FACULTY OF HUMAN SCIENCES

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Bidirectional Language Learning in Migrant Families

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I acknowledge the Darug people as the traditional custodians of the land on which the research that is presented in this thesis was carried out. I also wish to pay my respects to their elders, both past and present, and extend that respect to all other Aboriginal people and Torres Strait Islanders.

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Abstract

The process of migration to and settlement in a new country entails linguistic, cultural and identity changes and adjustments. These changes and adjustments at an individual level are related to changes and adjustments in the family. This thesis offers a qualitative exploration of such changes and adjustments in migrant families in Australia by focusing on their language learning and use processes.

Adopting a multidisciplinary approach, the study draws on concepts from family studies, particularly the notion of 'bidirectionality', as well as sociocultural theories related to second language acquisition within the poststructuralist paradigm. The emphasis is on the ways in which language learning and use in the family relates to wider social and political contexts and language ideologies.

Data for the study come from semi-structured in-depth interviews with nineteen migrant families of Persian background in Australia, including thirty-three parents and twenty-one children.

Overall, the findings of the study show that language socialisation processes within the family in migration contexts are complex and intricately interwoven with parental and child language beliefs and attitudes, which in turn are influenced by language ideologies and attitudes prevalent in the wider society. Specifically, the research addresses four research questions. First, parents' experiences of language learning and use before migration are examined. Findings demonstrate how participants' multiple desires for English learning were socially shaped, and how they invested into English language learning at different points of time, particularly with the prospect of an imagined future in Australia and upward socioeconomic mobility. Second, parents' experiences of language

learning and use after migration are explored. Findings suggest that under the influence of ideological forces in the wider society, particularly those related to the 'native/non-native speaker' dichotomy, learners may perpetually be perceived, by themselves and by others, as deficient language speakers and peripheral members in the new society.

After analysing parental language learning and use experiences, children's experiences of language learning and use are examined. Children's English language learning trajectories are diverse and relate to the degrees of English competence and the age of participants at the time of arrival. Children exercise their agency in different ways to learn the new language and to become a legitimate member in their new communities of practice. Finally, the thesis explores how parents' and children's language learning and use intersect. Language ideologies and the imbalanced values attributed to languages along with inequitable power relations determine the conditions under which parents struggle to achieve bilingual outcomes both for themselves and for their children.

Overall, the study argues for a holistic approach to investigations of language socialisation processes in migrant families and problematises the ways in which language beliefs, attitudes, and practices of parents and their children are shaped by the wider social and ideological context. The study has multiple implications for both adult and child language learning, parent-child interactions in migration contexts, and Australian migration studies.

Statement of Candidate

I certify that the work in this thesis entitled *Bidirectional Language Learning in Migrant Families* has not previously been submitted for a degree nor has it been submitted as part of requirements for a degree to any other university or institution other than Macquarie University.

I also certify that the thesis is an original piece of research and it has been written by me. Any help and assistance that I have received in my research work and the preparation of the thesis itself have been appropriately acknowledged.

In addition, I certify that all information sources and literature used are indicated in the thesis.

The research presented in this thesis was approved by Macquarie University Ethics Review Committee reference number: 5201200784 on 14 November, 2012.

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Shiva Motaghi-Tabari

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List of Acronyms

ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
AMEP	Adult Migrant English Program
AMES	Adult Multicultural Education Services
EFL	English as a foreign language
ESL	English as a second language
FLP	Family language policy
IELTS	International English Language Testing System
JSL	Japanese as a second language
L1	Mother tongue
L2	Second language
NAATI	National Accreditation Authority for Translators and Interpreters
OPOL	One person-one language (policy)
SLA	Second language acquisition
SLL	Second language learning

Transcription and Translation Conventions

Persian Transcription

,	Clause final intonation
.	Sentence final intonation
?	Sentence final rising intonation
+	Short but noticeable pause
++	Longer pause
=	Overlap in talk
Bold	Emphatic stress
""	Quotation
{…}	Researcher omission
{something}	Researcher explanation
( )	Inaudible utterance
(something)	Doubtful transcription
{Name x}	Pseudonym for people, companies, etc.

English Translation

,	Clause final intonation
.	Sentence final intonation
?	Sentence final rising intonation
+	Short but noticeable pause
++	Longer pause
=	Overlap in talk
-	Truncation, i.e. incomplete word or utterance
CAPS	Emphatic stress
Italic	English utterance in the original
' '	Quotation
[…]	Researcher omission
[something]	Researcher explanation
( )	Inaudible utterance
(something)	Doubtful transcription
Um, ah, mhm, uhum, oh, ooh	Fillers and hesitations markers
[Name x]	Pseudonym for people, companies, etc.

Chapter 1: Introduction and Research Background

1.1. Introduction

In an era of globalisation and mobility, I have had the opportunity to experience transnational migration from Iran to Australia. The focus of this study is on language learning and practices within family in migration contexts just like mine. This study is primarily instigated by my personal experiences and observations of language learning and use in my household in Australia. As a migrant parent, I come to and undertake this research as an insider/outsider, to investigate language learning and practices of a group of migrant parents and their children with whom I share linguistic and cultural backgrounds. I begin this chapter by presenting an account of my own and my family's language-learning trajectories which leads into the topic of the present study. This will be followed by a demographic overview of Iranians in Australia. Finally, the chapter presents an outline of the thesis.

1.2. Motivation

In June 2008, four years prior to undertaking my PhD project, I moved to Australia with my husband and my daughter, who was seven years old at the time. At the time of our departure, I was relatively comfortable with English. After all, I had been studying English as a foreign language (EFL) since childhood and I had completed a bachelor's degree in English Translation and Interpreting back in Iran. English was a requisite for my profession, as an authorised translator and interpreter and, moreover, I had a chance to use English in various leisure and business-related travels before coming to Australia.

These investments in English learning also had a good return as measured by the IELTS test that I sat as a part of our Skilled Migration visa requirements.

However, within days of arriving, a sense of fear and distress prevailed over my confidence. Although I could get basic tasks done, particularly related to our settlement in Australia, in many situations I had to guess what people were saying to me; and of course, my guesses were not always accurate. In many situations, I preferred to articulate my 'English deficiency' rather than being judged as 'stupid'. These experiences made me feel fearful in my interactions. On many occasions, for example in parents' meetings related to my daughter's school, where many of the attendees were native English speakers, my levels of stress increased even more. I was conscious about every word that I was saying, yet I felt my words were all mispronounced. People's judgements, certainly out of their good intentions, sounded to me as an alarm to my 'different' and 'not good enough' English, including compliments such as "your English is good" or questions such as "where is your accent from?"

I still remember how I felt confused when one of the English-speaking parents in my daughter's school commented on how 'polite' I was. Although she sounded very nice and her comment sounded as a compliment, I felt mixed emotions of pleasure and irritation. The 'politeness' in that context, after all, indexed the 'formal' English that I had learned in foreign language classes.

It was one of the outcomes of living in an English-speaking society, among other things, to realise that successful communication not only requires linguistic knowledge, but also entails knowing elements of communication and context. These can hardly be achieved in decontextualised language-learning situations of, for instance, EFL classes, or even in the

postgraduate classes that I pursued in Australia shortly after arrival. I decided to continue my studies, not only out of passion, but also to enhance my communication abilities. I pursued a degree in 'crosscultural communication' in Sydney University. Although the course was tremendously helpful in many ways, particularly in understanding many subtleties of communication across cultures, still I felt 'not competent enough', as I still found it difficult to catch up with people's high speed of speaking and unfamiliar accents in daily interactions.

During the years of settlement and studying, I was also observing my husband's and my daughter's English development. In fact, my husband's English at the time of arrival was limited. His language learning prior to migration was limited to the compulsory education in school and a few units at university, all dating back at least a decade before departure. Therefore, when we first arrived, I was the main point of contact with people and organisations, my daughter's school, and all correspondence related to our settlement processes. Shortly after arrival, my husband began a series of English classes for a few hours per week. However, his progress in English communication was nowhere close to that of my daughter who was spending most hours of the day learning and communicating in English at school.

When we first arrived, my daughter already knew some English. About three years before our departure, when she was about four years old, we had sent her to private English classes. According to herself, when she entered school in Sydney, she could somehow convey her messages and understand people around her. Luckily, with the good support of her teacher and a caring 'buddy' who looked after my daughter, she had a relatively smooth transitional stage. Her 'buddy' won a 'citizenship award' at the end of that year for doing her job so well. Having said that, this period did not go without stress and

pressure on my daughter. Although she did not complain much, I could feel the language barrier which made it difficult for her to make friends and to communicate her wants, needs and concerns properly. Nevertheless, she progressed quickly, particularly in terms of her English communication skills. I remember, for example, an encounter when I was in a pharmacy with my daughter. At the counter, while I was looking into my purse, I replied: "No, thanks!" to the chemist whom I heard say something like "anything else?" When I looked up, I could see the chemist's questioning eyes, although not for long, as my daughter said: "Mum, he is asking, 'any allergies'!" Amidst feelings of embarrassment, though, I felt proud of my daughter.

Within less than a year, my daughter significantly improved her English communication skills and adapted to the new environment. Observing my daughter's progress, I began to wonder if it was a good idea to speak English with her particularly to develop our 'informal' language skills. However, my husband and I were fearful that our practising English with her would lead to her Persian attrition. In no way did my husband and I wish to put our daughter's Persian at risk. Her Persian maintenance was not only important to us, but it was also a promise to her grandparents who relentlessly pressured us and expressed worries about their grandchild's Persian language loss. For this very reason, we also sent her to a Persian Saturday school in Sydney so that she would become literate in Persian, but more importantly to enhance her spoken communication skills. In our household, fortunately we did not have to set strict rules to use Persian. Persian was used predominantly by the three of us. In effect, I felt that my daughter spoke Persian at home out of respect and due to her own choice, although it is possible that she felt she had no choice due to her perceptions of her father's limited English. Nevertheless, despite the respect she showed, I could feel how she began to show an implicit preference for me,

over her father, to appear in some of the social events linked to her school and peer communities. These implied preferences were not only obvious to me, but to my husband, too. It was clear to us that the reason for her preference was her perception of her father's lower level of spoken English proficiency. Notwithstanding such preference, I was also subjected to her corrections of my language, particularly my pronunciation and accent, although in a considerate manner. At that point, I began to sense complicated feelings of pride and joy at her English communication abilities, on the one hand, and, on the other, concerns about familial relationships in our household, and her psychological and emotional well-being, confidence, and self-esteem in the new society. Questions began to linger in my mind: "How does she think and feel in her world that she prefers me, and not her father, to appear in her school-related communities? What internal and external forces are at work that she feels that way? How should those feelings be addressed and treated?" With these questions the present study began to germinate.

In fact, these and similar questions turned into shared topics, often initiated by me, whenever I met Persian friends who were also parents in similar situations. From the conversations I had, I realised that we had different experiences in terms of our children's use of English and Persian, school support, and teachers' advice on how to use languages at home, which often seemed contradictory. These diverse experiences coupled with my own experiences and observations led me to want to investigate the issues at stake in a more systematic way. I began to read the existing research in different fields of family studies related to parent-child interactions, and second language learning. Although I found a wealth of relevant research, particularly regarding child language socialisation and family language policy and practices (see Sections 2.3.4 and 2.4 in Chapter 2), I realised that there was a paucity of research on the interplay between parental and child

language learning and practices in migration contexts. The present study, therefore, sets out to fill this gap. Other scholars have identified this research lacuna, too. Luykx (2005, p. 1411), for instance, called for investigations on how children's greater access to socially-valued linguistic resources can affect other aspects of family life, including authority relationships within families in multilingual contexts. Attention is also needed to the ways in which parent and child language beliefs, ideologies, and external forces from wider social structures play a role in processes of language learning and practices within the family (Luykx, 2005; Smolicz, Secombe, & Hudson, 2001).

Before I advance this research further, I provide, in the next section, an overview of the sociocultural, sociopolitical and historical backgrounds of Iranians in Australia.

1.3. Iranian migration to Australia: A demographic overview

Migration of Iranians to Australia began in the mid-1970s. In fact, Australia was not known to many Iranians until the early 1970s when the two countries officially entered into trade relationships (Aidani, 2007). Before then, the United Kingdom represented Australia's interests in Iran (Markovic, 2013). While there is a scarcity of research on Iranians in Australia, particularly in that period, from the data about the residency period of Iran-born people in Australia as exposed in Australian censuses in the following years, it can be estimated that there were fewer than a thousand Iranians living in Australia up to the mid-1970s (Adibi, 1998). From 1975 onwards, however, their number began to increase. The increase can be partly related to the arrival of a number of students in Australia. These arrivals took place mainly following a cultural agreement in 1975, which had been signed by the two countries in 1974 aiming at promoting "co-operation in education, scientific, cultural and social fields" (Department of Foreign Affairs, 1974).

After the Islamic revolution in Iran in l979, diplomatic relations between Iran and Western countries including Australia became strained (Markovic, 2013). During 1979 to 1981, following the Australian Government's special humanitarian assistance program for devotees of the Baha'i religion, who were at risk of persecution after the revolution, the Iranian population size in Australia almost quadrupled to 3,669 (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1986). The late 1970s and the 1980s constituted a period of dramatic political, economic and sociocultural changes in Iran which precipitated large waves of migration from Iran to different parts of the world, including Australia (Adibi, 1998; Hakimzadeh, 2006). The Australian Department of Immigration reported on the subject of the Iran-born community:

> In 1981, Australia began a special humanitarian assistance program for Baha'is seeking to escape religious persecution in Iran. During the 1980s there was a major war between Iran and Iraq. This resulted in an increase in migration to Australia. During the late 1980s and 1990s many professionals started to leave Iran for Australia due to economic and political hardship. In the latter half of the 1990s, while political and religious persecution remained important reasons for migration, many Iranians also came under the Skill and Family streams of the Migration Programme. (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2012)

In sum, the trend in the migration of Iranians to Australia has picked up since the 1979 revolution. Also as it is indicated above and as explained by Hakimzadeh (2006), the migration waves included professionals, educated, and highly skilled people, who left Iran seeking better life opportunities. Table 1-1 below gives an overview of the Iran-born population in Australia.

Table 1-1- The Iran-born Population of Australia 1981-2011

Year	Persons
1981	3,669
1986	7,498
1991	12,914
1996	16,271
2001	18,789
2006	22,548
2011	34,454

Source: Adapted from Australian Bureau of Statistics (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1986, 2011b; Department of Immigration and Border Protection, 2014)

As shown in Table 1-1, the population of Iranians in Australia has increased steadily, reaching 34,454 in 2011, when the most recent census was conducted (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011b). This latest figure includes 13,018 families, 6,852 of which were couples with children (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011a). Nevertheless, although the Iran-born population figures show continuous growth, the population number is still comparatively small in relation to the rest of the overseas-born migrants: of the total overseas-born population of 4,416,020 in 2006, 22,548 (0.5%) were Iran-born; by 2011, their number increased by 0.1% to 0.6% of the total of then 5,290,436 overseas-born residents (Department of Immigration and Border Protection, 2014).

In 2011, most of the 34,454 Iran-born residents were living in New South Wales (15,463), and the rest in Victoria (7,447), Western Australia (3,722) and Queensland (3,562) (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2012). Table 1-2 shows an overview of the Iran-born population size and distribution in the Australian States, compared to the total of overseas-born migrants in the Australian population.

Table 1-2 Iran-born population in Australian States

	New South Wales	Victoria	Queensland	Western Australia	South Australia	Australia
Total Population	6,917,655	5,354,039	4,332,738	2,239,172	1,596,571	21,507,719
Overseas-born Population	1,778,544	1,405,332	888,636	684,510	353,004	5,290,436
As a percentage of total population (%)	25.7	26.2	20.5	30.6	22.1	24.6
Iran-Born Population	15,463	7,447	3,562	3,722	2,825	34,454
As a percentage of total population (%)	0.22	0.13	0.08	0.16	0.17	0.16
As a percentage of total overseas-born population (%)	0.86	0.52	0.4	0.54	0.8	0.65

Source: Adapted from Department of Immigration and Border Protection, (2014)

The Iranian community is a linguistically and culturally diverse population. Diversity is

"a well-defined aspect of the country that is subtly weaved into its history" (Hakimzadeh,

2006). Alongside the Persian-speaking people who comprise the majority ethnic group in

Iran, diverse ethnic minorities have distinctive languages and cultural identities.

Nevertheless, each of these ethnic groups has a unique relationship to the "national

identity of Iranian-ness" (Aidani, 2007, p. 70). In fact, as Adibi (1998, p. 128) further

explains, there exists a "sense of community" among all the groups which is interwoven

with Iranian history and culture with the Persian language as the key factor.

In Australia, the majority of Iran-born people are reported as Persians. Other ethnic groups include Ahwazis, Armenians, Assyrians, Azeris, Balochis, and Kurds. The majority of Iranians in Australia (73.3%) speak Persian at home, while also speaking English 'very well' or 'well'. A small number (7.4%) reportedly speak English-only but no Persian at home (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011a).

According to Hakimzadeh (2006), the most recent migration wave since the mid-1990s included two very distinct groups: "highly skilled individuals", and "working-class labour migrants and economic refugees, sometimes with lower education levels and less transferable skills than previous emigrants". In Australia, as the 2011 Census revealed, the majority of Iran-born residents (67.4%) had some form of post-school qualifications compared to 55.9 per cent for Australian total population; 18.3 percent had a tertiary degree from universities or technical institutions compared to 8.6 percent for all overseas born, and 6.3 percent for the total Australian population (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011a).

Nevertheless, the data show that Iranian-born migrants experience a relatively high degree of underemployment and unemployment in Australia. In fact, at the time of the 2011 census, the median individual weekly income for the Iran-born in Australia was $446 compared with $538 for all overseas-born and $577 for all Australian residents. Moreover, while the unemployment rate for the total Australian population was 5.6 percent, at the time of the 2011 Census, it was about 12.6 percent for Iran-born residents. Nevertheless, of the 16,123 Iran-born people who were employed, 62 percent were working in either a skilled managerial professional or trade occupation (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2012). The corresponding rate in the total Australian population was 48.4 percent. While these figures show the socioeconomic diversity of

Iranians in Australia, they also point to the obstacles that some Iranians might be facing in Australian society.

In sum, this section has shown that the Iranian community in Australia is a diverse community with different languages and socioeconomic statuses. The majority of Iranians in Australia were reported to speak English very well or well, but they also speak their ethnic language, mainly Persian, at home. Overall, the Iranian community comprises a small proportion of the Australian population, and they may therefore remain "out of sight of mainstream multiculturalism" (Aidani, 2007, p. 72). This invisibility may cause difficulties, particularly regarding specific settlement-related needs (Adibi, 1998, p. 103). Additionally, as Adibi (1998) noticed, the Iranian community is concerned with linguistic and cultural maintenance. In this relation, a number of Iranian community-based non-profit organisations have been established across Australia. In New South Wales, for example, these include the Australian Iranian Community Organisation (AICO), Aknoon Cultural Centre and a number of Persian language schools such as Ryde and Endisheh. Nevertheless, there is a paucity of research about Iranians in Australia. Hence, the present study about language practices and challenges of recently-migrated Iranian parents and their children can provide a much-needed in-depth examination of their settlement experiences.

1.4. Thesis outline

This study examines the language-learning experiences and language practices of a group of migrant families in Australia with a particular focus on parent-child relationships. In this introductory chapter to the thesis, I have explained the motivation for the present study and provided an overview of the sociohistorical background of Iranians in

Australia. Following this introductory chapter, Chapter 2 reviews the pertinent literature and outlines theoretical frameworks within the poststructuralist paradigm that inform the study. The chapter begins with a discussion of theories from family studies, particularly bidirectional models of parent-child interactions.

This is followed by delineating sociocultural concepts relative to the field of second language learning/acquisition (SLL/SLA) which deepened my understanding about the concept of 'language' and second language learning in migration contexts. It should be noted that the terms SLL and SLA are interchangeably used in this thesis as Spolsky (1989, p. 9) terms their distinction "confusing and unnecessary".

The chapter goes on to discuss the findings of existing studies which undergird my research including those that have examined language practices of parents and children in multilingual contexts. The chapter concludes by highlighting the existence of a lacuna related to the intersection of parental and child language learning in migration contexts, and by explaining how this thesis sets out to contribute to filling this gap.

Chapter 3 provides the rationale for the research design and outlines the methodological approaches to the study within a qualitative paradigm. This is followed by an explanation of the research methods used for collecting data from both parents and children. These methods include semi-structured in-depth interviews with parents and group interviews with children. A description of participants and my positionality as the inquirer are presented in that chapter. The methods for data analysis are also provided before concluding the chapter by providing the ethical considerations and addressing the limitations to the study.

Chapter 4 through to Chapter 7 provide the findings of the study relative to the research questions that guided the study. In Chapter 4, an in-depth analysis of the parent participants' pre-migration language-learning trajectories is presented. These trajectories include English language learning as a compulsory subject at school and as an additional investment in various ways. The findings highlight the ways in which participants' motivations propelled them to invest in learning English during their academic coursework, and also to continue/return to language learning closer to the time of departure. Participants' experiences of language use in the contexts of employment are also discussed in the chapter. It concludes with an examination of participants' scalar judgements about their language-learning experiences and competences.

Chapter 5 presents participants' experiences of language learning and use in Australia. The chapter begins with a discussion of how participants came to realise that a mismatch applied between the English they learned prior to migration and the English they began to experience as the societal language in the new country. I present an account of participants' experiences of language-related challenges which can engender psychological problems. I go on to discuss how the question of language competence entails situation-sensitive expectations and what language learners/users do in response to those expectations. In this regard, I explain participants' attitudes toward their experiences of language learning and use in various educational and employment contexts. I also show how participants desired to gain native-like proficiency to feel accepted as 'legitimate' members of Australian society. Many participants particularly valued informal socialising with perceived native English speakers and saw this as the ultimate goal of language learning.

Chapter 6 provides language-learning trajectories of children before and after migration. The chapter discusses how parents' attitudes toward and investments in children's language learning prior to migration were undergirded by popular beliefs and assumptions about children's second language learning, particularly the idea that children learn English easily and effortlessly when exposed to the language in its naturalistic setting. The chapter goes on to highlight the language-related challenges that children had to overcome in their transitional stage to their new school and environment. I discuss how children's language learning processes can be fraught with complexities related not only to learning interpersonal and academic language, but also to children's development of sense of self and belonging. I also provide a discussion of the ways that schools, teachers and peers play a role in children's English learning and in shaping their attitudes toward the languages of the home and the society. The concluding section of the chapter stresses how children exercise agency in different ways to learn the new language, but also to make themselves heard and seen as 'normal' members in their new communities of practice.

Chapter 7 reveals how parental and child language learning intersect. The first part of the chapter brings to light parental beliefs and perspectives on the two languages of the home and the community and the influences on parental decisions on language planning and practices in the home. The chapter also presents an examination of children's language beliefs and attitudes toward language practices in the family domain. It then attends to the ways in which language practices of parents and children could cause tensions in parent-child relationships. The findings in this chapter indicate how, despite popular assumptions about parent-child roles in traditional language socialisation, children in migrant families often have greater access to socially-valued linguistic resources in the new society than

their parents do. Therefore, in such circumstances, parents and children may negotiate their roles as language socialisers in the home.

Finally, Chapter 8 offers a conclusion to the thesis. It revisits the research questions by providing a summary of the key findings presented in the thesis. The chapter concludes that language socialisation processes within the family in migration contexts are complex and interwoven with parental and child language beliefs and attitudes, which in turn are influenced by language ideologies and wider social structures. It goes on to outline the implications of the study for both adult and child language learning, parent-child interactions in migration contexts, and Australian migration studies. The chapter concludes the thesis by providing directions for future research.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

As delineated in Chapter 1, this is an interdisciplinary study aiming to explore the intersection of parental and child language learning trajectories and language practices in migration contexts. These dynamics of language learning and practices in parent-child interactions can be better understood when seen in the context of wider social structures (Smolicz et al., 2001), because wider social pressures can "penetrate the most intimate of domestic interactions" (Luykx, 2003, p. 40). For these reasons, this research considers the three main areas of inquiry
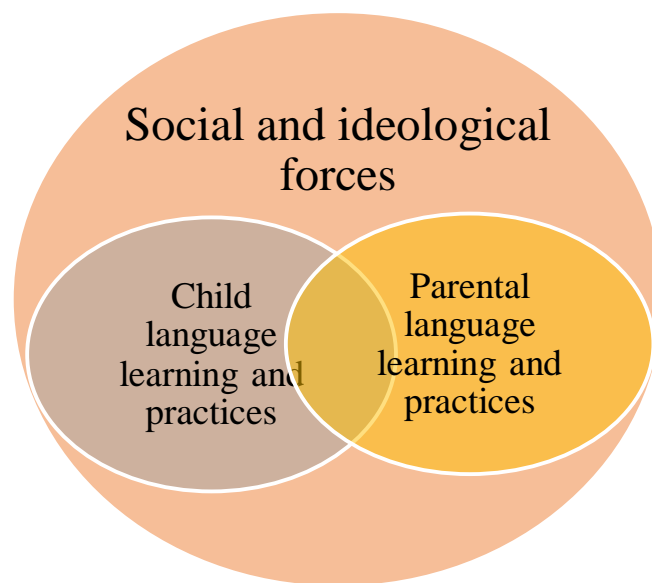
Figure 2-1- Parent-child language learning and practices in context

Therefore, I situate this study within the poststructuralist literature, extended into multidisciplinary areas including second language acquisition, family studies and

migration studies; throughout, the emphasis is on how these relate to the wider social and political context and language ideologies.

While the poststructuralist paradigm serves as an umbrella for a variety of theoretical approaches, I follow Pavlenko (2002, p. 282) and draw on their similarities "as having a common focus on language as the locus of social organisation, power and individual consciousness". In the field of SLA, a shift to poststructuralist approaches occurred in response to the shortcomings of the socio-psychological paradigms which represent learning as an idealised and decontexualised process and view it "as an individual endeavour, prompted by motivation and positive attitudes, and hindered by negative attitudes and perceptions" (Pavlenko, 2002, p. 281). According to Pavlenko, the poststructuralist influences on SLA research can be traced back to Pennycook's call for a critical applied linguistics and his argument for the "need to rethink language acquisition in its social, cultural, and political contexts" (Pennycook, 1990, p. 26). From this perspective, language is viewed as "symbolic capital and the site of identity construction"; language learning as socialisation; and language learners as agents with multiple, fluid and dynamic identities (Pavlenko, 2002, p. 283). Within this approach, this chapter reviews the theoretical framework for this study to provide an overview of my survey of several studies about multilingualism and family in migration contexts that have informed the direction of my research.

This chapter is organised as follows. Firstly, I present key concepts and theories from the domain of family studies relative to parent-child interactions that can be translated into the study of parental and child language learning and practices in migrant families. Then, following the orientation to poststructuralist approaches to language and language learning, I present a review of the key sociocultural conceptualisations of language,

ideology and power that shaped my understanding of issues with language learning and use in multilingual settings. Next, I will move to a discussion of the main themes that have been developed in the existing research about migrant families and multilingualism. This is followed, by identifying the lacuna the chapter aims to fill, that is: an absence of sociolinguistic research that systematically investigates the intersection of parental and child language learning and use and challenges in migrant families in Australian contexts. This chapter concludes with the research questions that were developed out of this review and that guided the study.

2.2. Bidirectionality and agency in parent-child interactions: Insights from family studies

Family has been viewed as a social unit comprising individual members in an interconnected, dynamic system (Maccoby, 2014). With this view of family as a system, members often "act in such a way as to keep each other's behaviour within acceptable boundaries" (p. 22). That is, when one member, parent or child, transcends the "boundaries within which the family normally functions, other members react in such a way as to restore the balance" (p. 22). In this view of family and its functioning as a system, contemporary research views all members as active agents concurrently influencing each other. This view is in contrast to traditional family studies where children were not seen as possessing an influential role in family practices.

For many years, traditional research into families was centred on a unidirectional model "where influence was assumed to flow in one direction, from parent to child" (Kuczynski, Harach, & Bernardini, 1999). Within this approach, "parents were portrayed as active in setting agendas, transmitting values, and controlling children's behavior, whereas

children were considered as passive outcomes in the socialization process" (Kuczynski, Parkin, & Pitman, 2014, p. 135). In response to the limitations of the unilateral models, contemporary researchers have developed a much more dynamic conception of the process of parent-child interactions and socialisation. This regeneration of parent-child interaction models is built on the notion of 'bidirectionality' which adds a child-to-parent direction of influence to the widely accepted parent-to-child influence in a complex reciprocal system (Kuczynski, 2003; Kuczynski et al., 1999; Kuczynski & Navara, 2006).

Parent **Child**

Assumptions

Model of causality:	Bidirectional
Model of agency:	Equal agency
Context:	Interaction within relationships
Model of power:	Interdependent asymmetry
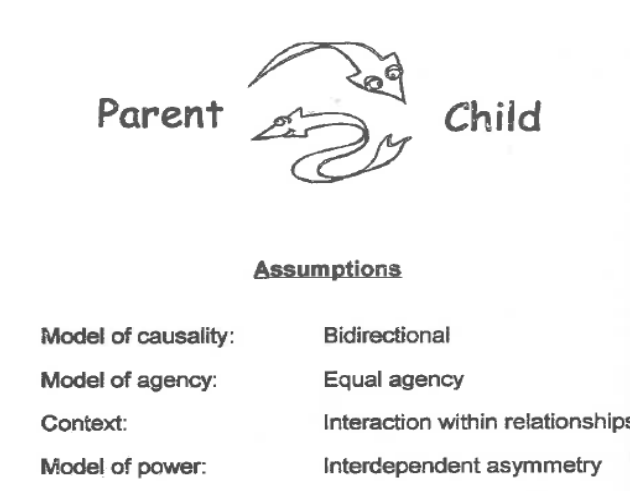
Figure 2-2- Bilateral Model of Parent-Child Relations (Kuczynski, Harach, & Bernardini, 1999, p. 26)

Central to the bidirectional model is the concept of agency. Agency in this framework means "considering individuals as actors with the ability to make sense of the environment, initiate change, and make choices" (Kuczynski, 2003, p. 9). The core assumption in this framework is that both parents and children as active agents interpret and thereby reconstruct social messages (Kuczynski et al., 2014, p. 138) and construct meanings in their transactions with each other (Grusec & Goodnow, 1994; Kuczynski, 2003). Therefore, children's responses to parents' socialisation messages and behaviours depend on whether they perceive parents' initiatives as consistent or inconsistent with

their own interpretations or as threats to their autonomy (Laible, Thompson, & Froimson, 2014; Maccoby, 2014).

While the role of agency is emphasised in bidirectional models of parent-child interaction (See also Section 2.3.4 for its relevance to language socialisation), it is also acknowledged that "automaticity and habit rather than intentional action" can also be a dominant process (Kuczynski & Parkin, 2007, p. 262). This means that, much of socialisation may come about "through parents' and children's participation in everyday routines and practices of their social group where habitual ways of thinking and acting are not subject to questioning or creative thought" (p. 262). This view of non-agentic practices is akin to Bourdieu's (1977a, 1991) notion of habitus which will be discussed in Section 2.3.2. In this view, individuals may take for granted their everyday routines and practices, until an extraordinary event or outer interferences cause them to reflect on their internalised behaviours. Therefore, it is crucial in research on socialisation to incorporate the contribution of both agentic and non-agentic processes in bidirectional models.

Another consideration in bidirectional models of parent-child relationships is the issues around power. While parents and children are seen in a bidirectional model as being equally agents, they can be unequal in resources or power that supports their effectiveness as agents. The unequal power relation between parent and child is conceptualised dialectically as a dynamic interdependent asymmetry (See Figure 2-2). This asymmetry in parent-child relationships changes constantly over time and varies depending on the context (Kuczynski et al., 2014, p. 140). In effect, it is the norm to see parental power as 'legitimate'. That is, "parents are explicitly given the authority to set the rules that children must abide by and the responsibility to enforce control over children" (Kuczynski, 2003, p. 17). This is because parents are seen to have greater resources such

as expertise and coercive potential to compel or persuade their children. However, from a bidirectional perspective of the authority domain, parents are perceived as trying "to exercise their greater power in relation to a child who has resources to actively accommodate or resist their expectations" (Kuczynski et al., 2014, pp. 143, 144). In fact, children are never powerless as they also possess and develop capacities and resources at different stages of their lives and those capabilities can be greater than those of parents (Kuczynski, 2003, p. 16). These capabilities can be related to myriad areas, including language abilities which is a key consideration in the present study.

Overall, as Kuczynski, Parkin and Pitman (2014, p. 141) assert, the concept of bidirectionality in parent-child interactions would provide "an enhanced perspective on what parents can accomplish as agents, as well as fill in knowledge about the neglected aspects of children's agency with regard to parents". The concept of bidirectionality opens up new perspectives for language learning research, too, as it allows us to examine children's agentive role in relation to their own and their parents' language learning and practices in post-migration contexts. In language learning research, a concept similar to bidirectionality has been discussed in the literature on language socialisation in the context of family. The contribution of language socialisation research will be discussed in Section 2.3.4. However, family dynamics cannot be considered in isolation from wider social structures (Smolicz et al., 2001); see also Section 2.1. Therefore, I will now explore key concepts and theoretical frameworks within the poststructuralist paradigm relative to SLA and processes of language socialisation.

2.3. Language as symbolic power

Bourdieu (1977a, p. 646) views language as a "praxis [that is,] it is made for saying, i.e. for use in strategies which are invested with all possible functions and not only communication functions. It is made to be spoken appropriately." In other words, as Bourdieu explains:

> The science of language aims to analyse the conditions for the production
>
> of a discourse that is not only grammatically normal, not only adapted to
>
> the situation, but also, and especially, acceptable, credible, admissible,
>
> efficacious, or quite simply listened to, in a given state of the relations of
>
> production and circulation (i.e. of the relationship between a certain
>
> competence and a certain market). (Bourdieu, 1977a, pp. 650-651)

Bourdieu (1977a, p. 646) summarises his points by proposing a threefold displacement in the field of linguistics: the concept of "acceptability" in place of "grammaticalness" that is, "legitimate language" instead of "language"; "relations to symbolic power" in place of "relations of communication (or symbolic interaction)"; and, "symbolic capital" or "practical competence" in place of "linguistic competence".

In a similar vein, Blommaert (2015b, p. 85) argues that languages are no longer viewed as 'objective units' only holding names, such as 'English' or 'Russian', but ideological constructs which are used as resources for communication, deployed in what he called "practices of languaging" or "'doing' language" . Conceptualisations of borders between languages as relative are not new, of course. The landmark study *Acts of Identity* (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985), for instance, approaches linguistic borders from the perspective of creole languages. Another perspective has been put forward by Cook

(2007), who proposes different meanings of the term "language" itself and conceives of language as a conglomerate of mental representation, the sum of real and potential utterances, a symbol of a community and knowledge in the mind, and discusses implications of such different understandings for language learning. Also, Jørgensen (2010) has written about the evolutions of views on bi- and multilingualism. Despite these theoretical advances the general public still have a view of an "ideal" monolingual whose knowledge of languages is "equal" and "native".

The view of language beyond merely 'an objective unit' can help to better understand what people effectively do with their language as a "real sociolinguistic object" and how social trajectories of people are determined not just by access to a certain language, for instance 'English', but by access to highly specific bits of language such as slang or a specific accent (Blommaert, 2015b, p. 85). These bits of language, in effect, are not seen as equal and neutral, but hierarchical and unequal. Therefore, those who use the more valued forms of language have more access to symbolic and material resources and, hence, greater access to power and control (Heller, 2006; Lippi-Green, 2012; Norton, 2013). Language ideologies, however, "can make it seem fair and equitable – both to those who benefit from it and to those who are disadvantaged by it – that speakers of that variety should occupy privileged positions in society, while nonspeakers should be excluded from such positions" (Piller, 2015, p. 4). The concept of language ideologies will be further discussed in the next section.

2.3.1. Language ideologies

Language is "an ideologically defined social practice" (Darvin & Norton, 2015, p. 43). This view can be better understood by Piller's (2015) elaboration on the meaning of language ideologies:

> beliefs, feelings, and conceptions about language that are socially shared and relate language and society in a dialectical fashion: Language ideologies undergird language use, which in turn shapes language ideologies; and, together, they serve social ends, in other words the purpose of language ideologies is not really linguistic but social. Like anything social, language ideologies are interested, multiple, and contested. (Piller, 2015, p. 4)

Language ideologies, thus, as Kroskrity (2004, p. 501) asserts, "represent the perception of language and discourse that is constructed in the interest of a specific social or cultural group" and "mediate between social structures and forms of talk" (p. 507). These principles are well demonstrated in relation to two popularly noted ideologies in English-speaking countries such as the United States and Australia. These are "English monolingualism" and "standard language ideology" (Lippi-Green, 2012; Piller, 2015; Terrence G. Wiley & Lukes, 1996). The former sees "English monolingualism as a normal – if not ideal – condition", and "diversity as an alien and divisive force", whereas the latter stresses the superiority and legitimacy of the standard or "unaccented" English (Terrence G. Wiley & Lukes, 1996, pp. 511, 514). Both of these language ideologies are linked to other ideological assumptions related to, inter alia, "beliefs about the relationships

between language and national unity and between language and social mobility" (p. 512).

Drawing on Bourdieu's (1987) work, Darvin and Norton (2015, p. 43) maintain that these ideologies or normative ideas, are constructed by symbolic power, that is, "the power to impose and to inculcate principles of construction of reality" (Bourdieu, 1987, p. 13). Once these normative sets of ideas have been imposed as legitimate, they become a form of social capital facilitating access to material and social resources and so to power.

These debates over the value of linguistic resources in particular become crucial in education, which is a key site for defining and imposing "legitimate forms of discourse and the idea that a discourse should be recognized if and only if it conforms to the legitimate norms" (Bourdieu, 1977a, p. 650). Schools, in fact, as Heller and Martin-Jones (2001, p. 10) assert, have a key role in "perpetuating ideologies that link languages to nations and therefore reproduce ideologically motivated social categories". This is how, as Bourdieu (1991, p. 113) states, "the language of authority never governs without the collaboration of those it governs, without the help of the social mechanisms capable of producing this complicity". Therefore, it is a key consideration in understanding the nature of "symbolic power" or Bourdieu's other term, "symbolic violence" – collaboration that "presupposes a kind of active complicity on the part of those subjected to it" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 24). The "active complicity" entails a process of recognition and perpetuation of the power of the dominant which is neither forced nor voluntary. That is, symbolic violence is not necessarily operating as a result of coercion or any act of intimidation. Rather, it is "inscribed, in a practical state, in dispositions which are impalpably inculcated, through a long and slow process of acquisition" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 51). These inscribed dispositions manifest themselves in the form of "bodily emotions

– shame, humiliation, timidity, anxiety, guilt" (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 38) and "idealization of the oppressor; self-denigration; and acceptance of the principles of evaluation favored by the dominant" (Emirbayer & Schneiderhan, 2013, p. 145).

Bourdieu's analysis of the symbolic domination of legitimate language, and its perpetuation by those subjected to it, can account for the beliefs in and attitudes towards global 'English' as the language of prestige and power, and the supremacy of the 'legitimate' forms of English in migration contexts. Viewing language as symbolic power allows us to examine how migrants may view themselves as incompetent non-native speakers who recognise and propagate the superiority and dominance of 'legitimate English' and its speakers, so-called native English speakers, in explicit and implicit ways. Explicitly by, for example, idealising English learning from native speakers (Phillipson, 1992, 2013), and implicitly, by for example, feeling inferiority and shame towards an ethnic language and identity and for self-perceptions and evaluations of language (in)competence (Norton, 1995a; Pavlenko, 2003). Language competence and its evaluations, however, are viewed as complex topics in the literature. As noted in the introductory part of section 2.3, language competence needs to be seen beyond the strictly linguistic to encompass what Bourdieu (1977a, p. 646) calls "practical competence". Further, the evaluations of language competence as such are not fixed but changing in different social-spatial and temporal contexts. These are discussed in further detail in the next section.

2.3.2. Language competence and mobility

Viewing language as symbolic power, Bourdieu (1977a, 1991) proposes a practical concept of competence which views language mastery as inextricable to the mastery of

the situation, or as he calls it, the linguistic market. Within a linguistic market, linguistic exchange takes place by agents whose positions are determined by the ways in which their linguistic productions are valued against the legitimate practices, that is, "the practices of those who are dominant" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 53). The valuation of linguistic productions, however, may differ across spaces and time (Blommaert, Collins, & Slembrouck, 2005). Therefore, to investigate language practices and competences, the focus needs to be shifted from 'language-in-place' to 'language-in-motion', with various spatio-temporal frames described as 'scales' (Blommaert, 2007a, 2007b, 2010, 2015a; Blommaert et al., 2005; Blommaert & Dong, 2010; Blommaert, Westinen, & Leppänen, 2015).

As an extension of Bourdieu's framework, Blommaert and others (2005, p. 210) suggest that the question of language competence should include the "notion of scales, more in particular, the idea that markets are stratified across different scales". That is, "people have varying language abilities – repertoires and skills with languages – but […] the function and value of those repertoires and skills can change as the space of language contact changes" (p. 211). In effect, "social events and processes move and develop on a continuum of layered scales, with the strictly local (micro) and the global (macro) as extremes, and with several intermediary scales" (Blommaert, 2007a, p. 1). In this view, reality seen from within one scale-level can be quite different from reality seen from within another scale-level in different spatial and temporal contexts (p. 15). When people cross borders, they navigate their lives through layered and stratified spaces imbued with a variety of norms and expectations (Blommaert et al., 2005). In these spaces, minute linguistic differences can be projected onto "stratified patterns of social, cultural and political value-attribution" (Blommaert, 2010, p. 5). Therefore, the concept of scale, as

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Lam and Warriner (2012, p. 197) suggest, serves to capture "the power differentials that shape the relationships between events and processes as they are located and move across different geographical spaces".

In light of these arguments, the concept of mobility should be "predicated on the capacity to acquire and deploy resources needed to cross from one scale-level (say, the local) to another (say, the global)" (Blommaert, 2015b, p. 87). Furthermore, the question of language competence should include situation-sensitive expectations and judgements of "what is valued and devalued in given environments", and also the notion of "negotiation and repair" that is, "what is or will be done in response to competence assessments and situated expectations" (Blommaert et al., 2005, p. 212). This framework could serve as an analytic tool to examine how migrants evaluate and re-evaluate their language achievements and their competence before migration in relation to their situated experiences in the new society after migration.

The strategic dimensions of how to act in a situation and the ways in which these actions of the self and others are evaluated can be internalised due to recurring market conditions. Bourdieu's notion of 'habitus' is useful to capture these situationally-adjusted behaviours and evaluations. From Bourdieu's perspective (Bourdieu, 1991), linguistic expressions are forms of linguistic practices which can be understood as the product of the relation between a linguistic market and the linguistic habitus. The linguistic habitus or dispositions are, in fact, acquired in the course of learning to speak in a specific context, such as the school or family. These dispositions then regulate individuals' linguistic practices later on and affect the ways in which speakers value their positions and linguistic productions (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 17). Nevertheless, linguistic habitus is not fixed, but subject to change in response to situational expectations or altered views and

perceptions. In fact, in the context of mobility where "people move across boundaries, geographic, ideological, social, cultural and linguistic, they may acquire new ways of speaking and acting, new ways of being" (Miller, 2003, p. 40). Nevertheless, drawing on Bourdieu (1991), Miller explains that these new ways of speaking, acting and being cannot be examined "in isolation from power relations and capital relations in social fields" (p. 40).

In the following two sections I will present two approaches to language learning in the field of SLA that have sociocultural and sociopolitical aspects of the language and its learning in social contexts as their core focus.

2.3.3. Second language learning as investment

About two decades ago, Norton Peirce (1995a) (now Norton) developed the notion of 'investment' as a more comprehensive approach to language learning, shifting the focus from individuals' motivation and their functioning to "activities and settings and the learning that inevitably accompanies social practice" (Norton & Toohey, 2001, p. 311). Inspired by Bourdieu's (1977a, 1991) economic metaphors, particularly the notion of cultural capital, Norton argues:

> If learners invest in a second language, they do so with the
> understanding that they will acquire a wider range of symbolic and
> material resources, which will in turn increase the value of their cultural
> capital. Learners expect or hope to have a good return on their
> investment – a return that will give them access to hitherto unattainable
> resources. (Norton, 2000a, p. 17)

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Since the advent of the 'investment' metaphor in SLA research, it has been further developed in Norton's subsequent work (Norton, 1997, 2000a, 2013) and in her collaborative work with a range of scholars (e.g., Darvin & Norton, 2015; Kanno & Norton, 2003; Norton & Toohey, 2001; Pavlenko & Norton, 2007; Toohey & Norton, 2003). Darvin and Norton (2015) recently introduced a new model of investment that integrates identity, ideology and capital (see Figure 2-3).

Figure 2-3- Darvin and Norton's (2015, p. 42) Model of Investment

In effect, Norton introduced the notion of investment to serve as an analytical lens to capture "the complex relationship between power, identity and language learning" (Norton, 2000a, p. 10). In the new model of investment, Darvin and Norton (2015, p. 42) have widened the lens "to go beyond the microstructures of power in specific communicative events" by interrogating "what is held as normative" or "ideologies" which serve to render the systemic patterns of control invisible. This way, as Darvin and Norton argue, it can be better understood how "power manifests itself materially in the practices of a classroom, workplace, or community; the positioning of interlocutors; and the structuring of habitus" (p. 42). In this framework, identity is not fixed, given or unitary, but multiple and contradictory (Norton, 1995a), because it is "socially created and developed through language, through an intentional negotiation of meanings and

understandings" (Baker, 2011, p. 398). Building on Norton's (1995a, 2013) notion of identity, Darvin and Norton (2015, p. 45) further elucidate that "identity is a struggle of habitus and desire, of competing ideologies and imagined identities". In this approach, desire is not an inherent characteristic, but "a complex multifaceted construction that is […] structured by the discourses of desire, the values, beliefs and practices circulating in a given social context" (Piller & Takahashi, 2006, pp. 59, 61). In this view, 'desire' not only encompasses a desire for mastery of the desired language, but also for entering into relationships with the speakers of the desired language (Piller, Takahashi, & Watanabe, 2010, p. 186).

Further, in the new model of investment, capital also has a more fluid conception. That is, the value of capital shifts across spaces whereby learners gain or lose power in migration contexts (see also the notion of 'scale' in section 2.3.2). Governed by different ideologies and possessing varying levels of capital, learners position themselves and are positioned by others in different contexts.

Norton built her investment theory based on her empirical research in ESL contexts where learners have immediate access to an English-speaking community. Therefore, since its publication, her theory has been widely used as a "significant explanatory construct" in the educational anthropology and second language learning literature (Cummins et al., 2005, p. 13). Nevertheless, her idea of investment can also be used in EFL contexts if we accept a role for the imagination in social life whereby learners can construct "an imagined future" (Darvin & Norton, 2015, p. 39) and a sense of belonging to an 'imagined community' (Anderson, 2006, first published 1983). Kanno and Norton (2003, p. 241) define imagined communities as "groups of people, not immediately tangible and accessible, with whom we connect through the power of the imagination". In

light of the notion of imagined community, the investment metaphor can also be extended to EFL contexts where learners invest in English language learning to gain cultural capital by anticipating that they will be able to turn it into material and symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1986) in local or global imagined communities.

Overall, examining learners' language learning trajectories through the lens of 'investment' allows us to explore "the socially and historically constructed relationship of learners to the target language" (Norton, 2000a, p. 10) and "to make a meaningful connection between a learner's desire and commitment to learn a language, and their complex and changing identity" (Norton, 2013, p. 6).

2.3.4. (Second) Language socialisation

Language socialisation research has its roots in multidisciplinary research drawing on anthropological linguistics (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986) and has connections with sociocultural theory and the 'communities of practice' (Lave & Wenger, 1991) approach to language learning (Duff, 2007). While most earlier studies focused on L1 acquisition (e.g., Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986), language socialisation studies in SLA have been attracting much interest in recent years. Drawing on earlier language socialisation studies (e.g., Schecter & Bayley, 1997; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986), Duff (2007) defines language socialisation as

> the process by which novices or newcomers in a community or culture gain communicative competence, membership, and legitimacy in the group. It is a process that is mediated by language and whose goal is the mastery of linguistic conventions, pragmatics, the adoption of appropriate identities, stances (e.g., epistemic or empathetic) or ideologies, and other behaviors

associated with the target group and its normative practices […] it is a means of foregrounding social, cultural, and linguistic knowledge and how it is gained, across a variety of language learning situations at various ages and stages of life. (Duff, 2007, p. 310)

As discussed earlier (see section 2.3.2), the process of integration into the new community often involves acquiring a sociolinguistic competence to be able to understand and to be understood by the members of the new community. Taking a language socialisation perspective, Schieffelin and Ochs (1986) describe this as a process which involves both the socialisation required to use the language (to gain communicative competence) and socialisation through language (to develop sociocultural knowledge). The concept of communicative competence entails a wider perspective of what constitutes competence beyond mere linguistic competence. At the centre of communicative competence is the ability to negotiate meaning by using contextually effective and appropriate language (Hymes, 1967, 1972).

In traditional socialisation research, older people were viewed as the experts or more proficient members of a group who were entitled to implicitly or explicitly teach youngsters to think and act in a certain way (Duff, 2007; Ochs & Schieffelin, 2012). This is a view that, as discussed earlier in Section 2.2, had also been adopted in traditional family studies in relation to parent-child interactions. In recent research, however, a bidirectional perspective has been assumed in elder-youngster, expert-novice and parent-child relationships. In this view, young people or newcomers or novices too are viewed as agents. They can have impacts on socialisation processes by conveying their communicative needs, their perspectives and prior experiences, and "the process of socialization is therefore seen to be bidirectional" (Duff, 2007, p. 311). Agency in this

framework, however, is not a 'property' that individuals possess; rather, "it is a relationship that is constantly co-constructed and renegotiated with those around the individual and with the society at large" (Lantolf & Pavlenko, 2001, p. 148). Therefore, it is a complex construct and can take multiple forms (Fogle, 2012). Ahearn defines agency as "the socioculturally mediated capacity to act" (2001, p. 112). That is, there are constraints and affordances within a certain social spatial-temporal context for the exertion of agency (Ahearn, 2001; Fogle, 2012). From this viewpoint, as Ahearn maintains, "all action is socioculturally mediated, both in its production and in its interpretation" (p. 112). This approach to agency provides space for the examination of children's action in relation to language learning and practices in the contexts of school and home, and the way their action is received and interpreted by others.

According to Ochs and Schieffelin (2012, p. 1), language socialisation research aims to capture "the social structurings and cultural interpretations of semiotic forms, practices, and ideologies that inform novices' practical engagement with others". These principles are explored not only in first language socialisation but also second language. In recent years, an increasing number of SLA studies have adopted language socialisation to investigate "how children, adolescents, and adults in fluid bilingual and multilingual contexts are socialized by and through language into new domains of knowledge and cultural practice" (Bayley & Schecter, 2003, p. 2). Second language socialisation, as explained by Duff (2012), constitutes

> a process by which non-native speakers of a language, or people
> returning to a language they may have once understood or spoken but
> have since lost proficiency in, seek competence in the language and

typically, membership and the ability to participate in the practices of communities in which that language is spoken. (Duff, 2012, p. 564)

Second language socialisation processes, therefore, are often viewed as more complex than those for first language socialisation. This complexity can be related to two important lines of reasoning. Firstly, participants in second language socialisation already possess a set of "linguistic, discursive, and cultural traditions and community affiliations when encountering new ones" (Duff, 2007, p. 310). Secondly, they may not have "access, acceptance, or accommodation within the new discourse communities as their L1 counterparts do" (p. 310). Therefore, it is essential to examine L2 socialisation in relation to L1 socialisation with a focus on societal contexts and ideologies (Duff, 2012). That is, in second language socialisation, it is crucial to analyse the practices and communities into which learners are being socialised. This way, it becomes possible to examine the processes that facilitate or hinder learners' legitimacy and participation within the new 'communities of practice' (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998).

The notion of 'community of practice' is viewed as a parallel trend with language socialisation research (Duff, 2007; Lanza, 2007). From the community of practice perspective, the foundation for learning is seen to be developed within the mutual engagement of novices and experts or newcomers and old-timers in a social activity within a group. In this view, access and participation are key components as they are in (second) language socialisation. However, within the language socialisation approach, in addition to the focus of research on affordances of a certain language learning context or participation frameworks, it is important to unmask the sociocultural and sociopolitical aspects of language and the processes of meaning making and interactional routines and practices (Duff & Talmy, 2011, p. 105).

Overall, from a poststructuralist perspective, as noted in the introductory section to this chapter (Section 2.1), the view of language learning as 'socialisation' provides space for the examination of the ways in which language is learned in its social, cultural, and political contexts (Pavlenko, 2002; Pennycook, 1990). Language socialisation, as Duff and Talmy (2011, p. 96) put it, focuses on "the local social, political and cultural contexts in which language is learned and used, on historical aspects of language and culture learning, on contestation and change across timescales, and on the cultural content of linguistic structures and practices". In line with the concept of bidirectionality, both parents and children are viewed "as key players in one another's language socialization, shifting their roles across contexts" (Song, 2007, p. 25).

Thus far, I have presented an overview of theoretical concepts and framework for the study. As discussed in the introductory section to this chapter (Section 2.1), this study aims to examine the interplay of parental language learning and practices with the language learning and practices of children against the backdrop of social and political structures of power. Therefore, theories from family studies to better understand how 'family' works as a system, and approaches to SLA within poststructuralist paradigms, together with the sociocultural concepts of language, power and ideology in migration contexts, could provide insights into the ways in which social and ideological forces permeate "the most intimate of domestic interactions" (Luykx, 2003, p. 40). In what follows, I will therefore review the literature on language practices in families in multilingual settings.

2.4. Language practices in transnational families

In recent research in applied linguistics, family has been viewed "as a dynamic system" in which members including children as active agents are involved in negotiation of

identities and family (re)formations, all enacted through language (King, 2016, p. 2). Family, as Piller (2002a, p. 133) states, "is one of the few contexts where there really is an option for individual language choice, much more so than in public and institutional contexts." Therefore, a focus on multilingual family as a social structure, provides an insight into the interplay of agency, language ideologies, and values and language socialisation and practices in familial interactions in migration contexts.

Migrant families in multilingual contexts often have the choice of using two or more languages within the household. This language choice may complicate language socialisation practices in the family and relationships between parents and children (Tuominen, 1999). Many scholars across different disciplines such as anthropology, education and linguistics have made attempts to understand how linguistic and sociocultural changes may influence the dynamics within the family (Crawford, 1999; Fishman, 1988; Fogle, 2013; Fogle & King, 2013; King, Fogle, & Logan-Terry, 2008; Lanza, 2007; Luykx, 2003, 2005; Schecter & Bayley, 1997; Wei & Hua, 2015; Wong Fillmore, 1991, 2000). Research in this domain has highlighted two key trends, that is, language maintenance/shift in the family which is often studied under the rubric of family language policy (FLP), and children acting as language brokers for their parents. In most of these investigations, a common pattern is that children in migrant families learn the new dominant language often faster than their parents, and tend to shift to the new language (e.g., Wong Fillmore, 1991) and in many situations communicate for their parents (e.g., Orellana, 2009). These two topics are further discussed in the following sections.

2.4.1. Family language policy: language maintenance and shift

Family language policy (FLP) is a multidisciplinary and complex research domain that focuses on language planning and practices within the domain of family. It draws from fields of language policy and child language acquisition, and its complexity relates to the various lines of research it covers. These lines of research can be narrowed down to two broad areas including bilingual childrearing and protection of endangered languages (Smith-Christmas, 2016). In bilingual childrearing, a prevalent strategy is one person-one language (OPOL) (Piller, 2001, 2002a; Romaine, 1995). In this approach, one parent speaks the minority language and the other, the majority language from the birth of the chid. The preference for OPOL itself may be a manifestation of the idea that languages should be kept apart by all means.

The second line of research examines migrant families in which both parents speak the minority language (Schwartz & Verschik, 2013b; Smith-Christmas, 2016). The most prevalent family language strategy by families who explicitly and consciously want their children to maintain the home language, as reported in the research in this domain, is 'home language versus community language' whereby children are urged by parents to use the minority language at home (Piller, 2001; Romaine, 1995). Children in these families are exposed to, and often begin to favour, the dominant language of the new society, particularly once they enter the sphere of formal education. Therefore, many studies have shown increasing interest in examining the ways in which FLP influences a

child's home language maintenance in families in multilingual settings (e.g., Fogle, 2013; Schwartz & Verschik, 2013b; Wong Fillmore, 1991).

In examining FLP and its relation to child language maintenance and shift, many studies (e.g., Fogle & King, 2013; King et al., 2008; Kopeliovich, 2013; Schwartz, 2013; Schwartz & Verschik, 2013b) orient to Spolsky's (2004) model of language policy which encompasses the three key components of language ideology, practice and management. From this perspective, research on FLP, as Fogle and King (2013, p. 1) maintain, attempts "to gain insights into family language ideologies (how family members think about language), language practices (what they do with language), and language management (what they try to do with language). In this approach, language policies and practices are not viewed as "static and unidirectional" (Fogle & King, 2013, p. 1). In effect, the language policies which initially are articulated by parents are subject to modifications and negotiations over time. These modifications and negotiations result mainly from clashes between parental ideologies and actual language practices in the home. The significant role of children as active participants in these (re)formation of language policies and practices in the family has been recognised in a good deal of research (e.g., Lanza, 2007; Luykx, 2003; Luykx, 2005; Tuominen, 1999).

Lanza (2007, p. 47), for example, stresses that children should be seen as "active and creative social agents who produce their own unique children's cultures, all the while contributing to the production of adult society." Luykx (2003), too, in her study of Bolivian children's language practices in two languages – Spanish (as the dominant language) and Aymara (an autochthonous minority language in Bolivia) – emphasises children's important role as active participants in shaping family language planning and practices. In effect, as Luykx (2003, p. 41) argues, children's language socialisation

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should not be viewed "as a one-way process, but as a dynamic network of mutual family influences". That is, while parents attempt to shape children's language practices and attitudes, "children's evolving competencies also influence parents' language choices" (p. 41). The influence of children on parental language planning and practices, however, may lead to positive impacts on parental language development (Luykx, 2005). Parent language may develop when they adapt their language practices to accommodate children's language needs or when, for instance, children persist in using the majority language in the home despite "parents' desired 'family language policy'" (p. 1409). Nevertheless, while children's persistence in using the majority language may help parental language development, it often leads to children's home language attrition (Wong Fillmore, 1991).

Another possibility for children to have a direct influence on parental language development, as identified by Luykx (2005, p. 1409), is when children act as "family language brokers". Some of the findings of studies on child language brokering are discussed in the next section.

2.4.2. Child language brokering

Language brokering has been defined as a phenomenon where an individual facilitates communication among people from different linguistic and/or cultural backgrounds (Grosjean, 1982; McQuillan & Tse, 1995, p. 195; Tse, 1996, p. 485). Children's roles as language brokers in helping parents and other members of the family to be connected to the new community has recently been the subject of increased scrutiny (e.g., Bauer, 2015; Dorner, Orellana, & Jiménez, 2008; McQuillan & Tse, 1995; Orellana, 2009; Valdes, 2003). The term 'broker' is adopted in this research because child language brokers

mediate communication, that is, they transmit messages, but also convey them in culturally and linguistically appropriate forms (McQuillan & Tse, 1995; Tse, 1996). This way, children may influence "the success and failure of the interactions beyond what any mere literal translator might do" (McQuillan & Tse, 1995, p. 196). Therefore, children may take up the role of both language and cultural socialisers in the home.

While the role of children as language brokers has been widely accepted among migrant communities, it is controversial (Morales & Hanson, 2005) for a number of reasons, including concern for negative impacts on a child's psychological well-being and also on parent-child relationships. However, many studies have challenged a static view of language brokering as being either 'positive' or 'negative' (e.g., Orellana, 2009). In effect, as Orellana (2009, p. 120) argues, "all evaluations are value-laden, and different people may view the same practices in many different ways, rendering distinct judgements about what children of particular ages and genders should be allowed or expected to do." In effect, these views and assumptions of what is believed to be normal, appropriate, correct, or good, are shaped by the practices of social world (Orellana, 2009, p. 129). In many migrant families today, children are not seen as "endangered" by language brokering. Rather, translating and interpreting for these families, for both parents and children, is seen as a normal daily activity which is intertwined within their lives (Dorner et al., 2008, p. 25; Orellana, 2009, p. 125). In this view, child language brokering can be seen as a bidirectional process. In effect, parental assumptions about and attitudes towards their children's language brokering can influence and shape how children see their work and what they learn from it (Orellana, 2009). Language brokering as normalcy, however, may cause inconveniences or, in some situations, feelings of stress and burden (McQuillan & Tse, 1995; Orellana, 2009).

Orellana (2009) for example, noted that children felt stressed when they sensed that their families were being judged negatively by adults or were "critiqued for who they were or were assumed to be, and when they felt that their words could cause harm to family members" (p. 120). Dorner, Orellana and Jimenez (2008) also reported from their longitudinal study of a group of youth that there were language brokering demands led to moments of tension in parent-child relationships, for example, interrupting TV viewing. Moreover, it has also been argued in some research that child brokering may lead to 'role reversal' or parent-child conflicts. This reversal can be engendered because of the differential distribution of linguistic capital which runs counter to the typical age-based distribution of power and status within families (Luykx, 2005, p. 1408). However, as Luykx and others (e.g., Orellana, 2009) point out, there is no concrete evidence to show if this is actually the case. On the contrary, some studies (e.g., McQuillan & Tse, 1995) have shown that child language brokering can have positive impacts on parent-child relationships by promoting increased trust and intimacy between them.

In fact, despite the inconveniences discussed above, language brokering in many situations can provide children with the opportunity to "feel needed, useful and appreciated" (Orellana, 2009, p. 120). Numerous studies have demonstrated a number of positive effects of language brokering, such as maturity and independence, increased general knowledge of the world (e.g., how different institutions work) and cultural understanding (e.g., appropriate forms of interaction in different social and cultural settings), better development of both the home and community languages, and increased cognitive abilities (such as problem solving skills) (e.g., Bauer, 2015; Dorner et al., 2008; McQuillan & Tse, 1995; Orellana, 2009; Sánchez & Orellana, 2006).

Apart from the effects for children themselves, discussed above, through language brokering children can open up pathways of development for their parents. In fact, when children translate and interpret for their parents, they potentially act as socialising agents who transmit socially-valued elements of the dominant language and culture to their parents who may not find other sources for such information (McQuillan & Tse, 1995; Orellana, 2009). Although this aspect, to the best of my knowledge, has not been studied in a systematic way, there are references in the research (see also Luykx, 2005).

Overall, research has shown that child language brokering is a reality which is occurring inevitably in the lives of many migrant parents and their children. Therefore, as Orellana (2009) maintains, it is helpful to facilitate this work and to value and validate children's skills, because, "when people feel supported by others, some of the most damaging aspects of burdensome situations may be mitigated" (p. 120).

2.5. Summary

In this chapter, I have discussed the theoretical frameworks and concepts on which my analysis will be built. It is of particular relevance to my study to examine the interplay of societal forces, language ideologies, values, and expectations relative to language learning, each with a focus on family in migration contexts. Therefore, I first began by establishing a poststructuralist paradigm as the broad theoretical framework for the study. Then, drawing on family studies, I introduced key concepts and theories that shaped my understanding of the dynamics in parent-child interactions. These include the notion of bidirectionality in parent-child interactions, which has the agency of both parent and child as its core focus. Then, following sociocultural theories and recent work in sociolinguistics that offer a contextual perspective on multilingual behaviours and

practices, I discussed key concepts from the poststructuralist paradigm that can serve as interpretive frames for the study. These are concepts that shaped my understanding of how language learning and practices are mediated by societal forces, ideologies and power relations in place.

I then moved to a discussion of what is known relative to language practices of migrant families in multilingual settings. Two important common topics are particularly covered by existing research, that is, family language policy and child language brokering. Together, these studies show how dominant ideologies, language beliefs and values intersect with language practices in the family (King et al., 2008).

The influential role of children in the (re)formation of family language planning and implementation and practices emerged as a key consideration in the literature. There are also references in research to the influential role children can play in developing parents' language. Luykx (2005, p. 1409), for example, suggests that children may have a socialising influence on their parents' linguistic development when parents adapt their language practices to their children's sociolinguistic needs, and when these adaptations are not limited to merely parent-child interactions, but are added as a new speech variety to parents' linguistic repertoire. There is also a possibility that parents learn directly from their children the new language or some of its elements when children persist in using the language at home, or use it with siblings, or when children act as family language brokers. While these possibilities of parental language development through children have been identified, there exists, to the best of my knowledge, and as noticed by Luykx (2005, pp. 1408, 1411), little concrete evidence for them, since few studies (if any) have focussed on parental language development and practices through such interactions. The present study aims to attend to this lacuna by examining the ways in which parental and

child language development and practices may intersect. To do so, I will incorporate bidirectional models of parent-child interactions drawn from family studies into the field of second language learning. This multidisciplinary view will allow me to investigate the research topic at hand by attending "to the children not only as the objects of socialization, but also as its potential agents" (Luykx, 2005, p. 1412).

Therefore, this thesis intends to pursue answers to the following research questions:

(1) What are parents' experiences of language learning and use before migration?

(2) What are parents' experiences of language learning and use after migration?

(3) What are children's experiences of language learning and use?

(4) How do parents and children's language learning and use intersect?

Now that I have established the theoretical framework for my study, I will move on to present my research methods of this study in the next chapter.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the research design and methodology used for the present study. I will first situate my research in the qualitative research paradigm and discuss the rationale for adopting a qualitative approach. This will be followed by an account of the data collection procedures and methods as well as the ethical considerations. Then, after presenting the participants, I will discuss my own position as the researcher with respect to the participants. Following that, I will describe how the data were analysed. Finally, I will present a summary and address the limitations of the study.

3.2. Qualitative methodology

This study is an exploration of language learning and use experiences of a group of Iranian parents and children and their interrelationship in terms of language learning and use in Australian contexts. It is guided by the research questions set out at the conclusion of the previous chapter, relative to this sample group:

- What are the parents' experiences of language learning and use before migration?

- What are the parents' experiences of language learning and use after migration?

- What are the children's experiences of language learning and use?

- How do the parents and children's language learning and use intersect?

Qualitative methodology is adopted for this research, as it is the best-fit approach when the aim is to "empower individuals to share their stories, hear their voices, and minimize the power relationships that often exist between a researcher and the participants in a study" (Creswell, 2013, p. 48) and "to capture the deep meaning of experience in the

participants' own words" (Marshall & Rossman, 2011, p. 93)". In other words, we conduct qualitative research when we want to better understand human actions and the meaning that people assign to them, and their relationship to a particular phenomenon in their own right.

In adopting a qualitative approach, I recognise that there is "no one truth that is exhaustive and definitive" (Rudkin, 2002, p. 13), and that social reality is an interpretive social construction which is given shape and meaning by people's discourses in a given context (Madison, 2012). The researcher, as a human being with her own agency and personal experiences, partakes in these discourses with research participants in a certain context and it is through the interactions between the researcher and the researched that reality is given meaning. Therefore, like many qualitative methodologists who acknowledge subjectivity and partiality in research (Atkinson, 1990; Clifford & Marcus, 1986; Madison, 2012; Norton, 1995b; Rabinow, 1986), I eschew any pretensions of pure impartiality and objectivity in my research and unavoidably bring in my own lived experiences and viewpoints in my interactions with my research participants, albeit bearing in mind and attempting to avoid making any "value judgements about unfamiliar practices" (Fetterman, 2010, p. 24).

Therefore, the methodological approach adopted for the purpose of the study tends to be consistent with a constructivist-interpretive approach. From this perspective, the intention is to "understand and interpret the world in terms of its actors" (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2013, p. 31), whilst assuming the existence of multiple realities, the co-creation of understandings between participants and researcher, and "a naturalistic (in the natural world) set of methodological procedures" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011, p. 13). In effect, in

this approach, the researcher relies upon the participants' views and experiences while recognising the impact of her own background and experiences on the research.

In carrying out this research, I adopted a sociolinguistic ethnographic approach as I was interested in having a close look at the language practices of a group of migrant families in Australia and to gain an understanding of "how things happen, and some sense of why they happen the way they do" (Heller, 2006, p. 222). Within this framework, my data are derived with this awareness that discourse is "contextualised in each phase of its existence, and that every act of discourse production, reproduction, and circulation or consumption involves shifts in contexts" (Blommaert, 2005, p. 64). This included situating parents and children's stories and experiences in the wider social and political landscapes, and examining how parental and child language learning and practices and their interrelationship could play out against the backdrop of social interests and language ideologies. This way, I can present a holistic portrait and a context-based and interpretive description of events from an emic perspective, that is an "insider account of what is going on in a particular society or group" (Piller, 2002b, p. 184) and why it is going on in that way.

In choosing appropriate data collection methods, I was concerned that the results should reflect participants' viewpoints, both those of parents and children, about their language learning and use and the ways that parents and children thought and spoke about the interrelationship between their respective language learning and use. To this end, I used interviews to listen to participants' stories and experiences and to hear their voices. In adopting this method, I accept that the interviewer and the interviewee, as subjects with agency, history, beliefs and personal experiences, are in "partnership and dialogue as they construct memory, meaning, and experience together" (Madison, 2012, p. 28). It is

through this "partnership and dialogue" that not only data emerge intrinsically, but also the trust and rapport required to derive meaningful data relevant to research questions are built between participants and the researcher (Spradley, 1979).

3.3. Data collection

The procedures and methods of data collection are discussed in this section. First, I will present an overview of the procedures used to recruit research participants. Then, in the following section, I will discuss the methods of data collection used for the present study. Finally, I will address the ethical issues that arose in the context of this study.

3.3.1. Participant selection and recruitment

At the beginning of the research a decision was made to focus on recruiting migrant families from Iran. My interest in the Iranian cohort is twofold. Firstly, I am one of them. Being a member of the respondent community can provide "special insight into matters (otherwise obscure to others) based on one's knowledge of the language and one's intuitive sensitivity and empathy and understanding of the culture and its people" (Kikumura, 1986, p. 2). Secondly, as discussed in Chapter 1 (see Section 1.3), Australia has attracted an increasing number of Iranian migrants in recent years. This study, therefore, adds a layer to the understanding of processes of language learning and practices of this emerging but relatively under-researched community in Australia.

To identify and recruit informants for my research, I used purposive snowball sampling, that is, sampling among Iranian parents who at the time of the data collection had at least one child of age eight to twelve years and who had been living in Australia for less than five years (purposive sampling), and then building further connections through the first contacts (snowball sampling). The decision to set the age range of eight to twelve for

children was informed by the assumption that this is an age-range within which children "are influenced by their surroundings, they start forming attitudes toward language use, and begin socializing the parents" (Kayam & Hirsch, 2012, p. 623).

The decision was also made to constrain the participants' length of stay in Australia to a maximum of five years, based on research indicating that migrants within this period are still in the process of building their social and occupational lives (e.g., Millbank, Phillips, & Bohm, 2006). The transitional nature of the first five years of migrant resettlement is also manifest in policies set out for migrants, such as the Adult Migrant English Program (AMEP) which is a federally funded program for newly arrived migrants in Australia, accessible within their first five years of resettlement (Department of Immigration and Border Protection, 2013a). It is also assumed that within the first five years of resettling in the new country the school age children would be making significant progress in language learning (Collier, 1989; Levin & Shohamy, 2008) although this learning process cannot be considered complete. Nonetheless, because of practicalities emerging in the recruitment process, a few families were also included in the study who had been in Australia for about six years at the time of the interview (see

Table 3-1 in Section 3.4).

My first participants mostly were from my own social network. These participants then passed on the information about my study along with my contact details to other potential participants within their social networks. Additionally, I identified and recruited participants by visiting Persian community language schools in the Sydney region. Eventually, in total, nineteen families were recruited for this study. Further information

about participants is presented in Section 3.4. Before introducing the participants, I will present how I collected data from them.

3.3.2. Methods of data collection

In line with the intent of this study to gain an in-depth understanding of the experiences of a group of families regarding their language learning and use in migration contexts, I used different methods to collect data from parents and children as outlined below. This collection of data spanned two years during 2013-2014.

There were five types of data collection methods used for the purpose of this study, namely, interviews with parents and group interviews with children, background questionnaires and field notes. Each will be discussed in detail in the following sections.

3.3.2.1.   Interviews with parents

I conducted interviews with parents guided by descriptive open-ended questions. This way, I could give the participants the freedom to describe their experiences in a variety of settings and occasions in their own words (Spradley, 1979) while, at the same time, directing the interview towards addressing language learning and use in family.

A total of nineteen interviews were conducted with parents. Except for six interviews in which the mother alone participated (see also

Table 3-1 in Section 3.4), in other interviews both the mother and the father attended. Of the six mothers who attended the interview alone, one woman's husband was living in Iran at the time of the interview; another woman's husband was away on a visit to his family in Iran at the time of the interview; the other four mentioned their husbands' busy

situations as the reason for not being able to arrange a suitable time to attend the interview.

All the interviews were conducted in a place most convenient for the participants such as in their local coffee shops, at community language schools, in parks, public libraries or at their houses. Having been given the choice of using English and/or Persian at the interviews, all the participants used Persian or a mix of Persian and English. Each interview ran for between one and two hours and they were audio-recorded with participants' prior consent, and then transcribed and translated by myself.

I had drafted broad questions (see Appendix VI) to guide me through the interview and to make sure that the relevant topics were covered in my discussions with participants. I began the interview by asking parents to tell me about their English language education and use before and after coming to Australia. Then, through the dialogue between us and exchanging viewpoints, I was able to direct the conversation to hear about their children's English education and use before and after coming to Australia, their experiences of language learning and use in their interactions with their children at home and in public, and their attitudes about the Australian system of education in general. These broad topics led us to lengthy conversations, and opened up the opportunity for the participants to give an exhaustive description of their own and their children's language learning and use experiences, their interests, ideas and ideologies, and their challenges and concerns with regard to English language learning and use, both for themselves and for their children before and after coming to Australia.

After completing the interviews with parents, I contacted them again and arranged the interviews with their children. I followed this methodical sequence of interviewing

parents before their children because I wanted to make mutual acquaintance with parents with whom I had no familiarity and to provide all the parents with the opportunity to learn precisely about the project and the type of interview questions so as to have peace of mind about their children's interview.

In the next section, I will describe the methods and strategies I used to collect data from the children.

3.3.2.2.   *Group interviews with children*

After hearing parents' experiences and stories as described above, it was the children's turn to speak their minds and talk about the issues around language learning and use within family and outside family, in their own words. I wanted to hear the children's voices to make some sense of their perspectives and concerns through their eyes so as to better understand how they "understand and interpret, negotiate and feel about their daily lives" (Greene & Hill, 2005, p. 3) in the new sociocultural and linguistic environment. For this purpose, I adopted group interviews as the best method befitting the aim of this study to explore children's experiences of learning and using English (before and after coming to Australia), that is, their perspectives on their language learning and use (inside and outside classrooms), their observations of language learning and use in their family, and their viewpoints on their home language/s.

Interviewing children in groups has many advantages (Lewis, 1992). Firstly, a child may feel "less intimidated by talking in a group than when talking individually to an adult" (p. 416). In fact, by providing a peer supported atmosphere, the power imbalance between adult and child that might exist in a one-to-one interview could be redressed (Hennessy & Heary, 2005; Mauthner, 1997). Another advantage of interviewing children in groups is

that they get ideas from each other which can jog their memories to share their stories and to feel encouraged to speak their minds when their peers do so (Hill, Laybourn, & Borland, 1996). This way a wider range of responses and a more complete record can be obtained than through individual interviews (Arksey & Knight, 1999).

It was preferable to interview children without their parents being present. The reason for this preference was that the children may be more willing to share information if their parents are not present (Mauthner, 1997). However, in some cases, parents preferred to be present. Nevertheless, most of them were aware of the importance of the children's views in my research and so assured me that they would not interfere in the process or exert control over their children's talk. In some cases, however, the parents' presence was advantageous in that they could come in to the conversation to help their children recall a situation or observation that they seemed to have forgotten.

A total of twenty-two children participated in the study. They were interviewed in ten groups of two to three children except for one child who had to be interviewed individually for difficulties in arrangements. In organising small groups of duos or trios, I wanted each child to have a chance to share as many stories and observations as possible. Further, in larger groups, as Lewis (1992, p. 418) suggests, the social organisation of the group can be strained and children may become less attentive to the main task. Another consideration in arranging the group interviews was to group children in a way that friends or those who had prior acquaintance would be able to be together. That way, a safe peer interview setting could be provided, in which children would feel comfortable and encouraged to participate in the discussion (Hill et al., 1996).

It is a major aim in interviews to develop rapport and trust to gain the participants'
cooperation (Arksey & Knight, 1999; Spradley, 1979). A key step to building rapport and
trust is to "set the child at ease and in control of the situation" from the beginning (Arksey
& Knight, 1999, p. 116). In doing so, however, there is no single set of rules to follow
and, thus, the onus is on the researchers to have flexibility of design and to tailor the
interview modes to their research needs (Arksey & Knight, 1999; Freeman & Mathison,
2009). Therefore, I used the following strategies, some of which were pre-planned based
on the literature, and some adopted on an ad hoc basis, considering the situation at hand,
including participants' traits and needs and the settings.

I began the discussion by explaining in brief my research project, and that we had
gathered to have a friendly chat about their stories and experiences. I also explained that
they had the choice of using English and/or Persian in the interview. Having been given
the language choice, most of the children used a mix of Persian and English. Then, I went
on to explain that their views and stories were important for my research. This way, I
wanted to provide a stress-free atmosphere by promising them a friendly and fun session,
whilst making them feel a sense of being important and giving them confidence in
making a contribution to an important research project. Nevertheless, this introduction
was blended with some humour as an icebreaker to provide a sense of fun in the group.

In the next step, following the claims in children's studies that it is advantageous to use
task-based and participatory activities in doing research with children (Heath, Brooks,
Cleaver, & Ireland, 2009; Hill, 1997), I used Background Questionnaires (See
section 3.3.2.3) as a self-completion task. This way, I could involve children in the data
collection process so as to redress the power imbalances by empowering them and
boosting their confidence and participation. In doing so, while holding up the Background

Questionnaires in my hands, I asked, "Who has ever filled in any forms?" Although I did not get a direct 'yes - no' answer in most cases, all of them showed much excitement and enthusiasm to fill in the forms, as if they could feel the power and the sense of importance that I wished to give them.

Next, I began to ask the first main research question, whilst offering them the opportunity to hold the audio-recorder in their hands if they wanted to talk. I used this strategy following Heller (2011, p. 45) who suggests that the curiosity of school-age children as research participants needs to be satisfied by letting them appropriate the recording device. I could see the surprise in some of the children's eyes for this gesture, and the pleasure of holding a device which could "get taken up as mechanical incarnations of the researcher" (Heller, 2011, p. 45).

The discussion with the children, like with their parents, was guided by research questions to make sure that the interview was being directed towards addressing the research topics. I began by asking them about their English language education from the past to the present including any experiences and stories that they could recall. Then I moved to language/s they used at home and outside and asked them about any experiences of doing their homework at home with their parents, learning from their parents and teaching, helping or correcting their parents. While having these topics in mind, I also let them talk about issues that arose, so that I could find out the topics of greater importance to them. This led to the emergence of interesting data about the children's priorities, ideologies, viewpoints and concerns about language learning and use at home and in society.

In the next section, I will explain the ways in which background questionnaires, as another means of data collection, were useful in gathering demographic information as well as facilitating the interviews.

3.3.2.3. *Background questionnaires administered to both parents and children (separately)*

At the beginning of each session of interviews with parents, as well as group interviews with children, participants were asked to fill in a short questionnaire regarding the participants' circumstances before and after migration. The information collected in the parents' questionnaire included their personal, educational and professional status (including an opt-out option for household income); any form of English language education and use before and after coming to Australia; language/s used at home, and their own assessment of their English language proficiency (See Appendix IV). As for the children, information was sought about their personal and educational background; any kind of English language education and use before and after coming to Australia; language/s used at home, and their hobbies (See Appendix V). Most children showed much enthusiasm for filling in the forms by themselves, although some of them received help from me or from their parents if they were present in the session.

A background questionnaire was initially proposed as a method of data collection to obtain participants' demographic information in a systematic way and to save time in the interviews to hear more of participants' stories rather than asking them about their background information. However, besides these anticipated advantages, it also served as a catalyst to alleviate the sense of apprehension, particularly for children as described in the previous section, and to speed up the process of building rapport, particularly with those parents who I met for the first time as we jointly filled in the forms. Furthermore, it

made it easier to transition from the phase of greetings and informal talks, to the actual interviews by situating the participants in the context of research.

In the interview sessions with both parents and children, I asked participants to keep a journal as a record of their on-the-spot experiences regarding language learning and use in their family, including any parent-child interaction where language became an issue. Initially, when I designed my research, I had planned to use this method to hear as many stories of participants as possible. Particularly for children, this technique was suggested by Miller (2003) in her study of a group of ESL students in Queensland. She used this technique as a useful tool particularly suitable for those students who might be, for instance, shy to talk, or if their skill in writing might be stronger than their speaking. This method thus could allow them to express what they wanted to say without any pressure or fear of sounding awkward. However, although the participants accepted my suggestion to take note of any experiences relevant to my research, and despite my friendly reminders after the interviews through phone calls, emails, and occasional encounters at various social events, I began to realise that I could not collect much data through this method as I did not receive any response from any of my participants. As an alternative, I tried to keep contact with them more often, mainly through phone calls and emails, to seek any new account of their language learning and use experiences. Although this alternative did not yield the result I expected to obtain from journal entries, since some of the instances that might have happened might have been forgotten at the time of our contact, I could still hear more stories of the participants or any changes in regard to

language learning and use in their family. Finally, straightaway after our conversations, I took detailed notes while my memory was still fresh.

In the following section, I will further describe how I organised these notes as well as other field notes taken from interviews and observations.

3.3.2.4. *Field notes*

Immediately after each interview with parents and group interviews with children, as well as any contacts, encounters and observations, I made my own detailed field notes of the events including aspects such as physical settings, my own reflections, thoughts, ideas and first impressions and hunches, all headed by time, date and location. Where it was not possible to do so (e.g. due to time restrictions), I either wrote up the field notes as soon as I could or, where possible (e.g. while driving after the event), I audio-recorded an account of the event on my phone (Marshall & Rossman, 2011) and then transcribed my recordings soon after. In organising the field notes into a systematic order for a more effectual and easy-to-access form of data, I used a set of questions as proposed by Miles & Huberman (1994, p. 53) as a guiding instrument:

1. What were the main issues or themes that struck you in this contact?

2. Summarize the information you got (or failed to get) on each of the target questions you had for this contact.

3. Anything else that struck you as salient, interesting, illuminating or important in this contact?

4. What new or remaining target questions do you have in considering the next contact with this site?

Overall, the data were collected for the study through interviewing participants, conversations on various occasions and on the phone, and participants' observations. The data were generated in the forms of interview data, transcripts of audio-recordings and field notes. The methods employed to analyse the data are discussed in Section 3.6. But before that, I will discuss some of the ethical considerations for the study (Section 3.3.3). Then, I will present the participants (Section 3.4), followed by a discussion of my researcher positionality in relation to the research participants (Section 3.5).

3.3.3. Ethical considerations

Participants in this study were both adults and children. To protect the rights of both groups and to ensure ethical research, three main principles were adopted: informed consent, privacy and confidentiality, and voluntariness that is, they were free to stay in or leave the project at any time. These principles required the researcher to treat participants fairly without favouring anyone and to consider them as individuals with agency, that is, to provide them with adequate information about the study, its aims and its anticipated benefits, and to give them freedom to enter into/withdraw from the research voluntarily without any consequences. These ethical requirements also were included in the application for ethic approval from the Human Research Ethics Committee at Macquarie University.

At the beginning of each interview all participants were informed verbally of the intent and procedure of the research, and were assured of confidentiality. It was also explained that, to protect their privacy, pseudonyms would be used for people and places, in the transcribed interviews and in subsequent publications. Therefore, coded names were used for participants. These codes include the family member's relationship (e.g., Mother, Father, Daughter, Son) followed by a letter representing the whole family (e.g., Mother-

A, Father-A). Parents were also asked to read the information statement and to sign the consent forms which were prepared in two separate sets for themselves and their children (see Appendices II and III).

Furthermore, to prevent any miscomprehension, in addition to verbal explanations, written consents were prepared in a clear and easy-to-understand style in both English and Persian, containing details about the study, its intentions and anticipated benefits, the procedure of data collection and confidentiality of data, as well as an explicit clause stressing the voluntariness of the participants' participation in the study.

All in all, throughout my research, while adhering to the ethical principles described above, I kept hold of the proviso of Madison's word, that "when we enter the field, we enter the lifeworld of others, and we enter with the ethical intent to do good" (2012, p. 109).

3.4. Participants

There were nineteen families participating in this project. There were initially twenty families who agreed to participate in this project. However, one family dropped out before any data collection was undertaken. As mentioned in Section 3.3.1, participants were all Iranian families including parents and at least one school-aged child (eight to twelve years old) who had been living in Australia less than six years at the time of data collection. Although level of education, visa type (e.g. humanitarian, skilled migrant, spouse, and so on) and level of English proficiency were not initially considered as preconditions for the purpose of this study, it turned out that all but two of the participating families had come to Australia on Skilled Migrant visas. This means that before coming to Australia they had some tertiary educational background at different

levels with "at least competent English" as measured through the IELTS test (Department of Immigration and Border Protection, 2013b). This homogeneity occurred because the participants were mainly recruited through my network of friends sharing similar status and background. Clearly, the outcome as presented in this thesis could be different if participants had a different socioeconomic and educational background. Detailed participant information is presented in

Table 3-1.

Table 3-1- Participants

Family	Participants' ID	Age on arrival	Educational Level/Field (at the time of interview)	Occupation in Iran	Language/s spoken	Year arrived in Australia	Occupation in Australia	Other members at home
A	Mother-A	34	Bachelor, Physics	Technical Support (Software)	Persian English	2011	Casual childcare educator	N/A
	Father-A	34	Bachelor, Physics	Project Manager	Persian English	2011	Sales Engineer	
	Son-A	7	Year 4	N/A	Persian English	2011	N/A	
B	Mother-B	33	Bachelor, Civil Engineering	Civil Engineer	Persian English Turkish	2008	Account Manager	N/A
	Father-B	45	Masters, Civil Engineering	Structural Engineer	Persian English	2008	Structural Engineer	
	Daughter-B	7	Year 5	N/A	Persian English	2008	N/A	
C	Mother-C	33	Bachelor, Psychology	Makeup Artist	Persian English	2010	Homemaker	Daughter 9months
	Father-C	35	Bachelor, Mechanical Engineering; IT Certificate	IT Expert	Persian English	2010	IT Expert	
	Son-C	9	Year 6	N/A	Persian English	2010	N/A	
D	Mother-D	34	Masters, Electronic Engineering	Consultant Engineer	Persian English	2009	PhD Student- Tele- communications	N/A
	Father-D	39	Bachelor, Textile Engineering	Sales Manager	Persian English	2009	Salesperson	
	Daughter-D	5	Year 3	N/A	Persian English	2009	N/A	
E	Mother-E	31	Masters, Architecture Engineering	Project Manager	Persian English	2012	Unemployed (Job seeking)	N/A
	Father-E	43	Masters, Mechanical Engineering	Director	Persian English Turkish Arabic	2012	Unemployed (Job seeking)	

Family	Participants' ID	Age on arrival	Educational Level/Field (at the time of interview)	Occupation in Iran	Language/s spoken	Year arrived in Australia	Occupation in Australia	Other members at home
	Daughter-E	7	Year 2	N/A	Persian English	2012	N/A	
F	Mother-F	32	Bachelor, Software Engineer	Software Engineer	Persian English	2009	Network Engineer	Son 6 years old
	Father-F	34	Doctor of Medicine	Medical Practitioner	Persian English	2009	Casual Nurse – prior qualifications assessment	
	Daughter-F	5	Year 3	N/A	Persian English	2009	N/A	
G	Mother-G	35	Bachelor, English Translation	Tour and Travel Agent	Persian English	2010	Homemaker	N/A
	Father-G	35	Bachelor, Civil Engineer	Plant Manager	Persian English	2010	Applications Engineer	
	Son-G	9	Year 5	N/A	Persian English	2010	N/A	
	Daughter-G	7	Year 4	N/A	Persian English	2010	N/A	
H	Mother-H	31	Masters, IT	Industrial Engineer	Persian English	2006	Project Analyst	N/A
	Father-H		(Non-Participant)					
	Daughter-H	3	Year 4	N/A	Persian English	2006	N/A	
I	Mother-I	32	Bachelor, Electronic Engineering	Electronic Engineer	Persian English	2006	Software Programmer	N/A
	Father-I	32	Masters, IT	IT Specialist	Persian English	2006	IT Specialist	
	Daughter-I	3	Year 4	N/A	Persian English	2006	N/A	
J	Mother-J	30	Bachelor, Geology	Geologist	Persian Turkish English	2007	Social worker, serving disabled children	Son 5 years old
	Father-J		(Non-Participant)					
	Daughter-J	3	Year 4		Persian English	2007	N/A	
K	Mother-K	40	Bachelor, Software Engineering	IT Consultant	Persian English Danish	2006	Homemaker	Son 5 years old
	Father-K	44	Masters, Software Engineering	Senior Software Developer	Persian English Danish	2006	Senior Software Developer	
	Son-K	3	Year 4	N/A	Persian English	2006	N/A	
L	Mother-L	40	Diploma, Graphic Design	Educational Manager in an Institute	Persian Turkish English	2008	Student – Advance Diploma of Graphic Design	N/A
	Father-L	52	Bachelor, Agricultural Engineering	Researcher	Persian Turkish English	2013	Student – Environmental Management	
	Daughter-L	4	Year 3	N/A	Persian English	2008	N/A	
M	Mother-M	34	Bachelor,	Homemaker	Persian English	2010	Student- Accounting	
	Father-M	42	Bachelor, Civil Engineering	Civil Engineer	Persian English	2010	Student- Civil Engineer	N/A

Family	Participants' ID	Age on arrival	Educational Level/Field (at the time of interview)	Occupation in Iran	Language/s spoken	Year arrived in Australia	Occupation in Australia	Other members at home
							Training course (job seeking)	
	Daughter-M	7	Year 4	N/A	Persian English	2010	N/A	
N	Mother-N	33	Bachelor, Software Engineering	Web Developer	Persian English	2010	Web Developer	N/A
	Father-N			(Non-Participant)				
	Daughter-N	5	Year 3		Persian English	2010	N/A	
O	Mother-O	34	High School Diploma	Wedding planner	Persian English	2011	Student, Hairdressing	N/A
	Father-O			(Non-Participant)				
	Daughter-O	6	Year 2	N/A	Persian English	2011	N/A	
P	Mother-P	33	Bachelor, Accounting	Finance Director	Persian English Turkish Spanish	2008	Rebate Manager	N/A
	Father-P			(Non-Participant)				
	Son-P1	4	Year 3	N/A	Persian English	2008	N/A	
	Son-P2	3	Year 2	N/A	Persian English	2008	N/A	
Q	Mother-Q	40	Bachelor, Nursing	Nurse	Persian English	2012	Student (English) + Homemaker	Son 2.5 years old
	Father-Q	38	Masters, Environmental Engineering	Environmental Engineer	Persian English	2012	Waste Education Officer	
	Daughter-Q	9	Year 4	N/A	Persian English	2012	N/A	
R	Mother-R	33	Masters, Computer Application	Software Engineer	Persian English Hindi	2010	Software Engineer	N/A
	Father-R	38	Doctor of Medicine - Ophthalmology	Medical Specialist	Persian English Hindi	2010	Observer in a hospital - prior qualifications assessment)	
	Daughter-R	9	Year 6	N/A	Persian English	2010	N/A	
S	Mother-S	28	Undergraduate student, Nursing	Homemaker	Persian English Turkish	2009	Nurse	N/A
	Father-S	36	Masters, Civil Engineer	Civil Engineer	Persian English Turkish	2009	Civil Engineer	
	Son-S	8	Year 5	N/A	Persian English Turkish (a little)	2009	N/A	

While

Table 3-1 is relatively self-explanatory, there are a few points that might need to be elaborated. As the table shows, most of the parents and their children came together to Australia. These were families who came in the Skilled Migration stream. In the case of Family "L", the father came to Australia a few years later than his wife and daughter. This delay related to issues around their visa processes. In fact, the migration stream of families "L" and "O" was not skill-based, but humanitarian. In both of these families, the mother and the child came first on tourist visas. Mother-L came with her daughter in 2008 initially to visit her brother and his family, but then decided to stay for religion-related reasons and the difficulties they had in that respect in Iran. Father-L, however, could not join his family until their Australian residency was regularised and then he came in 2013. Mother-O had a similar situation, except that her husband had not yet joined his family at the time of data collection.

The other point worth mentioning relates to the languages spoken at home. As the table above makes clear, some parents knew a language other than English and Persian, mainly Turkish, which is one of the ethnic minority languages in Iran. However, all parents reported that they spoke Persian, or in some cases English, with their children. However, some of these parents (e.g. Mother-L and Father-L; Mother-S and Father-S) reported that sometimes they used Turkish with each other or with their own Turkish-speaking families. Some of the children in these families were reported to understand a little Turkish, but none of them was able to speak in that language.

3.5. Researcher Positionality: Somewhere in "the space between" insider and outsider

Many scholars in recent years have criticised the dichotomous notion of 'insider/outsider' (e.g., Carling, Erdal, & Ezzati, 2013; Dwyer & Buckle, 2009; Leung, 2015; Merton, 1973; Verschik, 2010). Merton (1973, p. 129), for instance, argues that in the process of "truth seeking" both insider and outsider positions should be considered as having "distinctive and interactive roles". In the same vein, Leung (2015, para. 1) describes the dichotomy as an "over simplified, bounded and binary construct", arguing that "insiderness-outsiderness is dynamic and multiple, highly contextualised in the specific space-time of interactions" between the researcher and the researched. In this relation, these scholars have inhabited their positions in their research beyond a rigid 'insider/outsider' dichotomy to explore "the complexity and richness" of what Dwyer and Buckle have called "the space between" (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009, pp. 60, 61), a "continuum" along which the researcher and the researched constantly negotiate their positions (Leung, 2015; Surra & Ridley, 1991).

In my research, I also took up an insider-outsider position in the exploration of a topic that had been shaped by my personal experiences, and with people with whom I felt an affiliation because of our shared cultural and linguistic backgrounds. I shared a number of characteristics and life trajectories with my participants that could position me as an 'insider' in the research. Similar to my participants, I was an Iranian parent with a school-aged child, and a recent migrant to Australia. Having grown up in Iran, I shared similar trajectories with many of my participants in relation to education and learning English as a foreign language prior to migration. Moreover, similar to my participants, I had undergone the process of integration into the new society which involved learning and

using a different variety of English than that which I had learned and used prior to migration. Furthermore, I had a school-aged child, as my participants did, who was being educated in Australian contexts. My participants' accounts, thus, often resonated with mine. These similarities brought about a vigour of mutual interaction between many participants and myself such that that I could not supress my enthusiasm for an engaged way of listening to the participants' stories, empathising with what they were recounting, and bringing in my own experiences and stories. This is the way that an ethnographer does the research in exploration of what is going on from an insider's viewpoint, as Clifford and Marcus (1986, p. 13) highlight "the ethnographer's personal experiences, especially those of participation and empathy, are recognized as central to the research process". Further, my knowledge of our shared cultural and linguistic nuances could afford a deeper understanding of participants' experiences from their narratives and an authentic reflection of their accounts.

However, as noted by Zachrison (2014, p. 66), "despite a shared background, social constructions distinguish all of us in many ways and, consequently, our social behavior could not be generalized on the basis of a shared background". In respect of my research, there were also aspects of me as an individual, including my set of beliefs and worldviews, which were not necessarily shared by all participants. Under these circumstances, I continually reminded myself of my role as the researcher who was seeking to explore and reflect on participants' distinctive worldviews, rather than falling into debates and trying to challenge their views.

The following excerpt, for example, comes from my interview with Mother-M and Father-M, after I asked them what they had learned from Daughter-M, for instance, by asking her the meanings or pronunciation of English words. The couple's response,

however, that they avoided asking their child any questions due to the impact this might

have on her upbringing, contradicted my viewpoints about children and my observations.

However, in that situation I could sense the strength of their devotion to their creed of

child rearing. Hence, I reminded myself that it was not the purpose of the interview to

challenge their viewpoints, although I felt distanced from my 'insiderness'.

Excerpt 3-1

Mother-M: من سعی می‌کنم این کار را نکنم اگر هم نمی‌دانم. چون احساس می‌کنم اگر اینو ازش بپرسم یه چیزهای دیگر را هم میخواد بعداً به من یاد بدهد. تو مسائل تربیتیش این قضیه حاکم میشه مثلاً فکر میکنه که مثلاً نه باید خیلی چیزها را به من آموزش بدهد. برای همین حتی اگر هم ندانم سعی می‌کنم از او نپرسم.

Father-M: آره خب، بچه بالاخره ممکنه=

Mother-M: =ملکه ذهنش میشه دیگه =

F-Fa: =سطح تشخیصش تا یه حدیه، بهرحال یخورده قضیه complicate {خنده} میشه که فکر میکنه که شما ممکنه خیلی چیزها رو هم ندونین اونوقت هیچی دیگه، جایگاه‌ها عوض میشود و یخورده آره

پرسشگر: یعنی authority را که پدر مادر دارند؟

F-Fa: آره ازدست بدهند. ولی البته من فکر میکنم، بهرحال میشه با صحبت، پدر مادر میتونن manage کنند. ولی این چیز هست. این ریسک را آدم باید ببینه، و مدیریتش کنه.

Shiva: به نظر می‌آید که شما جوانب مختلف را در نظر میگیرید.

Mother-M: I try not to do that, even if I don't know it. Because I feel if I ask her this one, she will want to teach me other things later on. This will affect her upbringing. For instance she might think that there are so many other things that she needs to teach me. Therefore, even if I don't know something, I try not to ask her.
Father-M: well yeah, after all the child may=
Mother-M: =she may go under the wrong impression=
Father-F: =Well her discernment can be to a certain level and so the matter may become a bit *complicated* [Laughs] because she may think that you may not know many other things as well. Then it would be woeful, the positions would be displaced and a bit like, yeah.
Shiva: you mean the authority that parents have?
Father-F: yeah, they might lose [their authority]. But of course I think anyways parents can *manage* it through talking. But there is like, you should foresee the risk and *manage* it.
Shiva: It seems that you are considering various aspects.

The excerpt above reflects how my response (the last line) was neither agreeing with nor

opposing the couple's viewpoints, but offered a neutral response to keep them engaged

and keen to reveal more of their viewpoints and experiences. In doing so, I was oriented

towards the other end of the insider-outsider continuum, performing the role of

researcher.

3.6. Data Analysis

As discussed in section 3.3.2, data were mainly collected through individual and group interviews and field notes. The information obtained through these qualitative methods does not consist of discrete and ready-made records to be counted and conveyed, but "meaningful relations to be interpreted" (Kvale, 1996, p. 11). This interpretation requires utilisation of analytic techniques to condense and process data in a way that makes sense of it. The analytic tool used to facilitate the data analysis of this study is content analysis. Content analysis is "a careful, detailed, systematic examination and interpretation of a particular body of material in an effort to identify patterns, themes, biases, and meanings" (Berg, 2009, p. 338). In using content analysis, inspired by Butorac (2011, p. 70) who used a "modified inductive analysis" in her study of a group of migrant women to Australia, I too followed an adapted form of inductive reasoning to condense raw data into sensible categories and themes. This way, the themes and categories did not emerge inductively through open coding from raw data as prescribed, for example, by the conventional approach to content analysis (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005); rather, the data were sorted into conceptual categories based on the set of research questions, and then, through further examination, further themes were identified. This method was appropriate because, as Butorac (2011) notes, the study was narrowed by a set of research questions rather than an open investigation of the topic. Further, when there is a large body of data, its analysis would be facilitated if organised initially "under intermediate level headings" (p. 71).

The data analysis process involved two stages. In the first stage, the interviews were listened to and transcribed into written form. Speech in Persian was transcribed in the standard Arabic script. Over the process of transcription, I listened to the audio-recorded

interviews numerous times and also used my associated field notes (written and audio-recorded). The transcripts also contain records of non-verbal aspects such as intonation, fillers, emphasis, laughter, pauses, and so on. Nevertheless, I am aware that, as Mason (2002, p. 77) asserts, "a transcription is always partial partly because it is an inadequate record of non-verbal aspects of the interaction […] and also because judgements are made (usually by the person doing the transcription) about which verbal utterances to turn into text, and how to do it". Furthermore, as she goes on and explains, "for some verbal utterances, there are simply no written translations!" (p. 77).

After the initial transcript had been produced, the interviews were listened to all over again and the transcripts were proofread. This re-listening and re-reading also allowed me to immerse myself more deeply into the data and to obtain a holistic sense of the interviews (Tesch, 1990), while paying attention to details.

In the next step, the transcripts were dissected and organised into segments corresponding to each research question, attributed to each pertinent participant in a separate document. This was done both in computer folders and also through the qualitative analysis software Nvivo. Then, the data segments organised according to the research questions were further subcategorised to identify recurrent themes across participants, which then turned into subheadings to research primary topics. Cross-case analysis was also carried out to compare and contrast the data segments related to parents' and children's beliefs and language attitudes and practices.

Data analysis regarding the interviews was conducted in the language in which they were recorded. Most of my data are in Persian and, hence, analysis is predominantly of Persian-language data. Only those excerpts which are quoted in the thesis as evidence

have been translated into English for the convenience of the reader. In presenting the excerpts, in each case, the Persian original comes first, followed by an English translation. Having relied on my own translation skills, accredited by NAATI, I myself translated the excerpts from Persian into English. To ensure the accuracy and to verify the idiomaticity of translations, a peer check of each excerpt was also conducted by another Persian-English bilingual person. My translations were guided by the desire to stay as close as possible to the original, in terms of language register, repetitions, fillers and non-verbal aspects. At the same time, the aim was to produce fluent and idiomatic English translations so as not to exoticise or misrepresent participants. A professional copy editor, who does not read Persian, has also been employed to verify the fluency and idiomaticity of the translated excerpts.

The findings of my analysis are presented in four chapters (Chapters 4-7). Parent participants' accounts of language learning and practices before migration are discussed in Chapter 4, followed by those after migration in Chapter 5. Then, in Chapter 6, analysis of data related to children's trajectories of language learning and practices before and after migration will be presented. Finally, in Chapter 7, language learning and practices within families will be discussed.

3.7. Summary and limitations

This chapter began by presenting the research design and the rationale for the qualitative approach. In this approach it is recognised that social reality is an interpretive social construction which is given shape and meaning by people's discourses in a given context. With a constructivist-interpretive orientation, this thesis adopts a context-sensitive critical

approach to present a holistic picture of language learning and practices of a group of Iranian migrant families in Australia.

The families participating in the study had at least one child in the age range of eight to twelve years and had been living in Australia for less than six years at the time of data collection. To collect data, various methods were employed including semi-structured interviews with parents, group interviews with children, background questionnaires and field notes. Journal entries were initially planned to be a means of data collection although it turned out that participants were too busy in their personal lives to accomplish the task. As an alternative, however, keeping contact with participants, often through phone calls and email, helped to update the researcher about any changes in their situations or new experiences.

In the process of data collection, I was both an insider, by virtue of my Iranian background and my experience of migration as a parent, and an outsider because of my status as an academic researcher. Throughout the research I was conscious about and tried to avoid any partialities and biases as much as I could. This awareness related not only to the process of data collection, but also interpretation and analysis. In analysing data, content analysis was used as an analytic tool for the systematic examination and interpretation of the data to "identify patterns, themes, biases, and meanings" (Berg, 2009, p. 338).

There are some limitations to the study which need to be identified. As discussed in this chapter, interviews with parents and group interviews with children were crucial methods for collecting data in this study. The richness of these interviews for the study's purposes allows for a thick description of the experiences and viewpoints of migrant parents and

children as learners and users of English as a second language in social and family contexts in Australia. Nevertheless, it was initially the aim of this study to include wider institutional discourses, particularly those of schools which, aside from the immediate family, serve as the main socialising mechanism for most children (Cannella, 2008). However, a close study of discourses in broader contexts has not been possible because of time and resource constraints. For a larger-scale project, a systematic study of these institutional discourses in combination with interviews are likely to yield deeper understandings of familial interactions in terms of second language learning and use in migration contexts.

The other limitation relates to the sample size. As one of the data sources, interviews were conducted with nineteen Iranian families in Sydney including thirty-three parents and twenty-one children. Clearly, the experiences of this small group are unlikely to be representative of all Iranian parents and children of their generation. However, statistical generalisation has not been the goal of this qualitative study. Rather, I aimed to provide thick, contextualised and descriptive accounts of the phenomenon under investigation. To ensure the credibility of the study I employed triangulation involving the use of different methods of data collection from both parents and children, prolonged engagement with participants for over one year through interviews and subsequent contacts by phone or email. Frequent debriefing sessions were held with colleagues and the principal supervisor, peer scrutiny of the research project encouraged through presentations, member checks conducted relating to the accuracy of the data, clarification sought for researchers' standpoints in research of this kind, and thick description and interpretations developed of the phenomenon under scrutiny (Shenton, 2004). These methodological measures and considerations produced research findings which, it is hoped, should

contribute to a richer understanding of language learning and practices in migration

contexts. These findings are discussed in detail in the following chapters.

Chapter 4: Pre-Migration Parental Language Learning and Use

4.1. Introduction

This first of four analysis chapter deals with parent participants' English learning trajectories before migration to Australia. By examining pre-migratory language learning trajectories, this chapter seeks to examine "the socially and historically constructed relationship of learners to the target language" (Norton, 2000a, p. 10). Exploring participants' past experiences of language learning allows us to gain a deeper understanding of the complexities of language investments before migration, and their "important ramifications for post-migration language learning and identity construction" (Butorac, 2011, p. 122). Of particular importance in this exploration is the consideration of participants' multiple desires for English and its learning, which, as discussed in Chapter 2 (see Section 2.3.3), are discursively constructed in participants' life trajectories in relation to an imagined future and a sense of belonging to an imagined community. In Bourdieu's terms, participants' past trajectories are social contexts in which participants' habitus, or more specifically, their 'linguistic habitus', is shaped (see Chapter 2, Section 2.3.2). The linguistic habitus or dispositions, then, can influence the ways in which participants view and evaluate their positions and their linguistic productions (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 17) and regulate their own and their children's linguistic practices later on (see Chapters 5 and 7).

In presenting the analysis of the data, I will begin by providing an overview of participants' English language learning experiences through the compulsory curriculum in Iranian schools (Section 4.2). I will then present the findings on participants' additional investment in English language learning (Section 4.3) through private classes

(Section 4.3.1) and through self-study (Section 4.3.2). Furthermore, many participants

had some experience of English development and use in employment contexts in Iran.

The findings in this respect will also be presented in detail (Section 8.2.34.4), before

turning to the ways in which they continued/returned to English learning nearer to the

time of departure (Section 4.5) for the purpose of visa requirements (Section 4.5.1) and/or

for living in Australia (Section 4.5.2). Finally, a summary and concluding remarks on the

findings will be presented (Section 7.94.6).

4.2. English in compulsory education

All parent participants but one (Father-R) received both their primary and secondary

education in Iran. Considering the parent participants' age range was thirty-two to fifty-

two years old (see Chapter 3, Section 3.4) at the time of data collection in 2013-14, their

years of schooling, wholly or partly, fall under the post-revolutionary era in Iran

beginning with the Islamic Revolution of 1979. An overview of participants' pre- and

post-revolutionary years of schooling is provided in Figure 4-1.

The chart contains the following labels on the vertical axis (top to bottom):
T-M, E-M, S-M, O-M, N-M, J-M, F-M, C-M, A-F, A-M, M-M, H-M, P-M, I-F, I-M, G-F, G-M, F-F, D-M, C-F, B-M, T-F, S-F, R-F, R-M, D-F, E-F, M-F, L-M, K-M, K-F, B-F, L-F

6 years of English education starting from the 2nd year of middle school

1968 1970 1972 1974 1976 1978 1980 1982 1984 1986 1988 1990 1992 1994 1996 1998 2000

The Islamic Revolution of 1979

Reformed Foreign Language Education Policies of 1990

Figure 4-1- Parent Participants' Education Timeline

As Figure 4-1 shows, eight participants did a part of their schooling before the Islamic Revolution of 1979 and others were educated exclusively in the post-revolutionary era. A key difference between the pre-1979 and the post-1979 language education system lies in the fact that before 1979 there existed private schools which offered English in their curriculum from the first year of primary as opposed to public schools, which did not offer EFL instruction until middle school. However, all the private schools were closed down for about a decade after the revolution of 1979 (Madandar Arani, Kakia, & Taghavi, 2015). Therefore, given that most participants had been educated in post-revolutionary era, as the Figure shows, they attended public schools except for two (Father-B and Mother-K) who attended private schools before the 1979 Revolution, and had received English education from an early age in those schools. Further, since 1990, new educational policies in Iran stipulated the commencement of English instruction at school from the second year instead of the first year of middle school (Borjian, 2013, pp. 95, 96). This means that as the Figure shows, ten participants received six years of English instruction at school instead of seven. It should be noted that American and British varieties of English are commonly taught in Iran.

English as a foreign language is listed in the curriculum of the Iranian middle and high schools. This means that, all parent participants – except for Father-R, who was schooled in India with English as the medium of instruction – studied English as a foreign language as a subject at Iranian schools. Nevertheless, despite the years of studying English as a subject at school, a number of participants (thirteen) did not speak about their English learning at school at all in recounting their language learning trajectories. Although the reason for the absence of the language education at school in participants' narratives was not probed as it was not the focus of the study, I will demonstrate from the data that the

way English language was taught in schools was not regarded favourably by many participants for its perceived limitations.

The way many participants described their English language learning experience at school depicted a monotonous and memorisation- and exam-oriented picture. In fact, the English language they learnt in the compulsory curriculum was a subject of instruction, like other educational subjects, which students needed to pass for academic advancement. The focus of language learning practices at schools was largely on memorising vocabulary and grammatical rules rather than developing communication skills. This was, as an example, described by Mother-D, who learned English only because it was required:

Excerpt 4-1

Mother-D: خب اه ما توی دبیرستان که، ام دبیرستان و راهنمایی، ما زبان انگلیسی جزو واحدهای درسیمون بود، خب میخوندیم. بعد از اون دانشگاه هم دو سه واحد زبان ما داشتیم، زبان تخصصی. ولی اینا هیچکدوم کافی نبود برای حرف زدن. فقط، در عین حال ما میتونیم بگیم یه سری گرامر یاد گرفته بودیم با یه سری لغت.

Mother-D: Well, uh, we, at high school, um, high school and middle school, English language was among our educational subjects, which, well, we studied. After that, at university also we had two, three units of language, specialised language. But none of these were enough for speaking. We could only say that we had learnt some grammar with some vocabulary.

Mother-Q who received her English education only at school, described how she did well in the subject. Nevertheless, the way that she described her learning experiences at school demonstrated that her accomplishment was commensurate with 'school English' which seem to have been perceived as self-explanatory:

Excerpt 4-2

Mother-Q: اول راهنمایی که زبان شروع شد، دیگه. زبان مدرسه بود دیگه. کلاس خصوصی و اینا که نمیرفتم. سه سال راهنمایی بود و چهارسال دبیرستان. زبانم خوب بود معمولاً تو دبیرستان. [...] بعد هم که تو دانشگاه دیگه متنهای بیشتر چیز، medical داشتیم، پزشکی و اینا.

Mother-Q: From the first year of middle school, well, English started. Uh you know, it was school English. Well, I didn't go to any kind of private classes. It was three years of middle school and four years of high school. My language was normally good at high school. […] Then again at the university, well, we had more texts like, medical texts and such.

In describing language learning experiences in compulsory curricula, some of the participants also used negative evaluative comments some of which are listed below:

Excerpt 4-3

Mother-A: کتاب مختصری راجع به زبان انگلیسی بود.
Mother-A: There was a small textbook about the English language.

Excerpt 4-4

Mother-C: انگلیسی مدرسه خیلی ضعیف است.
Mother-C: The English at school is so weak.

Excerpt 4-5

Father-D: خیلی ناقص بود به نظر من.
Father-D: It was so insufficient in my opinion.

Excerpt 4-6

Father-M: یه baseه انگلیسی وجود داره.
Father-M: There is a *base* of English.

Excerpt 4-7

Father-S: زبان متأسفانه تو کشور ما زیاد خوب تدریس نمیشه.
Father-S: Unfortunately English is not taught well in our country.

It was revealed from the data that participants held an ideological perception of a preferable approach to language learning that viewed English as a means of communication rather than purely acquiring the knowledge of forms, meanings and functions. This perception was apparent in the narratives of many participants, for instance, Father-Q, who positively evaluated his distinct English learning experience at a selective school in Iran in which teachers took a communicative approach to English teaching in classrooms:

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Excerpt 4-8

Father-Q: از کلاس اول راهنمایی معلم زبانهای ما سر کلاس انگلیسی صحبت می‌کردند ااه بعد ما مجبور بودیم که باهاشون انگلیسی صحبت کنیم. ااه من یادمه جلسه اول ما همون گریه وایساده بودیم که نمیفهمیدیم طرف چی میگه اصلاً. اصلاً نمیفهمیدیم چی میگه.

Shiva: معلم کجایی بود؟

Father-Q: ایرانی بود، ولی انگلیسی فقط صحبت میکرد.

Shiva: تمام subjectها یعنی؟

Father-Q: نه کلاس زبان رو، خدارحتمشون کنه. یکیشون هم همین چند سال پیش فوت کرد. ااه، یکی از معلمها، دو سه تا معلم خیلی خوب داشتیم که اینا فقط انگلیسی صحبت میکردند. بعد اول و دوم و سوم راهنمایی، این دو تا معلم به تناوب معلم ما بودند، و همون باعث شد که ما تو انگلیسی، یعنی من قشنگ آخر کلاس اول راهنمایی دست و پا شکسته میتونستم انگلیسی حرف بزنم، منظورم رو بیان کنم. حالا درسته، مثل الان Daughter-Q، نمیتونستم، ولی اونموقع میتونستم، و یعنی با لهجه و اینا نبود. ولی خب، انگلیسی رو، آره خب جملات رو میساختم مثلاً. البته من خیلی شاگرد زرنگ نبودم تو انگلیسی. بچههایی که کلاس زبان {خصوصی} می‌رفتند خیلی بهتر از من بودند. ولی خب منم در حد خودم بد نبودم. میتونستم کلمات رو بگم، جملات رو بگم، منظورم رو بیان کنم، بفهمم طرف چی میگه.

Father-Q: From the first year of middle school, our teachers spoke English in the classroom, uh, then we had to speak English to them. Uh, I remember that in the first session, we were all in tears standing there, as we couldn't understand anything he was saying. We couldn't understand what he was saying at all.

Shiva: Where was the teacher from?

Father-Q: He was Iranian, but spoke only in English.

Shiva: All the subjects?

Father-Q: No, English classes. May his soul rest in peace. One of them passed away just in the past recent years. Uh, one of the teachers, we had two, three very good teachers who spoke only in English. Then, in the first, second and the third year of middle school, these two were our teachers alternatively, and this way in English we, I mean, right at the end of the first year of middle school, I was able to speak broken English, to convey my message. Well, yeah, true, not like the way Daughter-Q speaks now, I couldn't. But at the time I could, I mean it wasn't like with the accent and so on. But well, the English, well yeah, for instance I could make sentences. Of course, I wasn't a very clever student in English. Those students who had attended [private] English classes were much better than me. But well, given my circumstances, I wasn't too bad. I was able to say the words, to produce sentences, to convey my message and to understand what one was saying.

While Father-Q spoke positively about the communicative approach his teachers adopted in the classroom, he also suggested his perception of more effective ways of English learning which he seems to have perceived himself as being deprived of. These favourable ways of English learning, as implied by him, were learning English through private classes and through immersion in a naturalistic environment. While the former way of language learning seems to have been useful for educational activities, as he

associated it with "شاگرد زرنگ" ("clever student") in English, the latter seems to have been advantageous for the development of English communicative skills, as he put it "لهجه و اینا" ("accent and so on"), the way that his school-aged child was experiencing English language learning in Australia.

Overall, it became clear from the data analysis that participants did not appreciate the instruction of English as a foreign language taught as a subject at school. Rather, they valued a communicative approach to English learning which could enable them to use the language in practice. Nevertheless, the data also revealed that the participants' evaluative judgements of their English learning experiences could be related to two perspectives, that is, their evaluations of language learning experiences from a local standpoint before migration, and from a global standpoint after migration. This phenomenon manifested itself in the way that Father-Q, for example, re-evaluated his competence while seeing it through the prism of his child's language learning through immersion in Australia. Moving back and forth between different spatio-temporal contexts in describing and evaluating language learning experiences and language competences was not at all rare in participants' accounts of their experiences of language learning and use. Under these circumstances, as discussed in Chapter 2 (see Section 2.3.2), social processes and evaluations need to be seen on "a continuum of layered scales" (Blommaert, 2007a, p. 1), because "reality, seen from within one scale-level, is quite different from reality seen from within another scale-level" in different spatial and temporal contexts (p. 15).

In the following section, I will present how participants (and their families), in response to the perceived limitations in English education at school, resorted to additional courses of action to advance their English language through attending formal private classes or through self-study.

4.3. English as an additional investment

In introducing the notion of investment in language learning inspired by the work of Bourdieu (1977), Norton (1995a, p. 15) argues that learners invest in an additional language with a prospect of accessing a wider range of (hitherto unattainable) symbolic and material resources. Norton has introduced her investment theory based on her empirical research in ESL contexts, where learners have immediate access to an English-speaking community. The investment theory has also been widely used as a "significant explanatory construct" in educational anthropology and second language learning literature (Cummins et al., 2005, p. 13). Nevertheless, her idea of investment can also be used in EFL contexts if we accept a role for the imagination in social life whereby learners can imagine a sense of belonging to an imagined community (Ryan, 2006) (see also Chapter 2, Section 2.3.3). In the light of this argument, I will demonstrate how participants in this study, in response to the limitations of English education in compulsory curricula, attempted to learn the English language in various ways in formal classrooms and informally through self-study.

Table 4-1 below shows an overview of the participants' additional efforts to learn the English language during the course of their schooling. Only those participants have been included who stated that they made additional efforts to learn English outside of school.

Table 4-1- Overview of Participants' Additional English Education

Participants	Formal Private Language Learning		Informal Language Learning	
	Occasional/Short Attendance	Continuous attendance	Taught by family members	Self-learning methods
Mother-A		✓	✓	✓
Father-A			✓	✓
Mother-B		✓		
Father-B	✓		✓	
Mother-C		✓		✓
Father-C		✓		✓
Mother-D		✓		✓
Father-D	✓			
Mother-E				✓
Father-E	✓			
Mother-F			✓	
Father-F		✓		
Father-G				✓
Mother-I	✓			
Father-I	✓			
Mother-J	✓			
Mother-L		✓		
Father-L	✓			✓
Mother-M	✓			
Father-M	✓			
Mother-N	✓			
Mother-O		✓		
Mother-P		✓		
Mother-Q				✓
Father-Q		✓		
Mother-R		✓		
Father-S				✓

While the table above demonstrates an outline of participants' additional English learning efforts and investments, a detailed account of their efforts and investments in private language institutes is presented in the next section, followed by their informal ways of language learning.

4.3.1. English language learning in private English institutes

Twenty-one participants mentioned that they had received formal language education in private language institutes during the course of their education, but not prior to year five of primary school (normally age eleven). Given the limited variety of private language institutes in Iran at the time of the participants' schooling, their experiences of language learning in these institutes (four were named by participants) were similar. It was also interesting to note that although most of the participants started studying English in these classes at a young age (normally eleven), the role of parents in investing in these English classes was rarely mentioned by participants. However, most of them spoke about their interests and their own initiatives in attending or terminating the classes.

The ways in which most of the participants described their experiences of additional formal language education demonstrated that the focus of English learning in these classes was around grammar and language structure and also memorising vocabulary and formulaic dialogue. Nevertheless, the data evidence that learning English in private English classrooms was perceived as a significant part of participants' language learning trajectories. Father-C said this:

Excerpt 4-9

> Father-C: از اول راهنمایی هم در مدرسه زبان می‌خواندیم و هم کلاسهای {مؤسسه ک} زبان رفتم تا تقریباً سوم دبیرستان که ترم ده بودم و یعنی وقتی شروع کردم basic می‌خواندم. ترم ده که بودم که ول کردم {...} اصل زبانی که توی دوران مدرسه خوندم تا کلاس سوم دبیرستان بود که ترم ده را گرفتم.
>
> Father-C: From the first year of middle school, I studied English at school and I also attended [Institute K] classes until the third year of high school when I was in level ten and it means that when I started, I studied the *basic* level. When I was in term ten, I quit it […] The main English learning that I had during the course of schooling had been up to the third year of the high school when I finished level ten.

It is apparent from the data that most participants benefited from the investment in private English classes particularly for helping them do well academically at school and at the university as the following examples demonstrate:

Excerpt 4-10

Mother-B: در دبیرستان هم که یک مقداری زبان خواندیم و زبان من هم خوب بود و تو دانشگاه هم که مشکل نداشتم و بعد از آن هم که دیگر کلاس نرفتم.
Mother-B: We also studied some English at high school and my English language was good and I also had no problem at university, and well, after that I did not attend any classes.

Excerpt 4-11

Mother-N: در دانشگاه هم باز زبانم خوب بود، با اینکه کلاس اصلاً دیگه قطع شد، کلاس نمیرفتم. {...} اصلاً کاری به، فقط گرامرت رو خوب میکردند که در توی مدرسه خوب باشی یا دانشگاه رو مثلاً.
Mother-N: Also at university, my English was still good even though I had stopped going to the classes, I wasn't attending any classes. […] they didn't do anything about, they only worked on your grammar so you would be good at school or like university.

Given that English was not used in participants' daily lives, academic advancement seems to have been the immediate and the most tangible return of the English learning investments in private language institutes. Nevertheless, while the motivation for investment in private institutes seems obscure in most participants' narratives of language learning, the way that many of them described their additional language learning experiences in private classrooms demonstrates that they attempted to learn the English language by reason of concerns for "what has not yet happened in the future" (Kanno & Norton, 2003, p. 248). In fact, they attempted to learn the language with hope for upward mobility, whether in terms of academic advancements or with the prospect of its usefulness in some way in the future (Byram, 2008; Sadeghi & Richards, forthcoming). Besides the aim of academic advancement, many participants made additional efforts to learn the language in the desire to "establish a self-identity within an imagined global

language community" (Ryan, 2006, p. 23). Ryan (2006) suggests that in EFL contexts, learners may make extra efforts to learn English without any immediate prospect of material return or any opportunity to use the language in practice in real life. Nevertheless, motivation for learning the language can be formed when "learners create images of themselves as users of the language and these images serve to represent an ideal state that they are thus motivated" (p. 24). Mother-P's narrative for instance demonstrates how she seems to have imagined an identity of herself as a member of an imagined elite and prestigious community of Iranians living in English-speaking countries like the United Kingdom or the United States. It seems that for her it was through learning and using the English language that the desired sense of belonging to an imagined community could be realised.

Excerpt 4-12

Mother-P: تمام دوران مدرسه را، باد، بوران، عروسی، مهمونی هرچی که بود من کلاسم رو میرفتم بعدش میرفتم چیز، میرفتم هرجا که میخواستم برم. هر هفته ای سه روز میرفتم کلاس زبان. خیلی دوست داشتم.علتش هم شاید بخاطر این بود که من یک دائی داشتم که جوان بود وانگلیس تحصیل کرده بود، از انگلیس میومد. تو فامیلمون، خیلی داشتیم ما آدمایی که انگلیس و آمریکا تحصیل کرده بودند. ولی بخصوص اون خیلی جوون بود میومد خونمون و انگلیسی که صحبت میکرد من همش میکشیدمش میگفتم به من یاد بده. حالا کلاً علاقمند بودم به این موضوع.

Mother-P: All through school, no matter what, in blizzards and squalls, wedding and parties, whatever it was, I kept going to my classes. Then after the class I went, I went wherever I wanted to go. I used to go to English classes three days a week. I liked it so much. The reason perhaps was that I had an uncle, who was young and educated in England. He came from England. We had a lot of relatives who had been educated in England and the U.S. But he in particular, was very young and came to our house and when he talked in English, I constantly dragged him into teaching me. Well, in general, I was interested.

Overall, the data make it apparent that, by and large, participants held a positive attitude to their achievements through additional investment in language learning in private language classes particularly for gaining good knowledge of English structure and grammar. It was also revealed how the motivation to become a member of an imagined community shaped the desire for English and its learning (see Chapter 2, Section 2.3.3).

Nevertheless, given that English was not used practically as a means of communication in participants' daily lives, it seems that for many of them academic advancement was the immediate and most tangible return of the English learning investments in private language institutes.

4.3.2. English language learning through self-study

Six participants had not received any private classes, but engaged in informal ways of extracurricular English language learning such as instruction from their family members at home and self-learning. Some of the self-learning strategies used by participants included reading books, translating various texts, listening to English-language news on the radio, listening to English-language music and watching English-language movies. Except for Father-A, who started receiving English lessons from the age of about seven from his father and elder siblings, others mentioned their own interests and initiatives to learn the language, often still at school age, after they had experienced English learning in the compulsory curriculum at school.

Father-A, who had learnt English from an early age from his family, explained how these instructions and his own interest and efforts later on helped him improve his English language:

Excerpt 4-13

Father-A: تو خانواده‌ام همه از بچگی خیلی علاقمند به انگلیسی بودند. پدرم میتونست به انگلیسی صحبت کند. خواهر برادر بزرگ‌تر از خودم دارم که آن‌ها هم از زمانی که خب به سنی رسیدند که می‌توانستند زبان بخونند شروع کردند. من هم زبان انگلیسی را تقریباً از هفت سالگی شروع کردم. یعنی خانواده‌ام مرا force می‌کردند که انگلیسی یاد بگیرم. همیشه کتاب‌های انگلیسی و force میکردند که، پدرم با من کار می‌کرد و بعد که خواهر برادرهام که بزرگ‌تر شدند، آن‌ها با من انگلیسی کار می‌کردند. ولی تا پایان دوره‌ی دانشجویی من خیلی از هیچ کلاس‌های خارجی استفاده نکردم برای زبان انگلیسی. هر چی بود همان چیزی بود که در خانواده بود، self-study و کمک گرفتن از بابا و عمویم، که عمویم هم کاملاً به زبان انگلیسی مسلط است که به خارج کشور می‌رفت و تدریس می‌کرد و متخصّص بود. و بعد خب یک جوّی تو خانواده بود که همیشه می‌بایست انگلیسی استفاده شود. بعد خب موزیک انگلیسی خیلی گوش می‌کردیم، کمک میکردش. از دوران

<div dir="rtl">

مثلاً high school به اینور، شعر‌های انگلیسی موزیک‌ها را بشینیم گوش کنیم و ترجمه کنیم و این کمک زیادی بود به listening که بتوانیم لغات را خوب بفهمیم.

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Father-A: In my family, everyone was interested in the English language from childhood. My father could speak in English. I have an older sister and brother who, well, when they reached an age in which they could study English, they started it. I also started the English language when I was about seven years old. I mean my family *forced* me to learn English. There were always English books and they *forced* me, my father taught me and then later on when my siblings grew up, they also started teaching me English. But I did not attend any private English classes until the end of my undergraduate course. What I learnt was whatever there was in the family, *self-study*, and getting help from my father and my uncle who was an expert, thoroughly proficient in the English language and was used to going overseas, and lecturing. And then, well, there was an environment in the family where English would always be used. Then, well, we listened to English music so much which helped. Since *high school*, we used to sit and listen to English songs, music, and translate them and this was a great help in *listening* and being able to understand the lyrics well.

Other participants also spoke about the ways they had learnt English out of their own interest. These participants often mentioned that they had started their additional practice after learning some English at school. Father-G for instance said:

Excerpt 4-14

<div dir="rtl">

Father-G: زبان را از دوم راهنمایی شروع کردم که در سیستم آموزشی مدرسه بود. ولی من غیر از آن خودم چون علاقه داشتم خیلی کار می‌کردم. یادم می‌آید که از همان دوم راهنمایی بود که من خودم کتاب‌های دیگر می‌گرفتم. کتابهای stageبندی شده Longman رو می گرفتم و حتی، بعضی شب‌ها، تا صبح بیدار می‌ماندم و کتاب رو کلاً ترجمه می‌کردم. می خوندم. رادیو خیلی گوش می‌کردم. یادم می‌آید که دوست داشتم که مثلا، یعنی زبان من تا یه حدی رسیده بود که مثلاً توی دبیرستان کتاب‌های تخصصیمون رو میرفتم انگلیسیش رو گیر می آوردم. انگلیسیش رو دوست داشتم بخونم.

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Father-G: I started the English language from the second year of middle school which was included in the school syllabus. But apart from that, because I was very interested, I, myself, worked so hard. I remember that it was from the same second year of middle school when I, myself, got additional books. I got Longman Classics Series, and some nights, I even stayed up till morning and translated the whole book. I used to read. I listened to the radio a lot. I remember that I liked to, for example, I mean, my English language had reached such a level that for instance, at high school, I used to search and find the English version of our textbooks. I liked reading their English versions.

Similarly, Father-S described how he made extra efforts to learn the English language due to the interest in the language which had been sparked during schooling, and also his realisation of the advantage of knowing English to connect him to the outer world:

Excerpt 4-15

Father-S: بعد داخل مدرسه هم انگلیسی هست، عربی هست و زبانهای دیگه هم هست. چیزی که لذت می‌بردم. خب اون موقعها دوران جنگ بود ایران. گوش کردن به رادیوهای short-wave خیلی جالب بود. برای همه جالب بود از جمله من. و من متوجه شدم برای اینکه آدم بخواد ببینه که خارج ایران چه اتفاقایی میفته، اگه انگلیسی بلد باشه خیلی بهتره، عربی بلد باشه خیلی بهتره. به این خاطر حتی تو دوران دبیرستان که زبان متاسفانه تو کشور ما زیاد خوب تدریس نمیشه، من علاقه نشان می‌دادم و بیشتر {رادیو} گوش میکردم.

Father-S: Then, at school, there was English, there was Arabic and there were also other languages. The subjects that I enjoyed. Well, at that time, it was the war period in Iran. Listening to the *short-wave* radio stations was very interesting. It was interesting for everyone including me. And then I realised that in order to find out what's going on outside Iran, it would have been much better if you knew English, if you knew Arabic. Therefore, even in high school, where unfortunately language is not taught so well in our country, I showed an interest and listened more [to the radio].

As the data reveal, the way participants recounted their English learning experiences outside classrooms during their course of schooling demonstrates how English as an individual achievement was encouraged by families, and emerged out of their own interests. The data also reveal participants' positive disposition towards learning English as a global language. Ryan (2006, p. 23) suggests that in learning English as a foreign language "learners may hold a sense of membership of an imagined global community and of themselves as users of the language, as opposed to any desire to integrate with a target community" and that this "forms the basis of their motivation". This sense of membership of an imagined global community for participants in this study manifested itself in the ways that, for one, Father-S spoke about the joy of learning English and his interest in connecting with the outer world, or Father-G being enamoured of the language and its learning, or Father-A's interest in listening to English songs or the way that his family regarded the use of English at home (Ryan, 2006).

Nonetheless, given that English was not used as a means of communication or a requirement in participants' daily lives, the journey of learning English, particularly in private classes, came to a halt during or soon after the course of schooling unless English was needed, for instance, for employment or for migration purposes. In what follows, I

will explore how participants learnt and used English in employment contexts in Iran before turning to their language learning for the purposes of migration.

4.4. English learning and use in employment contexts

While for some participants their investments in English learning before migration benefited them purely in relation with their educational advancement, as discussed above, a number of them (twenty) mentioned that they had the experience of using the English language that they had learnt during their schooling period, in employment contexts in Iran. The language use at work mentioned by participants mostly involved written forms of English such as reading and writing reports and documents, translation of various texts, and correspondence with overseas partners. Some of them also reported that they had verbal communication experiences face to face or on the phone with overseas business partners. For many of these participants, practising English at work also could help them improve their written or verbal skills, or both, as Father-A for instance commented:

Excerpt 4-16

Father-A: چون همیشه یکسره با شرکت‌های خارجی در ارتباط بودم writing من فوق العاده پیشرفت کرد، طوریکه من خیلی سریع می‌توانم بنویسم {...} بعد ااه این ایمیل زدنها هم خیلی به من کمک می‌کرد به من. {...} بعد از چند مدت به اینجا رسید که خُب مجبور بودم با آنها تلفنی هم صحبت کنم باز این خودش یه‌improvementی شد.

Father-A: Because I was constantly in connection with overseas companies, my *writing* progressed extraordinarily in a way that I can write very quickly […] Then uh the emailing also helped me a lot. Then it came to a point where well I had to speak English with them on the phone which this was also an *improvement*.

Nevertheless, it is evidenced from the data that the English they learnt and used at work was commensurate with the needs of their professional field and within their employment contexts in Iran, rather than for communication in everyday life:

Mother-H: من زبان انگلیسی‌ام خوب بود، چون شرکتی که کار می‌کردم با افراد خارجی خیلی کار می‌کردیم. گزارشات را انگلیسی می‌نوشتیم، بعد communication انگلیسی بود. ولی در حد تکنیکال بیشتر بود، در حد محاوره زیاد خوب نبودم. درحد محاوره میتونستم مسائل فنی و کاری را خیلی خوب صحبت می‌کردم.

> Mother-H: My English language was good, because in the company where I worked, we worked a lot with people from overseas. We wrote the reports in English and the *communication* was in English. But it was more at a technical level. I was not so good in relation with the everyday language. Concerning the conversations, I could speak very well around technical and professional issues.

Similarly, Mother-B, a civil engineer back in Iran who had been involved in years of studying English at school and in private language lessons, mentioned that she had the experience of communicating with overseas visitors at work. However, when asked if she was confident in using the language in the occasions she described, she responded, "در حد استفاده در ایران، بله" ("at a level to use in Iran, yes"). Mother-B's example reflects how space is not merely "a passive background but an agentive force in sociolinguistic processes, notably in assessment of competences" (Blommaert & Dong, 2010, p. 368). The excerpt provides a metanarrative of how Mother-B's evaluation was encapsulated in contextual performances "at a different time, by different people, and for different purposes" (Blommaert, 2005, p. 46). In fact, it can be argued that at a local-scale in the context of Iran, English was not needed as a means of communication for everyday life, but mainly for occasional and professional purposes, as appears in both Mother-H and Mother-B's excerpts. In such situations, as implied by Mother-B, the level of English communication ability required in Iran could be different from that required in a context like Australia where English is officially the language for public places and affairs and is perceived to be needed in everyday life.

It is also important to consider the ways in which participants use the language and the way language is used with them in different local and global contexts (Collins, 2012).

These processes, as Collins suggests, require careful attention to "concepts of sociolinguistic scale that encompass global system dynamics as well as operations of power" whereby the speakers of English as a foreign/second language can be deemed to be legitimate or illegitimate bilingual speakers in different spatio-temporal contexts (p. 192). In this sense, Father-G described his experience of language use in various contexts, concluding how English-speaking interlocutors coming from overseas particularly for business purposes were perceived as being more sympathetic and attuned to the language needs of the members of the host community as speakers of English as a foreign/second language:

Excerpt 4-18

Father-G: زبانی که شما تو ایران {استفاده میکنید}، حتی، حتی اگر اونجا کلی با جاهای دیگه ارتباط داشته باشی، حتی اگر که اون کشور، مثلاً تو یک شرکت انگلیسی تو اون کشور کار کرده باشی، ولی اون انگلیسی که با شما صحبت میکند به احترام شما با ریتم شما صحبت میکند. میداند شما مثلاً که انگلیسی زبان دوم شماست. ولی در یک محیطی میآیید که دیگر آن داستان وجود ندارد. فرض بر این است که شما انگلیسی بلد هستید. باید بلد باشی.

Father-G: The language that [you use] in Iran, even if you have many connections with other countries, even if, for instance you have worked in an English company in a country, but the English which they speak with you, for the respect for you they speak with your rhythm. They know that for instance English is your second language. But you come to an environment where things like that just don't happen anymore. They assume that you know English. You must know English.

Overall, it is evident from the data analysis that participants held a positive disposition towards their language learning and use experiences at work in Iran. Nevertheless, the way they spoke about their language abilities at work demonstrates how they evaluated their English abilities in light of their post-migration language experiences.

4.5. English for departure preparation

In recent decades, particularly after the Islamic revolution of 1979, a large population of Iranians, including highly-skilled and well-educated individuals like most of the

participants in this study moved from Iran to different countries, particularly the United States of America, Canada and Western Europe. Australia was also a destination for many Iranian migrants particularly after 1979 (See Section 1.3 in Chapter 1 for a detailed discussion). Migrants to Australia are mainly selected into three major streams: skill-based, family reunion and humanitarian (Cobb-Clark, Connolly, & Worswick, 2005). In the past two decades, Australia seems to have become a popular destination among many skilled and educated Iranian nationals who moved mainly for socioeconomic reasons, seeking a more secure and a better lifestyle (Tenty & Houston, 2013). Participants in this study also chose to migrate to Australia (mainly in the skill-based stream) as an imagined community where they saw themselves finding a peaceful life with the prospect of a brighter future particularly for their children, as the following examples demonstrate:

Excerpt 4-19

Father-G: يه سرى مثلاً مثل ما skilled migrant ميان، دار و زندگيش رو اونجا ول مى كنه مياد اينجا و به يه اميدهايى، با يه آرزوهايى. حالا يا دائم يا موقت، يا هرچى.

Father-G: Some people for example like us as *skilled migrants*, come, they leave their home and life there and come here with some hopes and dreams. Whether permanent or temporary, or whatever.

Excerpt 4-20

Mother-M: دليل عمده اى كه آمديم اين بوداست كه بدانيم اينجا زندگى life style اش چجوريه. آيا واقعاً به آن آرامشى كه تعريف مى‌كردند هست، و چيزاى جالب.

Mother-M: The main reason that we came was to know how the *life style* was like here. Is it really as calm as people say, and other interesting stuff.

Excerpt 4-21

Mother-D: ما آمديم كه زندگى Daughter-D بهتر بشه. نصف مهاجرت، قضيه زندگى، حالا خودمون هم بوديم، ولى بهونه اى هم بود براى Daughter-D كه Daughter-D زندگيش بهتر بشه.

Mother-D: We came to better Daughter-D's life. Half of the point of migrating, living here, well, it was for us too, but it was also a reason for improving the life of Daughter-D.

Migration to Australia to seek a better life and a brighter future was a drive for participants in this research, and made them invest in many ways to advance their English language facility. Kanno and Norton (2003, p. 247) suggest that "humans are capable of connecting with communities that lie beyond the local and immediate and that investment in such imagined communities strongly influences identity construction and engagement in learning." In fact, being motivated by the prospect of a better life and imagining themselves as productive members of the new community, participants seem to have entered into a new and more serious phase of learning English as the language of the new, imagined community. Mother-S, for instance, who had spoken about her sense of disinterest in the English language and its learning, seems to have felt an obligation to learn the language as she imagined herself in a future in which 'a good life' encompassing social, professional and familial engagements was perceived as being contingent on knowing the English language.

Excerpt 4-22

Mother-S: به طور کلی زبان انگلیسی را زیاد دوست نداشتم {...} فقط بخاطر داشتن یه زندگی خوب، که، بتونی اونجا پیشرفت کنی مجبوری خب زبان رو بلد باشی. چه تو حرفه ای که میخوام داشته باشم، چه تو زندگی روزمره وچه تو اینکه بتونم واسه بچم، ساپورتش کنم، احتیاج دارم که خب زبانم خوب باشد.

Mother-S: In general I didn't like the English language much […] Only for having a good life, so as to be able to progress there, well, you have to know the language. Whether for the profession that I want to have or in daily life, and or for the fact that I would be able to support my child, my English needs to be good.

In fact, the data revealed that, while the concrete goals of English learning might have been obscure hitherto, the prospects of migration and the sense of membership in the imagined new community were strong drives which propelled participants into a more serious and purposeful investment so as to develop mastery in English as a cultural capital with the prospect of transferring it to the new community. Nevertheless, this cultural capital needed to be evidenced in order to get the official permission for entry

into and living in the new country. A way to evidence their English proficiency was to have their English competency quantified by attaining the IELTS score as officially required. Therefore, for most of the participants who migrated in the skilled visa stream, their language learning practices were largely focused on English preparation for the IELTS test. Some of the participants also spoke about their language learning efforts purely for the purpose of preparing themselves for living in Australia.

Table 4-2 illustrates an overview of participants' pre-departure English preparations for the purpose of fulfilling their visa requirements and living in Australia.

Table 4-2- Participants' English Preparation for Migration

Participants	Primary Applicant	Secondary Applicant	Formal Private Classes/Tutoring and Self-study	Only Self-study
Mother-A		✓	✓	
Father-A	✓		✓	
Mother-B[1]		✓		
Father-B	✓		✓	
Mother-C		✓	✓	
Father-C	✓			✓
Mother-D	✓		✓	
Father-D		✓		
Mother-E		✓	✓	
Father-E	✓		✓	
Mother-F	✓		✓	
Father-F		✓	✓	
Mother-G		✓		✓
Father-G	✓			✓
Mother-H		✓		✓
Mother-I		✓	✓	
Father-I	✓		✓	
Mother-J		✓		✓
Mother-K[2]		✓		
Father-K	✓			
Mother-L[3]				
Father-L				✓
Mother-M		✓	✓	
Father-M	✓		✓	
Mother-N		✓	✓	
Mother-O			✓	
Mother-P	✓			✓
Mother-Q		✓		
Father-Q	✓		✓	
Mother-R	✓		✓	
Father-R		✓		✓
Mother-S		✓	✓	
Father-S	✓			✓

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[1] Mother-B, Father-D and Mother-Q as secondary applicants prepaid for the 510 hours of AMEP (Adult Migrant English Program) and did not mention any language preparation before departure.
[2] Mother-K and Father-K were exempted from the IELTS test for holding academic degrees in English. They did not mention any pre-departure preparations.
[3] Mother-L, Father-L and Mother-O migrated to Australia on humanitarian visas and so did not do the IELTS test. Mother-L did not mention any pre-departure preparations.

While the table gives a gloss of who uses which strategies, it does not provide details of the ways in which participants used those strategies and evaluated their language learning experiences. To do this, I will present a detailed analysis of participants' narratives of their English preparations closer to the time of departure for visa purposes in section 4.5.1 before turning to their language preparation for living in the new community in section 4.5.2.

4.5.1. IELTS test preparation as a visa requirement

All participant families but two migrated to Australia on Skilled Migrant visas (see also Section 3.4 in Chapter 3). This means that at least one parent participant as the primary applicant in the skilled migration process had to demonstrate evidence of English competency sufficient to live and work in Australia. One of the ways to demonstrate the language competency was to present the IETLS score as required by virtue of skilled migration regulations set down by the Australian Government. For most participants in this study who were the primary applicant, the IELTS score needed to pass the migration process was required to be at least six out of nine for each of the four skills of listening, speaking, reading and writing.

The other parent in the family, as the secondary applicant in the migration procedure, as reported by participants, was given an option to present an IELTS average band score of at least 4.5 points. Another possibility for this group was to prepay for at least 510 hours of English courses-work under a state-organised settlement program called AMEP (Adult Migrant English Program). Among the participants who were the secondary applicants in their migration applications, three (Mother-B, Father-D and Mother-Q) preferred to pay for the AMEP course instead of doing the IELTS test before coming to Australia.

Participants' narratives of language learning for departure purposes make it clear that they made a great deal of effort and investments in preparation for IELTS test to acquire the right score needed to proceed with their migration process. For participants, in particular the primary applicants, attaining the right IELTS score was of great significance as without it their desire to migrate to Australia would be doomed to failure. Participants' experiences of IELTS preparations were diverse in terms of the amount of time they spent or the methods they used such as attending private classes, hiring tutors or self-study, or a mix of them. Nevertheless, the prospect of living in Australia was an incentive to invest considerable amounts of effort, time and money into preparing for the IELTS test. For example, Father-A, who had been involved in years of learning English and also using the language at work in Iran (see Excerpt 4-13 and Excerpt 4-16), described how he was persistent in doing the IELTS test five times until he obtained the right score:

Excerpt 4-23

Father-A: دیگه تصمیم جدی که برای اومدن به استرالیا گرفتیم، دیگر کلاس‌هایم را شروع کردم. تقریباً فکر میکنم سه سال مداوم کلاس رفتم{...} بعد تو خانه هم خیلی کار می‌کردم. یعنی Mother-A یادشه، من همیشه پشت کامپیوتر بودم و کتاب‌های IELTS من بود و مشغول کار کردن بودم.

Shiva: چون شما نمره ی بالا میخواستین.

Father-A: من نمره‌ی بالا می‌خواستم، بله. بعدیک دوره هم یک مؤسسه دیگه رفتم، فقط دو تا skill را، listening و reading را. چون speaking و writing من من خیلی خوب بود. reading من ضعیف‌ترین skill من بود و listening خب، so-so بود، به اینصورت. بعد دیگه من فقط focus آخرم رو گذاشتم برای این دوتا skill و دیگه حالا IELTsم رو هم گرفتم و قبول شدم.

Shiva: می‌توانم بپرسم چه نمره‌ای گرفتید؟

Father-A: ۶، من ٦ می‌خواستم که شش ونیم overall گرفتم. البته من، تو تست های قبلی من overall بالاتر هم گرفتم. ولی writingهای من عموماً ۷ بود. writing و listening را هیچوقت زیر ٦ نشدم، ولی readingم را ٥/٥ می‌شدم.

Shiva: آها امتحان بیشتر از یکبار دادین.

Father-A: آره من پنج بار امتحان دادم.

Father-A: When we got serious about coming to Australia, I started my classes. I think I attended classes for about three consecutive years. […] Then, I worked hard at home, too. I mean, Mother-A may remember, I was always on the computer and there were always my *IELTS* books spread and I was busy working.
Shiva: Because you wanted a high score?
Father-A: I needed a high score, yes. Then, I attended another course in another institute for only two *skills*, *listening* and *reading*. Because my *speaking* and *writing*

were very good. My *reading* was my weakest *skill*, and my *listening*, well, it was *so-so*. Then, I placed my last *focus* on those two *skills* and I got my *IELTS* [score] and passed.

Shiva: Can I ask what your score was?

Father-A: 6, I wanted 6 and I got an overall 6.5. However, in my previous tests, I had higher *overall* scores. But my *writing* was generally 7, my *listening* and *writing* were never below 6, but I kept getting 5.5 in my *reading*.

Shiva: Oh, so you did the test more than once.

Father-A: Yes, I did it five times.

In Father-A's narrative above, a sense of positive disposition towards his English abilities is reflected as he described his efforts to achieve the score required to proceed with his visa application. His failures, related mainly to the reading assessment, he did not seem to perceive as due to his generally limited English skills, but to his difficulty with test-taking techniques, as he went on to explain:

Excerpt 4-24

> Father-A: بحث جا ماندن مطلب نبود. بحث این بود که از تفاسیر منطقی استفاده می‌کردم برای جواب دادن به سؤالات. خیلی توجه نمی‌کردم که متن چه می‌گوید.
>
> Father-A: It wasn't about missing the contents. It was just that, I would use logical interpretations for answering the questions. I didn't pay much attention to what the text was saying.

McNamara and Shohamy (2008, p. 1) argue that the kinds of tests which are used in the implementation of social policies such as migration are often constructed as an indicator of "success, achievement and mobility, and reinforced by dominant social and educational institutions as major criteria of worth, quality and value". Participants in this study often made enormous efforts to attain the right IELTS score so as to obtain the entry permit and eventually to live in Australia with a vision of themselves as competent users of English and productive members of the new imagined workplace and in the new society as a whole. In view of that, their language preparation efforts and attaining the required IELTS score as an indicator of 'success, achievement and mobility' could

engender a sense of confidence in their English abilities nearer to the time of departure.

Mother-E put it this way:

Excerpt 4-25

Mother-E: بعد بخاطر آمدن به اینجا، همسرم تشویق کرد که باید IELTS را ٤/٥ بگیرم که بتونیم مهاجرت کنیم. بعد من کلاس زبان اسم نوشتم {...} بعدIELTSم ٦ شدم همه ی skillها رو. بعد خودم هم توقع نداشتم، البته. {...}
Shiva: چقدر این کلاس‌ها به شما کمک کرد چون شما گفته بودید فقط در حد دبیرستان خوانده بودید؟
Mother-E: خودم هم کتاب می‌خواندم ولی خُب کمک خوبی بود با اینکه اعتماد به نفس زبان من کم بود {...} حداقل اعتماد به نفس مرا بالا برد.

Mother-E: So because of coming here, my husband encouraged me to get an *IELTS* score of 4.5 so that we could migrate. Then I enrolled at a class […] Then I got a 6 for all *skills* in *IELTS*. Although I didn't even expect it.
Shiva: How much did these classes help you? Because you had told me that you had only learnt English at a high school level.
Mother-E: I myself also read books. But, yeah, it was good help. Considering that I had low self-confidence in my English language […] at least, it raised my self-confidence.

It is evidenced from the data that participants usually derived a sense of success and confidence in their English abilities by passing the IELTS test. Nevertheless, in describing their language preparatory practices for the IELTS test and their achievements in passing it, they at the same time demonstrated a sense of ambivalence about those achievements. On the one hand, their narratives reflected a positive disposition to their English preparatory practices for the IELTS test and their success and achievements and, on the other hand, the IELTS preparation practices and the test itself were problematized for being too focused on memorisation and test-taking techniques rather than actual English abilities. Mother-F, for example had attained the required IELTS score, but seemed sceptical about her language learning experiences for the test and her achievement in passing it because they did not give her the requisite abilities, as she had expected, for everyday communication in the new society. In fact, her expectation of her investments in IELTS preparation practices seems to have been not only to obtain the entry visa, but to move to and live in Australia as a competent language user. However, as

is apparent from her narrative below, it seems that those investments could only partly

meet her expectations, that is, to succeed in getting the entry permit, as she described:

Excerpt 4-26

> Mother-F: skillه اام speaking ٧ بود. reading م ٧ بود. نه، speaking ٧ بود. listening م ٧ بود.
> reading و writing م ٦ بود. ام، آره و بعد overall م میشه ٦/٥. بعد ام دیگه، و بعد از اونم که دیگه
> apply کردیم و اومدیم اینجا. ولی وقتی اومدیم اینجا، من تقریباً دیدم که من اصلاً نمی‌توانستم انگلیسی صحبت
> کنم و اصلاً اصلاً من نمی‌فهمم اینا که می‌گویند. تقریباً هیچی نمیتونستم بگم. چون وقتیکه برای IELTS آدم
> میخونه، همش یک سری جملات رو حفظ میکنه، یه سری جمله ها رو آماده میکنه که امتحان رو پاس کنه. نه
> اینکه، بیشتر واقعاً انگلیسی بتونه صحبت بکنه.
>
> Mother-F: The *skill* um *speaking* was 7. My *reading* was 7. No, My *speaking* was 7.
> My *listening* was 7. My *reading* and *writing* were 6. Um, yeah, and then the *overall*
> came to 6.5. Then um well, and after that, well, we applied and came here. But when
> we came here, I realised that I could not speak English at all. And I couldn't
> understand what they were saying at all, like at all. I basically couldn't say anything.
> Because when you study for *IELTS*, you memorise a set of sentences, you prepare a
> set of sentences to pass the exam, rather than being able to actually speak.

Mother-H similarly described the external perspective of her 'good' English abilities

nearer to the time of departure and her perspective at the time of the interview:

Excerpt 4-27

> Mother-H: ولی خب امتحان IETLS داده بودیم برای اینکه بیایم. ولی زبان من در حد متوسط رو به بالا
> بود. مقایسه با الان که میکنم میگم متوسط رو به بالا. ولی اونموقع فکر میکردم خیلی زبانم خوبه. IELTS
> برای مهاجرت ٥ می‌خواست که منهم همون ٥، ٥/٥ اوردم.
>
> Mother-H: But we had done the *IELTS* exam to come. But my English was at an
> upper intermediate level. When I compare it now, I say upper intermediate. But at the
> time, I thought my English was good. The *IELTS* score needed for migration was 5,
> and I got the same 5, 5.5.

Overall, it is apparent from the data that participants held a positive attitude towards their

English abilities before departure. Nevertheless, it also reveals how participants' sense of

positive perception and evaluation of their English achievements and abilities could be

subject to change due to experiencing language use for different purposes in divergent

spatio-temporal contexts. The data show that participants perceived 'good English' to be

English as a societal language which is about being able to use it in reality in everyday

life, as opposed to English as a foreign language which is perceived as being about memorisation and passing exams.

4.5.2. Preparation for everyday communication

The prospect of living in the new imagined community and concern for "what has not yet happened in the future" (Kanno & Norton, 2003, p. 248) propelled some of the participants into investments in language learning with a focus on communication skills nearer to the time of departure. Two family participants who migrated in the humanitarian stream did not have to do the IELTS test before migration. However, being cognisant of the need for English for communication in the new imagined community, Father-L and Mother-O described how they attempted to prepare themselves in terms of their English communication abilities closer to the time of departure. Father-L, who had always been interested in learning English through reading, now turned to practices through which he could develop his communicative skills:

Excerpt 4-28

> Father-L: انگلیسی را از طریق خوندن بیشتر همیشه دوست داشتم، خوندن را دوست داشتم. ولی تو این یک سال اخیر میتونم بگم، بیشتر با شنیدن و اینها، من سعی کردم تو ایران، چون میدونستم میخوام بیام اینجا، یه مقدار مثلاً بیشتر گوش میکردم. حالا، اام، این چیزای، برنامه های انگلیسی زبان تلویزیون ایران یه ماهواره ای داره که برنامه های انگلیسی زبان ، press ، Press TV ، Press TV تو ایران هست، که کلاً انگلیسیه. تو سالهای اخیر هم پیش اومده. یه مقدار اونا یه مقدار {خنده} آره اونا کمک کرد.
> Father-L: I always liked learning English through reading, I liked reading. But I could say that in the past year in Iran, more through listening and such, because I knew that I wanted to come here, I practised listening. Well, um, there are some English TV programs in Iran, there is a satellite channel which has English programs like *Press*, *Press TV*, *Press TV* which are completely in English. They have come up in the recent years. They, [laughs] yeah, they helped a bit.

Similarly, Mother-O had already been involved in English learning in language institutes during her schooling, and described how she made investment in intensive communication courses to advance her communicative skills before departure:

Excerpt 4-29

Mother-O: وقتی دوباره تصمیم گرفتم که به اینجا بیایم که یک سری کلاس‌های زبان به صورت فشرده هم رفتم در ایران.
Shiva: کلاس‌های زبان فشرده عمومی بود، یعنی speaking و مکالمات بود؟
Mother-O: آره آره، general و مکالمات روزمره. خیلی وارد جزئیات نمی‌شد.
Mother-O: When I decided again to come here I attended a series of intensive English classes in Iran.
Shiva: The intensive classes, were they general, I mean *speaking* and conversations?
Mother-O: Yes, yes, *general* and daily conversations. It didn't go into details.

Mother-E also described how they continued studying English even after passing the

IELTS test by hiring a tutor and through self-study:

Excerpt 4-30

Mother-E: دیگر IELTS نبود، عمومی بود که درس می‌دادند {...} بعد دیگه داشتیم می‌آمدیم یک سری CD و کتاب را خودمان خواندیم. بیشتر در این CDها گرامر و listening کار می‌کردیم.
Mother-E: It wasn't *IELTS* anymore. It was general English that she taught […] Then closer to the time of departure we studied a series of CD's and books by ourselves. We worked more on grammar and *listening* through these CDs.

Overall, as presented above, participants in this study regarded English as a significant

means of realising a desirable future for themselves and also for their children in the

imagined community in Australia. Imagining themselves as users of English in an

English-speaking imagined community, they invested money, time and energy in

language learning practices which they thought might secure "conditions for the

establishment of communication" (Bourdieu, 1977a, p. 648) in real situations. As I will

demonstrate in Chapter 6, the prospects of using English in Australia also influenced the

ways in which participants managed and invested in their children's language learning

before migration. To what extent these investments could benefit them, and their children

in turn, in the reality of the new community, are questions which will be explored in

Chapters 5 and 6, respectively.

4.6. Summary

This first analysis chapter has presented the language learning trajectories of participants before migration from the time when they began to learn English until nearer to the time for departure. I drew on Bourdieu's (1986) concepts of capital and the notion of investment (Darvin & Norton, 2015; Norton, 2013) to understand the relationships between participants' expectations and multiple desires to learn English as a form of capital and the ways in which those expectations and desires were shaped in the pre-migration social context.

The chapter began by presenting how participants viewed their English education at school as deficient and how they resorted to private English classes with the hope of furthering their English abilities. For many of these participants, their desire for the language and its learning was shaped by an imaginary view of the future and the belief that learning English could afford them an opportunity for upward social mobility. Nevertheless, because English was not used as a means of communication in participants' daily lives, their educational advancement was the most tangible result of their additional investment in learning English. After their educational courses, however, for most of them learning English came to a halt, unless they needed some English for their professions or until they planned to move to Australia. In fact, it appears that for many of the participants, from the time they began planning to migrate, the meaning of English began to change from a mere educational subject to a means of communication, albeit yet to be experienced in real life. From that time, with the prospect of living in Australia, participants' desires to develop their English skills seem to have become much greater than before. For most of the participants, the hope for a brighter future for themselves and for their children in Australia was a motive that propelled them to make enormous efforts

to advance their English language improvement, not only to pass the IELTS exam as a visa requirement, but also for living in an imagined English-speaking community. Under these circumstances, gaining success in achieving the right IELTS score as prescribed by the Australian Government, appears to have bolstered many participants' sense of confidence in their language abilities based on an assumption that their English was at a level to enter and live in the Australian society. Only a few participants kept investing after passing the IELTS test in further extending their communication skills in anticipation of life in the new community.

Overall, exploring participants' pre-migration experiences of English language learning through the lens of investment and imagined communities has demonstrated how participants invested in learning English for an imagined future in imagined global communities (Darvin & Norton, 2015). Further, the exploration showed that while participants were highly motivated language learners, their desire to invest in English learning at different stages of their life trajectories was shaped at different levels by "the discourse of desire, the values, beliefs, and practices circulating in a given social context" (Piller & Takahashi, 2006, p. 61).

Furthermore, the analysis has shown how the complexities of language investment and the outcomes were viewed and evaluated by participants on a continuum of scale (Blommaert, 2007a) in relation to pre- and post-migration experiences. In effect, pre-migration language learning seems to have been re-evaluated in light of post-migration language experiences. Therefore, it is crucial to investigate participants' experiences of language learning after migration to better understand the interplay between mobility and language attitudes and practices. These will be examined in the following chapter.

Chapter 5: Post-migration Parental Language Learning and Use

5.1. Introduction

Chapter 4 discussed how participants had learned English as a foreign language in Iran. They studied mainly in classrooms in order to gain decontextualised lexico-grammatical language skills. It also became apparent that they valued conversational English as the ultimate expression of English proficiency and assumed this could best be achieved in a naturalistic environment. After migration, however, as I will demonstrate in this chapter, participants became aware of a mismatch between their perceptions of language learning and proficiencies before migration and their experiences of language learning and use in the new community.

Having arrived in Australia, participants faced difficulties with understanding daily conversations and in making themselves understood. These communication difficulties, as this chapter will show, resulted in feelings of anxiety and lack of confidence in themselves and their language abilities. This phenomenon, in which learners perceive a loss of competence by moving from a context "in which their linguistic resources were valued and recognised into one in which they didn't count as valuable and understandable" is explained by Blommaert (2007a, p. 2) as "part of the experience of migration and diaspora, and it could be a key to understanding sociolinguistic processes in globalisation". Therefore, as Blommaert, Collins and Slembrouck (2005, p. 212) propose, the question of language competence should include situation-sensitive expectations and judgements, that is, "what is valued and devalued in given environments", and also the notion of "negotiation and repair", that is, "what is or will be done in response to competence assessments and situated expectations".

In similar vein, inspired by the work of Bourdieu (1977b, 1984, 1991), Darvin and Norton (2015) assert that because the rules of the game vary in different fields and because they constantly evolve, the value of learners' capital also shifts across time and space whereby learners may gain or lose power. By incorporating "identity, capital, and ideology" and locating "investment' at the intersection of these key constructs, Darvin and Norton demonstrate how different ideologies and varying levels of capital may shape the ways in which learners position themselves and are positioned by others in different contexts (p. 46). In this view, identity is recognised as "a struggle of habitus and desire, of competing ideologies and imagined identities" (p. 45). In the light of this argument, I adopt, in my analysis, the notion of investment (Darvin & Norton, 2015; Norton, 1995a, 2000a, 2001, 2013) to explore participants' experiences of language learning as a situated process of participation in various "communities of practice" (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998) embedded in the new society. In doing so, I accept that while practice in the target language is essential in learning a second language, "opportunities to practice (sic) speaking are socially structured in both formal and informal sites of language learning" (Norton, 2013, p. 26). Thus, participants' perceptions of the structured social networks in the new society and their desired/imagined community are of particular importance in this exploration. These are the perceptions that, as Haneda (2006, p. 815) notes, can be shaped by life trajectories of the past, present, and an envisioned future.

Following the discussions in Chapter 4 about participants' investments in English language learning before migration with the prospect of integrating into the new society, I will begin this chapter by presenting participants' perceptions of their English competence and their language-related difficulties soon after arrival (Section 5.2). Then, I will discuss how those difficulties impacted their sense of self and their (re)construction

of their identities (Section 5.3). In the next section (5.4), I will explore the ways in which participants made an effort to reconcile the disparity between the English they achieved in the past and the English they needed in the new community by attending language or content courses. Participants' accounts of language learning and practices in employment contexts will also be explored (Section 5.5) before turning to an examination of participants' perceptions of their new community's social structure and their desired form of English and social networks (Section 5.6). Finally, I will present a summary of the findings (Section 5.7).

5.2. Language-related challenges

After arrival, participants discovered a mismatch between the English they had learned and used before migration and the English they experienced in the new community. The mismatch, as I will discuss further in this and other sections (e.g., see Section 5.6), often related to issues of 'standard' versus 'non-standard' English and the "hierarchical notion of the 'native/non-native' dichotomy" (Doerr & Kumagai, 2009, p. 301). Having imagined the new community as a homogeneous bounded group of native speakers, Father-G, for instance, used the metaphor of a swimming pool with calm water for the context in which he had learned English as a foreign language. By contrast, he described a naturalistic context in which English is used as a raging river.

Excerpt 5-1

Father-G: تو یه محیطی چیز میشی که همه native هستند، همه با لهجه و ریتم طبیعی خودشان با شما انگلیسی صحبت می‌کنند و این دقیقاً همون رودخونه است. شما شنا کردن رو تو استخر یاد گرفتی. حالا یه ذره کلاسیک یاد گرفتی، خیلی قشنگ، آب هم آرومه. بعد شما یه دفعه میفتی تو یه رودخونه ای که اصلاً هیچ حساب کتابی نداره.

Father-G: You come to an environment where they are all *natives* and they all speak English with you with their own accent and natural rhythm and this is exactly the river. You've learnt swimming in a pool. Well, you learnt it a bit classic, very nice, and the water is also calm. Then, all of a sudden you are thrown into a river which has no rules and regularities.

The communication difficulties participants faced after arrival were largely related to the fact that they were not able to understand their interlocutors. For example, Mother-A, who had been involved in years of English learning in Iran, described how her perception of her listening skills changed dramatically after migration:

Excerpt 5-2

Mother-A: listeningام با آن چیزی که فکر می‌کردم خیلی فرق میکرد.

Mother-A: My listening differed so much from what I had thought.

Mother-N, who had also been learning English for years in Iran spoke of the English she encountered in Australia as a totally different language from the one she had studied previously:

Excerpt 5-3

Mother-N: من خب خیلی مشکل داشتم. اولی که اومدم اینجا کلاً گفتم اینا {خنده} دارند یه زبون دیگه صحبت میکنند و من تا حالا کشک خوندم. خب؟

Mother-N: Well, I had lots of issues. When I first came here, I was completely like [Laughs] there people are speaking a totally different language and until now I have been studying all for nothing, you know?

These difficulties were often linked by participants to their English inadequacy, particularly limited knowledge of vocabulary and idioms and expressions, and also to their interlocutors' accents and speech rate. The excerpts below, for instance, show how participants could miss a part of the conversation, because they did not know the meaning of a word.

Excerpt 5-4

Mother-O: این یه کلمه رو اینجا بکار برد، چی بود؟

Mother-O: What was the word that she used here?

Excerpt 5-5

Father-A: مثلاً jeopardising شما ممکنه که شما تو ایران، من هیچوقت این لغت رو پیش نیومده که شنیده باشم و هیچوقت استفادش کرده باشم. اون لحظه من نیاز پیدا کردم که من بفهمم این کلمه یعنی چی {...} هی میگفت "jeopardising this project"

Father-A: For example, *jeopardising*, in Iran you might, it had never happened to me, like to hear or to use this word. But in that moment I felt that I needed to know what it meant […] he kept saying 'jeopardising this project'.

Father-R and Father-E also mentioned their difficulties in understanding

unfamiliar expressions and idioms:

Excerpt 5-6

Father-R: البته یک تکه هایی هست که ما هیچوقت استفاده نمی کنیم. یعنی استفاده تو هند نکردمش من. این تکه ها مثلاً حالا، اصطلاحاتی استفاده میکنند که بخصوص خودشون هست.

Father-R: However there are some terms that we don't use them at all. I mean I haven't used them in India. These terms like, well, they use expressions which are unique to themselves.

Excerpt 5-7

Father-E: خب یک سری اصطلاحات را نمی‌دانیم.

Father-E: Well, we don't know some of the expressions.

Accent was also recurrently mentioned by participants as a major problem with

understanding people. For instance, Mother-O explained:

Excerpt 5-8

Mother-O: می‌دانید accentها خیلی فرق می‌کند. وقتی که اینجا می‌آیید آدم هر چقدر هم که بلد باشد مثل کر و لال‌ها می‌ماند. ماه‌های اول که من اینجا آمده بودم واقعاً هیچچی نمی‌فهمیدم.

Mother-O: You know that *accents* are very different. When you come here, no matter how much you know, still you are like deaf and mute. The first months when I came here, I really couldn't understand anything.

As this example makes evident, accents were perceived to be diverse. Such diversity was

not only related to native/non-native distinctions, but also to the origin, social class and

educational background of the native speakers. For example, Father-K who had

experienced English communication in English-speaking countries such as the U.S.,

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Ireland and England before coming to Australia explained how his ability to understand native English speakers largely related to such factors. For example, he explained how it was harder for him to understand the Irish accent than the British accent. He went on to explain how the English heard on the street could be harder to understand than the one used in academic or employment contexts:

Excerpt 5-9

Father-K: اینجا هم بدجور بود که زبان اینجا را با لهجه نمیتونستی بفهمی {...} خب انگلیسی ها فرق میکنه بعد میای اینجا هم فرق میکنه {...} من سرکار میرم و اینا، سرکار میری، اینا هم اینطوری صحبت نمیکنند [colour] /kʌlə/ نمیگه، میگه /kʌlər/ یعنی قشنگ چی صحبت میکنن. ولی زبان روزمره بیرون ممکنه، بیرون ممکنه. ولی مثلاً شما دانشگاه و سرکار و اینا بری نه. تو تحصیل کرده ها من ندیدم.

Father-K: Here it was also awful that we couldn't understand the language with the accent […] well there are different Englishes and then you come here and it's also different […] I go to work and so on. When you go to work they don't speak like this. They don't say /kʌlə/, they say /kʌlər/ [Colour], I mean they speak nicely like, but the everyday language on the streets might be, might be like that, but not for instance at the university or at work or so on. I haven't seen it among the educated people.

In similar vein, Father-E and Mother-R reported:

Excerpt 5-10

Father-E: مثلاً وقتی برنامه سیاسی شان را میبینیم خانم گیلارد صحبت میکند تقریباً صددرصد حرف‌ها را می‌فهمیم {...} ولی وقتی می‌بینید دو تا دبیرستانی دارند در اتوبوس صحبت میکنند یا توی چیز کلمات را می‌جوند بعضی وقت‌ها برایمان سخت می‌شود.

Father-E: For instance when we watch their political programs, when Mrs Gillard is speaking we almost understand a hundred percent of the speech […] but when you see two high-schoolers talking on the bus or when they like cut short some of the words then it gets more difficult for us.

Excerpt 5-11

Mother-R: بعضی ها از rural area میان، با لهجه های شدید Aussie.

Mother-R: Some of them come from *rural areas* with intense *Aussie* accents.

Apart from difficulties with understanding native English speakers with different accents, some of the participants also mentioned how they had difficulties with understanding many non-native/non-Anglophone speakers, as the following examples show:

Excerpt 5-12

Mother-N: من که اصلاً لهجه ی هندی ها رو که اصلاً کلاً نمیفهمیدم.

    Mother-N: I couldn't ever understand the Indians' accent at all.

Excerpt 5-13

Mother-A: بچه های دیگه اکثراً لهجههای خیلی مختلفی داشتند. من بیشتر سعی ام بر این بود که بفهمم با آنهایی که صحبت میکردم بفهمم چه میگویند.

    Mother-A: Other students mostly had very different accents. I put a lot of effort into trying to understand what everyone else was saying.

As these examples show, participants had difficulties with understanding people due to their accents. However, they expressed a greater concern about the difficulty of understanding native speakers as their imagined (desired) community (see also Section 5.6). This was, for example, implied by Mother-N who ironically admired her skill with understanding the Indian accent, gained at her workplace in Australia:

Excerpt 5-14

Mother-N: اینجا یه تخصص بسیار زیباییه که الان کلاً من لهجهی هندی را خوب میفهمم {خنده}.

    Mother-N: Here it is a very nice expertise that I can completely understand the Indian accent well [Laughs].

In fact, Mother-N's use of irony implies that learning to understand Indian English is not as valuable as learning to understand Australian English.

The difficulty of understanding native speakers of Australian English was also associated by many participants with the rate of speech. Norton Peirce, Swain and Hart (1993, p. 37) explain that in communicative events taking place in real time where learners have limited or no control over the flow of the information, they have little time to process the information and to reflect on what is being communicated. An instance of this situation was recounted by Father-A. Father-A had been involved in English language learning for several years and had some experience of using the English language at work back in Iran

(see Excerpt 4-13 and Excerpt 4-16). Nevertheless, while he seems convinced that his

English communication skills were adequate, it seems that his language needs were not

recognised in some occasions as he vehemently described his interlocutors' fast speaking:

Excerpt 5-15

> Father-A: به خاطر اینکه تازه شش ماه بود که ما اومده بودیم به استرالیا هنوز بنظر من skillهای زبان من آن قدر قوی نبود و خب آن‌ها هم اصلاً رحم نمیکردند که بگن حالا تو skill انگلیسیت چقدره. عین چی صحبت میکردند، تند {تاکید} تندتند صحبت می‌کردند، این اون این اون صحبت میکردند، و من می‌بایست همه را جمع می‌کردم و می‌فهمیدم چه می‌گفتند و بعد توضیح می‌دادم present میکردم، demo میکردم سیستم را براشون اینا.
>
> Father-A: Because it was still six months since we had come to Australia, still, I think my language *skills* were not that developed, and well, they also showed no consideration at all to say like how your English *skills* are. They spoke like, fast [Emphasis] like they spoke so fast. This and that, this and that, they spoke and I had to gather everything and to understand what they were saying and then to explain, make a presentation, and show them a *demo* of the system.

Father-R similarly described his impressions about the speech rate of Australian

native speakers when he first came to Australia:

Excerpt 5-16

> Father-R: گفتم "من اصلاً نمیفهمم. اینا چقدرتند، چرا اینقدر تند این حرف میزنه؟".
>
> Father-R: I thought 'I don't understand at all. How fast, why do they speak so fast?'

In a study of language learning and settlement experience of a group of migrant women to

Australia, Butorac (2011, p. 187) reported her participants' accounts of experiencing

difficulties when the English speakers spoke quickly or used idiomatic language in the

speech which led to feelings of "invisibility and exclusion" on the part of her participants.

A common thread linking these analyses can be the intersection between language and

power and the "generally hidden determinants in the system of social relationships"

(Fairclough, 1989, p. 5) undergirded by English monolingual ideology which presumes

"English monolingualism" to be a "a natural and ideal condition" (Terrence G. Wiley,

1999, pp. 25, 26). In the same vein, belief in monolingualism as an ideal state of affairs is

characteristic of language ideologies in Australia and has been termed "the monolingual mindset" by Clyne (2005). Under such a natural condition of monolingualism, the data can demonstrate how "the onus is on the learner to understand and be understood, and not on the native speaker to ensure that the learner understands" (Norton, 2013, p. 149). This situation was expressed quite clearly by Father-G:

Excerpt 5-17

Father-G: ولی در یک محیطی می‌آیید که {...} فرض بر این است که شما انگلیسی بلد هستید {...} در یک محیطی داری زندگی می کنی، که زبان رسمی، native آن انگلیسی است. با کسی صحبت می‌کنی که برای شما وای نمیسه. مثل اینه که شما مثلاً داری با یکی مسابقه میدی. یکی مثلاً پا به پای شما میاد، مثلاً وای میسه برای شما، نگاه میکنه رسیدی، بعد شما پا به پاش می ری. یه وقت نه، داره می دوه، شما باید دنباش بدویی.

Father-G: But you come in an environment in which […] the assumption is that you know English […] you are living in an environment in which the official language, the *native* language is English. You speak with someone who will not stop for you. It is like when you are for instance racing someone. They may for instance come step by step with you, for example they stop for you and they ensure that you reach them, then you continue alongside each other. Sometimes no, they are running and you have to run after them.

In sum, after arrival participants became aware of variations in the English language, in communicative and colloquial language and in different accents. Although participants did not report any instances of mistreatment for communication breakdowns, it appears that many of them tended to avoid participation in social activities with the perceived Australian native English speakers as their desired interlocutors (see Section 5.6), for imagined problems and consequences such as being viewed as boring interlocutors (see for example Excerpt 5-45). Having noticed their communication difficulties as opposed to what they had expected before migration with regard to their years of learning English, many participants began to problematise their past language education and the proficiencies they had achieved, resulting in feelings of confidence loss and anxiety. These findings are further discussed in the following section.

5.3. Language anxiety and self-confidence

Self-confidence and anxiety emerged as significant topics in participants' narratives of language learning and use experiences. In their first encounters of communication failure, participants began to feel that the English in which they had invested was not functional in their everyday life in Australia. Therefore, they began to feel a loss of confidence in themselves and their English abilities, as the examples below show:

Excerpt 5-18

Mother-A: منم خب خودم اعتماد به نفس را از دست داده بودم {خنده} چون احساس می‌کردم هیچ چی متوجه نمی‌شوم.

Mother-A: I also, well, I had lost my self-confidence [Laughs] because I felt that I could not understand anything.

Excerpt 5-19

Father-R: اولین بارها که انگلیسی که صحبت میکردند، خیلی متوجه نمیشدم، چون یک لهجه‌ی خاصی اینجا دارند. روی اعتماد به نفسم هم یه کمی ضربه خورده بود {خنده}

Father-R: The first few times, when they were speaking English I couldn't understand much, because they had a peculiar accent. So it impacted on my self-confidence a bit [Laughs].

Excerpt 5-20

Mother-R: گفتم هفته ی اول آدم میره depressed برمیگرده. وای اینا چی میگن؟ ما چی میشنویم؟ زبان چی بود؟ ما چی خوندیم؟

Mother-R: I said that in the first week, we go and then come back *depressed*. Gee, what are they saying? What are we hearing? What was that language? What did we study?

Excerpt 5-21

Mother-N: اولش اینجوری بودم. واقعاً نمی‌فهمیدم. خب؟ مثلاً رفتم موبایل بخرم، یارو کلی برام توضیح داد، من همینجوری داشتم نگاش میکردم. اصلاً نمیفهمیدم خدائی چی میگه. بعد ااه، خیلی اعتماد به نفسم را کلاً از دست داده بودم.

Mother-N: At first I was like this, I really couldn't understand, you know? For instance, I went to buy a mobile and the guy explained a lot and I just kept looking at him. I truly couldn't understand what he was saying. Then uh I completely lost my self-confidence.

Learners' perceptions of English inadequacy and feelings of poor self-confidence, as suggested by Norton (2013) can be socially constructed and cannot be abstracted from power relations in interactions. In fact, participants had to negotiate power relations in their social interactions between the perceived Australian native speakers as gatekeepers to the sociocultural and institutional networks and their embedded resources in the society, and themselves as migrants and incompetent English speakers. For example, Mother-E's excerpt below implies that she did not feel confident to use English in the new community, although she commented elsewhere (see Excerpt 5-39 in Section 5.6) that she felt comfortable speaking English with non-native speakers as she had experienced in Malaysia. In the new society, however, she did not feel confident to involve herself in social activities, as she said:

Excerpt 5-22

Shiva: در فعالیتهای مدرسه شرکت میکنید؟
Mother-E: تصمیمم اینه که شرکت کنم، ولی، یه مقداری هم خب من خودم، خودم را عقب میکشم، یه مقدار زیاد {...} اعتماد به نفس هنوز اونقدر ندارم در ارتباط با زبان و چیزهای دیگر {خنده}.
Shiva: Do you participate in school activities?
Mother-E: I've decided to participate. But, well I myself draw myself back a bit, a lot […] I still don't have much self-confidence in relation to the language and other things [Laughs].

Mother-E talked about a sense of anxiety she felt about speaking English in front of those who were perceived as 'legitimate' English speakers (see Excerpt 5-39). In effect, as discussed in Section 5.2, Mother-E's sense of anxiety could be a product of the discordance between her habitus of English learning and use in EFL contexts with non-native English speakers like herself, and the new conditions under which she had to speak with those who were perceived as the 'owners' of the English language. Mother-E's fears, in fact, could be related to her perception of her language inadequacy: not in a sense that she did not know English but because her English was "practically measured against the

legitimate language" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 45). Therefore, the fear of having her perceived language inadequacy exposed to the speakers of the legitimate language could jeopardise her sense of face and self-esteem for being placed in an inferior position. Under these circumstances, it seems that she was left with no choice "but to opt for the broken forms of a borrowed and clumsy language or to escape into abstention and silence" (p. 83). By choosing the latter, she could evade the sense of inferiority at the expense of participation.

Mother-N similarly described how she avoided applying for jobs when they first came because of her sense of lack of confidence in her English abilities:

Excerpt 5-23

Mother-N: اصلاً اعتمادبه نفس رفتن توی interview را نداشتم {...} یکی از علتهای اصلی که فکر می‌کردم که نمی‌توانم کار پیدا کنم، میخوام برم دانشگاه این بود که فکر میکردم نمیتونم حرف بزنم. چون خیلی ناراحت شده بودم وقتی وارد شدم.

Mother-N: I didn't have any confidence going into the *interview* [...] One of the main reasons I didn't think I could find a job and wanted to go to university was that I thought I couldn't communicate. Because I got so upset when I arrived.

In fact, Mother-N seems to have refrained from participating in occupational activities because she "thought" she was unable to speak English and consequently imagined herself in a situation where she would feel humiliated and rejected. Instead, she decided to engage herself in a university course, despite the fact that she had already completed a degree back in Iran. In doing so, she could claim a legitimate social identity as a postgraduate student, rather than taking up a position or identity at a disadvantage "given by social structures or ascribed by others" (Norton & Toohey, 2011, p. 415). Nevertheless, Mother-N did not pursue her plan for a university course. In fact, it is here that the significance of confidence and self-esteem manifests itself, not only in the ways that lacking them may inhibit mobility, but also in the ways that (re)gaining them may

facilitate progress and settlement in the new community. In fact, recognition of participants' cultural capital by those in whom they had the greatest investment could result in building self-esteem and confidence, often leading to success, and thus, changing their habitus. For example, when a language advisor (not only perceived as an authoritative expert in the field, but also as an established member of mainstream society) recognised Mother-N's linguistic capital, and normalised the process of language learning in which she was involved, she felt a sense of confidence and self-esteem to move on:

Excerpt 5-24

> Mother-N: رفتم اون کلاس، آها {خنده} کلاس امتحان دادم، گفت خانم سطحتون چیه؟ گفتم من فکر کنم intermediateم، گفت خب باشه ما یه امتحان میگیریم. بعد یه امتحان دادم من advance شدم. گفتم ببین یا این امتحانه درست نیست یا شما بد حرف میزنین، یا من، تکلیف من رو {خنده} مشخص کنین، من نمیفهمم شما چی میگین. بعد گفت نه این طبیعیه {...} من اصلاً مشکلی تو تو نمیبینم، همین الان برو کار اقدام کن {...} من شش جا apply کردم، سه تا interview رفتم، دوتا هم {خنده}. دیگه رفتم سر کار، آره، دیگه اصلاً نشد که من ادامه بدم.

> Mother-N: I went to that class, aha [Laughs] the class and did the test. She said 'what's your level?' I said 'I think I am *intermediate*.' She said 'alright, we'll make you do a test'. Then I did the test and I got *advanced*, and I was like, 'look, either the exam is not right, or the way you speak is hard to understand, or I, sort me out please [Laughs], I don't get what you guys are saying'. Then she said, 'no it's normal […] I don't see any problems with you. You should go and apply for a job now.' I applied for six jobs, and I attended three interviews two of which [Laughs]. Anyways, I went to work, yeah, and so continuing my studies didn't happen.

Mother-F also described how she felt a sense of empowerment and self-confidence after she attended a conference where she had the opportunity to meet up with a group of senior colleagues in her field of expertise who had been imagined hitherto as intimidating figures. Accessing and communicating with this group who were perceived to hold high levels of 'symbolic power' seem to have given the impetus to Mother-F's upward mobility and integration into the job market with greater confidence.

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Excerpt 5-25

Mother-F: {شرکت در سمینار} اعتماد به نفس مرا خیلی بالا برد، بخاطر اینکه کساییکه اونجا بودند همه یا مثلا CIO بودند یا CEO بودند، یا آدمهای استرالیایی مسن چیز بودند، که بقول اینا خیلی با جذبه که آدم خیلی ممکن بود چیز بشه. این بود که وقتی من با اونا صحبت میکردم راجع به کارشون، و اینکه شرکتشون چیکار میکنه، چه خدماتی دارند، خیلی به من اعتماد بنفس داد که بتونم، که اینا هم همینند.

Shiva: که راحت میتونی باهاشون کار کنی.

Mother-F: آره،، و اینکه رفتم برای interview دیگه اونقدر دست و پام نمی لرزید.

Mother-F: [Attending the seminar] raised my self-confidence a lot. Because the people that were there, they were all like the CIOs or the CEOs, or they were like senior Australian people like, as they say, very charismatic so that one could become very, like, so when I spoke to them about their jobs, and what their company was about, what services they provided, it gave me much self-confidence to be able to, that these are the people.

Shiva: That you can comfortably work with them.

Mother-F: Yeah, and that when I went to the *interview* I was not shaking in my boots as much anymore.

It became apparent from participants' narratives that gaining confidence and positive self-perceptions of English competence related to how they perceived or experienced being seen, heard and judged by the perceived established members of Australian society regarded as old-timers and gatekeepers to their imagined community (see also Section 5.6). In fact, many of the participants, with proper support from those in whom they seem to have the greatest investment (see Section 5.6), were able to move forward and participate in their new communities of practice. It also became apparent that feelings of confidence and self-esteem were not only related to participants' self-perceptions of language (in)competence, but also to the ways in which they could find a place for themselves "in situations where power, status and speaking rights are unequally distributed and where pride, honor, and face are as important as information" (Kramsch, 2006, p. 250). In order to find such a place in the new community they did not sit idle, but made efforts in various ways such as investing in language learning in formal sites.

5.4. Language learning and use in classrooms

Upon facing English communication difficulties soon after arrival, participants began to realise a disparity between the English they had learnt as a foreign language and the English they experienced as a societal language in the new community. Therefore, as a way to resolve this disparity, they invested in various language and content courses with the prospect of gaining the cultural capital applicable in the new community.

Table 5-1 provides an overview of participants' educational and professional experiences after migration. A section in this table is also allocated to participants' pre-migration educational and professional background to provide a comparative view of their pre- and post-migration statuses.

Table 5-1- Overview of post-migration educational and professional experiences

Participants	Pre-Migration Educational and Professional Experience		Post-Migration Educational and Professional Experience		
	Education level	Employment	English Classes	Content courses	Employment
Mother-A	Bachelor, Physics	Technical Support (Software)	Certificate III	Certificate IV in IT + Childcare	Casual childcare educator
Father-A	Bachelor, Physics	Project Manager	None	None	Sales Engineer
Mother-B	Bachelor, Civil Engineering	Structural Engineer	AMEP	None	Account Manager
Father-B	Masters, Civil Engineering	Structural Engineer	None	None	Structural engineer
Mother-C	Bachelor, Psychology	Makeup Artist	Certificate III + Business English course	None	Homemaker
Father-C	Bachelor, Mechanical Engineering + Microsoft Engineering	IT Expert	None	None	IT Expert
Mother-D	Masters, Electronic Engineering	Consultant Engineer	English for Academic Purposes	Higher Degree Research	PhD Student
Father-D	Bachelor, Textile Engineering	Sales Manager	AMEP	IT Diploma	Salesperson

Participants	Pre-Migration Educational and Professional Experience		Post-Migration Educational and Professional Experience		
	Education level	Employment	English Classes	Content courses	Employment
Mother-E	Bachelor, Industrial Engineering + Masters, Architectural Engineering	Project Manager	None	None	Seeking a job (Also considering doing further study)
Father-E	Masters, Mechanical Engineering	Director	None	None	Seeking a job
Mother-F	Bachelor, Software Engineering	Software Engineer	Pronunciation and conversation class	None	Network Engineer
Father-F	Doctor of Medicine	Medical Practitioner	IELTS courses (required for assessment tests of past qualifications)	None	Casual Nurse – Also in the process of past qualifications assessment
Mother-G	Bachelor, English Translation	Tour and Travel Agent	None	None	Homemaker
Father-G	Bachelor, Electronic Engineering	Plant Manager	None	None	Applications Engineer
Mother-H	Bachelor, Industrial Engineering + Masters, IT	Industrial Engineer	IELTS courses (required for further study)	Postgraduate-Information System	Project Analyst
Mother-I	Bachelor, Electronic Engineer	Electronic Engineer	None	Postgraduate-Software Engineering	Software Programmer
Father-I	Masters, Software Engineering	IT expert	AMES	Postgraduate in IT	IT Expert
Mother-J	Bachelor, Geology	Geologist	AMES	Certificate IV children with disability (On-the-job training)	Social Worker, serving disabled children
Mother-K	Bachelor, Software Engineering	IT Consultant	AMES	None	Homemaker
Father-K	Masters, Mathematics and Computer	Senior Software Developer	None	None	Senior Software Developer
Mother-L	High School Diploma	Educational Manager in an Institute	English for Academic Purposes	Diploma of Graphic Design	Student – Advance Diploma of Graphic Design
Father-L	Bachelor, Agricultural Engineering	Researcher	English for Academic Purposes	Construction	Student – Environmental Management
Mother-M	Bachelor	Homemaker	Certificate IV	Diploma of Accounting	Student, Accounting

Participants	Pre-Migration Educational and Professional Experience		Post-Migration Educational and Professional Experience		
	Education level	Employment	English Classes	Content courses	Employment
Father-M	Bachelor, Civil Engineering	Civil Engineer	Tutoring	Job-related course (Civil)	Student (also seeking a job)
Mother-N	Bachelor, Software Engineering	Web Developer	English for Academic Purposes	None	Web Developer
Mother-O	High School Diploma	Wedding planner	AMEP	Hairdressing	Student
Mother-P	Bachelor, Accounting + Chartered Accountant	Finance Director	None	None	Rebate Manager
Mother-Q	Bachelor, Nursing	Nurse	AMEP	None	Homemaker
Father-Q	Masters, Civil Engineering	Environmental Engineer	None	None	Waste Education Officer
Mother-R	Masters, Software Engineering	Software Engineer	None	None	Software Engineer
Father-R	Doctor of Medicine	Medical Specialist	None	None	Observer in a hospital (in the process of qualifications assessment)
Mother-S	High School Diploma	Homemaker	None	Nursing	Undergraduate Student + Nurse
Father-S	Masters, Civil Engineering	Civil Engineer	None	None	Civil Engineer

As the table shows, out of thirty-three participants, twenty mentioned that they had participated in formal classrooms after migration, either in English language classes (18), or content courses (13), or both (11). Five of the participants did not mention attending any English or content courses and were either homemakers (Mother-G), or seeking a job (Mother-N, Father-N and Father-K), or in the process of having their past educational and professional qualifications assessed (Father-R and Father-F). In total, eighteen participants were employed at the time of the interviews, eight of whom did not mention attending any English or content courses. It should be noted that although the sample is too small to look for statistical significance, there is no obvious correlation between

whether or not a participant had sought further instruction and their success at finding employment in Australia.

As Table 5-1 shows and as discussed in Chapter 4, participants in this study came from highly educated backgrounds and had already been involved in years of learning English as a foreign language back in Iran. Nonetheless, upon facing communication difficulties once they arrived in Australia, the concept of language learning for them shifted from English as an educational subject to a functional English to serve as a means of communication in everyday life. Nevertheless, the data revealed that investing in English learning through language courses in Australia could not yield the outcome participants had expected. In fact, while participants expected to enhance their English as a societal language, it appears that the focus of many of the language courses was mainly on English literacy and grammar – similar to what they had experienced in EFL classes in Iran. Clearly, without further knowledge of the instruction the participants received it is difficult to evaluate the validity of their criticism objectively. However, the focus here is on their subjective experience.

 For example, Mother-B, a civil engineer with extensive years of studying English as a foreign language back in Iran, described how she felt being treated in these classrooms like a school student in need of literacy and educational advancement, rather than a skilled and educated adult seeking to practise and advance her conversational language so as to adapt to the new community:

Excerpt 5-26

Mother-B: بیشتر با تو مثل بچه های محصل مدرسه ای رفتار می کنند. بعنوان adultی که اومدی زبان یاد بگیری کار نمی کنند. و یا شاید این کلاسی که ما رفتیم اشتباه بود. هدفشان English for Further Study این بود که شما می‌خواهید در آینده در دانشگاه درس بخوانید. مثلاً چطور research کنید. من این چیزها را خوب بلدم. نمی خوام وقتم با این چیزا بره. می‌خواهم وقتم بیشتر با زبان روزمره پُر شود}...{ کلاس‌ها را بیشتر با پروژه‌های بچه‌گانه و خنده‌دار پُر می‌کردند و آن چیزی که هدف ما از زبان یاد گرفتن به رفتن به

جامعه و انگلیسی صحبت کردن بود را یاد نمی‌دادند {...} ولی option دیگه ای رو {مؤسسه ی ت} نداشت که به تو ارائه بده که بگه دو تا option من می تونم انتخاب کنم.

Mother-B: They treat you more like a school student. They don't work with you as an *adult* who has come to learn the language. Or maybe the class that we went to was the wrong one. The aim of the *English for Further Study* was that you would want to study at university in the future. Like how to do *research*. I know these things well. I don't want to waste my time on these things. I want to spend my time learning the everyday language. […] They filled the program more with childish and ridiculous projects and didn't teach us the things that we were aiming to learn so that we would enter society and speak English […] but the [Institute T] didn't have any other *options* to offer, to say that, like, I could choose between two *options*.

Darvin and Norton (2014, p. 113) assert that "habitus expresses both the internalized parameters of what is deemed reasonable or possible and a tendency to generate perception and practices that correspond to these structures." In this view, participants' habitus of past academic life including language education experiences and also their habitus of constructing their imagined community could be decisive in the ways in which they evaluated their English learning experiences in formal contexts. This was clearly expressed by Father-C:

Excerpt 5-27

Father-C: سرعت یادگیری در اینجا به اندازه‌ی سرعت یادگیری در ایران نیست {...} اینجا مسائل خیلی متفاوت است. یادگیری، سیستم یادگیری توی ایران، ما با اون سیستم بزرگ شدیم. سیستم یادگیری در اینجا خیلی متفاوت است. اینجا هم کندتر است و هم متفاوت است.

Father-C: The learning process here is not as fast as that in Iran […] The issues here are so different. Learning, the learning system in Iran, well we have grown up in that system. The learning system here is so different. Here it is slower and different.

In this and other examples it became evident that participants perceived the process of learning through language classes as being too slow. Therefore, given the importance of integrating into the job network as quickly as possible, participants sought more efficient ways to enhance their possibilities. For instance, they shifted to a content course with the prospect of accumulating cultural capital both in terms of English competency and occupational qualifications, as Mother-A for instance, reported:

Excerpt 5-28

Mother-A: نه شیوا جون. خیلی کافی نبود. درست است که ما را وادار می‌کردند که صحبت کنیم و تمرین خوبی بود، ولی کافی نبود بنظر من. چون وقتی وارد اجتماع می‌شوی می‌بینی خیلی بیشتر از این‌ها کار می‌بَرَد.
{...}
Mother-A: بعد دیگه اون دوره را گذراندم. منتها یک ساله بود،. من شش ماه گذروندم {...} یعنی دیگه شش ماه دوم را نخواندم. شش ماه دومش دیگه رفتم سراغ IT و یه رشته ای که مرتبط با کارم در ایران باشه.
Shiva: به زبان هم باز کمک کرد؟
Mother-A: خیلی خیلی. بله. البته بیشتر کارهای عملی داشتیم، کمتر خب صحبت می کردیم. ولی خب همون کار عملی رو هم باید آدم متوجه میشد. باز خیلی به من کمک کرد. بله. من میخواستم خودم را دلداری بدهم میگفتم خب اشکال نداره، تو داری میری زبان یاد میگیری، حالا اگه از اون IT هم{خنده} اگر چیزی هم متوجه نمی‌شوی ولی داری همون زبان یاد میگیری.

Mother-A: No, Shiva. It wasn't enough. Even though they urged us to speak and it was good practice, it was not enough in my opinion. Because when you enter society, you realise that it requires much more work than this.
[…]
Mother-A: Then I passed the course. Although it was a one-year course, I only went for six months […] meaning I didn't study the second six months. For the second six months, I did an IT course and a field relevant to my profession back in Iran.
Shiva: Did it help with English as well?
Mother-A: Yeah, very much, absolutely. However we had more practical activities, and we spoke less. But still, even the practical work we still had to understand. But it still helped me a lot. Yes. When I wanted to make myself feel better, I would say it's alright, you are going to learn the language. Even if you don't grab anything from that IT, [Laughs] still you are learning the language.

Mother-A showed a more positive attitude towards her investment in the content course in terms of her English improvement. In fact, in content classes she seems to have had the opportunity to engage with the English language in "contextualized, appropriate, meaningful communication" (Brown, 2007, p. 77) practices as occur in real life.

In sum, language classes could not offer participants English skills that differed significantly from what they had already achieved in language classrooms in Iran. In fact, having imagined Australia as a naturalistic site for English learning, they also seem to have envisaged an image of English classes there as a site in which they would be able to practise and improve their conversational skills while gaining knowledge about the wider community. In other words, they expected to develop "a practical sense or 'feel' for the

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game" (Bourdieu 1991, p. 27) to be able to integrate into the professional and social networks. However, as Darvin and Norton (2015, p. 47) assert, this practical sense can only be achieved "through experiencing the game", as some of the participants did, through participating in workplace communities of practice.

5.5. Language learning and use in employment contexts

Participants were driven by a desire to advance their conversational language through having contacts with the perceived native English speakers of Australian society. Nevertheless, they had limited contacts with this group in their social lives. The reasons for this non-participation, to be discussed in Section 5.6, mainly related to their self-perceptions of language inadequacy and fears of losing face and self-esteem that resulted in their avoidance of participation. Nevertheless, while in social life it was their free choice to participate or not participate in certain social communities of practice, in employment contexts they seem to have had no choice but to tackle language-related challenges to maintain their jobs. Overcoming these challenges, however, appears to have helped them enhance their English abilities and, consequently, their sense of self-esteem and confidence. Father-A, for instance, who had talked about the communication challenges he faced at his workplace within the first months of settlement (see Excerpt 4-16), described how through persistence as a peripheral member in his workplace community of practice, he eventually mastered that community's practices, resulting in a sense of self-confidence:

Excerpt 5-29

Father-A: بعد خب challenge های اینجوری سنگین باعث شد که خب من یخورده اعتماد به نفس بهتری پیدا کنم. الآن دیگه برای من خیلی راحت است.
Father-A: Then, well difficult *challenges* like this caused me, well, to gain better self-confidence. Now it's just so easy for me.

Overall, participants' narratives of language learning and use in employment contexts had conversational language learning as their core focus. While for some of the participants their workplace could afford them opportunities to practise conversational language, some others reported limited or no progress at all, or even deterioration of their speaking skills due to the nature of their work. For example, Father-B and Mother-B, both civil engineers, described the limited opportunities they had at work to practise English speaking:

Excerpt 5-30

Father-B: ما اکثر روز را صرف محاسبات و، با ارباب رجوع هم سروکار داریم، اما نه خیلی زیاد که بخواهیم هی صحبت بکنیم و اینجور چیزا.
Mother-B: وقتی نگاه می‌کنید به جهت ایرانی‌هایی که آمدند، آن‌هایی زبانشان پیشرفت کرده که تو شغلهایی بودند که با ارباب رجوع کار دارند و بطور مرتب صحبت کردند. ولی برای کارهایی که مثل کارهای ما همه روز نشستی جلوی کامپیوتر داری کار میکنی نهایت ممکنه، نهایت ممکنه به اندازه ده دقیقه با یه همکارت گپ بزنی، اثری تو زبانت نمی کنه. شاید همینطوری به مرور زمان از چیزهای جانبی تو listeningت هی داره قوی تر میشه، داری تلویزیون گوش میدی، بهرحال همکارات دارند حرف می زنند، همینطور میگیری، داری جذب میکنی. ولی speaking زمانی خوب میشه مدام از آن استفاده کنید و تا زمانیکه استفاده نکنید درجا می‌زنید.

Father-B: We spend most of the day doing calculations and, we also have interactions with customers, but not so much like to speak all the time or like that.
Mother-B: When you look at the Iranians who have come, the ones who have made progress in their language are those who have been in professions in which they have been dealing with customers and have been regularly speaking. But for jobs like ours in which you are sitting in front of your computer and working the whole day, you might have at maximum a ten-minute chat with your colleague and it won't have an impact on your language. Maybe somehow, eventually, from your surroundings, your *listening* is getting stronger, you are hearing the TV, your colleagues are talking anyways, and you are constantly soaking it up, you are absorbing. But your *speaking* improves only if you use it constantly, and until you use it, you won't go anywhere.

For Mother-S, her speaking skill was perceived to have weakened since she began to work, because she had limited opportunity to practise speaking in her workplace:

Excerpt 5-31

Mother-S: الان چون کارم یه جوری شده که بیشتر با mental disabled people کار میکنم، بیشترشون speechlessند، نمیتونن صحبت کنن، بخاطر همون الان بعد یه چند وقت که با اونا کار کردم، احساس میکنم speakingم خیلی افت کرده.

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Mother-S: Because my work is now in a way that I work more with mentally *disabled people*, most of whom are *speechless*, have speech problems, therefore, now after working with them for a while, I feel like my speaking has worsened.

These examples show that participants' expectations that the workplace could be a site where they could practise spoken English to help them integrate into social and professional communities of practice were not always fulfilled. Nevertheless, some of the participants who had the opportunity to practise speaking at their workplaces, described how their improvement was constrained to the topics, terms and expressions in their fields of expertise. For example, Father-C, an IT expert, explained:

Excerpt 5-32

Father-C: خب بهرصورت، شما وقتی که، اینجا برای هر کسی که در هر فیلدی که مشغول به کار بشود، در آن فیلد زبان تخصّصی‌اش خوب می‌شود. ولی، مثلاً کار من کار کامپیوتری است. الان زبان تخصصی کار خودم را، کسی مثلاً یه کار کامپیوتری دارد، اشکال کامپیوتر داره، تا بخواهد جمله‌اش را شروع کند من می‌دانم اشکال کار کجا هست. دیگه برایم مثل روتین شده است. مثلاً کسی از من سؤالی راجع به shopping بپرسد خیلی از کلمات آن را نمی‌دانم، استفاده‌ی روزمره‌ی آن را نمی‌دانم. الان هر کسی را که دیدم، یعنی بچه هایی که هستند دیدم، در همان رشته، فیلد کاری دارند، زبانشان خوب است. ولی اگر یک ذره این طرف و آن طرف بشود طبعاً اکثراً مشکل پیدا می‌کنند، حالا یکی کمتر و یکی بیشتر.

Father-C: Here anyone who gets busy working in any field, in that field his specialised language improves. But, like, my job is in the computer field. Now the specialised language of my work, anyone who might have a computer-related issue, who might have a computer-related problem, before they even start their sentence I already know where the issue lies. It has become like a routine for me. Like, if someone asks me a question about *shopping*, I wouldn't know many of its related words. I don't know the everyday use of them. Now everyone that I've seen, I mean the people who are here that I've seen, their language is good in the professional field that they specialise in. But if that shifts a bit, obviously most of them would face problems, well, some more and some less.

Father-C's excerpt reflects that his English skills were improved, but limited to the domain of his profession. In effect, this and other examples (see for example Excerpt 5-29) show that participants could move from a peripheral position in terms of their job-related language practices towards a more central one in their professional communities of practice. Nevertheless, the English gained through work could not

necessarily help them in other domains, such as social life and leisure events. This was also implied by Father-I, another IT expert:

Excerpt 5-33

Father-I: مسئله ای که هستش اینه که من زبانی که من میدونم چون تو محیط کار بوده خیلی مرتبط با کار است. یعنی مثلاً فرض کن من از اگه همکار ام می بینم راجع به مثلاً برای drink چیزی بیرون میریم، شروع میکنن خارج از کار شروع میکنن صحبت کردن، من حس میکنم مشکل پیدا میکنم.

Father-I: The problem is that the language that I know, because it's just been used at work, it is so related to work. Like I mean imagine, when my colleagues, I can see that when for instance we go out for a *drink* or something like that, I feel that I have difficulties when they start talking about topics outside the professional fields.

Father-I described his multiple forms of membership within his workplace community of practice which necessitated multiple practices. These memberships related to his professional practices and also social practices when he attended a social event with his colleagues outside work. Under these conditions, as Wenger (1998, p. 165) argues, the construction of identity can be "of necessity a mixture of being in and being out". In fact, while he was able to participate peripherally in professional practices that could lead to full participation, he seems to have held a marginal membership outside work.

In response to feelings of marginality at work, however, some of the participants could perform strategies to resist being placed in marginal positions and claim a status as a legitimate member. For instance, Mother-F said:

Excerpt 5-34

Mother-F: وقتیکه دارن اینا شوخی میکنند و refer میدن بحث رو به فیلمی یا یه شخصیتی یا یه کار اکتری، که من اون background را ندارم {...} خب، اونا همه میفهمن و من نمیفهمم، و میگم "من نمیفهمم باید به من توضیح بدین، اینجا چی دارید میگید". این {ارجاع به موضوعات غیرآشنا} یخورده اون جو رو چیز میکنه، اون مثلاً اون فاصله رو یهو ایجاد میکنه، البته من که رودربایستی ندارم، میگم "توضیح بدین منکه نمیفهمم، من که مثل شماها که نیستم که" {خنده}.

Mother-F: When they are joking around and *refer* the discussion to a film or a person or a character which I have no *background* about [...] well, they all can understand but I can't, and I'm like 'I don't get it, you need to explain it to me what you are talking about'. This [reference to unfamiliar subjects] makes the atmosphere a bit

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like, all of a sudden it makes a sort of distance. But I'm not shy. I say 'you need to explain, I don't get it, I'm not like you guys' [Laughs].

Nevertheless, while Mother-F could exert her agency to redress the "distance" or her feelings of exclusion, it is essential to recognise the affordances in her environment that allow her to exert agency (Norton & Toohey, 2001). In this view, it also can be explained how some other participants preferred non-participation in practices of a particular social community (see for example Excerpt 5-22 and Excerpt 5-40). Not all offerings and actions are necessarily received positively by others.

In her narrative, Mother-F implied feelings of exclusion and marginality when she spoke about the 'distance'. However, she resisted the marginalised position she felt by voluntarily displaying her language inadequacy to her colleagues. When performed voluntarily, the indignity could not threaten her face, since she entitled herself with the right to criticise herself qua actor without injuring herself qua object of ultimate worth (Goffman, 2003, p. 11). Nonetheless, it is important to note that the reception for her offerings and actions was positive. This became further evident as she went on to explain how she compelled her colleagues to learn and use some Persian language in the workplace:

Excerpt 5-35

Mother-F: مثلاً من یه جریانی راه انداختم توی شرکت یخورده دارم به اینا فارسی یاد میدم {خنده} میگم "نمیشه که من همش انگلیسی حرف بزنم، شما هم باید یه کم فارسی حرف بزنین"{...} {خنده} "نمیشه که من همش انگلیسی حرف بزنم". میگن "نه تو فارسی حرف بزن ما میفهمیم". گفتم "خیلی خب از این به بعد باید یاد بگیرین، صبح بخیر و خداحافظ و شب بخیر و چطوری و خوبم و" {خنده}

Mother-F: For instance I have kind of created a movement in the company that I am teaching them a bit of Persian [Laughs]. I'm like 'it's not fair that I have to constantly speak English. You guys have to speak a bit of Persian too' […] [Laughs] 'it's not fair that I have to constantly speak English'. They say "no, you speak Persian, we'll understand". I said, 'ok, from now on you need to learn صبح بخیر ("good morning") and خداحافظ ("good bye") and شب بخیر ("good night") and چطوری ("how are you") and خوبم ("I'm fine") and' [Laughs]

In fact, Mother-F was able to use her capital encompassing her expertise, manners and preferences and orientations (Reay, 2004, p. 74) as affordances not only to claim a space to have voice but to restructure the configuration of power relations. However, although she exerted agency in making these offerings, others in her social context determined the worth of her contributions. That is, participants' exertion of agency was conditional on "the social frameworks in which they exercised that agency" (Norton & Toohey, 2001, p. 317).

In sum, participants' expectations that the workplace would afford them opportunities to practise everyday language to integrate into social and professional communities of practice were not necessarily fulfilled. While for some of the participants, their workplaces afforded limited opportunities in this regard, others had the opportunity to practise speaking, but often restricted to their fields of expertise. Therefore, gaining social communication skills not only related to the possibilities the communities of practice offered, but also to the ways in which participants could exert their agency in conditions under which they were afforded space for such exertion of agency (Norton & Toohey, 2001). In the next section, I will examine participants' language beliefs and attitudes in social contexts and the ways in which they seek membership in communities of practice in social life.

5.6. Desired community: 'standard' language, 'legitimate' speakers

Blommaert (2013a, p. 195) argues that migrants can be "increasingly subjected to pressures to acquire the standard varieties of the national languages of their host societies". In fact, as he maintains, they are expected to be 'fully' integrated into society. These expectations entail not only passing mandatory language tests, for example for migration or citizenship purposes, but also to be fluent in various registers. Failing that,

they "will perpetually be regarded as discitizens" (p. 195). 'Citizenship' in that sense goes beyond the teleological term related to immigration or visa status and holding a passport, but "being able to participate fully" (Ramanathan, 2013, p. 1). Under these circumstances, it comes as no surprise that many participants expressed a desire to learn the 'standard' language, which was perceived as achievable through socialising with 'legitimate speakers'.

For example, Father-C, an IT expert and advanced learner of English explained:

Excerpt 5-36

> Father-C: بلاخره زبان یه سری چیزاش تقلید کردنه. کسی که اینجا می‌آید دنبال این این نیست که دستور زبان یاد بگیرد. تقلید می‌کند. حالا اگر از آدم درستی تقلید کند، خُب زبان او به سمت بهتر شدن پیش می‌رود. ولی اگر توی community باشه، مثلاً با Chineseها باشه، با Asianها باشه، با community باشه که ااه، غیر از nativeها درگیر زبان باشه، زبانش به سمت آن‌ها می‌رود.
>
> Father-C: After all a part of language learning is imitation. People who come here do not wish to learn the grammar. They imitate. Now if they imitate the right people, well their language will improve. However, if they are in a *community*, for instance they are with *Chinese* people, or with *Asians*, or they are in a *community* in which uh, they are involved with the language with people other than *native* speakers, their language will be developing like theirs.

Having set up native speakers as the "right people", Father-C implies that the ultimate goal for migrants is to emulate native speakers. Father-B similarly stated:

Excerpt 5-37

> Father-B: من فکر می کنم آدم اگه بخواد زبانش بهتر و بهتر بشه، یعنی بره به اون سمتی که بصورت nativeها صحبت میکنند، باید آدم حرف زیاد بزنه.
>
> Father-B: I think if you want to improve your language further and further, I mean to move towards the way the *native* speakers speak, you should speak a lot.

It is reflected in these examples that while practising speaking is perceived to be the key to learning the language, desirable outcomes are those which are closer to "the legitimate practices, i.e. the practices of those who are dominant" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 53). These

outcomes were perceived to be achievable through socialising with native speakers of Australian English, as Father-B went on to explain:

Excerpt 5-38

Father-B: تنهاراهش هم اینه که social life ت رو قوی کنی. یعنی اینکه بیشتر بری مهمونی، با استرالیاییها بری مسافرت یا همچین چیزایی که بیشتر برای خودت فرصت ایجاد کنی که که بتوانی صحبت کنی.

Father-B: The only way is that you boost your *social life*. It means to go to parties more often, to travel with Australians or things like these, so that you can make more opportunities for yourself to practise speaking.

From this and other examples it became apparent that native English speakers in Australian society were perceived as the imagined (desired) community who could offer participants possibilities of gaining access to greater cultural and symbolic resources in the new society. Nevertheless, none of the participants reported any enduring or regular social contacts with this desired community. Norton (2001, p. 166) argues that people in whom learners may wish to have the greatest investment can be the very people with whom learners may feel most uncomfortable as "members of – or gatekeepers to – the learners' imagined communities". In fact, participants seemed most concerned about their perceived English inadequacy when they came before those who were viewed as Australian native speakers of English. For example, Mother-E, who had some experience of English communication with non-native speakers of English in Malaysia before coming to Australia, commented:

Excerpt 5-39

Mother-E: مالزی زبان دومشان انگلیسی بود. به همین خاطر احساس میکردم اگر اشتباهی کنم اتفاق خاصی نمیافتد. ولی اینجا خیلی میترسیدم.

Mother-E: In Malaysia, English was their second language. For this reason, I felt if I were to make a mistake, nothing would happen. But here I was so concerned.

In Bourdieu's (1991, p. 21) view, congruence or incongruence between individuals' linguistic habitus and the demands of the linguistic market affects the ways in which they

can relate to the market and to themselves as speakers (see Chapter 2, Section 2.3). In fact, having learned and used English in EFL contexts, Mother-E's linguistic habitus seemed inconsistent with the conditions in which she was supposed to speak. It is this discrepancy which could underlie the anxiety Mother-E felt in her English communications. In other words, she had to concur with the dominant norms and to produce linguistic expressions which bore "the mark of a habitus" other than her own (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 21).

While Mother-E expressed a sense of anxiety about communicating with 'native speakers', she did not report any actual instances of 'specific happenings' as a result of her perceived English deficiencies in her interactions with native speakers. In fact, none of the participants reported any overt instances of being, for instance, mistreated or exposed to discriminatory behaviours. However, the sense of anxiety noted in the above and other examples (see also Section 5.3), as discussed, can be related to habitus, as "an internalised system shaped by ideology", and symbolic relations of power (Darvin & Norton, 2015, p. 45). These relations of power not only limit the opportunities L2 learners have to practise the target language (Norton, 1995a, p. 12), but also affect their desire to invest in the target language and its learning through any mutual activities with its speakers (Piller & Takahashi, 2006).

Overall, as discussed, so-called native English-speaking people were perceived by most participants as the desired interlocutors. Nevertheless, participants did not appear to have established any enduring relationships with this group of people. In fact, many of them described it as difficult to enter the so-called Australian native English speaker community. This can show that learners' access to the target language community is not necessarily "a function of the learner's motivation" (Norton, 1995a, p. 12). Rather, the

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opportunities to speak are socially structured and social interactions are influenced by

relations of power. For instance, Father-Q described how he felt excluded in the social

communities of practice associated with his daughter's school:

Excerpt 5-40

Father-Q: مثلاً از قدیم سالها با همدیگه {بودند}، یه جورایی community خودشون رو دارند اینجا، بعد مثلاً خیلی وارد این community شدن ساده نیست. خود منم که میرم اونجا، خیلی مثلاً خیلی وقتا مثلاً کسی رو پیدا نمیکنم باهاشون صحبت کنم وایسم صحبت کنم. بیشتر ارتباطمون مثلاً با معلمشه. حتی مثلاً مدیر مدرسه هم، خیلی خودش وقت نمیذاره مثلاً صحبت کنه باهات، با من مثلاً، با بقیه مثلاً پدرمادرا مثلاً راحتتره اوناییکه میشناسه {...} چرا با معلمش مثلاً من صحبت بکنم، یا یکی دوتا مثلاً از پدر مادرایی که میشناسم مثلاً از قبلش. یا اینکه مثلاً ااه پدرمادرایی که بچه هایی که ایرانیند، چیز کنیم. اینه که یه مقداری involved نیستیم توی مدرسه {...} بخاطر این مسئله، خیلی درگیر کاراشون نشدم. مثلاً یه بار هم برای یه برنامه ای داشتند، مثلاً من گفتم خب من میام volunteer مثلاً کمکتون، اونا، معلمشون گفتش که "نه {لیست داوطلبین} الان دیگه تکمیل شد دیگه، الان احتیاج به volunteer نداریم".
Shiva: با این قضیه مشکلی ندارین؟
Father-Q: خب بعضی وقتا آدم احساس خوبی نداره، خب وقتی میره می بینه خب همه باهم ( ) بعد مثلاً میری اونجا، آدم میاد باید بره اونجا وایسه تا Daughter-Q بیاید بیرون برش دارم بیام خونه، خیلی آدم شاید خوشش نیاد، دوست داره خب باشه با اونا، بگه بخنده صحبت بکنه،
Mother-Q: من فکر کنم شاید علت اصلیش {خنده} زبانمونه.
Father-Q: اام مثلا شاید، من، خود من این مشکل زبان هم ندارم. بالاخره باهاشون گلیم خودم رو از آب میکشم بیرون، صحبت کردن و اینا.

Father-Q: For example from the past, for years they [have been] together, in a way that they have their own *community*, so like, entering the *community* is not easy. When I go there, sometimes I cannot find anyone to socialise with. Our relationship is mostly with her teacher. Even, like, the school principal doesn't make much time to talk to you, like, to me. She is, like, more comfortable with other parents whom she knows […] yeah, I may just speak with her teacher, or a couple of like parents that I have had prior contact with, or like, those parents, Iranian children's parents. Therefore, we are not much *involved* in the school […] For that reason, I haven't really engaged myself in their activities. For example once they had a program, like, I told them that I could *volunteer* and help, but they, her teacher said 'don't worry, [the volunteers list] is now complete, we don't need any further volunteers for now'.
Shiva: Don't you have any problems with that?
Father-Q: Well, sometimes you may not feel so good about it. Well, when you go and see how everyone is ( ) together and then you go there, you have to go there and wait until Daughter-Q comes out and then pick her up and bring her back home, well you won't like it, you know. You would like to be with them, to talk, to laugh and to chat.
Mother-Q: I think the main reason is [Laughs] our language.
Father-Q: Um well, maybe. I myself don't have the language problem. In a way I can manage it in terms of speaking and stuff like that.

Father-Q was not an active member in school communities of practice but not because he

was a novice or a peripheral member who had an opportunity to learn the practices and to

become eventually a more central member. Rather, his unsuccessful attempts to enter the group and be accepted as a (peripheral) member can indicate that his 'non-participation' was an imposed state as a result of being positioned as marginal, ignored and silenced. Nevertheless, in expressing his feelings of exclusion, Father-Q seemed to try to convince himself of the normalcy of the situation where it seemed difficult to move out of his marginal position in the school-related communities of practice. In doing so, he expressed resignation by justifying that the group members had known each other for years and were consequently "more comfortable" socialising with each other. Therefore, his non-participation can be seen as an act of alignment on his part to preserve the integrity of the group (Norton, 2001) and to avoid any imposition on them.

In Bourdieu's (1991, p. 164) terms, these experiences can be seen through the lens of 'symbolic power' as the invisible power which involves implicit impositions that are hard to identify and which "can be exercised only with the complicity of those who do not want to know that they are subject to it or even that they themselves exercise it" (see also Chapter 2, Section 2.3). These impositions involve a kind of intimidation, "a symbolic violence" which takes place without any act of intimidation, but "can only be exerted on a person predisposed (in his habitus) to feel it" (p. 51). As Medina (2005, p. 170) puts it, although "this insidious intimidation is invisible to the subjects who endure it, these subjects *actively* participate in it without knowing it". In describing his encounters of feelings of exclusion, Father-Q did not seem to blame the other parents. On the contrary, when asked if the members of the school community played any role in his non-participation in school practices, he spoke favourably, although his evidence dated a few years back, as the excerpt below shows:

Excerpt 5-41

Father-Q: اونا اتفاقاً خیلی سعی می‌کنند ما رو درگیر کنند بعضی وقتا. مامان یکی از دوستاش [Daughter-Q] مثلاً چند سال پیش مثلاً اینا رو گفت میخوام ببرمشون پارک، گفت "اگه میخواین شما هم بیاین" و فلان. ما بلند شدیم رفتیم {...} خیلی هم آدمای friendly بودند.

Father-Q: Actually, sometimes they really try to get us involved. A mother of one of her [Daughter-Q's] friends for example a few years ago said that she wanted to take them to the park and said, 'come if you want'. So we got up and went […] they were actually such *friendly* people.

While the positive encounter that Father-Q remembered from "چند سال پیش" ("a few years ago"), implied the 'specialness' of his experience and the rarity of encounters like that, some other participants also described similar fleeting encounters, mainly occurring in school-related domains or in public parks in relation to their roles as parents. Mother-N for example reported:

Excerpt 5-42

Mother-N: یه خانم آقای پیر مال اینجا بودند، تو پارک دیدم. دیدند من خیلی ناراحتم. Daughter-N داشت بازی میکرد. گفتند "چند وقته اومدی؟" گفتم "من سه روزه اومدم" و اینا، بعد شروع کردند با من صحبت کردن، ولی آروم صحبت میکرد، فکر میکنم حداقل {...} گفتند "نه تو انگلیسیت خیلی خوبه و اینا اصلاً مشکلی نداری. با اینکه سه روزه اومدی الان داری با ما صحبت میکنی و من دارم تو رو میفهمم. چرا اعتماد بنفست رو از دست دادی؟" بعد اون خیلی برخورد خوبی بود.

Mother-N: I met an old couple in a park who were from here. They realised that I was very upset. Daughter-N was playing. They asked 'how long ago did you come here?' I said 'it's been three days'. Then they started talking to me, but they spoke slowly, at least I think they did […] They said 'no, your English is very good' and like 'you have no problem at all. Although it's been only three days since you came, you are speaking with us and we're understanding you. Why have you lost your self-confidence?' Then this was a very good encounter.

The ways in which participants referred to ephemeral encounters in describing their experiences of social interactions with the perceived Australian native speakers can indicate their lack of sustained connection with these people. In fact, as discussed above and as demonstrated in Section 5.3, most of the participants reported feelings of lack of confidence in their English abilities in the face of Australian native speakers, resulting in avoidance of social contact with this group. This avoidance largely related to a sort of "anticipation" of being rejected or misjudged, which as Bourdieu (1991, p. 77) notes,

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"bears no resemblance to a conscious calculation", but which "is an aspect of the linguistic habitus". This concern for such (mis)judgements was reflected in the narratives of many participants, as exemplified below:

Excerpt 5-43

> Father-Q: {استرالیایی ها} تلاش خودشون رو میکنن برای اینکه ما رو بکشونن تو خودشون. ما هم تلاش میکنیم تا جاییکه کاملاً میریم جلو. ولی اگه، خب یه جایی رو ما هم نمیدونیم اینا چجوری فکر میکنند. ما هم نمیدونیم مثلاً الان الان در مورد فلان چیز بپرسیم. الان فلان حرف رو بزنیم. الان فلان رفتار رو بکنیم اینا چه قضاوتی میکنند. طبیعتاً خیلی سخته تا این یخا بشکنه. خب؟ طول میکشه و خوب نیست، یعنی احساس خوبی آدم {نداره}، دوست داره میره یه جا با همه بگه بخنده.
>
> Father-Q: They [the Australians] do their best to pull us into their community. We also try to go forward as much as we can. But if, well, at a point we also don't know what they think. We can't know, like, if I now ask about that thing, if I now say that word, if I now behave that way, how they would judge me. Obviously it is so difficult until the ice is broken, you know? It takes time and it's not good. I mean you [wouldn't have] good feelings, you would like to talk and laugh with everyone when you go somewhere.

Darvin and Norton (2015, p. 47) argue that while there are "structures that indeed subjugate learners and constrain their investment", their habitus or their "own ways of thinking" can also "contribute to their own subjugation". For participants coming from middle class and educated backgrounds who held high degrees of cultural and symbolic capital in their home countries, the fear of being placed in an inferior position in their interactions resulted in their minimal participation in joint activities with native English speakers. For example, Mother-D, a PhD student in an engineering field, described how her inability to understand Australian native speakers at the time of arrival caused her to avoid social contacts with them, which resulted in the deterioration of her English communicative skills.

Excerpt 5-44

> Mother-D: من همون که خودم رو برای امتحان IELTS وقتی من آماده میکردم، اینقدر صحبت میکردم، اینقدر روون بودم. اینجا که اومدم اول یه ذره شوک لهجه ی اینا من رو گرفتش، عقب نشینی کردم. بعدش هم دیگه درگیر درس شدم، اصلاً ایزوله شدم از محیط بیرون.
>
> Mother-D: When I was preparing myself for the IELTS test, I could speak so well, I was so fluent. When I came here, first the shock of the accent impacted me and I

withdrew. Then I got involved in studying, and got thoroughly isolated from the outer environment.

In their examination of the notion of investment, Norton and Toohey (2011, p. 417) argue that "learners often have variable desires to engage in the range of social interactions and community practices in which they are situated." For participants, despite the fact that they were highly motivated to improve their English communicative skills through social contacts with the Australian native speaker community, it appears that they did not wish to participate in social activities solely as communicators, but as "whole persons with hearts, bodies, and minds, with memories, fantasies, loyalties, identities" (Kramsch, 2006, p. 251). In this respect, Mother-D, for instance, described how she was unwilling to participate in a social community of practice connected to her daughter's school that encompassed a group of Australian native-speaker mothers:

Excerpt 5-45

Mother-D: خب من احساس میکنم براشون خیلی boringه. وقتی که میبینی، وقتی مثلاً دونفرمون هستیم باهم خب خیلی حرف میزنیم. ولی وقتی نفر سوم استرالیایی میاد، من میبینم با چه، طرف، دیگه آدم بعد از این سن میفهمه، با چه عشقی وعرقی مثلاً این دوتا شروع میکنند با همدیگه صحبت کردن. خب معلومه چقدر خسته شده از ( ) کردن ما دیگه. {خنده}

Mother-D: Well, I feel like it would be so *boring* for them. When you see, like, when it is just the two of us, we talk together a lot. But when the third Australian person comes along, well we can understand it at this age, I can see with how much passion and enthusiasm these two start talking with each other. Well, it is obvious that how bored she became with our ( ) [Laughs]

Mother-D's identity can be understood with reference to her contradictory relationship to the group of so-called Australian native speakers. On the one hand, she wished to participate in the social community and to join in with this group. On the other hand, Mother-D did not want to endanger her face and self-esteem by being viewed as a "boring" and unattractive member who was a burden for other members of the community. As Norton (2013, p. 49) argues, it is these conflicts about "who she is, what

she needs, and how she desires" that made her exercise her agency to avoid participation. Mother-D's predisposition to 'non-participation', similar to Father-Q (see Excerpt 5-40), seems to have been a face-saving strategy adopted by her not only to save her own face, but to preserve that of her interlocutors by avoiding any imposition on them.

In order to feel accepted as a speaker with a capacity to speak, participants not only desired to adapt their linguistic expressions to the demands of the new linguistic markets, but also felt the need to gain cultural and historical knowledge about the mainstream society. In fact, for many of them, their perceived limited shared knowledge and limited familiarity with the Australian community's cultural and historical backgrounds seems to have restricted their social contact.

Excerpt 5-46

Mother-E: بعضی وقت‌ها من فکر می‌کنم بروم و چه بگویم.
Mother-E: Sometimes I think like what am I supposed to do and say?

Excerpt 5-47

Father-D: چیزایی که آره مثلاً بخوایم روابط اجتماعی باشه، یا مثلاً چی میگن socialise بقول اینا میگن، بخوایم صحبت بکنیم، خب نه همچین مشکل دارم من خودم بخوام سرحرف رو باز کنم.
Father-D: The things like, yeah, if we want to have a social relationship, or like, what they say, *socialise* as they say, if we want to speak, well, no, I have still a bit of a problem with that, if I want to initiate the conversation.

Excerpt 5-48

Father-A: {...} من هنوز اون Skillهای ااه ارتباط روزمره را ندارم. نمیتونم، آن هم به خیلی چیزا ربط داره، به backgroundهای تاریخی، به اینکه مثلاً توی پنجاه سال گذشته تو این کشور چه اتفاقاتی افتاده است، یه چیزی را refer کنی به گذشته.
Father-A: […] Still, I don't have the *skills* uh for daily communication, and that is related to so many things, to historical *backgrounds*, that within the past fifty years, for instance, what has happened in this country and that, to *refer* something to the past.

In Father-A's excerpt, for instance, it appears that in order to socialise with the members of the mainstream society, he felt the need to learn about the community's history and

culture. This reflects how participants tended to maintain their habitus of socialising with people and talking about shared topics the way they did back in Iran. Here again, there seems to have been a discordance between their habitus and the new conditions in which they interacted with people. This also can be an explanation of how Mother-D, for instance, perceived herself as a "boring" interlocutor (see Excerpt 5-45 and the discussion). Furthermore, participants' commitment to gain cultural and historical knowledge of the dominant society in order to concur with the dominant taste, in anticipation of gaining a greater capacity to speak and be recognised as a 'legitimate' member of the community, can reflect the mechanisms in which the symbolic domination of the 'legitimate' language and its speakers is imposed on, and recognised and internalised by, the subordinate members. These relations of power and the focus on social group membership were also reflected in participants' narratives in the 'we/they' and 'us/them' distinctions. For example in Excerpt 5-47 above, Father-D used 'we' to refer to immigrants like him who sought social connections with the native English-speaking members of society. He went on to reiterate an English word in his Persian narration to show how 'they' as the native speakers as the owners of the language say it.

Overall, participants highly desired social contacts with Australian native English speakers as legitimate members of the new community. However, their participation in social communities of practice seems to have been mediated by the symbolic power relations among members and the ways in which they positioned themselves and others in these interactions. In fact, they sought a membership in the new community not only as competent English users to understand people and make themselves understood, but as'legitimate' members to be regarded as worthy to speak and worthy to be listened to (Bourdieu, 1977a, p. 648).

5.7. Summary

Drawing on the concept of communities of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998) and the notion of investment (Darvin & Norton, 2015; Norton, 2013), the discussion in this analysis chapter has explored participants' experiences of language learning and practices after arrival. The chapter began by presenting how participants came to a realisation of linguistic variation in English, including their own, and how various English varieties were perceived as hierarchically ordered. Although participants mostly came from highly educated backgrounds with years of learning English as a foreign language back in Iran (see Chapter 4), after arrival they began to feel that their language competences could not be of much help in the new society. This perception was engendered when they experienced difficulty understanding people and making themselves understood in a way that Mother-O, for example, likened to being کرولال ("deaf and mute") (see Excerpt 5-8). Participants' realisation of the disparity between English as a foreign language learned before migration, and English as a societal language, the desired and more valued form of English, led to a sense of lack of confidence in themselves and their English competence. This sense of lack of self-esteem and confidence propelled many participants into 'non-participation' in social activities with those whom they perceived to be in the Australian mainstream. As a way to "repair" their English in response to "situated expectations" (Blommaert et al., 2005, p. 212), many participants took language courses. However, English as an educational subject offered by language classes did not meet participants' need for English for everyday communication, and often led to their withdrawal from those classes. Even so, given the importance of integrating into social and professional networks as soon as possible, they kept investing in developing their communication language skills in various ways, by

attending content courses or through self-study, for example, just as they had done in Iran (see Chapter 4, Section 4.3). Many participants also expected that their English communication skills would improve in the workplace. For most of them, however, their workplaces did not necessarily fulfil their expectations. They found that they either had limited opportunities to practise speaking, or their communication was mostly around their professional field of expertise. Closer contact and informal socialising with so-called native English speakers was seen as another potential avenue to achieving native-like fluency. However, informal interactions, too, were not easily accessed by participants, particularly as they often felt themselves to be undesirable interlocutors.

Overall, 'mainstream Australians' constituted the participants' imagined and desired community and they held high hopes about becoming part of it. Nevertheless, most of the participants did not manage to establish a social relationship, particularly of an enduring nature, with their desired community members. While this can be related to a myriad of factors, participants' concerns about their own and their interlocutors' 'face' must be considered a key explanation. In many cases, participants exercised their agency to avoid participating in social activities, not only to save their own face, but also that of their interlocutors.

In sum, the exploration of participants' post-migration language learning practices has shown that while participants were highly motivated to improve their English skills and desired to have social contacts with Anglophone Australians, they seem to have had ambivalent desires and sometimes little investment in the language practices of the social communities that involved native English speakers. In fact, the perceived Australian native English speakers seem to have been the very people who represented, or could provide access to, the participants' imagined community, and in whom they had the

greatest investment, yet participants appear to have been most uncomfortable speaking to them (Norton, 2001, p. 170). The ambivalent desire of participants, and their tendency towards non-participation, could be explained with the concept of identity as a site of struggle of "habitus and desire, of competing ideologies and imagined identities" (Darvin & Norton, 2015, p. 45). Nevertheless, this chapter has demonstrated that under supportive conditions, participants' sense of self-esteem could be regained, leading to further participation in social and professional contexts in the new society.

Chapter 6: Children's Language Learning and Use

6.1. Introduction

To answer the central research question about "how parental and child language learning and use may intersect", the focus has thus far been on parental experiences of learning and using the English language before and after migration (Chapters 4 and 5). This chapter now switches perspective and examines the pre- and post-migration experiences of children's language learning and use. Drawing on the notion of "communities of practice" (Lave & Wenger, 1991) and concepts from (second) language socialisation research (Duff, 2012; Fogle, 2012; Ochs & Schieffelin, 2012; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986), this chapter analyses the processes of language learning and practices of children with a focus on sociocultural and sociopolitical aspects of the learning contexts. Children's agency is a key consideration in these processes, because it can explain children's role in their own process of language learning, and how it influences language practices within the family (Fogle, 2012, p. 166) (see also Section 2.3.4 in Chapter 2).

Following this introductory section, this analysis chapter presents the findings in further detail in two main sections relative to children's language learning and use before migration (Sections 6.2) and after migration (Section 6.3). The former deals with English language learning at schools (Section 6.2.1) and in contexts other than schools (Section 6.2.2). The following section (6.3) will cover findings related to language acquisition and transition to the new environment (Sections 6.3.1 and 6.3.2) and the factors and initiatives which played a role in the processes of language socialisation and transition (Sections 6.3.3 and 6.3.4 and 6.3.5). The chapter then concludes by presenting a summary (Section 6.4).

6.2. Pre-migration English language learning and use

Twenty-one children within the age range of eight to twelve years old participated in this study. The age range of these children at the time of arrival in Australia was between three to nine years. Ten of these children had some schooling experience at primary level in Iran but not further than year three, and the eleven others had no schooling experience at the time of departure.

In total, twelve children mentioned having been exposed to English language learning to various degrees and in different ways before migration. Four of these children received some English instruction in their schools, and two from tutors outside school. Six others familiarised themselves with the English language through childcare (two) or at home from their parents (two) or through watching English-language programs (two). Table 6-1 provides an overview of children's pre-migration educational and language learning backgrounds.

Table 6-1- Overview of children's educational status before migration

	Age on arrival	Age & school year when interviewed	Pre-migration schooling	Pre-migration English learning
Son-A	7	9yrs - Year four	Finished year one	Pre-primary and year one
Daughter-B	7	11yrs - Year five	two months of year one	Tutorials for 5-6 months before departure
Son-C	9	11yrs - Year six	Finished year two	Pre-primary and grades one and two
Daughter-D	5	9yrs - Year three	--	Childcare
Daughter-E	7	8yrs - Year two	Finished year one and Two months of year two	Childcare (Persian/English/Spanish), pre-primary and year one (Persian/English/French); International primary school (two months of year two)
Daughter-F	5	9yrs - Year three	--	--
Son-G	8	11yrs - Year five	Finished year two	At home taught by parents
Daughter-G	7	10yrs - Year four	Finished year one	At home taught by parents
Daughter-H	3	9yrs - Year four	--	--
Daughter-I	3	9yrs - Year four	--	--
Daughter-J	3	9yrs - Year four	--	--
Son-K	3	9yrs - Year four	--	--
Daughter-L	4	9yrs - Year three	--	--
Daughter-M	7	10yrs - Year four	Finished year one	--
Daughter-N	5	8yrs - Year three	--	--
Daughter-O	6	8yrs - Year two	--	--
Son-P1	4	9yrs - Year three	--	At home watching cartoons
Son-P2	3	8yrs - Year two	--	At home watching cartoons
Daughter-Q	9	9yrs - Year four	Finished year two and one month of year three	Pre-primary
Daughter-R	9	12yrs -Year six	Finished year two. Also four months of year three (home school) before departure.	Tutoring in grades one and two in Iran.
Son-S	8	11yrs - Year five	Finished year one	Pre-primary and year one

The table above gives a brief overview of children's statuses before migration in relation to their schooling and English learning. In what follows, I will examine in detail parents' investments in their children's English learning before migration and how parents and children viewed the outcomes of those efforts. Overall, from parents' and children's narratives I will demonstrate how, for most of the children, their English learning was limited to familiarity with the English language at a basic level such as the alphabet and some vocabulary items and short sentences. In fact, while the narratives showed a sense of concern about children's needs for English in the new country, most parents did not

report much pre-migration child language learning. The only exceptions to this pattern were the parents of Daughter-E and Son-S, who had made extensive investments in their children's language learning before migration. One explanation of the predominant lack of investment in pre-migration child English language learning, as I will show in this chapter, is constituted by the widely-held assumptions that "language learning in its naturalistic environment is the best way"; "children can acquire English quickly and effortlessly when exposed to the English-speaking environment"; and "the advantage of learning English from native speakers". These were underlying assumptions which also affected the ways in which parents viewed their own experience of learning English as a foreign language in Iran (see Chapter 4).

At the same time, it should be noted that parents by and large reported a more detailed account of children's English learning trajectories than the children themselves. Therefore, parental viewpoints predominate in the following accounts although both parents' and children's comments and viewpoints have been collected in this research. Attention to children's viewpoints will be particularly prominent where they complement or contradict parents' opinions and comments.

6.2.1. Language learning at pre-primary and primary schools

English language learning is not included in the compulsory curriculum of public primary schools in Iran. However, many private schools offer English instruction as an added bonus of their curriculum (Farhady, Sajadi Hezaveh, & Hedayati, 2010) and they often charge relatively high tuition and fees (Borjian, 2013; Hazari, 2015). These private schools, in fact, were closed down after the Islamic Revolution of 1979 in Iran at the time of most parents' schooling (See also Chapter 4). But they began to operate again as

partially government-funded schools in the early 1990s (Farhady et al., 2010) and were thus potentially available to the children in this study.

With the prospect of migration, and being cognisant of the fact that children would need English in the new country, a few parent participants in this study invested their time and money in enrolling their children in these private schools. As Table 6-1 shows, five children received English instruction in private pre-primary and primary schools. 'Pre-primary' and 'pre-school' are terms interchangeably adopted in educational discourses in Iran indicating a one-year period prior to the first year of primary school. Some of these private schools, as reported by some of the participants, were labelled as 'bilingual', because they included English instruction in their daily program but often in a different time-frame (for instance in the afternoons) from compulsory instruction in Persian. Father-S for instance explained:

Excerpt 6-1

Father-S: ما در مورد Son-S، چون برنامه‌ی مهاجرت داشتیم از زمان تولد Son-S، تا شرایط درست بشه مهاجرت بکنیم، Son-S رو گذاشتیم مدرسه‌ی دوزبانه {...} مدرسه‌های دوزبانه ایران به این صورت است که چون سیلابس درسی دولتی دارند که باید پر بشه، معمولاً از هشت صبح تا دوازده، یک بعدازظهر همه زبان فارسی تدریس میشه {...} از ساعت دوازده تامثلاً سه، چهار بعد ازظهر با آن‌ها انگلیسی کار می‌کنند. انگلیسی خیلی ساده. براشون قصه می خونن، numberها رو بهشون یاد میدن، نوشتن ABCD را یاد می‌دهند.

Mother-S: اینجوری که دیگه قشنگ شعر میخوندند. دیکته مینوشتند. هر هفته یه لیست داشتند از لغات که باید اینا رو یاد میگرفتند. اون موقع شش سالش بود.

Father-S: As for Son-S, because we'd had a plan for migration since Son-S was born, until things got sorted for our migration, we enrolled Son-S at a bilingual school […] The bilingual schools in Iran, because they have a compulsory educational syllabus that must be covered, usually everything's taught in Persian usually from eight in the morning till twelve, one in the afternoon. {…} Then from twelve to let's say three, four o'clock in the afternoon, they work with them in English. Very simple English. They read stories to them, teach them *number*s, teach them *ABC*.
Mother-S: In a way that they could sing songs well. They had spelling tests. Every week they had a list of vocabulary words which they had to learn. At that time he was six years old.

Daughter-E was another child who experienced English learning in a private primary school following her English language learning in childcare (see Excerpt 6-6). Daughter-E completed year one in a primary school which offered English and French as foreign languages. Furthermore, for her second year of primary school (starting less than two months before departure), Daughter-E's parents were able to enrol her at an international school which contained mostly non-Iranian students and in which English was used as the medium of instruction. The international schools in Iran, in fact, have two divisions: a re-adaptive school for Iranian returnees to Iran who need to readjust to the Iranian system of education; and another division which offers the International Baccalaureates' IB Diploma (Tehran International School). The latter division was in fact created to serve non-Iranian students, but they occasionally enrol a few Iranian students, too. For Daughter-E, the international school seems to have afforded a greater opportunity to develop her English both in terms of spoken language and literacy.

Excerpt 6-2

Father-E: کلاس اول که می‌رفت، اونجا هم زبانش خیلی خوب بود و معلمش از زبانش خیلی راضی بود.
Mother-E: تو حرف زدن مشکلی نداشت ولی اصلاً خواندن و نوشتن بلد نبود {...} مدرسه بین الملل می‌رفت کلاس دومش رو. آنجا تمام دروس به انگلیسی ارائه می‌شد، برای همین اونجا هم یکی دو ماهی هم که ایران بودیم این اواخر مدرسه‌ی بین‌المللی می‌رفت، بله. مدرسه بین الملل میرفت و اونجا حتی ریاضی را هم یکان، دهگان، صدگان نمیگفتن، units وtenths و hundredths یاد گرفته بودند. اینجوری جمع و تفریق می‌کرد. برای همین اونجا هم یاد گرفته بود. چون یک سری بچه‌ها هم بودند، مثلا یکیشون از کانادا اومده بود، یکیشون ازانگلیس آمده بود، معلماشون بودند، اینا.

Father-E: When she was in grade one, her language was also very good at the time and her teacher was very pleased with her language.
Mother-E: She didn't have a problem with speaking but she didn't know how to read and write at all […] for her second year of primary she went to the International School where all the subjects were taught in English. For this reason, the last one or two months when we were still in Iran, she went to the International School, yes. She went to the International School and there, even for maths they wouldn't say like /yekɑn, dahgɑn, Sadgɑn/, but they had learnt it as *units* and *tenths* and *hundredths*. This way they did addition and subtraction. Therefore she had learnt it there. Because there were a number of children one of whom for instance had come from Canada, one had come from England, and there were also their teachers and so on.

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While both Son-S's and Daughter-E's parents reflected a sense of satisfaction about the

outcome of their investments in private schools, Son-C's parents seem to have had a

different evaluation:

Excerpt 6-3

Mother-C: Son-C وقتی ایران بود مدرسه‌ای می‌رفت که انگلیسی یاد می‌دادندو کلاس دوزبانه می‌رفت که تا ساعت دوازده زمان مدرسه‌ی خودشان بود تا دوازده و چهل دقیقه ناهار بود، دوازده و چهل تا یک ربع به سه کلاس انگلیسی بود. ولی به نظرم اصلاً کلاس مفیدی نبود. Son-C که اینجا آمد انگلیسی برایش آشنا بود. لغت‌ها را می‌شناخت. از پنج، شش سالگی کلاس زبان می‌رفت، در حد کوتاهی می‌توانست صحبت کند.
Father-C: Son-C از پنج سالگی کلاس زبان رفته بود.
Mother-C: ببینین لغت ها رو بیشتر راحت بود و =
Father-C : =برای کسی که توی ایران بود، تو اون سن،انگلیسی در سطح نورمال بخوایم بگیریم، خب باز هم از خیلی از بچه‌ها بهتر بود. ولی نه اینکه صرفاً ما باهاش کار کرده باشیم که واقعاً آمادگی این رو داشته باشه. ولی در حد اینکه نترسه. صددرصد گنگ نبود.

Mother-C: When Son-C was in Iran, he went to a school where they taught English and he went to a bilingual school where they offered the curriculum up to 12 o'clock, then it was lunch time till twelve forty, then it was the English class from twelve forty to a quarter to three. But in my opinion it wasn't useful at all. When Son-C came here, English was familiar for him. He knew the vocabulary. He had gone to English classes from five, six years old. He could talk very little.
Father-C: Son-C had gone to English classes since he was five years old.
Mother-C: you know, he was more comfortable with the vocabulary and=
Father-C: =For someone in that age who was living in Iran, if we want to consider an average level of English, well, he was much better than other children. But not in such a way that we had been working with him so he'd be utterly prepared for this, but at a level that he wouldn't freak out. He was not a hundred percent dumbfounded.

In this and other examples, it became apparent that parents invested in private schools to

develop their children's cultural capital in terms of their English abilities, so that in return

it would be "useful" in the new country. To this end, the children's achievements seem to

have been evaluated by their parents "on a continuum of layered scales" (Blommaert,

2007a, p. 1) with local (contexts of Iran) and global (contexts of Australia) as its

extremes. In fact, given that English was not required in children's daily life in Iran,

children's achievements at a basic level including having a fair vocabulary could have

been regarded as a privilege in the context of Iran. However, considering that this level of

competence could not be of much help in an English-speaking environment like Australia, children's language learning and achievements can be undermined.

Son-A also had received English instruction at his school. However, his learning differed from that of Son-S, Daughter-E and Son-C in that English was taught as a subject for a few hours once a week. Nevertheless, Mother-A reflected a positive attitude towards the English instruction at Son-A's school and seemed convinced that his achievement was commensurate with the way English was instructed at his school:

Excerpt 6-4

> Mother-A :Son-A در حد همون چیزی که در مهد کودک و مدرسه یاد گرفته بود. البته مدرسه‌اش کلاس اولش خودش از این موسسه های برگذار کننده زبان هم بود. یعنی مدرسه‌اش طوری بود که خودشون معلم زبان داشتند مثلا خیلی جدی به آن‌ها زبان یاد می‌دادند. مثلاً یک روز از صبح تا ظهر شون کاملا زبان بود همین به شکل شکل‌ها و بازی همین چیزا. در حدی که لغت‌های عمومی را بدونه و حروف آلفابت انگلیسی را بداند بلد بود.
>
> Mother-A: For Son-A, it was at the same level that he had learnt in childcare and at school. However, his school, when he was in year one, they themselves were also one of those institutes offering language courses. It means that his school was in a way that they themselves had language teachers who, like, taught English very seriously. For example, one day from morning till noon it was all about the English language like in the form of shapes and games and so on. He knew English at a level to know some general vocabulary and the English alphabet.

Daughter-Q also was exposed to the English language in a private pre-primary school. However, for her grades one and two and a few months of three before their departure, she attended a public school where English was not offered. So she had almost forgotten what she had learned in her pre-primary school by the time of arrival.

Excerpt 6-5

> Father-Q: یک پیش دبستانی خصوصی گذاشته بودیمش. اونجا مثلاً یه دو سه تا لغت رو در حد اینکه مثلاً ، door، this is a house، اه، منتها اونم یادش رفته بود. یعنی وقتی رفت دبستان تو ایران، چون اصلاً زبان نبود، سه سال اینا مثلاً زبان را هیچی یادش نبود.
>
> Father-Q: We had enrolled her at a private pre-school. She had learnt like a few words such as for example uh *door*, *this is a house*. But she'd even forgotten that. Meaning, when she went to primary school in Iran, because there was no English at all for about three years, like, she couldn't remember anything.

Apart from learning English at school, some of the children also were familiarised with the English language through childcare, private lessons or at home with parents or by watching English language programs. These will be presented in further detail in the following section.

6.2.2. Language learning in contexts other than schools

Eight children became familiarised with the English language through childcare, tutorials, and at home with their parents, or by watching English language TV programs. Daughter-E and Daughter-D began their English acquisition journey in childcare centres in Iran. For Daughter-E, her language learning in Iran, in fact, started from childcare through to her primary year one and a part of year two (see Excerpt 6-2 and Excerpt 6-6). Daughter-E's language acquisition process in childcare comprised a large part of her parents' narratives about Daughter-E's language learning trajectories. This detailed account indicates the value Daughter-E's parents placed on the English learning through immersion, as offered by Daughter-E's childcare centre in Iran. English during Daughter-E's childcare was a means of communication along with two other languages (Persian and Spanish). So, to the great satisfaction of her parents, Daughter-E was able to speak both foreign languages at the end of her childcare course:

Excerpt 6-6

Father-E: Daughter-E از دو سالگی مهدکودک می‌رفت. از دو سالگی هم فارسی کار می‌کرد، هم انگلیسی و هم اسپانیایی. روزی که مهدکودکش تمام شد که به مدرسه‌ی عادی برود، یادم می‌آید که می‌توانست هم انگلیسی صحبت کند و هم اسپانیایی صحبت می‌کرد.
{...}
Mother-E: آن‌ها همزمان همیشه سه تا مربی داشتند. یکیشون همیشه اسپانیایی حرف می‌زد. یکی از آن‌ها همیشه انگلیسی حرف می‌زد و یکیشون فارسی حرف می‌زد.

Father-E: Daughter-E went to a childcare from two years old. Since she was two years old, she practised Persian, English and Spanish. The day that she finished

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childcare so that she would start normal school, I remember that she could speak both English and Spanish.

[…]

Mother-E: They always had three instructors at the same time. One of them always spoke Spanish. One of them always spoke English and one of them spoke Persian.

While Daughter-E's parents reflected a highly positive attitude towards her English achievements, Mother-D did not seem to value Daughter-D's English learning in childcare at all, to the extent that she did not even think to mention it in the interview. On the other hand, interestingly, Daughter-D appears to have a different opinion about her English learning experience in Iran, as she recounted:

Excerpt 6-7

Daughter-D: برای اینکه انگلیسی خودم میدونستم ولی
Shiva: چجوری میدونستی؟
Daughter-D: اوه، اام توی ایران با ما انگلیسی یاد میدادند {...} برای اینکه تو ایران هم childcare میرفتم.

Daughter-D: Because I knew English myself but
Shiva: how did you know?
Daughter-D: Oh, um, they taught us English in Iran […] because I also went to childcare in Iran.

In a follow-up phone conversation to find out more about this contradiction, Mother-D mentioned how she had considered the English taught in Daughter-D's childcare in Iran as being so trivial and insignificant that she forgot to tell about it in the interview. Moreover, she seemed surprised at hearing how Daughter-D had reflected on her English learning in her childcare and how her learning experience could have helped her in the new environment.

Daughter-B and Daughter-R also received English instruction from English tutors. Given their plans to come to Australia, Daughter-B's parents for instance decided to hire a home tutor a few months before their departure to familiarise Daughter-B with some basics of the English language:

Excerpt 6-8

Mother-B: فکر کنم یه چهار پنج ماه معلم داشت. در حد اینکه باهاش حرف میزنند بفهمه، درحد مثلاً جمله های خیلی basic بتونه جواب بده.
Father-B: نه خیلی ضعیف بود.
Mother-B: ولی حداقل می فهمید. اینقدی چیز نبود می دونی. اینطوری که یکی رو بذاری تو محیطی که هیچی ندونه، نبود.

Mother-B: I think for about four or five months she had a tutor, so that when she was talked to she would be able to understand, and to be able to answer with very basic sentences.
Father-B: No, her skills were so poor.
Mother-B: But at least she could understand. She wasn't like, you know, she wasn't like a person being placed in an environment where she knew absolutely nothing.

Daughter-R was the other child who had English tutors in Iran. In fact, her language learning dated back to the time when she was living in India with her parents and an English-speaking nanny from India, until they returned to Iran when she was two and a half years old. At that time, as reported by her parents, Daughter-R was able to understand and produce some English words and sentences. However, given that English was not used in her everyday life after they returned to Iran, she lost most of her English skills. That is why her parents invested in her further English learning through tutors who were 'native speakers' of English.

Excerpt 6-9

Mother-R: کلاس زبان می‌رفت همیشه. یعنی ما ایران هم رفتیم معلمهای بیشتر خصوصی {می گرفتیم}، من کلاس زبان نمیگذاشتم، بیشتر معلمهایی که native هم بودند براش گرفتیم. ولی خب زبان غالب چیزش فارسی بود و خیلی فارسیش خوب شد.

Mother-R: She always went to English classes. I mean when we went to Iran [we hired] mostly private tutors, I wouldn't send her to language classes, but we hired tutors who were *native* speakers even. But well, her dominant language was Persian and her Persian improved so much.

It should be noted that there are many native-English speakers, for example from Canada and the UK, who live in Iran with their families for diplomatic and/or business purposes. There are also Iranian bilinguals born in English speaking countries. However accurate data about the native-English-speaking population in Iran is not available.

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As another way of language preparation for the purpose of migration, some parents also attempted to familiarise their children with the English language at home. Mother-G for example said:

Excerpt 6-10

Mother-G: خودم با آن‌ها انگلیسی کار میکردم، در حد اینکه حروف رو بشناسن، هرکدومشون اسم حیوانات را بلد باشند. شاید در حدود مثلاً چهل تا پنجاه تا لغت هم بلد بودند ولی جمله نمی‌توانستند بسازند.

Mother-G: I myself worked with them at a level where they could know the alphabet, to learn the name of animals. Perhaps they knew about like forty to fifty words, but they couldn't construct a sentence.

Mother-P also described how she got her two sons, three and four years of age at the time, to be exposed to the English language through children's English-language TV programs. In doing so, she stressed that she chose such a fun way because she wished her children only to become aware of the existence of another language so that they would not face a language shock in the new country:

Excerpt 6-11

Mother-P: من هیچ اصراری که بهشون انگلیسی یاد بدم نداشتم. فقط یک ام کانالی بود توی ماهواره ها توی ایران به اسم Baby TV . Baby TV مخصوص بچه‌های زیر پنج سال بود. یعنی با زبون خیلی ساده ای انگلیسی رو ام یاد میداد.{...} من فقط در روز چند ساعت اینا همینطور که داشتند بازی میکردند، فقط اون رو روشن میکردم میذاشتم {...} میگفتم اینا فقط گوششون آشنا بشه که یه زبان دیگه ای هم هست که وقتی میان بهشون خیلی ضربه وارد نشه، خیلی سخت نباشه. ولی درواقع وقتیکه وارد شدند، اصلاً انگلیسی بلد نبودند.

Mother-P: I didn't insist to teach them English. But there was um a satellite channel in Iran named '*Baby TV*'. '*Baby TV*' was aimed towards children under five years old. Like, it taught English in a very simple language […] I just turned it on and kept it on for a few hours a day whilst they were playing […] I thought let them become aware that another language exists too, so that when they come, it wouldn't hit them as hard, it wouldn't be too difficult. But pretty much, when they arrived, they didn't know any English at all.

Implicit in Mother-P's narrative is the assumption that children at younger ages can learn English quickly and effortlessly when they are heavily exposed to the language in its natural settings (MacSwan & Pray, 2005). This underlying ideology could explain

Mother-P's rationale for not 'insisting' on her children's English learning before migration, and the sentiment is prevalent in other parents' narratives, too. For instance it manifested itself in the ways in which Daughter-B's parents hired a tutor for her only for a few months closer to the time of their departure (see Excerpt 6-8), or in Mother-B's response to her daughter's concerns about English learning in Australia, as shown below:

Excerpt 6-12

Mother-B: اینقدر که تو بچه‌ای و مغزت جوونه اینقدر انگلیسی را سریع یاد می‌گیری.
Mother-B: Because you are still a child and your brain is young, you'll learn English quickly.

Overall, the data revealed that being aware of the need for English for schooling and living in the new country, many parents made investments of money, time and energy. However, their attitude towards their investments seems to have been affected by the underlying ideologies of language learning particularly "children learn English quickly and easily in a naturalistic environment".

In what follows, I will present children's encounters of English learning and use in the new country. I will particularly demonstrate how language-related experiences of children could affect the beliefs and vision their parents held before migration about their children's language learning.

6.3. Post-migration English language learning and use

Having reviewed children's experiences of English learning and use before migration, this section presents the findings of the data relative to children's English learning particularly in relation to their transition to new schools in Australia. In particular, this section deals with children's second language acquisition not as merely learning a set of

linguistic codes and lexico-grammatical rules, "but learning as the struggle for participation, and its potential consequences" (Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000, p. 155).

Overall, children's accounts of language-related experiences were diverse. However, the complexity of language acquisition and transition to the new community as a whole appeared as a commonality throughout the narratives, as did the emotional and psychological impacts on children as a result. This complex process was described by Father-G:

Excerpt 6-13

Father-G: شما فکر کن، رو بچه خیلی خیلی تأثیر داره. بچه من توی محیط مثلاً فارسی زبان، توی جایی که لذت می برد از بودن در اونجا، بعد یههو میاریش تو یه محیطی که اصلاً هیچی نمی‌داند. حالا، این بچه ضربه می‌خورد، ضربه روحی بزرگی می خوره.

Father-G: Just imagine, it affects the kid enormously. My child, for instance was in a Persian-speaking environment, which he enjoyed, then you suddenly bring him to an environment where he doesn't know anything. Well, this kid becomes affected, he becomes psychologically affected.

Overall, it emerged from the data that children faced challenges in relation to their transition to their new schools mainly due to their English inadequacy. The immensity of these challenges could be largely related to level of English communicative competence at the time of entering school. This became particularly evident from the analysis of data relative to two groups of children: those who came to Australia under school age (three to four years old), and those at school age (over four years old) who had to attend school shortly after arrival. The former group seems to have had a smoother transition to the new school, because they had a greater opportunity before entering school than the latter group, to get prepared, both in terms of English abilities and familiarity with the environment. In the next two sections, I will present the findings of data related to these two groups of children. In the analysis, Lave and Wenger's (1991) notion of 'communities of practice' is adopted, since this notion can offer an analytic function in

understanding children's "L2 acquisition in its sociocultural/political context" (Kanno, 1999, p. 126).

6.3.1. Language-related experiences of children under school age at the time of arrival

Eight out of twenty-one children were under school age (three to four years old) at the time of arrival (see also Table 6-1 in Section 6.2). Therefore, given that schooling in Australia normally starts from the age of five to six years (Education Public Schools, 2012), they had at least one year, before they had to attend school. This group of children as reported by their parents had limited, if any, English when they came. During the time until they began school, however, they had a chance to acquire English through fun activities and play which could also afford them the opportunity "to experience the endless evolving ways of seeing and feeling the world around them" (Kirova, 2006, p. 192). Such experiences helped them adapt more smoothly to school than many of those children who had no such preparatory opportunities, as will be discussed in section 6.3.2.

Mother-I and Father-I for instance described how they sent Daughter-I to a childcare centre to help her develop her English abilities and interact with her peers:

Excerpt 6-14

> Mother-I: تقریباً میشه گفت تا چهار سالگی Daughter-I childcare متوالی نرفته. درحد اینکه مثلاً دو روز در هفته رفته باشه، یه همچین حالتی. اما چهار ساله که شد فکر میکنم سه روز در هفته childcare می‌رفت.
> Father-I: بیشتر گذاشتنش هم سراین بود که هم زبان یه مقدار یاد بگیره، یه مقدار sociable تر بشه.
> Mother-I: و دیگه هم از چهارسال و نیمه هم که رفته بود مدرسه و بقیه را هم که از مدرسه یاد گرفت.
> Mother-I: You can almost say that Daughter-I hadn't been going to any *childcare* regularly until she was four. Maybe she'd gone like two days a week or so, something like that. But when she turned four, I think she went to *childcare* around three days a week.
> Father-I: We sent her to a childcare centre mostly so that she would learn a bit of language and become a bit more *sociable*.

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Mother-I: And then from four and a half years she went to school and learnt the rest at school.

Mother-L also described how she provided Daughter-L with an opportunity to practise the English language through play with English-speaking peers in public playgrounds and parks.

Excerpt 6-15

Mother-L: شاید باورتون نشه، من شش ماه اینو هرروز پارک میبردم {خنده} {...} اون فکر میکنم یکی از عواملی بود که باعث شد که Daughter-L دیگه توی کلاسای ESL نره. بچه زیاد بود، و بعد واقعاً برای من جالب بود که بچه ها چقدر بازی motivate شون میکنه برای یه کاری. برای اینکه این زبان رو یاد بگیره این بازی کردن یه ابزار بود براش که بتونه با اون بچه ها حالا هر جوری هست یه جوری حرف بزنه.
Mother-L: Believe it or not, I took her to a park every day for six months [Laughs] […] I think this was one of the reasons that Daughter-L did not need to attend *ESL* classes. There were a lot of kids and it was really interesting for me to see how playing could *motivate* children to do something. In order for her to learn the language, playing was like a tool that allowed her to communicate with the children in any ways possible.

From this and other examples it became apparent that through "possibilities offered by the learners' environments and their agency as learners" children could develop their English abilities (Norton & Toohey, 2001, p. 314). In fact, Daughter-L's English acquisition could be a by-product of social activities in her new community, the main function of which was not necessarily language learning, "but learning something else, including how to participate appropriately in social activities" (Lantolf, 2011, p. 25). This notion can also explain how some parents had a better evaluation of their language achievement in content courses than in language courses in Australia (see Excerpt 5-28 and the discussion in Section 5.4, Chapter 5). In Daughter-L's environment, language was not perceived as the most essential mediator of social activities and, so, her English deficiency did not seem to constrain her participation in community practices. On the contrary, it appears that she could take on a central role in her community by bringing her

'leadership skills' to the attention of her peers and making herself a desirable playmate, as reflected in the excerpt below:

Excerpt 6-16

> Mother-L: جالب این بود که همین خانمه {که در پارک ملاقات کردند} به من میگفتش که ببین دختر تو زبون بلد نیست، ولی نیگاه کن manager خوبیه {خنده} راست میگفت، این بچه ها رو جمع میکرد دورش، بعد اینا میشستند به چه زبونی واقعاً {خنده} {...} میدیدم که این مثلاً باهمه، بعضی ها اونا که میومدن استرالیایی بودند انگلیسیاشون خیلی خوب بود، ولی میدیدم دنبال اینند {خنده} این میدوئید و بعد میگفت تو برو مثلاً اونجا، با اشاره، بعد مثلاً همه رو چیز {هدایت} میکرد.
>
> Mother-L: It was interesting that this lady [whom Mother-L met in the park] told me "look your daughter doesn't know English, but see, she is a good *manager*" [Laughs] She was right. She gathered the children around her, then they sat down, I was wondering with what language really [Laughs] […] I observed how she was like with everyone, some of them who came there were Australian and their English was very good. But I could see how they were following her [Laughs] she was running while saying for instance "you go over there", all by pointing, then she was like [directing] everyone.

Mother-H also described how in addition to learning English in public spaces, Daughter-H could learn English at home through watching TV. In doing so, as mediated through her parent's account, Daughter-H herself did not seem to sit idle like a 'sponge' to 'soak up' the language, as is often portrayed in popular discourses about young children's language acquisition. Rather, she seems to have played an active role in her process of English learning:

Excerpt 6-17

> Mother-H: یک روز در هفته میرفت، خیلی childcare نمیرفت { } از تلویزیون از کوچه، پارک، حرف زدن مردم یاد میگرفت {...} فکر میکنم تلویزیون میدید، playschool برنامه های تلویزیون و میدید و خودش هم خیلی باهوش و کنجکاو بود. میپرسید "این چی گفت؟ این چی شد؟"
>
> Mother-H: She went once a week, she didn't go to *childcare* a lot […] she learnt from the TV, the streets, parks, and listening to people talking […] I think she watched TV, she watched *Playschool*, the TV programs, and she herself was so clever and curious. She asked 'what did she say? What happened to that?'

Overall, it was clear from the data that children who arrived in Australia at early ages (under school age) had the opportunity to become familiarised with the new language and

the new environment through participating in social activities in communities which could grant them "the right to participate in community activities" (Toohey & Norton, 2003, p. 69). This access helped them develop the context-embedded language skills necessary for interpersonal communication (Cummins, 1982, 1984, 2008) and to claim the right to speak when they entered school. On the other hand, for other children, particularly those with limited English abilities who had to attend school shortly after arrival, the situation appears to have been more challenging. For these children, while they had not yet developed any context-embedded language skills to communicate with people surrounding them, they had to "handle the context-reduced communicative demands of an all-English classroom" (Cummins, 1982, p. 6). This will be further discussed in the next section.

6.3.2. Language-related experiences of children at school age at the time of arrival

Thirteen out of twenty-one children were at school age at the time of arrival (5-9 years old) (see also Table 6-1 in Section 6.2). Among these children, ten had some schooling experience back in Iran and three started schooling from kindergarten in Australia. Overall, the ways that most parents and children described language-related experiences of children after arrival depict a distressing picture of their transition to their new schools, from starting with little or no capacity to communicate in Australia, until they developed linguistic abilities in order to establish a happy social life. For younger children in lower grades (e.g. kindergarten and year one), it appears that their difficulties related mainly to

language inadequacy for interaction with teachers and peers. However, for those in higher grades, their educational demands also added to their challenges.

The three children who started schooling in Australia were reported by their parents to have been under immense mental pressure when they started school due to their inability to interact with their peers and adults around them, as the examples below show:

Excerpt 6-18

Mother-N: ببین خب این بچه میخواد بگه من برم دستشویی هم نمیدونه چیه {...} خیلی اذیت شد برای همون از این بابت ها، بخاطر همین که نمیتونست ارتباط برقرار کنه.
Mother-N: Look, even when this kid wants to say "I want to go to the toilet" she doesn't know how to […] she was really tormented because of these, because she couldn't communicate.

Excerpt 6-19

Mother-O: اول که Daughter-O مدرسه میرفت هیچ چیزی بلد نبود بخاطر همین خیلی استرس گرفته بود، یعنی بچه قشنگ روش تأثیر گذاشته بود {...} هفته اول **خیلی** برایش سخت بود. خیلی وحشتناک بود.
Mother-O: When Daughter-O first started going to school she didn't know anything. Because of this she was really stressed. I mean this had really affected the kid […] the first week was **extremely** hard for her. It was so dreadful.

The inability to communicate also could cause a state of 'silence' as, for example,

Mother-F reported:

Excerpt 6-20

Mother-F: یک ترم تمام، یک کلام هم حرف نزد.
Mother-F: For an entire term, she did not speak even one word.

Daughter-F's 'silence', in fact, seems to have been an agentive behaviour, because it appears from her parent's account that she was aware that she had been refusing to speak.

Excerpt 6-21

Mother-F: بعد از یک ترم، که ترمش تموم شد برگشت گفت، تو ترم بعد گفت "میدونی من ترم اول هیچی حرف نزدم؟"

{...}

Father-F: خب ما تقریباً میدونستیم که این نمیتونه حرف بزنه. دیگه، حالا لااقل فکر میکردیم دیگه hiـیی نمیدونم good bye ـیی یه چیز اینطوری=

Mother-F: =ولی یک کلمه هم حرف نزد.

Mother-F: After one term, when her term finished, she turned to me saying, in the following school term, she said 'do you know that I didn't talk at all in term one?'

[…]

Father-F: well, we pretty much knew that she couldn't speak. Well, like, we thought at least a *hi* or a *goodbye* or something like that=

Mother-F: =but she didn't speak even a word.

In the field of ESL acquisition of children entering early year settings, many researchers have observed a 'silent' or 'nonverbal' period of transition during which some children may consciously engage in "virtually no verbal interaction with English-speaking adults or peers" (Saville-Troike, 1988, p. 572). In fact, children may completely refuse to speak in the new environment where they come to a realisation that their home language is not understood and their second language skills are not adequate for communication with people around them (Tabors, 1997). Nevertheless, it is suggested in the literature that the role of silence in the process of ESL acquisition needs to be understood "in the wider sociocultural context of home and school" (Drury, 2013, p. 391). This is a view that can help teachers and educators better understand the child's sociocultural circumstances before making any judgements and to adopt effective strategies to assist the child. However, it appears that this was not how Daughter-F was treated at school when she refused to speak. In effect, her teachers appear to have suspected a speech impairment.

Excerpt 6-22

Father-F: اینجا هم تو مدرسه خیلی به او فشار آمد. معلمها هم حتی تا یه وقتایی مثلاً میبردن، یه ایرانی میآوردند میگفتند بهش بگو ببین اصلاً میتونه حرف بزنه، این اصلاً از لحاظ تکلمش اشکال نداشته باشه، یا یه وقتی یا مثلاً، خیلی سختی کشید تو این قضیه=

Mother-F: =خیلی براش سخت بود.

Father-F: Here at school she was really under pressure. Sometimes the teachers even took her, brought a Persian student, they were like "ask her if she can speak at all, to check if she has speech problems" or maybe, like, she suffered a lot in this process=

Mother-F: =it was very hard for her.

Daughter-F was also ascribed an identity as "shy" or "unintelligent" which her parents
did not agree with:

Excerpt 6-23

> Father-F: خب این باعث شد الان خیلی shy و منزوی شود، معرفی بشه حداقل، درحالیکه اون حالت رو
> خیلی نداره، بهرحال نرماله، آره بهرحال تو زبان فارسی اینجوری نبود. ولی اونجا اینطور معرفی شده بود.
> خیلی سطح، مثلاً برداشت این شده بود که این بچه از لحاظ هوشی ضعیفیه.
>
> Father-F: Well, this caused her now to become very *shy* and isolated, or at least to be
> introduced like that, however she doesn't have such traits, after all she is normal,
> yeah. After all she wasn't like that in Persian. But there, she was introduced like that.
> Her level, for instance there was an impression that this kid has low intelligence.

The effect of misjudgements of this kind, meant that children had to struggle to claim a
more powerful identity than the one imposed on them, but it was most likely that their
educational progress also could be held back in classrooms. For example, in Mother-N's
excerpt below it is reflected how she had a perception that Daughter-N's academic
abilities were misrepresented:

Excerpt 6-24

> Mother-N: من خب نگران، چون Daughter-N داشت زبان یاد می‌گرفت، هم زبان هم خواندن و نوشتن،
> خب؟ از بچه های دیگه خیلی عقب تر بود. {...} ولی مثلاً من میدیدم، مثلاً ریاضیش آخرین {گروه} بود،
> مثلاً من میدیدم من دارم تلاش میکنم، خودش داره تلاش میکنه، به معلمش میگفتم خب {گروه} ریاضی به چه
> علت اینجوریه {...} به گروههای مختلف بچه ها رو تقسیم میکنند بعد این گروه های مختلف هم اسم دارند.
> ولی خوب بچه ها خودشون میفهممند کدوم گروه بالاتره کدوم گروه پایینتره، خب؟
>
> Mother-N: Well, I was worried, because Daughter-N was learning the language, both
> the language and reading and writing, you see? She was far behind other children […]
> but like, I could see that, for instance for her maths, she was in the lowest level
> [group], but for instance I could see that I was making an effort, and how she herself
> was trying, then I told her teacher so why is it that her maths [group] is like this […]
> they divide the children into different groups and they name each group. But well,
> children themselves can realise which group is higher and which group is lower, you
> know?

Many children who had previous experience of schooling back in Iran, were similarly
reported to have undergone a distressing transitional stage particularly due to their limited
English. For instance Son-A, who had learned some English at a basic level in a private

school in Iran (see Excerpt 6-4), faced communication difficulties which caused him a

sense of anxiety, as his father reported:

Excerpt 6-25

Father-A: Son-A خیلی نگران بود. همیشه هم به من میگه. میگه "روزهای اول من گیج بودم. اصلاً
نمیفهمیدم اینا چی میگن. فقط میشنیدم بلا بلا بلا همینجوری". و واقعاً هم همینطوری بود. خب، از من می
پرسید که پدر من چقدر طول میکشه انگلیسی یاد بگیرم؟

Father-A: Son-A was so worried and he always tells me. He says 'I was so confused
in the first days. I completely couldn't understand what they were saying. I could only
hear blah blah blah like this.' And it was truly like that. Well, he would ask me 'dad,
how long will it take for me to learn English?'

Mother-Q also described how Daughter-Q had a hard time in her initial period of

transition to the new school:

Excerpt 6-26

Mother-Q: Daughter-Qکه اوایل که آمده بود که خیلی چیز بود خیلی عصبی بود، طفلک خیلی بقول
خودش، فکر کنم پوستش {خنده} کنده شد. واقعاً میگم ها، واقعاً میگم خیلی عصبی شد.

Mother-Q: When Daughter-Q first came, she was like, she was so anxious. Poor
child, as she herself says, she had like an extremely [Laughs] hard time. Seriously,
seriously she became so anxious.

Overall, it became apparent from the data that children's English inadequacy and their

inability to communicate properly caused negative impacts on children's psychological

well-being. The traumatic effects manifested themselves in narratives by terms such as

'stressed', 'dreadful', 'tormented', 'under pressure', 'suffered', 'worried', 'anxious',

'confused' and so on. These difficulties, experienced by children and observed by

parents, made some of the parents question the perceptions they had held before

migration about children's ease of language learning. This was clearly described by

Father-G who referred to this assumption as "absolutely ridiculous":

Excerpt 6-27

Father-G: گاهی وقتا خودم را بسیار سرزنش میکنم میگم من در حق بچههایم ظلم کردم {...} ببین
زبان رو، میگیم اینا زبان را یاد می گیرند. بچهای رو که کلاس دوم هم باشه، یعنی مثلاً کلاس دوم میشه نه

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سالش، بگو مثلاً هشت سال ، نه سال، یا حالا حدوداً. این هشت، نه سال بچه فارسی یاد گرفته است. تازه فارسی که شما قشنگ پدرومادر با مهرومحبت بهش یاد دادند، می دونی، عمو، خاله، دایی، قشنگ با مهر و محبت. بعد شما این بچه ای رو که می خوای انگلیسیش رو برسونی به همین حد، که تازه بعد بخواد ریاضی، علوم و science و فلان فلان را هم یاد بگیرد {...} این سخته برای بچه به نظر من. و من فکر میکنم این تا ابد هم ادامه داره. تا ابد که نه، یعنی تا آخر سن بچگی ادامه داره. این چیز به این سادگی نیست که، من خودم به شخصه فکر می کردم، که بقول معروف حالا، خیلی خیلی عامیانه تر از این و بلا نسبت ساده لوحانه تر از این اینه که بعضی ها فکر می کردند که مثلاً بچه شش ماهه راه می‌افتد. اصلاً یک چیز مضحکیه.

Father-G: Sometimes I really really blame myself and I think I have done injustice to my kids […] as for the language, we say they will learn the language. The child who is let's say in year two, that is the year two for instance would be nine years old, say like eight years old, nine years or about. Within these eight, nine years, the child has learnt Persian, and after all the Persian that mum and dad have taught them beautifully with love and affection, you know, uncles, aunts, beautifully with love and affection. Then for this child you want to reach their English to the same level, and they just only now begin to learning maths, *science* and science and this and that as well […] This is difficult for the child in my opinion. And I think this will continue on forever, I mean not forever, but until the end of their childhood ages. This is not as easy as I myself thought, well, as they say, it is very very simplistic and naive that some people thought that for instance the child could learn within six months. This is absolutely ridiculous.

Lantolf and Pavlenko (1995, p. 110) argue that "from the sociocultural stance, learning a second language entails more than simple mastery of the linguistic properties of the L2". In the same way, it became apparent in the excerpt above how the process of L2 acquisition can be fraught with complexities. The complexities that Father-G observed not only involved attaining language skills, both interpersonal and academic, but also related to children's development of sense of self and belonging in the new environment.

The difficulties of gaining mastery of English language for ESL students both in terms of conversational skills and academic language have been evidenced in many studies. Collier (1987), for example, in her meta-study of data related to 1,548 students with limited English proficiency, found that children may need four to eight years to achieve grade-level norms of native speakers in all subject areas of language and academic achievement. In the same way, Cummins (2008) introduced two concepts of BICS (Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills) and CALP (Cognitive Academic Language

proficiency) to draw educators' attention to the complexity of second language learning and to problematise the ways in which L2 learners' skills and achievements may be assessed on the same scale as their English-speaking peers. According to Cummins, it might take about two years for an ESL learner to achieve the BICS and at least five years for the CALP (p. 73).

While research shows how challenging it can be for ESL students to achieve academic success, the situation was exacerbated for children who arrived in the middle of the school year. In fact, the school calendar differs in Iran and Australia due to their location in different hemispheres. In Iran which is located in the Northern hemisphere, the school year lasts from September to June when the summer holidays start. In Australia, however, the school year spans from late January to mid-December (Hughes, 2000). Due to this time difference, for many families who departed after their children had completed a school year in Iran, their children had to join Australian schools in the middle or towards the end of the Australian school year. Moreover, these children were placed in a grade according to the age-appropriate policy (Australian Curriculum, 2015) regardless of their language and academic abilities. Under these conditions, on the one hand, they had missed a part of the curriculum, since a part of the year had already gone. On the other hand, they had to focus on learning English which often involved pull-out ESL classes, thereby missing a part of daily instruction they could otherwise attend (see for example Excerpt 6-37 in section 6.3.3). Daughter-G and Son-G, for instance, had completed year one and year two, respectively, before departure and their exposure to the English language had been only through their mother who had taught them the alphabet and some vocabulary (see Excerpt 6-10 in Section 6.2.2). After arrival, they were both placed in higher grades than their previous ones although only a few months remained until the end

of the school year. Father-G and Mother-G poignantly described this "disastrous"

situation.

Excerpt 6-28

Father-G: دوره‌ی بسیار سختی برای بچه‌ها بود، از توی چشماشون، حالاتشون و رفتارشون احساس می
کردم که چقدر فشار بهشون میاد. خیلی فشار میاد.
{...}
Mother-G: زبان انگلیسی نمی‌دانست. حتی رفتارهای دوستانش را تشخیص نمی‌داد، اینامی‌خوان چی بگن.
حتی معلمش به ما می‌گفت "خیلی تو کلاس حوصله‌اش سر می‌رود." معلمش می‌گفت "واقعاً دلم برایش
می‌سوزد." معلمش میگفت. می گفت "خیلی میره تو خودش. بعد من میرم چیزای جورواجور میدم بهش می
گم این رو استفاده کن". خیلی اذیت شد. خیلی اذیت شد. و یک ترم هم بیشتر کلاس دوم نبود، و ترم آخر کلاس
دوم بود. که این فاجعه بود که در حق دختر ما شد. که سال بعد گذاشتنش کلاس سوم. یعنی فقط یه ترم دوم را
خوند، بعد رفت سوم. و هیچکس در این مدرسه این آگاهی را نداشت=
Father-G: =بفهمد این بچه چه می‌کشد=
Mother-G: =که این بچه این وقت آن نبود که کلاس سوم برود. چون فقط یک سال رو ایران خونده بود. و
الان دو رو میس miss کرده بود، داشت میرفت سوم. بسیار اذیت شد این بچه.
Father-G: It was an extremely hard time for the kids. I could see it in their eyes, from their moods and behaviours how much pressure was on them. There was so much pressure on them.
[…]
Mother-G: she didn't know the English language. She even couldn't recognise her friends' gestures and behaviours and what they wanted to say. Even her teacher would tell us how she would get so bored in the classroom. Her teacher said to us 'I really feel for her.' Her teacher would say, she said 'she really withdraws into herself. Then I would go and give her different stuff and ask her to use them.' She suffered. She really suffered. And she wasn't in year two for more than a term. She was only there for the last term. And it was a disaster that happened to our daughter, that the next year they placed her in year three. It means that she only studied year two for one term and then jumped to year three. And nobody at that school was aware=
Father-G: =of what this child was going through=
Mother-G: =that for this child, it wasn't the right time for her to go to year three. Because she had studied only year one back in Iran. And now she *missed* year two, and was going onto year three. This kid was really tormented.

While most children faced numerous language-related difficulties as demonstrated above,

on a positive note, a few children seem to have had a smoother transition to their new

schools in Australia particularly due to their higher levels of English competence at the

time of arrival. Daughter-E who had been involved in years of English learning from her

early ages in multilingual childcare and schools (see Excerpt 6-2 and Excerpt 6-6), seems

to have adapted to the new school smoothly as her parents reported:

Excerpt 6-29

<div dir="rtl">

Father-E: {معلمهایش} گفتند که برای اینکه communicate بکنه، با بقیه صحبت کند و با بقیه ارتباط برقرار کند و بابقیه حرف بزند هیچ مشکلی ندارد.

{...}

Shiva: یعنی اومدین اینجا به کلاسهای ESL نیاز نداشت.

Mother-E: نه نرفت اصلاً ESL.

Father-E: نه اصلاً نرفت.

</div>

Father-E: They [her teachers] said that she had no problem with communicating, speaking with others and establishing a relationship with others and speaking with others.

[…]

Shiva: It means that when you came here, she didn't need any *ESL* classes.

Mother-E: No she never attended *ESL*.

Father-E: No she never did.

For Son-S, also, it appears that his language learning through private schools in Iran was sufficient to help him with his transition to a new school:

Excerpt 6-30

<div dir="rtl">

Mother-S: اگر از یه level پایینتر بود باید می رفتند language school. و من خیلی خوشحال شدم که ما قبل از اینکه به بیاییم، گذاشتیم Son-S را رفت کلاس زبان {...} و ما دیدیم که چه نتیجه ی خوبی داد که ما گذاشتیم توی ایران اینا رو یاد گرفت.

</div>

Mother-S: if they were lower than a certain *level*, they had to attend the *language school* and I became so happy that before coming, we let Son-S attend English classes […] and we saw how good it was that we let him learn in Iran.

While Son-S's parents expressed contentment about his English achievement back in Iran, it should be noted that Son-S was placed in a grade lower than what he had studied in Iran. In fact, according to his English assessment conducted in a school in the State of Victoria where they first arrived, Son-S was given an option to be placed in year two – because he had already completed year one in Iran– on condition that he would participate in an intensive ESL program in a language school for a period of six to twelve months (Victoria State Government, 2015). Under these circumstances, Son-S's parent chose for Son-S to redo grade one, so that he would not be required to do an ESL course in a language school before joining mainstream schools:

Excerpt 6-31

Father-S: گفتیم اگر کلاس دوم بذاریم باید بره کلاس زبان تا بتواند با بقیه درواقع هماهنگ باشد. ولی برای کلاس اول زبانش خوبه، کلاس اول رو شروع کنه.

Father-S: We thought if we would get him to sit in year two then he would have to attend the language classes so as to keep up with the others. But his language was good enough for grade one, to begin grade one.

It became apparent from the data that children eventually began to develop their language skills, particularly related to what Cummins (2008) called BICS, as discussed earlier, through interactions with friends and teachers. This improvement was usually detected and valued by their parents within the first year of children's attendance at school:

Excerpt 6-32

Father-F: ولی خوشبختانه خیلی زود شاید مثلاً تو ترم دوم سوم دیگه این کاملاً راه افتاد. دیگه حداقل شروع کرد حرف زدن.

Father-F: However, fortunately, very soon, maybe for instance in term two or three she was completely alright. I mean at least she began to talk.

Excerpt 6-33

Mother-O: من دیدم جالبه که با بچه‌ها ارتباط برقرار کرده و یواش یواش معلم به ما گفت من باورم نمی‌شود که این‌قدر زود زبان انگلیسی را یاد گرفت.

Mother-O: I found it interesting to see how she established a connection with the kids and gradually, her teacher told us 'I can't believe how quickly she has learnt English'.

Excerpt 6-34

Mother-N: دقیقاً نه ماه بعدش، خب؟ هشت ماه، نه ماه، خب؟ {...} بعد من هنوز نمیدونستم که این انگلیسی بلده، تارفتیم سوار هواپیما که شدیم، برای اولین باری بود که دیدم Daughter-N شروع کرد با این مهماندار انگلیسی صحبت کردن. {...} من دیدم نه این داره صحبت میکنه همه چی را هم میفهمه، خوب هم میفهمه. داره صحبت میکنه، از منم بهتر داره صحبت میکنه{خنده}.

Mother-N: Right after nine months, you see? Eight months, nine months, you see? […] I still didn't know that she knew any English, until we went and got on the plane when for the first time I saw Daughter-N began to speak English with the flight attendant […] I saw her and was like "yeah, she is speaking and she is understanding everything, and understands so well. She is speaking, even better than me she is speaking" [Laughs].

A myriad of factors can contribute to children's ESL learning and adaptation to the new environment. From the data, however, three themes emerged as significant: ESL

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programs; Persian speaker peer support; and children's agentive role. The findings relative to each of these topics are presented in the following sections.

6.3.3. The ESL program

ESL classes are created as an additional program to help non-English speaker students develop their English language so as to be able to fully participate in schooling and to keep up with the educational advancement of their same-age peers (NSW Department of Education and Training, 2004). According to ESL instruction guidelines issued by the NSW Department of Education and Training, schools may adopt different modes of ESL program delivery. It became clear from the data that two modes of delivery were in practice in the participating children's schools: the tutorial or withdrawal model, in which a group of children were withdrawn from their classrooms for a period of time to be taught ESL; and the group teaching model, in which the ESL teacher along with the class teacher worked with small groups within the classroom.

Overall, the ways parents and children spoke about ESL programs showed a two-fold picture of their perceptions. On the one hand, their narratives reflected a sense of acceptance that children would need to attend ESL classes as a support to meet their language needs. On the other hand, the program could mark children as deficient students in need of remedial classes (Harklau, 1994; Rambow, 2013). It is most likely that it was, to some extent, "because of a perceived remedial stigma" (Harklau, 1994, p. 241) that Son-S's parents chose not to use the special help (see Excerpt 6-31). This sense of a negative attitude towards ESL programs also manifested itself in the ways in which some of the children and parents emphasised the (short) period of time children needed to attend ESL classes. This is shown in examples below:

Excerpt 6-35

Daughter-D: ESL خودش گفت که، تو، فقط برای مثلاً، خیلی کم رفتم ESL، برای اینکه خودش گفت که تو خیلی میدونی.
Shiva: پس فقط کلاس اول بودی رفتی.
Daughter-D: ام، اوه، **خیلی** کم کلاس اول. مثلاً یه، مثلاً یه ماه رفتم.

Daughter-D: ESL, she herself said that, you, only for, like, I went to ESL for a very little while, because she herself said that I knew so much.
Shiva: So you only attended when you were in year one.
Daughter-D: um, ooh, for a **very** little while in year one. Like about a month.

Excerpt 6-36

Mother-P: ESL هم داشتند ترم اولشون رو فکر میکنم ولی خیلی کوتاه بود، خیلی کوتاه بود.
Mother-P: I think they also had ESL in their first term, I think. But it was very short, very short.

While these examples show implicitly negative views, Father-G and Mother-G quite clearly expressed their negative evaluation of ESL program implementation in schools and were of the view that they could cause educational, psychological and identity problems. Their negative comments related mainly to two problems. Firstly, the child's educational progress could be held back by the fact that children were pulled out from content classes and, so, they were likely to miss some of the important parts of the subject materials taught in the classroom.

Excerpt 6-37

Mother-G: بچه الان کلاس سوم نشسته، یه time ی که تو کلاس معلم یه چیزایی رو داره یاد میده بچه رو میفرستادن ESL. بچه می رفت اونجا زبان یاد بگیره، درس کلاس را از دست میداد و بسیار سخت بود. بسیار اذیت کننده بود. و بسیار غلط. یعنی هیچکس اونجا به این رسیدگی نمی کرد، که داره با بچه چیکار میکنه. یعنی اصلاً هماهنگی بین برنامه‌های کلاس وبرنامه ESL نبود. ESL یک زنگ مثلاً یک ساعت و ربع و اینا بود که وقتی بود که معلم مثلاً داشت یه کاری رو با بچه ها ی کلاس انجام می داد، مثلاً تکالیفشون رو میدید، مثلاً نکاتی رو بهشون میگفت، بچه های ما تو کلاسای ESL بودند.

Mother-G: The kid has now been placed in year three. Then at a *time* when the teacher is teaching something in the classroom, they send the child to *ESL*. The child would go there to learn the language, but she would miss the class lessons and it was so hard. It was so annoying and so wrong. Like no one there would look into the matter of what they were doing to the child. Like, there was no coordination at all between the class programs and the *ESL* program. *ESL* was about one and a half hours, something like that, when the teacher for instance was doing something with

the other students in the class, like checking their homework, giving them tips and points, and then our children were in *ESL* classes.

The second point related to concerns about lack of recognition and incorporation of the child's L1 by bilingual educators in ESL classes and the formal educational structure as a whole. These deficiencies potentially could have a destructive impact on children's sense of self-worth and could engender feelings of insecurity, anxiety and loneliness:

Excerpt 6-38

Father-G: ESL خوبه، ولی نه به این شکل. اگر بچه میخواد مثلاً background فارسی اومده، باید معلمی باشد که دو زبانه است، هم فارسی بلده هم انگلیسی را. بچه احساس امنیت و آرامش بیشتری کند و راحتتر یاد بگیرد تا اینکه مثلاً یک معلم مثلاً فرض بفرمایید، البته نمی دونم چقدر عملی هست یا نه اینجا. ولی به هر حال، به نظر من راه درست اونه {...} اگر ESLی هست، باید خیلی دقیقتر، خیلی منسجم تر، و حسابشدهتر باشه {...} این نگرانیها رو باید اینجا قشنگ هدفگیری کنند، براش سرمایه گذاری کنند که بچه هاهویت بگیرند اینجا. این خیلی مهمه{...} این فرق میکنه که به اینکه بچه من بیاد تو این کشور، بعد بره تو یه مدرسه ای که مثلاً حتی یکی از معلم ها، مثلا معلم ESL حتی فارسی زبان باشه. قشنگ هم به فارسی و هم به انگلیسی، ببین چقدر relief میشه براش. خیلی مهمه تا اینکه اصلاً احساس کنه اینجا تنهاست. اصلاً انگار که می دونی، تاثیر میگذاره روی بچه. بچه دچار وحشت میشود.anxiety که توی بچه بوجود میاد، خیلی خیلی سخته.

Father-G: *ESL* is good, but not in this form. If the child is going to, like, if the child has come from for instance a Persian *background*, there should be a teacher who is bilingual, who knows both Persian and English. The child would feel a higher sense of safety and peace and would learn more easily, rather than for instance a teacher let's say from, of course I am not sure to what extent it could be practical here. But again, in my opinion that is the right way […] if there is going to be an *ESL* program, it must be much more accurate, much more versatile and well-organised […] they need to fully focus on these concerns and to make investments in them so that children here could develop a sense of self. This is very important. […] this makes a difference if my child comes to this country and then goes to a school where at least one teacher, for instance the ESL teacher would be of Persian speaking background, so in both English and Persian, imagine what a *relief* it would be for the kid. This is very important as opposed to, like, them feeling lonely here, as if, you know, it affects the child. They get anxious. The *anxiety* that develops, it is very very hard.

The advantage of having a bilingual teacher in ESL classes and the benefit of using L1 in L2 learning were also indicated by the children, as exemplified below:

Excerpt 6-39

Son-C: همش تو کلاسمون تایلندی بود. از اون {معلم} میپرسیدند این چی میشه به تایلندی، این چی میشه. من تنها کسی بود، من و یکی دیگه=

Shiva: =آها اون به زبان خودشون بهشون کمک میکرد، ولی تو کسی رو نداشتی بپرسی بگه.
Son-C: نه. مثلاً بعضی اوقات هم توی، اسمش چیه، تو Translate، Google Translate میزدم اه مثلاً فارسی میخوندم ااه اون فارسی چی میشه اون معنیش.

Son-C: they were all Thai in our classroom. They asked her [the teacher] what this was in Thai, what that was. I was the only one, me and another=
Shiva: =Uhuh, she helped them in their own language, but you had no one to ask from.
Son-C: No. For instance, sometimes, what is it called, *Translate*, I entered it in *Google Translate* uh like I read it in Persian uh what it meant in Persian, its meaning.

Many studies have evidenced the advantages of incorporating L1 into ESL and mainstream education, not only in terms of children's educational success, but for their psychological and emotional well-being and sense of self-worth (Auerbach, 1993; Cummins, 2000, 2001; Eslami Rasekh & Kerr, 2013; Garcia, 1991; Swain, 2014; Tang, 1997; Williams, 2003). Indeed, as Swain (2014, p. 101) asserts, "the role of the home language is easiest to understand with respect to the psychological and emotional development of the child, and is so obvious as to need little explanation". This also became clear in parents' and children's narratives. However, it is also evident from the data, except for some incidental use, students' L1 does not seem to be used in a systematic way in ESL classrooms in Australia (Davison, 2001). In fact, bilingual instruction has been discussed in the Australian Language and Literacy Policy as a mode of ESL delivery (DEET, 1991). However, it seems that it remains a matter of rhetoric since there is no reference in these discussions to practical ways of implementing bilingual instruction (Davison, 2001, p. 35).

6.3.4. Peers' role in the process of transition

As revealed by the data, most children were unable to understand the people around them at school and to make themselves understood in their initial stage of transition. As a way of facilitating children's communication, some of the teachers were reported as adopting the strategy of pairing children with a 'buddy' who knew both Persian and English to act

as a communication mediator between children and teachers. For example, Daughter-M's

mother said:

Excerpt 6-40

> Mother-M: تو مدرسه، کلاس Daughter-M دو تا ایرانی دیگر هم بودند که اونا زبان بلد بودند. نه فقط برای Daughter-M، برای هر کسی، هر مهاجر دیگه ای که میاد اینجا سیستم اینجوریه می نشونند بچه را کنار همزبونهای خودش. Daughter-M بین دو تا ایرانی نشست و هر سؤالی که داشت از اونا سوال میکرد و اونا برایش ترجمه می‌کردند و بهش خیلی کمک کرد این قضیه.

> Mother-M: At school, there were two other Iranians in Daughter-M's class who knew the English language. Not only for Daughter-M, but for everyone, any other migrant who comes here, the system is in a way that they get the child to sit next to her peers of the same language background. Daughter-M got to sit between two Iranians and she would ask them any questions she had and they would translate it for her, and this helped her so much.

Some of the children also recounted their memories of their first days at school in this

respect:

Excerpt 6-41

> Son-C: بعدش اومدم اینجا، اام، یکی بودش ایرانی تو کلاسمون، اون خیلی کمکم میکرد.
> Shiva: اون کمکت میکرد؟ اون ترجمه میکرد برات؟
> پرهام: آره.
> Shiva: خود مدرسه شما رو buddy کرد؟
> Son-C: آره خود مدرسه.
> Shiva: تو صحبت نمیکردی اصلاً؟
> Son-C: میکردم، مثلاً می پرسیدم، به فارسی میگفتم این چی میشه. اون به انگلیسی میگفت.

> Son-C: Then when I came here, um, there was an Iranian in our class. He helped me so much.
> Shiva: Did he? Did he translate for you?
> Son-C: Yeah.
> Shiva: Did the school form buddies for you?
> Son-C: Yeah the school did.
> Shiva: Did you talk at all?
> Son-C: I did, for instance I asked, I said in Persian what that is. Then he said it in English.

Excerpt 6-42

> Son-A: بعدش {اسم ر} بغل دستم بود. اون ایرانیه خب؟ اون بغل دستم translate برام میکرد. بعد یک ماه، نه یه هفته، یه هفته دو هفته بعد خب؟ اون برا من translate میکرد.

> Son-A: Then [Name R] was sitting next to me. He was Iranian, you see? He was next to me *translating* for me. Then for one month, no for one week, one or two weeks, he *translated* for me.

Excerpt 6-43

Daughter-B: من توی مدرسه ی {مدرسه چ} یه دوست ایرانی داشتم، اام بعد من، اون به من یک کمی یاد میداد.

Daughter-B: I had an Iranian friend in [School Ch] school. Um, then I, she taught me a bit.

As the examples above show, parents and children reflected a positive attitude towards the strategy of pairing children with Persian speaker peers. Nevertheless, from a closer examination of their narratives, it became apparent that "alongside those practices that demonstrated collaborative relations of power exist other practices that suggest coercive relations of power" (Kanno, 2004, p. 333). In her study of the education of a group of minority language speakers of Japanese as a second language (JSL) in an elementary school in Japan, Kanno observed how children with a longer length of residence in Japan displayed a sense of reluctance towards displaying their first language. Similarly, the Persian speaker peers as old-timers were often reported to have a negative sense towards their Persian language identity and displaying their first language. An explanation for this might be that they had already "internalised the dominant values of the society and covet an identity that has more currency value" (p. 334). Under the conditions that children's L1 was barely, if at all, incorporated into the mainstream structure and curriculum of the school, Persian-speaking peers could help the children communicate with teachers and probably learn English, but most probably at the expense of feelings of negativity towards their own identity and language. This was for instance mentioned by Daughter-F's parents who observed how Daughter-F began to feel a sense of negativity towards her Persian language and identity:

Excerpt 6-44

Father-F: Daughter-F یک مدتی متوجه شدم که، یک مدتی نسبت به فارسی زبان بودن خودش یه حالت منفی پیدا کرده {...} که این بعلت این بود که این حس رو اون دوستش که گفتم پدر و مادرش ایرانی بودند ولی اینجا بدنیا اومده بود، اون رو اون بهش انتقال داده بود. چون اون هیچ فارسی حرف نمی‌زد، هرکی باهاش {فارسی} حرف میزد جواب نمی‌داد.

Mother-F: خیلی بدش میومد که کسی باهاش، پدرمادرش باهاش فارسی حرف بزنند.

Father-F: For a while, I found that Daughter-F for a while had negative feelings towards her being a Persian speaker [...] and this was because, the friend that I told you about that her parents were Iranians but she was born here, transferred these feelings to her. Because she spoke no Persian at all and would not answer to anyone talking to her [in Persian].

Mother-G also quoted her son who had described the pressures he felt from his Persian-speaker peers:

Excerpt 6-45

Mother-G: بعدها که راه افتاد و رو غلتک افتاد به من گفت که مثلاً جاهایی که زبان انگلیسی بلد نبود دوستان ایرانیش به او می‌گفتند "برو برو دنبال ما نیا آبروی ما رو میریزی فارسی حرف می زنی". می‌گفتند برو چون اگر فارسی حرف بزنی آبروی ما می‌رود.

Mother-G: Later on, when he got into the swing of things, he told me that for instance in some occasions where he couldn't speak English, his Iranian friends told him 'go, go, don't come after us. We get embarrassed when you speak Persian'. They said 'go, because if you speak Persian, we'll be embarrassed'.

The excerpt below related to a group interview with Daughter-B and Daughter-D and shows how children could receive the school and wider society's messages of power relations and how peers can have impacts on each other:

Excerpt 6-46

Shiva: چرا فکر میکنی که دوست نداری به دوستات بگی که یه زبان دیگه بلدی؟

Daughter-D: =not Persian, it's not sort of=

Daughter-B: =kind of=

Daughter-D: =well kind of برای اینکه اونا هیچی، well Persian isn't so famous, they wouldn't really care, they are always just like I don't care

Shiva: تو چی Daughter-B؟

Daughter-D: it's the same

{...}

Daughter-B: (It's not like) I don't like it=

Daughter-D: ={خنده} وه کم، برای secret language خوب میشه اگر مثلاً بیرون رفتیم {خنده} ولی انگلیسی بهتر، آره، دوتاشون و دوست دارم ولی مثلاً انگلیسی=

Daughter-B: =انگلیسی یه کم زیادتر.

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Shiva: Why do you think that you wouldn't like to tell your friends that you know another language?
Daughter-D: *not Persian, it's not sort of*
Daughter-B: *kind of=*
Daughter-D: *=well kind of*, because they have no, *well, Persian isn't so famous, they wouldn't really care, they always just I don't care*
Shiva: How about you Daughter-B?
Daughter-D: *it's the same*
[…]
Daughter-B*: (It's not like) I don't like it=*
Daughter-D: =[Laughs] ooh little bit, it can be good as a *secret language* if for instance we go out [Laughs] but English is better, yeah, I like both of them, but, like, English=
Daughter-B: =English a bit more

In this excerpt, Daughter-D conveyed the messages she had received and internalised from the wider society about the value of her home language. In the interview, she often took the lead and tried to convince Daughter-B to join her side by speaking for her, as she said "it's the same". However, when Daughter-B insisted on expressing a more positive view about speaking Persian, Daughter-D seemed to justify her comments by noting the advantage of L1 as a "secret language" or an exclusionary device for use when need arises. The process in which peers impact each other as reflected in this example can also explain how Daughter-F's peer could influence her to dislike her Persian language and identity (see Excerpt 6-44). In this process, in effect, "language learners can simultaneously become subjects and objects of social reproduction" (Kanno, 2014, p. 119). This process can be seen as a recurring cycle in which once the newcomers gain some proficiency, they themselves become old-timers or 'gatekeepers' for newer children.

Overall, the data show that children could benefit from being paired with their Persian speaker peers in that they could facilitate children's interactions with the English-speaking people surrounding them. However, these peers may relay the school's and the

wider society's messages about power relations and consciously or unconsciously contribute to the perpetuation of "the legitimacy of power and the legitimacy of those who wield it" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 23).

6.3.5. Children's agentive role in the process of transition

In the process of L2 learning and adaptation to the new community, children were not idly sitting around, but actively participating in the practices of communities in which they were involved. For instance, Mother-H described how Daughter-H attempted to learn the language before entering school in Australia:

Excerpt 6-47

Mother-H: خود بچه خیلی علاقه داشت، نه که علاقه داشت، نیاز داشت. میخواست بفهمه میخواست بدونه هی میپرسید سؤال میکرد، "این چیه اون چیه" و خب منم میگفتم.

Mother-H: The child herself was very interested, not that she was interested, but she needed it. She wanted to understand, she wanted to know so she was constantly asking, enquiring, 'what is this, what is that' and well of course I responded.

The school children were also highly invested in learning English and the practices of the communities in which they were involved in both mainstream classrooms and their peer groups outside classrooms. In return, they wished to attain a sense of belonging to and inclusion in their communities and to feel a greater sense of self-worth. For instance, children actively participated in their classroom communities despite their limited English abilities. In doing so, in fact, they did not wish to be merely an insider by virtue of their presence in the classroom, but to move towards "fuller and more powerful participation" (Toohey, 1998, p. 64).

Excerpt 6-48

Mother-N: معلمش میگفت "این زبان بلد نیست ولی من از هر چیزی را از کلاس میپرسم دستش همیشه بالاست." خیلی دوست داشت مثلاً مشارکت کنه.

Mother-N: Her teacher said, 'she doesn't know the language but whatever I ask in the class, her hand is always up.' She really liked to participate.

Excerpt 6-49

Mother-J: میگفت "باباجان این باباجان هیچی نمیدونه، انگلیسی نمیدونه، تا من سؤال میکنم اولین نفر دستش رو میبره بالا" {...} "نمیتونه بگه ولی اولین نفر همش حواسش هست، عین یه جوجه نشسته اونجا که ببینه من دارم چی میگم، همینجوری داره جیک جیک میکنه".

Mother-J: She [the teacher] said 'this kid, although she knows nothing, no English, as soon as I ask a question, she is the first to raise her hand' […] 'she can't say it but she is the first one, she is constantly alert. She is sitting there like a little chick to see what I'm saying and is constantly cheeping.'

In fact, the data showed the different ways children responded to the new conditions in which they felt they were being positioned at a disadvantage. For example, while Daughter-F remained 'silent' for a few months, some others like Daughter-J as shown above, or as Son-A described below, seem to have tried actively to take part in class activities. Son-A, who seemed worried about his inability to communicate, as reported by his parent (see Excerpt 6-25), struggled to be 'like the others' and an accepted member of the classroom community of practice.

Excerpt 6-50

Shiva: بعد که اومدی اینجا، یادت میاد مثلاً حرف میزد معلم متوجه میشدی؟

Son-A: ام، همینجوری {خنده} همینجوری مثلاً {معلم} یه question ی میکرد، خب؟ من دستم رو بلند میکردم {خنده} یهو میگفتم {خنده زیاد} — صحبت نامفهموم حین خنده} یخورده چرت و پرت میگفتم. خب؟ بعد رایان بغل دستم بود، اون ایرانیه خب؟ اون بغل دستم translate برام میکرد.

Shiva: When you came here, do you remember if you could understand when the teacher spoke?

Son-A: uh, in some way [Laughs] in some way, like he asked a *question*, right? I raised my hand [Laughs] I suddenly said something [Laughs and indistinct talk] like, I talked gibberish. [Name R] he was next to me, he is Iranian, he *translated* [others' words] for me.

In effect, children's agentive behaviours and efforts such as 'keeping silent', 'being like a chick constantly cheeping' or 'talking nonsense' might not be necessarily received positively by others including teachers and educators (see for example Excerpt 6-22 and Excerpt 6-23 and the discussion), particularly if not taken in relation to a broader context

and the conditions under which children perform. In seeking a fully-fledged membership

in their community of peer groups, children not only attempted to learn the language, but

also the cultural practices of the community. For instance, Mother-O described how

Daughter-O was active at home searching for the terms used by her peers or the names of

the cartoons they talked about:

Excerpt 6-51

Mother-O: من چیزی که برایم خیلی جالب بود، Daughter-O شاید یه چیز مثلاً حدود یک ماه، یک ماه و نیم بود که رفته بود مدرسه. من می‌دیدم میاد توی اینترنت مثلاً اصطلاحاتی که شنیده بود مثلاً اسم کارتون‌هایی را که شنیده بود، مثلاً بچه ها خب بیشتر با کارتونهای در ارتباطند، مثلاً این کارتون اون کارتون {...} میومد اون توی Google Translate اون چیزا را تایپ می‌کرد{...} آن کارتون را پیدا می‌کرد.

Shiva: کارتن را ببیند تا خودش را با بچه‌ها match کند؟

Mother-O: آره خودش را با بچه ها match کنه.

Mother-O: What I found very interesting was that it was about one month, one and a half months since Daughter-O had gone to school. I noticed that she would come and search in the internet like the terms that she had heard or the name of cartoons that she had heard because well, kids are more in relation with cartoons, like this cartoon that cartoon […] she would come and type them into *Google Translate* […] she would find the cartoon.

Shiva: To watch the cartoon to *match* herself with the kids?

Mother-O: Yes, to *match* herself with the kids.

This and other examples demonstrated how children actively participated in their process

of transition to their new community. In doing so, they seem to have adopted strategies

not only to learn the language of the community but also to claim more powerful

identities as active and desirable members rather than taking on the identity imposed on

them as an incompetent, and probably unintelligent ESL learner, or an undesirable

playmate.

6.4. Summary

In this chapter, I have explored language learning trajectories of children before and after

migration. Against the imminent prospect of migration, most parents invested in their

children's English language learning back in Iran. However, it appears that their modes of

investments and attitudes were regulated by popular discourses of child L2 learning such as "language learning in its naturalistic environment is the best way"; "children can acquire English quickly and effortlessly when exposed to the English-speaking environment"; and "the advantage of learning English from native speakers". These assumptions, as discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, also undergirded the ways in which participants evaluated their own English learning trajectories and achievements. In fact, many parents seem to have been anticipating better and quicker English language learning in Australia than in Iran. Nevertheless, they invested money, time and energy in their children's language learning, or at least made some attempts to familiarise their children with the language, in private schools, or at home by themselves. After migration, however, many children experienced psychological and emotional difficulties in their processes of language socialisation. The extent of hardship, however, differed for each child. In effect, most of the children who came under school age had some opportunities to become familiarised with the language and the environment before they entered school; whereas, those at school age often did not have such opportunities. These school-aged children had to enter school shortly after arrival, sometimes in the middle of the school year. Therefore, they not only had to learn how to communicate in English, but to keep up with their peers academically. In the transitional process, both schools and children themselves played a significant role. The ESL program at a school, for instance, could help children develop their English language. However, the program and its implementation were sometimes viewed and evaluated negatively by both parents and children. The negative evaluations often related to inadequate articulation between ESL and regular classes resulting in the child missing some parts of the general classwork, and

also a sense of inferiority and of what Harklau (1994, p. 241) calls a "perceived remedial stigma".

Children could also benefit from the help of peers with a Persian background. Moreover, while these peers could facilitate communication between the children and the people surrounding them at school, they also could act as socialisers of the children into language beliefs and attitudes of the society about the value of languages and their use. Having been influenced by peers and sensing messages from the wider society, children could develop a sense of negativity towards their ethnic language and identity. This seems like a recurring cycle in which children as objects of hegemonic ideologies and power relations, could themselves become perpetuators of them.

Overall, from the analysis of the data, it became apparent how children struggled "for participation, and its potential consequences" (Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000, p. 155). In fact, they seem to have been trying hard to find a place for themselves and to feel accepted in their new communities of practice. In this process, they not only exercised agency to learn the language, but also to act in a way that made themselves heard and seen as accepted members. In doing so, however, some of their actions can be misunderstood or perceived as unacceptable, if those actions are not viewed in relation to the broader contexts and conditions in which children not only desire to learn the language, but also to be accepted as 'legitimate' members in their communities of practice.

Chapter 7: Language Learning and Use in the Family

7.1. Introduction

This chapter addresses the final research question 'How do parents and children's language learning and use intersect?' It aims to explore the interplay of parents' and children's language-related experiences and ideological stances and attitudes in the light of the "wider societal processes and language ideologies, that is, the normative primacy of the majority language" (Kheirkhah & Cekaite, 2015, p. 343). Drawing on concepts from family studies and language socialisation frameworks, I will discuss in this chapter how parents and children negotiate their roles as 'language socialisers' in the processes of language learning in the home. In fact, there is a general assumption that children should be socialised by adults/parents and not the other way around. Parents, as Luykx (2005, p. 1408) points out, are assumed "to command a broader and deeper repertoire of socially-valued linguistic resources than do children". In this chapter I will show how these assumptions may complicate parent-child interactions in migration contexts in which children usually have greater access to language and cultural resources which are valued in the new society.

This chapter begins by exploring parents' beliefs and attitudes towards the use of English and Persian languages with their children (section 7.2). Then I will show the ways in which parents made investments to support children's development of both languages (sections 7.3 and 7.4). Next, I will examine how children took stances on the home language and the majority language relative to their interactions with their parents

(section 7.5), followed by a discussion of the tensions that could arise in parent-child relationships relative to language learning and use (sections 7.6 and 7.7). Parental language learning from their children and their attitudes towards such learning will also be discussed (section 7.8) before presenting a summary of the chapter (section 7.9).

7.2. Parents' perspectives and goals relative to the use of language/s with children

In the new environment, parents seem to have become ambivalent about how to set and manage language norms within the family. Their ambivalence related to two main considerations. On the one hand, they seemed cognisant of the possibility of improving their own conversational skills by using English with their children at home, leading to better access to the wider society. On the other hand, they seemed aware that speaking English with children could negatively affect the children's Persian language development in the new environment where there was no opportunity to practise the home language other than within the household. Therefore, with an 'either-or' choice of language, most of the parents opted for their children's Persian development and maintenance at the expense of their own English improvement, as the examples below show:

Excerpt 7-1

Father-Q: اول که اومدیم همه به ما می‌گفتند در خانه انگلیسی صحبت کنید. من واقعیتش یک مدت دچار تردید شده بودم که واقعاً باید این کار را بکنیم یا نه. بعد به این نتیجه رسیدم نه، این اصلاً توصیه خوبی نیست. چون اون زبان اول را بچه ها سریع یادشون {میره}.

Father-Q: When we first came everybody told us to speak English at home. Actually I was uncertain whether we should do so or not. Then I reached a conclusion that no, this is not good advice at all. Because children can quickly forget their first language.

Excerpt 7-2

Mother-B: خانواده‌هایی که برایشان فارسی مهم نباشد با بچه شروع کنند انگلیسی حرف بزنند مسلماً انگلیسی آن‌ها به سرعت پیشرفت می‌کند چون چیزی که تو لازم داری انگلیسی تخصصی نیست انگلیسی روزمره است {...} خیلی پیشرفت می‌کنی ولی به همان نسبت بچه فارسی‌اش را از دست می‌دهد {...} درست است که از انگلیسی خودت اذیت داری می‌شوی که انگلیسی خودت هنوز اونقدر که دلت می خواد روون نیست، ولی بعد نگاه می کنی می‌بینی نه خیلی باارزش که بچه تو فارسیش رو نگه داره.

Mother-B: For families for whom Persian is not important, when they start speaking English to the child, clearly their English would improve at the speed of lightning, because what you need is not a specialised English, but an everyday language […] you will progress so much but at the same time, the child would lose his or her Persian […] It is true that you can become frustrated over your English language, because it is not yet as fluent as you wish, but then you look and see that no, it is so valuable that your child would maintain his or her Persian.

Excerpt 7-3

Father-E: دو تا زاویه است. یکی اینکه ما بخواهیم توسعه پیدا کنیم و یا بخواهیم که Daughter-E توسعه پیدا کند. اینجوری نگاه کنیم. اگربخواهیم ما انگلیسی خود را توسعه بدهیم و یا اینکه Daughter-E بخواهد فارسی خود را توسعه بدهد، باید این یکی فدای آن یکی بشود.
Mother-E: آره
Father-E: ما چون فقط یک بچه هم داریم هدف ما این است که تا آنجایی که ممکن است Daughter-E توسعه پیدا کند. ما حالا راه‌های دیگری برای خودمان پیدا خواهیم کرد.

Father-E: There are two angles. One is that if we wish for ourselves to improve, or if we wish for Daughter-E to develop. Let's look at it like this. If we want for ourselves to develop our English, or if we want for Daughter-E to develop her Persian. One should be done at the expense of the other.
Mother-E: Yes.
Father-E: Because we only have one child, our goal is that Daughter-E would develop as much as possible. We will find some other ways for ourselves.

Tannenbaum (2012, p. 59) asserts that parents usually tend to use their home language with their children, because it is "more authentic, natural, spontaneous, [and] more connected with one's own internal world". In fact, language can be "a crucial link between parents and children […] the means for socializing and influencing their children" (Wong Fillmore, 1991, p. 343). For parents it seem that it was through Persian that they could secure the parent-child bond. Therefore, as the examples below show, they preferred to use Persian as a natural way of expressing their emotions and thoughts to their children:

Excerpt 7-4

Father-M: زبان فارسی برای من و یا برای مادرش راحت‌تر است که اون چیزی که مافکر میکنیم، و اون چیزی که احساس میکنیم براش بیان کنیم.
Father-M: The Persian language is easier for me and her mother to express to her what we think, what we feel.

Excerpt 7-5

Father-E: احساس می‌کنیم این زبان را مصنوعی بلدیم {...} در بیان احساسات همیشه آن چیزی که حق مطلب باید ادا شود را نگرانش بودیم.
Father-E: We feel that we've learnt this language artificially […] we've always been concerned about how we could do ourselves justice expressing emotions.

Parents also stressed the importance of maintaining connections with other family

members and relatives, as evidenced below:

Excerpt 7-6

Mother-O: به هر حال هرچی باشه، پدربزرگ و مادربزرگ، پدر خودش همه ایرانی هستند، انگلیسی رو که به اونصورت {نمیدونند}. اگه نتونه با اونا ارتباط برقرار کند، انگار هیچی.
Mother-O: Anyway, after all her grandfather and grandmother, her own father they are all Iranians. They [don't know] that much English. If she cannot make connections with them, it would be like, nothing.

Excerpt 7-7

Mother-B: بخاطر communication با خانواده و فامیل و پدربزرگ مادربزرگ و چیزی هست که باید نگهش داشت.
Mother-B: For the sake of communicating with family, relatives and grandparents, it must be maintained.

These and other examples point to the underpinning link between language and ethnic

and cultural identity. Ochs and Schieffelin (2012, p. 1) assert that "language is a

fundamental medium in children's development of social and cultural knowledge and

sensibilities". In essence, the significance for parents of maintaining children's Persian

language largely related to making or maintaining connections with the (extended)

family, but also to socialise them into 'core values', that is, those values that are

perceived to form "the most fundamental components of a group's culture" (Smolicz,

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1984, p. 26). This was evidenced in narratives of many parents, as exemplified below, who expressed how they wished to raise their children bilingually to have a better sense of the cultures of both the home country and the new country and to feel that they belong to both communities.

Excerpt 7-8

Father-E: وقتی کسی دو تا زبان دارد دو فرهنگ هم دارد دو تا دنیاست. قشنگیش اینه.
Father-E: When a person has two languages, it means that they also have two cultures, it's two worlds. That's the beauty of it.

Excerpt 7-9

Mother-B: چون هرچی بتونه حرف بزنه، میتونه از فرهنگ چیزهایی که مبینه، از موسیقی که میشنوه، لذت ببره {...} بچه میتونه فرهنگ دو طرف را ببیند و فرهنگ دو طرف را لمس کند، وقتی با دوستان استرالیایی اش است از آن فرهنگ لذت ببرد وقتی با دوستان ایرانی است از این فرهنگ ایرانی لذت ببرد. بچه باید این قابلیت را داشته باشد که هر دو فرهنگ را لمس کند.
Mother-B: Because the more the child is able to speak, the more they can enjoy the culture, the things that they see, the music that they hear […] the child can see the culture of both sides, to experience the cultures of both sides. When they are with their Aussie friends, to enjoy that culture and when they are with Persian friends to enjoy the Iranian culture. The child must have this capacity to feel both cultures.

According to Smolicz (1999, p. 78), "some ethnic groups are very strongly language-centred, so that their existence as distinct cultural and social entities depends on the maintenance and development of their ethno-specific tongues". This perspective was evident in parents' narratives, as, for instance, Father-G expressed it:

Excerpt 7-10

Father-G: به این نتیجه رسیدم هر ملّتی وجودش به زبانشه. هر کشوری وجودش به زبانش است. یعنی شما اگر می‌خواهید یه کشوری را از بین ببرید باید زبان آن کشور را از بین ببرید. همه چیزش از بین میره. چون همه چیز در قالب زبان تجلّی پیدا کرده است.

Father-G: I've reached a conclusion that the existence of every nation depends on its language. The existence of every country depends on its language. That is, if you want to annihilate a country, you should destroy the language of that country. Then the whole would be taken away. Because everything manifests itself within the language.

A few parents also wished their children to maintain Persian for the advantages of bilingualism as a whole, such as cognitive and economic benefits:

Excerpt 7-11

Mother-O: بچه های دوزبانه مغزشان بیشتر کار می‌کند، قدرت فراگیری‌شان هم بیشتر است.
Mother-O: Bilingual children's brains are more active and so their learning abilities are greater too.

Excerpt 7-12

Father-Q: یعنی یه ابزاره دیگه. اینا همه ابزارهاییه یک انسان در دوران کودکی خودش میتونه جمع بکنه، که وقتیکه بزرگ شد، ازشون استفاده کند.
Father-Q: It means that it is a tool. These are tools which an individual can gather during childhood so that they use them when they are grown-ups.

Overall, in the new community parents chose to transmit the home language and culture to their children through the use of Persian. The importance of children's Persian language maintenance related mainly to securing parent-child bonds, retaining links with loved ones left back in Iran, preserving the heritage culture and their ethnic identity, and also for the cognitive and economic advantages of knowing more than one language. Nevertheless, they were also concerned about their children's English development, particularly when they first arrived. Therefore, some of them reported that they used some English with their children to help them adapt to the new school more quickly. This will be further discussed in the next section.

7.3. Parents' use of English with children: Investing in children's English development

From the data it became evident that most parents willingly relinquished their self-interests and avoided using English as a means of communication with their children in order to support their Persian language development. However, having been concerned about their children's English development in their transitional stage to the new school, a

few parents reported that initially they spoke some English to their children, in addition to other ways of investing in their English development (see also Chapter 6). For instance, Mother-F said:

Excerpt 7-13

Mother-F: توی after school care بعد از چیز، بعد از ساعت مدرسه هم میذاشتیمش که زبانش راه بیفته {...} وتو vacation هم میذاشتیمش حتی، یعنی وقتی مدرسه تعطیل میشد، اون دو هفته هم میذاشتیمش که بیشتر راه بیفته، بیشتر آشنا بشه، چون واقعاً خیلی ایزوله بود و خودمون هم باهاش تو خونه انگلیسی صحبت میکردیم.

Mother-F: We also sent her to *after-school care*, after like, after school hours so that her language would develop […] and also we even sent her to *vacation* care. I mean during the school holidays, in those couple of weeks we sent her to vacation care to further improve, to become more familiarised, because she was really isolated and we ourselves also spoke English with her at home.

Mother-P also described how she used some English with her children, although with a focus on both Persian and English languages, by constantly translating everyone's utterances:

Excerpt 7-14

Mother-P: من و Father-P یکسال یکسال و نیم اول، به جرأت بهت میگم، تمام حرفها، یعنی دوبرابر اونچیزی که باید، با بچه هامون حرف میزدیم. همه چیز رو به دوزبان میگفتیم. کوچکترین چیزا رو به دوزبان میگفتیم. منتها بین حرفامون نمیگفتیم. یعنی من تا مدتها، من به بچه ها فشار میاوردم که بین حرفاشون کلمات انگلیسی یا کلمات فارسی نپرونند. یعنی مثلاً بهشون میگفتم "I wanna cup of tea، میشه یه لیوان چایی به من بدی؟" یعنی کامل اینا رو، بعد میگفتم "tea میشه چایی". یعنی دونه دونه، اگه بهت بگم از ماه، زمین، راجع به هرچیری که حرف میزدیم ما دائم در حال ترجمه بودیم.

Mother-P: Father-P and I, within the first year, the first year and a half, I dare say, we talked like, I mean we spoke double the normal to our children. We used to say everything in two languages. We said even the smallest bits in two languages. However, we didn't mix them in our sentences. I mean, for so long I was forcing the kids not to throw English words or Persian words in their sentences. I mean, for instance I told them '*I wanna cup of tea*, misheh ye livan chai be man bedi?' I mean thoroughly I would, then I would say for instance '*tea* means chai'. I mean one by one, if I tell you that whatever topic we were talking about, about the moon, about the earth, we were constantly translating.

While some of the parents used some English with their children in the ways described above, a few parents described how they preferred 'not to use' English with their children

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as a way of investing in children's learning of 'authentic' English. The ideological

assumption underlying this perception could be related to orientation towards 'native

speakerism' (Holliday, 2006) or 'standard English ideology' (Lippi-Green, 2012;

Terrence G. Wiley & Lukes, 1996) which are often associated with "authenticity and

legitimacy of language use" (Doerr & Kumagai, 2009, p. 299). In fact, these parents

reported that they did not speak English to their children because of their self-perceptions

of their 'inauthentic' English, particularly in terms of accent and pronunciation, and that

they did not wish to transfer it to their children, as the examples below show:

Excerpt 7-15

Father-I: ما خودمون حقیقتش، من خیلی دوستام رو میبینم تو خونه همون اول که اومده بودن شروع میکردن انگلیسی صحبت کردن، که انگلیسی بچه یاد بگیره، من نمیدونم، من شاید اگه خودمون انگلیسیمون خیلی خوب بود، شاید ماهم این کار رو میکردیم، ولی همیشه فکرمون این بود که بهتره از ماچیز غلط رو یاد نگیره، بهتره از اون کسی که واقعاً {انگلیسی} زبونشه یاد بگیره تا اینکه ما یه چیز غلط غولوط بهش بگیم.
Father-I: We ourselves, in fact, I saw many of our friends who started speaking English when they first came, so that their child would learn English. I don't know, maybe if our English was also very good, we would have done the same. But we always thought that it's better that she wouldn't learn anything incorrect from us. It would be better that she'd learn from someone whose first language is English rather than us telling her something inaccurate.

Excerpt 7-16

Mother-H: ولی من با او انگلیسی صحبت نمیکردم چون فکر میکردم که تلفظ من را یاد بگیرد خوب نیست.
Mother-H: But I didn't speak English to her, because I thought it wouldn't be good for her to learn my pronunciations.

Overall, given the concerns for children's English development, particularly in the initial

transitional stage to school, parents supported their children to develop their English in

various ways (see also Chapter 6). Nevertheless, most of them appear to have left their

children's English development to the school and the wider English-speaking society,

particularly those who they deemed to be 'authentic' speakers of English. However, as

regards their emphasis on children's Persian development, they made efforts and

investments in the new country in different ways, as will be discussed further in the following section.

7.4. Parents' use of Persian with children: Investing in children's Persian language maintenance

Given the value placed on children's Persian language maintenance (see section 7.2), most of the parents appear to have developed, explicitly or implicitly, a family language policy for the home (Tannenbaum, 2012). While some of the parents seem to have established the language rules once they came to Australia, others did so only once their children began to use English as the dominant language at home. Their language policy often entailed children using Persian as the medium of communication at home while being allowed to use either language outside the home. In effect, this is a strategy of "home language vs. community language" (Piller (2001, p. 65). This strategy is used by many parents in diasporic contexts who wish to raise their children bilingually in the language of the home and the wider society. Some of the parents made this strategy explicit in their household, as the examples below show:

Excerpt 7-17
Mother-M: چون از وقتی به اینجا آمدیم قانونی درست کردم که در خانه حتماً باید فارسی حرف بزنیم.
Mother-M: Because since we came here I made a rule that we must speak Persian at home.

Excerpt 7-18
Father-F: براشون یک قانونی حتی گذاشتم به دوتائیشون گفتم بچه ها، تو خونه صد در صد فارسی حرف بزنید.
Father-F: I have even set a rule for them, I have told both of them "guys, speak a hundred percent Persian at home".

Excerpt 7-19
Mother-J: از اول قانون گذاشته بودیم که "در خانه نه".

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Mother-J: From the beginning we had made a rule that 'not at home'.

While some of the parents, as shown above, made it explicit for their children to use exclusively Persian at home, in some of the participants' households, the language policy was implicitly dictated to children seemingly by the "pragmatic requirements of communication" within family and the "parents' ideological stance" (Schecter & Bayley, 1997, p. 524), as reflected in the example below:

Excerpt 7-20

Shiva: این rule را گذاشتین یا همینجوری=
Father-Q: =rule هم نذاریم، مجبوره {خنده}
Shiva: Have you set a *rule* or like it kind of=
Father-Q: =Even if we don't set a *rule*, she has to [Laughs]

From parents' comments it became apparent that not having set an explicit language policy would not necessarily suggest that children's Persian maintenance was not of significance for these parents. However, it appears that they had not perceived any threats to the child's Persian language, perhaps based on an assumption that 'children may not lose their first language because it is the language spoken in the home'. This assumption was also noted by Wong Fillmore (1991, p. 344) in her study of language shift among minority language children in the United States of America. From her observations, she points out, "by the time the parents realize what is happening, it is usually too late to do anything about it" (p. 344). In my study, parents began to feel the threat once their children began to shift from Persian to English in their interactions with their parents. For instance, Mother-H recounted how she was not concerned about Daughter-H's Persian loss, because she was speaking Persian to her the whole time. However, at some point she suddenly realised that the Persian language was being used in a unidirectional way from Mother-H to Daughter-H:

Excerpt 7-21

Mother-H: برام چیز نبود، چون فارسی که بلد بود دیگه خب فکر می‌کردم خب دیگه اینو بلده دیگه {...} فکر نمی‌کردم که یادش بره. میگفتم که فارسی که بلده. الانم داره انگلیسی یاد میگیره دیگه. منم که باهاش فارسی حرف میزنم. ولی یکی دوسالی که گذشت، دیدم که وقتی ازش فارسی سؤال میکنم، دیگه بهم فارسی جواب نمیده، میفهمه ولی دیگه انگلیسی جواب میده.

Mother-H: For me, it wasn't like, because she already knew Persian. Therefore I thought that well she already knows it […] I didn't think that she would forget. I said that she already knows Persian and as for the English, she is also learning it. And I am also speaking Persian to her. But after one or two years, I realised that when I asked her a question in Persian, she would not reply in Persian. She could understand, but she would answer in English.

Wong Fillmore (1991) suggests that speaking the home language in one direction only, from parent to child, without additional support and effort, may not be enough to guarantee children's home language maintenance. This is because children tend to shift to the society's dominant language once their language skills begin to develop. Therefore, once some of the children displayed a shift to English, many parents began to resort to additional strategies to have their children adhere to the 'Home language vs. community language' policy. For instance, many parents recurrently mentioned that they would have refused to answer the children if they had spoken in English, as the examples below show:

Excerpt 7-22

Father-F: میگم "با من فارسی حرف نزنید جواب شما را نمی‌دهم تو خونه".
Father-F: I said 'if you don't speak Persian to me at home, I won't answer you.'

Excerpt 7-23

Mother-M: این قانون بوده. اگر هم Daughter-M در خانه انگلیسی صحبت می‌کرد جوابش را نمی‌دادم. میگفتم "وقتی فارسی حرف بزنی سوالت فارسی باشه، من جوابت رو میدم".
Mother-M: This has been a rule. Even if Daughter-M spoke English at home, I wouldn't respond to her. I said, 'whenever you speak in Persian, your questions are in Persian, then I will reply'.

Excerpt 7-24

Father-B: هی باید سیخ بزنی.
Mother-B: هی باید مرتب یادآوری کنی که "Daughter-B جوابتو نمی دم باید فارسی حرف بزنی".

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Father-B: You should constantly prod her.
Mother-B: You should keep reminding her that 'Daughter-B, I won't answer you. You must speak in Persian'.

Mother-P also described how she resorted to various strategies to compel her children to speak Persian at home:

Excerpt 7-25

Mother-P: اصلاً اوایل که، الان میخندم (وقتی یادم میاد)، بهشون میگفتم "من اصلاً تو خونه انگلیسی بلد نیستم. من انگلیسی رو میذارم پشت در میام تو". بعد میگفتند "پس چطور با معلم ما انگلیسی حرف میزنی؟" میگفتم "خب اون بیرونه" {خنده} بعد از پارسال یه کار دیگری با آن‌ها کردم، گفتم "اگر با من انگلیسی حرف بزنید به ترکی جواب میدم. زبانی که بلد نیستی بهت جواب میدم." بعضی وقتا که یه دفعه ای، البته تقصیر خودشون نیست، یعنی ناخود آگاهه، آره، مثلاً میاد یه دفعه شروع میکرد با من انگلیسی حرف میزد، من شروع میکردم باهاشون، خیلی جدی، همون جوابی که میخواستم بهشون بدم، ترکی بهشون جواب میدادم. بعد وای میسادن میگفتند "اه، نه" بعد میشد فارسی. بعد اونوقت بعضی وقتا که یه چیزم ترکی میگفتم میگفت "من فارسی حرف زدما، تو چرا ترکی حرف زدی؟" {خنده}

Mother-P: In the beginning, now I laugh (when I remember), I used to say 'I don't know any English at home. I leave the English outside behind the door and then I come in'. Then they said 'so how come that you speak English with our teacher?' I said 'well, she is outside' [Laughs]. Then from last year, I did something else. I said 'if you speak English to me, I will reply in Turkish. I will reply in a language that you don't know'. Sometimes, they suddenly, well it's not their fault, I mean it happens unconsciously, yeah, for instance when he started speaking English to me, I began to reply, very seriously, what I wanted to say in Turkish. Then they paused and said 'oh, no' and then it would switch to Persian. Then when sometimes I said something in Turkish, they said, 'I talked in Persian, why did you talk in Turkish?' [Laughs]

It is interesting to note in Mother-P's narrative how children at a young age could be mindful of the language conventions set by parents and any deviations from those conventions. In fact, parents' language attitudes and practices, and their (in)consistency in the implementation of the language rules, appeared as a significant consideration for children's home language maintenance or shift.

Overall, parents displayed different attitudes towards their investment in their children's Persian language and its returns. Many parents, for instance, reflected a sense of satisfaction for their children speaking Persian at home as the examples show:

Excerpt 7-26

Shiva: پس فارسی رو الان سلیس صحبت میکنه.
Mother-M: بله کاملاً خوب سلیس صحبت میکنه.

Shiva: So now she speaks Persian fluently.
Mother-M: Yes, she speaks it quite well and fluently.

Excerpt 7-27

Mother-P: خودمون که هستیم فارسی حرف میزنیم، اونا هم همه رو فارسی جواب میدند.

Mother-P: When it's just us we speak in Persian and they also reply to everything in Persian.

A few parents, however, displayed a sense of frustration over their children's persistent use of English at home, despite language rules in place. For instance, Mother-B commented (see also Excerpt 7-24):

Excerpt 7-28

Mother-B: سعی میکنه بیشتر انگلیسی حرف بزنه هی باید یادآوریش کنی که فارسی حرف بزنه {...} یکی درمیون گوش می کنه.

Mother-B: She tries to speak English. You have to constantly remind her to speak Persian […] she listens every now and then.

Schwarts and Verschik (2013a) suggest that the outcome of the family language policy cannot be determined solely by the policy itself, but the interplay of a multitude of factors including children's language attitudes and agency. From a closer look at the data, it emerged that parental discord, or their inconsistent behaviours relative to the implementation of the language rules, could facilitate children's exertion of agency in using English at home. For instance, Mother-B, who reported how her child had begun to speak English at home (see Excerpt 7-24 and Excerpt 7-28), noted, in an informal conversation following the interview, that Father-B sometimes spoke English to Daughter-B at home. This also became evident in the interview with Daughter-B, who commented:

Excerpt 7-29

Daughter-B: چونکه مامانم دوست نداره تو خونه خیلی انگلیسی حرف بزنم. میخواد فارسی، باید حرف بزنم. چونکه وقتیکه بابام انگلیسی حرف میزنه من هم {خنده} انگلیسی حرف میزنم.

Daughter-B: Because my mum doesn't like me to speak much English at home. She wants, I must speak Persian. Because when my dad speaks English then I would [Laughs] also speak English.

Parents' inconsistency in implementing the language rules at home and the consequences are also implied in the excerpt below from the interview with Mother-N:

Excerpt 7-30

Shiva: آن موقعی که شروع کرد به انگلیسی حرف زدن شما از او خواستید یا خودش ناخواسته شروع کرد؟

Mother-N: بله خیلی، بله. من میگفتم اصلاً نمیفهمم، اصلاً {انگلیسی} بلد نیستم. بعد به این ( ) شد که مامان، مسخرم میکرد که مامان اصلاً بلد نیست صحبت کنه {خنده} من که هنوز هم باهاش فارسی صحبت میکنم. من اصلاً باهاش انگلیسی، اصلاً باهاش {انگلیسی} صحبت نمیکنم.

Shiva: پدرشون هم همینطور؟

Mother-N: نه، شوهرم باهاش انگلیسی صحبت میکند.

Shiva: When she began to speak English to you, did you want her to or did she herself began to do so?
Mother-N: yeah, so, yeah, I told her that I can't understand at all, I don't know [any English]. Then ( ) it turned out that she made fun of me that mum doesn't know how to speak at all [Laughs]. I still speak Persian to her. I don't speak English to her, I don't speak [English] at all to her.
Shiva: Does her father do the same?
Mother-N: No, my husband speaks English to her.

These and other examples imply the significance of parental interactions in regulating children's language practices at home. Nevertheless, as Guardado and Becker (2014, p. 165) argue, "as much as parents might like to blame themselves for, or credit themselves with, their children's proficiency in their HL […] children's linguistic and cultural participation in a larger community can be as significant as the role of the family". This was evidenced in the narrative of parents who reported how their travels to Iran supported their children's Persian maintenance.

Excerpt 7-31

Mother-H: بعد یه مسافرتی رفتیم ایران، دو ماه به ایران رفتیم. وقتی میخواستیم برگردیم دیگر انگلیسی حرف نمی‌زد {...} بعد دوباره دو سال بعد رفتیم ایران، هر دفعه که مسافرت میرفتیم به ایران زبانش خوب میشد، فارسیش یعنی خوب میشد.

Mother-H: Then we had a trip to Iran, we were there for two months. When we wanted to come back, she was not speaking English anymore […] Then we went to Iran again two years later. Each time we travelled to Iran her language would improve, her Persian language I mean would improve.

Excerpt 7-32

Shiva: وقتی به ایران می‌رفتید متوجه پیشرفت زبان فارسی در بچه‌ها می‌شدید؟
Mother-P: معلومه کاملاً. هم لهجه شون تغییر می‌کند و هم اینکه ذخیره‌ی لغاتشون، جمله‌سازی‌شان خیلی قوی‌تر میشه.

Shiva: When you travelled to Iran, would you notice any progress in the kids' Persian language?
Mother-P: Obviously. Absolutely. Their accent changes and also their vocabulary, their sentence making becomes much stronger.

Travelling to Iran, as these examples show, could positively impact children's Persian skills, presumably because it could afford children the opportunity to practise the language. Moreover, it could positively affect children's sense of self. In effect, as discussed in Chapter 6 (see Section 6.3), being influenced by social and ideological forces, in Australia, children may experience a sense of negativity towards their ethnic language and identity and a sense of lack of self-esteem. This is because, as Swain (2014, p. 101) explains, "to be told, whether directly or indirectly, explicitly or implicitly, that your language and the language of your parents, of your home and of your friends is non-functional in school is to negate your sense of self". However, visiting family and friends in Iran appears to have been a significant factor in linking children to their ethnic language and identity and raising their sense of self-esteem. Mother-G and Father-G, for example, who had explained the psychological and emotional problems their children experienced in the new environment (see, for example, Excerpt 6-13 and Excerpt 6-28 in Chapter 6), said:

Excerpt 7-33

Father-G: بخصوص بعد از اینکه رفتیم ایران دوباره برگشتیم=

Mother-G: =اون خیلی مهم بود برای بچه های ما.

Father-G: خیلی مهم بود. یعنی=

Mother-G: =خیلی انرژی گرفتن. اصلاً بسیار متفاوت شدند. {...}

{...}

Father-G: ما که رفتیم اونجا و برگشتیم، بعد از دو ماه، تغییر خیلی خیلی {...} بهرحال وقتی آدم برمیگرده {به استرالیا} ادم احساس وجود می کنه، اون مهمه.

Father-G: Particularly after we went to Iran and then came back=

Mother-G: =that was really important for our children.

Father-G: It was very important, I mean=

Mother-G: =They gained so much energy. They changed so much […]

[…]

Father-G: When we went there and came back, after two months, there was an extreme change […] after you come back [to Australia], you feel a sense of self-esteem. That is what's important.

From the interviews it became clear that parents placed great emphasis on and invested in their children's Persian maintenance, particularly their communicative abilities. Many parents also reported that they made investments in their children's Persian literacy by teaching them at home or sending them to Persian language schools. These schools are known as 'community language schools' and often operate only on Saturdays (Education Public Schools, 2013).

Overall, out of twenty-one children, seventeen were reported to have been involved in learning Persian literacy. Out of these seventeen, twelve children were learning it through Persian language schools, four with their parents at home and one with a private teacher. As for the remaining four, parents stated that they were considering plans for their children's Persian literacy. Nevertheless, the ways in which most parents spoke about their plans for and investments in children's Persian literacy showed that most of them did not seem to have had high expectations to gain in return. For example, the excerpt below shows how Mother-P sent her children to a Persian language school mainly to put

them in an environment where they could socialise through the use of the Persian

language, and not necessarily with the aim of learning a high level of Persian literacy:

Excerpt 7-34

> Mother-P: آخر هفته ها هم می برمشون مدرسه فارسی بیشتر از هرچیزی بخاطر اینکه تو محیط باشند، بالاخره اونجا همه فارسیه {...} یکی دو دفعه هم اعتراش کردند، گفتند ما حوصله نداریم بریم. من هیچ اصراری روی اون نوشتن مشق‌ها و گفتن دیکته و اینا نمیکنم اصلاً. فقط تو آن محیط برن.
> Mother-P: On the weekends, I also take them to Persian school. More than anything else, to put them in the environment. After all it is all Persian there […] They also objected once or twice saying they don't feel like going. I don't pressure them at all to write the homework and dictation tasks and so on. Only want them to be in that environment.

Mother-O similarly said:

Excerpt 7-35

> Mother-O: دیگه فعلاً آره، فقط هم قصدم اینه که فقط خواندن و نوشتن را بلد باشه، نمیخوام خیلی professional باشه.
> Mother-O: For now yeah, my plan for her is to learn reading and writing, I don't want her to be very *professional*.

Mother-A also implied that Son-A's Persian writing was not a priority while he was

learning English writing.

Excerpt 7-36

> Mother-A: ما اگر الآن بخواهیم با Son-A فارسی کار کنیم جهت‌ها چون الان داره همزمان نوشتن انگلیسی یاد میگیره، و ما جهت هامون مختلفه، ممکنه Son-A قاطی کند.
> Mother-A: If we now want to work in Persian with Son-A, the text directions, because he is simultaneously learning English writing, and our writing directions are different, Son-A may get confused.

As the examples show, parents displayed more flexibility about their children's Persian

literacy than about their Persian communication abilities. Therefore, they seemed more

accommodating to their children's wishes, as shown above (see Excerpt 7-34) and as

reflected in the excerpt below:

Excerpt 7-37

Mother-B: مدرسه‌ی ایرانی را تا آنجایی که زورمان برسد حالا شاید بزرگ‌تر بشود سخت‌تر بشود که بخواهیم او را مجبور کنیم.

Shiva: ولی کلاً plan‌تون برای زبان فارسی=

Father-B: =آره، plan‌مون اینه که نوشتن و خوندنش رو خوب یاد بگیره، ما plan‌مون اینه، ولی حالا اگه تا چه اندازه بتونیم محققش کنیم.

Mother-B: In regards to Persian school, as long as we can push, well maybe when she grows up a bit more it will become harder to push her.
Shiva: but overall your *plan* for the Persian language=
Father-B: =yes, our *plan* is that she learns reading and writing well. This is our *plan*. But to what extent we would be able to enforce it.

While Mother-B and Father-B wished their daughter to become literate in Persian, they did not seem optimistic about the realisation of their wish. In fact, the ways in which most parents described their efforts and investments in their children's Persian language development, oral and written, portrayed a picture of them grappling with forces which tended to propel children towards the use of the dominant language, namely English. Under these circumstances, and in a context where the onus essentially rests on the family, raising children bilingually can be a laborious task, as Mother-B expressed:

Excerpt 7-38

Mother-B: به هر حال چیزی است که خانواده باید زحمت بکشد فارسی و انگلیسی را با هم نگه دارد. این یک تلاش است.

Mother-B: Anyways, it is something that the family must strive to maintain both Persian and English together. This is an effort.

Overall, it became clear that parents wished and made investments to raise their children bilingually. While they believed in the advantages of being bilingual, they wished to have their children develop their Persian language to maintain parent-child bonds, to be able to communicate with those left behind in Iran and to preserve core cultural values. However, raising their children bilingually seem a difficult task, because children are exposed to and socialising through the societal language which is viewed to be of greater power and value than the children's home languages. Children's views and attitudes towards

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learning and using the languages of home and the wider society are further discussed in the next section.

7.5. Children's language perspectives and practices: Caught between Persian and English

As discussed previously, Persian was the parents' preferred language choice at home and so they made investments in various ways to maintain their children's Persian language. Nevertheless, similar to what Piller (2001, p. 76) noted in her study, children did not necessarily share the same viewpoints and commitment to practise the home language. In fact, children by and large expressed a higher degree of propensity to use English rather than Persian. This was also evident in the ways in which many children spoke in the interview sessions using mostly English or a mix of English and Persian. For instance, when asked about their preferred language choice with parents, Daughter-J expressed:

Excerpt 7-39

  Daughter-J: *I mostly speak Iranian, but I prefer English*.

Daughter-J's quote indicates how she used Persian with her parents despite her preference for English. Her preference for the English language was also implied by her language choice in expressing her viewpoint. In response to the researcher's further exploration into the reasons for English preference, Daughter-J and Daughter-L said:

Excerpt 7-40

  Daughter-J: *Because it [Persian] is so hard.*
  Daughter-L: *sometimes it [Persian] is really hard.*
  Daughter-J: *it is Australia!*

Wong-Fillmore (1991, p. 342) explains that children at young ages may not have yet achieved a stable enough command of their native language to withstand its erosion

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against the assimilative forces of learning/using the more powerful language of the new society. For many children, their limited Persian skills could make it difficult for them to communicate in Persian, as reflected in the excerpt above. Nevertheless, Daughter-J's last comment "it is Australia!" also adds another dimension to children's choice of English as their preferred language. According to Bourdieu (1998, p. 46), inculcation of linguistic and cultural values through the educational system and social practices, inter alia, shapes a unified and 'legitimate' national language and cultural habitus. In effect, in this process of unification, the dominant language and culture are imposed and inscribed as 'legitimate' while other languages are devalued. In circumstances where communicative norms are constituted into a homogenised national form (p. 45), it comes as no surprise that children like Daughter-J who do care about "belonging and acceptance" (Wong Fillmore, 1991, p. 342) internalise and reproduce the underpinning message that 'to be an Australian, one must speak English'. This was further evident when Daughter-J spoke about a sense of 'embarrassment' over using the Persian language, as she went on to say:

Excerpt 7-41

Daughter-J: من embarrassed میشم که {خنده} فارسی حرف بزنم.
("I get *embarrassed* [Laughs] to speak Persian.")
Shiva: Why is that?
Daughter-J: Because I don't want anybody think I'm weird.

Feelings of shame and embarrassment over language forms that deviate from what is seen as 'normal' and 'standard' emerged as important topics in children's narratives. The feelings of shame and inferiority are presented in the research as the psychological consequences of global English subordination which is "inflicted through practices of linguistic shaming" (Piller, 2016, p. 203). In a context where children, such as Daughter-J, feel that they are viewed as "weird" if they use their ethnic language, it is not surprising that they tend to hide it.

Children exercised agency in various ways to use the language of their choice in opposition to their parents' wishes, as for example shown in the excerpt below:

Excerpt 7-42

Shiva: بعد تو خونه بهت میگن نه Daughter-D فارسی حرف بزن.

Daughter-B: yeah

Daughter-D: خیلی

Daughter-B: yeah

Daughter-D: خیلی

Daughter-B and Daughter-D: {خنده}

Shiva: بعد شما ها نمیکنین؟

Daughter-B and Daughter-D: {خنده}نه { با خنده شیطنت آمیز }

Shiva: نه،

Daughter-B: maybe for one second, but then after that [Laughs]

Shiva: Then you are asked at home to like Daughter-D, speak in Persian.
Daughter-B: *Yeah*
Daughter-D: A lot
Daughter-B: *Yeah*
Daughter-D: A lot
Daughter-B and Daughter-D: [Laughs]
Shiva: And then you don't?
Daughter-B and Daughter-D: [giggling] No [Laughs]
Shiva: No
Daughter-B: *maybe for one second, but then after that [Laughs]*

The children's resistance to their parents' language choices can also be seen through the lens of Bourdieu's habitus, behaviours that are adopted through everyday repetition of a set of norms (Fulton, 2015, p. 11) (for further discussion, see Section 2.2 in Chapter 2). Habitus, as Ochs, Solomon, and Sterponi (2005, p. 547) note, "affords both regularity and improvisation in social life, yielding social practices that are 'spontaneously orchestrated'" (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 80). In the case of the children in this study, as the data revealed, there seems to be two 'habituses' coming into play with each other: one having been shaped by outer assimilative forces from the wider society particularly through the educational system; and the other by parents within the family. This interplay was manifested in the ways in which children unconsciously switched between the two

languages, or habitually used languages with certain people in a given situation, as the examples below show:

Excerpt 7-43

Son-G: یهو انگلیسی میپره بیرون، بعد همینجوری مثلاً یه question میپرسه، اون یکی رو no از دهنش پرت میشه، بعد دیگه همینجور انگلیسی صحبت میکنی. بزرگترا میگن فارسی حرف بزنین، ولی یه کلمه انگلیسی اگه یکی میگه accidentally یهو همش انگلیسی میشه.
Son-G: All of a sudden English jumps out, then, like for example she asks a *question*, and for the other thing '*no*' drops out of her mouth, then you keep talking in English. The adults tell us to speak Persian, but when *accidentally* we say an English word, then all of a sudden everything switches to English.

Excerpt 7-44

Son-G: من، من، من نمیدونم، من خودم اینطوریم، با بچه‌ها انگلیسی حرف می‌زنم با بزرگ‌ترها فارسی حرف می‌زنم، بدون اینکه بخوام.
Son-G: I, I, I don't know, I am like this, I speak English with the children and Persian to the adults without necessarily wanting to.

Son-C also described how he followed a certain pattern of language use with those being perceived as English speakers including his peers:

Excerpt 7-45

Son-C: آخه، من موقعی میتونم انگلیسی حرف بزنم مثلاً دورم مثلاً انگلیسی باشند، و اینا، مثلاً تو مدرسه، یا مثلاً با Son-A هم همش انگلیسی با هم حرف میزنیم و اینا.
Son-C: Because I can speak English when people surrounding me are English speakers and like that. For example at school, or like, with Son-A, we always speak English.

In Daughter-I's narrative below, it is also implied how habitually she used Persian with her parents not only at home, but sometimes outside the home. In fact, her delayed response to the researcher's question about her language use with her parents outside the home could show a taken-for-granted habit which required her to think before answering:

Excerpt 7-46

Daughter-I: توی مهمونی وخانه فارسی حرف میزنم.
Shiva: وقتی با مامان و بابا به خرید و یا بیرون می‌روید چطور؟ فارسی حرف می‌زنید یا انگلیسی؟
Daughter-I: اونجا هم + آره + آره

Daughter-I: I speak Persian at home and in parties.
Shiva: How about when you go shopping with mum and dad? Do you speak Persian or English?
Daughter-I: Yes, there too, + yes + yes

Daughter-I's habitual way of using Persian in her interactions with her parents was also

expressed by her parents:

Excerpt 7-47

Mother-I: من فکر میکنم Daughter-I هم خیلی راحت نیست با ما انگلیسی صحبت کند.
Father-I: خب عادت کرده اینجوری، اون عادت کرده.

Mother-I: I think Daughter-I herself isn't very comfortable speaking English to us.
Father-I: well, she has gotten used to it this way, she has gotten used to it.

Children by and large spoke Persian to their parents, particularly in the home. However,

in the presence of English-speaking people, including their peers, children showed

different attitudes. In fact, as discussed earlier, children could feel a sense of linguistic

inferiority or linguistic shame over their ethnic language (see for example Excerpt 7-41).

Further, they also felt a sense of shame over their parents' 'non-standard' English as an

indicator of "being foreigners" (Tannenbaum & Howie, 2002, p. 409). For some of them,

they seemed to prefer to be spoken to in Persian rather than in an 'embarrassing' form of

English, as is evident in the example show:

Excerpt 7-48

Son-C: انگلیسی، {خنده} نه مامانم فارسی، ولی بابام انگلیسی. چونکه مامانم مثلاً خجالت میکشم مثلاً کسی نتونه حرف بزنه درست.
Son-A: بعدش حالا با {نام ج} {دوست انگلیسی زبان}، مامانم میاد، خب؟ میگه ''Hello darling''، خب؟ من میگفتم "وای خدا من میخوام خودم رو بکشم!" {خنده} **اینقدر لهجه‌ی بدی میگه** خب؟ بابام ok‌ه دیگه، خب؟ اون بهتره دیگه، {خنده} ولی مامانم.

Son-C: English, [Laughs] no my mum in Persian, but my dad in English. Because my mum, like, I get embarrassed like when someone cannot speak right.

Son-A: Then like with [Name J] [an English-speaking peer], my mum comes, right? and says '*Hello darling*', right? I am like 'oh my God, I want to kill myself!' [Laughs] **she says it with such an awful accent**, right? My dad is *ok*, right? He is a bit better [Laughs] but my mum.

Overall, English was the children's preferred language, particularly in the presence of English-speaking people. This became evident when, for instance, Son-C first spontaneously replied "English". But, having given it a second thought, he corrected himself seemingly because he remembered his mother's 'embarrassing' accent. A similar perception was also expressed by Daughter-D who, after a relatively long pause, replied:

Excerpt 7-49

Daughter-D: اام ++ فارسی. آره آره، برای اینکه بعضی وقتا چیزای embarrassing میگن.
Daughter-B and Daughter-D: {خنده}
Shiva: مامان بابا چیزای embarrassing میگن؟
Daughter-D: so yeah, Farsi when we're in public

Daughter-D: Um ++ Persian. yeah, yeah, because sometimes they say *embarrassing* things.
Daughter-D and Daughter-B: [Laughs}
Shiva: Mum and dad say *embarrassing* things?
Daughter-D: *So yeah, Farsi when we're in public.*

Despite children's preference for the English language, it appears that many of them spoke Persian with their parents. Their use of Persian may have been in response to children's awareness of parents' preference for Persian. But other interpretations are also possible. For instance, Son-A spoke about his mother's "awful accent" and Son-C expressed how he preferred his mother to speak Persian for her inability to speak the "right" English. Therefore, they seem to have used Persian more out of their own autonomy than pure compliance with parents' rules.

Overall, the ways in which children described their language use perspectives and experiences depicted a complex picture of the circumstances under which they seem caught between the linguistic influences of the wider society and the language of their

home. In effect, they can be vulnerable to societal messages undergirded by English monolingual ideologies that their home language is of no use and value and can be regarded as an index of 'foreignness'. Furthermore, they seem impressionable to messages from the wider society about the superiority of the legitimate forms of communication, that is, an 'idealized' and 'unaccented' spoken English (Medvedeva, 2010, p. 518) underpinned by legitimate/authentic/native-speaker ideologies (Doerr, 2009). Under these circumstances, however, children seem to have had no choice but to opt for either using Persian in their interactions with their parents or to be spoken to in an accented – and as many children said 'embarrassing' – English.

These linguistic influences and ideological stances could engender tensions in parent-child relationships in various ways, which will be discussed further in the following sections.

7.6. Tensions in parent-child relationship relative to parental English learning and use

Despite parents' years of involvement in English education, children began to overtake their parents in relation to English as the societal language. Consequently, some of the children began to perceive their parents as deficient language learners/users and to view their English knowledge with scepticism, as the examples below show:

Excerpt 7-50

Mother-H: خودش فکر می‌کند که بیش‌تر بلد است. مثلاً من دارم بهش یاد میدم. اون گرامرش هنوز خیلی خوب نیست. مثلاً من به او توضیح می‌دهم باید اینجا اینطوری بنویسی، می‌گوید "نه تو انگلیسی‌ات خوب نیست من بهتر انگلیسی بلدم." ولی خب میره مدرسه معلم آن تکلیفش را اصلاح کند تازه می‌فهمد که حرف من درست بوده است {...} ولی آره، خودش میگه "من انگلیسیم بهتره،" و بهرحال چون بهتر صحبت می‌کند، تلفّظش هم بهتر است، فکر میکنه انگلیسیش هم بهتره.

Mother-H: she herself thinks that she knows more. For instance, I am teaching her, well her grammar is not very good yet, like I explain that for instance here you need to write it like this. Then she says 'no, your English is not good, I know English

better'. But well she goes to school and her teacher corrects her homework and then she realises that I was right […] but yeah, she herself says 'my English is better', and anyways because she speaks better and her pronunciation is better, she thinks that her English is also better.

Excerpt 7-51

Mother-B: می‌بینه خودش نمی‌دونه و من می‌دونم برایش خیلی عجیب است که می‌گوید "شما از کجا معنی این کلمات را می‌دانید". یا مثلاً در مدرسه تازه یک چیز را یاد می‌گیرد وقتی به خانه آمد با ذوق می‌گفت "می‌دانی معنی این کلمه چی می‌شود؟" می‌گفتم مثلاً فلان چیز. که برایش خیلی عجیب می‌آمد که "از کجا می‌دانی"، می‌گفتم "خب من از قبلاً راجع به آن کلمه خوانده بودم".

Mother-B: When she sees that she doesn't know it but I do, it seems so strange for her and she asks 'how you know the meaning of these words'. Or for instance when she learns something new at school, when she comes home and says excitedly 'do you know what this word means?' I would say for instance like this. It would sound so strange to her that she's like 'how would you know that'. I would say like 'well I had already read about that before'.

Children's perceptions of parent's English inadequacy could lead to tensions in parent-child relationships. This is mainly because parents could be positioned at a disadvantage in parent-child relationships and subsequently, they resisted such positions as being "unacceptable or incompatible with those they occupied previously" (Pavlenko, 2002, p. 285). In effect, parents had to prove their English knowledge in one way or another to their children to maintain their face and authority as parents, as the examples below reflect:

Excerpt 7-52

Mother-H: من هی spellingش را به او می‌گویم، بعد میگم "ببین من انگلیسیم از تو بهتره {خنده} ببین من spelling اینا همه رو بلدم، از حفظ میگم تو بلد نیستی". بعد میگه "خب حالا، من بهتر حرف میزنم". یعنی سر این موضوع ما با هم clear debate ی داریم {خنده}

Mother-H: I constantly tell her the *spellings*. Then I say 'see, how my English is better than yours' [Laughs] 'see how I know the *spelling* of all these, I say it off by heart, but you don't know'. Then she's like 'oh well, I do speak better than you'. I mean we do have a *clear debate* about this [Laughs].

Excerpt 7-53

Mother-N: بهش همیشه میگم "یادت بیاد اولی که میومدیم مامان جان یادت باشه که بلد نبودی حرف بزنی، ولی من بلد بودم" {خنده} "پررو نشو لطفاً" {خنده}

Mother-N: I always tell her 'remember that when we first came you were not able to talk, but I was.' [Laughs] 'Don't become arrogant please!' [Laughs]

From the analysis it became clear that issues around pronunciation and accent involved a high degree of sensitivity in parent-child relationships. The reason for this sensitivity can be explained by the fact that, on the one hand, changing intonation and phonological features can be difficult for many adults due to maturational constraints (Piller, 2002b). On the other hand, children being vulnerable to the constant messages from the wider society about the 'standard' English as an index of 'insiderness' and belonging, could perceive their parents' different accents as indexing 'foreignness' (Tannenbaum & Howie, 2002) and, so, in need of correction. Consequently, parents were often corrected or even derided by their children for their pronunciation and accent. In response to children's corrections, while some parents attempted to practise (as in the case of Father-D in the excerpt below), some of the parents declined not only because they found it impractical, but also as a way of counteracting a range of identities being imposed on them (Pavlenko, 2002) within the context of family. This phenomenon is reflected in Mother-D's excerpt below:

Excerpt 7-54

Mother-D: دیگه الان وقتی ما باهاش انگلیسی احیاناً مثلا صحبت میکنیم، شروع میکنه بخاطر لهجه ی ما، تفاوت لهجه ی ما، هنوز خیلی کوچیکه، نمی فهمه که بابا خب مثلاً ما انگلیسی رو یه جا دیگه یاد گرفتیم. ما لهجمون، نمی فهمه و هی شروع میکنه مسخرمون کردن {خنده} {...} Father-D باز مثلاً سعی میکنه. من میگم که نه من، دلم میخواد روون صحبت کنم. برای من، واقعاً هم همینه، لهجم مهم نیست. من دیگه حاضر نیستم رو لهجم کار کنم. اول روونیش برای من مهمه. بعد اام Father-D مثلاً یه wordهایی که اون میگه باهاش تکرار میکنه. Father-D سعی میکنه درستش کنه. ولی من سعی نمیکنم و بیشتر با من چیز میکنه که تو خیلی بده زبانت. {خنده}

Mother-D: Now when it happens that we speak like English with her, she starts, because of our accent, our different accent, she's still too young, she can't realise that well we have learned English somewhere else, our accent, she doesn't understand that and keeps making fun of us [Laughs] [...] Father-D still makes an attempt. I say, no I just want to speak fluently. For me, it is really like that, I don't care about my accent. I don't want to work on my accent. Basically it is the fluency that is important to me. Then um Father-D for instance repeats the *words* that she tells. Father-D tries to

correct his [pronunciation]. But I don't and so with me she is more like, your language is so bad [Laughs]

While for Mother-D it seemed pointless to put any effort into changing her pronunciation and accent, for Daughter-D it appeared of great importance that her parents could speak the 'right' English in society, as shown in the excerpt below:

Excerpt 7-55

> Daughter-D: embarrassingه خیلی
> ("It's so *embarrassing*")
> Daughter-B: Pronunciationش کم یه different-ه, همین برای
> ("Her *pronunciation* is a bit *different*, therefore")
> Shiva: Is that important? Do you mind?
> Daughter-D: **YES!**
> Daughter-B: کم یه ("a bit")
> Daughter-D: Yes, I do. وقتها بعضی انوقت ("*Yes, I do.* Then sometimes")
> Daughter-B: *and because they [people] don't understand*

In Bourdieu's terms (1991, p. 51), feelings of inferiority and shame are seen as a form of "bodily emotions" engendered as a result of the internalisation and recognition of the "symbolic power" that is instilled in dispositions, the habitus, "through a long and slow process of acquisition" (see also Section 2.3.1 in Chapter 2). In fact, the sense of shame over parents' accent and pronunciation as reflected in this and other examples (see also Excerpt 7-48 and Excerpt 7-49 in Section 7.5), could reflect children's concerns about how they and their parents are judged by the dominant society and their fear of not being seen as 'normal'. These perceptions were further evidenced in the ways in which parents 'talked' to their children about the status quo to mitigate the societal pressures on them:

Excerpt 7-56

> Mother-O: آدم پس چون، اصلاً نبایدخجالت بکشه که مثلاً، اگر که کسی خواست اذیتت کنه، بهش اینجوری بگو که هروقت تو تونستی فارسی را مثل من صحبت کنی من هم می‌توانم انگلیسی را مثل شما صحبت کنم.
> Mother-O: So, you should not be ashamed at all that if, like, anybody was to annoy you, tell him or her that whenever you can speak Persian like me, I will also be able to speak English like you.

Excerpt 7-57

Mother-M: اوایل بود یعنی این قضیه مثلاً من بیشتر چون playdate میذاشتم، ااه یکی دو بار اول می‌گفت که خجالت می‌کشد ولی من براش توضیح دادم که آن‌ها مارا درک می‌کنند، وقتی من غلط انگلیسی صحبت می‌کنم لازم نیست تو خجالت بکشی، آن‌ها خودشان متوجه می‌شوند که من چه دارم میگم.

Mother-M: In the beginning, I mean this was because mostly I arranged *playdates*, uh she said once or twice that she would get embarrassed, but then I explained that they would understand us. When I speak English wrong you don't need to get embarrassed, they themselves would understand what I'm saying.

Excerpt 7-58

Mother-J: بهرحال یادمه که بهش گفتم که ببین Daughter-J، اام، من فارسی بلدم، ترکی بلدم، انگلیسی هم اینقدری که دارم اینجا زندگی میکنم بلدم. تو اگر داری منو مقایسه میکنی با کسی، اگه با یه مامان استرالیایی داری مقایسه میکنی، یادت باشه که اون فقط انگلیسی بلده. اون اگه بره تو کشور من هیچ کار نمیتونه بکنه. یا اگه بره مثلاً ترکیه کاری نمیتونه بکنه.

Mother-J: Anyways, I remember that I told her "Daughter-J, look, um, I know Persian, I know Turkish, I also know English enough to live here. If you are comparing me with someone, if you are comparing me to an Australian mum, just remember that she only knows English. If she goes to my country she would not be able to do anything. Or if she goes for instance to Turkey she wouldn't be able to do anything.

Despite parents' attempts to convince their children, it seems that the effects of the prevalent ideologies of the 'legitimate' or 'native' English were so strong that children seem to have been struggling to accept a bitter truth rather than being fully convinced, as reflected in Mother-B's excerpt:

Excerpt 7-59

Mother-B: اصلاً جلوی دوستاش یه جوری ترجیح میده مکالمه با پدرمادرش رو کوتاهتر نگه داره {...}
Shiva: بخاطر انگلیسیتون احیاناً بخاطر لهجه یا بخاطر=
Mother-B: =نه او دیگر قبول کرده که به هر حال انگلیسی صحبت کردن ما همین است، نمیتونیم عوضش کنیم.

Mother-B: Basically in front of her friends, she somehow prefers to keep the conversation with her parents short […]
Shiva: Because of your English or perhaps the accent or for=
Mother-B: =No well she has accepted it that anyways our English speaking is like this and we can't change it.

Overall, the data analysis revealed that tensions could arise in families due to children's perceptions of their parents' 'different' English and their concerns for judgements being

made by the English-speaking society. Parents' forms and styles of speaking could make children feel a sense of inferiority and shame. These feelings could result in children trying to socialise their parents into the 'correct' ways of communicating. For many parents, however, being corrected by their children was construed as against the 'norms' of parent and child roles in socialisation processes. Under these circumstances, parents not only adopted strategies to preserve their face and authority as parents, but also tried to raise their children's sense of self-esteem and confidence about themselves and their parents. These interactions, however, were not conflict-free.

Conflicts in parent-child interactions could also arise in relation to children's language practices and the ways parents interpreted them. These will be further discussed in the next section.

7.7. Tensions in parent-child relationship relative to child's language practices

Parents appear to have had high expectations for their children to learn and use both languages of the home and of society. However, they began to come to a realisation of the difficulty of excelling at both languages due to a number of constraints in the new society. In fact, parents came to realise that their children, compared to native-born children, had fewer opportunities to expand their English knowledge outside the school context. Furthermore, the children's knowledge of the Persian language would likely be confined to the context of family. This situation was explained, for example, by Mother-I:

Excerpt 7-60

Mother-I: وضعیت سختیه خدائیش. یعنی اینجا بچههای ما بنظر من نه انگلیسیشان انگلیسی بچه های native میشود و نه فارسیشان فارسی بچه ایرانی میشه. وضعیت سختی است {...} دایره لغات Daughter-I دایره لغات مدرسه است. باز یه سری تو تو خونواده بخواهی حرف بزنی خیلی فرق میکنه، خیلی اصطلاحات رو استفاده میکنن که اصلاً Daughter-I شاید ندونه.

Mother-I: It is a difficult situation indeed. That is, I think neither the English of our children would become like that of the native children. Nor their Persian would

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become like that of an Iranian child. It's a difficult situation […] Daughter-I's vocabulary is limited to those at school. It is so different when you want to talk in the family. They use a lot of expressions that perhaps Daughter-I wouldn't know at all.

As for the children's English language, as reflected in Mother-I's excerpt above, apart from their peers and teachers, children seem to have had limited contact with English-speaking people in contexts other than school. Even so, children usually spend a lot more time socialising with their peers than they do with their teachers. Consequently, children may become socialised into a form of language which might be perceived by parents as inappropriate. This could lead to conflicts between parents and children as, for example, Mother-R and Father-R reported:

Excerpt 7-61

Father-R: Daughter-R فارسی حرف میزنه. ولی یک یک موقعهایی الان یه چیزایی یاد گرفته تو مدرسه، یا با دوستاش اینا (( ) {خنده}

Mother-R: یه سری عبارات روزمره ای که استفاده می کنن، آره مثلاً اونا رو مثلاً میگه. مثلاً یه کاری میخواد انجام نده، مثلاً میگه چرا این کار رو نمیکنی، میگه "I don't care" بعد نمیگه مثلاً حتی "برام مهم نیست" یا "الان این کار رو نمی کنم"، مثلاً همون عبارت های مدرسه را میگه {...} که متأسفانه خیلی وقتا رو اونا مشکل داریم {خنده}

{...}

Mother-R: ولی من دیدم بار منفی و یا مثلاً ممکنه بی‌ادبانه بودن یک سری چیزا رو نمی‌دانست. چون بچه ها همه به هم می گفتن، فکر میکرد خب همه میگن. اینا را بهش میگیم {...} مثلاً اولین بار چی بود؟ یه چیزی که خیلی بدیهیه، مثلاً میگیم که "الان شام می خوری؟" بعد میگفت، دااا!! {خنده} بعد ما"Daughter-R لحن قشنگی نیست، دااا یعنی چی؟ این یعنی آره، پس چی، چرا می پرسی!" خلاصه اینا رو یه مقدار باهاش چیز کردیم. Father-R مخصوصاً خیلی ناراحت میشد.

Father-R: Daughter-R speaks in Persian. But occasionally she ( ) some of things that she's learnt at school or with her peers [Laughs]
Mother-R: A bunch of everyday expressions which they use, yeah, for instance she uses them. For instance, when she doesn't want to do something, like she's been told 'why don't you do that', she would say '*I don't care*!' She doesn't even say like 'it is not important' or 'I wouldn't do it now', but she would use exactly the same expression being used at school […] and unfortunately we do have issues with that most of the time [Laughs]
[…]
Mother-R: But I realised that she didn't know the negative weight or for instance perhaps the impoliteness of some of the things. Because children were all saying those to each other, she thought that well everybody's saying that. We tell her these things […] for instance what was it the first time? Something that is very obvious, for instance when we say 'would you have dinner now?' then she would say 'Duh!' [Laughs] Then, we were like 'Daughter-R, it's not a nice tone! What does it mean

'Duh'? This is, like, yes, of course, why are you even asking' Yeah, for these things we were like a bit, Father-R particularly would get so upset.

Tensions could also arise in parent-child relationships relative to the child's Persian language. Despite the fact that most parents seem to have been aware of the constraints to their children's language learning, they at times seemed unconvinced about their children's inability to communicate. For instance, Mother-D reported the frustration she felt over her daughter's inability to understand her, particularly when the topic was not of interest to Daughter-D, and Father-D seems doubtful whether she could not, or decided not to, understand the conversation:

Excerpt 7-62

> Mother-D: مثلاً میگم "Daughter-D این بده". بعضی اوقات که اصلاً حوصله، چون میبینه دارم باهاش کل کل میکنم و بهش میگم این بده، اصلاً حاضر نیست که ازم بپرسه که معنی این یعنی چی. بعد هم اصلاً مثلاً همینجوری نگام میکنه. هی میگم "تو میفهمی من دارم چی میگم؟" میگه "نه نمیفهمم." مثلاً حالا من یه ربعه دارم بال بال میزنم. {خنده}
> {...}
> Father-D: convers- ببخشید میون حرفت،اما conversation رو کامل میفهمه که ما منظورمون چیه، چی داریم میگیم. ممکنه یه کلمه هایی رو ندونه بگه این مثلاً یعنی چی. وگرنه میفهمه.
> Mother-D: For example I say 'Daughter-D, this is not good'. Sometimes when she's not in the mood, because when she sees that I'm arguing explaining to her that this is bad, she doesn't even bother asking me what the meaning of it is. Then she keeps looking at me like this, for instance. I keep saying that 'do you understand what I am saying?' and she is like 'no, I don't'. And it's been like a quarter of an hour that I have been struggling [Laughs]
> Father-D: *convers-* sorry for interrupting, but she completely understands the *conversation* like, what we mean, what we are saying. She may not know some words and asks like what this means, but she understands.

Father-I also said:

Excerpt 7-63

> Father-I: سوءتفاهم‌های این شکلی من فکر میکنم زیاد پیش می‌آید. و سربعضی هاش هم، حالا Mother-I خیلی خوبه بازم، من بعضی وقتها عصبانی هم میشم. میگم، میگم، حس میکنم یه چیزایی را ignore میکنه در صورتیکه اصلاً بعدش متوجه میشم اون درست متوجه نشده یا حرف منو من یه چیزی گفتم اون یه چیز دیگه برداشت کرده.
> Father-I: I think misunderstandings like this happen often and in some cases, well Mother-I is still very good, but sometimes I get angry. I say, I say, I feel that she

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ignores some of the things, although after that I would realise that she hasn't understood it correctly or she has perceived what I have told her differently.

While it is difficult to discern the (un)intentionality of children's miscommunication or refusal to communicate, particularly in situations where they may feel confronted (see for example Excerpt 7-62), it is important to note from these examples how language-related misunderstandings can occur in parent-child interactions, which can negatively affect their relationships. Further, while these parents did not mention if they switched to English to make their children understand the conversation, the examples can show the possible ways in which children may affect parental language practices, when parents have to accommodate to children's language needs (Duff, 2007).

Overall, amidst all the forces at work and the challenges of handling two languages, parents concurrently expressed that they could improve their English language and also gain useful sociocultural information through their school-aged children. This will be further discussed in the following section.

7.8. Parental language learning in parent-child interactions

As discussed earlier, most parents chose not to use English with their children mainly due to their concerns over their children's loss of Persian. Nevertheless, many of the parents expressed how they could learn English from their children in different ways, and also gain useful sociocultural and historical information as transferred by the children to the home. Father-A, for instance, clearly expressed:

Excerpt 7-64

Father-A: بدون حضور Son-A این اطلاعات به خانه نمی‌آید.
Shiva: یعنی آدم بچه نداشته باشد، دسترسی به این اطلاعات نمیتونه داشته باشد؟
Father-A: دقیقاً. کاملاً واضح است که خانواده‌هایی که بچه ندارند با خانواده‌هایی که بچه دارند، من فکر می‌کنم پدر و مادری که بچه دارند skill انگلیسی‌شان میتونه بهتر از خانواده‌هایی باشه که بچه ندارند. البته

توی این transactionشون اام شما مجبوری یاد بگیری. اگر یاد نگیری نمیتونی قضیه دیگه پیش نمیره. تو اون لحظه ازت داره میپرسه، همان لحظه مثلاً باید بری مثلاً چک کنی.

Father-A: Without Son-A this information would never come home.

Shiva: you mean if you didn't have a child, you wouldn't be able to access those information?

Father-A: Exactly. It's completely obvious that families that don't have children compared to families that do, I think parents that do have a child, their English *skills* could be better than those who don't. In fact, in your *transactions*, you also have to learn. If you don't, the things won't work out well. The moment he [the child] is asking something, you have to go and check it right away.

As reflected in Father-A's excerpt, the process of learning could occur through collaborative practices where parents mediate the language learning of their children, for instance when doing homework. Reyes (2006) called this way of learning 'bidirectional' because the process of learning the language could occur in a mutual way in parent-child interactions. Mother-A also expressed how she could expand her vocabulary through helping out Son-A with his homework:

Excerpt 7-65

Mother-A: بله، لغت بیشتری یاد گرفتم. مثلاً ممکن بود در مسئله‌ی ریاضی من معنی یک لغت را ندانم، معنی آن لغت را پیدا کردم به فارسی و برای Son-A توضیح دادم، متوجه شدم چی بوده، قطعاً خیلی به من کمک کرد.

Mother-A: Yes, I learnt more vocabulary. For example it could happen that I did not know a word in his maths. Then I would find its meaning in Persian and would explain it to Son-A. I realised what it was. It definitely helped me a lot

Furthermore, parents concurrently emphasised how they could benefit from their children's conversational English knowledge, including colloquial terms and informal ways of communication. For example, Father-S expressed:

Excerpt 7-66

Father-S: ما زبان رو خیلی officially یاد گرفتیم. در مورد خودم میگم. زبان غیر officially، محاوره‌ای رو بلد نیستم. انگلیسی خط کشی شده که بعضی وقتا بدرد نمی خوره. مخصوصاً وقتی تلویزیون نگاه می‌کنیم یه سری اصطلاحات استفاده می کنند، مثلاً از Son-S می‌پرسم "Son-S، معنیش یعنی چی؟" میگه مثلاً یعنی این. حالا دقیقاً کلمش یادم نیست، ولی خب خیلی از اصطلاحات محاوره‌ای روز را از Son-S یاد می‌گیرم.

Father-S: We've learnt the language very *officially*. I'm talking about myself. I don't know the non-*official*, the colloquial language, but rather the framed English which sometimes is of no use. Particularly when we watch TV they use some expressions. For example I ask Son-S, 'Son-S, what does it mean?' and he says like it means this. Now I don't remember exactly what the word was. But anyways I learn many of the everyday conversational expressions from Son-S.

In fact, as reflected in this and other examples, given that parents perceived the English that they had gained as ineffectual in everyday conversation, they viewed their children as an available source from whom they could learn the informal or the 'real' language to be used with 'real' people. This 'real' language included both spoken (as shown above) and the informal form of written language as Mother-B stated:

Excerpt 7-67

Mother-B: یا مثلاً من دارم یه تکستی می زنم پیشم باشه وایمیسه می خونه بعد مثلاً یه comment ی هم میده اینو اینجاش رو مثلاً عوض کن.

Mother-B: For instance when I am texting, if she is next to me she reads it and then for instance she comments like 'change this part like this.'

Overall, it emerged from the analysis that while parents avoided using English with their children, they showed positive attitudes towards learning some English, particularly conversational language from their children. Nevertheless, at the same time, consciously or unconsciously, parents appear to have set boundaries to the ways they sought their children's help or let them teach or correct parents' language. An explanation for this lies in the fact that family as a system acts in such a way as to maintain the boundaries within which family normally functions (Maccoby, 2014) (see also Section 2.2 in Chapter 2). In fact, parents could sense the potential reversals of parent-child roles in terms of language socialisation as a result of the "differential distribution of linguistic capital [which] runs counter to the typical age-based distribution of power and status within the family" (Luykx, 2005, p. 1408).

Furthermore, many parents perceived themselves as highly educated with a relatively good knowledge of English. Nevertheless, as Blommaert (2013b, p. 5) points out, migrants not only have to learn "a language", for example "English", but they are also under pressure to learn the standard varieties of the host society and to have control over "highly *specific bits of language*" including the accent [Italics in the original]. Parents could not only sense such pressures from the wider society (as discussed in Section 5.6 in Chapter 5), but also from their children who could often gain access to, and gain a greater mastery of, those "specific bits". Under these conditions, parents attempted to "reclaim alternative, more powerful identities from which to speak" (Norton & McKinney, 2011, p. 74). This phenomenon manifested itself in the ways in which Mother-H, for instance, described how she had to remind her child of her knowledge of English literacy and grammar (see Excerpt 7-52), or Mother-D's resistance to Daughter-D's constant corrections of her pronunciation (see Excerpt 7-54), or the ways in which Father-A tried to convince Son-A about the mutual benefits of teaching his parents, as shown below:

Excerpt 7-68

Shiva: تا حالا شده از صحبت کردن شما ایراد بگیره؟
Father-A: آره خیلی.یعنی به من میگه تو این کلمه را اشتباه بکار بردی و می خنده {...} وخب من هم ناراحت نمی‌شم. میگم این رابطه دوطرفه ست دیگه. تو یه چیزی به من یاد میدی تازه تشکر هم می‌کنم ازش که به من گفته مثلاً اون کلمه را. بعضی موقعها من حتی ازش میپرسم، میگم "Son-A من این کلمه را تا حالا نشنیدم می‌دانی معنی این کلمه چه می‌شود؟" یا می‌داند و یا نمی‌داند. اگر بداند که خب میگه، اگه ندونه باهم میریم dictionary پیداش میکنیم میبینیم که خب معنیش اینه برای اولین بار مثلا لغتی رو میبینیم باهم. این خودش یه رابطه خوبیه برای یاد گرفتن انگلیسی. بعد هم من بهش گفتم، گفتم "چون تو انگلیسیت"، همیشه هم بهش اعتماد بنفس میدم، "چون تو انگلیسیت خیلی خوبه تو باید به من و مامان هم یاد بدی." اصلاً یه کاریش میکنم که هم اعتماد بنفس (بگیره)
Shiva: اینو دوست داره، تشویق میشه؟
Father-A: آره دوست دارد، دوست داره. بعضی وقتها هم خب خنده اش هم میگیره دیگه که شما لهجه ی شما این شکلیه {خنده} به Mother-A بیشتر

Shiva: Has it ever happened that he finds faults with your speaking?
Father-A: yeah, a lot. I mean he says like 'you've used this word incorrectly' and laughs […] and, well, I don't get offended. After all this is a two-way relationship. You teach me something, still I thank him for teaching for example a word. Sometimes I even ask him, I say, 'Son-A, I haven't heard this word before. Do you know what it means?' He either knows it or doesn't. If he does, well, he would say it,

if he doesn't, then we would look it up in the *dictionary* and we would see what the meaning is, when for instance we see a word for like the first time. This by itself is a good relationship for learning English. Then I have told him, I have told him that 'because your English', I constantly give him self-confidence, 'because your English is very good, you should teach me and your mum'. I mean I handle it in a way not only to [give him] self-confidence
Shiva: Does he like it? Does he get encouraged?
Father-A: Yes, he likes it, he likes it. Well, sometimes he finds it funny, he says like your accent is like this {Laughs} more to Mother-A.

This excerpt reflected that Father-A sought to build "a good relationship for learning English" which involved joint activities with his child. In these interactions, however, he seemed conscious about a potential power imbalance as a result of asking the child language-related questions. This is implied in the way he used "حتی" ("even") when he said,"بعضی موقعها من حتی ازش میپرسم" ("sometimes I even ask him"). This can reflect his perception of an extraordinary action or a counter to the traditional roles of parent and child with regard to language socialisation (Luykx, 2005) (see Sections 2.3.4 and 2.4.2 in Chapter 2 for further detail). Nevertheless, Father-A seemed content that he could "handle it" by appreciating his child's greater communication abilities in a straightforward manner. In fact, Father-A voluntarily empowered his child and depreciated his own and Mother-A's language abilities to boost his child's sense of confidence. This strategy also could be a safe arrangement, because as Goffman (2003, p. 11) asserts, "when performed voluntarily these indignities do not seem to profane his own image" (see also Section 5.5 in Chapter 5).

In a study of child language brokering and the impacts on parent-child relationships, Orellana (2009, p. 120) observed that language brokering in many situations can provide children with the opportunity to "feel needed, useful and appreciated" (see Section 2.4.2 in Chapter 2 for further details). Although most of my participants had English at a level that they did not seem to need their child to engage in language brokering for them, the

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sentiment in Orellana's quote can be applied in other situations such as the example above, where parents learn some elements of the language from their children. This was manifested in the way Father-A confirmed how Son-A felt encouraged to teach his parents.

While parents' concerns about parent and child role reversals were implied in these narratives, Father-M expressed his concern quite clearly by describing his perception of the possibility of a decline in parental authority, viewing it as a 'risk' which needs to be foreseen and managed:

Excerpt 7-69

Father-F: سطح تشخیصش تا یه حدیه، بهرحال یخورده قضیه complicate {خنده} میشه که فکر میکنه که شما ممکنه خیلی چیزها رو هم ندونین اونوقت هیچی دیگه، جایگاهها عوض میشود و یخورده آره

پرسشگر: یعنی authority را که پدر مادر دارند؟

Father-F: آره ازدست بدهند. ولی البته من فکر میکنم، بهرحال میشه با صحبت، پدر مادر میتونن manage کنند. ولی این چیز هست. این ریسک را آدم باید ببینه، و مدیریتش کنه.

Father-F: Well her discernment can be to a certain level and so the matter may become a bit *complicated* [Laughs] because she may think that you may not know many other things as well. Then it would be woeful, the positions would be displaced and a bit like, yeah.

Shiva: You mean the *authority* that parents have?

Father-F: Yeah, they might lose it. But of course I think anyways parents can *manage* it through talking. But there is like, you should foresee the risk and manage it.

Apart from the advantage of English learning through parent-child interactions, parents also reported that they could gain some useful sociocultural and historical information from their children. This information, in effect, allowed parents to access societal resources (as shown in Father-S's excerpt below), or could equip parents with the shared topics they needed in their social contact with people in the wider society (as shown in Mother-R's excerpt below).

Excerpt 7-70

Father-S: مثلاً First Fleet، من در مورد First Fleet قبل از اینکه بیایم اینجا خب یک چیزهایی خوانده بودم ولی به detail از Son-S یاد گرفتم. بعد رفتیم موزهی Maritime Museum هست تو سیدنی که اون کشتیه اونجاست{...} دیدم Son-S در مورد اینکه Joseph Banks چجوری حموم میرفت هم بلده.

Father-S: Like *First Fleet*, well before coming here, I had read something about the *First Fleet*, but I learned about it in *detail* from Son-S. Then we went to the *Maritime Museum* in Sydney where there is a ship there […] I realised that Son-S even knew for instance how *Joseph Banks* took a bath.

Excerpt 7-71

Mother-R: یه چیزخیلی جالبی که برای خودم هم خیلی جالبه، که از Daughter-R خیلی منتقل میشود خونه، چیزهایی که الان بین جوانها تو بورسه، آهنگ خاص نمیدونم، خواننده خاص، اگر Daughter-R نبود من مثلاً نمی دونستم نوجوانان اینجا مثلاً One Direction را دوست دارند. چون گروهی نیست که من جذب آهنگهاشون بشم. ولی Daughter-R میاره، ما هم باهاش گوش میدیم. و این مثلاً بعد میبینم که با یه همکاری که واسه کارآموزی اومده، تازه از مدرسه اومده، بعد وقتی حرف میزنه، منم آها، منم میدونم چی داری میگی، منم موضوع واسه حرف زدن دارم. یا مثلاً شوهای تلویزیونی که بچه ها ها با هم صحبت میکنن، من احساس میکنم که Daughter-R خیلی از یه قسمتای فرهنگی را اگر Daughter-R نبود، ما شاید هیچوقت حالا حالاها {نمیدونستیم}.

Mother-R: Something very interesting, that's also very interesting for me, that is transferred home by Daughter-R, the things that are trendy among the youth, like a specific song, or I don't know, a specific singer, if it wasn't because of Daughter-R, I wouldn't have known that for instance young people here like *One Direction*. Because it's not a band that I can be attracted to their songs. But Daughter-R brings them and we listen to them with her. And for instance later on I see that with a colleague who has come for his apprenticeship, he's just come from school, then when he talks, I'm like aha, I know what you are talking about, I also have something to talk about. Or maybe like the TV shows that children talk about amongst each other, I feel, like, some of the cultural aspects, Daughter-R is very, if it wasn't because of Daughter-R, we might have never [known].

Overall, it became apparent from the narratives that most parents viewed their school-aged children as sources to learn from, both in terms of language and social and cultural information about Australia. Most of them stated that they could gain some language and cultural knowledge from their children through joint activities such as doing homework, watching TV or by asking questions. Some of the parents believed that some of the information could not have been easily accessed but for having a school-aged child. Nevertheless, being influenced by the assumptions about parent-child roles in socialisation processes within the family, they also seemed concerned about the

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possibility of authority displacement in those interactions. Therefore, they consciously or unconsciously adopted different strategies to redress the potential power imbalance and to preserve their role as parents.

7.9. Summary

In this chapter, I examined language learning and practices in the family in relation to the wider context of Australian society. The chapter began by presenting parents' beliefs about and attitudes towards their children's language learning and practices relative to the two languages of the home and the wider society. For most parents, Persian was their choice of language at home with their children. In fact, for most parents, a natural flow of interaction with their children could take place through Persian. Overall, children's Persian language maintenance was of great importance for parents because they wished to retain a secure parent-child bond. Persian was also important to them because it enabled them to maintain connections with the extended family back home, to preserve cultural values, and to access more general advantages associated with bilingualism.

Given the importance of children's Persian language maintenance, Persian was set by many parents as the only language to be spoken in the home. Nevertheless, once children gained some English proficiency, they displayed a propensity to shift to the English language. In fact, having been exposed to and influenced by messages from school and peers and the wider society about the value of languages and hegemonic language ideologies (see also Section 6.3 in Chapter 6), many children began to feel a sense of shame about their ethnic language and identity and thus became dissuaded from developing and practising their home language. This sense of shame, for some of the children, not only related to their home language, but to their parents' forms of 'non-

standard' English usage as a mark of 'foreignness' in the new society. Under these conditions, parents tried to counteract those forces by preaching against them and attempting to raise children's sense of confidence and self-esteem. These processes, however, did not seem to be conflict-free.

The incongruent language beliefs and attitudes of parents and children and their expectations of each other in that respect could cause conflicts in their interactions. These conflicts related partly to children's perceptions of their parents' language inadequacy, particularly their pronunciation and accent. Children could feel a sense of inferiority or shame particularly when they confronted so-called Australian native English speakers. Therefore, while some of them preferred not to be spoken to in English in public, they also tended to 'fix' their parents' accent by correcting them. Conflicts could also arise due to children's insistence on using English in the home, or over their language practices which might be negatively interpreted by their parents.

Overall, the ways in which participants spoke about their interactions at home depicted a picture of parent-child interactions which had language-related topics, such as 'what language to use', 'how to use languages' and 'who socialises whom' as their core focus. In the narratives, parental language learning through parent-child interactions also emerged as a significant topic. Many parents believed that they could gain some linguistic and cultural knowledge in the new society that would have been difficult to access if it was not for having a school-aged child. In learning from children, however, parents seemed concerned about being positioned at a disadvantage in their relationships with their children. These feelings related to the widely-accepted assumptions that view parents as the language socialisers of children and not the other way around (Luykx, 2005, p. 1408). Furthermore, while most of the parents had high levels of English

proficiency, they often positioned themselves, or were positioned by their children, as deficient speakers of English. Therefore, they consciously or unconsciously employed strategies to redress the perceived power imbalance and to maintain their authority as parents.

In sum, the data analysis shows the complexity of language learning and practices within the family in multilingual contexts. Language practices within family are affected by the hegemonic language ideologies prevalent in the wider society. Under these conditions, raising a child bilingually in a context where the onus is mainly on the families can be a difficult task. Family viewed as a social unit can have its own language rules and practices (Lanza, 2007). However, the findings in this analysis show how those rules and practices are regulated under the influence of external social and ideological forces. As Luykx (2003, p. 40) points out, those wider social pressures can "penetrate the most intimate of domestic interactions".

Chapter 8: Conclusion

8.1. Introduction

This thesis has explored language beliefs and attitudes toward language learning as well as the language practices of a group of parents and their children in migration contexts, with a focus on contextual influences. In this study, I have analysed accounts of the language learning and use experiences of thirty-three parents and twenty-one children who arrived in Australia as families between 2006 and 2012. I have examined participants' pre-migration language learning experiences to gain a deeper understanding of the sociocultural influences of the contexts in which participants' language learning habitus and their desire to learn the language were shaped. These analyses provided insights into their experiences of language learning and practices in post-migration contexts in Australia. Finally, the thesis examined the interplay between parental language learning and practices and child language learning and practices.

Following poststructuralist approaches to SLA, I adopted sociocultural concepts of language and power, and language ideologies. From this perspective, my analysis, following Heller and Martin-Jones (2001), argues that the issue of L2 learning "is principally one of what ways of using language, what kinds of language practices, are valued and considered good, normal, appropriate, or correct in the framework of ideological orientations connected to social, economic and political interests" (p. 2).

In this concluding chapter, I recapitulate the main findings from Chapters 4 to 7. I then address the implications of my research. Finally, I discuss directions for future research.

8.2. Research questions revisited

8.2.1. Research Question 1: Pre-migration parental language learning and practices

<u>RQ 1: What are parents' experiences of language learning and use before migration?</u>

The first research question was aimed to explore parents' previous experiences of learning and using English, with a focus on their ideological stances, expectations and desires to invest in language learning at different points in the pre-migration sociocultural contexts. To answer this question, Chapter 4 presented an analysis of the data related to parents' trajectories of their English learning and use before coming to Australia.

The data analysis demonstrates that for most participants, their desire to learn English was primarily shaped by popular discourses of English as a language of prestige and a means of social and economic upward mobility. However, according to participants, the English taught as a foreign language in Iranian schools was nothing more than a school subject in which participants had to pass the exams as a part of compulsory curricula. As a way to make up for the perceived limitations of compulsory language learning curricula, many participants attended private English classes or were taught by English tutors or by family members. The outcome of these additional investments was often positively evaluated by participants in terms of their academic advancement and attaining high scores in university entrance exams. Some of them could also use the language when relevant to their professions. Nevertheless, given that English in the EFL contexts of Iran was not used in people's daily life, English often remained non-functional for many adult participants until they planned for migration to Australia. From that point, participants seemed to have taken a more serious approach to English learning. With the prospect of a

brighter future for themselves and their children in an imaginary elite English-speaking community, most of the participants began intense English learning programs, through formal classes, private instruction and self-study. They invested money, time and energy in extending their English abilities, not only to pass the IELTS test as a visa requirement, but also to accumulate the linguistic capital required for living in the new imagined community. In fact, for many of them, attaining the right IELTS score as set down by the Australian Government seems to have been interpreted as a sufficient level of competency to enter and live in the new society. Therefore, except for a few participants, most of the participants did not report any considerable investment in language learning after passing the IELTS exam.

Against this backdrop, it can be argued that participants perceived their English to be at a sufficient level at the time of departure, but also relied on the new English-speaking community to improve their English abilities on the basis of the widely-held assumption that English can be best learned from native speakers and in its natural settings. This became particularly clear from the analysis of the data, particularly those related to parents' investment in their children's language learning before migration.

In sum, adult participants' multiple desires for English learning were socially shaped at different points of time, often with the prospect of an imaginary upward socioeconomic mobility. They attempted to learn the language at different levels as an investment which they expected to pay off in an imagined future. Further, using the notion of 'scale' as an analytic tool, the findings show that participants' evaluations of their previous language learning were interwoven with their post-migration experiences.

8.2.2. Research Question 2: Post-migration parental language learning and practices

RQ 2: What are parents' experiences of language learning and use after migration?

The second research question aimed to explore the perspectives and trajectories of the parents' language learning and practices in Australia and their intersection with ideological influences. To answer this question, Chapter 5 provides an analysis of participants' accounts of their experiences of language learning and practices in the new society. Most of the participants had imagined Australia as their new home and expected that they would integrate into the new community and would socialise with the people surrounding them the way they had been doing in Iran and the way locals do. However, after arrival, the picture they had imagined changed. They began to feel a mismatch between the English they had learned and the English spoken in the new society. After arrival, many of them felt handicapped for not being able to understand people or make themselves understood as, for example, Mother-O who likened it to being "کرولال" ("deaf and mute"). Participants began to come to a realisation about English variation, but also how language varieties were hierarchically ordered. They recognised that the dominant form of English as the societal language spoken by so-called native English speakers held the greatest social value. Under these circumstances, they began to lose their sense of confidence in themselves and their language abilities, particularly in the face of the perceived native speakers as the legitimate speakers of the dominant language. The perception of language incompetence led many of the participants to avoid participating in social and professional contexts where they felt their face and self-esteem could be at risk. Nevertheless, in many cases, parents reported that they regained their sense of confidence and were encouraged to move on when their forms of capital, particularly

language and professional skills, were recognised by those who participants recognised as 'legitimate'.

To find a place for themselves in the new society, many participants felt the need to improve their English abilities. Some of them attended language classes although their experiences showed that there was a mismatch between their language needs and what was being offered in the classes. In fact, many of them could not learn much more than they had gained in Iran. Many of the participants also resorted to other ways of learning, such as attending content courses or tertiary education, the outcome of which was more positively regarded. By these means, they could not only improve their English in an environment where the language was used as a means of communication, and not merely as a subject of instruction, but they could also gain Australian professional qualifications which could facilitate their career pathways.

I also analysed the accounts of participants' experiences of language learning and practices in workplaces. Most of the parents expected that they could improve their everyday language through their interactions in the workplace. However, their expectations were not necessarily fulfilled because, for most of them, their jobs did not involve as much spoken language as they wished, or their conversations were often around a limited range of topics in their fields of expertise.

For most participants, Anglo-Australians were perceived as the legitimate and core members of society and, thus, their desirable interlocutors. However, although participants wished to socialise with this group of people, they tended to avoid contacts where they felt themselves constituting an imposition on their interlocutors or where they perceived themselves to be in an inferior position. In fact, they exercised their agency in

many situations by avoiding participation in joint activities not only to save their own face, but also that of their interlocutors.

In sum, through the lens of the theory of investment, and the concepts of language competence and power, the analysis showed the complex relationship between power, identity, language ideologies, and language learning. Participants' post-migration language learning practices were embedded in their multiple desires and their agency, socially constructed under the influence of ideological forces in different contexts. Participants in this study were highly motivated to improve their English skills, with the ultimate goal of gaining a native-like conversational English language proficiency. They desired to have that level of competence to reclaim a social identity similar to that which they had prior to migration. They desired to feel included in the new society where Anglophone Australians were perceived to be legitimate core members. However, in order to feel included, they felt the need for 'native-like' language ability. This ability, however, was perceived to be achievable only through having social contacts and socialising with this group of people. Under these circumstances, migrants such as my participants could be positioned perpetually, by themselves and others, as peripheral or marginal members.

8.2.3. Research Question 3: Child language learning and practices

RQ 3: What are children's experiences of language learning and use?

The third research question aimed to explore language-learning trajectories of children before and after migration from their own and their parents' perspectives. To answer this question I interviewed parents about their children's English learning prior to migration. I also analysed how children experienced language learning after arrival in Australia. The

1111111   `analysis provides insights into how parental and child beliefs and attitudes toward the home language, namely Persian, and the language of the wider society, that is English, were shaped.

Overall, children's English language learning trajectories were diverse. This diversity related, inter alia, to the degrees of English competence and the age of participants at the time of arrival. As regards age, those who were below school-age at the time of arrival often had more opportunities to become familiarised with the language and the environment before entering school, than those who had to enter school immediately after arrival. Nevertheless, the complexity of language acquisition in the new society and the emotional and psychological impacts on children were common to all accounts.

Before migrating, being cognisant of the need for the English language to communicate with people in Australia, parents not only invested in their own language learning, but also in that of their children. However, parents' attitudes towards their children's language learning before migration were undergirded by assumptions about child language learning such as the 'advantage of learning English from native speakers' and 'children can acquire English quickly and effortlessly when exposed to the English-speaking environment'. Therefore, imagining the new society as a site where English could be learned in a better, quicker, and easier fashion, most of the parents did not seem to have high expectations for their children to learn English before departure.

After arrival, however, in contrast to parents' expectations, children did experience difficulties in their transitional stage to the new school and the new environment. Children's difficulties related mainly to their struggle to gain language competence, but also to gain "membership and legitimacy in the group" (Duff, 2007, p. 310). In fact, in

their new educational and social environment, children began to realise that their home language, as their only means of communication, was insufficient. These conditions could affect children's psychological and emotional well-being and their sense of self-esteem. Under these circumstances, they exercised their agency to find a place for themselves in their new communities of practice.

In children's transitional processes, schools and educators can play a significant role. ESL programs at schools, for instance, were created to help children develop their English language. However, many parents believed there were shortcomings to the ways the programs were implemented. For example, parents observed how their children missed some parts of their general classwork due to inadequate articulation between ESL and regular classes. Parents and children also felt there was a stigma associated with 'ESL-ness' as an index of deficiency, difference and inferiority. Further, parents and children also wished ESL teachers would be familiar with ESL students' own language. This way, as mediated through their narratives, children's processes of English learning could be enhanced in a more emotionally and psychologically supportive environment. Nevertheless, peers of Persian background could take on the role of facilitator between children and the people surrounding them. However, as old-timers, these peers could also act as socialisers of newly-arrived children into social beliefs and ideologies about the value of languages, which those peers themselves had already internalised.

In sum, using the notions of communities of practice, language and power, habitus, and agency, the analysis made evident the conditions under which children are socialised into, while at the same time becoming socialisers of, the hegemonic language beliefs, ideologies and practices prevalent in the wider society. The findings showed how children exercised their agency to learn the language and practices of their new communities of

practice, to be heard and seen, and to feel accepted by the members of those communities. In doing so, however, some of their actions could be misinterpreted if they were measured only by situated 'normative' yardsticks, disregarding the broader sociocultural and sociohistorical contexts and the inequitable relations of power.

8.2.4. Research Question 4: Language learning and practices in the family

RQ 4: How do parents and children's language learning and use intersect?

This last research question aimed to explore language learning and practices in the family within Iranian immigrant families. To answer this question, Chapter 7 presents the analyses of data about parental and child language beliefs and attitudes toward learning the two languages, that of the home, Persian, and of the wider society, English. It also provides an analysis of the interplay between those beliefs and attitudes and the impacts on parent-child relationships.

In the new environment, parents sought opportunities to practise their spoken English. For them, their children were viewed as available interlocutors to practise English with. However, they avoided speaking English with them for fear of their children's Persian attrition. For most of the parents, their children's Persian language maintenance was of great importance. Parents felt it was through Persian that they could retain a natural communication with their children and secure a parent-child bond. They also wished their children to know Persian to enable them to maintain connections with those left behind back home, and also to understand and preserve cultural values. In attempting to raise their children as bilinguals, they believed that children could access more general advantages associated with bilingualism. Nevertheless, children did not necessarily share the same beliefs about their home language and commitment to maintaining it. Once

children gained some proficiency in English, they tended to use it as their preferred language. For them, it was crucial to be viewed and included as a 'normal' member in their English-speaking communities of practice. However, for many of the children, their home language was perceived as marking them as 'different' or, as Daughter-J said, "weird". Not only that, parents' different or, as many of the children described them, "embarrassing" forms of English speaking could also index their 'foreignness' and, thus, make them feel a sense of shame and inferiority. Under these circumstances, many children attempted to socialise their parents into the 'normal' ways of speaking by correcting them. These conditions could cause conflicts in parent-child relationships. Tensions could also arise due to children's language practices, which were frowned upon by parents for being against family language rules, or misinterpreted or perceived as inappropriate. Nevertheless, amidst all these internal and external forces in place in parent-child interactions, most of the parents believed that they could learn some elements of the language and sociocultural information from their children that could be difficult to access without them. At the same time, they seemed concerned about their authority as parents and about role reversals in their interactions with their children. These concerns were undergirded by widely-held assumptions about parent-child roles in processes of socialisation, which view parents as the socialisers of children and not the other way around.

The concept of language socialisation coupled with the notion of bidirectionality from family studies was particularly useful for examining how children played a role in their own and their parents' processes of language socialisation. In particular, parents often had limited opportunities to develop their communicative language. In contrast, children spent most hours of the day socialising with English-speaking people in school domains.

Therefore, many parents viewed themselves as less competent than their children not only in terms of English communication, but also in terms of cultural knowledge about the new society. Therefore, an expert-novice or adult/parent-child role as prescribed in traditional socialisation theories, is put into question in the migration context.

In sum, the study shows the complexity of language learning of migrant parents and children as individuals, and within the family as a social unit in multilingual contexts. The study complicates the assumption that the family as a social unit can have its own language attitudes and practices. In fact, language learning and language practices in the family home are ultimately influenced by language beliefs, ideologies and practices of the wider society. The findings of this study, then, emphasise that the imbalanced values attributed to languages and inequitable power relations determine the conditions under which parents struggle to achieve bilingual outcomes both for themselves and their children. These findings, thus, echo systematic gaps which have implications for policies and programs to support migrant families struggling under the pressures of trying to become or remain bilinguals in the new society.

8.3. Significance and implications

This study has presented a systematic examination of language learning and language practices in the family in migration contexts. The research has demonstrated that language socialisation processes within the family in migration contexts are complex and intricately entwined with parental and child language beliefs and attitudes, which in turn are influenced by language ideologies and attitudes prevalent in the wider society. In view of the complexities involved in language socialisation processes in migrant families, the present study substantiated the need for a holistic approach to gain deeper insights into the interplay of micro and macro dimensions involved in language-learning processes

and practices in multilingual contexts. The findings in this study, then, have multiple implications for individuals, families, educators, language professionals and policy makers.

8.3.1. Implications for adults' second language learning

Through examination of participants' language-learning trajectories prior to and following migration, to the present in the new society, the study illustrates how learners' relationships to the target language and their desire and agency to learn the language are subject to change in different social-spatial-temporal contexts. While in the EFL contexts of Iran, participants viewed themselves as successful learners due to their educational achievements and because they were able to fulfil expectations commensurate with those contexts, in Australian contexts they felt the loss of their English competences. The feeling of competence loss, in effect, is not related to knowledge of 'English', but socially-valued forms and varieties of English. However, these valued forms and elements are often difficult to access in decontextualised learning contexts before migration, and also in real life in the host country. The findings of this study, thus, complicate the simple assumption that learners' English proficiency leads to their full integration into the social and professional networks of the new society. This is because there are disparities between what the learners need to learn in the new society to conceive of themselves as fully-fledged members, and "what the system is set up to offer within prevailing social structures" (Williams Tetteh, 2015, p. 292). In fact, participants in this study, who mostly had high levels of education, were highly motivated to enhance their communication abilities in accordance with the situational expectations in the new social and professional contexts. However, they often found it difficult to access language learning opportunities at a level commensurate with their skills and needs. These findings

suggest that a one-size-fits-all approach cannot do justice to migrants' second language learning needs. Rather, it is important for second language learning research to address issues around learning socially-valued forms and varieties of English but also the learners' educational backgrounds, levels of proficiency and language needs to enhance the efficacy of adult language-learning programs.

8.3.2. Implications for child home and second language learning

The thesis makes a contribution to the field of child language socialisation in migration contexts. A key finding is that parents' investment in children's language learning prior to migration is influenced by popular assumptions related to how children learn English quickly and effortlessly in its natural settings from native speakers. However, in contrast to many parents' expectations, most children had a difficult time in their transition to the new school. They were unable to communicate their needs to people surrounding them and came to realise that their home language was not of much value in the wider society. In fact, the findings of this thesis suggest that treating children from a monolingual lens and ignoring or devaluing, explicitly or implicitly, their linguistic and cultural repertoires, can have repercussions at an individual level, but can also impact familial relationships, and perhaps society as a whole.

At an individual level, the denial of children's home language and culture can negatively impact their sense of self and may lead to psychological complications including senses of loneliness, exclusion and low self-esteem. These experiences can also lead to complications in familial relationships because, on the one hand, child language maintenance is vital for parents. On the other hand, once children gain some English proficiency they tend to avoid the language of their home, viewing it as a hindrance to

passing as 'legitimate' members of society. Such avoidance can lead to home language attrition. Given the advantages of bilingualism as a whole, child language maintenance or attrition can also have implications at the societal level. Children's loss of multilingual skills potentially limits their future participation in social, professional and economic markets, which runs counter to their own and society's benefit. Therefore, the viewpoints about language maintenance need to be shifted from a mere pursuit of aspirations by migrants to the promotion of multilingual skills as a societal asset (Walker, 2004). Such a shift in thinking is the keystone to the development and adjustment of language policies and the creation of conditions under which migrants' languages are also attended to in schools and, thus, providing parents with more space to benefit from their children's English language skills.

The findings of the study also emphasise that children are not passive objects, but active agents who, like their parents, bring a set of dispositions and hold an outlook on their new school, and their new life as a whole. Children have diverse responses to the conditions under which their sense of self-worth is at risk. The way some of the children responded, however, may be misjudged if not seen through a broader lens to take account of the sociohistorical and cultural contexts that they come from, and also unbalanced power relations in the current contexts. In order to help children's language development and transition to the new school and environment community, educators need to attend to what children bring with them – their languages, culture, habitus, expectations and needs. This way, educators can help children conceive of themselves as multilingual subjects who are "legitimate speakers of all languages in their linguistic repertoires" (Walker, 2004, p. 400) rather than being perceived, by themselves and others, as deficient, different, or "weird" as some of the children in this study called it.

8.3.3. Implications for language learning processes in migrant families

Most parents in my study believed that their school-age children had greater access to socially-valued linguistic and cultural resources and could potentially be good sources to learn from or to practise English speaking with. However, most parents avoided using English with their children due to the perceived constraints. These constraints related largely to parents' concerns about children's Persian maintenance, and also authority displacement. In fact, parents often had to stick strictly to Persian-only rules because children tended, consciously or unconsciously, to shift to English. The findings of this study, then, evidence that children's Persian maintenance or attrition has a close relationship to children's language beliefs and attitudes which are formed in the new sociocultural contexts of school and the wider society. These findings show that while there are opportunities for parents to enhance their language skills through their children, they avoid those opportunities because they feel the onus is solely on them to foster their children's home language.

Furthermore, parents sometimes avoid learning or using English with their children due to concerns about role reversals in their interactions with their children. In fact, English as the societal language is perceived by parents and children as the most valued form of language. Therefore, parents are often viewed, by themselves and their children, as being disadvantaged. This view is perceived as contradictory to traditional assumptions about parent-child roles in socialisation processes in the family which regard parents as possessing greater socially-acceptable linguistic and cultural resources than children. However, these assumptions can work counter to the parents' and children's benefit and their relationships in multilingual contexts. This was particularly obvious in conflicts in parent-child interactions.

These complexities in parental and child language learning processes in multilingual contexts make evident the need to adopt a holistic view to consider the sociocultural backgrounds of learners, but also "to understand and address broader social inequities that have concomitant effects on the investments that immigrant families have in both the mother tongue and the target language" (Norton, 2000b, p. 458). In schools, an effort is made to help migrant children pass through a bilingual transitional stage which is assumed to be directed towards monolingualism. In fact, schools act as perpetuators of monolingual ideologies, by means of sociopolitical schemes and education regulations and language policies (Miller, 2003), which promote both a continuing monolingual education system and a monolingually-oriented society (Benz, 2015). Parents are also under pressure to gain socially-acceptable forms of English, but also to come to believe that their home language is not of much value and functionality in the wider society. These can have detrimental impacts on their sense of self-esteem and identity but also on parent-child relationships. Added to these is the pressure of trying to raise children bilingually in the new sociopolitical conditions which do not necessarily provide affordances to facilitate bilingual outcomes. Under these conditions, it can be hard to convince children about the worth of their home language taught by their parents, and parents may not fully benefit from their children's greater access to the societal language.

These findings show how monolingual ideologies will inevitably impact familial interactions. In order to facilitate migrant families' language learning processes and to help to reduce language-related tensions in migrant families, a shift to more ethnolinguistically inclusive ways of thinking at macro- and micro-levels are fundamental. To achieve this, language professionals, educators, policy makers and migrant service-providers as well as migrant communities and their members need to

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work hand in hand. Schools and educational institutions need to find practical ways to make the advantages of children's bilingual skills more tangible to them and to others. This way, children can become encouraged to maintain and extend their home languages, with positive impacts on their sense of self and their relationships with their parents.

It will also be desirable to make available to parents resources regarding the challenges and opportunities of home language maintenance and the ways in which language challenges faced by parents in migration contexts may be addressed. This can result in emotionally and psychologically healthier familial relationships and, ultimately, a healthier society. Further, parental ways of thinking need to be directed towards patterns of parent-child interactions where children are seen as contributors to language socialisation processes in the family.

8.3.4. Implications for Australian migration studies

The study aimed to explore the processes of language learning and socialisation in migrant families in Australia. The data came from a group of Persian families in Australia. As shown in the introductory section to this chapter, Persian migrants are an emerging and growing population in Australia. Therefore, their language and settlement-related needs will be different from those of the more established migrant communities from the post-World-War-II period. Further, given the relatively small population size of the Persian community compared to other recent migrant communities, Persians' language and settlement-related needs may remain out of sight of language and settlement policy makers. This study contributed by bringing to the forefront the language-related needs and challenges of an emerging and small but rapidly growing community, to be

considered by language professionals, educators and policy makers, aiming at helping new migrants in this and similar migrant communities.

Additionally, while language-training services (such as the AMEP) are available to migrants who come to Australia with limited or low levels of English, the findings showed that hardly any services are available to meet the language needs of those who come with higher levels of education and a relatively good command of English as a foreign language. These findings have implications for language-training provision and settlement policies to take a more learner-centred and evidence-based approach aimed at addressing the needs of this group of migrants.

Furthermore, while the focus of most research is on adult or child language-learning provision, the findings of this study contributed to SLA research and migration studies by presenting a holistic view of language-learning processes and challenges in the family as a social unit in migration contexts. These findings have implications for the development of language and settlement policies to enhance language-related services to migrant families in Australia.

8.4. Future directions

This study has attempted to gain a holistic understanding of language learning and practices of a group of Iranian migrant families in Australia. The study has focused on participants' experiences of language learning and use in the early stages of their settlement in Australia. Further, the children's age at the time of data collection was in a range between eight and twelve years old. Therefore, this study could be extended with a systematic longitudinal approach to examine parent-child relationships in terms of language practices as children enter the teenage years. For future research, it would be of

interest to follow how parental and child language beliefs, attitudes, desire, agency, and practices may change over time as they immerse further into sociocultural contexts in Australia. Further, it would be of interest to investigate whether children maintain fluency in Persian as they get older.

Another direction for future research is to approach the topic at hand from other perspectives. In this study, the roles of teachers and peers were only accessed through parents' and children's narratives. Future research should add schools as a site of research and explore the intersection between language learning and language practices in the family together with the school. It would be of interest to investigate language development and practices of migrant children and their parents from the perspectives of teachers, peers, and other stakeholders alike at school. Further, it is crucial to better link the fields of linguistics and education to explore possible ways for the facilitation of language development of both parents and children, as raised in this study. Moreoever, children's use (or non-use) of Persian with friends outside of the school setting also will be a relevant direction for furture research.

A third direction for research relates to the exploration of possible influences of gender in language attitudes and learning processes in the contexts of family and schools. Gender factors may influence family dynamics in relation to the ways in which children interact with each of their parents and with people surrounding them at school.

A forth direction for research relates to the role of siblings in family language policy. Every new child in the family can affect family language policy, because it is important how siblings communicate among themselves (Kopeliovich, 2013). Most of the families

in this study had only one child. Relevant dynamics in families in which there are more than one child also need further exploration.

Finally, this study focused on parents who had high levels of education and English proficiency. Relevant dynamics in families in which parents come to the new country with low levels of education and English knowledge also need further exploration. It will be important to examine parents' and children's language beliefs and attitudes towards each other's language learning and the processes of language socialisation within these families

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Appendix I – Ethics Final Approval

MACQUARIE
University

RE: HS Ethics Final Approval (5201200784)(Condition met)
1 message

Fhs Ethics <fhs.ethics@mq.edu.au>   Wed, Nov 14, 2012 at 3:34 PM
To: Prof Ingrid Piller <ingrid.piller@mq.edu.au>
Cc: Mrs Shiva Motaghi Tabari <shiva.motaghi-tabari@students.mq.edu.au>

Dear Prof Piller,

Re: "Bidirectional Language learning in Migrant Families"(5201200784)

Thank you for your recent correspondence. Your response has addressed the
issues raised by the Faculty of Human Sciences Human Research Ethics
Sub-Committee and you may now commence your research.
This research meets the requirements of the National Statement on Ethical
Conduct in Human Research (2007). The National Statement is available at
the following web site:
http://www.nhmrc.gov.au/_files_nhmrc/publications/attachments/e72.pdf.

The following personnel are authorised to conduct this research:

Mrs Shiva Motaghi Tabari
Prof Ingrid Piller

Please note the following standard requirements of approval:
1.   The approval of this project is conditional upon your continuing
compliance with the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research
(2007).
2.   Approval will be for a period of five (5) years subject to the provision
of annual reports.
Progress Report 1 Due: 14th November 2013
Progress Report 2 Due: 14th November 2014
Progress Report 3 Due: 14th November 2015
Progress Report 4 Due: 14th November 2016
Final Report Due: 14th November 2017
NB. If you complete the work earlier than you had planned you must submit a
Final Report as soon as the work is completed. If the project has been
discontinued or not commenced for any reason, you are also required to
submit a Final Report for the project.
Progress reports and Final Reports are available at the following website:
http://www.research.mq.edu.au/for/researchers/how_to_obtain_ethics_approval/
human_research_ethics/forms
3.   If the project has run for more than five (5) years you cannot renew
approval for the project. You will need to complete and submit a Final
Report and submit a new application for the project. (The five year limit
on renewal of approvals allows the Sub-Committee to fully re-review
research in an environment where legislation, guidelines and requirements
are continually changing, for example, new child protection and privacy
laws).
4.   All amendments to the project must be reviewed and approved by the

Sub-Committee before implementation. Please complete and submit a Request for Amendment Form available at the following website:
http://www.research.mq.edu.au/for/researchers/how_to_obtain_ethics_approval/human_research_ethics/forms

5.   Please notify the Sub-Committee immediately in the event of any adverse effects on participants or of any unforeseen events that affect the continued ethical acceptability of the project.

6.   At all times you are responsible for the ethical conduct of your research in accordance with the guidelines established by the University. This information is available at the following websites:
http://www.mq.edu.au/policy
http://www.research.mq.edu.au/for/researchers/how_to_obtain_ethics_approval/human_research_ethics/policy

If you will be applying for or have applied for internal or external funding for the above project it is your responsibility to provide the Macquarie University's Research Grants Management Assistant with a copy of this email as soon as possible. Internal and External funding agencies will not be informed that you have final approval for your project and funds will not be released until the Research Grants Management Assistant has received a copy of this email.

If you need to provide a hard copy letter of Final Approval to an external organisation as evidence that you have Final Approval, please do not hesitate to contact the Ethics Secretariat at the address below.

Please retain a copy of this email as this is your official notification of final ethics approval.

Yours sincerely,

Dr Peter Roger
Chair
Faculty of Human Sciences Ethics Review Sub-Committee
Human Research Ethics Committee

****
Faculty of Human Sciences - Ethics
Research Office
Level 3, Research HUB, Building C5C
Macquarie University
NSW 2109
Ph: +61 2 9850 4197
Fax: +61 2 9850 4465
Email: fhs.ethics@mq.edu.au
http://www.research.mq.edu.au/

MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY

Department of Linguistics
Faculty of Human Sciences
MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY NSW 2109
Professor Ingrid Piller and Shiva Motaghi-Tabari

Mobile: +61 (0)410 742 441
Email: shiva.motaghi-tabari@ students.mq.edu.au

Information and Consent Form

Name of Project: Bidirectional Language Learning in Migrant Families

You and your child are invited to take part in a study of 'Bidirectional Language Learning in Migrant Families'. The purpose of this study is to gain an understanding of the relationship between the language learning of children and their parents. The study will allow you to share your experiences of learning and using English in Australia. The study might contribute to improving language learning programs for migrant families in Australia.

The study is being conducted by Shiva Motaghi-Tabari, a PhD candidate in the Department of Linguistics, Macquarie University (0410742441, shiva.motaghi-tabari@students.mq.edu.au) to meet the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) under the supervision of:

Professor Ingrid Piller
Department of Linguistics
02 9850 7674 / ingrid.piller@mq.edu.au

We are asking you and your child to take part in this project. If you and your child decide to participate, you will be asked to participate in individual and group interviews conducted by Shiva. Each interview session would take 1-1½ hours of your time. The individual and group interviews will be audio-recorded. You might also be invited to participate in follow-up interviews in the future.

You and your child may also be asked to keep diaries so as to keep records of your English language learning experiences on a day-to-day basis.

Any information or personal details gathered in the course of the study are confidential. No individual will be identified in any publication of the results. Only the researchers will have access to the data. A summary of the main points of interviews will be sent to you for feedback. On completion of the study, you will also be sent a summary of the findings.

Participation in this study is **entirely voluntary**: you are not obliged to participate and if you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw at any time without having to give a reason and without consequences.

Bidirectional Language Learning in Migrant Families

CONSENT FORM
[Parents/Carers]

_____

I have read and understand the information above and any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to participate in this research, knowing that I can withdraw from further participation in the research at any time without consequence. I have been given a copy of this form to keep.

Participant's Name:_____
  (Block letters)

Participant's Signature: _____ Date:_____

Investigator's Name:_____
  (Block letters)

Investigator's Signature: _____ ___ Date:_____

The ethical aspects of this study have been approved by the Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee. If you have any complaints or reservations about any ethical aspect of your participation in this research, you may contact the Committee through the Director, Research Ethics (telephone (02) 9850 7854; email ethics@mq.edu.au). Any complaint you make will be treated in confidence and investigated, and you will be informed of the outcome.

(INVESTIGATOR'S [OR PARTICIPANT'S] COPY)

Bidirectional Language Learning in Migrant Families

CONSENT FORM
[child]

I have read and understand the information above and any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to participate in this research, knowing that I can withdraw from further participation in the research at any time without consequence. I have been given a copy of this form to keep.

Child's Name: _____
(Block letter)

Child's Signature: _____ Date: _____

Investigator's Name: _____
(Block letters)

Investigator's Signature: _____ Date: _____

The ethical aspects of this study have been approved by the Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee. If you have any complaints or reservations about any ethical aspect of your participation in this research, you may contact the Committee through the Director, Research Ethics (telephone (02) 9850 7854; email ethics@mq.edu.au). Any complaint you make will be treated in confidence and investigated, and you will be informed of the outcome.

(INVESTIGATOR'S [OR PARTICIPANT'S] COPY)

Appendix III – Information and Consent Forms (Persian)

آگهی و رضایت نامه

نام پروژه: فراگیری زبان بصورت دوطرفه در خانواده های مهاجر

بدینوسیله از شما و فرزندتان دعوت می نماییم که در یک مطالعه تحقیقاتی در زمینه "فراگیری زبان بصورت دوطرفه در خانواده های مهاجر" شرکت نمایید. هدف از این پژوهش، بررسی و درک رابطه بین یادگیری زبان توسط کودکان و والدین آنها میباشد. شرکت در این تحقیق، به شما این امکان را خواهد داد تا تجربیات خود را در زمینه یادگیری و استفاده از زبان انگلیسی در استرالیا مطرح نمایید. این مطالعه نقش مؤثری در بهبود برنامه های زبان آموزی برای خانواده های مهاجر در استرالیا خواهد داشت.

این پژوهش بعنوان بخشی ازیک پروژه تحقیقاتی دوره دکترا توسط خانم شیوا متقی طبری (۰۴۱۰۷۴۲۴۴۱، shiva.motaghi-tabari@students.mq.edu.au)، تحت نظارت استاد راهنما، پروفسور اینگرید پیلر، گروه زبانشناسی دانشگاه مک کواری (جزئیات تماس به شرح زیر) انجام خواهد شد.

Professor Ingrid Piller

Department of Linguistics

02 98507674 / Ingrid.piller@mq.edu.au

مشارکت شما و فرزندتان در این پروژه مورد امتنان خواهد بود. درصورت شرکت در این پروژه، از شما و فرزندتان دعوت بعمل خواهد آمد تا در مصاحبه های شخصی و گروهی که توسط شیوا انجام خواهد شد شرکت نمایید. هر یک از جلسات مصاحبه حدود ۱,۵-۱ ساعت از وقت شما را خواهد گرفت. در این جلسات ضبط صدا صورت خواهد گرفت. ممکن است از شما درخواست شود که در جلسات مصاحبه بعدی نیز شرکت نمایید. همچنین از شما درخواست می گردد که تجربیات یادگیری خود را بصورت روزمره در یک دفترچه یادداشت نمایید.

هرگونه اطلاعات و جزئیات شخصی در طول تحقیق بصورت کاملاً محرمانه محفوظ خواهد ماند. هویت اشخاص شرکت کننده، در انتشار نتیجه تحقیق به هر شکل، قابل شناسایی نخواهد بود. تنها محققین نامبرده به اطلاعات دسترسی خواهند داشت. خلاصه ای از نکات اصلی مصاحبه ها به شما ارسال می گردد تا بتوانید نظرات خود را اعلام نمایید. پس از اتمام پروژه، چکیده نتایج نیز به شما ارسال خواهد شد.

شرکت در این پروژه کاملاً اختیاری می باشد. این بدین معناست که شما مجبور به شرکت نبوده و اگر تصمیم به شرکت نمایید، می توانید هرزمان بدون ارائه دلیل و بدون هیچگونه عواقب به مشارکت خود خاتمه دهید.

رضایت نامه

(اولیا/والدین)

اینجانب مطالب و اطلاعات فوق را خوانده و به کلیه سؤالات من در این زمینه پاسخ لازم داده شده است. ضمن آگاهی به این موضوع که می توانم هر زمان بدون هیچگونه عواقبی از ادامه مشارکت صرفنظر نمایم، موافقت می نمایم که در این پروژه تحقیقاتی شرکت نمایم. یک نسخه از این فرم جهت نگهداری در سوابق در اختیار من گذارده شده است.

نام شرکت کننده:

امضای شرکت کننده:

تاریخ:

نام پژوهشگر:

امضای پژوهشگر:

تاریخ:

جوانب اخلاقی این تحقیق توسط "کمیته اصول اخلاقی" دانشگاه مک کواری مورد تأیید و تصویب قرار گرفته است. درصورت هرگونه شکایت در ارتباط با مسائل اخلاقی مربوط به مشارکت در این پروژه، می توانید با مدیر کمیته مسائل اخلاقی در تحقیقات، به شماره تماس ۰۲-۹۸۵۰۷۸۵۴ و یا پست الکترونیکی ethics@mq.edu.au تماس حاصل نمایید. هرگونه شکایت بصورت محرمانه محفوظ مانده و مورد بررسی قرار خواهد گرفت و نتیجه آن به شما اعلام خواهد شد.

(نسخه شرکت کننده/پژوهشگر)

رضایت نامه

(دانش آموزان)

اینجانب مطالب و اطلاعات فوق را خوانده و به کلیه سؤالات من در این زمینه پاسخ لازم داده شده است. ضمن آگاهی به این موضوع که می توانم هر زمان بدون هیچگونه عواقبی از ادامه مشارکت صرفنظر نمایم، موافقت می نمایم که در این پروژه تحقیقاتی شرکت نمایم. یک نسخه از این فرم جهت نگهداری در سوابق در اختیار من گذارده شده است.

نام شرکت کننده (دانش آموز):

امضای شرکت کننده(دانش آموز):

تاریخ:

نام پژوهشگر:

امضای پژوهشگر:

تاریخ:

جوانب اخلاقی این تحقیق توسط "کمیته اصول اخلاقی" دانشگاه مک کواری مورد تأیید و تصویب قرار گرفته است. درصورت هرگونه شکایت در ارتباط با مسائل اخلاقی مربوط به مشارکت در این پروژه، می توانید با مدیر کمیته مسائل اخلاقی در تحقیقات، به شماره تماس ۰۲-۹۸۵۰۷۸۵۴ و یا پست الکترونیکی ethics@mq.edu.au تماس حاصل نمایید. هرگونه شکایت بصورت محرمانه محفوظ مانده و مورد بررسی قرار خواهد گرفت و نتیجه آن به شما اعلام خواهد شد.

(نسخه شرکت کننده/پژوهشگر)

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Bidirectional Language Learning in Migrant Families

Background and Language Skills Questionnaire

General Info	
First Name	
Surname	
Preferred Pseudonym	
Year of Birth	
Marital Status	
First Language/s	
Year Arrived in Australia	
Current Postcode/Suburb	
How many people in total live in your household?	
Adults at home (Please tick all that apply)	□ Mother □ Father □ Grandparents □ Others: please specify …………………
Children at home (Including Step-children)	Child 1: □ Girl □ Boy Age: Child 2: □ Girl □ Boy Age: Child 3: □ Girl □ Boy Age: Child 4: □ Girl □ Boy Age: Child 5: □ Girl □ Boy Age:
Educational and Professional Background	

Highest Level of Education and Language of Instruction	□ No education
	□ Below year 12: Please specify:
	  □ Year 1 to Year 6
	  □ Year 7 to Year 12
	 Language/s of Instruction: ………………
	□ High-school Diploma
	 Language/s of Instruction: ……..………..
	□ Graduate Diploma
	 Language/s of Instruction: ………………
	□ Bachelor Degree
	 Language/s of Instruction: ………………
	□ Postgraduate Degree
	 Language/s of Instruction: ………………
	□ Other: ……….…………………….…....

Your main occupation before coming to Australia	
Your partner's main occupation before coming to Australia	
Your current main occupation	
Your partner's current occupation	
Your total household income (Including Centrelink assistance)	□ $1-$299 per week ($1-15,599 per year) □ $300-$599 per week ($15,600-31,199 per year) □ $600-$999 per week ($31,200-51,999 per year) □ $1000-$1499 per week ($51,200-77,999 per year) □ $1500-$1999 per week ($78,000-103,999 per year) □ More than $2000 per week ($104,000 or more per year) □ Don't want to say
Languages learned/used
What languages can you speak? Please specify	………………………………………………………….
Languages used at home (Where applicable, please specify below if you use different languages with each member of the family)	Main languages/s…………………………………….. Adults to Adults: …………………….……………… Adults to Child/Children: ……………………………….. Child to Child: ………………………………………… Child/children to Adults: ………………………………..
Any English classes attended before coming to Australia	□ No □ Yes
Any English classes attended/attending in Australia	□ No □ Yes
Is your partner currently attending any English classes?	□ No □ Yes
Who in your household **do YOU think** has the highest level of English proficiency?	

English Proficiency Self-Assessment					
How do you rate yourself in the four skill areas in English? Please tick the appropriate box:		Poor	average	good	Very good
	Speaking	☐	☐	☐	☐
	Listening	☐	☐	☐	☐
	Reading	☐	☐	☐	☐
	Writing	☐	☐	☐	☐
	Over all	☐	☐	☐	☐

A big thank you for your time!

MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY Bidirectional Language Learning in Migrant Families

Children's Language Background Questionnaire

First Name	
Surname	
Date of Birth	
Preferred pseudonym	
First Language/s	
Grade (in Australia)	
Siblings in Australia	□ Older Brother □ Older Sister □ Younger Brother □ Younger Sister □ Other ……………………………………………………………

Previous School Experience	
Locations of your previous schools (city, country)	
Grades attended before coming to Australia	
Language/s of schooling in your previous school	
Any English classes attended before coming to Australia	
Languages spoken at home	
Parents/grandparents/other adults TOGETHER	
Parents/grandparents/other adults WITH YOU	
Siblings older than you WITH YOU	
Siblings younger than you WITH YOU	
Others in your home	

Hobbies					
TV	Yes ☐	No ☐	**Books**	Yes ☐	No ☐
If yes, which language/s?					
Music	Yes ☐	No ☐	**Radio**	Yes ☐	No ☐
If yes, which language/s?					
Games	Yes ☐	No ☐	**Movies**	Yes ☐	No ☐
If yes, which language/s?					
Friends	Yes ☐	No ☐	**Shopping**	Yes ☐	No ☐
If yes, which language/s?					
Sports	Yes ☐	No ☐	**Other**		
If yes, which language/s?					

A big THANK YOU ☺

Appendix VI – Interview Guides

For Parents/Carers

PAST (Before coming to Australia)
Can you tell me about your experiences with learning English back home?
Can you tell me about your child's experiences with learning English back home?
Can you tell me about your child's education back home generally?
PRESENT
Can you tell me about your experiences with learning English in Australia?
Can you tell me about your child's experiences with learning English here in Australia?
Can you tell me about your child's education more generally here in Australia?
Can you tell me about differences in your and your child's language learning and education generally between here and back home?
Are you trying to maintain your child's proficiency in your first language? How do you do that?
Is English language learning and first language maintenance an issue in your family? Can you tell me about it?
FUTURE
What kind of language education and education more generally do you want for your child? How do you work towards that goal?
Do you have language education goals or other learning goals for yourself? How do you work towards them?

For Children

PAST (Before coming to Australia)
Can you tell me about your experiences with learning English back home?
Can you tell me about your education back home generally?
PRESENT
Can you tell me about your experiences with learning English in Australia?
Can you tell me about your education more generally here in Australia?
Can you tell me about differences in language learning and education generally between here and back home?
Are you trying to learn any Persian language?
FUTURE
What kind of language education and education more generally do you want for yourself? How do you work towards that goal?