserve the Dutch-speaking character of the area around Brussels? And does this realization have an effect on his language behaviour and language attitudes? These and other fundamental questions still remain to be studied.

Whether fundamental language shifts have taken place as a result of the compulsory bilingualism that was imposed on the public sector in Brussels in 1963 is another question for which no clear answer can as yet be provided. As far as applying the language legislation is concerned, however, it is possible to draw a number of tentative conclusions. It is, for example, true that the various supervisory bodies were very active. The Permanent Re-

cruitment Secretariat guarantees that the language skills of successful examinees meet the required standards. A large number of candidates do not succeed the first time. The annual reports of the Permanent Committee for Language Supervision strongly emphasize the slow pace at which the imbalance in the numbers of French-speakers and Dutch-speakers is being corrected. Despite the initial lack of infrastructure and Francophone opposition on which it was forever stumbling, this government committee exercised systematic supervision and in many cases resorted to annulments. In 1976, for example, there were 199 cases of annulment: the following year 169. In 1963 the relation was 11–89 in favour of the French-speakers; in 1970 the imbalance in the boroughs of Brussels had been reduced to 30–70 and in 1979 near parity between the two language groups had been reached in the higher functions. Taking all levels into consideration, Dutch-speakers now occupy 40% of the jobs and French-speakers 60%. Since 1963 there has been a spectacular shift in the local administrations by which hundreds of jobs have gone to Dutch-speakers. A similar phenomenon was encountered in the central administrations situated in Brussels. In the highest and lowest functions Dutch-speakers even obtained the majority. There can be little doubt that the functionality of Dutch has increased for all civil servants and clerks working in Brussels. Knowledge of Dutch has moreover become a prerequisite for nominations and promotions. Furthermore, contacts with Flanders must be in Dutch only and this rule also applies to the private sector since 1973. And then, of course, there are contacts with the members of the consciously Flemish community of Brussels.

But the language legislation did not have the same effect in all sectors. In the health sector, for instance, there was little change. In 1973 Dutch-speaking doctors in public hospitals accounted for only 6%. The intervention of the supervisory body increased this share to 20%. Taking into account the fact that Flemish patients from Brussels and Flemish Brabant represent 35% of the patients overall, this particular language situation is seen as a problem; all the more since the percentages of Dutch-speaking doctors in private hospitals and practices are even lower. The agglomeration council of Brussels constitutes yet another problem area. We have already seen how the Flemings were deluded during the elections by Francophone voting lists which included so-called Dutch-speakers. Consequently, the alarm procedure cannot be set in motion and legally prescribed councillors' functions were devoid of a Flemish-oriented content. It is symptomatic of the Francophone domination in this institution that in 1976–1977 38% of the annulments pronounced by the vice-governor were directed at the agglomeration council despite the fact that there was no need whatsoever to correct any imbalance.

It would also be wrong to conclude that the legal supervision of bilingual requirements resulted in an automatic shift towards Dutch. Statements on this count must be subject to close examination of the linguistic aspects of the recruitment procedure. More especially at lower levels, the question remains whether Dutch-speakers from Flanders still retain the comfortable lead they once had over French-speakers where bilingualism is concerned and consequently whether they still have better employment prospects. When a French-speaker passes the Dutch exam, or when a bilingual is on the Dutch language roll, this does not mean that they belong to the Dutch-speaking cultural community. The language that is spoken in private life and that which is spoken at work can be different. And whether the share of Dutch-speaking dossiers and contacts — according to the data provided by the registry office acts, this share hovers around 15% — is enough to bear influence on the existing language behaviour of the civil servants is just as difficult to assess.

The extension of monolingual structures

One of the immediate results of the strategy that was carried out to create monolingual structures in Brussels was the rapid development of the Dutch-speaking education network. The professionalism of an aggressive promotion campaign soon had positive results in the pre-schooling sector and in primary education. The number of institutions in the former sector was multiplied by 17 in a period of ten years and the share of the market was maintained in the primary school sector. The move from Dutch-speaking infant schools to French-speaking primary schools dropped by almost 40%. The creation of secondary schools, non-university schools of higher education and university institutions in Brussels — the Vrije Universiteit (Free University), for example, has 7,000 students and employs 3,500 people — illustrates the same growth trend.

The evolution was even more spectacular in the sociocultural sector. Between 1967 and 1981 the number of Dutch-speaking associations rose from 614 to 1,241. The range of choice therefore doubled for the Flemings of Brussels. The growth of local and agglomeration associations, which is mainly concentrated in the sectors of adult training, the elderly and the young, does not only reflect a general tendency as in Holland and Flanders to set up a large number of basic groups, but is also the result of the move towards autonomy, of financial support, of greater professionalism and desire for a separate cultural identity on the part of the Flemings of Brussels.

The creation of link-up organizations certainly played a major role in this process. Before 1970 a number of initiatives had already been taken by the vice-governor as part of this assignment. In 1966 a Centre (NCC) was set up whose task it was to facilitate communication between the various associations. In 1967 a permanent secretariat for the promotion of Dutch-speaking education (VOC) went into action. In 1969 the youth organizations were linked together (ANJC) and from 1972 onwards there was a co-ordinating body for all the sociocultural borough councils (APSKW), which themselves centralized the local associations. The major link-up organization, however, was the Dutch-speaking Committee for Culture, which in 1972 was set up in the framework of the agglomeration council. After a time it appeared that it was mainly the NCC and the APSKW that played an important role in supporting and stimulating Flemish awareness in Brussels. The NCC works in close co-operation with the other link-up organizations and occupies a central position in every sector of education and culture. The APSKW organized tone-setting Congresses during which Brussels–Flemish demands were formulated.

Though it is difficult to show the positive correlation between the number of monolingual organizations and the size of the consciously Flemish group, it can safely be assumed that the constant attention that was devoted to the Dutch-speaking community did certainly not have a negative effect on the strength of the group. In fact there was no drop in numbers. Bearing in mind that the percentage of foreigners assimilated to French-speakers has risen to 25% and a number of Dutch-speakers left Brussels to settle in the peripheral area, the slight increase in percentage of Dutch-speaking identity cards means that there has certainly been no drop in the Dutch-speaking groups. In the sectors where foreigners bear little influence on the figures (military recruits, building permits and deaths) slight increases of 2 to 4% have been registered since 1965. The fact that the numerous monolingual organizations employ hundreds of people has almost certainly had a positive influence on Dutch-speaking presence in Brussels.

In the Flemish community of Brussels there is also a linguistic evolution towards standard Dutch. A sample of university students has shown that the standardization process is more advanced among Brussels Flemings than in Flanders. The development of a Dutch-speaking middle-class and intellectual élite composed of Flemish immigrants occupying higher and middle-level positions in the public and private sectors is probably a relevant factor in this context. It can therefore be assumed as far as these people are concerned that the function of French as a supraregional language has faded, that Dutch has become more important as a reference language and

more competitive with French, all the more since French is no longer an indispensable instrument for social promotion. The value of the Dutch-speaking cultural identity therefore increased. This expression of greater self-respect is also reflected in the way in which the Dutch culture is seen as a factor of prestige and power by this élite. In order to be able to assert oneself with regard to the Francophones, Brussels must become the city where Dutch culture is seen at its best. The fact that a large number of Flemings have a reasonable functional knowledge of French or at least a sufficient communicative competence reinforces their confidence. The attention which in their schools is paid to French enables Dutch-speakers to promote their education network as the best guarantee for bilingualism. The results of the language exams certainly prove them right.

The strategy on the other hand has its limitations. The monolingual structures by no means reach all Dutch-speakers working in Brussels, the first reason being that only a part of them live there. Flemings are fairly sedentary and do not feel particularly attracted by the capital as a place of residence. Large numbers of people therefore commute from Flanders. But neither are all the Flemings living in Brussels reached. Surveys have shown that only 30% are actively involved in the activities of the cultural organizations. There is also little indication that the group of half-consciously Flemish and accultured dialect speakers are attracted. And there is no interest whatsoever on the part of the growing group of foreign migrant workers. The extension of Dutch-speaking education is equally unable to bring the shift towards French to a standstill. Study results from the mid-1970s indicated that children from homogeneous Dutch-speaking families still follow French-speaking education rather than Dutch and pointed to the fact that there is still a relation between upward social mobility and the more frequent use of French. It should not be forgotten, however, that the creation of Dutch-speaking institutions occurs from a minority position. The increase in the number of Frenchified foreigners will in time make the situation far more acute. French-speakers are therefore in a position to defend by this strategy the system of proportional representation. Flemish demands concerning language equality in Brussels could consequently be threatened. It was mentioned earlier that a certain parallelism between the Dutch-speaking and French-speaking communities was maintained during the extension of the monolingual structures. As a result, a French-speaking Committee for Culture was set up that carried out various monolingual initiatives. Between 1975 and 1980 the number of Francophone cultural associations rose from 1,600 to over 1,900. Under the influence of French-speaking majorities there is a tendency in many borough councils to opt for the enforcement of the decrees of the French-speaking community, as a

result of which associations which had remained bilingual were taken over administratively by the French-speaking sector. Several examples in the sport sector can be used to illustrate this process. F.D.F. boroughs systematically set up monolingual non-profit-making associations which were entrusted with matters connected with persons. The language legislation does not apply to this type of monolingual institution. The growth of French-speaking structures is therefore also supported by the boroughs — a policy which naturally hinders bilingualism. Because of the language attitudes of the Francophones that run these institutions one can also assume that French monolingualism is encouraged in these circles and that avoidance strategies are developed with regard to Dutch. The situation which prevails in education is certainly symptomatic of this linguistic atmosphere. The acquisition of Dutch is, generally speaking, not very efficient, the teachers' knowledge often inadequate and anti-motivation is not infrequently encountered among the pupils and their parents. As far as numbers are concerned, these French-speaking institutions can rely on a fairly large potential since they attract large numbers of foreigners. Over 40% of the population in French-speaking schools already belong to this group. One can therefore anticipate that Francophone preponderance will increase by means of these institutions.

Towards a different form of bilingualism

Our attempt to formulate a few careful hypotheses in connection with the present model of bilingualism in Brussels must take into account the changes that have recently taken place in different sectors. There have certainly been important changes in the sociopolitical configuration. As a result of the more prominent socio-economic and migrant problems, the F.D.F. has these last few years been losing electoral ground. In the local elections of 1982 the party lost 25% of its votes. Its leading figures are going over to the traditional parties. It cannot be denied, therefore, that the relevance of language and community problems is fading in Brussels. As far as attitudes towards bilingualism are concerned, this evolution is apparently not having any negative effect. There are also indications that economic pressure from monolingual Flanders and Flemish Brabant is playing a role. The daily presence of monolingual Dutch-speakers from the tertiary sector (71% of commuters come from Flanders) or of Flemings who are no longer prepared to speak French in Brussels must certainly have a stimulating effect on bilingualism in the capital's middle-class sector. The Brussels' labour market also seems to be changing. There is quite obviously an increasing

demand for bilingualism in the private sector. A study of the small ads shows that 80% of the available jobs are for bilingual people. The higher the job level, the more bilingualism is required.

Interesting material was also provided by an opinion poll that was held in 1985. The overwhelming majority of inhabitants of Brussels consider it desirable for administrators, civil servants and clerks to be bilingual in Brussels. Almost 80% agree that public services and even private institutions should be staffed by people who know the two languages. French monolingualism is therefore no longer taken for granted in Brussels. The attraction of Dutch-speaking education for French-speaking parents points in the same direction. In a number of higher social categories solutions are being sought to compensate for insufficient acquisition of Dutch in French-speaking education. Holidays in Holland, exchanges with Dutch-speaking families and the recent increase of children from homegeneous French-speaking families in Dutch-speaking education — 20% of the population in Dutch-speaking schools come from this kind of background — illustrate this trend. The majority of the French-speaking inhabitants of Brussels are moreover dissatisfied with the way in which they learned Dutch. The evolution towards bilingualism can in certain cases be traced in the monolingual organizations. The attempt to gain clientèle sometimes entails contacts with the public in the other language.

To summarize, it can be said that the language legislation and policy of autonomy for the communities caused changes in the complex linguistic situation of the capital. It can be assumed that because of the continuous shift towards French and polarization between the communities there has been an increase of monolingual French-speakers among the younger generation. The opinion polls mentioned above indicate that the size of this group is around 30%. In the higher status groups, however, there seems to be a tendency to learn standard Dutch. Insofar as these monolingual French-speakers are employed by the administration in Brussels, it can be assumed that a number of them have acquired a certain knowledge of Dutch because of the language exam. As far as the monolingual Dutch-speakers are concerned, it can be said that the standardization process has developed rapidly and dialect use has declined.

Those who belong to monolingual institutions or Dutch language rolls can now also adopt a more monolingual stance at work. Many elements, however, point to the fact that the majority is clinging to a certain tradition of bilingualism which involves minimum communicative competence in the other language. There is also a reasonable chance that their children know

better French than the children from monolingual French-speaking families know Dutch. Whether there have also been changes in the large group that use Brussels French as the high variant and Brussels dialect as the low variant is difficult to assess. The opinion polls already mentioned indicate that 46% of the people questioned still have an active knowledge of the Brussels dialect. Inasmuch as bilingual personnel are recruited from this group for the tertiary sector it can be assumed that their knowledge of standard Dutch and standard French has also improved.

A totally new component in the linguistic make-up of Brussels arose during the period under scrutiny as a result of massive immigration from the Mediterranean area. The attraction of French is very strong for these migrants. Migrants' children use this language as a high language variant and the dialect from the area of origin as a low variant. Little is known about their attitudes to the Dutch which they learn at school. The extent to which they will contribute to the maintenance of French as a predominant language has not yet been studied. The question is the same as far as the impact of the group of American and EEC foreigners who reside in Brussels is concerned. Both these developments, however, fall outside the immediate influence which the language legislation and policy of autonomy for the communities has had on the linguistic situation in Brussels and which we have attempted to delineate in this overview in the form of a number of hypotheses.

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4 Sociological Aspects
Ethnolinguistic enclosure patterns in post-war Brussels: A sociological analysis

FRED LOUCKX

We begin this chapter with the analysis of a number of fundamental characteristics of the situation in Brussels: our primary intention here is to provide a sketch of the day-to-day social reality with which the Brussels population is confronted. In our opinion it is not possible to understand the ethnolinguistic behaviour of this population without a better knowledge of its daily life and social experience. Of crucial importance in this context are the preponderance of French-speakers in the capital, the condition of the Brussels labour market, and the evolution of the Flemish infrastructure in metropolitan Brussels.

Ethnolingusitic relations in Brussels

We would like to state clearly that it does not lie in the scope of our study to give a precise estimate of the number of Dutch-speakers in Brussels. Nor is it our concern here to trace how this number has evolved in the course of time. In other words, what we are interested in is not so much how many Dutch-speakers there are in Brussels according to one or other "assigned" ethnolinguistic criteria, but rather how strongly the Flemish presence can be perceived in the everyday "acquired" ethnolinguistic behaviour of the inhabitants of Brussels.

The results of previous investigations of the linguistic situation in Brussels are in many cases influenced by weak methodological foundations and the overt or covert political starting-point of the investigation. From a scientific point of view it would be best to operate cautiously with these figures. For safety's sake, it is best to avoid drawing conclusions from one specific numerical result. What seems to be called for is a careful comparison of the results of different research projects.

In advance we also want to draw the reader's attention to the fact that in the following survey we have included only linguistic censuses and estimates which were conducted completely independently of one another. This implies that an estimate such as that by Roels (1966), based on an arithmetic mean of two other counts, will not be discussed. Since such estimates add no fundamentally new information they are less interesting as reference-points for comparison. Furthermore, we shall be speaking exclusively about the non-official censuses and estimates, since Van Velthoven has already provided a discussion of the official linguistic census conducted in 1947, in Chapter 2.

One important non-official estimate is that by Kint. Kint (1966) relies upon two different methods for his calculations: in the first he makes use of "privileged informants". 80% of these were Dutch-speakers involved primarily in management and education. Each of these informants was asked to make an estimate of the Dutch-speaking population "in the municipality where he/she was living or working". Kint arrived in mid-1966 at a global percentage of Dutch-speakers for metropolitan Brussels which lay between 26.66% (minimum) and 31.66% (maximum). He also points to the wide differences between the municipalities. Sint-Agatha-Berchem/Berchem-Sainte-Agathe, Evere and Sint-Jans-Molenbeek/Molenbeek-Saint-Jean belong, according to him, to the most "Flemish" municipalities; Sint-Gillis/Saint-Gilles, Sint-Joost-ten-Node/St.-Josse, Ukkel/Uccle and Elsene/Ixelles to the least "Flemish" ones. These municipalities also had very low percentages in the linguistic census of 1947. The same minimal global percentage found by Kint was also found in a 1968 investigation conducted by the European Marketing Research Association.

In addition to the above-mentioned method, Kint also made an estimate on the basis of statistics regarding the school population, the linguistic registration of conscripts, and the families belonging to the *Bond van Grote en Jonge Gezinnen* (Association of Large and Young Families). According to this method, the percentage of Dutch-speakers in metropolitan Brussels lay between 21.55% and 26.55%. In 1963, the *Bloc de la Liberté Linguistique* (Front for Linguistic Freedom) arrived, on the basis of a similar research method, at a figure not higher than 20%.

An estimate which gave rise to a lot of political controversy was that by Kluft & Van der Vorst (1966). On the basis of a number of questions about a person's mother-tongue, the language used most frequently, the language in which one does calculations in one's head, and ethnolinguistic solidarity, both authors arrive at a global percentage of 17.7%. The most interesting figure for us, the one based on the language most frequently used, was even lower. Kluft & Van der Vorst find that 81.2% of the Brussels population speak mostly French. Of the remaining 18.8%, only 13.1% have Dutch as the most frequently used language, while the other 5.7% belong to a leftover category which is not easy to accommodate. This is the lowest percentage of Dutch-speakers that has ever emerged from an estimate.

Boserup published a study in 1969 about the socio-economic differences between the ethnolinguistic groups in Brussels. In addition to a variety of very interesting conclusions concerning socio-economic differentiation within metropolitan Brussels, Boserup also ventures a global estimate of the Dutch-speaking population in Brussels. For this purpose he uses the four criteria selected by Kluft & Van der Vorst. In contrast to these authors Boserup arrives at a global percentage of 22%.

Relying upon the parliamentary elections of 1968 for the three urban cantons of Sint-Gillis/Saint-Gilles, Brussels and Molenbeek, Monteyne (no date) reaches the conclusion that approximately 24.5% of the Brussels population "generally act as Dutch-speakers".

Finally, let us mention a survey conducted by the Brussels newspaper, *Le Soir*, which concluded in March 1985 that metropolitan Brussels comprises 14% Dutch-speakers.

After this survey of a number of estimates, the conclusion clearly emerges that the Dutch-speaking presence in Brussels is much weaker than the French-speaking one. This does not say anything about the actual number of Flemings in Brussels. We merely state that the use of French in Brussels is much more widespread than the use of Dutch. Whether it be a Fleming or a Walloon who is using French is of less importance here, since the result, namely the preponderant use of French, remains the same.

Ethnolinguistic influence of foreigners and commuters

The above figures must be relativized by taking account of the circumstances that they neglect the influence of two important groups which strongly influence the everyday linguistic profile of metropolitan Brussels: namely, the foreigners and commuters. Of primary importance is the fact

that these groups appear to exercise contrary effects upon the linguistic balance in Brussels. This becomes evident upon consideration of a number of figures.

The evolution of the number of foreigners in metropolitan Brussels is represented in Table 1. Whereas foreigners did not even represent 10% of the Brussels population around 1966, by 1983 the percentage had risen to 23.9%.

TABLE 1 *Evolution of the Number of Foreigners in Metropolitan Brussels between 1947 and 1983*

	Number of Foreigners	
Year	*Absolute figures*	*% with respect to the total Brussels population*
1947	70,880	7.4
1961	68,989	6.7
1970	173,507	16.1
1979	227,741	22.4
1983	237,875	23.9

As the main causes of the dramatic increase in the number of foreigners after 1961, Wijgaerts (1979) cites the economic boom and the tight labour market in Brussels, where the demand for unskilled labour was especially great. This has the consequence that towards the end of the 1970s one out of four foreigners residing in Belgium lived in Brussels.

At this point, the question naturally arises as to the extent to which these foreigners contribute to the above-mentioned predominance of French in Brussels. An important, though limited, indication of the linguistic preferences of foreigners in Brussels is the percentage of foreign children attending Dutch-language and French schools. Table 2 below provides some

TABLE 2 *The Number of Foreigners in Dutch-Language Kindergartens and Primary Schools in Brussels*

	Kindergarten		*Primary School*	
School Year	*Number*	*%*	*Number*	*%*
1973–1974	221	3.9	280	2.1
1978–1979	274	6.1	383	3.1
1983–1984	622	11.2	477	5.8

figures relating to the number of foreigners in Dutch kindergartens and primary schools. The percentages indicate the relative significance of foreigners in relation to the total number of pupils in the Dutch-language kindergartens or primary schools.

Table 2 shows that the number of foreigners in Dutch language kindergartens and primary schools is rather small. For purposes of comparison we note that the number of foreign children in French kindergartens and primary schools during the school year 1979–1980 came to 42.6% and 40.1%, respectively. Although we may not overestimate the criterion of choice of school it seems to us that these figures provide some support for the claim that the foreign population in Brussels contributes to the French predominance outlined above.

On the other hand, commuting to the capital strengthens the Dutch-speaking presence in Brussels. This is shown very clearly in Table 3. Although the relative share of Flemish commuters dropped from 77.61% to 71.21% between 1947 and 1977, commuters from Flanders remain by far the most important group for metropolitan Brussels.

TABLE 3 *Evolution of the Number of Commuters to Brussels for the Period 1947–1977* (rounded to nearest whole number)

Origin of Commuters	*Year*			
	1947	*1961*	*1970*	*1977*
Flanders	104,000	148,000	174,000	188,000
Wallonia	30,000	41,000	72,000	76,000

All these figures must still be relativized. To begin with, it is certainly not true that all commuters from Flanders are Flemish. Furthermore, it is probably not the case that all the Flemings who commute to Brussels daily speak Dutch there. In addition, one must take account of the strong local concentration of this commuting, of which approximately 73% is absorbed by the actual centre of the city, the so called "pentagon". Indeed, most commuters are employed in the areas of public services, credit institutions, insurance, transportation, communication, construction, the metallurgical industry, utilities and wood and furniture industry.

The Brussels "street image"

In addition to the above oral use of language, the "street image" also has a strong influence on the linguistic profile of Brussels. Naturally, this factor

is difficult to investigate. Tulp (1977) has attempted an investigation in this direction. In 1976 she conducted research into the distribution of Dutch and French billboards in metropolitan Brussels. In order to control for fluctuations through time she divided her study into two subordinate investigations which were carried out with an interim of three months. The billboards investigated in both parts of the study represented 19.5% and 21%, respectively, of the total number of "boards of large format". Tulp arrived at the following global results: 64.3% French billboards, 24.4% Dutch billboards, 10% Bilingual billboards or billboards without text, 1.3% billboards in a third language. As in the "estimates" described above, Tulp also found significant differences among municipalities. Her conclusion is very clear: "the Brussels street image is certainly not bilingual, but rather predominantly French, with a little concession to Dutch here and there".

The influence of this omnipresent predominance of French in the capital is often underestimated in the literature on Brussels. The situation is often depicted as if the cause of "Frenchification" in Brussels was to be sought solely in a "planned and deliberate policy of Frenchification".

The day-to-day social reality is, however, considerably more complicated than would appear from such simplistic approaches. In fact, Frenchification lies equally in everyday, often unconscious, social contacts. The "tacit" pressure of the Francophone majority, which is often felt without being articulated, is definitely very strong in Brussels. We are pleased to mention in this connection Van Cauwelaert (1974–76), who is one of the few authors who have understood the importance of this factor in Brussels.

The moderating effect of ethnolinguistic residential patterns and linguistically mixed marriages

The above-mentioned sociopsychological pressure is "moderated" by the circumstance that it is not coupled with an ethnolinguistic segmentation of social life. Due to the weak presence of *monopolistiche Abschliessung* (or monopolistic exclusion) between the ethnolinguistic groups, there is no trace of residential segregation or "marital exclusion" with respect to the Flemish in Brussels. To be sure, there are several neighbourhoods in Brussels where the average number of Flemings is larger than elsewhere in the city; this is made evident by a number of studies. It does not mean, however, that we are here confronted with "ghetto formation". In other words, the allocation of social space in Brussels creates no sharp dividing line between Dutch-speakers and French-speakers. This stands in sharp contrast to the residential patterns of foreigners in Brussels, which are much more strongly characterized by residential segregation.

The frequent occurrence of linguistically mixed marriages between Dutch-speakers and French-speakers is another important consequence of the very weak *monopolistische Abschliessung* between the two ethnolinguistic groups. It is remarkable that practically no research has been conducted concerning this aspect of the ethnolinguistic situation in Brussels. Although Van Passel & Verdoodt (1975) state in a recent article on bilingualism that there were a significant number of linguistically mixed marriages after the second World War, they provide no precise figures. A study conducted in municipalities on the language border indicates a figure of 18.6% linguistically mixed marriages. Though these meagre data do not permit us at present to supply a more precise picture of the frequency of linguistically mixed marriages in Brussels, we cannot deny the presence of this social phenomenon. Future research will have to decide whether the above percentage, based on figures of a few municipalities on the language border, also applies to Brussels.

The Brussels labour market

We have seen in the preceding chapter that the predominance of French has an important, but often underestimated, influence on the ethnolinguistic situation in the capital. One might wonder to what extent this predominance of French in Brussels is manifested in the labour market. Indeed, a considerable number of writers have pointed out that insights into relations in the labour market are of fundamental importance for a better understanding of situations of ethnic contact.

The structure of employment in Brussels

Before discussing the ethnolinguistic aspect of the Brussels labour market, a concise survey of the general employment-structure in Brussels is called for. This structure is characterized by an over-concentration of activities belonging to the service-sector. Statistical data from 1977 show that no less than 77.51% of employees in Brussels work in the service-sector. Clerical workers are, therefore, by far the most important socioprofessional group in Brussels. They also occupy a very important place in the industrial sector.

Most of the economic, political and social decision-making takes place in the capital. This contributes largely to the hypertrophy of the service-sector in Brussels. For instance, according to Van Hecke (1978), a good two-thirds of the 100 largest non-industrial Belgian firms have their main

office in Brussels. This also holds for about 40% of the 200 largest Belgian industrial companies. The presence of many international companies also contributes to this large service-sector. For instance, no less than 165 American multinationals have their European headquarters in Brussels. Many companies direct their branch-offices from Brussels without having separate management in their subsidiaries located in metropolitan Brussels. One of the most important consequences of this concentration is the commuter-traffic to Brussels.

Let us inspect the components of the administrative and industrial employment structure more closely. We will here make use of two important criteria of evaluation. The first criterion is the number of jobs which a specific activity represents in Brussels. The second criterion is "a coefficient of concentration or specialisation" developed by Peeters (1978). This coefficient indicates to what extent a certain activity is concentrated in the capital. On the basis of this coefficient and the number of jobs, Peeters arrives at the following list of the 18 most important activities in the service-sector.

TABLE 4 *Most Important Activities in the Service Sector in Brussels*

	Coefficient of specialization	*Number of jobs*
Advertising	45.9	2,343
Radio, television, cable distribution	44.2	4,256
Insurance companies	36.6	15,010
Professional associations	34.3	2,452
Credit institutions (except for banks)	28.9	10,669
Wholesalers in drugs, make-up and cleaning products	27.2	6,858
Technical services to companies	25.3	9,328
Real estate	23.6	2,207
Government administration (narrow sense)	23.3	36,581
Miscellaneous services offered to companies	23.3	14,169
Banks	22.5	27,231
Compulsory social security	18.6	13,001
Maintenance companies	18.0	9,439
Wholesalers in miscellaneous articles	15.4	6,341
Wholesalers in machines and vehicles	15.0	16,587
Accounting and tax-advisers	14.7	6,105
Miscellaneous services to the community	12.4	3,458
Wholesalers in industrial fuel, chemical products	11.2	8,029

Of the four activities with the highest coefficient of specialization, only the insurance companies offer a fairly large number of jobs. The concentra-

tion of wholesalers in machines and vehicles, the miscellaneous services to companies and the compulsory social security service in the city is also striking. The financial institutions (banks and savings-banks) and the government administration (limited to parliament and ministries) are definitely in the lead.

In a recently published article about the public sector Stoppie (1977) shows that not only the national government departments but also the municipal ones occupy a rather important position in metropolitan Brussels. No less than 23% of the administrative personnel employed by the municipalities in Belgium work for the municipal administrative services in Brussels. This percentage is rather high compared with the population figure of metropolitan Brussels, which represents only 11% of the total Belgian population.

Since it was impossible to study ethnolinguistic relations in all sectors of the Brussels labour market we had to select certain domains. This was possible on the basis of information about the structure of employment in Brussels. It stands to reason that we will devote our attention mainly to a number of activities in the service-sector, since most of the jobs in Brussels are offered in that domain. On the basis of the above-mentioned figures we chose the two most important employers, i.e. the banks and the government administration. Furthermore, we included the administrative departments on a municipal level because of their fairly important concentration in Brussels.

Linguistic relations in the ministerial departments

We began this survey of ethnolinguistic relations in the labour market in Brussels with some figures from the government administration. Before proceeding, let us note that we only want to represent the situation in the labour market in so far as it is perceived by the workers affected. The question of whether this situation corresponds to the legally prescribed requirements will only be touched upon in passing. What we are most concerned with here is to know how the ethnolinguistic circumstances in the labour market really look, not how they should look.

Table 5 gives a picture of the relation between Dutch- and French-speaking senior civil servants in the different ministerial departments on January 1, 1950. The law of June 28, 1932 was applicable at that time and prescribed that an "appropriate balance" should be observed in determining the number of positions that would be reserved for candidates from each

linguistic group. Van den Daele (1950) notes that 60% of senior civil servants still belonged to the Francophone group at the beginning of 1950. Table 5 shows that this situation differs considerably depending on the ministry. Francophone predominance is especially striking in departments such as Foreign Affairs, Economic Affairs, Finance and the then Colonial Office. In a number of other ministries there is near-parity between the Flemings and the Francophones; for instance, this holds for Home Affairs, Agriculture, Defence and Transportation.

TABLE 5 *Relation between the Dutch- and French-Speaking Civil Servants up to the Rank of "Managing Secretary" in Different Ministerial Departments on January 1, 1950*

	Dutch quota	*French quota*
Labour and Social welfare	61	88
Home affairs	36	40
Foreign affairs	29	152
Economic affairs	166	235
Prime Minister	23	34
Finance	112	177
Justice	47	59
Colonies	20	53
Agriculture	48	53
National defence	14	16
Public education	33	46
Public works	48	56
Transportation	67	74
Public health	33	43
Renovation	99	124
Total	836	1,250
Percentages	40.1	59.9

Let us compare Table 5 and Table 6. In the latter Table, the linguistic proportions are given for five ministerial departments at the end of 1979. Senior civil servants up to rank of "managing secretary" from Table 5 largely coincide with the first level from Table 6. For the sake of clarity we add that the figures from Table 6 relate solely to tenured personnel in national public services.

The evolution in the figures is certainly the most salient fact that we can derive from these tables. In four of the five departments the number of Dutch speakers now exceeds the number of French-speakers. In the one department where this is not the case, the Ministry of Employment and

TABLE 6 *Arrangement by Level of the Number of Personnel from the Dutch and French Linguistic Quota in Various Ministerial Departments at the End of 1978*

Level	*Department*									
	Foreign Affairs		*Public Health & Environment*		*Finance*		*Employment & Labour*		*Home Affairs*	
	D	*F*	*D*	*F*	*D*	*F*	*D*	*F*	*D*	*F*
1	93	88	185	171	384	365	72	73	98	93
2	96	94	331	252	602	588	83	115	132	139
3	125	121	202	172	425	314	67	65	104	85
4	57	52	195	141	359	314	51	55	—	—
Total	371	355	913	736	1,770	1,581	273	308	334	317

Labour, level 1 is composed of a nearly equal number of Dutch-speakers and Francophones. At level 2, the number of Francophones is larger than the number of Dutch-speakers in both the Department of Employment and Labour and the Department of Home Affairs. On the other hand, at level 3, Dutch-speakers form the majority in all departments. Finally, the proportions at the lowest level, where we have figures only for four departments, the figures agree with those at level 1. Only in the Department of Employment and Labour is the total for the four levels higher for the Francophones than for the Flemings.

However, these four levels form a rather rough classification which can conceal certain hierarchical differences in the linguistic relations. This is apparent when we further subdivide the level of "senior civil servants". The language law of 1963 introduced a rule of parity in public services beginning with the function of director. The so-called "proportionality principle" was supposed to hold for positions lower than that of director. This meant that these positions should be assigned according to the "essential importance" that the French and the Flemish region represented for the service in question. From the reports of the *Vaste commissie voor Taaltoezicht* (Standing Commission for Linguistic Supervision) we can infer that the institution of linguistic quotas, which were necessary in order to carry out the above-mentioned prescriptions, proceeded extremely slowly. Nonetheless, Vandenberghe tells us that in 1978, 79 of the 115 public and executive services had the linguistic quota at their disposal, with 1,781 evenly distributed directorial positions.

The linguistic proportions at the directorial level cannot be discerned in Tables 5 and 6, however, since the classification in these tables is based on very broad hierarchical "levels". In Table 7, a refined subdivision is worked

out for the Department of Economic Affairs, on the basis of hierarchical "scales". The above-mentioned directorial positions correspond to scales 1 and 2. Through the use of this hierarchical classification one can see that at the very top of this department there are more Francophones than Dutch-speakers, though the difference is not very large. This also holds for level 3. In level 4, however, the number of Dutch-speakers is considerably higher than the number of Francophones. This table shows clearly that one would get a distorted picture of the real linguistic proportions in this department by considering exclusively the linguistic proportions in the first four levels. Although the final global totals show a Dutch-speaking preponderance of 1,550 as opposed to 1,342 Francophones, one can see that this Flemish preponderance is an artefact of the stronger Flemish representation in the lower hierarchical scales. Without asserting that this would be the case for all departments we must be cautious about hastily drawing conclusions about the global proportions of personnel in the ministerial departments from this table.

TABLE 7 *Arrangement by Scale of the Number of Personnel from the Dutch and French Linguistic Quota who were Employed at the End of 1979 in the Department of Economic Affairs*

Scale	*Number of personnel*	
	Dutch quota	*French quota*
1	9	10
2	33	36
3	69	70
4	148	120
5	78	87
6	60	50
7	231	204
8	167	141
9	106	39
10	349	332
11	34	22
12	266	231
Total	1,550	1,342

Linguistic proportions in the municipal administrative services

What is the ethnolinguistic situation in the municipal administrative services? In Table 8 we compare the linguistic proportions in three different years, for the positions at or above the level of departmental supervisor on

the basis of the linguistic quota. In 1963, we find that nearly 90% of the positions were occupied by Francophones. Evere, Ganshoren, Sint-Agatha Berchem/Berchem-Ste-Agathe and Sint-Lambrechts-Woluwe/Woluwe-St. Lambert are the only municipalities with a significant presence of Dutch-speaking personnel.

TABLE 8 *Evolution of the Linguistic Proportions for Positions at or Above the Level of Departmental Supervisor in the Brussels Municipal Administrations*

	Period					
	2 August 1963		*30 September 1970*		*30 June 1979*	
Municipalities	*D*	*F*	*D*	*F*	*D*	*F*
Anderlecht	5	29	11	21	17	18
Brussel/Bruxelles	12	99	33	72	56	56
Elsene/Ixelles	—	51	3	31	19	19
Etterbeek	1	12	4	13	9	11
Evere	2	3	3	4	3	5
Ganshoren	2	2	2	2	5	4
Jette	1	15	6	11	10	11
Koekelberg	—	4	1	3	3	4
Oudergem/Auderghem	1	6	3	5	5	5
Schaarbeek	5	41	9	23	18	19
Sint-Agatha Berchem/B.-Ste. Ag.	2	1	1	3	4	4
Sint-Gilles/Saint-Gilles	1	24	6	22	11	12
St.-Jans-Molen./Mol. St.-Jean	6	17	8	12	10	11
Sint-Joost-ten-Node/St.-Joose	—	14	3	11	7	7
St.-Lambr. Wol./Wol. St. Lamb.	5	9	8	13	10	10
St. Pieters Wol/Wol. St. Pierre	—	7	1	8	6	5
Ukkel/Uccle	3	21	6	15	14	14
Vorst/Forest	1	18	2	16	9	8
Waterm. Bosvoorde/W. Boitsf.	1	7	4	7	3	3
Total Abs.	48	380	114	292	216	226
%	11.2	88.8	28.1	71.9	49.2	50.8

The number of Dutch-speakers varies between 4% and 8% in the municipalities of Etterbeek, Jette, Sint-Gillis/Saint-Gilles and Vorst/Forest. Four municipalities have no Dutch-speaker from the position of departmental supervisor upwards.

In 1970, the global number of Dutch-speakers rose to 28%. In absolute figures this implies an increase of 66 Dutch-speakers. Only in Sint-Agatha-Berchem/Berchem-Sainte-Agathe did the number of Dutch-speakers decrease. The number of Dutch-speakers remains very low in the municipali-

TABLE 9 *Global Linguistic Proportions (Including Departmental Supervisor and Higher) among Municipal Personnel from the 19 Brussels Municipalities on June 30, 1979*

Muncipalities	*Dutch-speaking*	*French-speaking*
Anderlecht	644	661
Brussel/Bruxelles	1,753	1,785
Elsene/Ixelles	214	750
Etterbeek	114	262
Evere	157	176
Ganshoren	89	43
Jette	231	166
Koekelberg	41	69
Oudergem/Auderghem	63	202
Schaarbeek	347	617
Sint-Agatha-Berchem/Berchem-Sainte Agathe	76	78
Sint-Gillis/Saint-Gilles	161	403
Sint-Jans-Molenbeek/Molenbeek-Saint-Jean	160	268
Sint-Joost-ten-Node/St.-Josse	91	267
Sint-Lambrechts-Woluwe/Wol.-Saint-Lambert	209	264
Sint-Pieters-Woluwe/Woluwé-Saint-Pierre	184	270
Ukkel/Uccle	223	396
Vorst/Forest	197	447
Watermaal-Bosvoorde/Watermael-Boitsfort	84	194
Total Abs.	5,038	7,318
%	40.8	59.2

ties of Elsene/Ixelles,Sint-Joost-ten-Node/St.-Josse, Sint-Pieters-Woluwe/Woluwé-Saint-Pierre, Vorst/Forest and Sint-Gillis/Saint-Gilles.

On June 30, 1979, the positions at or above the level of departmental supervisor were evenly distributed among Dutch- and French-speaking personnel, in practically all municipalities. This results in a global proportion of 219 Dutch-speakers as opposed to 226 French-speakers for the 19 municipalities together.

The dramatic evolution between 1970 and 1979 can only be explained by appeal to the language law which prescribed that the positions at or above the level of departmental supervisor should be occupied in equal proportion by civil servants of both language groups by September 1, 1973. The legislators had to have recourse to emergency measures in order to realize this balance by that date. The balance was reached so rapidly that a number of commentators raised doubts whether there might in reality not be quite a few Francophones among the "official" Dutch-speakers. Independently of

this question, the above proportions must be relativized for two further reasons.

The figures in Table 8 do not take account of the existence of article 7 of the Royal Decree of November 30, 1966. This article provides for measures "for the protection of the acquired rights of civil servants who were attached to a local or regional service located in Central Brussels on September 1, 1963". It allowed for the promotion of civil servants "in excess". The proportions from Table 8 have to be supplemented, therefore, with a number of civil servants who fall outside of the linguistic quota. Forty-five Francophone civil servants were "in excess" in 1970. This figure increased to 57 Francophones and two Dutch-speakers in 1979. A consequence of this is that the "official" parity of Table 8 really only exists if we do not take these civil servants "in excess" into account.

There is still another fact which requires the figures in Table 8 to be relativized. Indeed, if one counts up the total body of personnel of all 19 municipalities, as is done in Table 9, one finds that nearly 60% of the Brussels municipal administrative personnel is Francophone. Only Ganshoren and Jette employ more Dutch-speakers. In contrast with the ministerial departments, therefore, the global figures relativize the proportions at the top in this case.

The linguistic situation in the bank sector

Let us compare the situation in the public sector with that in the private sector. There are hardly any figures available concerning the linguistic situation in the private sector in Brussels. This makes it impossible to pursue an evolution in the linguistic situation as we were able to do in the case of public services. We shall have to be satisfied with a few recent statistics. In particular, this is true for the bank sector, where the *Landelijke Bedienden Centrale* (Rural Employees Centre) has published figures concerning the linguistic situation in two banks: the *Generale Bankmaatschappij* and the *Bank Brussel Lambert*.

In Tables 10 and 11 a detailed survey of these figures is given. What is immediately striking about Table 10 is the small number of Dutch-speakers employed at the *Generale Bankmaatschappij*. In total, only 22% of the personnel are Dutch-speaking. That comes to 1,404 positions. It is interesting to note that the percentage of Dutch-speakers increases as one moves downwards in the scale of ranks. The number of Dutch-speakers represents but 12.9% of the directorial and management positions.

TABLE 10 *Classification According to Rank and Linguistic Quota of the Personnel of the "Generale Bankmaatschappij" who were Employed in the Brussels Branches on September 30, 1977*

Ranks	*Central Administration*		*Brussels*		*Total*	
	F	*N*	*F*	*N*	*F*	*N*
Trustees	4	1	2	—	6	1
Directors	9	1	2	—	11	1
Co-Directors	12	3	4	—	16	3
Assistant Directors	28	3	11	2	39	5
Chief Management Clerks	26	5	15	3	41	8
Management Clerks	51	9	39	3	90	12
	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %
Total Executive Officers	130 85.5	22 14.5	73 90.1	8 9.9	203 87.1	30 12.9
Chief Departmental Supervisors	62	21	42	1	104	22
Departmental Supervisors	100	21	90	9	190	30
Assistant Departmental Supervisors	84	29	128	15	212	44
Office Supervisors	116	31	277	46	393	77
Assistant Office Supervisors	137	76	492	93	629	169
Total Manag. Executives	499 73.7	178 26.3	1,029 86.3	164 13.7	1,528 81.7	342 18.3

4th Category	209	122	1,874	463	2,083	585
3rd Category	75	60	592	171	667	231
2nd Category	23	2	75	38	98	40
1st Category	2	—	30	26	32	26
Total Office Employees	309 62.7	184 37.3	2,571 78.6	698 21.4	2,880 76.6	882 23.4
Foremen	—	—	7	4	7	4
4th Category	—	—	65	28	65	28
3rd Category	2	1	29	39	31	40
2nd Category	—	—	20	32	20	32
1st Category	—	—	19	10	19	10
Total Blue Collar Workers	2 66.7	1 33.3	140 55.3	113 44.7	142 55.5	114 44.5
Trainees	40 52.6	36 47.4	— —	— —	40 52.6	36 47.4
Overall Total	980 70.0	421 30.0	3,813 79.5	983 20.5	4,793 77.3	1,404 22.7

TABLE 11 *Classification According to Rank and Linguistic Quota of the Personnel of the "Bank Brussel Lambert" who were Employed in the Brussels Branches on August 1, 1976*

		Brussels		*Central*		*National Administrative Centre*		*Total Brussels Units*	
		F	*D*	*F*	*D*	*F*	*D*	*F*	*D*
1. Management	(A)	37	2	152	30	—	—	189	32
								85.5%	14.5%
2. Executives									
Plenipotentiaries		82	4	130	25	6	—	218	29
Chief Departmental Supervisors		41	3	71	15	4	—	116	18
Departmental Supervisors		164	17	199	43	26	2	389	62
Asst. Departmental Supervisors		266	47	198	21	42	6	506	74
Section Supervisors		1	—	3	3	5	2	9	5
Total Executives	(B)	554	71	601	107	83	10	1,238	188
								86.8%	13.2%
3. Office Employees									
4.B.		289	43	182	26	90	11	561	80
4th Category		1,089	191	596	95	151	23	1,836	309
3rd Category		577	92	244	48	138	33	959	173
2nd Category		85	17	48	7	19	2	152	26
Auxiliary Employees		64	9	43	3	9	—	116	12
Porters		22	2	11	4	7	—	40	6
Messengers		3	—	4	—	—	—	7	—
Total Office Employees	(C)	2,129	354	1,128	183	414	69	3,671	606
								85.8%	14.2%

4. Blue Collar Workers								
4th Category	1	3	41	11	38	11	80	25
3rd Category	4	1	16	3	20	4	40	8
2nd Category	11	6	38	6	11	2	60	14
1st Category	27	9	61	5	3	—	101	14
Total Blue Collar Workers (D)	43	19	156	25	72	18	271	61
							81.6%	18.4%
Overall Total (A + B + C + D)	2,763	446	2,037	345	569	96	5,369	887
		3,209		2,382		665		6,256
%	86.1	13.9	85.5	14.5	85.6	14.4	85.8	14.2

The Dutch-speakers occupy 18.3% of the supervisory functions, with a total of 342 positions. In the case of office employees they represent 23.4% of the total. Finally, blue collar workers comprise 44.5% Dutch-speakers. Thus, the distribution of Dutch-speakers in this bank is hierarchically organized. Another important observation is that the number of Dutch-speakers in the main branch exceeds that present in the branch in Brussels. While in the former case they constitute 30% of the total personnel, in the latter case they form only 20%.

Table 11 indicates that the number of Dutch-speaking employees in the *Bank Brussel Lambert* is smaller than in the *Generale Bankmaatschappij*. Taken globally, there are only 887 Dutch-speakers among the personnel, which comes to 14.2% of the total.

Although here, too, the Dutch-speakers are most strongly represented among the blue collar workers, the difference from the other categories is hardly noticeable. In comparison with the *Generale Bankmaatschappij* the number of Dutch-speakers is as a percentage nearly the same on all levels for the *Bank Brussel Lambert*. Nor do we find here the difference noticed in the case of the *Generale Bankmaatschappij* between the main branch and the Brussels branch.

We can see that the position of Dutch-speakers in the labour market is much weaker in the bank sector than it is in the public sector. Nevertheless, we would like to indicate that the numerical data in Tables 10 and 11 are based upon payroll transactions. Since this is a notable aspect of acquired linguistic ethnicity it is possible that among the Francophones in Tables 10 and 11 there are a number of Flemings who are administratively registered as Francophones. This would imply that the actual ethnolinguistic proportions are somewhat more favourable for the Dutch-speaking employees.

Furthermore, a recent effort has been made to augment the number of Dutch-speakers in the bank sector. For example, we could mention in this connection the appointment of a Fleming as vice-chairman of the board of directors at the *Bank Brussel Lambert*.

In conclusion, we can assert that the labour market position of the Flemish in Brussels does not follow a homogeneous pattern of exclusion. As Kluft & Van der Vorst (1966) already noted in their studies it is not the case that only the Flemish occupy the lower positions in Brussels, while the better positions are all in the hands of the Francophones. Such a simplistic picture does not correspond to reality at all.

However, this does not mean that both ethnolinguistic groups are equally strongly represented in all sectors. The linguistic legislation has

clearly brought about an even distribution of positions in the ministerial departments and in the municipal services. In contrast, the highest positions in the private sector are still occupied by Francophones for the most part. The socio-economic pressure of Frenchification is still incontrovertible in the bank sector, though we cannot speak of a "cultural distribution of labour" in the sense Hechter (1975) gives to that expression. Nevertheless, a number of studies have shown that the demand for bilingualism in job-applicants is getting stronger in the private sector. The labour market in Brussels is presently in flux. It seems very likely that this tendency will lead to a further strengthening of the position of Dutch-speakers in the Brussels labour market.

The Flemish infrastructure in Brussels

Thus far we have spoken of the numerical predominance of French-speakers in Brussels and of the situation of Flemings in the Brussels labour-market. A third, and no less important factor, in this ethnolinguistic situation is the presence of a Flemish infrastructure. The availability of educational facilities is of the utmost importance in this context. It is clear that an ethnolinguistic group can be completely assimilated by the majority culture within the space of a few generations if it lacks educational facilities in its own language. The infrastructure can be a very important help when it comes to simplifying the so-called "process of resocialisation" (Eisenstadt, 1954). By providing for the members of a particular ethnolinguistic group in their new residential environment it creates a certain organizational bond whereby the ethnic group is continually actualized anew. The content of these provisions can vary from simply supplying information to developing medical care, for example.

In the following pages we shall examine several aspects of the Flemish infrastructure. We will limit ourselves to the major points since a thorough study of the Flemish infrastructure in the capital would by itself provide sufficient material for a separate book. Our only intention here is to impart a few general impressions. We shall be discussing the Flemish presence in Brussels in the educational, medical and sociocultural domains. This trio is generally recognized in the literature on ethnicity as constituting the most important domains for infrastructural problems of an ethnic group.

As we shall see there is a scanty supply of figures concerning the Flemish infrastructure in Brussels. Moreover, the few data that are available do not always admit of comparison because they have often been measured in different ways. As in the case of the sectors discussed earlier, it is

remarkable how little scientific research has been conducted in this domain. For the reason given in the preceding section, we will only refer to legislative aspects in passing.

Educational infrastructure

We begin this brief survey of the Flemish infrastructure in Brussels with a number of figures pertaining to the development of Dutch-speaking education. In Table 12 the evolution of the number of Dutch-speaking educational units is traced for each of the 19 Brussels municipalities. The concept of education is taken in a broad sense here, so that this table includes pre-school. We prefer the term "educational units" because we are not always dealing with separate schools. For example, many kindergartens are simply sections for toddlers attached to an existing primary school.

If we look at the figures in the table more closely we notice that Dutch-speaking pre-schools were developed in the years 1954, 1960 and 1970. Furthermore, in the same years there were only eight Flemish nursery schools in metropolitan Brussels. This situation changed completely in 1979. In no more than nine years, 60 day-care centres and 77 nursery schools were added. The dramatic decline in the figures for 1984 is due to a thorough reorganization and redefinition of the pre-school sector and does not mirror a strong decline in the number of nursery schools. The number of kindergartens, which gradually increased in the period between 1954 and 1970, begins to decline from 1979 onwards.

In primary school, the number of educational units is nearly constant up to the year 1960. After that, a certain decline begins, which is still going on. In the field of secondary education, the Flemish were weakly represented in 1954 with only 26 educational units. At that time, nine Brussels municipalities did not offer secondary education in Dutch. Between 1954 and 1960 the number of units where secondary education was offered in Dutch increased from 26 to 39. After 1960, the situation was stabilized so that the present number of schools does not differ much from that in 1960.

Finally, technical and vocational education was represented by at most 35 units in 1954. The growth here proceeded more slowly than for the secondary schools. Eight units were added between 1954 and 1960. In the following period, technical and vocational education grew to 52 units. Since 1979, a declining trend has also begun in this sector.

In general, it can be said that Dutch-speaking education in Brussels has evolved in the course of the years into a fully-fledged network. In leading

circles it is accepted that Flemish educational facilities in Brussels are sufficient at the moment. As is clear from Table 12, this was certainly not the case at the beginning of the 1950s. Unfortunately, this evolution was joined with a number of undesirable aspects which are not obvious from the figures. To begin with, the installation of Flemish educational units was not always evenly spread over the 19 municipalities. The distance to school was therefore often too great for many children, especially for very young children. An investigation from the *Nederlandse Commissie voor de Cultuur van de Brusselse Agglomeratie* (Dutch-speaking Cultural Commission of Metropolitan Brussels) shows that in those cases a nearby Francophone school was often chosen.

In addition to the distribution, the nature of the actual accommodation is a very important factor which can enhance the attractiveness of a school. When Kint conducted an investigation into Dutch-language education in metropolitan Brussels in 1966 he found that not fewer than 16% of all registered school-buildings were more than 50 years old. Basing himself upon a number of foreign "depreciation-percentages" Kint (1966) came to the conclusion that nearly 45% of the buildings where Dutch-language education was offered did not fulfil the requirements of modern educational facilities. In his *Dossier van het Nederlandstalig Onderwijs in Brussel* Vanhaelen (no date) also points to the patently inadequate accommodation of several schools.

This is connected with the meagre financial resources available for Dutch-language education in Brussels, and the reluctance of some Brussels municipalities to create their own Flemish schools. In 1979 there were seven municipalities (namely, Elsene/Ixelles, Etterbeek, Ganshoren, Oudergem/Auderghem, Sint-Gillis/Saint-Gilles, Ukkel/Uccle and Watermaal-Bosvoorde/Watermael-Boitsfort) which had no municipal Dutch education. Twelve of the 19 Brussels municipalities did not even have a Dutch-language nursery school. Only three municipalities introduced their own day-care centres. All of this had the result that Flemish education in Brussels was to a great extent dependent upon "extra-municipal" financial resources.

The further development of Dutch-language education was, therefore, often dependent upon political "compromises" on a national level. Let us recall the Royal Decrees of May 5, 1971 which, among other things, provide for the creation of Dutch-language nursery schools and the introduction of "appropriate standards". These standards determine the minimal size of classes and are necessary to the vitality of Flemish education in Brussels. They were, however, only admitted as a compensation for the re-introduction of the "freedom of the head of the family".

TABLE 12 *Evolution of the Number of Flemish Educational Units in 19 Municipalities of Metropolitan Brussels*

Municipalities	*1954*						*1960*					
	Number of educational units											
	A	B	C	D	E	F	A	B	C	D	E	F
Anderlecht	—	—	19	30	3	8	—	—	20	27	4	6
Brussel/Bruxelles	—	—	21	40	8	12	—	—	25	41	12	16
Elsene/Ixelles	—	—	1	5	—	1	—	—	3	5	—	3
Etterbeek	—	—	4	6	1	—	—	—	4	6	2	2
Evere	—	—	5	5	—	—	—	—	6	6	—	—
Ganshoren	—	—	3	5	1	—	—	—	3	6	3	—
Jette	—	—	12	12	2	1	—	—	12	12	2	2
Koekelberg	—	—	4	6	1	—	—	—	5	5	1	—
Oudergem/Auderghem	—	—	7	8	3	—	—	—	6	6	4	—
Schaarbeek	—	—	10	19	2	4	—	—	11	16	5	4
St.-Ag.-Berch/B.-Ste-Ag.	—	—	2	4	—	1	—	—	2	4	—	1
Sint-Gillis/St.-Gilles	—	—	2	3	1	—	—	—	2	3	1	1
St.-Jans. Molenb/M. St-Jean	—	—	11	22	4	2	—	—	12	24	3	3
St. Joost-ten-Node/St.-Josse	—	—	2	2	—	—	—	—	4	3	—	—
St. Lambr. Wol./Wol.St. L.	—	—	8	9	—	2	—	—	9	7	—	2
St. Piet. Wol./Wol.St. Pierre	—	—	3	6	—	1	—	—	5	9	2	1
Ukkel/Uccle	—	—	7	10	—	2	—	—	8	11	—	1
Vorst/Forest	—	—	4	8	—	1	—	—	5	8	—	1
Waterm. Bosv/Wat. Boitsf.	—	—	4	4	—	—	—	—	2	4	—	—
Total	—	—	129	204	26	35	—	—	144	203	39	43

Municipalities	*1970*						*1979*					
	Number of educational units											
	A	B	C	D	E	F	A	B	C	D	E	F
Anderlecht	—	—	27	28	3	9	3	5	24	23	5	8
Brussel/Bruxelles	—	1	31	35	14	12	9	16	26	29	14	16
Elsene/Ixelles	—	—	6	7	—	4	3	5	5	4	—	1
Etterbeek	—	1	7	6	3	2	3	3	8	6	3	—
Evere	—	1	8	6	—	1	2	4	8	6	1	1
Ganshoren	—	—	5	4	2	—	4	4	5	4	2	—
Jette	—	—	13	10	2	4	3	4	13	9	2	2
Koekelberg	—	—	3	3	1	—	—	1	3	3	1	—
Oudergem/Auderghem	—	—	7	5	3	2	4	3	7	4	2	2
Schaarbeek	—	1	19	18	6	5	6	8	14	12	3	4
St.-Ag.-Berch/B.-Ste. Ag.	—	—	5	5	1	1	3	3	6	5	1	1
Sint-Gillis/St.-Gilles	—	—	4	5	1	2	1	2	3	3	1	1
St. Jans. Molenb/M. St-Jean	1	2	15	16	2	5	5	5	14	12	2	6
St. Joost-ten-Node/St.-Josse	—	—	3	2	—	—	1	3	3	2	—	—
St. Lambr. Wol./Wol. St. L.	—	—	8	8	—	1	3	3	8	6	—	1
St. Piet. Wol./Wol. St. Pier.	—	—	8	7	3	2	2	5	8	7	3	2
Ukkel/Uccle	—	—	8	8	1	1	6	8	9	6	1	2
Vorst/Forest	—	1	7	6	—	1	1	1	8	7	—	1
Waterm/Bosv./Wat. Boitsf.	—	1	5	4	—	—	2	2	3	3	—	—
Total	1	8	189	183	42	52	61	85	175	151	41	48

A: Daycare centres. B: Nursery schools. C: Kindergartens. D: Primary Education. E: Secondary Education.
F: Technical and Vocational Education.

Municipalities	*1984* *Number of educational units*					
	A	*B*	*C*	*D*	*E*	*F*
Anderlecht	4	1	21	21	4	9
Brussel/Bruxelles	12	7	24	20	12	7
Elsene/Ixelles	4	1	5	2	—	—
Etterbeek	3	—	7	4	2	—
Evere	3	—	6	5	1	1
Ganshoren	4	—	5	4	1	—
Jette	4	—	12	8	2	4
Koekelberg	—	1	3	4	1	—
Oudergem/Auderghem	4	—	7	3	2	2
Schaarbeek	9	—	12	10	3	3
Sint-Agatha-Berch/Berch. Ste-Agathe	3	—	6	5	1	1
Sint-Gillis/Saint-Gilles	2	1	3	2	1	—
Sint-Jans-Molenb./Mol. Saint-Jean	5	1	13	11	2	6
Sint-Joost-ten-Node/St.-Josse	1	1	3	2	—	—
Sint-Lambr. Woluwe/Wol. St.-Lambert	3	—	8	5	—	1
Sint-Piet.-Wol./Woluwe St.-Pierre	3	1	7	6	3	1
Ukkel/Uccle	6	2	9	4	1	2
Vorst/Forest	2	—	9	4	—	—
Watermaal-Bosv./Watermael-Boitsfort	2	—	3	3	—	—
Total	74	16	163	123	36	37

A: Daycare centres. B: Nursery schools. C: Kindergartens. D: Primary Education. E: Secondary Education.
F: Technical and Vocational Education.

This brings us to a further problem affecting Dutch-language education in Brussels: the annual uncertainty about the continuance of a variety of classes, study facilities and schools. The declining birth rate and the negative balance of migration in metropolitan Brussels have as a result that an ever-increasing number of classes, and even municipal schools, are being eliminated. This is also apparent from Table 12. Although the above-mentioned "standards" help to neutralize the effects of this demographic evolution to some extent, it remains the case that the loss of every "unit" augments the problem of distribution which was discussed earlier. One must also take the factor of the self-fulfilling prophecy into account in this connection: parents who are uncertain about the continuance of a district school will be inclined to send their child to another school. As a result the original school just fails to meet the minimal standard and the parents' doubts are confirmed. Though one might well reply that the French schools are also affected by these demographic factors, this comparison is not fully valid. For it is not only true that the effect of the declining birth rate of the Belgian population on French education is counteracted by the significant number of foreign children, in addition, the system of French education in Brussels is also considerably more fully developed than that of Dutch-language education. Hence, the elimination of a single class or school does not immediately result in a perceptible curtailment of the choices available to the Francophone. This is certainly not true for the Flemish infrastructure. On the other hand, it must be conceded that some Francophone parents avoid certain French schools precisely on account of the conspicuous presence of foreign children.

Medical infrastructure

Thus far we have spoken exclusively of the Dutch-language educational infrastructure in Brussels. However, the importance of a medical infrastructure where one can get along in one's own language should not be underestimated. In relations between physician and patient, linguistic knowledge plays a very important role. A sound diagnosis depends to a great extent upon a precise and detailed description of the patient's symptoms. For most patients this can only be done in their own language. However, one must ask to what extent this choice is available to the Flemish patient in Brussels. Again, the problem which arises in answering this question is the fact that little scientific research has been conducted in this rather complex domain. The absence of numerical data makes it practically impossible to trace the general evolution in this sector accurately. In what follows we shall have to make do with the sparse data available at present.

Let us begin by looking at the number of Dutch-speaking general practitioners and specialists in metropolitan Brussels. We are not necessarily speaking of Flemish doctors, but rather of doctors who can confer with their patients in Dutch. The figures presented below in Table 13 were obtained from "privileged" informants, and must be interpreted with due caution.

According to Table 13, the number of Dutch-speaking general practitioners and specialists in Brussels more than doubled between 1954 and 1979. The concentration in a few municipalities such as the borough of Brussels and Schaarbeek, which was still quite strong in 1954, has given way in 1979 to a much more even distribution over the 19 municipalities. Most conspicuous is the large increase in the fashionable residential municipalities of Sint-Lambrechts-Woluwe/Woluwé-Saint-Lambert and Ukkel/Uccle. Molenbeek, too, saw a rather large increase in the number of its Dutch-speaking general practitioners and specialists. On the other hand, there was little increase in Evere, Schaarbeek and Sint-Joost-ten-Node.

In an investigation conducted by the "Flemish Doctors' Association", Lerminiaux & Vermeulen (1978) categorized the Brussels general practitioners and specialists on the basis of the language of their degree. In this manner they arrive at 258 Dutch-speaking doctors in Brussels for the year 1978. According to these authors, this means that only 6.8% of the total number of general practitioners and specialists who are located in Brussels have a degree in Dutch. The figures mentioned in Table 13 are higher since they also include the number of Dutch-speaking doctors with a degree in French. But even then, the total of 410 Dutch-speaking doctors only represents 11% of the total number of general practitioners and specialists located in Brussels. This means that only one out of ten general practitioners and specialists in Brussels is able to deal with his/her patients in Dutch.

For the sake of completeness we will also give some figures exclusively about the number of general practitioners. Lerminiaux & Vermeulen (1978) count 62 Dutch-speaking general practitioners in Brussels. This figure corresponds well with the number of Dutch-speaking general practitioners who were associated with the Flemish on-call service at the beginning of 1980, which came to 58. Dutry (1979) arrives at a figure of 295 general practitioners, employing a broader criterion. However, we must emphasize again that our concern here is with doctors who can confer with their patients in Dutch. Thus, these are not necessarily Flemish doctors.

How do things stand with the distribution of doctors in the Brussels hospitals? An important study in this area is that conducted by the research-team *Mens en Ruimte*. At the outset of 1967 this group carried out research

into language knowledge and use in 34 medical facilities in Brussels. The results of this research are given in Table 14.

TABLE 13 *Evolution of the Number of Dutch-speaking General Practitioners and Specialists in the 19 Municipalities of Metropolitan Brussels*

Municipalities	*Number of Dutch-speaking General practitioners and specialists* 1954	1979
Anderlecht	6	23
Brussel/Bruxelles	30	49
Elsene/Ixelles	10	28
Etterbeek	5	17
Evere	7	11
Ganshoren	2	12
Jette	5	23
Koekelberg	3	18
Oudergem/Auderghem	1	8
Schaarbeek	23	26
Sint-Agatha-Berchem/Berchem-Ste-Agathe	—	9
Sint-Gillis/Saint-Gilles	6	12
Sint-Jans-Molenbeek/Molenbeek-Saint-Jean	9	31
Sint-Joost-ten-Node/St.-Josse	5	7
Sint-Lambr.-Woluwe/Woluwé-St-Lambert	5	31
Sint-Pieters-Woluwe/Woluwé-St-Pierre	2	39
Ukkel/Uccle	6	38
Vorst/Forest	4	15
Watermaal-Bosvoorde/Watermael-Boitsfort	4	13
Total	133	410

TABLE 14 *Language Usage at the Outset of 1967 in 34 Brussels Hospitals (Some Hospitals Provide Neither an Information Desk nor a Social Service)*

	Management	*Doctors*	*Med. pers.*	*Adm. pers.*	*Reception desk*	*Social service*
Decidedly, predominantly or exclusively French-speaking	25	30	23	20	13	8
Decidedly, predominantly or exclusively Dutch-speaking	1	—	1	1	1	2
Bilingual or French and Dutch	8	4	10	13	14	4
Total	34	34	34	34	28	14

Only four of the 34 hospitals had a bilingual staff of doctors in 1967. Francophone predominance is less marked in the case of the remaining medical personnel. It is also clear that not only the administrative personnel, but also the information and social services are more bilingual. The board of directors, on the contrary, is preponderantly Francophone in 74% of the cases.

In order to get a clearer picture of the linguistic situation in Brussels hospitals one must draw a distinction between public and private hospitals. According to the provisions of the co-ordinated linguistic laws of July 18, 1966, it was required that there be an equal number of Dutch- and French-speaking doctors in the public hospitals by September 1, 1973. Of the 727 doctors associated with the public hospitals in Brussels on September 1, 44 (or 6%) were officially Dutch-speaking. A year and a half later, in January 1975, the official count yielded 18% Dutch-speaking doctors. According to Emmerechts (1979), however, these figures did not exactly correspond to the facts, for a large number of doctors who appeared on the Dutch linguistic quota were not completely proficient in Dutch. In 1978, Emmerechts himself carried out an investigation, relying primarily on the registration in the *Orde van Geneesheren* (the official Doctors' Association) and on the language of degree certificates. The result of his research shows that there was only one Dutch-speaking doctor for every 16 French-speaking doctors in the public hospitals. Emmerechts does not exclude the possibility that some of the French-speaking doctors might be bilingual. In our opinion these figures should be interpreted, therefore, as providing a minimal estimate.

If it was not easy to get exact figures concerning the staff of doctors in the public hospitals, it is still more difficult to get figures concerning private hospitals. Not only are there no official figures available, but the number of private hospitals is also much larger. The situation is therefore more difficult to survey. Relying upon the study conducted by *Mens en Ruimte*, Vermeulen (1972) furnishes a rough description of the linguistic proportions in a few private hospitals in Brussels for the year 1972. However, he does not arrive at precise numerical data concerning the number of Dutch-speaking doctors. The same holds for the above-mentioned research by Van de Kerckhove (no date). One thing that can be concluded from these studies is that the number of Dutch-speaking doctors in these hospitals is very small. Emmerechts is one of the few who can supply precise figures concerning private hospitals. It appears from his results that the ratio between Dutch- and French-speaking doctors come to 1 : 18. If these figures are corroborated by further research this would mean that the rather small number of Dutch-speaking doctors in the public hospitals exceeds the number of such doctors in private hospitals.

The sociocultural infrastructure

Before we draw this section to a close we still need to take a look at the evolution of the Flemish sociocultural infrastructure in Brussels. This infrastructure plays an important role in the reception of Dutch-speakers who settle in Brussels. A variety of Flemish organizations not only provides a person with information about Flemish life in Brussels, but also enables him to enter quickly into a network of social contacts with Dutch-speakers.

At the beginning of the 1950s the number of Flemish associations was rather limited. Among the most important Flemish organizations at the time, we should mention the *Gouwbonden* (Associations of different Flemish provinces). Although these provincial associations of West-Flemings, East-Flemings, Limburgers and Antwerpers doubtless fostered a certain particularism they still formed an important support for Flemish immigrants at a time when the Flemish sociocultural infrastructure in Brussels was as yet undeveloped.

The *Vlaams Komitee voor Brussel* (Flemish Committee for Brussels), founded in 1946, mainly acted at the time to co-ordinate Flemish sociocultural life. Among other services this committee played an important role in the promotion of Dutch education in Brussels. From 1950 on the committee published a monthly journal, *De Brusselse Post*, whereby it reaches a wider audience. In 1958 this committee also provided the impetus for the formation of the *Kring Vlaams Gezelschapsleven*, a circle for Flemish social activities which allowed a number of important Flemish associations to collaborate. A lot of associations were housed in the *Hendrik Conscience Huis*. It can be regarded as the first location purposely designed to serve as a Flemish meeting-place in Brussels.

A number of important local initiatives were taken around 1960. Let us first mention the *Centraal Sekretariaat der Vlaamse Verenigingen van Etterbeek* which was the first local organization to own its own clubhouse. This group is also responsible for the paper *Eigen Leven*. A couple of years later, there arose *De Bond voor Vlaamse Verenigingen van Anderlecht* which also served as a link between the various local associations in Anderlecht. The mouthpiece of this association was the *Anderlechtse Post*.

The great breakthrough of the Flemish sociocultural infrastructure in Brussels really began in 1966 with the founding of the *Contact- en Cultuurcentrum* (C.C.C.). The statutory purpose of this institution was "to promote Flemish cultural life in the capital through, among other things, the creation of a cultural centre and a library". Since 1974 the C.C.C. has also fulfilled the function of providing a variety of services to Flemish cultural life in

Brussels. In this capacity the C.C.C. is also responsible for a number of publications.

In 1967 the representatives of several sociocultural organizations founded the non-profit *Vlaams Onderwijscentrum Brussel* (V.O.C.). The intention of this centre for Flemish education is primarily to promote Dutch education in metropolitan Brussels. Pursuant to this goal the centre has published since 1968 an annual *Gids der Nederlandstalige Scholen in Brussel Hoofdstad* (Guide to Dutch Schools in the Capital of Brussels). In this way, the centre continues the work of the *Vlaams Komitee voor Brussel*, which had for years been publishing a list of Flemish schools in the capital. In addition to a variety of other activities, the centre set up a bureau where one can always get information about Dutch-language education in Brussels.

Two years after the *Vlaams Onderwijscentrum*, there originated the *Agglomeratieraad van de Nederlandstalige Brusselse Jeugd* (A.N.B.J. — Metropolitan Advisory Board for Dutch-speaking youth in Brussels). According to its statutes this council is a representative of the Flemish young people in Brussels serving also to co-ordinate existing local youth organizations. Some concrete accomplishments of the A.B.N.J. have been the establishment of *Jeugd-info*, and of the *Alternatief Aktueel Dokumentatiecentrum*, two information services for young people.

Around 1970 another important phenomenon began to make itself felt in metropolitan Brussels. In addition to the accomplishments in Etterbeek and Anderlecht, co-operation among the local Flemish associations also began to take clearer shape in Ganshoren, Watermaal-Bosvoorde/Watermael-Boitsfort, Elsene/Ixelles, Sint-Pieters-Woluwe/Woluwé-Saint-Pierre, Evere and Sint-Agatha-Berchem/Berchem-Sainte-Agathe. Due to the impetus of the *Lodewijk De Raedt Foundation* many Flemish associations in metropolitan Brussels grouped themselves into local sociocultural councils.

In the course of time the number of Flemish sociocultural associations in Brussels steadily grew. From a study conducted by Roels (1971) in 1970 it appeared that there were, at that time, no fewer than 805 Flemish associations in Brussels. In Table 15, we see that a good quarter of these are youth associations. Next come the sociocultural associations for specific categories of the population such as, for example, the branches of the *Bond voor Grote en Jonge Gezinnen, De Katholieke Arbeidersvrouwengilden* and *De Katholieke Werkliedenbonden*. The parents' and alumni associations represent 12.8% of the Flemish associations. Then we have the associations for general cultural work such as the *Vermeylenfonds, Willemsfonds* and *Davidsfonds*. In decreasing numerical order we have, further, sporting, theatrical and professional associations, followed by entertainment- and

music-associations. As for the remaining associations, it is to be noted that under the title of "Co-ordinating Committees" are included all sorts of associations which exercise a liaison function. Of the 805 associations in Table 16, 669 (or 83%) are active on the municipal level. The remaining 17% are active in the whole of metropolitan Brussels.

TABLE 15 *Classification of Flemish Associations in Central Brussels According to the Type of their Activities in 1970*

Associations	*N*	*%*
1. Youth organizations	206	25.6
2. Social-cultural organizations geared towards specific categories of the population	122	15.2
3. Parents' and alumni associations	103	12.8
4. Associations for general cultural work	66	8.2
5. Sporting associations	64	7.9
6. Theatrical associations	49	6.1
7. Professional associations	47	5.8
8. Social and leisure associations	37	4.6
9. Musical associations	31	3.9
10. Photo and film clubs	20	2.5
11. Co-ordinating committees	18	2.2
12. Associations for social work	17	2.1
13. Tourist associations and naturalists' associations	16	2.0
14. Folkdancing and folklore	9	1.1
Total	805	100

It is clear that some co-operation was called for among so many small associations. As we have already said, this co-operation began to occur around 1970. Many Flemish associations began to co-ordinate their activities in a sociocultural council. By November, 1973 the number of sociocultural councils amounted to 19. Today, there are 22 sociocultural councils spread over the whole metropolitan area. There are four in Brussels (in Neder-over-Heembeek, Laken, Haren and Central Brussels) and one in each of the remaining 18 municipalities belonging to metropolitan Brussels. Each of these councils has a sociocultural worker and a clubhouse.

In this way co-operation among the various Flemish associations was possible within each municipality. Starting in 1971 the first attempt was made to bring the various sociocultural councils together in a central deliberative body at the metropolitan level. At the end of October 1972 this led to the creation of the *Agglomeratieraad van het Plaatselijk Sociaal Kultureel Werk* (A.P.S.K.W.). This council became the representative and co-ordinating

body for the local sociocultural councils in metropolitan Brussels. The A.P.S.K.W. also came to play an important role in organizing the *Congres van de Brusselse Vlamingen* (Congress of Brussels Flemings) in 1975.

In August, 1972 several months before the statutory organization of the A.P.S.K.W., the *Nederlandse Commissie voor de Cultuur van de Brusselse Agglomeratie* (N.C.C.) was instituted. At that point the creation of Flemish sociocultural infrastructure in Brussels reached a provisional highpoint. The N.C.C. and its Francophone counterpart were created by the authority of article 108 of the Revised Constitution. Article 72 of the law of July 26, 1971 circumscribes the authority of the N.C.C. as follows:

1. To determine and execute a programme for the cultural, pre-school, extra-curricular and educational infrastructure.
2. To create, govern and subsidize the required institutions.
3. To give recommendations and advice to the legislative chambers, the Cultural Council for the Flemish Cultural Community, the government, the province, the metropolitan confederation and the municipalities of the confederation, either upon its own initiative or upon the request of the above-named authorities.
4. To undertake and encourage cultural initiatives.
5. To fulfil every other task commissioned from it by the legislature, the cultural council, or the government.

From the above enumeration it is clear that the N.C.C. was from its inception destined to occupy a central place in the development of the Flemish sociocultural infrastructure in Brussels. After the 1973 signing of a statement concerning the mutual relations and functions of the V.O.C., the C.C.C., the A.P.S.K.W. and the A.N.B.J., on the one hand, and the N.C.C., on the other, the N.C.C. was able to pursue its tasks fully. It soon became evident that the rights granted the N.C.C. were not in proportion to the immense task with which this body was confronted. The rapid development of the Flemish sociocultural infrastructure in the last decade has, therefore, not been able to solve all problems in this area.

After surveying some aspects of the Flemish infrastructure in Brussels in the fields of education, health care, and sociocultural activities, we can conclude that the development of a Flemish infrastructure in Brussels has progressed rapidly since the 1950s. This is especially true of the educational and the sociocultural infrastructure. The situation in the area of health care is, however, less favourable; the number of Dutch-speaking doctors remains quite small. In this area, one can still discern a certain infrastructural pressure on the Flemish patient. In the other two cases the situation has evolved to such an extent that the available facilities can be called quite

reasonable, though this should not be allowed to obscure several urgent problems which remain in these infrastructural sectors.

The ethnolinguistic integration pattern of the Flemish in metropolitan Brussels

In this fourth and final part of our contribution we shall consider the individual moment of linguistic behaviour. We shall proceed by describing a survey which we conducted in metropolitan Brussels. It should be noted that this study related exclusively to the linguistic behaviour of Flemish inhabitants of Brussels. Further investigation will have to determine whether the French-speaking population of Brussels exhibits a similar integration-pattern.

The choice of a domain of investigation for this study was clearly defined: the Flemish population in metropolitan Brussels. It was less clear how to proceed in drawing a sample from this population. As there had been no official linguistic census in Belgium since 1947 the number of Flemish-speakers in Brussels could only be approximately conjectured. Nor did the above-mentioned estimates yield an unequivocal answer to the question of how many Flemings were living in Brussels. Moreover, these estimates also had the drawback that they furnished no information on an individual level. Thus, we knew neither the exact size of our domain of investigation, nor the internal differentiation along lines of sex, socio-economic class or age, for example.

Consequently, we had to have recourse to other sources of information. For example, one possibility was to work with the municipal registers. This route soon proved impractical as the method was not only very time-consuming, but also made us dependent upon the goodwill of the various municipal councils.

Finally, we opted for the use of the electoral registers. These were readily accessible and had the further advantage that they had just been updated.

The next question was how to proceed in taking our sample. Since we were also interested in the influence of the different Brussels municipalities on the integration pattern of Dutch-speakers we had to control for the bias introduced by internal migration within metropolitan Brussels. Hence, we wanted to choose not merely those persons who had been born in the Flemish region (West Flanders, East Flanders, Limburg, Antwerp or Flemish Brabant), but who had also migrated directly from there to the Brussels municipality where they were currently residing.

The samples were subjected to two further conditions. Firstly, only those who had settled in metropolitan Brussels between the years 1950 and 1970 were selected. In this way, we hoped to get a rather accurate picture of post-war Flemish immigrants in metroplitan Brussels.

Another criterion was age. In order to maximize the comparability of the people in the sample we selected only those people who were between 20 and 24 years of age at the time of their emigration from Flanders. A study by Delanghe (1974) had shown that this age-group formed the largest category of intra-national migrations.

Only six of the 19 municipalities in Brussels had included information on these four criteria in their electoral registers: Jette, Sint-Agatha-Berchem/Berchem-Sainte-Agathe, Koekelberg, Etterbeek, Elsene/Ixelles and Watermaal-Bosvoorde/Watermael-Boitsfort. The remaining 13 did not record the previous place of residence, so that we could not determine whether we were dealing with a migration within metropolitan Brussels. Therefore, we were forced to limit our sample to the six municipalities listed above. Of course, this implied a significant limitation of the original project. In the absence of further resources, we had no choice, however. On the other hand, it turned out that these municipalities were not among the least interesting for the purposes of our analysis. On account of their location with respect to the canal which cuts right through the middle of metropolitan Brussels and is often seen as a line of demarcation in the Francophone pattern of the municipalities, they exhibited sufficient variety to allow us to trace the influence of the municipal structures.

Altogether, 1,600 people were contacted. They fell into the following categories:

Categories	*N*	*%*
Interviews	763	47.7
Refusals	338	21.1
Change of address/moves	413	25.8
Miscellaneous (sick, abroad, etc.)	86	5.4
Total:	1,600	100

Fifty-two per cent of those interviewed were women. The most strongly represented age-group was that from 36 to 40. Only 4% were single. The modal socio-economic category was of those "without jobs" (housewives, students, retired people, etc.) who formed 25.3% of our sample. Next there followed the lower clerical and white collar workers (drafters, clerks, police-officers, primary school teachers, etc.) with 23.5%. In descending order of

size there followed the self-employed (shopkeepers, craftsmen, owners of small businesses, etc.), labourers (skilled as well as unskilled), and senior employees, amounting to 18.7%, 16.2%, and 12.7% respectively. These were the most strongly represented socio-economic categories. In addition, there were a number of smaller categories, such as professionals and owners of medium-sized and large companies. Finally, there were several miscellaneous vocations which were difficult to accommodate within the above categories.

Operationalization of acquired ethnolinguistic behaviour

The search for characteristics of the pattern of linguistic behaviour begins with a choice of operational variables. This is certainly no easy task. The variables must be chosen in such a way as faithfully to reflect the various aspects of everyday linguistic behaviour. In our choice of variables we directed our attention primarily to the spoken language. But we also considered reading, writing, listening and TV viewing, as well as a few other linguistically relevant forms of behaviour, albeit in less detail. The literature in the sociology of language, as well as acquaintance with the problems concerning Brussels, finally led us to a selection of 42 variables. As far as possible the most prominent aspects of linguistic behaviour were measured by operational variables. Variables relating to the person and those relating to the situation were deliberately juxtaposed. Our concern here is always with the language that is used most frequently; accidental or exceptional uses are not considered in our study. For the sake of convenience, all variables were arranged in terms of a hypothetical classification. Let us now examine Table 16 more closely.

In the first two columns we find a survey of the hypothetical classification into domains and subdomains. The corresponding variables are given in the last column. At the very top we have two "psycholinguistic" variables, namely the languages of thought and mental arithmetic. These variables represent the language in which one most frequently thinks and, more specifically, does figures "in one's head". While we did not want to enter more deeply into this field, we nonetheless thought that a sociological analysis could not completely neglect the "inner" use of language. A more thorough treatment of this subject obviously lay outside the purview of our study.

Several forms of face-to-face contact are comprehended in a second hypothetical domain. These primary group-situations mostly relate to linguistic usage within the immediate family: parents, spouse and children.

TABLE 16 *Survey of the 42 Independent Variables*

Domain	*Subdomain*	*Variables*
"Inner"		Language of thought
		Language of mental arithmetic
Face-to-face contacts	Family	Parents
		Spouse
		Children
	Non-family	Friends
Upbringing of children	At home	Children's mother-tongue
	At school	Children's school-language
Use of media	Spoken word	TV viewing behaviour
		Listening behaviour
	Written word	Newspapers
		Magazines
Leisure activities	Cultural activities outside organized groups	Books
		Theatres
		Cinemas
	Visit to restaurants and pubs	Restaurants
		Pubs
	Cultural activities in organized groups	Membership of clubs
		Participation in local Flemish sociocultural activities
Church-going		Religious services
Secondary contacts	Informal situations	Neighbours
		Bakers
		Grocers
	Instrumental contacts	Department stores
		Trams
	Relations of dependence	Postal employees
		Municipal civil servants
		Doctors
Administrative contacts		Hospitals
	Municipal public services	Municipal communications
		Identity card
		Driver's licence
		Marriage ceremony
	Public utilities	Water-bill
		Registration of address in telephone-book
Working environment	Central public services	Tax-form
	Employees	Boss
		Associates
	Self-employed and professionals	Customers
		Advertisements
		Language of address to new customers
		French with customers who know Dutch

The question here is whether significant differences appear in inter-generational contacts. In the limiting case, each of these situations would belong to a separate domain. In such circumstances, the pattern of linguistic behaviour of the Flemings in Brussels would be characterized by a heterogeneous and discontinuous language-transmission. If, on the other hand, linguistic behaviour in the immediate family belongs to one domain, then we are dealing with inter-generationally stable linguistic behaviour. Outside the immediate family, but still within the more personal face-to-face contacts, we enquired about linguistic usage with close friends.

Closely linked with the preceding we next included two variables connected with the upbringing of children. Although there is often some overlap between children's mother-tongue (more precisely, the language first learned) and the children's most frequently used language, this is not always the case. Furthermore, it is possible that children from the same family do not share the same mother-tongue. These variables thus give more in-depth information about the children's most often used language.

Another important moment in the upbringing of children is the choice of a school. In Brussels this implies a choice of language as well. The concept of school is given a broad interpretation here, beginning with the pre-school sector (day-care centre, nursery school, kindergarten) and extending as far as higher education. Altogether, there are three possible choices available to parents:

1. Dutch-language schools are chosen for all children in the family.
2. Either different linguistic choices are made for different children, or a single child has attended both Flemish and French schools.
3. French schools are chosen for all children in the family.

The following series of variables deals with the use of the media. Here we asked which television and radio channels one tuned into most often. The language-choice in the case of the written media was measured on the basis of the newspapers and magazines most frequently read.

Next we arrive at the domain of "leisure activities". The variable "books" is clearly an extension of the previous two variables. In the case of the variable "theatre", we asked whether subjects would choose to attend French or Dutch performances for an evening out. The three following variables gave us a picture of which language is most frequently spoken at the cinema, restaurants and pubs. It is evident that these are primarily questions relating to situation. Membership in clubs and associations and participation in local Flemish sociocultural activities are represented in our table under the heading of cultural activities in an organized group.

Since both Dutch-language and Francophone religious services are held in Brussels, churchgoers must also make a choice of language in this connection. This linguistic option is also included in our lists. Next there come a whole series of secondary linguistic contacts, from the more informal conversations with neighbours, bakers and grocers, to the more pronounced relations of dependence in contacts with postal employees, municipal civil servants, doctors and hospital personnel in general. In addition, we also enquired about language use in department stores and on the tram.

In the penultimate domain we got to know more about the administrative identity of the respondents. More specifically, we were concerned here with a variety of contacts with municipal public services and public utilities. In which language does one receive municipal communications, tax-forms and the water-bill? Are one's identity card and driver's licence in French, Dutch or both? Which language is used in registering one's address in the telephone-book? In which language did the marriage ceremony take place at the town hall? The answers to all these questions tell us something about the attitudes of the person answering, as well as about the functioning of the relevant services; which of these factors is decisive at a certain moment is not always easy to determine.

A final important domain is the working environment. Here we drew a distinction between employees, on the one hand, and the self-employed and professionals, on the other. Members of the first category were asked about the language most frequently used with the boss (the person under whose direct supervision one works every day), and with associates at work. As for the self-employed and professionals, we first asked about the language most frequently used with clients and patients, and also about the language used in any advertisements, price-labelling, which they might have occasion to display. The last two variables attempt to measure the presence of an anticipatory adaptive reflex by employing two criteria: the language in which one addresses new, previously unknown customers, and, secondly, whether or not one speaks French with customers whom one knows to be capable of speaking Dutch.

Results

The starting point for the above sociological investigation was a certain dissatisfaction with the way some commentators describe linguistic behaviour and, more specifically, the process of Frenchification in Brussels. The vague concepts and out-dated premises which are often used in such descriptions are obstacles to a better understanding of the ethnolinguistic processes

which are taking place in the capital. Too often, all sorts of statements are made, the validity of which remains untested. It is difficult to escape from the impression that these statements receive their demonstrative force only from their frequent publication in various newspapers and magazines.

It was our intention to develop an empirically verifiable model for the linguistic behaviour of Flemings in metropolitan Brussels. Our approach was sociological, thereby complementing the historical, linguistic and psychological research on the same topic.

A multivariate approach was chosen, meaning that both the actual linguistic behaviour and its prediction are measured on the basis of different variables. In this way, it was possible to investigate not only how various factors interact with each other, but also to determine the relative importance of each of them. This led to a number of important observations.

Six major domains or forms of Frenchification can be discerned in the *prima facie* incoherent linguistic behaviour in Brussels. These domains comprise family face-to-face contacts, informal and overall secondary contacts, the cultural choice-pattern, administrative contacts, and the working environment.

The process of Frenchification is a cumulative process, in the sense that a person who mainly speaks French in a domain that is "difficult to Frenchify", such as family contacts, will most likely also use French in those domains which are "more easily Frenchified", such as the overall secondary contacts.

The occurrence of French in the linguistic behaviour of an individual increases in direct proportion to his social status. This observation is diametrically opposed to the often heard allegation that the lower socio-economic groups are most susceptible to the process of Frenchification. The results of our investigation demonstrate, on the contrary, that French has made the least progress in the day-to-day linguistic behaviour of these groups.

There is a positive relationship between inter-generational mobility and the extent to which the linguistic behaviour-pattern is Frenchified. This indicates that there was still a link between social mobility and a more frequent use of French for the time-period under investigation.

Those individuals whose parents have a higher socio-economic status tend to use French more often than those whose parents have a lower socio-economic status. This indicates a relationship between the social position of parents in Flanders and the linguistic behaviour of their children (our respondents) in Brussels.

We further observed that there is a parallelism between ascribed status and ascribed ethnicity (a term introduced by us to refer to the interaction of a number of factors such as the first language acquired and the school-language of the person concerned). This is revealed most clearly by the fact that people belonging to a family of higher socio-economic status more frequently have French as their mother-tongue or as the first language acquired, despite the fact that they were born in Flanders. This relationship indicates that there is, or was, a socio-economic "élite" in Flanders who educate their children in French. We would like to emphasize that we are talking only about parents of informants who migrated from Flanders to Brussels between 1950 and 1970. Thus, factors which were already operating in Flanders should be taken into account in order to acquire a better understanding of the pattern of linguistic behaviour of Dutch-speakers in Brussels. The pattern of Frenchification can be studied accurately only if it is put into its broader national context.

Acquired status and ascribed status prove to be weak predictors of linguistic behaviour if they are placed in a broader model which also includes the influence of the spouse and the municipality of residence. Therefore, these two variables are not of decisive importance for the development of linguistic behaviour, despite the occurrence of the above correlations.

The claim that ethnolinguistic behaviour in Brussels cannot be reduced to socio-economically determined behaviour is further confirmed by the observation that the factor of the working environment has much less predictive power with respect to linguistic behaviour than is generally thought. The often repeated claim that the work-factor is the major predictor of linguistic behaviour is forcefully rejected here. It is striking that this factor does not contribute significantly to the prediction of the children's school-language in our multivariate analysis. This contradicts a widespread opinion. The hypothesis that the working-environment is of primary importance for linguistic behaviour in situations implying a certain prestige also has to be rejected on the basis of our results.

The period of migration and, therefore, the age of the informants appeared to have a negligible influence on linguistic behaviour. This indicates that the linguistic behaviour-pattern of Dutch-speakers in Brussels is undergoing little or no change as a result of recent waves of immigration. The relation through time between immigration and linguistic behaviour seems to show a fairly stable pattern.

The municipality of residence is a very important variable predicting linguistic behaviour. Furthermore, this does not hold merely for the most localized situations. On the whole, we can state that this variable is second

only to the influence of the spouse in its importance as a predictor of linguistic behaviour.

The spouse is undeniably the major factor responsible for the transition from Dutch to French. Within family relationships there are a number of processes of language choice which, in the case of linguistically mixed marriages, practically always turn to the advantage of the Francophone partner.

Conclusion

In many respects, the results of our investigations are opposed to a number of current widely-spread opinions about the ethnolinguistic behaviour-pattern of Dutch-speakers in metroplitan Brussels. It appears that the process of Frenchification of Dutch-speakers is taking place in a much more structured fashion than is generally believed. Moreover, our investigation shows that some factors are much less significant as contributors to the degree of Frenchification than is usually thought. These factors are sometimes even considered as self-evidently leading to Frenchification.

The fact that some of these conceptions could persist for so long is mainly due to the very simplistic way in which the process of Frenchification was commonly viewed. In the past, this process was generally reduced to a simplified dichotomous situation. One was either Frenchified or not. Usually, only one decisive criterion, such as choice of a school for the children, was considered in order to determine whether or not the "threshold of Frenchification" had been transcended. Such "interpretations" made it impossible to discern patterns in ethnolinguistic behaviour, since a wide spectrum of ethnolinguistic situations was overlooked. Furthermore, there was absolutely no certainty concerning the extent to which the selected ethnolinguistic situations were of real social significance to the individuals themselves.

This arbitrary selection of a number of so-called "crucial" ethnolinguistic situations was usually accompanied by an equally distorted approach to the normative component in the ethnolinguistic process. It was often thought self-evident that all Flemings were also "Flemish-minded". This was accepted without considering the motives which would lead someone to accept or repudiate a certain linguistic ethnicity. Indeed, the ethnolinguistic norm which one chooses in a certain situation will depend to a great extent on the individual power-factors which one can "operationalize".

The impact of these factors and, therefore, the form of the resulting ethnolinguistic behaviour-pattern, can only be fully understood if the Brussels problem is situated in the context of the wider national structure of

power and ethnic relations. The "historico-cultural" components which largely determine the conditions under which, and the degree to which, different ethnolinguistic groups enter into competition are formed in this national context. The occurrence of processes of *Monopolistische Abschliessung* between the respective ethnolinguistic groups is of crucial importance in this connection.

Our survey shows that the process of *Monopolistische Abschliessung* in Belgium only occurred to a limited extent via ascribed linguistic ethnicity. One consequence of this is that the juxtaposition of two rather important ethnolinguistic groups within one Belgian state has never led to violent ethnolinguistic confrontations. It is also important to note that primary group contacts between the ethnolinguistic groups have always remained possible, and occur rather frequently. This is illustrated by the number of linguistically mixed marriages and the lack of residential segregation.

Because of these two elements, the predominance of French-speakers in Brussels does not automatically lead to a definition of the situation in ethnolinguistic terms. This is intensified by the fact that sufficient "pressure resources" can be mobilized on a national level. These resources are not only used to continue to develop the Flemish infrastructure, but also to interfere rather openly in ethnolinguistic relations in the labour market, though this occurs mainly in the public sector.

The result is that the factors of socio-economic position and ethnolinguistic relations in the working-situation are much weaker predictors of linguistic behaviour in Brussels than are the factors of ethnolinguistic composition of the family and the presence of Francophones in the municipality of residence.

We believe that the statistically insignificant impact of the period of immigration on linguistic behaviour is mainly due to the low degree of internal differentiation among our respondents with respect to this factor. Indeed, the sample consisted only of Flemings who migrated to Brussels after World War II and had mainly been educated entirely in Dutch in Flanders.

Both the significant predictors and the ethnolinguistic behaviour itself are influenced by the existing power and ethnolinguistic relations. However, they also influence these structures. In practical terms this means that the ethnolinguistic behaviour of an individual, i.e. his ascribed linguistic enthnicity, contributes to the overall Flemish presence in Brussels and increases the demand for Flemish infrastructural facilities. Consequently important shifts in the distribution of individual socio-economic position have caused changes in the existing economic, political and social power-structure.

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5 Socio-demographic Aspects
The impact of geolinguistic and social processes on the language situation in Brussels

MACHTELD DE METSENAERE

Geolinguistic processes

Introduction

The role played by migratory movements in the growth of the 19 boroughs that make up the Brussels conurbation leading to the increasing dominance of French can be seen by comparing Table 1 below with the table given in Chapter 2 (Table 2) on the evolution of linguistic distribution. From these two tables combined it is clear that the increasing urbanization of the Brussels area was linked to a proportional shrinkage of the local population and an increasing use of the French language.

This is reflected in the population figures for the borough of Brussels increasing from 123,874 in 1846 to 183,686 in 1900, while the proportion of inhabitants that had been born in the borough fell in roughly the same period from 55% to 40% (Table 2). Up to the turn of the century the area of the borough of Brussels was characterized by steadily increasing immigration and emigration, resulting in a net growth in the borough's population.

The greater part of the migration served, however, to swell the population of the suburban boroughs, 14 of which grew sevenfold in the period from 1846 to 1910. This growth can be attributed not so much to the expansion of the economic infrastructure of the Brussels area as to the social and economic situation of the Flemish hinterland, since the supplementary

TABLE 1 *Population Growth in the 19 Boroughs of Greater Brussels, 1831–1900*

	1831	*1846*	*1856*	*1866*	*1880*	*1890*	*1900*
Anderlecht	3,510	5,966	7,465	11,580	22,812	32,311	47,929
Sint-Agatha-Berchem/Berchem-Sainte Agathe	2,177	672	636	765	1,102	1,266	1,845
Oudergem/Auderghem	—	—	—	1,602	2,434	3,277	4,685
Ganshoren	—	1,015	1,040	1,119	1,584	2,098	2,872
Brussel/Bruxelles	99,522	123,874	152,828	157,905	162,498	176,138	183,686
Haren	599	771	775	802	1,117	1,445	1,900
Etterbeek	2,237	3,084	2,893	4,611	11,753	17,735	20,838
Jette	1,962	1,981	2,048	2,262	4,712	6,635	10,053
Evere	1,007	1,377	1,457	1,537	2,206	2,786	3,892
Vorst/Forest	993	1,324	1,456	2,184	4,182	5,885	9,509
Sint-Gillis/Saint-Gilles	1,986	4,138	5,569	9,922	33,124	40,289	51,763
Elsene/Ixelles	4,483	14,251	18,371	23,210	36,324	44,497	58,615
Sint-Joost-ten-Node/Saint-Josse-ten-Node	3,077	14,850	17,149	21,915	28,052	29,709	32,140
Koekelberg	—	2,198	2,863	3,554	4,893	6,272	10,650
Laken	1,806	4,019	5,048	9,312	17,856	25,289	30,438
Sint-Jans-Molenbeek/Molenbeek-Saint-Jean	4,092	12,065	15,994	24,333	41,737	48,723	58,445
Neder-over-Heembeek	774	1,016	1,158	1,292	1,844	2,224	2,599
Schaarbeek/Schaerbeek	1,953	6,211	10,638	18,710	40,784	50,826	63,508
Ukkel/Uccle	4,699	6,372	6,932	7,813	10,744	13,400	18,034
Watermaal-Bosvoorde/Watermael-Boitsfort	3,437	3,950	3,885	2,232	3,658	5,084	6,520
Sint-Lambrechts-Woluwe/Woluwé-Saint-Lambert	1,000	1,182	1,249	1,325	1,660	2,298	3,468
Sint-Pieters-Woluwe/Woluwé-Saint-Pierre	1,008	1,318	1,300	1,336	1,634	1,976	2,686

Source: National census figures.

TABLE 2 *Percentage of Locally-Born Inhabitants in the Total Population of the 19 Boroughs*

	1846	*1880*	*Difference 1846–80*	*1920*	*Difference 1880–1920*
Anderlecht	50.5	36.1	−14.4	35.0	− 1.1
Sint-Agatha-Berchem/Berchem-Sainte-Agathe	56.2	77.0	− 9.2	30.4	−16.6
Oudergem/Auderghem	—	32.9	—	38.8	− 5.9
Ganshoren	64.1	57.2	− 6.9	37.4	−19.8
Brussel/Bruxelles	54.9	51.0	− 3.9	40.1	−10.9
Haren	72.2	87.9	−15.7	48.3	−39.6
Etterbeek	55.0	33.8	−21.2	26.8	− 7.0
Jette	67.2	38.4	−28.8	27.6	−10.8
Evere	72.3	63.8	− 8.5	30.2	−33.6
Vorst/Forest	58.6	44.5	−14.1	4.4	−40.1
Sint-Gillis/Saint-Gilles	38.3	22.1	−16.2	67.7	+45.6
Elsene/Ixelles	29.1	28.7	− 0.4	22.0	− 6.7
Sint-Joost-ten-Node/Saint-Josse-ten-Node	17.6	20.1	+ 2.5	17.3	− 2.8
Koekelberg	37.4	38.9	+ 1.5	21.7	−17.2
Laken	46.6	35.4	−11.2	25.8	− 9.6
Sint-Jans-Molenbeek/Molenbeek-Saint-Jean	23.5	30.3	+ 6.8	32.4	+ 2.1
Neder-over-Heembeek	72.9	70.5	− 2.4	55.6	−14.9
Schaarbeek/Schaerbeek	35.3	25.3	−10.0	32.5	+ 7.2
Ukkel/Uccle	67.0	62.1	− 4.9	34.4	−27.7
Watermaal-Bosvoorde/Watermael Boitsfort	76.6	61.7	−14.9	37.9	−23.8
Sint-Lambrechts Woluwe/Woluwé-Saint-Lambert	71.4	65.7	− 5.7	26.8	−38.9
Sint-Pieters-Woluwe/Woluwé-Saint-Pierre	68.3	69.1	− 0.8	25.1	−44.0

Source: National censuses 1846, 1880, 1920.

income from cottage industry that had allowed the pauperized rural population to survive had been wiped out in the crises of the middle of the nineteenth century. This resulted in the unique — for nineteenth century Belgium — phenomenon of a large-scale flight from the rural areas in the direction of Brussels.

In this way, both the process of immigration from surrounding rural areas and that of transmigration within the urban area contributed to the further process of urbanization and of the increasing dominance of French. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the surrounding villages of Sint-Joost-ten-Node/Saint-Josse-ten-Node, Elsene/Ixelles, Schaarbeek/Schaerbeek and Sint-Jans-Molenbeek/Molenbeek-Saint-Jean — all of which bordered on the city — had become fully-fledged suburbs of Brussels. 69% of the mid-nineteenth-century inhabitants of Brussels leaving the city in later years moved to the surrounding suburban boroughs.

More than one-third of this movement was to Sint-Joost-ten-Node/Saint-Josse-ten-Node and a quarter of it to Elsene/Ixelles. These two boroughs, therefore, not only functioned as settlement areas for rural immigrants, but were developing too as residential areas for the upper and middle classes escaping from the crowded and unhealthy city centre. At the same time, the limited economic resources of an artisanal capital with no large-scale industry and its growing housing problem were driving the working class out to the workers' districts of Sint-Jans-Molenbeek/Molenbeek-Saint-Jean, Sint-Gillis/Saint-Gilles, Sint-Joost-ten-Node/Saint-Josse-ten-Node and Elsene/Ixelles. Of these the first two together took up one-third of those leaving the borough of Brussels in the middle of the century.

During the second half of the century, other contiguous boroughs (Anderlecht, parts of Elsene/Ixelles, Laken, Sint-Gillis/Saint-Gilles and Etterbeek) were increasingly drawn into the city's expansion. Their growth can be explained by an increased flight from the countryside and large-scale reconstruction of the centre of Brussels in the 1860s and 1870s. The upper and middle classes took refuge from the inconveniences of rebuilding in residential areas, while the working class was herded into the old city districts or moved out to Sint-Jans-Molenbeek/Molenbeek-Saint-Jean, Anderlecht, Koekelberg, Sint-Gillis/Saint-Gilles or Vorst/Forest. Cheaper building land and transport facilities had in fact already attracted the larger Brussels industries to these boroughs.

At the turn of the present century the most important centres of population growth moved further out to a second belt of boroughs that were to provide the housing that the centre of Brussels, because of its increased

function as a commercial, banking and administrative centre, could no longer provide.

Spatial differentiation of Frenchification in greater Brussels — The impact of social structure and geographic origin

Although the strong link between urbanization and the dominance of the French language has been pointed out, this link was not equally strong in all areas. The correlation between population growth and French dominance, with migration playing a crucial role, was a process that was widely differentiated in space. Research in depth by De Metsenaere (1978) and Deserrano (1979) into the social and linguistic composition of two socially and linguistically distinct inner-suburban boroughs (Sint-Joost-ten-Node/Saint-Josse-ten-Node and Anderlecht) has pointed to the role played in this differentiation by the social composition and the linguistic implications of migratory movements.

It is clear from the Sint-Joost-ten-Node/Saint-Josse-ten-Node research (1846–56) that the growth of the residential suburban boroughs was linked to an influx of the upper and middle classes as well as to a rapid increase in the use of French. Here, language use (49% French-speakers and 49% Dutch-speakers in 1846) was partly determined by the upper and middle classes from the borough of Brussels and from Wallonia. In the middle of the nineteenth century, 51% of the immigrants to Sint-Joost-ten-Node/Saint-Josse-ten-Node came from Flanders, 25% from Brussels and 22% from Wallonia.

The Anderlecht research (second half of the nineteenth century), on the other hand, shows how industrial working-class boroughs developed by means of newly set-up industries and a growing influx of workers from Flanders and Brussels, resulting in a much slower linguistic shift. In this way, the predominantly Dutch-speaking borough of Anderlecht (approximately 10% French-speakers in 1846 and 14% in 1900) drew only 12% of its immigrants from Wallonia, 36% from Brussels and 52% from Flanders.

Although in both boroughs half the immigrants had been born in Flanders and those from Brussels constituted a large number, the proportion of Walloon immigrants was much greater in Sint-Joost-ten-Node/Saint-Josse-ten-Node than in Anderlecht. This greater proportion of immigrants from Wallonia is, however, not enough in itself to explain the greater prominence of French there. Further explanation must be sought in the linguistic and social composition of the immigrants from the borough of Brussels moving into Sint-Joost-ten-Node/Saint-Josse-ten-Node.

Research into the destination of emigrants leaving Brussels in 1842 and categorized according to whether they had been living in purely Dutch-speaking streets or in areas where relatively little Dutch was spoken has shown that Sint-Joost-ten-Node/Saint-Josse-ten-Node (together with its residential counterparts Elsene/Ixelles and Sint-Gillis/Saint-Gilles) drew its immigrants mainly from the predominantly French-speaking areas of Brussels. One-third of all migrants from Brussels to Sint-Joost-ten-Node/Saint-Josse-ten-Node (and Elsene/Ixelles) came from the rich, French-speaking quarters. The link between social and professional grouping and migratory destination allows us to point out the strong preference of tradespeople, people with a private income, officials and clerical workers for a borough such as Sint-Joost-ten-Node/Saint-Josse-ten-Node. From the Dutch-speaking quarters of Brussels there was not only less emigration towards the suburbs in general, but what there was tended towards other boroughs (Sint-Jans-Molenbeek/Molenbeek-Saint-Jean and Anderlecht). Half the migrants from Brussels to Molenbeek and three-quarters of those to Anderlecht came from the Dutch-speaking, poor, working-class quarters.

This link between social and professional status and linguistic origin was not limited to immigrants from the borough of Brussels. In both Sint-Joost-ten-Node/Saint-Josse-ten-Node and Anderlecht, a much stronger Flemish influence has been noted among the immigrant workers from the immediate hinterland of Flemish Brabant. 70% of all domestic servants, day-labourers and workers arriving in Sint-Joost-ten-Node/Saint-Josse-ten-Node in the 1840s had been born in Flanders (average 33%). The Walloon influence in these groups was minimal. The upper and middle classes in both these boroughs tended much more to have come from a French-speaking area. The French-speaking origin of the clerical workers is particularly striking: 39% of all immigrant clerical workers in Sint-Joost-ten-Node/Saint-Josse-ten-Node and 22% of the clerical workers getting married in Anderlecht were of French-speaking origin.

The above demonstrates how Flemish working-class immigrants allowed Anderlecht to keep its Dutch-speaking character longer, while the influx of French-speaking members of the upper and middle classes was to determine the linguistic situation in Sint-Joost-ten-Node/Saint-Josse-ten-Node. Geographical processes with a marked social component therefore already partly account for a linguistic context whose main characteristics consisted of marked social stratification and distinct language use (French-speaking bourgeoisie versus Dutch-speaking working class).

Spatial distinctions by language in the borough of Brussels — The result of social and demographic processes

To what extent are the above findings applicable to the borough of Brussels? Some historians (e.g. Gubin, 1978) have, in fact, argued for a lack of correlation between social and linguistic divisions and for the absence of linguistically homogeneous neighbourhoods, so giving rise to a "spontaneous bilingualism" on the part of the inhabitants. Recent research, however, points in the opposite direction. The results of a factor analysis of the data from the first Brussels language census (1842) have shown a strong correlation between the use of Dutch, the fact of having been born in the city and poverty. Cluster analysis of the same data was undertaken to see if neighbourhoods could be delineated in which real social and linguistic entities would coincide. This too has led to a clear link between social and linguistic characteristics and has allowed us to plot the differentiated language use within the area of the old walled city. The picture of Brussels as an apparently heterogeneous city from the social and linguistic points of view in no way excludes social and linguistic segregation on a smaller scale. The link between belonging to the working class, the use of Dutch and having been born in the city was manifested geographically in populous, Dutch-speaking, typical Brussels streets situated at the edge of the borough (districts 2, 3 and 6) and in the old city centre (districts 8 and 5), as well as in certain enclaves (backstreets and narrow sidestreets) within more socially and linguistically mixed neighbourhoods, which were therefore the buffer zones around Flemish poverty.

There was only one exception to this rule: the presence of a more French-speaking proletariat of Walloon origin — though limited both numerically and geographically — in the area of the Marollen/Marolles. Other research has confirmed an early Walloon presence in this working class quarter: almost half the adult immigrant inhabitants in 1842 had moved to Brussels before 1830 and almost 40% had lived in the same street since 1835. Furthermore, the language distribution in this quarter (district 1) as described in 1842 (62.5% French-speakers and 35.5% Dutch-speakers) can be traced back to the geolinguistic composition of the immigrant inhabitants in 1803: research by Bruyninckx & De Metsenaere (1981) into the geographical origins of the 1803 inhabitants has clearly revealed that 56% of the immigrants had been born in French-speaking territory and 39% in Dutch-speaking territory.

The above Dutch-speaking clusters had their counterparts in rich, French-speaking street clusters. Only one small well-off cluster points to the presence of a Brussels-born and largely Dutch-speaking bourgeoisie. In area

this type of street was limited to the neighbourhood of the market square (Grote Markt/Grand'Place) (district 8) and of the docks (district 4). Further research clearly revealed the presence of a small Brussels/Belgian élite of wholesalers, entrepreneurs and bankers. Between these two extremes of the cluster range (i.e. between homogeneous neighbourhoods with pronounced socio-economic and linguistic characteristics) there were transitional zones of more socially and linguistically mixed clusters. Not only did this research confirm the geographical existence of socially and linguistically distinct entities street by street, but it also pointed out the tendency of the Dutch speakers to live among others of their kind. In 1842, 61% of the Dutch speakers were living in a Dutch-speaking neighbourhood (defined as one with more than 70% Dutch-speakers). 45% of the city's Dutch-speaking inhabitants lived in neighbourhoods with more than 80% Dutch-speakers. Only 10% of the Dutch-speakers lived in a French-speaking neighbourhood, while 29% lived in a linguistically mixed neighbourhood (40% to 60% Dutch-speaking).

Bearing in mind that the neighbourhood was an important instrument of socialization for its inhabitants, that the street did service as an extension of the home and as an important meeting-place for relatives, friends and neighbours among the badly-housed working class, and that Dutch-speakers in Brussels tended to live in Dutch-speaking neighbourhoods, then this research points to the living environment as a factor in linguistic stabilization rather than of linguistic change. These results, moreover, tend to put into proper perspective the importance of a "spontaneous bilingualism" arising from two language communities living in the same geographical area.

This social and geographical linguistic distribution was, moreover, in no way transient or haphazard: it had, in fact, a permanent character. The settled nature of the inhabitants of the Dutch-speaking neighbourhoods in this research confirm that this was not a recent phenomenon: of the adults present in 1842, 44% had been living in the same street in 1835. Adults not born in Brussels had largely arrived in the capital before 1830 (62%). Frequent removals within the city similarly tended not to disrupt linguistic distribution, since moving house kept within well-defined patterns that tended towards stabilization of the neighbourhood: removals were over short distances, within socially and linguistically analogous streets. Dutch-speakers and French-speakers preferred to move to, respectively, Dutch-speaking or French-speaking streets.

The consistency of Dutch-speaking neighbourhoods has been further emphasized by the presence of large numbers of relatives within the household or in the same street. 39% of the Dutch-speaking households had one

TABLE 3 *Borough of Brussels, 1842. Samples from Purely Dutch-Speaking and Predominantly French-Speaking Streets. Inhabitants' Place of Birth, Grouped by Language Area*

	Purely Dutch-speaking streets (100% Dutch)	*Predominantly French-speaking streets (85% French, 6% Dutch, 9% other*
1. Brussels	79.5%	40.0%
Dutch language area	16.9%	18.3%
French language area	1.0%	26.0%
Mixed language area	2.5%	1.8%
Other language area	0	9.8%
2. *Birthplace of non-locals in:*		
Dutch language area	82.5%	30.5%
French language area	5.0%	43.5%
Mixed language area	12.4%	3.1%
Other language area	0	22.9%
3. *Linguistic antecedents (parents' birthplace) of children born in Brussels in:*		
Brussels	72.5%	39.2%
Dutch language area	22.6%	15.3%
French language area	0.8%	27.4%
Mixed language area	4.0%	2.1%
Other language area	0	15.9%
4. *Linguistic antecedents of children born in Brussels of immigrant parents:*		
Dutch language area	82.5%	25.2%
French language area	2.9%	45.1%
Mixed language area	14.5%	3.4%
Other language area	0	26.2%

tion in these French-speaking neighbourhoods: the otherwise large proportion of immigrants from French-speaking areas is insufficient to explain 85% French-speakers. It is also clear that the presence of Germans and Britons in these neighbourhoods is not sufficient to minimalize the Dutch-speaking presence: the presence of those with Dutch-speaking antecedents points to a possible linguistic shift among this (minority) group of Dutch-speakers (see below).

Immigration in Brussels in the first half of the nineteenth century involved largely French-speakers. The fact that this was not a recent phenomenon is attested by the fact that 51.6% of the male and 85.7% of the female immigrants present in these streets in 1842 had arrived before 1830.

or more relatives as neighbours (average 24%). This was largely a Brussels affair: clusters with the most pronounced Dutch-speaking and locally-born characteristics also show the greatest presence of relatives (31–45%). Although the nuclear family was the commonest household unit, the inhabitants of Brussels were much readier to receive relatives into the household (two-thirds of all lodgers were relatives). Mutual assistance and income-pooling was one means open to the native worker to alleviate some of the poverty.

Close family ties, housing stability and removals limited to well-defined patterns were all in themselves possible factors in linguistic stability and help make a strong case for the continuity of the above picture of the town.

The effect of migratory movements on linguistic distribution within the capital

The extent to which migration influenced the ratio of immigrants to those born locally has already been pointed out with respect to the period after 1846. This was, however, not a recent phenomenon: as early as 1803, between 47% (district 1) and 31% (district 3) of all inhabitants of the city older than 12 had been born outside the capital and about half of all those getting married in Brussels in 1830 were immigrants.

If Table 3 shows the link that has already been mentioned between the use of Dutch and being locally born, it also confirms the expectation of a scarce French-speaking presence in Dutch-speaking neighbourhoods. The linguistic antecedents of the children born in Brussels also point out more precisely the predominantly local or Dutch-speaking origins of the Dutch-speakers in Brussels.

The linguistic situation in Dutch-speaking neighbourhoods can clearly be traced to geolinguistic relations within the immigrant group, as well as within the group of those born locally. The chances of Dutch-speaking immigrants' wishing to integrate themselves in this urban environment by means of a language other than Dutch must, then, have been minimal.

This can only underline the traditional Dutch-speaking character of Brussels, while the same research destroys the myth by which French-speaking Brussels is to be traced back to the Middle Ages. What is striking is the considerable presence of speakers of Dutch and other languages (German, English, etc.) in French-speaking streets. The presence of a third of the immigrants from Dutch-speaking areas and a quarter from other language areas was, moreover, not reflected in the 1842 linguistic distribu-

That this influx pattern was to swing over towards a more pronounced Dutch-speaking immigration in the course of the second half of the nineteenth century was already apparent; of the new arrivals in 1842 62.5% had been born in a Dutch language area, while 22% was of Walloon or French origin. After the economic recession of the 1840s, when the pauperized rural population of Flanders began its massive flight to the capital, the Flemish contingent among the immigrant population grew in importance.

It is in this context that we must interpret the findings of Van den Eeckhout's research (1981): the proportion of the Brussels poor that had been born in Flanders grew from 69% in 1833 to 74% in 1852. At the same time, these findings shed light on the social characteristics of linguistic distribution in Brussels.

Relationships between social structures and language in the capital

Other research has also pointed to a strong correlation between social structure and linguistic distribution:

(a) If we analyse the social structure of the Dutch-speaking and French-speaking neighbourhoods in 1842 that have been looked at above, then the Dutch-speaking neighbourhoods appear as fairly homogeneous working-class areas, inhabited by workers (61.5%) and the modestly self-employed (22%). The middle and professional classes are totally absent in these streets. On the scale from poor to rich that we constructed, moreover, 97.5% of all Dutch-speakers can be situated at the minimum level. In striking contrast to this is the minimal presence of workers or the small-scale self-employed in the French-speaking neighbourhoods, with their preponderance of people with a private income, property-owners, civil servants and rich entrepreneurs. It is not surprising that 18% of these inhabitants score as very well-off on the scale from poor to rich and that the minimum level is occupied by only 18% of the families involved.

(b) The largely French-speaking character of immigration into Brussels in the first half of the nineteenth century has already been pointed out. The figures in Table 4 illustrate the social composition of this group of immigrants and reveal its non-proletarian aspect. These figures are not the result of coincidental factors, but the reflection of a continuous process: in 1803 a proportionally larger number of immigrants had come from the bourgeoisie or petty bourgeoisie or their domestic servants, and in 1830 there were

TABLE 4 *Birthplace of the Inhabitants of Brussels Older than 16 in 1842, Per Social Class*

	Brussels	*Dutch-speaking area*	*French-speaking area*	*Other*
Wealthy bourgeoisie	20.7%	29.0%	31.2%	19.1%
Petty bourgeoisie	40.5%	21.3%	17.3%	20.9%
Working class	56.3%	21.3%	13.3%	—

many more who had been born in Brussels among the workers getting married than there were among the newlyweds from other social classes. How and why this native Brussels predominance in the working class was to be eroded in the second half of the nineteenth century has already been sketched. The high number of domestic servants, day-labourers and workers (compared to civil servants and clerical workers) among the recent immigrants to Brussels in 1842 was the first sign of the shift.

(c) If the immigrants in Brussels are analysed for correlation between the language spoken and social structure, then the link between geolinguistic origin and social class does not appear to be limited to the suburban boroughs (see above). Nor do the correlations appear to be affected by the recession; both before (1833) and after it (1852), the strong Flemish component amongst poor Brussels immigrants is indisputable: in 1803, 81% of the immigrant servants and day-labourers in district 3 had been born in Flemish territory (average 74%), while amongst recent immigrants in 1842 there was a strong preponderance of servants, day-labourers and workers of Flemish origin and a striking French-speaking proportion among immigrant members of the upper and middle classes compared to an overall 22% of French-speakers (the professions, civil servants, clerical workers and people with private incomes score from 31% to 41%). Administration and education therefore continued to be dominated by French-speaking immigrants: in 1803, 76% of immigrant clerical workers in district 1 had been born in French-speaking territory (average 21%), including a large number in metropolitan France (19%).

In the middle of the nineteenth century, too, the French-speaking component of the petty bourgeoisie leaned largely on clerical workers, teachers, barristers, notaries and civil servants who ran the French-speaking schools system and the commercial, municipal and national administrations. Brussels schools had in fact relied strongly on Walloon and French teachers since the

French occupation. The Dutch-speaking component of the petty bourgeoisie consisted almost entirely of retailers, while the native Brussels component consisted largely of the small-scale self-employed, who must therefore apparently be situated, not only socially but also linguistically, at the borders of the working class.

(d) Another noteworthy fact was the presence of foreigners from other language areas who had a decisive influence on language distribution in their neighbourhoods. In the wealthy, predominantly French-speaking neighbourhoods, 23% of the immigrants had been born neither in French-speaking nor in Dutch-speaking territories and 16% of the parents of children born in Brussels belonged to this category. The general proportion of native speakers of other than Dutch or French in 1842 was only 9%. This makes clear how the large number of immigrants in Brussels was patterned both socially and linguistically. This expatriate colony should not be underestimated. In 1755, the number of foreigners in the capital was estimated at 1% of the population, in 1816 this had risen to approximately 5% and in 1842 it had risen again to between 6% and 7% of the total population.

Within the expatriate colony the largest group was clearly that from France. In 1842 French nationals constituted 45% of the foreign population of Brussels and 34% of the foreign immigrants in that year were French. It had been political events in France in 1789 and 1791 that caused Brussels to become a refuge for the escaping French aristocracy and its servants. The French annexation of the Lowlands, if anything, added to the attraction of what had been the capital. The French Restoration then gave rise to a flood of dissident intellectuals who settled in Brussels with support from the French-orientated Brussels bourgeoisie and built up a consistent pattern of social life. This process of integration was, of course, made that much easier by the social composition of the immigrant group: of all the French nationals in our 1842 research, more than 40% belonged to the private income, commercial or financial bourgeoisie. Forty to sixty per cent of all newly-arrived foreign tradespeople, professionals, officials and clerical workers in 1842 were of French origin. Their integration in the Brussels élite and their key social position (in management, government, publishing and printing) led them to encourage anti-Dutch feeling while the country was annexed to Holland (1815–1830). In this, they were helped by the current linguistic attitudes of the Brussels bourgeoisie, which had either already accepted or was well on the way to accepting French as a cultural and formal vehicular language. The linguistic proficiency of the French led them to become leading members of the Brussels press and cultural trendsetters. They seldom concealed their disdain for the local élite's less fluent French.

As well as the French, there were important Dutch, German and British contingents in nineteenth century Brussels. In 1842, 19% of all foreigners resident in Brussels were Dutch, 19% were German and 11% British. Among the newly arrived foreigners in 1842 there were more Germans (24%) than Dutch (21%) or British (12%).

These foreigners, however, reveal a social profile different from that of the French: although foreign immigration in general tended principally to swell the ranks of the bourgeoisie (about 43% of the newly-arrived foreigners in 1842 were members of this class), there are clear social differences according to nationality. It has already been pointed out that people with private incomes, wholesalers, clerical workers, teachers and artists were of mainly French origin. On the other hand, immigrant foreign servants were a German monopoly. The Germans, moveover, had a larger share in the industrial and commercial life of the capital than the other foreigners, as small entrepreneurs and tradespeople. The Britons clearly came with the intention of pursuing their private income existence in a Brussels that was cheaper; of those Britons present in 1842, more than half were composed of modest property-owners or people of means.

Newly-arrived skilled technical workers in 1842 tended to come from The Netherlands: the Dutch provided half the total of immigrant foreign workers. The link between geographical origin and social status can apparently be extended to cover the foreigners, too.

The fact that it was not unusual for Brussels industries to recruit their highly-skilled workers from abroad (three Brussels glove factories peopled the shop floor with French workers in the middle of the nineteenth century) obviously raises questions about the possible presence of a foreign labour élite in Brussels and its effect on linguistic distribution within the working class. It is a fact that left-wing German intellectuals in Brussels could count on the presence also of a German labour aristocracy. There are, however, no indications of close contact with the socially and linguistically distinct Brussels proletariat.

Although some authors (e.g. Stengers, 1980) have made a case for widespread integration of this expatriate workforce on the basis of scattered housing patterns and the absence of foreign neighbourhoods, the aforementioned cluster analysis does point to the existence of characteristically foreign streets in 1842. Three clusters indicate a predominance of foreigners. Together they account for 44% of the foreigners in the census figures. All three cases involve a well-to-do public that is only marginally Dutch-speaking.

One particular neighbourhood was characterized by a large number of foreigners: 29% of the inhabitants. A large number of these was of neither Dutch-speaking nor French-speaking origin. Around the Mint (district 5) and the Park (district 7) there were, then, British, German and Italian people of private income and wealthy *bourgeois*, living a more segregated existence than the other foreigners. Thirty-one per cent of all newly-arrived foreign immigrants in 1842 was living, furthermore, in the Court district and the neighbouring areas of the city centre, largely determining their population make-up (a large proportion of newly-arrived foreigners as compared to the total population).

The attraction of certain neighbourhoods and a strong mutual dependence may probably explain the planned, one-step migration of French and German commercial clerks and people with private incomes.

This concentration of wealthy foreigners might probably explain why contemporary foreign visitors always overestimated the numbers of their compatriots living in Brussels: the appearance of the neighbourhoods in which they lived would have left a stronger impression of the numbers of expatriates than was justified by their presence in the town as a whole.

The cluster analysis reveals the French as less likely than other foreigners to live in expatriate neighbourhoods. Does this imply a greater degree of integration on the part of the French residents of Brussels? This would seem to be indicated by the fact that the Frenchmen living in the least Dutch-speaking areas of Brussels in 1842 were more likely to marry Brussels women. The Germans and Britons show a more marked preference for wives from their own countries.

The presence of foreigners in the upper and middle classes tended to support French predominance in this social layer. The fact that the least Dutch-speaking streets were inhabited by 23% foreigners (14.6% of other than Dutch or French-speaking origin), while the 1842 census registered only 9% speaking a language other than French or Dutch, would seem to point to a more fluid linguistic situation as far as the Britons and Germans were concerned. For many of the foreigners, moreover, Brussels did not represent their first contact with a French-speaking environment: half the German and Dutch immigrant workers had lived in Paris before coming to Brussels in 1847.

Although many foreigners stayed only a short time in Brussels before returning home or moving on to Paris, almost half of those who stayed contributed to the increasing predominance of French in the Brussels conurbation by moving out of the the borough of Brussels to the residential areas of Sint-Joost-ten-Node/Saint-Josse-ten-Node and Elsene/Ixelles.

Because of their presence in large numbers in the Brussels upper and middle classes and on the basis of their share in education, trade, administration and the press, the foreigners in Brussels constituted a point of support for the policy towards wider use of French that had been followed since the annexation of the Lowlands.

The use of French as a stimulus to integration for immigrants

On the basis of the above research it would seem unlikely that Dutch-speaking immigrants belonging to the working class would have had to support their integration in the Brussels urban environment by the use of French. There are various arguments for this point of view:

— we have noted a correlation between the linguistic distribution registered in the 1842 census for the Flemish working-class quarters of Brussels and the geolinguistic origins of the inhabitants.
— moreover, the migratory movements of the vast majority of (poor) immigrants can be situated in continuous and regional processes that led up to final settlement in the capital as a result of years of accumulated information derived from temporary and seasonal migration and from earlier immigrants who were relatives or who had come from the same village. Both in the suburban boroughs and in the borough of Brussels itself the majority of immigrants came, in fact, from a short distance away, from the surrounding (mainly Flemish) rural areas of Brabant. Research into the geographical origins of the inhabitants of the backstreets of Sint-Joost-ten-Node/Saint-Josse-ten-Node in the middle of the nineteenth century has shown that the great majority of them had been born in a very limited area of a few contiguous hamlets in the Flemish–Brabant hinterland. Since all the inhabitants came from one area, it is undeniable that a mutual link was forged and reinforced by family connections, marriages and interdependent (or family) migration patterns. It is highly probable that the original Flemish–Brabant dialect of the inhabitants would have been retained for conversation within the family, amongst relatives and between friends and neighbours.

Similar clustering by origin has been noted, too, in Anderlecht. In the period 1850–59, 70% of immigrant marriages involved people born in Flemish Brabant (mainly along the Dilbeek–Ninove axis). This percentage fell to 33 at the turn of this century as Brussels extended its immigrant workforce to take in the other Flemish provinces (a result of the recession).

The continuity and regional limitation of migratory movements is attested, too, in the borough of Brussels, where one-third of the immigrants came from the surrounding area. In 1803, more than 30% of the inhabitants of districts 1 and 3 came from Flemish Brabant. The Brussels electoral district took its immigrants mainly from an area within a radius of 15 to 20km from the capital. Of all immigrants married in the borough of Brussels in 1830, 36% had been born in Brabant. Flemish Brabant was the commonest birthplace of the poor rural migrants to the town (59% of the immigrant poor in 1833), but lost its monopoly to the pauperized areas of East Flanders, West Flanders and Antwerp in the second half of the nineteenth century, though the birthplace of 33% of the 1842 immigrants was still the Brabant countryside.

Analysis of geographical origins per street or per neighbourhood serves only to accentuate the existence of specific migratory origins. The predominance of certain villages or rural areas in many neighbourhoods points to the fact that integration in an urban environment took the form of an adaptation to a transposed earlier situation and underlines the importance of the immediate living environment as an instrument of integration.

The limited area with a tradition of migration towards Brussels probably reduced the gap between the native inhabitants of Brussels and the immigrants.

The existence of relatively minor differences between immigrants and the native population of the city is suggested also by the fact that in 1842 there was little segregation between them. Although clusters of streets were detected with a predominantly immigrant or native profile and despite immigrants' showing a preference for certain clusters (a preference that was shown much less by the native population), there was in the Dutch-speaking quarters no question of segregation. A similar situation existed in the French-speaking quarters (no real segregation, despite immigrant preference or native population preference for certain street clusters).

The fact, however, that these streets included a relatively large number of members of the upper and middle classes of Dutch-speaking origin would seem to point to a greater degree of linguistic shift in these areas. The exception to this generally mixed settlement pattern was the housing pattern of the most recent immigrants (in 1842): these tended to congregate in certain zones round the city centre or along its main access routes, where numerous lodging-houses provided accommodation for recent single migrants. This accommodation was situated close to the main centres of employment, where the unskilled worker could be hired by the day.

If these details are combined with the data from the cluster analysis, it is possible to distinguish between areas that attracted recent immigrants and areas with a native and more stable character. Five clusters that were inhabited by proportionally many more immigrants counted between a quarter and a third of their "heads of households" as single persons living alone. Some of these streets had only recently started to attract immigrants, while others had played this role for some time already. Presumably, this housing pattern for recent arrivals represents only a transitory phase on the way to definite settlement and starting a family. In these streets, 64% of the adult (older than 16) population was older than 30, while 69% of the Belgian immigrants in 1842 was younger than 30.

It is also necessary to bear in mind that a large part of the individual, unmarried, recent immigrants consisted of female servants, who quickly left the city again. Moreover, the commonest form of household in the 1842 population was the nuclear family, among both the native and immigrant populations (although there were more single persons living alone and more one-parent families among the immigrants). The young, single immigrant living alone might well have been a recent phenomenon: in the predominantly Dutch-speaking neighbourhoods, 38% of the married women immigrants had moved to the city as part of a family and half of these had migrated before 1830.

The tendency of immigrants to marry people from the same linguistic group or from the same area of origin may be taken as a sign of language conservation within the immigrant population. The prevalence of linguistic or geographical endogamy — which has been noted in Anderlecht and Sint-Joost-ten-Node/Saint-Josse-ten-Node as well as in the borough of Brussels — would appear to support the view that not all social barriers between immigrants and the native population had ceased to exist.

Forty-five per cent of all Flemish bridegrooms in Anderlecht (1850–1910) married Flemish brides, while only 7% married women from a French-speaking background. Although 33% of the French-speaking bridegrooms married wives from their own language community, relatively more married Dutch-speaking women. Marriages in the borough of Brussels in 1830 reveal similar preferences: 70% of the native population married someone who was also native-born; Walloon men had a strong tendency to take their wives from their own region and Flemings, too, married wives from Flanders or from Brussels. Couples registered in the 1842 census also seem to have been clearly regionally based. It is, however, noteworthy that Flemings and Dutch-speaking natives of Brussels also seem to have married relatively easily, presumably owing to minimal social and linguistic differences.

Marriage will presumably not have contributed to linguistic shift in Dutch-speaking neighbourhoods, but it could well have contributed to the increasing preponderance of French in the largely French-speaking streets, where 18% of the men who had been born in Dutch-speaking territory married French-speaking women and 10% of the men from a French-speaking area married Dutch-speaking wives.

So far, linguistic distribution in nineteenth century Brussels has been analysed mainly in the light of geolinguistic origins, providing a picture in which the use of French is associated with the upper and middle classes as distinguished from the Dutch-speaking working class. This in no way implies the absence of social groups that were beginning to use both languages at different levels. In this context, we have already pointed to the presence of large numbers of immigrants from Dutch-speaking regions in largely French-speaking streets. To what extent there was a shift towards bilingualism through adoption of French and in which social groups this can be traced is the subject of the following part of this chapter.

Social processes

General

So far, linguistic distribution in nineteenth century Brussels has been looked at from the point of view of geolinguistic origins, giving rise to a picture in which the use of French is mainly associated with the immigrant upper and middle classes and of Dutch with the largely locally-born working class.

This sort of picture in itself implies a link between linguistic and social patterns and leads to the interpretation of the linguistic situation in Brussels as a cultural phenomenon with a clear social dimension. The use of French in Brussels had, in fact, slowly acquired a status function, accentuated from the end of the eighteenth century onwards and officially sanctioned by the linguistic ideology of the new Belgian state. In this process, the developing bourgeoisie used the French language as an instrument of social control and as a means to achieve, justify and protect its position of power. The importance of the use of French for reasons of status also implies that patterns of linguistic distribution could well have resulted from processes of social perception, i.e. of the ways in which members of a social group or class regarded their position in society. We therefore need to estimate the possible presence of social groups that had begun to use French for formal

purposes whilst retaining Dutch for the informal sphere, thus preparing the way for later monoglot use of French at all levels.

Working class

The link has already been noted between the nineteenth century Brussels working class in general and the use of Dutch, whereby purely Dutch-speaking neighbourhoods tended to house a relatively large proportion of workers. This does not, however, mean that there was no linguistic variation within the working class: the relatively important Walloon presence in the French-speaking working-class neighbourhoods of district 1 was one illustration of this.

What historical studies there are of the nineteenth century Brussels proletariat also point to its wide social variety. In this, they follow similar studies of other large nineteenth century towns, in which the existence of different strata within the working class, each with its own sub-culture, is documented. The question here is whether the social divisions within the Brussels working class also led to linguistic variety.

Social heterogeneity of the Brussels proletariat

The artisanal organization of Brussels' industry and the relative importance of specialized and highly skilled sectors such as book production, precision work and the manufacture of luxury goods implied the presence of highly qualified workers.

This sort of "labour aristocracy" has been credited — primarily in the United Kingdom — with its own specific social consciousness involving the adaptation and adoption of bourgeois values. In nineteenth century Brussels, this could well have included a striving for, and accentuation of, "respectability" by means of the use of French.

The presence of this labour aristocracy might well in itself explain the widescale quantitative impact of French in Brussels. The monopolization of workers' organizations in Brussels by a craft élite with a specific class-consciousness (characterized by the preponderance of adapted forms of bourgeois ideology and its own versions of status values such as respectability, social betterment and independence) has, in fact, been cited by some Belgian historians to account for an early reformist stance within the socialist workers' movement in Brussels as well as for the ease with which French came to predominate.

Our research into the Brussels situation in 1842 tried to detect relevant distinctions within the working class in the light of a number of social variables. The variables used in the quantitative research method showed no significant distinctions, since 97% of all the workers' families researched scored only minimal values. Only 3% of the families could be typified as better-off. Their higher scores were mainly the result of "more comfortable" housing. While 85% to 95% of all categories of workers lived in socially uniform neighbourhoods, only two-thirds of the top professional layer of workers lived in thoroughly working-class streets. A similar pattern was revealed only with respect to the workers in highly-skilled branches such as precision work or the manufacture of luxury goods.

The better material conditions of these groups were further demonstrated by the lower incidence of wives' professional activity: while in general two-thirds of working-class wives had no official economic occupation, this proportion was much higher among the top professional layer of workers (87%). This percentage was also approached by the wives of workers in the food, wood, luxury/precision, chemical, printing and paper industries. It was precisely a number of these industries that in Van den Eeckhout's research (1980) appeared as better-off: relatively fewer of their workers applied for support payments, wages were higher and pay differentials and high employment continued throughout the nineteenth century, despite increasing poverty in the latter half of the century.

In this connection, it is often argued that an artisanal proletariat, sharing the same living and working culture as its employers (mostly small businessmen) would have been more inclined to identify with its masters, would not have been aware of class differences and would have shared the same values. The above research has, however, found no support for this hypothesis in Brussels and the question, moreover, remains open as to whether this would also have included shared linguistic attitudes and an increasing use of French.

The fact that the top professional layer of workers — as defined by us — and workers from the luxury and precision industries were more likely to live in socially heterogeneous streets had also a linguistic aspect: this "working-class élite" lived in much less Dutch-speaking neighbourhoods than the other workers and between 12% and 20% of them chose to live in predominantly French-speaking, socially heterogeneous streets. This has to be seen in perspective, since a large number of even these workers' families (about 40%) still preferred neighbourhoods that were both socially homogeneous and Dutch-speaking, which is in line with the group's geolinguistic origins (i.e. a large proportion of Dutch-speaking immigrants).

The large proportion of French-speaking immigrants in the families of workers in the printing and chemical industries goes a long way to explaining their housing preferences: half of these lived in socially homogeneous but linguistically heterogeneous streets.

A number of elements, furthermore, seems to indicate that social contact between this top professional layer of the working class and French-speakers did not necessarily lead to the adoption of French:

— from the choice of marriage partners it would appear that linguistic endogamy was the rule for all workers, including the working-class élite;
— the presence of a fairly large number of French-speaking marriage partners did not necessarily lead to mixed-language marriages, which did not vary significantly from the general average of 6% or 7%. The linguistic antecedents of working-class children born in Brussels reveal only a minimum number of cases where both parents spoke French or where the parents spoke different languages.

Findings with respect to the families of workers in the luxury and precision industries are similar: few French-speaking antecedents for children born in Brussels, linguistic endogamy, few mixed-language marriages.

It is clear that the relatively large number of French-speaking workers in the printing and chemical industries had an effect on the data with respect to linguistic elements in the choice of marriage partner: despite the tendency to linguistic endogamy that is also apparent in this sector and a limited number of couples speaking only French, Brussels-born children in this group have more French-speaking antecedents than other working-class children. The housing patterns that were noted, which would be more likely to lead to language shift than to language conservation, did not lead to more linguistically mixed social relations in the area of the choice of partner.

Neither did these workers' choice of partner lead to any degree of social mobility (e.g. a partner from a socially superior reference group): marriage, as was the case with other workers, tended to be to women who were workers, day-labourers or seamstresses. In only 5% of the cases was the family budget incremented by the wife's running a small business. The possible status-sensitivity of the working-class élite did not therefore lead to a choice of marriage partner from beyond the class boundaries. As in Hannes & Despontin's research (1981), these results also confirm the predominance of social endogamy as a result of strict class segregation. Similarly Van den Eeckhout's 1980 research reveals a drastic pauperization of

the workers in Brussels throughout the nineteenth century, with a slight material improvement towards the close, and a widening differentiation between workers and the petty bourgeoisie, certainly in terms of housing. Moreover, the absence of any real degree of social mobility for the workers and the absence of the idea of individuals' being able to move up the social ladder have been constant elements in all studies of the European or North-American working class. There was never any question of social mobility beyond class boundaries, but — at most — only of movement between contiguous strata, with the lowest stratum of the middle classes (retailers and the small-scale self-employed) functioning as a border zone.

The only distinguishable mobility was in a downwards direction, as towards the close of the century an upper layer of workers became absorbed in the working class in general.

This condition of the working class together with its consequences in terms of financial, educational and training barriers, coupled with the absence of any concept of social mobility in the working-class mentality of the nineteenth century, reduce to a minimum the importance of status-sensitivity as a factor in the growing predominance of French.

The presence of a working-class élite is, moreover, not in itself sufficient to explain why the increasing predominance of French only really got underway towards the close of the nineteenth century or why linguistic distribution had remained fairly stable throughout the earlier part of the century.

An explanation for the fairly rapid and widespread move from Dutch to French at the beginning of this century must be sought in the direction of profound socializing processes which occurred on such a massive scale that large numbers of workers evolved in the course of two or three generations into monoglot French-speakers.

Van Velthoven (1981) has already pointed out that education in Brussels schools could have wrought this change.

Before 1880, the working-class Brussels child was spared the linguistic bias of what was a purely French-speaking school system. In the 1880s, attempts to integrate the workers into an expanding bourgeois society resulted in an improved and expanded educational system in Brussels. Linked with Buls' system of transmutation, this was to prove an ideal stimulus for rapid linguistic shift (see Chapter 2).

The linguistic heterogeneity of the Brussels proletariat

TABLE 5 *Linguistic Origins According to Birthplace of All Workers and Members of Their Families Older than 16 as Given in the 1842 Findings*

	BR	*DT*	*FT*	*MT*	*OT*
Working-class élite	52.7%	32.4%	6.8%	1.4%	6.7%
Food industry	46.8%	31.6%	7.6%	8.9%	5.1%
Clothing industry	66.3%	14.4%	10.5%	2.8%	6.0%
Leather workers	65.7%	17.9%	4.5%	3.0%	8.9%
Building workers	51.3%	23.1%	14.5%	4.1%	2.2%
Timber and wood	51.9%	26.0%	10.6%	3.5%	9.4%
Textile workers	60.9%	14.1%	10.9%	4.7%	8.0%
Metalworkers	66.0%	21.8%	6.1%	3.0%	3.1%
Luxury and precision workers	52.3%	27.7%	9.2%	1.5%	9.3%
Chemical, printing, misc.	56.7%	20.6%	9.2%	1.0%	12.5%
Unspecified workers/day-labourers	54.7%	19.1%	8.0%	2.5%	15.7%
Transport workers	62.9%	22.4%	5.6%	4.2%	4.9%

(BR = Brussels; DT = Dutch-speaking territory; FT = French-speaking territory; MT = mixed language territory; OT = other language territory.)

TABLE 6 *Geolinguistic Origins among Immigrants Older than 16*

	DT	*FT*	*OT*
Working-class upper layer	72.7%	15.1%	12.2%
Food industry	67.6%	16.2%	16.2%
Clothing industry	51.0%	39.2%	9.8%
Leather workers	66.7%	16.7%	16.6%
Building workers	52.5%	33.1%	14.4%
Timber and wood	63.8%	25.9%	10.3%
Textile workers	40.9%	31.8%	27.3%
Metalworkers	68.2%	19.0%	12.8%
Luxury and precision workers	66.7%	22.0%	11.3%
Chemical, printing, misc.	66.7%	30.0%	3.3%
Unspecified workers/day-labourers	64.2%	26.9%	8.9%
Transport workers	69.6%	17.4%	13.0%

(DT = Dutch-speaking territory; FT = French-speaking territory; OT = mixed and other language territory.)

It would appear both from Van den Eeckhout's research and from our data with respect to 1842 that the capital's weakest economic sectors had a special attraction for immigrants: the food, building and wood industries often required only very few specialized workers and therefore employed rural immigrants throughout the nineteenth century. It is also worth bearing in mind the absence of industries requiring a large workforce, which in-

creased competition for work in the traditional industries: immigrants increasingly constituted a reserve of labour serving to keep down wages.

Among the newcomers in 1842, the number of wood and food-industry workers was much larger than the share of these industries in the economy of 1842 would lead one to expect. A large proportion of the activities in the leather, textile and metalworking industries, however, remained the preserve of those born in Brussels.

The need for highly skilled workers was also met by numbers of immigrants employed in the clothing, building, textile, chemical, printing and Dutch-language territory and no single industry was an exclusively Dutch-speaking or French-speaking domain, certain industries did tend to recruit comparatively more of their workers from among French-speakers. Immigrants employed in the clothing, building, textile, chemical, printing and paper industries numbered between 30% and 40% who had been born in French-speaking territory. The rather early preponderance of French in the Brussels workers' movement, in which typesetters — amongst others — played a leading role, might well have had its roots in the French-speaking origins of the workers involved.

To what extent did this pattern of origins and employment affect linguistic distribution in the working-class neighbourhoods? By comparing the results of the 1842 census with the geolinguistic origins of the inhabitants street by street, it has been possible to trace potential deviations from the link (noted above) between linguistic distribution and geolinguistic origins as it appeared in working-class neighbourhoods.

The fact that the families of workers employed in industries with many Flemish immigrants also showed a marked preference for living in Dutch-speaking working-class neighbourhoods (food industry, transport workers, day-labourers) was a first step to confirming the earlier results. In this context, it is equally consistent with earlier findings that families of workers in the printing, chemical, textile and building industries lived in more linguistically mixed neighbourhoods. Walloon building workers, moreover, seem to have determined the French-speaking character of the working-class Marollen/Marolles quarter as well as accounting for the lion's share of the French-speaking Brussels paupers in 1842.

To what extent can we distinguish ethnolinguistic sub-cultures and how important a part did these play in the general solidarity of the working class? Between 50% and 70% of the workers and day-labourers in the food, clothing and transport sectors experienced a living environment in which obvious linguistic distinctions coincided with distinctions of class (they lived

in Dutch-speaking working-class neighbourhoods). On the other hand, for between 40% and 60% of the families of workers in the leather, building, wood, textile, metal, chemical, printing and paper industries, this parallelism did not exist (they lived in linguistically mixed working-class neighbourhoods).

Of the 23 socially homogeneous working-class streets that were investigated, however, no less than 15 showed a language/class parallelism (they were uniformly Dutch-speaking), while only seven streets were linguistically heterogeneous. Since these all belonged to the very poorest Brussels neighbourhoods in 1842, the idea of a French-speaking sub-proletariat would appear to have some substance. Further research is, however, necessary to test this assumption.

We also compared the linguistic distribution in 26 socially homogeneous working-class streets as revealed by the 1842 census with the geolinguistic origins of the inhabitants (see Tables 7 and 8).

TABLE 7 *Language Distribution in Working-Class Streets Investigated, Grouped by Clusters, Compared with Birthplace, Grouped Per Language Territory*

	Language Distribution			*Birthplace Grouped Per Language Territory*					
	Dutch	*French*	*Other*	*BR*	*DT*	*FT*	*MT*	*OT*	*Unknown*
cl. 1	100.0%	—	—	72.3%	18.7%	0.4%	2.3%	—	6.4%
cl. 2	39.2%	59.7%	1.1%	62.8%	14.4%	10.3%	2.0%	1.3%	9.3%
cl. 6	97.0%	2.8%	0.2%	63.9%	19.9%	4.4%	3.4%	—	8.2%
cl. 7	76.6%	23.4%	—	75.8%	11.4%	3.6%	2.0%	0.2%	6.9%

TABLE 8 *Geolinguistic Origins of the Immigrant Inhabitants*

	DT	*FT*	*MT*	*OT*
cl. 1	87.4%	1.8%	10.8%	—
cl. 2	51.4%	36.8%	7.0%	4.8%
cl. 6	71.4%	15.9%	12.1%	0.6%
cl. 7	66.2%	20.6%	11.6%	1.5%

The fact that these streets all belonged to the cluster types 1, 2, 6 and 7 with a strikingly low proportion of immigrants and a high proportion of male and female heads of households who had been born locally (in cl. 1, 6 and 7) points once again to the upper and middle class nature of Brussels im-

migrants and would suggest that newly-arrived proletarian immigrants tended to live in other neighbourhoods. Streets with a low working-class concentration do indeed contain large immigrant contingents and a large proportion of day-labourers. The fairly low proportion of locally-born male heads of households in cluster 2 points to the relatively greater proportion of immigrants there. That these immigrants had in fact been settled in the neighbourhood for some time is indicated by housing stability: immigration there dated from before 1830 and large numbers of the 1842 inhabitants had been living there in 1835. Only three out of ten streets accommodated less settled inhabitants and more recent immigrants, usually lodgers. Of the 15 streets in clusters 6 and 7, only two provide this sort of profile.

In the working-class streets of clusters 6 and 7, linguistic distribution corresponded to the geolinguistic origins of the inhabitants. In cluster 6, a — very small — French-speaking presence was even absorbed by the Dutch-speaking group.

Only in certain streets from cluster 2 was there a larger French-speaking presence than what one would expect from the high proportion of Dutch-speaking immigrants.

A first analysis of possible explanatory factors (i.e. the role of mixed-language and one-language marriages) attributed a possible language-shifting role to marriage. In the streets investigated in cluster 2, mixed-language couples seemed to occur much more often and a strong French-speaking impact among immigrant marriage partners leads one to suspect that the French-speaking antecedents were above average. In yet another street, the role of marriage in language stability was emphasized by French-speaking endogamy. This was further reinforced by a limited Dutch-speaking presence and linguistic socialization of those speaking other languages with French-speakers by marriage.

A striking contrast to this is provided by the linguistic marriage patterns of French-speakers in Dutch-speaking working-class streets: French-speaking marriage partners were as good as absent, French-speakers tended therefore not to marry French-speakers but to be absorbed into the Dutch-speaking group by marriage (this sort of mixed-language marriage is, however, hardly numerically significant).

It is also noteworthy that the presence of a large number of relatives in working-class streets of cluster type 6 and 7 formed an element of language maintenance. Lack of relatives present in streets in cluster 2 would therefore not have been a factor in language stability, either for the French or for the Dutch-speakers.

The petty bourgeoisie

The reality covered by the term "petty bourgeoisie" was extremely varied: it included white-collar "proletarian" clerical workers, teachers and the heterogeneous group of retailers and small manufacturers. The importance of these social groups for the social and linguistic morphology of Brussels can be gauged from the fact that clerical workers, retailers and the small-scale self-employed were present in large numbers in nineteenth century Brussels and that these numbers rose quickly in the course of the century. In 1842, civil servants and clerical workers made up 3.5% of the total population; in 1900, this proportion had risen to 10.5%. The number of retailers rose from 5.8% in 1842 to 6.6% in 1900.

This relative increase is linked to Brussels' function as capital city. As the seat of government, parliament and the state administration and as the centre of the banking world, the capital was particularly attractive to clerical workers. This in turn encouraged the extension of commercial and leisure activities.

A description of these members of the petty bourgeoisie in terms of social position and ideological identity will be enough to show what the importance of this group was for linguistic distribution in nineteenth century Brussels.

Clerical workers

Although in terms of their relationship to the means of production clerical workers can be counted as members of the working class, their perception of their own position, style of life and ideology brought them much closer to the bourgeoisie, while they developed a consciousness that did not tally with strict reality. Moreover, nineteenth century clerical workers were in fact distinguished in material terms from the working class, being better paid, with greater job security, with more freedom with respect to working hours and the organization of work, and having closer links with their employer. This also explains the high degree of variation within the group: bank clerks were better paid, while many junior clerks and teachers were involved in a daily struggle to make their relatively meagre salaries stretch far enough to achieve the hallmarks of "respectable" existence. Investigation of the clerical workers' families involved in our 1842 sample also confirms this picture. The largest group of clerical workers took up a position on the material and status scales not much above that occupied by

the workers (81% of the clerks at the lowest point scored at the minimum level).

Much smaller in number was the group that was clearly more closely associated with the positions occupied by retailers, people with a modest private income and property-owners, small businessmen and the self-employed. Commercial clerks and teachers in particular appear as highly heterogeneous. The discrepancy between material conditions and social consciousness translated into the values that this group held most dear: status, individualism and mobility.

Limited opportunities for social betterment and the difficulties involved in trying to keep up middle-class appearances on a relatively small income help to explain this group's status hunger. In Brussels, as elsewhere, clerks had to sacrifice a large proportion of their income to rent an "appropriate" dwelling. 1842 was no exception in that here, too, the majority of clerical workers preferred to leave the poor, working-class neighbourhoods well behind them. In the top group of clerical workers, 75% of the families lived in streets in which no one was receiving poor relief.

On a political level, the vast majority of clerical workers had, moreover, no say at all. As many as 95% of the bottom group of clerical workers paid insufficient taxes to be allowed to vote: in the top group, this figure was 75%. Neither could they afford a resident domestic servant (84% of the bottom group on the scale and 62.5% of the top group had no servants living in). It is particularly the clerical workers in government service who score low on the scale.

The constant fear of poverty, particularly real at the end of the nineteenth century, could well have played on this group's consciousness, so giving rise to a compensatory reliance on the outward signs of respectability (housing, clothing and . . . language). The use of French could certainly be used as a status symbol. The large discrepancy between geolinguistic distribution and linguistic distribution in the streets that were inhabited by clerks in 1842 would seem to indicate this.

Linguistic implications of the living environment of the Brussels clerical workers in 1842. From our research it is clear that clerical workers preferred to live among social equals or among their reference groups, without, however, anywhere being the determining factor in the composition of the neighbourhood. In the streets that in 1842 were preferred by the clerks investigated, their families form only 10% to 20% of the total number of families present. Although clerical workers generally preferred the types of street that were inhabited by the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie (clusters

3, 4, 5), 34% of the bottom group of clerks on the scale still shared the living environment of the workers in otherwise uniformly working-class neighbourhoods. Only 9% of this group lived in streets that were inhabited by rich bourgeois.

On the other hand, 26% of the better-off clerical workers lived in thoroughly bourgeois streets. The linguistic consequences of this social heterogeneity with respect to housing were considerable and constituted a first indicator of linguistic distribution within the group.

Although only a minority of clerks was to be found in a Dutch-speaking environment and clerks in general tended more to live in linguistically heterogeneous or French-speaking streets, there are clear differences between the lower and the higher groups on our scale. 35.5% of the low-position clerks lived in predominantly French-speaking streets, while 46% lived in linguistically mixed streets and only 18.4% in predominantly Dutch-speaking streets (of the 34% that lived in working-class streets, only 46% lived in a Dutch-speaking neighbourhood).

Of the better-off clerks, 47.4% lived in predominantly French-speaking streets, 47% in linguistically mixed streets and only 5% in a Dutch-speaking neighbourhood.

These figures are completely in line with the geolinguistic origins of the clerical workers concerned and at the same time represent a possible incentive to social contact with those who spoke another language.

Geolinguistic origins of clerical workers in Brussels. The strong impact of French-speaking immigrants among clerical workers in the urbanized Brussels suburbs of the nineteenth century (Sint-Joost-ten-Node/Saint-Josse-ten-Node and Anderlecht) and the large proportion of French-speakers among the Brussels petty bourgeoisie from the beginning of the century onwards have already been pointed out.

Research into the linguistic origins of the 1842 clerical workers confirms this and also points at the differences within the group of clerical workers.

TABLE 9 *Brussels 1842: Birthplace Grouped Per Language Territory of all Members of the Families Belonging to:*

	BR	*DT*	*FT*	*MT*	*OT*	*Unknown*
Low-position clerks (group 13)	59.6%	15.6%	12.5%	0.9%	3.1%	9.2%
Middle-position clerks (group 14)	35.2%	21.6%	28.4%	1.1%	6.8%	6.8%
High-position clerks (group 15)	5.6%	22.2%	27.8%	—	27.8%	16.7%

TABLE 10 *Birthplace of all Family Members Older than 16*

	BR	*DT*	*FT*	*MT*	*OT*	*Unknown*	*Geolinguistic Origin of Immigrants above 16* *DT*	*FT*	*OT*
Group 13	44.7%	21.9%	16.6%	1.3%	3.1%	12.3%	51.0%	38.8%	7.1%
Group 14	27.1%	27.1%	28.6%	1.4%	7.2%	8.6%	42.2%	44.4%	11.1%
Group 15	—	25.0%	31.3%	—	25.0%	18.8%	30.8%	38.5%	30.8%

TABLE 11 *Geolinguistic Origin of Married Immigrants in Group 13*

DT		*FT*		*OT*	
Men	*Women*	*Men*	*Women*	*Men*	*Women*
60.9%	58.3%	30.4%	20.8%	8.7%	4.2%

Social heterogeneity within the group of clerical workers clearly translates into a linguistically heterogeneous profile. In the better-off group, the French-speaking impact was much stronger than among the low-position clerical workers. The French origin of numbers of the middle group of clerks and their families clearly contributed to this (16% of those older than 16 in this group had been born in France). It must not be forgotten that this French presence had been a constant factor since the period of the annexation to France: in 1803, 9% of all clerical workers in district 1 and 5% of those in district 3 had been born in France and in both these districts the proportion of Dutch-speaking immigrants was low in comparison to other social groups. 11% of the teachers in Brussels in 1816 had been born in France and by 1829 this proportion had increased to 15%.

The pronounced number of those speaking a language other than French or Dutch can be largely accounted for by the German presence; these made up 25% of those in the top group who were older than 16. Although the large proportion of locally-born clerical workers in the bottom category suggests that they were recruited from the native population, a large number of them were second-generation immigrants to the city: 67% of the relevant male heads of households and 62% of the female had not been born in Brussels (which is a much higher rate than the average for all other classes). This picture of the clerical workers as largely an immigrant group is underlined by the relatively high proportion of single persons living alone within this group. That in spite of this the nuclear family still remained the dominant family pattern may point to a strong pattern of family migration or to integration by marriage.

Linguistic consequences of choice of partner. The linguistically heterogeneous neighbourhoods where the lower-paid clerical workers lived did certainly not lead to mixed-language marriages: linguistic endogamy was the rule. The high proportion of purely Dutch-speaking marriages and the small proportion of French-speaking and mixed marriages does not encourage us to consider the linguistic choice of marriage partner among lower-paid clerical workers as an important factor in the shift towards an increasing use of French. In fact, the proportion of French-speaking immigrants among those getting married was much lower than their number would lead us to expect. It would appear that a relatively high proportion of single clerks living alone consisted of French-speakers. It is worth noting that Dutch-speaking immigrants integrated easily in Brussels as far as marriage was concerned. The choice of partner obviously had repercussions on the linguistic antecedents of the children of this group who were born in Brussels: of every ten such children, seven had a father from Brussels, two a father who was a Dutch-speaking immigrant, not more than 0.3 a French-speaking father and 0.5 a father who spoke a language other than Dutch or French.

Among the better-off clerical workers, the pattern was completely different: a striking absence of partners of Dutch-speaking origin (9%) and a high proportion of French-speaking immigrants (27%) contributed to a high proportion of purely French-speaking marriages (27% of all couples), so that the role of marriage in retaining the use of French cannot be excluded. Purely Dutch-speaking marriages are totally absent in this group.

In line with the high degree of endogamy in Brussels, it is not surprising that children born in Brussels generally had a father and mother who had also been born in Brussels, that purely French-speaking origins were fairly strongly represented and that there are scarcely any parents from Dutch-speaking territory.

It has already been observed that mixed-language neighbourhoods could have encouraged social contact between the language communities, but that linguistically heterogeneous marriages played no part in linguistic shift. To what extent might the status of the French language have encouraged a move in its direction?

Comparison of linguistic distribution with geolinguistic origins in streets where clerical workers tended to live. Here we will be looking only at those streets in which clerical workers are strongly represented (although in symbiosis with other members of the middle and upper classes) and not at the working-class streets with clerical workers living in them (described above).

The comparison reveals clearly that the linguistic distribution in these streets certainly does not reflect the geolinguistic origins of the inhabitants: almost everywhere there are more French-speakers than one would expect from the geolinguistic origins. Moreover, English and German speaking residents never reveal a linguistic shift towards Dutch. None of this is particularly surprising: the possibilities open to a Brussels clerical worker to improve his material circumstances were linked to fluency in French. The purely French school system, a public administration that was carried out in French and the fact that economic contacts took place in French required clerks to have a good knowledge of the language. Groups that were sensitive to matters of status evolved quickly in this context towards language conformity. Other studies have also pointed this out: Gubin (1979) concluded in this respect that Flemish-orientated petty-bourgeois intellectuals were so lacking in Brussels in the middle of the nineteenth century that it was necessary to wait for immigrant Flemish clerical workers to bridge the gap. Only a few of these Flemish intellectuals, however, approach linguistic contradictions in the light of social contradictions. Language use by the majority of Brussels clerical workers was in fact such as to encourage a cultural break with the working class and bring these members of the petty bourgeoisie into the forefront of the dominant linguistic ideology.

Retailers and small-scale manufacturers

Although it is generally accepted that shopkeepers and the self-employed have a system of values that is similar in many respects to that of the clerical workers, they are here distinguished by a high degree of heterogeneity and instability in both class identity and consciousness and in social consistency.

Since relatively long-standing businesses, self-employed workers and sub-proletarian hawkers are all included in this category, it was necessary to bring some order into this diffuseness by defining the group according to material circumstances and its relation to other classes.

That the group was diffuse was well demonstrated by the shopkeepers and small-scale self-employed included in our 1842 research. By combining different social, financial, economic and political variables (mutli-criteria analysis), it was in fact possible to distinguish four different groups: a group of retailers and self-employed workers involved with transport that was only slightly better-off than the average worker (group A), a group that was generally wealthier but still unable to bridge the gap that separated it from the wealthy bourgeoisie (group B), small businessmen in manufacturing and

transport paying enough business tax to warrant them a similar position (group C) and a group whose profits were so small that they did not even pay business tax (group D). This last group was no better-off than the majority of workers and was clearly distinguished from the other three groups by its closer connection with the working class: 91% of the families in this group lived in working-class neighbourhoods, none of them had resident domestic servants and none of them paid enough taxes to be able to vote.

Groups A and C were closest to the above group: 78% of the families in group A and 90% of those in group C had no resident domestic servants: 87% of A and 90% of C were not entitled to vote and half of A and one-third of C lived among workers.

That group B was clearly more orientated towards the bourgeoisie appears from its presence in bourgeois streets (more than half the families involved), its being wealthy enough to vote (30%) and its employment of resident domestic servants (51% of the families involved).

These findings are in line with other research into social relations in nineteenth century Brussels: little contact with the haute-bourgeoisie, many more openings towards the working class, partly as a field of interaction between the working class and the petty bourgeoisie.

In spite of this, we found representatives of all four groups in almost all cluster types. As would be expected, group D was more closely associated with proletarian clusters, while groups A and B contributed mostly to cluster 10, largely inhabited by tradespeople and entrepreneurs.

The perception of their own social position by these members of the petty bourgeoisie would have been conditioned not only by their heterogeneity, but also by their high degree of mobility. A large proportion of shopkeepers and self-employed workers had been born in a different social environment and children seldom continued in their fathers' trade. From this, an individual interpretation of the reasons for a given social position would have followed, together with the development of defensive behaviour in the face of the constant threat of degradation to the working class. This behaviour typically involves a preoccupation with status. In the Brussels area, such attitudes could well have been accentuated by the growing pressure from both large-scale industry and commerce and domestic labour in the second half of the nineteenth century. This would have meant a further distancing from the bourgeoisie on the material level and from the working class on the ideological level. In these circumstances, small and immaterial signs of respectability would have been easier to accentuate, as compensation for the anxiety caused by the threat of pauperization.

In the case, too, of retailers and the self-employed, linguistic distribution corresponds to the social stratification: 43% of group D lived in predominantly Dutch-speaking streets and only 10% in largely French-speaking ones. In group B, this pattern was reversed, with 14% living in predominantly Dutch-speaking streets and 29% in French-speaking ones. The geolinguistic origins of these group provides, as in previous cases, a primary explanation for this linguistic variety.

TABLE 12 *Brussels 1842: Retailers and the Small-Scale Self-Employed: Birthplace of All Members of the Family Grouped by Language Territory*

	BR	*DT*	*FT*	*MT*	*OT*	*Unknown*
Group A	50.0%	18.7%	13.6%	5.1%	2.7%	9.9%
Group B	46.9%	25.8%	14.2%	2.9%	2.9%	7.2%
Group C	59.3%	18.1%	14.7%	1.5%	1.5%	4.9%
Group D	71.5%	8.6%	4.1%	0.9%	0.3%	14.6%
Average all classes	55.6%	17.8%	12.1%	2.0%	3.8%	8.6%

TABLE 13 *Geolinguistic Distribution Within the Group of Immigrants: All Members of the Family*

	DT	*FT*	*MT*	*OT*
Group A	46.7%	34.0%	12.7%	6.7%
Group B	56.4%	31.1%	6.3%	6.3%
Group C	50.7%	41.1%	4.1%	4.1%
Group D	62.4%	29.5%	6.3%	1.7%
Average all classes	49.7%	34.0%	5.7%	10.5%

TABLE 14 *Birthplace of Those Getting Married: Expressed in %*

	BR		*DT*		*FT*		*MT*		*OT*	
	M %	*F* %	*M* %	*F* %	*M* %	*F* %	*M* %	*F* %	*M* %	*F* %
Group A	48.9	55.3	27.7	25.5	17.0	6.4	—	8.5	6.4	4.3
Group B	30.4	37.3	32.4	28.4	28.5	29.4	2.9	2.0	5.9	2.9
Group C	50.0	50.0	28.1	34.4	15.6	12.5	3.1	—	3.1	3.1
Group D	63.4	62.2	22.1	22.1	8.7	9.9	3.5	4.7	2.3	1.2

The large proportion of locally born people and of Dutch-speakers among the immigrants puts this group on a linguistic level close to the

working class. Although the proportion of French-speaking immigrants was very high, the general French-speaking input was highest in group B. These commercial and better-off members of the petty-bourgeoisie were also characterized by a greater immigrant component (75% of the male head of households were immigrants, as opposed to a general average of 64.4%)

It is not surprising then, to find a large proportion of French-speaking marriage partners in this group. If the antecedents of the children of this group born in Brussels suggest a greater opening towards immigrants (55% of these children had an immigrant parent, as opposed to only 20% to 25% in groups D and C), the high degree of endogamy among French-speaking immigrants (as a result of family migration) also limited the effect of mixed-language marriages. The high percentage of purely French-speaking marriages would have contributed to the conservation of French within the family and goes a long way to explaining their pronounced preference for French-speaking streets. In the comparison between linguistic distribution and geolinguistic origins in streets that were inhabited by members of the petty bourgeoisie, it was in fact striking that in six of the nine streets in which a shift towards French could be assumed there was a very high proportion of French-speaking marriage-partners and a high proportion of purely French-speaking couples.

In the streets where no shift towards the use of French was apparent since linguistic distribution could be traced to geolinguistic distribution among the immigrants, the number of French-speaking partners was lower than expected, there were hardly any mixed-language couples and . . . French-speaking endogamy did not appear to encourage a shift towards French.

Furthermore, it was only the streets lived in by members of the petty bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie that revealed possible evidence of a move towards the use of French. This may indicate that here, too, the members of the petty bourgeoisie were motivated by a link between the use of French and considerations of social mobility, respectability, conformity and the desire to draw the line between themselves and the working class. That the ideological acceptance of bourgeois values was becoming more widespread would seem, in fact, to be indicated by the political openings afforded these groups by the lowering of the tax qualification for voters in 1848, the introduction of universal plural suffrage and the political buffer function of the petty bourgeoisie at the end of the nineteenth century.

In contrast to groups A and B, the more "popular" groups C and D contained a much greater proportion of locally-born members. The linguistic antecedents of group C children in particular reveal a high proportion of

locals over the generations and a low proportion of French-speaking parents. Nonetheless, marriages were relatively common between Dutch-speaking and French-speaking immigrants and between Dutch-speaking immigrants and the locals. Their presence in fairly large numbers in French-speaking bourgeois streets indicates the possible consequences of this observation.

Brussels-born members of group D had scarcely any French-speaking antecedents either. Taken in conjunction with their tendency to have been in Brussels for several generations, the low proportion of mixed-language marriages, pronounced Brussels endogamy and a strong preference for Dutch-speaking neighbourhoods, we may assume a high proportion of Dutch-speakers among the locally-born members of group D.

In general, we can conclude that linguistic distribution within the petty bourgeoisie was the result both of geolinguistic origin and a language shift towards French, while the impact of these factors varied according to the social positions of the various sub-groups involved.

The bourgeoisie

Internal social structure

The concentration in Brussels of banking activities of growing national importance and of activities based on politics and public administration engendered a Brussels "establishment" of national significance, based on three interwoven components: the court and the nobility, the government and the top layer of the civil service, and the world of high finance. In this way, a small bourgeois group concentrated political and financial-economic power in its own hands. Bound by family connections and limited in number, the bourgeoisie took personal charge, as it were, of its political and financial interests.

The previously-mentioned "multiple criteria" analysis, applied to the members of the bourgeoisie involved in our 1842 research, also clearly distinguished an élite of wealthy people of private income and property-owners (group 2) and of the intelligentsia (lawyers, notaries, high-ranking civil servants and judges) (group 9). With these was associated another group of families from the industrial and financial *haute-bourgeoisie* (group 4).

All those with managerial functions and/or a large share in limited companies or partnerships in banking and industry were to be found in one

of these three groups. They also had a monopoly of all political mandates, figured higher in electoral tax qualifications and included the greatest number of those entitled to vote. Since the highest proportion of politicians was noted in groups 2 and 9, this serves only to underline the slightly less well-established position of group 4, not yet fully assimilated into the élite. This is in line with the findings of De Belder (1972–73), who demonstrated that acceptance into this élite was not accorded to the *nouveaux-riches*, but required three generations of consolidating the necessary financial standing and of arranging suitable marriages in order to be admitted to the centres of political and economic power.

The fact that precisely people of private income, judges, high-ranking civil servants and lawyers held the greatest concentration of economic and political power illustrates, too, the degree to which this "auxiliary" stratum was identified with the bourgeoisie, thereby confirming that the mid-nineteenth-century élite was still primarily based on the older type of bourgeoisie. Their clearly defined position of economic and political power is underlined by their high status scores: 42% of the families in group 2 had more than five resident domestic servants, as did 18.5% of those in group 9.

Moving one step down the scale, of the next two groups, 4 and 7 (respectively the industrial and financial *haute-bourgeoisie* and the top mercantile layer), group 7 was as yet largely excluded from the political power structure. 44% of the families from this commercial bourgeoisie, in fact, still paid too little in taxes to qualify for a vote.

The greater part of the industrial bourgeoisie of Brussels itself figures neither at the top nor on the next step down. The limited size of industries in the Brussels area tended rather towards the creation of a numerous stratum of small-scale entrepreneurs (group 3). These not only had no say in politics (65% did not qualify for a vote), but they were also clearly distinguishable from the élite in material terms: 37% employed only one worker. On the material level, this group of small entrepreneurs ranked alongside a wide stratum of lawyers, notaries, judges, civil servants, artists, doctors and architects (groups 8 and 10), but the first of these (group 8) had more say in politics (only 45% below the voting qualification in group 8, compared with 74% in group 10).

Linguistic distribution and geolinguistic origins

In Table 17 the possible effect of resident domestic servants has been eliminated. Their presence in the total family populations of these groups

varied between 10% and 57%. Except for groups 1 and 10, three-quarters of the family units investigated consisted of married heads of households.

There was very little evidence in 1842 for an exclusive élite based on people born in Brussels. In fact, only the group of wealthy industrial and financial bourgeois revealed a specifically local character. In general, the Brussels bourgeoisie was an important phenomenon, the result of the city's position as capital. Between 71% and 85% of all male heads of households in the groups 1, 2, 7, 8, 9 and 10 were, in fact, immigrants to the city and, of those in these groups who were locally born (mostly children), most were

TABLE 15 *Brussels Bourgeoisie 1842: Birthplace of all Members of the Families Belonging to the Bourgeoise (Grouped Per Language Territory)*

	BR	*DT*	*FT*	*MT*	*OT*	*Un-known*
1. Low-position people of private means	30.0%	21.1%	21.5%	0.9%	14.4%	12.0%
2. High-position people of private means	21.2%	20.1%	28.3%	0.7%	24.9%	4.8%
3. Industrial & financial bourgeoisie-low	58.6%	16.7%	14.2%	2.9%	3.1%	4.5%
4. Industrial & financial bourgeoisie-high	35.7%	31.7%	20.1%	2.0%	4.5%	5.5%
7. Commercial bourgeoisie-high	34.9%	28.1%	25.3%	0.3%	7.1%	4.1%
8. Lawyers, notaries, judges, civil servants-low	33.6%	17.9%	27.8%	1.5%	10.8%	8.3%
9. Lawyers, notaries, judges, civil servants-high	27.8%	18.7%	36.9%	0.5%	8.6%	7.6%
10. Architects, artists, doctors-low	39.4%	23.9%	14.1%	—	9.1%	13.4%
Average over all classes	55.6%	17.8%	11.1%	—	3.8%	—

TABLE 16 *Geolinguistic Distribution within the Immigrant Group Older Than 16 and Belonging to the Bourgeoisie*

	DT	*FT*	*OT*
Group 1	37.7%	37.7%	22.6%
Group 2	28.6%	41.1%	29.7%
Group 3	44.1%	40.7%	9.0%
Group 4	55.1%	34.6%	8.4%
Group 7	46.4%	41.8%	11.4%
Group 8	31.1%	49.7%	16.9%
Group 9	29.4%	57.1%	12.6%
Group 10	49.1%	28.8%	22.0%
Average over all classes	49.5%	35.1%	10.3%

TABLE 17 *Birthplace of Married Couples, Where that of Both Partners is Known*

	BR		*DT*		*FT*		*MT*		*OT*	
	M	*F*	*M*	*F*	*M*	*F*	*M*	*F*	*M*	*F*
Group 1	28.9	35.5	22.4	23.7	25.0	18.4	1.3	—	22.4	22.4
Group 2	35.3	35.3	35.3	29.4	11.8	17.6	—	—	17.6	17.6
Group 3	37.7	62.3	29.0	14.5	20.3	14.5	4.3	2.9	8.7	5.8
Group 4	47.4	47.4	26.3	26.3	15.8	15.8	—	5.3	10.6	5.3
Group 7	28.9	34.2	31.6	28.9	21.1	28.9	—	—	18.4	7.9
Group 8	34.9	41.9	11.6	20.9	34.9	27.9	2.3	—	16.3	9.3
Group 9	16.7	27.8	33.3	22.2	27.8	38.9	5.6	—	16.7	11.1
Group 10	31.3	43.8	18.8	25.0	25.0	18.8	6.3	—	18.8	12.6
Average over all classes	45.8	50.3	27.0	25.5	17.1	15.2	3.4	3.3	5.4	3.9

children of immigrants. Only a quarter of those in group 2 who were born locally had both a father and mother who had been born in Brussels, and only 8% of those in group 9. The bourgeois character of migrations towards Brussels in the first half of the nineteenth century is demonstrated here again.

The élite, however, was not exclusively the province of immigrants from French-speaking territory: about a third of the married persons in groups 2 and 9 had been born in Dutch-speaking territory and almost a fifth in Germany or the United Kingdom. The language spoken in the place of birth is in this case, however, no indication of the native language of those concerned. Flemish, Brussels, German and English members of the upper and middle classes had long been used to French as a cultural, vehicular and family language. The linguistic character of the neighbourhoods in which they lived indicates the shift towards French in this milieu: although "only" 30% of the married men and 40% of the married women in group 9 had been born in French-speaking territory and between a third and a quarter came from Dutch-speaking territory, not one family lived in a purely Dutch-speaking street and 70% of the families lived in predominantly French-speaking streets.

Moreover, the immigrants in this group appear to have married easily into the locally-born population: in spite of strong evidence of family migration and the fact they had not been in Brussels for long, a relatively large number of immigrants married locally-born partners (usually locally-born women).

This pattern may be taken to indicate the existence of very few barriers between the newcomers and those who had been born in Brussels, as well as their common familiarity with the life-style, culture and language of the top layer of society.

The high proportion of purely French-speaking or mixed-language marriages ensured, in fact, a preponderance of French-speakers and speakers of languages other than Dutch or French among the linguistic antecedents of the children in this group who were born in Brussels: 35% of these had a French-speaking father and 22% a father who was a German-speaking or English-speaking immigrant. Group 2 also included a large proportion of mixed-language marriages.

The above findings, taken in conjunction with previous conclusions with respect to the alliance between the intelligentsia and the bourgeoisie in the revolution of 1830, in advocating the use of French for administrative, legal and educational purposes, as well as with respect to the impact of French intellectuals in these groups, would suggest that the cultural and social unity of these auxiliary classes with the top layer of the bourgeoisie was emphasized by their use of language.

Some degree of linguistic variety in this secondary layer was, however, provided by groups 4 and 7: these included a larger proportion of Dutch-speaking immigrants, i.e. of members of the family who had been born in Dutch-speaking territory. In group 4, moreover, only 22% of the families lived in purely French-speaking streets. The pronounced endogamy among those born in Brussels and among those born in Dutch-speaking territory would also seem to indicate the closed attitude to newcomers in this group: perhaps a status-protective strategy similar to that noted by De Belder (1972–73). This explains, too, why the proportion of purely Brussels or purely Dutch-speaking antecedents of the children of this group born in Brussels should be so high (44% had a father and a mother who had been born in Brussels; 38% had a father and a mother who had both been born in Dutch-speaking territory).

Furthermore, groups 4 and 7 were typical of the cluster type 10, already discussed above, in which the presence of a relatively large Flemish secondary layer could be assumed. On the other hand, a comparison of the geolinguistic distribution among the immigrants in this cluster with the linguistic distribution as given by the 1842 census reveals a large discrepancy and therefore a possible shift towards the use of French (67% Dutch-speaking immigrants; 47% Dutch-speakers). This finding, then, also supports the notion whereby a bourgeoisie with as yet relatively little power over economic and political decisions (particularly at the beginning of the

nineteenth century) is assumed to have emphasized and reinforced its position by adopting the cultural pattern of the nobility, including the use of French as a cultural language.

Members of the intelligentsia with lower material, political and economic standing (group 8) were, on the other hand, mainly recruited from French-speaking territory. It is no coincidence that 42% of these families were to be found in predominantly French-speaking streets and that they should largely determine the makeup of streets in cluster type 8. In these, mainly bourgeois, streets there were very few Dutch-speakers in 1842 (only 17.5%, which is much less than in the other bourgeois clusters) and a large proportion of speakers of French and other languages. A large proportion of purely French-speaking marriages and marriages of those born in Brussels to French-speakers gave rise to a high proportion of French-speaking antecedents among the children of this group who were born in Brussels. The strong French-speaking bias in the recruiting policy of the state administrative machinery ensured a preponderance of civil servants who were fluent in the French language and who were culturally and socially predisposed to guarantee ideological unity with those at the top, including unity on the language question.

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6 Socio-Geographic Aspects

The Brussels urban region in the 20th Century: A socio-geographical analysis

WALTER DE LANNOY

The general picture of Brussels in the 1980s is one of an area undergoing a demographic and economic crisis. Problematic developments often mentioned are continuous depopulation, an increasing number of foreigners (±25% of the inhabitants), an ageing population and low economic development. These characteristics are not specific to Brussels but are common to many Western European and North-American metropolitan cities. The problems of Brussels, however, get a special dimension and weight through the special political constitution of the capital, its "enclave position" within the Flemish territory and the language situation. In this chapter we will look at the evolution of a few demographic and socio-geographical features of Brussels and its fringe-territory during the twentieth century.

Population evolution

Between 1900 and 1967 the population of Brussels (19 municipalities) increased from 626,075 to 1,079,181 inhabitants; afterwards the size of the population decreased continuously and stood at 982,434 inhabitants in early 1984. The fall of the population in the central part of the town is certainly not

a new phenomenon, but had started already at the end of the nineteenth century. The inner city experienced its population maximum in 1890 when 159,374 inhabitants lived within the so-called pentagon (the district within fourteenth century ramparts) with a very high population density of 35,600 inhabitants per square km. The two smaller municipalities immediately adjacent to the inner city, Sint-Joost-ten-Node/St. Josse and Sint-Gillis/St. Gilles experienced their population maximum in 1906 and 1919 (Table 1). The other municipalities of the first belt around the municipality of Brussels, *viz.* Anderlecht, Sint-Jans-Molenbeek/Molenbeek-St. Jean, Schaarbeek, Etterbeek and Elsene/Ixelles reached their population peak between 1949 and 1969. With the exception of Vorst/Forest (maximum in 1967), Evere

TABLE 1 *Population of the Municipalities of Brussels on 1.1.1984 Compared with their Maximum Values*

Municipalities	*Maximum of population* *Year (per 31.12)*	*Number (a)*	*Population on 1.1.1984 (b)*	*b/a × 100*
Anderlecht	1969	104,157	91,841	88.2
Brussel/Bruxelles	1922	215,504	137,211	63.7
Elsene/Ixelles	1961	94,211	74,610	79.2
Etterbeek	1962	53,091	44,267	83.4
Evere	1981	30,520	30,487	99.9
Ganshoren	1974	22,864	21,258	93.0
Jette	1975	42,184	39,320	93.2
Koekelberg	1969	17,655	16,098	91.2
Oudergem/Auderghem	1971	34,630	29,959	86.5
Schaarbeek/Schaerbeek	1949	125,484	105,346	84.0
Sint-Agatha-Berchem/ Berchem-Ste. Agathe	1971	19,108	18,593	97.3
Sint-Gillis/St. Gillis	1919	69,716	42,769	61.3
Sint-Jans-Molenbeek/ Molenbeek-St. Jean	1976	71,991	71,130	98.8
Sint-Joost-ten-Node/St. Josse	1906	33,814	20,352	60.2
Sint-Lambrechts-Woluwe/ Woluwe-St. Lambert	1982	49,250	48,982	99.5
Sint-Pieters-Woluwe/ Woluwe-St. Pierre	1973	41,088	40,285	98.0
Ukkel/Uccle	1971	79,225	75,736	95.6
Vorst/Forest	1967	55,842	49,425	88.5
Watermaal-Bosvoorde/ Watermael-Boitsfort	1974	25,719	24,765	96.3
Brussels (19 municipalities)	1967	1,079,181	982,434	91.0

Source: National Institute of Statistics.

(1981) and Sint-Lambrechts-Woluwe/Woluwe-St. Lambert (1982) the remaining municipalities experienced their maximum in the 1970s. These data illustrate the deconcentration process arising in the Brussels region through which Brussels, the same as other larger cities, has developed itself from a compact city into a vast city region.

On the wider administrative district level (a major subdivision of a province — see figure 1) the shrinkage in population in Brussels is accompanied by a continuing growth of the population in the adjacent districts. Table 2 gives an idea of the evolution of the population in the administrative districts of Brussels, Halle-Vilvoorde, Louvain and Nivelles, which together constitute the Province of Brabant.

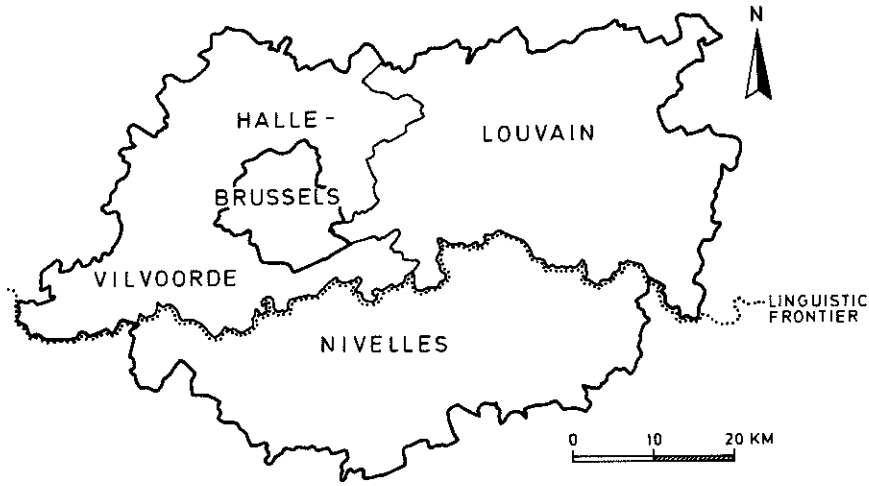

FIGURE 1 *Administrative Districts of the Province of Brabant*

Recent research by Cabus (1985) has shown that since the second half of the 1970s the population has globally decreased in the Brussels City Region. Basing himself on research by Van Der Haegen & Pattyn, however, the author opted for a broad delimitation of the City Region (see Figure 2). The City Region consists of the morphological agglomeration, that is the cohesive urban area, with its surrounding urban fringe. This urban fringe has still often retained a rural outlook but on the other hand shows enough characteristics of becoming urbanized, and is attuned to the central city to such an extent that it may be counted as belonging to the City Region. Table 3 shows that the population in the urban fringe further increased in the 1970s, but that this growth did not compensate for the strong shrinkage of population in the central part of the City Region.

TABLE 2 *Evolution of Population in the Administrative Districts Brussels, Halle-Vilvoorde, Louvain and Nivelles between 1900 and 1983 (Per 31 December)*

	1900	*1920*	*1947*	*1961*	*1970*	*1981**	*1983*
Brussels	626,075	806,451	955,929	1,022,795	1,075,136	997,293	982,434
Halle-Vilvoorde	225,564	268,283	340,039	412,005	472,030	518,191	520,111
Louvain	248,374	279,472	326,021	363,075	389,460	414,729	418,705
Nivelles	174,808	179,612	188,524	206,472	234,328	291,009	296,192
Brabant (province)	1,274,821	1,533,818	1,810,513	2,004,347	2,170,954	2,221,222	2,217,442

*Population Census of 1.3.1981.

Source: National Institute of Statistics.

TABLE 3 *Evolution of Population in the Brussels City Region between 1947 and 1983 (Per 31 December)*

	1947	*1961*	*1971*	*1976*	*1981**	*1983*
Brussels (19 municipalities)	955,929	1,022,795	1,074,726	1,042,052	997,293	982,434
Morphological agglomeration	1,117,749	1,236,088	1,338,368	1,325,151	1,288,655	1,275,317
Urban fringe	151,399	181,220	216,337	236,618	254,780	256,960
Brussels City Region (49 municipalities)	1,269,148	1,417,308	1,554,705	1,561,829	1,543,435	1,532,277

*Population Census of 1.3.1981.

Source: Cabus, 1985.

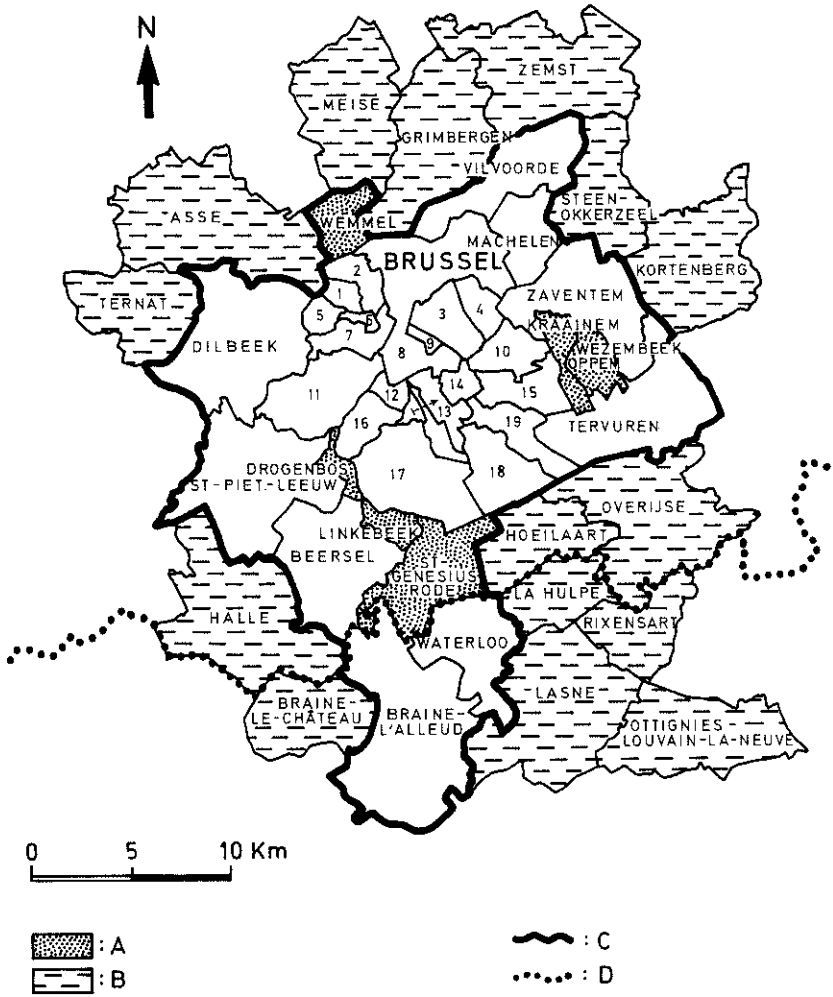

FIGURE 2 *The Brussels City Region*

Legend: A: municipalities with language facilities; B: urban fringe; C: boundary of morphological agglomeration; D: linguistic frontier; 1: Ganshoren; 2: Jette; 3: Schaarbeek; 4: Evere; 5: Sint-Agatha-Berchem/Berchem-Ste. Agathe; 6: Koekelberg; 7: Sint-Jans-Molenbeek/Molenbeek-St.Jean; 8: Brussel/Bruxelles; 9: Sint-Joost-ten-Node/St. Josse; 10: Sint-Lambrechts-Woluwe/Woluwe-St. Lambert; 11: Anderlecht; 12: Sint-Gillis/St. Gilles; 13: Elsene/Ixelles; 14: Etterbeek; 15: Sint-Pieters-Woluwe/Woluwe-St. Pierre; 16: Vorst/Forest; 17: Ukkel/Uccle; 18: Watermaal-Bosvoorde/Watermael-Boitsfort; 19: Oudergem/Auderghem.

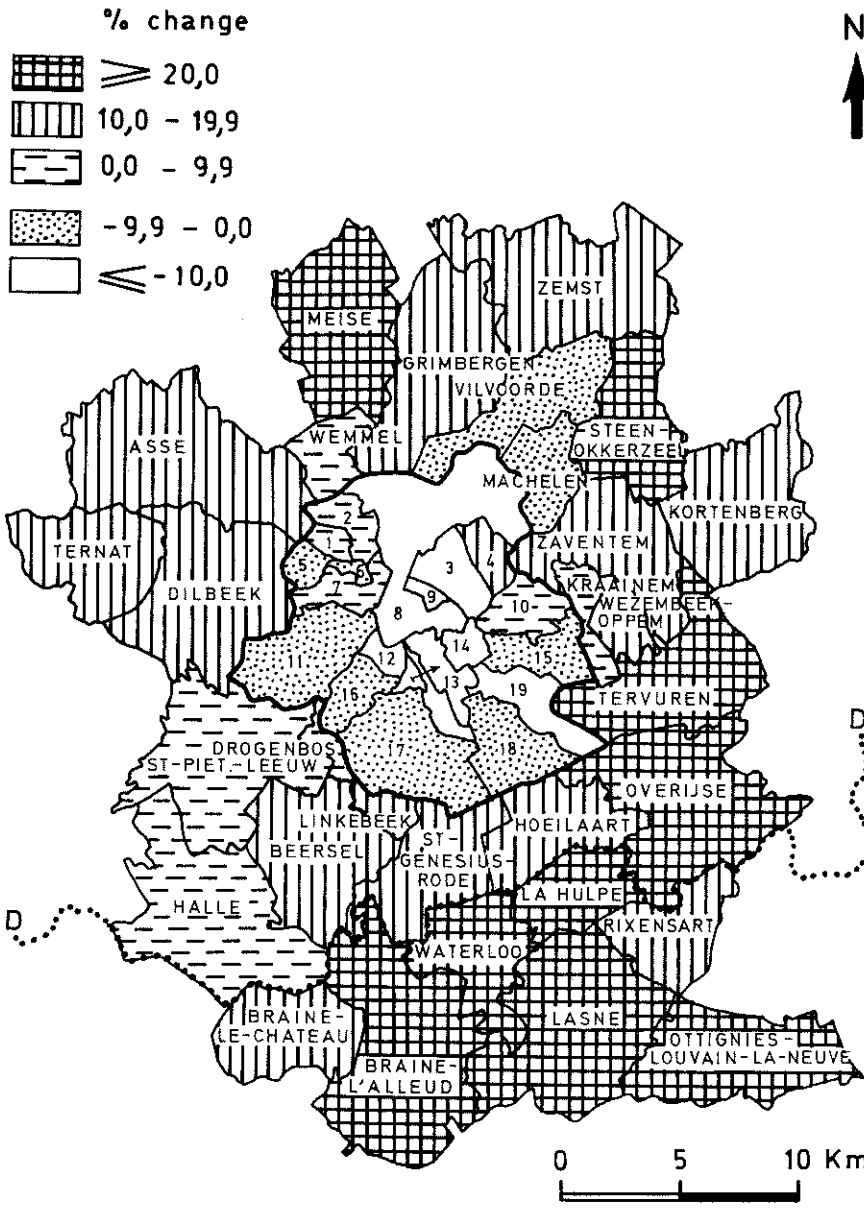

FIGURE 3 *Population Evolution per municipality in the Brussels City Region in the 31/12/1970–1/3/1981 Period*

Legend: 1 to 19: see Figure 2; D: linguistic frontier.

In Figure 3 the evolution of the population between 31/12/1970 and 1/3/1981 (population censuses) is presented for the 49 municipalities of the City Region. The shrinkage in population in most municipalities of Brussels and in the industrial municipalities of Vilvoorde and Machelen is striking. With the exception of Meise and Steenokkerzeel, all municipalities with a growth of more than 20% are located in the southern and south-eastern part of the City Region. The highest values are to be found in the Flemish municipalities of Meise (+31%) and Overijse (+32%) and in the Walloon municipalities of Waterloo (+30%), Lasne (+41%), Braine l'Alleud (+43%) and Ottignies-Louvain-la-Neuve (+77%). The last municipality is a special case, however, as the population increase there is mainly due to the removal of the French-speaking part of Louvain University to Louvain-la-Neuve. All the same, from the data about the migration movements it becomes apparent that the increasing power of attraction of the Walloon–Brabant municipalities is an irrefutable fact.

During the 1979–83 period all municipalities of the City Region experienced a slackening growth. With the exception of Evere, Molenbeek and both Woluwes, all municipalities of the capital were characterized by population shrinkage. Outside the capital the municipalities of Vilvoorde. Machelen and Sint-Pieters-Leeuw, as well as the municipalities with language facilities of Drogenbos, Linkebeek and Kraainem, experienced a negative growth. In this five year period only Ottignies (+18%) and Meise (+14%) had a population increase of more than 10%. The increase was also relatively high in Lasne (+8%), Braine l'Alleud (+7%) and Kortenberg (+7%), but considerably slowed down in Overijse (+4%) and Waterloo (+2%), and all but stopped in Wemmel, Asse and La Hulpe.

Foreign nationals

The recent evolution of the population in Brussels has become much more spectacular when its composition is viewed. Between 1961 and 1983 the Brussels population declined by 40,361 units, but after all not more than 3.9%. But in the same period the population of Belgian nationality decreased by almost 220,000 units and the number of foreign nationals increased by 179,000 (Table 4). Whereas in 1961 foreign nationals constituted only 6.7% of the total Brussels population, their share had already become 25.3% in 1983. This uneven evolution would have come to light even more strongly without the naturalizations in 1970–1983 by which 16,385 foreign nationals living in Brussels obtained Belgian nationality. The enormous rise in number of foreign nationals is mainly due to massive immigration from

TABLE 4 *Population Growth of the Belgian and Foreign Population in Brussels (1961–1970–1979–1983)*

Period (per 31.12)	*Change of Belgian population*	*Change of foreign population*	*Change of total population*
1961–1970	953,806→901,629 −52,177	68,989→173,507 +104,518	1,022,795→1,075,136 +52,341
Average growth per year	−5,797/year	+11,613/year	+5,816/year
1970–1979	901,629→774,440 −127,189	173,507→234,275 +60,768	1,075,136→1,008,715 −66,421
Average growth per year	−14,132/year	+6,752/year	−7,380/year
1979–1983	774,440→734,217 −40,223	234,275→248,217 +13,942	1,008,715→982,434 −26,281
Average growth per year	−10,056/year	+3,485/year	−6,570/year

the Mediterranean countries during the period of economic boom in the 1960s and early 1970s. The international role of Brussels (among other things as headquarters of both the European Common Market and N.A.T.O.) plays a prominent part in this, but in a much smaller measure.

The composition of the foreign population has strongly changed (Table 5). In 1961 the most important nationalities were French (15,780 inhabitants), Italians (11,357) and Dutch (7,165). In 1985 there were Moroccans (57,874), Italians (35,809) and Spaniards (28,156). The share of the neighbouring countries (the French, the Dutch, the West Germans, the inhabittants), Italians (11,357) and Dutch (7,165). In 1985 these were Moroccans ity has declined from 46% in 1961 to 18% in 1981. The share of Mediterranean foreigners (Moroccans, Italians, Spaniards, Turks, Greeks) on the contrary rose from ±26% in 1961 to 62% in 1981. Foreign nationals are unequally distributed among the 19 Brussels municipalities. They are especially strongly represented in the central municipalities and constitute more than half the population in little Sint-Joost-ten-Node/St. Josse (Table 6).

The weight of the presence of foreign nationals and their impact on the future evolution of the population in Brussels manifests itself the more strongly as their share in the various age classes is viewed. The foreign population is characterized by young migrants with a high birthrate. On 1/3/1981 46.3% of the children aged 0–4 years in Brussels were of foreign

TABLE 5 *Ranking of the Largest National Groups in Brussels in 1961, 1970 and 1981*

1961		*1970*		*1981*	
1. France	15,780	1. Spain	33,641	1. Morocco	57,874
2. Italy	11,357	2. Italy	28,354	2. Italy	35,809
3. Netherlands	7,165	3. France	23,188	3. Spain	28,156
4. Spain	5,044	4. Morocco	21,852	4. France	25,759
5. West Germany	3,378	5. Greece	9,496	5 .Turkey	15,820
6. United Kingdom	3,223	6. Netherlands	6,917	6. Greece	9,629
7. Poland	2,640	7. West Germany	5,291	7. United Kingdom	7,093
8. Luxembourg	2,421	8. United Kingdom	5,263	8. Zaïre	4,992
		9. Turkey	4,347	9. Portugal	4,793
		10. U.S.A.	4,204	10. Netherlands	4,566
		11. Portugal	3,125	11. West Germany	4,077
		12. Zaïre	2,769	12. Tunisia	3,190
		13. Luxembourg	2,337	13. U.S.A.	2,677

Source: National Institute of Statistics.

nationality; for the group between 0–14 years this percentage amounted to 42.5%. In 1981 the group of foreigners between 0–14 years was already as voluminous as the total foreign population in 1970. In the 1980–1983 period 20,852 children of foreign nationality were born in Brussels against 27,474 of Belgian nationality, a ratio of 43%:57%. Add to this that up to now foreign nationals have been less inclined to leave Brussels than Belgians, it then becomes clear that even if the immigration of foreigners should be strongly restricted (as is the case now), the foreign population would still continue to increase. The birth-rates of Belgians and foreigners number respectively 9.1 per thousand and 19.4 per thousand in 1983. The death-rates are even more widely divergent: 16.7 per thousand for Belgians, 3.4 per thousand for foreigners. The very divergent age composition of the Belgian and the foreign populations in Brussels shows up in Table 7. The contrast between the young foreign population and the strongly ageing Belgian population would be markedly greater if a comparison were made between the Mediterranean group and the Belgians.

It goes without saying that the overwhelming majority of the foreign population increases the preponderance of the French-speaking population in the capital even more. Many of the nationality groups have either a Romance linguistic basis (Spaniards, Italians), speak French or came at least in touch with the language in their country (the French, the inhabitants of Luxemburg, Moroccans, Tunisians). Moreover, it is generally assumed that migrants who immigrate into an area where different linguistic groups live in

TABLE 6 *Foreign Population in the Municipalities of Brussels in 1961, 1970 and 1982**

Municipality	1961		1970		1982	
	Number of foreigners	*Per 100 population*	*Number of foreigners*	*Per 100 population*	*Number of foreigners*	*Per 100 population*
Sint-Joost-ten-Node/St. Josse	2,510	10.3	6,518	27.6	10,353	50.7
Sint-Gillis/St. Gilles	6,362	11.5	18,434	33.5	20,972	47.5
Scharbeek/Schaerbeek	7,971	6.8	23,569	19.8	36,664	34.7
Sint-Jans-Molenbeek/ Molenbeek-St. Jean	2,487	3.9	11,372	16.6	23,562	32.8
Brussel/Bruxelles	14,040	8.2	32,561	20.2	43,304	31.4
Elsene/Ixelles	9,366	9.9	16,221	18.8	21,389	28.9
Vorst/Forest	3,008	5.8	9,253	16.8	14,140	28.1
Koekelberg	785	4.8	2,094	11.9	3,963	24.1
Anderlecht	4,285	4.5	15,150	14.6	20,397	22.1
Etterbeek	3,099	5.9	6,620	13.0	9,331	21.2
Ukkel/Uccle	5,365	7.5	10,817	13.7	12,935	17.1
Sint-Pieters-Woluwe/ Woluwe-St. Pierre	2,623	8.0	5,709	14.0	6,858	17.0
Sint-Lambrechts-Woluwe/ Woluwe-St. Lambert	2,178	5.7	4,448	9.4	7,323	14.9
Evere	556	2.5	1,534	5.7	3,319	11.0
Oudergem/Auderghem	1,004	3.6	2,664	7.7	3,305	11.0
Jette	1,219	3.5	2,444	6.1	4,177	10.6
Sint-Agatha-Berchem/ Berchem-Ste. Agathe	521	3.3	1,004	5.3	1,788	9.6
Watermaal-Bosvoorde/ Watermael-Boitsfort	1,045	4.4	1,748	7.0	2,321	9.3
Ganshoren	565	3.7	1,347	6.4	1,901	8.9
Brussels (19 municipalities)	68,989	6.7	173,507	16.0	248,002	25.1

*At 31 December.

Source: National Institute of Statistics and Agglomeratie Brussel.

TABLE 7 *Age Structure of Foreigners and Belgian Population in Brussels in 1961, 1970 and 1981*

Age groups	*Population Censuses* 1961	1970	1981
Belgian population			
0–19 years	23.3%	23.1%	19.3%
20–39 years	26.0%	24.8%	26.7%
40–59 years	28.3%	27.2%	26.5%
60 or more years	22.4%	24.9%	27.5%
Foreign population			
0–19 years	27.8%	37.7%	39.5%
20–39 years	31.1%	35.9%	35.5%
40–59 years	25.1%	18.7%	19.3%
60 or more years	16.0%	7.7%	5.7%
Total population			
0–19 years		25.5%	24.1%
20–39 years		26.5%	28.8%
40–59 years		25.8%	24.8%
60 or more years		22.2%	22.3%

Source: National Institute of Statistics.

competition with one another by preference attach themselves to the language and culture of the dominant linguistic group. On the other hand, the very large share of foreigners has as a result that the French-speaking Belgians constitute hardly more than half of the population of Brussels.

Migrations

The evolution of the population in the Brussels City Region in the twentieth century is mainly determined by migration movements. The population growth and the spread of the city are the result of the power of attraction of the capital on migrants from home and abroad, together with the suburbanization process which makes the inhabitants of the central part of the city move towards the fringe territory. Although strictly speaking a deconcentration process was already noticed from the beginning of the century, it was nevertheless mainly after World War II and especially in the 1960s and 1970s that suburbanization assumed massive proportions. This has to do with a combination of evolutions, such as a higher level of prosperity, the generalized spread of car ownership, the favourable trend of the building-trade, the activities of property developers, the degradation of the residential quarters in the inner city area, and the drift towards better living accommodation in the more peaceful and green suburban area.

During the 1952–1981 period two phases may be distinguished in the migration movements (Table 8). Up to and including 1967 Brussels experienced a settlement surplus, which in the 1960s was solely due to an extensive inward migration of foreign nationals; from 1968 onwards the migration balance became negative, so as to reach a maximum value of minus 12,118 persons in 1977. The outflow balance of the Belgian population reached a maximum in 1977 and 1978 with a net loss by an outward migration of respectively 14,242 and 12,551 Belgians.

TABLE 8 *Average Net Migration Per Year for Belgians and Foreigners in Brussels During 5-year Periods, 1952–1981*

	Belgian population net migration/year	*Foreigners net migration/year*	*Total population net migration/year*
1952–1956	2,823	1,602	4,425
1957–1961	3,245	3,017	6,262
1962–1966	− 3,102	12,989	9,887
1967–1971	− 7,306	6,999	− 307
1972–1976	− 9,582	4,593	−4,989
1977–1981	−10,723	2,523	−8,200

Source: Sobemap, 1984.

The components of the recent evolution of the population in Brussels are presented in Table 9. The figures illustrate the high outflow surpluses of the Belgian population, which are only partly compensated by the settlement surpluses of foreign nationals. The same picture applies for the natural increase where the high excess of deaths of the Belgians is not completely compensated by the nevertheless considerable excess of births of the foreign nationals. Interesting as well is to discover that the "loss" of Belgians by migration in the 1980s strongly declined, and that in 1983 an outflow surplus of foreign nationals was noted for the first time.

An analysis of the age of the domestic migrants towards and from Brussels in 1970 has revealed that only the age-group of 15–24 year olds had a positive balance in the capital. For all other age-groups and particularly for the age-classes between 25 and 40 years, the migratory outflow from the capital was larger than the inflow. The typical household that left Brussels in the 1970s was the household with young children. Investigations show that the emigrants had an income higher than the average income in the capital. This selective migration carried with it, in relative terms, a pauperization of the central part of the City Region while the fringe territory became more and more prosperous.

TABLE 9 *Components of Population Change in Brussels, 1974–1983 (absolute numbers)*

	Total population			*Belgian population*			*Foreign population*		
	Total net change	*Natural increase*	*Net migration*	*Total net change**	*Natural increase*	*Net migration*	*Total net change**	*Natural increase*	*Net migration*
1974	− 8,304	−1,800	− 6,504	−16,169	−5,178	−10,991	+ 7,865	+3,378	+4,487
1975	− 4,183	−2,127	− 2,056	−14,652	−5,609	− 9,043	+10,469	+3,482	+6,987
1976	− 8,735	−2,070	− 6,665	−16,615	−5,770	−10,845	+ 7,880	+3,700	+4,180
1977	−13,080	− 962	−12,118	−19,472	−5,230	−14,242	+ 6,392	+4,268	+2,124
1978	−13,262	−1,392	−11,870	−17,940	−5,389	−12,551	+ 4,678	+3,997	+ 681
1979	− 6,995	− 703	− 6,292	−14,692	−4,974	− 9,718	+ 7,697	+4,271	+3,426
1980	− 8,494	−1,047	− 7,447	−15,790	−5,392	−10,398	+ 7,296	+4,345	+2,951
1981	− 4,039	− 764	− 3,275	−11,978	−5,270	− 6,708	+ 7,939	+4,506	+3,433
1982	− 4,897	− 990	− 3,907	−10,431	−5,291	− 5,140	+ 5,534	+4,301	+1,233
1983	− 7,443	−1,612	− 5,831	− 9,358	−5,589	− 3,769	+ 1,915	+3,977	−2,062

*Without change of nationality.

Source: Planbureau.

Migrations and language ratios in Brussels

It is self-evident that the origin and destination of migrants in the Brussels City Region have a considerable influence on language ratios. During the 1964–1982 period 473,672 persons in-migrated into Brussels from everywhere else in Belgium, 52.2% of whom came from Flanders and 47.8% from Wallonia. This proportion shows a great measure of stability in the period viewed, even if the preponderance of in-migrants from Flanders became somewhat more pronounced after 1975 with a peak value of 54.7% in 1978. This does not mean that more Dutch-speaking than French-speaking persons have settled in Brussels. One should indeed take into account that a certain portion of the in-migrants from Flanders are French-speaking. This portion is difficult to estimate, but it is unquestionably markedly higher than the Dutch-speaking portion that forms part of the in-migrants from Wallonia. Within the capital the proportion between Walloon and Flemish in-migrants diverges considerably. Logie (1981) showed that in the 1970–1978 period 7 of the 19 municipalities experienced a dominant Walloon immigration (Table 10). They are the municipalities in the central part of the city (Elsene/Ixelles, Sint-Gillis/St. Gilles, Etterbeek and Sint-Joost-ten-Node/St. Josse) and Vorst/Forest, Watermaal-Bosvoorde/Watermael-Boitsfort and Oudergem/Auderghem in the south and south-east of the capital. In all municipalities west of the NE–SW industrial axis (Anderlecht, Molenbeek, Ganshoren, Koekelberg, Sint-Agatha-Berchem, Jette) there is on the contrary a pronounced preponderance of Flemish in-migrants. These contrasting figures can be explained to a large extent by the fact that migrants tend to settle down in areas which are located near to their region of origin.

In the same survey the geographic distribution of Dutch-speaking inhabitants was examined. This was done on the basis of mailing lists of the sociocultural boards for Dutch-speaking people in the 19 municipalities, and the figures from 4% Dutch-speaking households in Sint-Gillis/St. Gilles upwards to 35% in Sint-Agatha-Berchem/Berchem-St.-Agathe therefore undoubtedly contain an undervaluation. The latter is clearly the case in Evere and Sint-Lambrechts-Woluwe/Woluwe-St.-Lambert where the sociocultural board had functioned for a shorter time. It is interesting, however, to notice that there is a clear interconnection between the geographic provenance of the domestic in-migrants and the language ratio in the 19 municipalities.

The municipalities with the highest percentage of French-speaking inhabitants also experience a pronounced Walloon immigration (Elsene/Ixelles, Sint-Gillis/St. Gilles, Etterbeek, Oudergem/Auderghem). Con-

TABLE 10 *Number of Immigrants in the Brussels Municipalities Coming from Walloon Region Per 100 Immigrants Coming from Flemish Region in 1970–1978 Period*

Elsene/Ixelles	156.6	Schaarbeek/Schaerbeek	98.5
Sint-Gillis/St. Gilles	153.8	Ukkel/Uccle	94.3
Etterbeek	152.0	Sint-Lambrechts-Woluwe/ Woluwe-St. Lambert	93.3
Watermaal-Bosvoorde/ Watermael-Boitsfort	129.8	Brussel/Bruxelles	77.2
Oudergem/Auderghem	113.6	Sint-Pieters-Woluwe/ Woluwe-St. Pierre	76.8
Sint-Joost-ten-Node/St.-Josse	113.4	Koekelberg	69.5
Vorst/Forest	112.1	Anderlecht	67.9
		Evere	62.6
		Sint-Jans-Molenbeek/ Molenbeek-St. Jean	62.3
		Jette	56.3
		Ganshoren	53.9
		Sint-Agatha-Berchem/ Berchem-Ste. Agathe	33.2

Source: Logie, 1981.

versely, the municipalities with a considerable Dutch-speaking presence proportionally count far more Flemish in-migrants (Sint-Agatha-Berchem/ Berchem-Ste-Agathe, Jette, Anderlecht, Evere, Ganshoren). The percentage of Dutch-speaking inhabitants is, of course, also influenced by the origin of the immigrants in previous periods, by the size of the migrations (and the interrelated proportion of indigenous inhabitants), by the linguistic status of the out-migrants, by the inter-local house-movings among the 19 municipalities themselves, and by the whole scale of Frenchification mechanisms. Internal migrations in Brussels are very numerous. In the 1970s a yearly average of 65,000 people moved towards another municipality of the capital, which corresponds to 6.5% of the population.

Migration and frenchification of the fringe territory

In the 1964–1982 period 623,596 inhabitants of Brussels moved towards a Belgian municipality outside the capital. 56.2% of the out-migrants settled in Flanders, 43.8% in Wallonia. A large part of these out-migrants chose a new residence in the fringe zone of Brussels and is thus co-responsible for the phenomenon of suburbanization. This "colonization" of the Brussels fringe zone shows up in Figure 4, where the average immigration from the capital in the 1971–1976 period is presented per 1,000 inhabitants of each

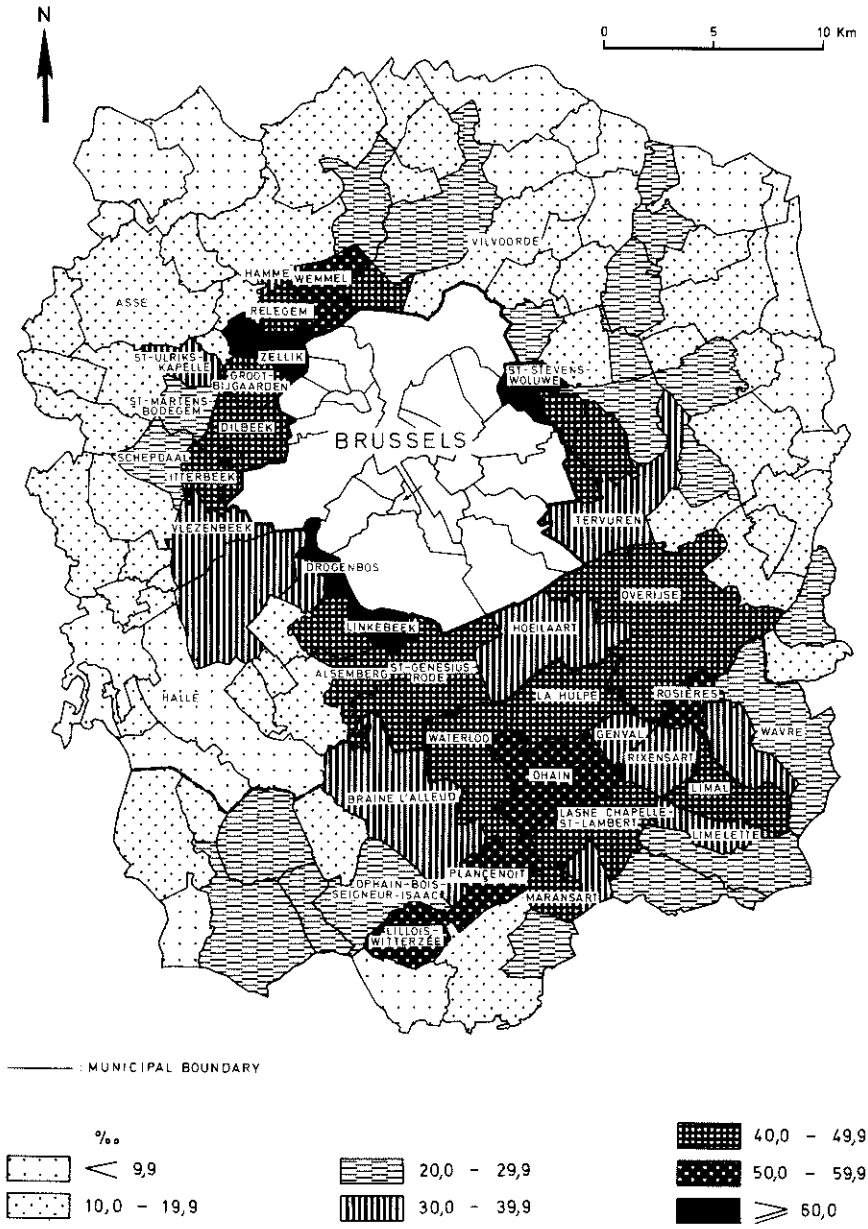

FIGURE 4 *Average Yearly Immigration from Brussels (19 municipalities) Per 1,000 Inhabitants in the 1/1/1971–31/12/1976 Period*

municipality. The municipal boundaries are those of before 1/1/1977, date of the merger of municipalities. In the 1971–76 period 50% of the out-migrants from the capital settled in a municipality of the fringe territory depicted in Figure 4. The yearly immigration of people from Brussels per 1000 inhabitants is the largest into those municipalities adjacent to the capital, Sint-Stevens-Woluwe (73%), Linkebeek, Drogenbos and Zellik. What is striking is the great spatial extension of high values towards the south and south-east, with the highest immigration rates into the still scantily populated municipalities of Walloon-Brabant. The immigration of migrants from Brussels represents undeniably the most important cause of Frenchification in the originally purely Dutch-speaking municipalities. The Frenchification is the more distinct the closer the municipalities are to Brussels and is markedly stronger in the residential municipalities to the south and south-east.

Research by the study group *Mens en Ruimte* (Man and Space) has shown how Frenchification in the course of the twentieth century became gradually more intense and extended over an increasingly larger area. In 1920 the percentage of Francophones numbered more than 50 only in the municipalities of Brussels, Sint-Joost-ten-Node/St. Josse, Schaarbeek, Etterbeek, Elsene/Ixelles, Sint-Gillis/St. Gilles and Vorst/Forest. In 1930 the southern and eastern municipalities of the capital were added to these and only the municipalities west of the NE–SW industrial axis and Evere have less than half French-speaking inhabitants. In the fringe territory the first municipalities then occur with Francophones from 20 to 30%: they are Kraainem in the east and Drogenbos and Linkebeek in the south-west.

In 1947 only Evere remained in the capital with less than 50% Francophones. Frenchification at that moment extended over various municipalities of the fringe area, with values between 30% and 50% in Wemmel, Drogenbos, Linkebeek and Kraainem (four out of the six Flemish peripheral municipalities that were to get a special linguistic status from 1963 onwards) and with values between 20 and 30% in Strombeek-Bever, Wezembeek-Oppem, Sint-Genesius-Rode and Dilbeek (the situation before the merger of municipalities).

The Frenchifying wave is closely bound up with residential development and with the suburbanization of the population. Before the Second World War the spread of urbanization and the drift to the periphery could still largely be kept within the present administrative conurbation boundaries, but from 1945 they have made their appearance especially in the fringe territory round the capital. The most important expansion zones were then to be found to the east and the south of Brussels. From research on neigh-

bourhood level it appeared that the residential explosion of the fringe zone after the Second World War is closely inter-connected with the activities of land speculators and real estate agents who systematically bought up plots round Brussels in order to cut them up into lots and to sell them as villa sites, after a publicity campaign and naturally with the co-operation of the local authorities. The greatest allocations took place in the municipalities to the east and the south of the capital, more particularly in Kraainem, Wezembeek-Oppem, Sterrebeek, Tervuren, Beersel, Linkebeek, Alsemberg and Sint-Genesius-Rode. Until the early 1960s this activity was less in Hoeilaart and Overijse owing to the specific horticultural function (grape-cultivation in conservatories) in these municipalities. Through the massive demolition of these conservatories in the 1960s and 1970s large surfaces of building-sites became available, by which, along with the opening of the Brussels-Namur motorway, urbanization in these municipalities was strongly increased.

The 1963 survey by *Mens en Ruimte* shows in a telling way the connection between the percentage of Francophones and in what way the residential quarters of the fringe zone of Brussels came into being. Individual allocations gave little cause for Frenchification (usually less than 10%), also because the extent of immigration was rather slight. In the residential quarters built by the recognized building societies for council dwellings, Dutch-speaking as well as French-speaking immigrants settled, with a preponderance of the former. What was striking, however, was that the Dutch-speaking immigrants settled especially in the west and in the north-west, whereas the French-speakers settled mainly in the already more Frenchified eastern municipalities (Kraainem and Wezembeek-Oppem). The residential quarters that came into being through professional developers seem to have had a very wide appeal for well-to-do Francophones, especially in the southern and south-eastern fringe-zone. In the residential municipalities the percentage of French-speaking inhabitants in these quarters is globally estimated at between 53% and 63%. In the more industrial municipalities the global estimate was lower: from 34% to 56%. The new villa-quarters often lie separated from the original habitations, which further thwarts the integration of the predominantly French-speaking immigrants. In this way a typical residential pattern of linguistic groups appears in the various municipalities of the fringe territory, with a scanty percentage of Francophones in the older core of the village, which has retained its Flemish character, and high percentages of Francophones in the rich, often isolated villa-quarters.

After the 1947 linguistic census we possess only unofficial estimates (e.g. based on results of polls) about the language choice in Brussels and its fringe territory. Taking into account the methodological problems of such a

survey and the fact that the subject is politically charged with tension, the greatest caution should be exercised from a scientific point of view in handling such estimates. The result of the investigation by Kluft & Jaspers (1969) provided the following picture of Frenchification in the fringe area: Drogenbos 64% Francophones, Linkebeek 63%, Kraainem 61%, Beersel 48%, Sint-Genesius-Rode 41%, Wezembeek-Oppem 40%, Dilbeek 36%, Wemmel 35%, Sint-Stevens-Woluwe 34%, Strombeek 30%. An estimate of between 20% and 30% of Francophones occurred in the municipalities of Vilvoorde, Alsemberg, Groot-Bijgaarden, Zellik, Sint-Pieters-Leeuw and Tervuren. From the declarations of local politicians and privileged witnesses and from investigations in some fringe municipalities (among others Dilbeek, Sint-Genesius-Rode, Overijse) it would appear that the Frenchification of the fringe territory since the late 1970s and in the 1980s has been stabilized, or at least has slowed down. In this context, a sensibilization and a growing self-assurance of the Flemish population in the fringe municipalities is often referred to. True enough, from the data of migratory movements between Brussels and the remainder of Belgium (Table 11) it clearly appears that suburbanization in the 1980s has strongly declined, but whether the language situation plays a role here cannot be concluded from this. Various authors have indeed attributed the power of attraction of the Nivelles district for Brussels out-migrants to the growing Flemish self-assertion in Halle-Vilvoorde. When the 5-year period 1964–68 is compared with 1975–79, the settlement surplus from the capital into Nivelles increases by 123%, whereas the one into Halle-Vilvoorde only increases by 20%. When one interprets these widely divergent figures one should also take into account the development of the new university town of Louvain-la-Neuve, and the normal distension of the suburbanization phenomenon. When we compare the years 1976–77 (when suburbanization reached its peak) with the years 1981–82 we then note the following facts:

— Brussels lost 27,153 inhabitants to the remainder of Belgium (net migration) in 1976–77, against only a mere 10,454 in years 1981–82. This spectacular evolution is due rather to the decline of the out-migration from the capital (which was 23% lower in 1981–82 than in 1976–77) than to the slight domestic in-migration increase (1%);
— the out-migration of inhabitants from Brussels towards Nivelles declined more strongly than that to Halle-Vilvoorde. Emigration towards Nivelles dropped by 27%, that to Halle-Vilvoorde by 22%;
— the in-migration into the capital from Nivelles increased by 28%, that from Halle-Vilvoorde by 11%;
— both above-mentioned trends have as a result that the Brussels outflow balance towards Nivelles has declined more strongly than

TABLE 11 *Number of Migrants between Brussels and the Remainder of Belgium, 1971–1982*

	1971	*1972*	*1973*	*1974*	*1975*	*1976*	*1977*	*1978*	*1979*	*1980*	*1981*	*1982*
Immigrations (into Brussels)												
from Nivelles	2,912	2,850	2,888	2,899	3,048	2,919	3,107	3,343	3,241	3,644	4,016	3,707
Halle-Vilvoorde	6,543	6,142	6,458	6,509	6,536	6,616	6,399	7,058	6,990	7,114	7,241	7,144
Total	25,014	23,549	22,953	23,193	22,486	22,187	21,826	22,859	22,181	22,538	22,872	21,678
Emigrations (from Brussels)												
into Nivelles	5,770	6,146	6,764	7,206	7,088	7,691	7,827	7,623	7,193	6,957	5,740	5,513
Halle-Vilvoorde	11,756	11,329	11,615	12,814	12,349	12,804	12,823	12,505	11,173	10,756	10,232	9,631
Total	33,213	32,725	33,430	35,913	34,738	35,193	35,973	34,524	31,732	31,142	28,259	26,745
Net migrations with reference to												
Nivelles	− 2,858	− 3,296	− 3,876	− 4,318	− 4,040	− 4,772	− 4,720	− 4,280	− 3,952	− 3,313	− 1,724	− 1,806
Halle-Vilvoorde	− 5,213	− 5,187	− 5,157	− 6,305	− 5,813	− 6,188	− 6,424	− 5,447	− 4,183	− 3,642	− 2,991	− 2,487
Wallonia	− 1,973	− 3,071	− 4,327	− 5,058	− 5,195	− 5,591	− 6,715	− 5,904	− 5,026	− 4,601	− 2,147	− 2,064
Flanders	− 6,226	− 6,105	− 6,150	− 7,662	− 7,057	− 7,414	− 7,432	− 5,761	− 4,525	− 4,003	− 3,240	− 3,003
Total	− 8,199	− 9,176	−10,477	−12,720	−12,252	−13,006	−14,147	−11,665	− 9,551	− 8,604	− 5,387	− 5,067

Source: — National Institute of Statistics.
— Poulain, 1984.

the one towards Halle-Vilvoorde, even though also in relative terms. The negative migration balance of the capital with regard to Nivelles numbered 9,492 persons in 1976–77, in 1981–82 only a mere 3,530 persons. For Halle-Vilvoorde these figures evolved from minus 12,612 to minus 5,478.

The strongly slackening out-migration of inhabitants from Brussels towards the fringe territory is most probably to be attributed to the economic depression (diminishing purchasing-power, high rates of interest) by which the acquisition of property in the fringe territory was strongly hampered. The increase of in-migration into the capital from Nivelles and Halle-Vilvoorde is interesting because it points to a deliberate bias for living in the central part of the town. Possible explanations for this bias are the rise of transport expenses owing to the severely risen energy costs or the preference once again for an urban residential environment to the uniformity of allocations in the periphery. The considerable immigration from the more distant Nivelles could point to the fact that the costs of the distance begin to play a greater role in weighing the advantages against the disadvantages of living in the periphery. Poulain (1984), Vandermotten & Colard (1985) already speak about a trend to return to the city and put forward the hypothesis that in this matter it is especially a question of *périurbains de la seconde génération*. The evolution of population figures as well as the migratory movements point at any rate to a slowing-down of suburbanization, which is sufficiently strong to suppose at least a decline in the Frenchifying pressure in the fringe territory.

Residential differentiation

Research into the residential patterns in towns got well under way in Belgium only from the moment the population census data for parts of municipalities became available, the so-called statistical sectors. This was the case for the first time for the population census of 31st December 1970. The statistical sectors are habitation units with a certain homogeneity as regards social, economic or architectural features, and they are often indicated by the designation of neighbourhood. The term neighbourhood has in this case, however, no sociological content, but covers that part of the town that is used as a unit of counting for the population and housing census. Brussels was divided into 567 statistical sectors for the 1970 population census; in 1981 a more detailed division was used with 722 sectors.

From factorecological studies it appears that in Brussels there is a clear residential differentiation present, and that, be it strongly generalized, it

may be summed up in a differentiation of the neighbourhoods according to socio-economic status, family status and according to the moment of settlement of the population. The most important structuring factor is undeniably the socio-economic status of the population. This factor may be considered a combination of variables regarding the occupational structure and the degree of schooling of the population and of the quality and equipment of the houses. The residential patterns of foreigners also reflect the differentiation of neighbourhoods according to socio-economic status. This differentiation is clearly illustrated by the opposite residential patterns of the working class and the group of independent professions and staff executives. Both these socio-economic groups live strongly segregated spatially and in very different housing conditions. The working class live concentrated in the central part of the conurbation, especially in the western part of the inner city and in an adjacent zone round the pentagon. The houses are mostly old, with little living accommodation and few modern conveniences. They are mainly rented and tenement-houses. The working-class quarters are mainly located near the NE–SW industrial axis. Isolated neighbourhoods with a high percentage of working class people on the fringe of the capital, outside the industrial axis, are mostly neighbourhoods with council-built houses. The independent professions and staff executives mainly live in the east and the south of the conurbation, where the environment is characterized by more spacious, well-equipped dwellings in parts of the city with a far lower population density, often with much greenery, a nearby park or wood, and less air pollution and traffic nuisance. The greater part of the houses are owner-occupied. In Figure 5 a synthesis is shown of contrasting residential patterns of the working class and of the group of independent professions and staff executives. Only the neighbourhoods with an over-representation of one group were indicated in the figure. Over-representation was defined as a situation where the share of one group in the active population of a neighbourhood is at least equal to the average value (arithmetic mean over all neighbourhoods) plus the standard deviation of that group. This gave for the working class a limit value of 45.4%, for the group of independent professions and staff executives a value of 28.0% and for clerical workers 49.5%. So a neighbourhhod with 45.4% or more working class inhabitants is considered a distinct working-class neighbourhood. The figure illustrates the great residential segregation between the working class and the group of independent professions and staff executives. Clerical workers live more dispersed over the city, but as regards residence as well as living conditions they show a greater resemblance to the independent professions and staff executives than with the working class.

The residential pattern of the greater nationality-groups may clearly be reduced to two major types, which show a strong resemblance with the

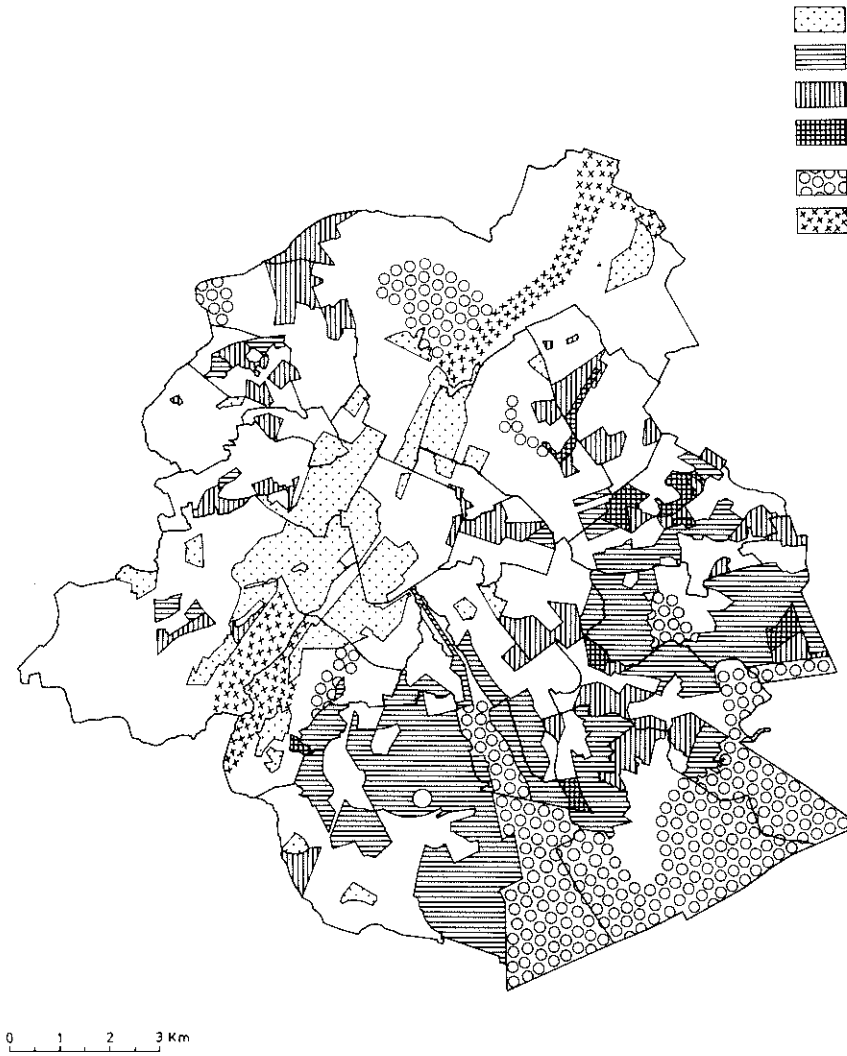

FIGURE 5 *Neighbourhoods with an Over-representation of a Socio-economic Group in Brussels, 1970*

Legend: 1: over-representation of working class; 2: *Idem* independent professions and staff executives; 3: *Idem* clerical workers; 4: *Idem* independent professions and staff executives and clerical workers as well; 5: park, forest; 6: industry.

patterns of the working class and of the independent professions. Foreigners from the Mediterranean countries live strongly concentrated in the old working-class quarters in the central part of thc city, where there are still rather low-rent houses and which are increasingly vacated by the Belgian population. Moneyed foreigners (the French, the British, West Germans, Dutch, Americans) mainly live in the residential municipalities in the east and in the south of the conurbation, with a bias for the municipalities of Sint-Pieters-Woluwe/Woluwe-St-Pierre and Ukkel/Uccle. As to the housing situation of the two groups of foreigners the same contrast is valid as for the working class and the group of independent professions and staff executives. It may safely be suggested that the contrasts are clearly greater with foreigners than within the Belgian population. There is, of course, no doubt that the contrasting residential patterns and the contrasting housing situations of the working class and of the group of independent professions and staff executives arise as a result of the segregation processes on the housing market level. The segregation processes themselves are a reflection of the social inequalities and income differences in society. The same explanation is valid of course for the contrasts between the two foreign groups. The research results by Logie on spatial distribution of Dutch-speaking people reveal that important concentrations of Dutch-speaking people can hardly be pointed out in Brussels. Figure 6 shows the number of Dutch-speaking households per 100 private households per neighbourhood. We repeat that the data regarding 1978 emanated from the Brussels socio-cultural boards and certainly contain an undervaluation. The percentages are consequently only indicative. The Dutch-speaking households seem to be less represented in the inner city and in an adjacent zone, which is narrower on the western side of the pentagon. We must take into account that the share of foreigners in those parts of the city is often very high (often more than 40% in 1981). Broadly speaking the percentages go up from the core of the town to the periphery. It is evident that the share of Dutch-speaking housholds is more important west of the NE–SW industrial axis. The percentages are highest in still rural Neerpede in the remotest west of Anderlecht and in the older core of Haren, which is adjacent to the industrial zone in the NE of the conurbation. It is also noteworthy that the percentages are higher in the various older village cores of the municipalities of Brussels (such as, e.g. in Sint-Job in Ukkel/Uccle, Stokkel in Sint-Pieters-Woluwe/Woluwe-St-Pierre, and Bezemhoek in Watermaal-Bosvoorde/Watermael-Boitsfort). Logie did not find any very high correlations between the variable "Dutch-speaking households" and other population and living features. So it is, for instance, striking that no spatial relations were found between the Dutch-speaking people and the variables that indicate the socio-economic groups and education level (correlations smaller than

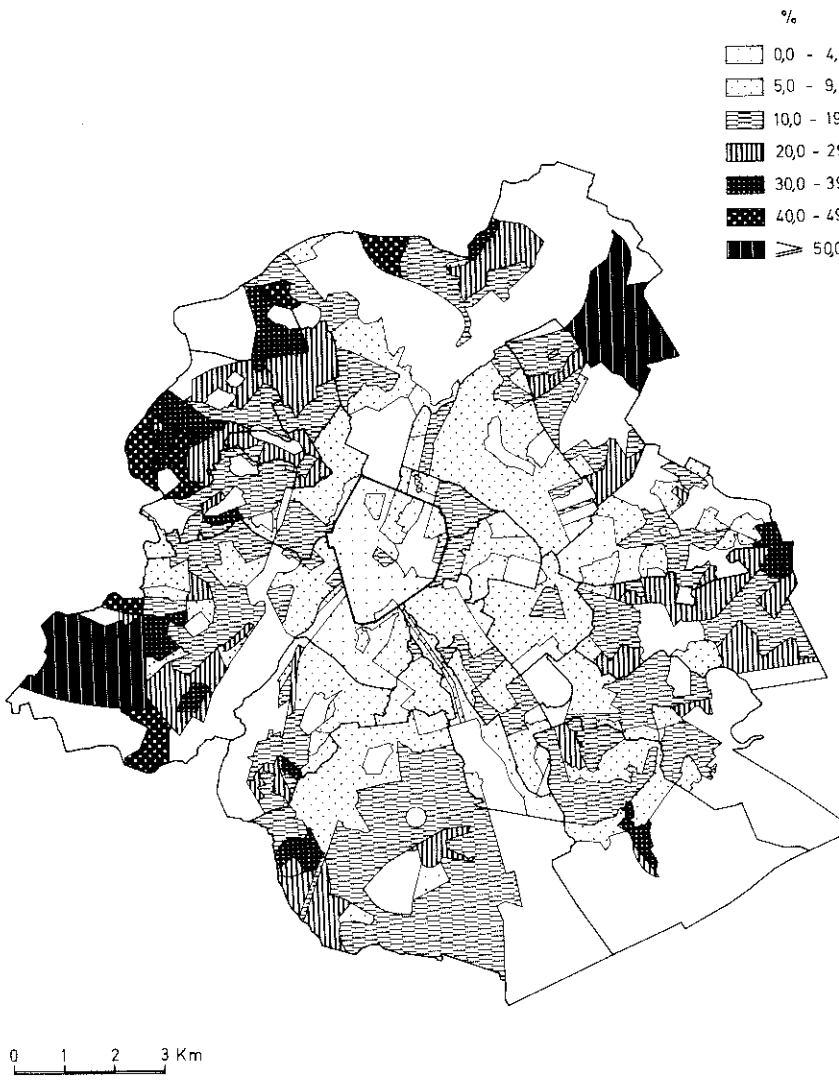

FIGURE 6 *Number of Dutch-speaking Households Per 100 Private Households Per Neighbourhood in Brussels, 1978*

Source: Logie, 1981.

|0.20|). Rather high positive correlations appeared between the "Dutch-speaking households" and the variables "houses occupied by owners" ($r = +0.47$), "single family houses" ($r = +0.43$) and households consisting of 3 or 4 persons ($r = +0.45$), and a weak positive correlation was noticed with the distribution pattern of "indigenous inhabitants". As always in the case of spatial correlations, however, one has to take into account that only the relations between the distribution patterns of two features are measured and not between the features themselves.

Conclusions

The radical changes regarding the evolution, composition and spatial patterns of the population which the Brussels region has undergone in the twentieth century have been discussed in this chapter.

The evolution of the population has been mainly determined by migration movements which were characterized by a settlement surplus in Brussels up to and including 1967. From 1968 onwards the high departure surplus of the Belgian population has no longer been compensated by the settlement surplus of foreigners, and more inhabitants have left the City than have come in. From the middle of the 1970s the population has even decreased in the much wider city region, because the strong population decrease in the central part of the city has no longer been set off by the increase in the urban fringe.

Since the 1960s a Belgian population in Brussels has been increasingly replaced by foreigners as a consequence of the out-migration of Belgians and the mass in-migration of foreigners. In the 1980s, however, the foreign population has increased, mainly, through the high birth rates of the young Mediterranean migrant workers' families. By the presence of the foreigners, who already constitute more than a fourth of the Brussels population, the preponderance of French-speaking people in the capital has even augmented. This is certainly the case in the central part where foreign nationals constitute the majority of the population in various neighbourhoods.

There are but few conspicuous concentrations in the spatial pattern of Dutch-speaking inhabitants and there are no clear spatial connections with other characteristics of the strongly marked residential differentiation in Brussels. The share of the Dutch-speaking inhabitants is broadly higher towards the fringe of the city and especially on the western side in the "direction" of Flanders. The higher values in the old village cores of the

Brussels municipalities point to a more considerable Flemish presence in former periods.

Mass suburbanization after the Second World War has brought with it a Frenchification of the Dutch-speaking municipalities round the capital. The degree of Frenchification is highest in the municipalities adjacent to the capital and seems to be strongly influenced by the way in which the new residential quarters came into being, where we find the highest percentage of Francophones in the rich villa quarters created by property developers. Although reliable quantitative data are practically non-existent, we may put the case that the strong slowing-down of suburbanization in the early 1980s and the growing self-assertion of the Dutch-speaking people of the periphery have at least brought in their wake a slackening of the Frenchification process.

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7 Sociolinguistic Aspects

Linguistic research on Brussels

SERA DE VRIENDT AND ROLAND WILLEMYNS

> "The past and future records of language policy in Brussels may provide the world with new lessons in the policy of accommodation".
>
> (Mackey, 1981).

Introduction

The present-day linguistic situation in the officially bilingual city of Brussels is only to be understood by the specific position the city occupies within the Belgian framework and by the interaction of a multitude of historical factors, mostly exposed in other chapters in this book. It is our intention to focus as strictly as possible on (socio-) linguistic factors; yet cross-reference to other chapters is unavoidable.

Brussels, which is situated some seven miles north of the linguistic border separating Germanic (Dutch) and Romance (French) languages, yet entirely within the Dutch language territory, is the capital of the province of Brabant but also of Belgium and consequently has a specific official linguistic status, in that it is the only officially bilingual territory of the country (see Map). Linguistic legislation, quite simple and straightforward as far as the country as a whole is concerned, may appear severe and rather complicated when it comes to Brussels, mostly because the legal linguistic status of the capital is the result of a great many political compromises; of all linguistic legislation the most difficult has been to find a settlement for Brussels both suitable to its inhabitants and acceptable for the other components of the country.

Since, after more than a century of linguistic legislation (requiring, among other things, two changes of the constitution) the so-called language

problem has been quite neatly solved as far as the two major parts of the country are concerned, the only problem remaining (and having been left out of more recent legislation) is the linguistic future of Brussels. In order to fully expose the problems at hand we shall try to:

a) discuss the actual linguistic make up of the country
b) explain in a nutshell the deviating and problem-raising position of its capital.

Belgium is, since the last constitutional change, a semi-federal country consisting of four different entities constituted on the basis of language. The Dutch-speaking community is located in the north of the country, the French-speaking one in the south, the German-speaking community occupies a small territory in the east of the country and the fourth entity is the bilingual community of Brussels (the so-called 19 boroughs), located in the centre, yet — as mentioned — geographically entirely within the Dutch-speaking territory. Since regional governments have a (somewhat restricted) legislative power in their areas, the frontiers of their jurisdiction (being language borders) are defined in the constitution. The language status of each Belgian town or village is therefore easy to determine as it is for every inhabitant, since one's official language is not a matter of personal choice but of the territory one lives in.

The inhabitants of Brussels (10% of the nation's population, approximately), however, appear to find themselves in a peculiar and unique position, since the capital is the only part of the country where no language status is automatically assigned to the inhabitants, speakers of different languages living unseparated by language borders, as is the case in the remaining part of the country. The daily contact of speakers of different languages has linguistic repercussions, which are to be discussed elsewhere in this chapter, but makes it hard to find out who belongs to which language group, the more so since language censuses have been abolished by law (Gubin, 1978).

The task of the sociolinguist is therefore twofold. In the first place he should try to describe and explain the present linguistic situation in the capital, meaning that, among other things, he should note how many languages and dialects are spoken in Brussels, by whom and when they are used, what the present-day attitudes towards the various codes are, what the consequences of multilingualism and diglossia are, etc. So doing he must, moreover, be fully aware of the fact that he is providing other disciplines with material indispensible for the multidisciplinary approach advocated in this volume. In the second place, along with researchers from other disciplines, he must play his part in answering one of the most important and

intriguing questions as far as the history of Brussels is concerned, i.e. how it has been possible for the Belgian capital to turn from the almost completely Dutch-speaking city it was at the end of the eighteenth century into what it is now, i.e. a multilingual city with a predominance of French speakers.

At the outset of our research concerns into Brussels in 1977 we were fully aware of the fact that what was usually called the "Brussels problem" was not only a linguistic problem, but a very complex matter in which linguistic factors were intermingled with social, economic, demographic, political and psychological factors. Yet all of us were confronted with the same difficulties, i.e. a lack of sources, of data, of an appropriate methodology to tackle the problem at hand and a lack of experience in multidisciplinary co-operation, not to mention an everlasting lack of money (Witte, 1984: 11).

Three different approaches were conducted almost simultaneously:

a) the gathering of data
b) methodological discussions with researchers from other disciplines
c) contact and co-operation with researchers in other Centres in bilingual areas, facing similar or comparable problems, thus broadening the scope from research on Brussels to research on urban bilingualism in general. Co-operation with the "International Centre for Research on Bilingualism" in Quebec has proven to be most fruitful and similar contacts have recently been established with centres in or researchers from Barcelona, London, Singapore and Hong Kong.

Most of the linguists' contributions[1] have appeared in *Taal en Sociale Integratie*, a series produced by the Vrije Universiteit Brussel, and in Hamers, Gendron & Vigneault (1984),[2] the volume in which the papers of a mutual conference by the Quebec and Brussels centres were published.

Language shift

As already stated in the Introduction one of the particularly intriguing aspects of the linguistic "history" of Brussels is that in less than two centuries we witness the evolution of an almost completely Dutch-speaking city into a predominantly French metropolis. Although we intend to relativize the French character of Brussels in the following sections, this is an amazing

phenomenon, that should be accounted for, since it has not often occurred in a European context.

Two kinds of factors are particularly to be envisaged:

a) general factors in the broader context of the Southern Netherlands
b) factors specific to the Brussels situation.

The Low Countries

Since Brussels was until the nineteenth century a predominantly Dutch-speaking city, it shared its linguistic fate with all other Flemish cities. It should therefore be remembered that the Dutch language community (present-day Flanders and Holland) was undivided until the seventeenth century. Till then the Southern provinces (including Brabant, the capital of which was Brussels) was prominent not only in the political and economic but also in the cultural field. Consequently the language variety of these Southern provinces (and of Brabant more in particular) was highly valued and could have been expected to become the most important component of the developing supraregional standard language. This evolution was interrupted by the War of Independence in the sixteenth century, opposing both the northern and southern Netherlands to the Spanish occupants who prevented independence and aimed at restoring the primacy of the Roman-Catholic religion. The outcome of this long-lasting war was that the northern provinces of the country (more or less the present-day Netherlands) gained their independence and went through their so-called *Golden Age* in the seventeenth century, whereas the southern provinces (including the actual Dutch-speaking part of Belgium) came under a still stronger Spanish and Roman-Catholic influence and underwent an economic and progressive cultural decline which was, as far as Flanders is concerned, to continue until the end of the nineteenth century. As a result of the split-up of the original Spanish Netherlands there was an important braindrain of freedom-loving southern members of the upper-class and intellectual élite towards the independent northern state. The south in this way lost most of its social and intellectual leaders. In the seventeenth century the newly developing upper-class and bourgeoisie accepted the French language orientation already possessed by the Flemish nobility. (The Kings of France and the Dukes of Burgundy used to be feudal Lords of Flanders and Brabant, and French was consequently the prestige language of the Court.)

The every-day language of the common people, on the other hand, hardly managed to develop into a supraregional tool of communication and

mostly survived on a dialectal level. Moreover, since all the French-speaking provinces remained under Spanish dominance as well, this considerably increased the weight of French speakers in the southern Netherlands. The war of the Spanish Succession (1702–1713) saw our territory pass to the Austrian Hapsburgs and throughout the eighteenth century one saw:

> "further consolidation of French as the more socially acceptable tongue of the aristocracy and more and more also of the wealthy middle class who tried, as elsewhere in Europe, to mimic their betters. In fact a knowledge of French became a necessity as it was the official language." (Donaldson, 1983: 24).

As a matter of fact, from that moment onwards Dutch, or the dialectical remainders of it, had almost no more official status. The language situation deteriorated even more when, in 1795, the Belgian territories were annexed by France, and its inhabitants were considered citizens of the newly created French Republic. Due to Jacobin centralization this implied an attempt to systematically and completely assimilate the Flemish population (as well as all non-French speaking citizens of the Republic, for that matter) without taking into account regional traditions, language and culture. Every citizen, whatever his linguistic or cultural origin and background had to be Frenchified as quickly and thoroughly as possible. One should realize that this had never been the case before. Whatever foreign rulers the country may have had, no one ever displayed any interest in changing the language habits of the mass of the population, limiting themselves to the use of French as the language of administrative contact and government. As far as the lower classes were concerned this did not work out very well but as far as the bourgeoisie was concerned it did, at least from Napoleonic times onwards, since the bourgeoisie was eager to co-operate with the French as its privileges increased. Together with the nobility, it supported both French rule and French language claims. The short-lived reunification of Holland and Belgium (1814–1830) could only slow down this movement but could neither stop it nor turn back the evolution (see Chapter 2). Lorwin describes the linguistic situation in the newly created Kingdom of Belgium in 1830 after independence as follows:

> "The internal social language barrier within Flanders cut off the masses of peasants, workers and lower-middle-class-elements from those who should have been their natural cultural leaders. The élites were as Flemish in their territorial roots as the masses. But they often knew only enough of the Dutch language to command servants or workingmen: French in the parlour; Flemish in the kitchen. Language differences

> thus not only created a gap in communication; they also carried a load of social dominance and social resentment."
> (Lorwin, 1972: 388)

In the Constitution of 1831 the language question was dealt with rather laconically as follows:

> "The use of the languages spoken in Belgium is optional; it may be regulated only for acts of the authority and for judicial affairs" (art. 23).

Bearing in mind Lacordaire's statement that:

> *"Entre le faible et le fort, entre le pauvre et le riche c'est la liberté qui opprime et la loi qui affranchit"*

i.e.

> "Between the strong and the weak, the rich and the poor, it is liberty which oppresses and the law which liberates"

it is quite obvious that this linguistic freedom was only profitable to the strong and the rich, i.e. the Belgian bourgeoisie from Wallonia and Flanders, all of whom were French-speaking. So despite the fact that Dutch speakers went on to constitute the majority of the population, no legal means was provided for their language, and societal bilingualism almost existed less than was the case during the French period (Willemyns, 1984b).

Brussels

Until then the situation in Brussels was hardly different from that in other Flemish towns. Yet the problem remains that all of Flanders managed to become monolingually Dutch-speaking between 1830 and now, whereas the evolution in Brussels turned out to be totally different.

This problem has hardly been tackled by linguists so far, but since it deserves a short treatment in this chapter we shall give a brief summary of possible explanations, mainly listed by Witte (1984: 13–22) but adding our personal comments.

It is a myth that the Frenchification of Brussels started during the Middle Ages. All evidence so far points out that even at the end of the eighteenth century the position of French was in no way different from that in other major Flemish towns.

Upward social mobility is undoubtedly one of the most important triggering mechanisms of language shift in Brussels. The high social position of the

French speakers influenced the language choice of the bourgeoisie and the lower-middle-class during the period 1790–1850:

> "Economic and political power was in the hands of the French speakers and this pushed the Flemish bourgeoisie of the capital to shift to the language of the nobility and their French-speaking peers."
> (Witte, 1984: 14–15)

This Frenchification of a considerable part of the Brussels bourgeoisie appeared to be decisive in 1830, since it was this part of the population that was to lead the new nation after the separation from Holland. The usual mechanism of upward social mobility influenced part of the middle-class to shift to French, since speaking French had become one of the concomitant features of exerting political, economic and social power.

At that moment there appears to have been a geographical language barrier in Brussels since French-speakers and/or bilinguals (the rich and the powerful) mostly lived in the upper town, whereas unilingual Dutch-speakers mostly lived in the poorer quarters of the lower town.

Since immigration also played an important part it is noteworthy that Flemish immigrants mostly consisted of lower-class and poor people, whereas Walloon immigrants mostly consisted of upper-working-class and middle-class people.

As the capital of the new country Brussels attracted to a larger extent than ever before people to be in charge of the administration of the nation. This situation fulfilled all the conditions for the setting into motion of an evolution sociolinguists are familiar with, i.e. the socio-economic pressure exerted by the upper class of Brussels; it is obvious that upward social mobility went together with the adoption of the French language and culture of the upper-class and, with a short interval of one or two generations of bilinguals, this led to French unilingualism.

On rather short notice Brussels thus became a pole of attraction to numerous immigrants from both the Dutch- and French-speaking parts of the country. The latter immediately engrossed the Francophone population, the former did so over a longer term, since they were in the majority of cases eager to climb the social ladder.

An important instrument of Frenchification turned out to be what Witte calls the "social integration movement":

> "In Brussels a real mass-proletariat did not exist; rather, there were many small artisanal enterprises with qualified workers, belonging to the so-called 'working-class aristocracy'. They were very much in con-

> tact with the lower-middle-class, very susceptible to upward social mobility, hence also to bilingualism.
>
> Almost simultaneously (i.e. more or less from 1894 onwards) the bourgeoisie adopted a new strategy of class integration, a democratic, political and social process, by which they meant to prevent possible revolutionary aspirations of the working class. One of the consequences of this integrational strategy, supported by the reformatory majority faction of the working-class movement was that more and more working-class people inclined to bilingualism, since the knowledge of French made social integration considerably easier."
> (Witte, 1984: 16–17, our translation)

One of the most notorious disadvantages of the Dutch-speaking population (indigenous and immigrants alike) in Brussels was the fact that their vehicular language was usually a regional dialect, seriously lacking in prestige. That explains why the "battle" between French and Dutch was so unequal: Standard French, as a language of culture, had no problem in turning down a regional dialect of a language that anyway had less prestige than French. We will see in section 4 of this chapter that this is still influencing the linguistic political attitude of most of the inhabitants of Brussels and surroundings today.

Since the majority of lower-middle-class and working-class people consisted of immigrants it is evident that they tried to acquire the language that could assure the highest possible social status. Moreover, since city-dwellers generally tend to hold in contempt the rural population and as in this case a negative attitude towards their rural dialects was added, immigrants were more than tempted towards language shift since this was likely to facilitate their eventual integration in the urban community. Since they did not want their children to face similar problems they placed them either directly in Francophone schools or in schools especially designed by the city magistrates to turn Dutch-speakers as quickly as possible into French-speakers. For more detailed reference to the process of language shift in Brussels we refer to Chapters 1, 2, 3 and 5 of this volume.

The Periphery

Problems in the surrounding area of Brussels are also discussed in Chapter 6 in this book and therefore we will restrict ourselves to a short account of the situation. What Lorwin (1972) calls the "over-spill" of the capital's growing population did what has taken place in major towns all over the western world: city-dwellers left the cities and sought a new home in

the neighbouring countryside. In the Brussels case these countryside villages attracted mostly well-to-do French-speaking families. Unwilling to accommodate to the existing language regime they required public services in their own language and moreover set into motion the same socio-economic mechanism that previously had already changed the linguistic status of Brussels itself.

This phenomenon is known as the "oil stain" and it meant one more challenge to the Flemish Movement that, some three decades earlier, considered itself strong enough to fight back. The linguistic legislation of 1963 and the two changes of the constitution mentioned previously prove that their struggle was partly successful. The Brussels agglomeration was restricted to 19 boroughs to which was appended but not incorporated a small territory of six Flemish villages which allowed for so-called "facilities", meaning that French-speaking inhabitants may conduct official business with the authorities and receive education in a language legally designated as a "protected minority language". Nevertheless, since the language border is laid down in the constitution these places with a protected minority language officially belong to the Flemish territory.

Languages and codes used in the Brussels area

In the following we will focus mainly on French and Dutch, leaving aside the languages taught in secondary schools (mainly English, German and Spanish) or spoken by immigrants or other foreigners living in Brussels.

First of all we will describe the varieties of Dutch and French spoken in Brussels, without considering at present who uses which variety in which settings.

Varieties of Dutch

Brussels Dutch

In the Dutch-speaking part of Belgium the vehicular code of most people in informal circumstances is a regional dialect (Willemyns, 1981). Dialects in this southern part of the Dutch-speaking language territory are usually grouped into three major subcategories: *Flemish* in the West, *Limburger* in the East and *Brabantic* in the centre.[3] In Brussels, the capital of Brabant, the inhabitants used of old to speak a Brabant dialect we shall refer to as *Brussels Dutch*. In fact there are differences between the dialects

spoken in the various boroughs and nothing allows us to say that these differences are any smaller than the differences between each of the most peripheral suburbs and the places that are contiguous to them but do not belong to the politically defined Brussels area. Yet the Brussels dialects appear to display sufficient common characteristics that differentiate them from neighbouring dialects, as is shown by the fact that people within the area are said to speak Brussels Dutch, whereas the dialects of surrounding places are said to "sound more or less like Brussels Dutch" or "to resemble Brussels Dutch in many ways".

Dutch Dialects

Of the many Flemish immigrants who settled in the capital, some undoubtedly took over the local dialect — eventually to become Frenchified afterwards. Others stuck to their dialects. Although this did not prevent them from borrowing a few lexical items from the local dialect, they may be considered as Flemish dialect speakers, even if they add to this the knowledge of standard Dutch or French. It is convenient to say that they speak *Dutch dialects*, by which term we mean that they speak either Flemish, Brabantic or Limburger. We think that for the sake of convenience, the notion may include what Willemyns (1984a) calls a "transliterated dialect" a variety used by uneducated people in situations calling for the use of a standard language which they do not know and also what he calls a *regionale Umgangssprache*, i.e. "a variant that plays the role of a more or less standardized language in a particular region that displays the characteristics of the dialects of this region, but cannot be recognized as the dialect of a particular town or village" (Willemyns, 1984a, our translation).

Belgian Dutch

A third variety will be called *Belgian Dutch* (Willemyns, 1984a: *Belgisch Beschaafd*). This variant is the continuation of the language that was used in the nineteenth century by those who did not wish to speak French but, owing to the break with the Northern Netherlands, were partly ignorant of the standardization process that had developed on the other side of the border. This variant deserves to be called a "spoken written language". It is the code *par excellence* that displays such characteristics as archaisms, dialectisms, gallicisms, purisms, etc . . . and seems to be influenced considerably by Brabantic dialects. Yet it is a supraregional language which is more or less standardized and may, for those who speak it, function as a

standard language. It is socially marked, however, since lower class people usually do not master it or have a very insufficient command of it. Although this code was originally used in formal circumstances only, it has come to be used by an increasing number of speakers in many more contexts, such as parent–child or interparental conversation.

Standard Dutch

This is "the language of education, radio and television etc . . . in short it is the culminating point of language standardization. Those who speak it attempt to realize it as correctly as possible and conform to the northern model, although they are more tempted to adapt it than to imitate it" (Willemyns, 1984a: 63, our translation). This code is the official language of the country.

Varieties of French

Brussels French

French being in a way an "imported" language in the capital, it is obvious that no such thing as an indigenous Brussels French dialect exists. Yet French as spoken by indigenous Flemish inhabitants of Brussels and by immigrants from other parts of the country, mainly from Flanders, developed a sufficient number of idiosyncratic features to be viewed as a separate variant of Belgian French. It will therefore be labelled *Brussels French*.

French Dialects

Immigration from the French-speaking part of Belgium brought Walloon dialect speakers to the capital.[4] Some of them may continue to use their native dialects at home or with friends, but in most other circumstances they usually speak Belgian French. Consequently one hardly ever hears Walloon dialects spoken in Brussels. For these dialects the term *French dialects* will be used.

Belgian French

Just as is the case with Austrian German or Swiss French, Belgian French displays a bundle of typical features that distinguishes it from French

as spoken in France. It is convenient in this study to use the term *Belgian French* for the code that has these features, whether or not it has other regional features, originating from French dialects spoken in the country or even from Dutch. As a matter of fact, Brussels French is a kind of Belgian French that is isolated from other varieties because of its particular status in Brussels.

Standard French

This is the language as spoken by (the French) intellectuals, on radio and television, the language used in the newspapers, etc. This code is the other official language of the country.

Descriptions of Brussels Dutch and French

Brussels Dutch

In his study *Multilingual Contacts in Brussels*, Baetens Beardsmore (1973–4: 14) takes the French language as a starting point and explains this choice by "the widely disproportionate amount of scientific investigation that has been undertaken with regard to the two languages present in Brussels". Indeed, the number of publications about Brussels Dutch is very limited and on the whole they do not provide us with the kind of information we are eager to obtain.

There is one comprehensive study of the phonology and morphology of Brussels Dutch, *viz.*, F. Mazereel's dissertation *Klank- en-Vormleer van het Brusselsch dialect*, published in 1931. The first part of this work contains a detailed description of the sounds of Brussels Dutch and yields some information about variants used in the suburbs. In many ways this study is unsatisfactory from a modern linguistic point of view:

a) The vowels are discussed in the alphabetical order of the signs used for their transcription (a, e, i, o, u, y, each with short, long and other variants). For each sound equivalents are given in Standard Dutch, with reference to old Germanic dialects and to Middle Dutch. Not only was there no attempt to uncover the vocalic system of the dialect — which is understandable at the end of the 1920s, when this work was written — but it also appears to be very difficult, if not impossible, for the contemporary reader to reconstruct the phonological system of Brussels Dutch from these very

scattered data. Another presentation was chosen for the consonants, which are classified according to their place of articulation (labials, dentals, etc.). After the description of vowels, diphthongs and consonants, two short chapters deal with very important processes like the shortening of vowels preceding consonantal clusters and the assimilation of consonants.

b) The description does not seem to be quite accurate and complete. Since dialects, as well as standard languages, are liable to change in time, this may seem a bold statement: Mazereel might have used or heard words pronounced in the 1920s in a way that is no longer usual in Brussels Dutch in the 1980s. Yet one of the authors of this chapter learnt Brussels Dutch as a young child around 1930 and neither he nor older inhabitants of Brussels can remember ever having heard some of the words pronounced the way Mazereel transcribes them.

One should therefore be very cautious when using Mazereel's book, not only because of some probably inaccurate or false transcriptions; there appear, moreover, to be numerous examples of incomplete presentations of facts.

Let us take one example.

The chapter on shortening of vowels before consonantal clusters triggering the shortening of the preceding vowel (Mazereel, 1931: 44):

-kt, ks
-pk, pt, ps
-fk, ft
-sk, st
-mk, mt, ms
-n′d, n′k′, n′ts′
-l′k′, l′ts′, lt
-rk
-ts′

Obviously this list is not complete; one should add at least:

-vd [vɑvdə] fifth [vaᵊf] five
-nd [lində] borrowed [li.nə] to borrow
-xsk [mɔxskə] little stomach [mu.x] stomach

In a footnote, Mazereel, p.45, considers as exceptions the long vowels or diphthongs in the verbal forms ending in -ft ([ɣəly.ft], [blēft] etc.); apparently he has not noticed that this happens with all the verbs the stem of which ends in a fricative:

-st, underlying /st/, in [my.st] (he) spills
-st, underlying /zt/, in [lɛɪst] (he) reads
-xt, underlying /ɣt/, in [le.xt] (he) lies

and many others.

In the same chapter Mazereel fails to mention the fact that the vowel is also short before one *t* when this *t* results from the coalescence of two (underlying) t's: [lɔᵋt] "(he) lets" or the imperative "let". Interestingly, Mazereel mentions this in his chapter on morphology, where he indicates that the vowel is shortened when the verbal stem ends in k, l, p or t. This implies, correctly, that stems ending in a fricative do not undergo shortening, but this time he forgets stems ending in *m, n,* and *d* that do shorten the vowel before -t!

We refer the reader to De Vriendt (1983) for the discussion of another paragraph in Mazereel's book that is less accurate and less complete than works on the dialects of Aalst and Leuven, published many years before Mazereel's and that Mazereel cites as his models.

The only attempt to present the phonological system of the Brussels dialect is to be found in an article by Van Loey (1979). Van Loey's aim is clearly to show what is most typical in this dialect and this is why his treatment of short vowels and consonants is very brief:

Short vowels: "As a Brabantic dialect Brussels Dutch does not differ significantly in its articulation of short vowels from the related countryside: short vowels are tense and 'clear'. This is true for short *i* and *u* (*dik, dun*), *e* and *o* (*bed, kot*), the palatal *a* (*dag*)."[5]

Consonants: the consonantal phonemes are the same in Brussels Dutch as the Dutch phonemes, to which should be added /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ (Van Loey, 1979: 89). Besides, Van Loey discusses the palatalization (*mouillering*) of dentals in word-final position. He adds, "This articulation (the so-called 'sneezing sound') is (was) a typical characteristic of the 'Marolles' (quarter) and of a few lanes in St. Joost-ten-Node, in 'vulgar' popular neighbourhoods, and in my youth (at Elsene, in the beginning of this century), it was considered as 'vulgar'." (Van Loey, 1979: 88.) We are inclined to believe that this palatalized consonant has completely disappeared from Brussels Dutch, except perhaps when someone deliberately imitates the vulgar old pronunciation to make fun.

Van Loey's treatment of long vowels is more elaborate, because he thinks that as a whole — not individually — they are typical of the Brussels dialect.[6] The following table, showing the vowels and diphthongs of Brussels

Dutch, is in agreement with Van Loey (1979: 79), to which we add the short and the long vowels /ɛ./ and /a./; we substitute his *oei* (uj) with /ɔᵋ/, because the latter realization is much more frequent than the one with a "closed" onset.

Short vowels	*Long vowels and diphthongs*
- i y u	ɪ. y. u.
	e. ø. o.
- ɛ œ ɔ	ɛ. œʸ ɔᵘ
ə	ɛ, ɔᵋ
ɑ	a
	aᵋ

Van Loey (1979: 79) observes that the Dutch high vowels (i, y, u) are more open, less high in Brussels Dutch (e, ø, o), whereas the equivalents of Dutch e, ø and o are either lower diphthongs in Brussels Dutch (ε^{i}, oe^{y}, o^{u}) or higher front vowels (i. instead of e, and y. instead of o). The equivalent of Dutch /a/ is back, high /u./.

We will not dwell so long on the second part of Mazereel's monograph. It has the same qualities and the same imperfections as the first part (see pp. 197–203) above. One example will suffice to show the inaccuracy of the description. On p. 65, Mazereel gives four examples of adjectives used with masculine nouns in the singular:

də sxȳnəm bȳm
nə grȳtən tak
dəm brāvə man
də gujən āvə

(We have kept Mazereel's transcription, but underlined the endings of the adjectives). The rule, given by Mazereel, reads that masculine adjectives receive one of the endings -ən or -əm. On the next page, a note indicates that these endings are "naturally" subject to the assimilation rules. Perhaps this should explain the ending -ə in the third example? It doesn't;

c) the -ə ending not only occurs before *n* or *m*, where one could argue that the final *n* of the adjective ending disappeared through coalescence with the following nasal; it occurs also before other consonants:

nə gry.tə vɔᵘgəl
nən dikə kɔp
nə jɔŋə gɛntənɛ.r

and no assimilation rule could explain the deletion of a nasal in these contexts;

d) moreover, if assimilation rules are not taken into account in the list of endings, the ending -əm should not be mentioned as it occurs only before labial consonants and can consequently be explained by a well-known assimilation rule of Dutch (dialects).

Mazereel did not deal with the syntax of Brussels Dutch and as result we know nothing about the syntax of this dialect. On the whole, our knowledge of the syntax of Dutch dialects is very poor. The person interested in Brussels Dutch can consult Vanacker (1948) on the syntax of the dialect of Aalst, but he should do so with the clear consciousness that if many aspects of the syntax of both dialects are identical, there are significant differences as well. Information about specific aspects of Brussels Dutch syntax is also very scanty: De Rooij & Vanacker (1976) report 35 articles on syntax based on the data collected in the RND *(Reeks Nederlandse Dialectatlassen* = Series of Dutch Dialect atlases), only part of which include the Brussels area or discuss phenomena that appear in the Brussels dialect. This material is not likely to yield much more information in the future, as the sentences that informants were asked to produce in their dialects were chosen almost exclusively with a view to a phonetic and morphological study of Dutch dialects.

Our knowledge of Brussels Dutch is even more deficient as far as the lexis is concerned. In fact, "No scientific study has been conducted into French influence in Brussels Dutch in the way that Van Doorne did in *De Fransche woorden in het dialect van Wingene* (Baetens Beardsmore, 1973–74: 43), to which statement we could add the remark that the Flemish part of the Brussels Dutch vocabulary has not been studied either; most of the words are known only through works on the influence of Dutch on Brussels French!

As far as loanwords from French are concerned, Baetens Beardsmore writes that "the striking feature about Brussels Dutch is that almost any French word can be borrowed (except perhaps the pronouns) . . .". In a later publication Baetens Beardsmore implicitly corrected this statement, when he reported a willingness to borrow French verbs and an "almost unlimited numbers of nouns" (Baetens Beardsmore, 1979b: 24). Indeed, most loans are nouns and verbs, fewer adjectives, still fewer adverbs, probably no other categories. This raises many interesting, as yet unanswered, questions:

1. Is borrowing in these other categories possible? If examples can be found, why those words and no others?
2. Which subcategories of adjectives and adverbs can be borrowed? Why? Are these subcategories semantically or morphologically definable?

3. Can all verbs be borrowed? If not — which is the case — again why (not)? Copulas and (all?) auxiliary verbs (e.g.) do not seem to be borrowed.
4. What about nouns? Why is it that for some concepts, only the Dutch word is used, for others only the French word, for another group both the Dutch and the French word (e.g. respectively *hond* "dog", *caniche* "poodle", *vos/renard* "fox")?[7] What is the plural of the French words like? Can diminutives be coined? What is their gender?
5. How are those loanwords pronounced?
6. When both the Dutch and the French words are available, do they have the same meaning and the same connotations, do pragmatic conditions determine the choice made by the speaker, etc?

Brussels French

While the limits of Brussels Dutch are quite clear (it is easy to determine whether one speaks Brussels Dutch or not), this is not true as far as Brussels French is concerned. Brussels French is a variety of French that has phonetic, morphological, syntactic and lexical characteristics of its own, but it is not a clearcut entity by which we mean that there is a continuum going from people whose speech displays (almost) all characteristics of the code to, at the other extreme, people who speak French with very few, more or less occasional, remnants of Brussels French (typical words, maybe a particular way of stressing phrases, perhaps the pronunciation of a vowel).

Baetens Beardsmore (1983) takes up a previous division of speakers in Brussels into six major categories and in the second part of his paper shows that the four categories that use Brussels French can be distinguished by the amount and type of Dutch (standard or dialect) characteristics that can be traced in their speech. Starting with the group he calls "upper-level French monoglots", he notes a limited number of probably conscious, intentional examples of code-switching, "few traces of residual bilingualism in the phonology", a "restricted number" of lexical items (loans, loanblends, loan translations) and of syntactic constructions. The second group, "lower level French monoglots" has "all the features listed for Group 1 (. . .) to which should be added "a series of other representative elements". There are even more in the third (Indigenous bilinguals) and fifth (Flemish immigrants from outside the city) groups. In his conclusion, Baetens Beardsmore is quite right in pointing out that this is "a working hypothesis, partly confirmed by a series of previous investigations, and partly waiting for further proof". Although the characteristics he lists for the various groups seem to be

correct on the whole, there is undoubtedly a lot of individual variation within the groups, with possible overlapping between the groups. Moreover, the individual's speech may vary according to (the speech of) the addressee, the setting, the topic, his own mental or physical state, etc. In a recent booklet without scientific pretensions, d'Osta (1984: 26) thinking of Brussels French in a very restricted sense, writes that it is spoken by "at least *a few thousands of lower class people*" and that if anyone wants to read a scientific study about this "regional French of Brussels, *rapidly disappearing nowadays*" (translation and italics are ours), he advises him to read Baetens Beardsmore (1971a), whereas, the latter author, both in his dissertation (1971a) and in later publications, expresses the opinion that this very same regional Brussels French is spoken by a good many bilinguals, but also by at least some members of the other groups he calls indigenous lower-level French monoglots, Flemish immigrants from outside the city and Walloon immigrants from outside the city. The well-known singer Jacques Brel, who was born and spent all his youth in Brussels, once ironically said that "nobody speaks with a Brussels French accent any longer, except Brel in his songs". The main and in fact the only accessible work on Brussels French is the already mentioned Baetens Beardsmore (1971a). This voluminous and detailed study has the following characteristics:

a) The author analysed two unpublished works by Pohl (1950) and Vekemans (1963), the first of which is not limited to Brussels French, but describes — in 16 volumes — French as it is spoken in various parts of Belgium, while the latter concentrates on Dutch influence on Brussels French. To this and other material gathered from the very few scientifically valid articles on the topic, e.g. Wind's articles (1937, 1947, 1960) Baetens Beardsmore added his own recordings made in Brussels. He should be praised for taking a critical view of the abundant pseudo-scientific or vulgarizing literature about French as it is spoken in Brussels.

b) Not being himself a native speaker of Brussels French, Baetens Beardsmore carefully analysed the recorded language and questioned his informants. From this he drew reliable descriptions of Brussels French phonetics (without attempting a phonological synthesis),[8] morphology and syntax (an impressive list of features classified according to the categories of traditional grammar) and lexis (alphabetically within topics).

c) Beatens Beardsmore explains — often successfully — the origin, which is very often Dutch, of the uncovered characteristics.

What then are *the main characteristics* of Brussels French?

1. *Phonetics*
   - — Compared with standard French vowels, vowels in Brussels French are on the whole less tense. High vowels in particular become less high (see above the remark concerning Brussels Dutch and Dutch vowels). Some vowels are lengthened or diphthongized. In unstressed syllables, vowels become more centralized (sounding more or less like schwa). The French velar g is pronounced as a fricative.
   - — Final consonants are always unvoiced.
   - — Some clusters are reduced, in others assimilation takes place, following Dutch rather than French rules, still other clusters are dissolved through intercalation of [ə].
   - — Most full words keep their word accent as in Dutch and in Flemish dialects; there are also differences in the intonation patterns between Standard French and Brussels French.

Baetens Beardsmore notes very properly that some of these characteristics appear in other varieties of French spoken in Belgium, i.e. in the Walloon part of the country.

It is interesting to note that there are a few differences between the pronunciation in Brussels French and the French pronunciation of Flemish people in the rest of the country, such as, for instance, the uvular vs. (almost generalized) dental pronunciation of /r/, /wa/ which is pronounced with a palatal /a/ in both varieties of French, but with a very thin /ɥ/ by Flemings, the normal French realization of /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ in Brussels, whereas some Flemings pronounce these consonants as /s/ and /z/.

2. *Grammar (morphology and syntax)*
In this part of his book (180 pages) Baetens Beardsmore succeeded in (almost?) achieving completeness. He did not attempt to isolate forms or constructions that can be considered as most typical for Brussels French.

Tentatively we give the following list:

- — gender of nouns (see also Baetens Beardsmore, 1971b and 1973–74: 38, 39)
- — use or omission of the article
- — anteposition of adjectives (*une* PROPRE *chemise*)
- — postposition of the adverb *assez* (*pas mûr* ASSEZ)
- — use of possessive pronouns (*il a mal à* SA *tête*)
- — confusion between *tu* and *vous*
- — *ça* + *être* (*ça est bon*)
- — indicative for subjunctive (*il faut que tu y* VAS)
- — conditional in conditional sentences (*si j'*AURAIS *su . . .*)

— *savoir* + Inf. instead of pouvoir (*je ne SAIS pas te le dire*)
— use of "chevilles" (modal particles: *quand même, seulement, une fois*)
— prepositions used as adverbs (*vous avez fini AVEC*)

Most of these and many other grammatical features of Brussels French must be explained by Dutch influence.

3. *Lexis*

Typical words of Brussels French include words common in Belgian French in general, archaisms and a good many words and expressions of Dutch origin.[9] In his dissertation, Baetens Beardsmore (1971a: 341–434) gives an unavoidably incomplete list of such words. Dutch words and expressions can be found in each domain (human body, food, drinks, clothes, household, . . .). Although some of them are used by all people speaking Brussels French without any particular connotations (e.g. *crolle*, Fr. boucle, curl; *stoemp*, a kind of potato and vegetable mash; *kriek*, a kind of beer made with cherries), most of these words carry ludicrous connotations or, because of their meaning, are particularly liable to stress picturesque aspects of persons, things or events:

fla (Du. flauw) can be said of a (dull) person, of (insipid) food, a (boring) film, etc. . . .
dik (Du. *dik*, thick) will only be used for a ridiculously fat person
bucht, rubbish
clacher (to splash e.g. colour); *froucheler* (to be engaged in shady business, to cuddle); *zieverer* (to talk nonsense); *broubeler* (to stutter).
rammeling, a spanking
clachekop, a bald man

Who speaks what language to whom, when and what about?

Even in linguistically rather homogeneous communities, it is not easy to answer this question. In Brussels — a city where so many languages and varieties are spoken — it is impossible to give even a very general survey of who speaks what, etc, if one doesn't start by splitting up the population in various groups, the homogeneity of which should, however, not be taken for granted. Baetens Beardsmore (1979a: 227) distinguished six categories, on which we will base our description. We will subcategorize three of the six groups and present the various languages or varieties used as follows.

For each group we will:

1. give a very general social characterization;
2. mention whether they may be considered as indigenous or not. In this context, "immigrant" will mean "come from Flanders or Wallonia"; "indigenous" means: "belonging to a family settled in Brussels for many generations or having lost all features of the original Flemish or Walloon dialect";
3. point out which languages they use according to a very general distinction into formal and informal contexts.

These data will then be summarized in a table, in which, following Baetens Beardsmore (1981: 37–38), we will show which language is to be considered as the Supreme language (S), that is the prestige language, always a standard language, the knowledge of which is aimed at by the group, if it has not reached it. This language has a higher value than the well-known High language (H) of literature on diglossia. Since, in the same paper, Baetens Beardsmore presents the distribution of S, H and L languages according to six domains, ranging from less to more formal, we will take over these data, modifying and extending them to our subcategories and to the seven varieties of Dutch and French discussed above.

Group 1: Indigenous upper-level monolingual French-speakers

These people do not speak a dialect. Their speech ranges from Belgian French, with a limited number of features of Brussels French (see Baetens Beardsmore, 1983: 8–9), to perfect or almost perfect Standard French. It should be said that the monolinguality of the members of this group depends on one's definition of bilingualism. Nearly all of them learnt Standard Dutch at school — most of them for ten years! — which means that they have some knowledge of Dutch grammar and that they have a receptive knowledge of Dutch vocabulary. They can read short, easy texts in Dutch, but they are or feel unable to write Dutch or to engage in a conversation in this language. Anyway they systematically avoid speaking Dutch. Although some of them have heard Brussels Dutch spoken at home by their parents, or at their grandparents', they know nothing of the local dialect except for a few words of expressions they use only to make fun.

Group 2: Indigenous lower-level monolingual French-speakers

These do not speak a dialect either. Their usual speech is Belgian French, with more elements representative of Brussels French. What was

said above concerning the knowledge of Dutch — or Brussels Dutch — for group 1 is also partly true for this group.

Group 3: Indigenous bilinguals

A common characteristic of this group is that all its members share a good to perfect knowledge of French (standard, Belgian, and/or Brussels French) and of Dutch (Standard, Belgian and/or Brussels Dutch). According to the combination of two or more of these varieties, quite a number of subcategories could be distinguished. Only the following are sufficiently represented in the local population to be worth mentioning:

a.1. French dominant+Dutch+Brussels Dutch-speakers. The kind of French they speak may vary considerably. It can be as perfect Standard French as with members of the first group, at the other extreme it can be a kind of Belgian French with many Brussels French elements. On the whole this distinction is paralleled by the distinction upper level/lower level, but this is not always the case. Speakers belonging to this group are often able to adapt their speech to the speech situation, exaggerating or eliminating Brussels French elements at will.

Their knowledge of Standard Dutch, or at least of Belgian Dutch, can be quite good, so that they deserve being called bilinguals. Although French is their preferred language they do not mind speaking (Belgian) Dutch with people who obviously can't speak French well enough, they may read (Belgian) Dutch newspapers if it is useful for their job, they will look at Dutch language television if there is a better programme on (if they prefer the Dutch-speaking sports reporter, for example), etc. Moreover, they know the local dialect, which they use only in informal situations (with friends or relatives, sometimes with their wives, never with the children).

a.2. French dominant + Dutch-speakers. These have all the characteristics of the previous group, but they do not know the local dialect. They may know a few more words or expressions of it than group 1, but this isn't sufficient to use it more intensively. Very often they have a Flemish background (parents or grandparents used to speak Brussels Dutch in their presence and sometimes to them), which may explain the fairly good to excellent quality of their (Belgian) Dutch. Nevertheless, the influence of French is so strong for some members of this group that interference from French is noticeable in various ways, mainly in the phonology (*w* is too "thick" — too strongly labialized; the vowels I, ɛ and ɔ are articulated too "high" — are palatalized;

they confuse /a/ and /ɑ/, etc.) and the lexis (excessive use of French words); on the whole the syntax is correct.

a.3. French dominant + Brussels Dutch-speakers. This group's speech also deserves the qualifications "older" and "low level". What distinguishes them from (a.1) is that because of the lesser impact of education (which was shorter and/or was received long ago) and of the kind of contacts they have, their Belgian French contains many Brussels French elements and on the other hand, they hardly speak (Standard or Belgian) Dutch, although, in most cases, they can understand Belgian Dutch.

b.1. Dutch dominant + French + Brussels Dutch-speakers. This is a small group of people who share most characteristics with (a.1), except for the fact that their dominant language is (Belgian) Dutch. Whereas French dominance is typical of most indigenous bilingual inhabitants of Brussels, these are (mostly) middle class people who consciously choose to speak Standard or Belgian Dutch even in informal contexts (they often do at work) and to raise their children in this language. They also know the local dialect and sometimes use it in informal contexts.

b.2. Dutch dominant + French-speakers. This group is even smaller than (b.1). The only difference is that they do not use Brussels Dutch any longer, but on the whole they understand it very easily.

b.3. Brussels Dutch + Brussels French-speakers. This again is a small and probably disappearing low level group of older inhabitants of Brussels whose usual medium of communication is Brussels Dutch in all informal contexts. Their Belgian French, with many Brussels French characteristics, is poor. It is sufficient for everyday conversation or to understand more or less what is going on in French-speaking films on television.

Group 4: Indigenous low-level monolingual (Brussels-) Dutch-speakers

This is another small and disappearing low level group of older people. Total ignorance of French has indeed become exceptional among the indigenous population of Brussels.

Group 5: Flemish immigrants

Formerly Flemish immigrants to Brussels either Frenchified or adapted themselves to the local context and vernacular, which means that, as they

abandoned their Flemish dialect, they merged into the indigenous population; only their ancestors two or more generations ago were actually immigrants or had the typical features of their immigrant parents or grandparents. Now they are not recognizable within the groups 1, 2 or 3 above.

More recently, while the Frenchification process went on, immigrants stopped taking over the local dialect of Brussels Dutch. We do not know of any study about this phenomenon and, in our opinion, it will be difficult nowadays to discover when this happened. The reason for this change is probably that Brussels Dutch progressively — already being the low variety compared to French — was also less frequently used in some boroughs or neighbourhoods, making the knowledge of Brussels Dutch less necessary or useful. On the other hand, the pressure of (Standard) French as an inescapable prerequisite for upward social mobility diminished. The fact that Flemings obtained parity of jobs at all levels not only in the central administration, but also in the local administration of all 19 boroughs, the fact that all banks and many concerns that have their offices in the bilingual capital recruited Dutch-speaking staff (and this was no longer restricted to the lower levels) convinced these people of the value of Standard Dutch in Brussels. Moreover, the considerable increase of Dutch schools in the Brussels area certainly enabled them to have their children educated in Standard Dutch. Certainly they are conscious of the importance of knowing French well and that is why most of them become bilinguals, but it can be expected that their bilingualism will no longer be — at least for most of them — the transition to total Frenchification.

As a result of this, we can distinguish the following subgroups:

a. Dutch + French + Dutch dialect-speakers. This is a group of upper level Flemish immigrants, who use either Dutch or French in formal circumstances — their own choice being Dutch, but they can easily adapt themselves to the partner's speech. In informal contexts, they may use Dutch or the Flemish dialect of the part of Flanders they come from.

b. Dutch + French-speakers. A relatively small upper level and on the whole younger group than (a) above which doesn't speak any dialect at all.[10]

c. Belgian Dutch + Dutch dialect-speakers. These are the older, lower level immigrants who speak their dialect in most or all informal settings and who use Belgian Dutch when necessary, e.g. for contacts with the administration.

Group 6: Walloon immigrants

We know that there has always been an immigration from Wallonia to Brussels that was, however, quantitatively much less important than immigration from Flanders, at least until recently. After two or three generations these immigrants merged into the local population, so that their descendants are now to be found in groups 1, 2 and 3a. More recent immigrants speak (Belgian) French, with sometimes some characteristics of the speech of the part of Wallonia they come from. On the whole, knowledge of a Walloon dialect disappears very fast and is typical of older people: if they go on using the dialect it is in very informal contexts, e.g. within the family, so that Walloon dialects are hardly ever heard in Brussels. According to the duration of their schooling in the Brussels area (where Dutch is taught as a second language) and the necessity of using Dutch at their work, part of these immigrants have a fair to good knowledge of Standard Dutch. Their pronunciation of Dutch has the same characteristics as were summarized under 3a.2 and they also use many French loans. Syntactic mistakes are more frequent than with indigenous bilinguals.

TABLE 1 *Overview of categories of speakers and language combinations in Brussels, with interlocutors**

	Supreme	*High*	*Low*
1. Indigenous upper-level monolingual French			
— family and friends	F		
— strangers	F		
— shopkeepers	F		
— civil servants	F		
— education	F		
— media	F		
2. Indigenous lower-level monolingual French			
— family and friends		Br.F	
— strangers		Br.F	
— shopkeepers		Br.F	
— civil servants		Br.F	
— education	F		
— media	F		
3. Indigenous bilingual			
a.1 French dominant + Dutch + Brussels Dutch			
— family and friends			Br.F/Br.D.
— strangers		B.F/Br.F	
— shopkeepers		B.F	Br.F/Br.D.
— civil servants		B.F	
— education	F/D		
— media	F/D		

	Supreme	*High*	*Low*
a.2 French dominant + Dutch			
— family and friends			Br.F
— strangers		B.F/Br.F	
— shopkeepers		B.F/Br.F	
— civil servants		B.F	
— education	F/D		
— media	F/D		
a.3 French dominant + Brussels Dutch			
— family and friends			Br.F/Br.D
— strangers		Br.F	
— shopkeepers		Br.F	
— civil servants		B.F/Br.F	
— education	F		
— media	F		
b.1 Dutch dominant + French + Brussels Dutch			
— family and friends			Br.F/Br.D
— strangers		B.F/Br.F	
— shopkeepers			Br.F/Br.D
— civil servants		B.F/B.D	
— education	D/F		
— media	D/F		
b.2 Dutch dominant + French			
— family and friends			D/Br.F
— strangers		B.D/Br.F	
— shopkeepers		B.D/Br.F	
— civil servants		B.D/B.F	
— education	D/F		
— media	D/F		
b.3 Brussels Dutch + Brussels French			
— family and friends			Br.D/Br.F
— strangers			Br.D/Br.F
— shopkeepers			Br.D/Br.F
— civil servants		B.F	
— education		F/D(?)	
— media	F		
4. Indigenous low-level monolingual (Brussels) Dutch			
— family and friends			Br.D
— strangers			Br.D
— shopkeepers			Br.D
— civil servants			Br.D
— education		D(?)	
— media	F(?)		
5. Flemish immigrants			
a. Dutch + French + Dutch dialect			
— family and friends			D.Dial
— strangers		B.D/B.F	

	Supreme	*High*	*Low*
— shopkeepers		B.D/B.F	
— civil servants	D		
— education	D		
— media	D		
b. Dutch + French			
— family and friends		B.D	
— strangers		B.D/B.F	
— shopkeepers		B.D/B.F	
— civil servants	D		
— education	D		
— media	D		
c. Belgian Dutch + Dutch dialect			
— family and friends			D.Dial
— strangers			B.D/D.Dial
— shopkeepers			D.Dial
— civil servants		B.D	
— education	D		
— media	D		
6. Walloon immigrants			
— family and friends			B.F/F.Dial
— strangers		B.F	
— shopkeepers		B.F	
— civil servants		B.F	
— education	F/D		
— media	F		

* (partly) after Baetens Beardsmore (1981: 37/38)

Languages in contact

Interference and code-switching

Although code-switching is not only an interesting and widely occurring phenomenon in multilingual settings, it has apparently hardly been investigated within the Brussels context. Yet it is what is generally felt by lay observers to be the most striking characteristic of the Brussels linguistic scene and very often a "true, indigenous inhabitant" of Brussels is thought of as someone who constantly switches from one language or code to another. . . .

Linguists are familiar with the code-switching mechanism in multilingual settings (Lipski, 1978; Poplack, 1980; Baetens Beardsmore, 1982)

but also with the fact that describing and analysing the triggering mechanisms that set it into motion is very difficult, since it not only necessitates large quantities of data but also a very specific methodology (e.g. participation and observation). This may account for the fact that observation and analysis of code-switching is not present in the studies carried out on Brussels so far. It is felt, however, that this is a field of study that should urgently be taken up by scholars interested in and working on the linguistic structure of the capital.

Interference, on the other hand, has often been dealt with and the preceeding section describes many instances of interference. Yet even as far as this phenomenon is concerned, we must admit the fact that no exhaustive study of mutual interference has been achieved so far. Moreover, we agree with Baetens Beardsmore (1979b: 22) that studies of language contact (and of interference in particular) very often look at the phenomenon as a one-way movement, i.e. the influence of one language on another, and tend to forget that often the influence is exerted in both directions. A comprehensive study of mutual influence of both Dutch and French in the Brussels area on each other, on the phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical levels is so far non-existent. The fact that nothing of the kind exists is often seen as a lacuna by linguists investigating the Brussels situation.

Standardization and diglossia

As pointed out in pp. 203–19, the linguistic scene in Brussels is not dominated by two languages but (even if we neglect the languages of foreign immigrants) by a multitude of codes and thus the multilingualism of various groups of the population consists of using several of these codes, according to a well-known set of sociolinguistic variables.

It is therefore apparent that we are confronted with instances of di-, tri- or even multi-glossia and we have tried (on pp. 203–19) to give some idea of who is supposed to use which language or code, to whom and in which settings. Yet the matter is so complex, so many combinations not only being possible but indeed occurring, that it seems an overwhelming task to go into further detail. We shall therefore stick to an overview of the ranges of use of the two official languages of the city, Dutch and French, the more so since there seems to be a strong tendency towards polarization and dichotomy. In the capital, regional and dialectal variants of both Dutch and French tend to weaken their influence, and the use that can be made of them has become fairly restricted. Baetens Beardsmore (1981) has observed that for both French- and Dutch-speakers in Brussels "it is perfectly possible to function

adequately as a monoglot" though it is easier to do so for the former than for the latter. Anyway, both languages are present in almost all levels of the linguistic scene in the capital and the chapters by Louckx and Witte in this book give an overview of the informal and official positions respectively of both languages. As far as Dutch is concerned one can find in both authors the extralinguistic explanation for its recent gain in prestige and influence. There is, however, a linguistic factor as well which reinforces this tendency, namely, language standardization. "Language behaviour becomes an issue," Mackey says, "only when there is a choice. In a bilingual city it may be a choice between two languages or more, depending on person, place or occasion. If one of these languages, hitherto limited to its spoken dialectical form, becomes standardized by the state for use in school, in the media and in administration, a further choice between this standard and the dialect becomes operative." (Mackey, 1981: 30.) The standardization issue has been raised several times by members of the Brussels research team. In Willemyns, 1984a: 53 ff. it is stated that the mechanism of standardization may comprise:

a) the mechanism which gives birth and contributes to the elaboration of a standard language, i.e. a more or less uniform code functioning both as a national language of culture and as a supraregional means of communication;
b) the process of codification of the language, i.e. the elaboration of a norm accepted by all;
c) the sociolinguistic consequences of the degree of proficiency in that code in various classes of the population;
d) the ongoing change witnessed in every (standard) language and influenced by the linguistic, cultural, social and economic — in short the sociolinguistic — conditions of those using the language or supposed to do so.

The theoretical stand taken in this paper is that language standardization proceeds in a particular way in bilingual countries:

> "The presence of a second language influences considerably the way in which the first one is standardized, even when this bilingual country consists of two (or more) unilingual regions. The more so in truly bilingual territories, where the two languages are directly in contact or intertwined (e.g. Brussels and Montreal)."
> (Willemyns, 1984a: 53; our translation.)

Furthermore it is stated that the mechanisms of standardization are not necessarily identical in all bilingual countries. They may be similar, as is the case of Quebec and Flanders, but they may differ considerably as well, as is

the case of German-speaking Switzerland (Ris, 1979). The Swiss example seems to indicate that the status of the language within the country can be decisive: German in Switzerland is (and always has been) a majority language, enjoying full prestige, whereas Dutch in Flanders (and Brussels) and French in Quebec (and Montreal) are or have been the less prestigious languages. It is to be emphasized that:

> "The example of Brussels proves that the presence of a second language — without any territorial demarcation — may influence the development of the first language in quite contradictory ways:
> a) either one language is hardly standardized at all, i.e. it remains limited to its spoken, dialectical form and consequently cannot make way against the other language which is indeed standardized and functions as a language of culture, often even for those whose mother tongue is a dialect of the other language. This has been the case in Brussels for a long time.
> b) or, on the contrary, standardization may proceed even faster than in the rest of the country, where there is no direct contact and competition with the other, more prestigious language. Inquiries gave evidence for the fact that, as compared to the total Dutch-speaking population, standard Dutch is used considerably more in Brussels and surroundings than it is in the remaining part of Flanders. Dutch-speaking people seem to be aware of the fact that the prestige of the (French) standard language can only be neutralized by another (Dutch) standard language. It is quite clear that, for many in this region, the fact of preferring standard Dutch to Dutch dialects is a deliberate choice, inspired by linguistic-political motives."
> (Willemyns, 1984a: 53; our translation.)

This point of view has been taken up by Mackey:

> "Although the dialects of Brussels . . . have experienced a variegated history, it may have been the transition, fusion or integration of some into a more and more standardized Dutch that permitted Flemish-speakers in Brussels to replace some of their language uses formerly reserved for French."
> (Mackey, 1981: 27.)

Evidence for the above theory is to be found in several papers in *Taal en sociale integratie*.

Willemyns (1979) reports on an inquiry yielding the reported linguistic behaviour of Flemish university students. As to dialect mastery it appears that 30.32% of students from the Brussels region do not master a dialect at all. The comparison with the returns from other provinces is quite amazing:

— West-Flanders: 2.04%
— Antwerp: 8.72%
— East-Flanders: 13.57%
— Limburg: 16.07%.[11]

Moreover, it appears that those Brussels students effectively mastering their regional dialect do, in all reported circumstances, use it significantly less than students from other regions:

> "Dialect usage in Brussels yields the lowest figures in most cases. So not only does it have the largest number of speakers not mastering a dialect, but also the largest number of non-dialect users among those who do master a dialect."
> (Willemyns, 1979: 153; our translation.)

Similar findings are reported by Janssens for the near-by village of Overijse, situated in the small corridor between bilingual Brussels and the French-speaking part of Belgium:

> "Standard Dutch has also acquired ready functional availability amongst the younger indigenous Dutch-speakers in Overijse, at the expense of the local dialect, while the social and functional attractiveness of French among the same category has lost its appeal."
> (Janssens, 1982; abstract p. 367.)

Identical conclusions as to the impact of Standard Dutch are reported by Van de Craen & Langenakens for Sint-Genesius-Rode (an adjacent borough with bilingual facilities) in the results of a matched guise investigation:

> "All age groups showed a strong preference for the standard Dutch variant to the exclusion of all others."
> (Van de Craen & Langenakens, 1979: abstract p. 355.)

The second part of Janssens' statement brings us to the conclusions to be drawn from the deviating standard language and dialect behaviour of the inhabitants of Brussels and surroundings. As pointed out in Willemyns (1984a) deliberate language political motives have to be put forward as the main reasons. To stress the cultural language aspect of the less prestigious code is indeed a normal — and effective — strategy when faced with the competition of an international prestige language, which will further "add weight to its importance as a national language. It does so in such a way that it becomes attractive to individuals making choices, as most seem to do, on the basis of their own self-interest" (Mackey, 1981: 24).

Since Brussels Dutch speakers are aware, as is Mackey, that "quite often, however, it is not the real status but the perceived importance of a language that is decisive" (Mackey, 1981: 25), they tend to stress the importance of their own language by using it as often as possible in its most prestigious form, that is, as a standard language, thus attempting to benefit maximally from another advantageous tendency reinforcing their position:

> ". . . as the Francophones of Canada and the Flemings of Belgium gain in economic, political, cultural and social importance so has French in Montreal and Dutch in Brussels."
> (Mackey, 1981: 25.)

This attitudinal aspect is reported by Van de Craen & Langenakens as well. Their combination of reported attitude and matched guise investigations yields, among other things, the conclusion that:

> "the utmost positive evaluation of Standard Dutch, along with the rebuff of the local dialect, clearly demonstrates that the standard language has become a target in its own right . . . and . . . statements like 'we have to defend ourselves' are the order of the day."
> (Van de Craen & Langenakens, 1979: 128; our translation.)

According to the authors the Dutch-speaking population of Sint-Genesius-Rode is: "very self-confident and willing to defend its proper identity. Standard Dutch is considered to be a valuable weapon to achieve this aim." (Van de Craen & Langenakens, 1979: 128; our translation.) From their general conclusions we extract two quotations supporting our above theory:

— "Further investigations of all age groups show that an evolution in the direction of Standard Dutch and away from French is to be discerned. The reason is that, via the evolution of Standard Dutch, the value of their proper identity has gained in importance. But there is an evolution as far as the functional aspects of the language variants is concerned as well."
(Van de Craen & Langenakens, 1979: 130; our translation.)

— "We have demonstrated in our study that the process of language shift known as Frenchification is indeed changing in a way depending on the functional aspect of variants, group identity and so on. For the first time it is clear that Frenchification in the Brussels area can indeed be stopped and turned back. Should these indications continue, then it is to be expected that the bilingual situation in Brussels is likely to become stabilized in the future, meaning that the more Dutch gains in functional use the more Frenchification is going to diminish."
(Van de Craen & Langenakens, 1979: 131; our translation.)

The attitude of the Dutch-speakers in the Brussels environments seems to be matched by that of their peers in the capital itself. Although this has been less thoroughly investigated so far and consequently there is less statistical evidence, we can refer to a study by Louckx indicating that:

> "the more unambiguous language behaviour of the younger generations has created a shift from practical motivations in language use to motivations of principle. The importance this new generation attaches to such concepts as 'deference' and 'respect' in their language choice indicates a more radical attitude towards language usage."
> (Louckx, 1978: 59.)

This "radical" attitude towards Dutch encountered in Louckx' lower and lower middle class subjects seems to be even more present in the "representatives of the Flemish élite, i.e. the upper middle class" investigated by Vilrokx. He reports:

> "Members of these high socio-economic strata are rather conscious of their being Flemish. This consciousness is manifest in several spheres of everyday life: some 90% stated they always try to speak Dutch in situations where it can be assumed the other party has at least a working knowledge of Dutch. In general this is the case in public places. Whenever it is not possible to speak Dutch, negative reactions of Flemings are quite frequent. More than half of all respondents reported on such cases to have left shops, restaurants or other public places, simply to go elsewhere. Another quarter said that while they did not take such steps, they nevertheless did openly show their displeasure towards the person unable to speak Dutch, or they called for a higher employee to make complaints. The readiness to actively affirm one's Flemish identity in social contacts is widespread and shows determination, some even say intolerance."
> (Vilrokx, 1978: 67.)

All these testimonies confirm the recent development in linguistic behaviour and attitude both in the capital and in its immediate surroundings. For some time now we have been able to discern a group of Dutch-speakers, inhabitants of Brussels, quite determined not only to express consciousness of being Flemish but also requiring to be treated as the members of the upper-middle-class they are, be it Dutch-speaking.

It is clear therefore, that the social position of Dutch has undergone considerable change. In earlier times Dutch was the lower prestige language, essentially used by lower class indigenous inhabitants and immigrants. Since then two important social changes have occurred:

— the establishment of a monoglot French-speaking lower-class (Dutch therefore not being automatically associated with lower class anymore)
— the establishment of a Dutch-speaking upper-middle-class.

Combined with the higher esteem for Dutch as a result of the economic revival of Flanders and the awareness of the necessity of bilingual skills for all higher public and private offices, this accounts for a considerable rise of the prestige of Dutch in Brussels. We may therefore predict that in the future Standard French and Standard Dutch will be the two prestige languages of the bilingual capital. The decline of local Dutch dialects in and around Brussels confirms this predicted evolution as does the fact that a similar evolution is significantly less discernible in the Flemish hinterland, where competition and the need for self-confirmation are no longer felt.

Notes to Chapter 7

1. Linguistic contributions which have appeared in *Taal en Sociale Integratie* include: Baetens Beardsmore, 1979b, 1981, 1983; Baetens Beardsmore & van Beeck, 1983; van de Craen, 1979; van de Craen & Langenakens, 1979; Langenakens & van de Craen, 1981; Willemyns, 1979. All of which have been published in Dutch with an English Abstract.
   In the same series we find the following linguistic contributions by non-members of the Brussels team: Deprez, Persoons & Streulens, 1983; Deprez, Persoons & Versele, 1981; Janssens, 1982; van Loey, 1979, all of which have been published in Dutch with an English Abstract; Mackey, 1981, published in English.
2. The Proceedings of the Quebec Conference, mainly devoted to the problem of interdisciplinarity in urban bilingual research, contain the following linguistic contributions by members of the Brussels Centre: Baetens Beardsmore, 1984; van de Craen, 1984a, 1984b; de Vriendt, 1984; Willemyns, 1984a.
   All of the above have been published in French with no Abstracts.
3. There are some terminological problems as to the translation into English of names of dialects and even of the Dutch standard language. A thorough discussion of these problems is to be found in Donaldson (1983: 3–19) where the grouping of dialects into subcategories is discussed as well. It will suffice to point out one problem which is directly relevant here: the term *Flemish* is not only used for the regional dialects of the West of Dutch-speaking Belgium, but also often refers to all Dutch dialects in Belgium as well. This is fairly confusing but there seems to be no way of avoiding this confusion completely. We will try to indicate at each instance as clearly as possible what exactly is meant.
4. As with the term *Flemish* relating to several different regional varieties of Dutch dialects, so the term *Walloon*, in this context, is used as an umbrella reference to cover regional varieties found in Wallonia, like Picard, Gaumais, Liégeois etc.
5. Our translation. *i, u, e,* and *o* in this quotation should be interpreted as i, ɣ, ɛ and ɔ. In our opinion, the *a* is rather velar (+ back) than "palatal".

6. Moreover, they allow him to make interesting comments about the history of these sounds as it is known or recoverable from medieval texts, person and place names and the present shortened forms.
7. This example according to (unverified) intuitions of one of the authors.
8. In 1983 a thesis on "Segmental Processes, Prosody, and their interaction in the Bruxellois Dialect of French" was submitted by *M. Van Peenen Grimes* to the faculty of the Graduate School of the University of Minnesota. This work has outstanding qualities: it gives a clear and in many ways convincing account of the underlying segmentals of Brussels French, of the processes that relate these underlying units to their surface realization, of prosodic properties of the language and prosodic rules. Based on a thorough knowledge of (generative) phonological theory, this work would, in our opinion, deserve publication if the author agreed to correct an impressive number of observational and interpretation errors that are undoubtedly due to her not being a native speaker of Brussels French, but also to her deficient knowledge of French and, even more, of the Brussels Dutch dialect, the influence of which on Brussels French is, as we know and pointed out, very strong. Very often the mistakes concern details, but their correction is liable to change conclusions significantly, even if it would not alter the general image of the description proposed.
9. For a critical discussion of the various sources that can be consulted, see Baetens Beardsmore (1973–74: 38–43).
10. Unilingual French inhabitants and most bilinguals with French as the dominant language send their children to French secondary schools and universities. Young people from the Brussels area who matriculate at Dutch universities belong to the groups 3b.1, 3b.2, 5a and 5b. This may explain the — at first sight surprising — fact that Flemish students from the Brussels area speak relatively more often (Belgian) Dutch and less often a dialect than in other parts of Flanders (Willemyns, 1979).
11. Graphs and a complete list of figures are to be found in Willemyns, 1979: 148–52.

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