

**LANGUAGE, LITERACY AND IDENTITY PRACTICES INFLUENCING  
ACCULTURATION IN IMMIGRANT/MIGRANT NEPALESE FAMILIES –  
AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY**

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## **ABSTRACT:**

This thesis is an ethnographic study which investigates the practices of language maintenance and ethnic identity affiliation for immigrant/migrant Nepalese families with primary to middle school children in the United Kingdom. The thesis investigates the connection between two larger fields of research; language maintenance and ethnic identity affiliation. Previously, research investigated one area or the other. After initial interviews with the family members it was determined from investigation into past exposure and present participation in the various practices of both ethnic identity and language maintenance that deeper investigation needed to occur. Finally, it was determined that in the prior research none had examined differences between family members and reasons for these variations.

The thesis presents an ethnographic comparative case study analysis of three Nepalese families using a three-tiered macro, micro, and internal theoretical framework in conjunction with a newly redefined acculturation continuum. Observation, which was participatory, occurred in various contexts during a nine month period. In conjunction with these observation sessions, semi-structured interviews regarding present participation in language maintenance and ethnic identity practices, and historical narrative interviews investigating prior exposure to home country, ethnic, cultural, and social literacy practices occurred. In addition, data analysis from the observations used a language maintenance practice checklist based on three types of practices (social language, social literacy, and peripheral ritualised practices) thus discovering whether shifts or loss occurred in families. This analysis revealed a newly termed practice of peripheral ritualised practices. Furthermore, observations discovered that it was not only

exposure to home country experience and ethnic customs which play a significant role in shaping social and ethnic identity construction but more informatively the age of exposure. Consequently, the researcher was able to examine not only shifts from children via pre-adolescences to teens, but to assess differences between siblings, an area that had previously not been researched. Finally, the study noted that for children, pre-adolescence and adolescences there is a balance between globalised practices and ethnic practices which need further future investigation.

**Abstract**

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### **Author's Declaration**

I, Nettie Boivin, declare that this work is original and has not been presented at a conference.

The work has not been knowingly plagiarised or used in any other capacity.



## **Chapter One – Introduction**

### 1.1 Introducing the field of study

This ethnographic study involves a journey of co-collaborative comparison of language maintenance and ethnic identity affiliation between the migrant and immigrant family participants. In the past when immigrant families migrated to a new country, the immigrant children usually would have to negotiate several customs and practices of the local and national identity. These included; a new language as well as new cultural customs, practices and types of foods that differed from those in their home country and in some instances difference in clothing. For example, when Chinese people immigrated to Canada around the 1920's they found it difficult to buy traditional Chinese foods, written materials, music and clothing. Today globalisation means that Chinese literature, newspapers, food, clothing, and cultural products such as comics/manga and music can be bought in most stores in the major and even smaller centres in Canada. As a child of immigrant parents, growing up I have witnessed the inclusion of Asian food items, which were previously relegated to 'China town' stores. We would often go into China town in order to purchase food items unavailable in the supermarkets. Now, globalisation and the speed of technology mean that the import of ethnic culture (comics, books, DVDs), food and even ethnic clothing is not as exotic or inaccessible as previously experienced by new immigrants. Moreover, Hall (1993) found that culture created through globalisation becomes a globalised culture. From this perspective, in a globalised world children are able to read similar comics, watch the same television shows and movies, listen to the same music, shop at the same stores, wear the same clothes and eat similar foods.

However, others have noted that cultural traditions, customs, and practices are never completely transported from the immigrants' home country rather they become integrated into the local customs or practices (MacDougall, 2003). Brandt and Clinton, (2002) argue that "one cannot have local practices without global practices and vice versa" (p.1). Moreover, research suggests that literacy practices are either imposed by institutions or created by local communities. However, with fluid information transfer via technology (smartphones, internet, social networking etc.) pre-adolescent children are able to synthesise information from a greater number of sources such as television, movies, food, YouTube, Wikipedia, advertisements, internet, social networks, music, and books than in the past (Cope and Kalantzis, 2000; Miller, 2007). Each child integrates these multimodal socio-cultural globalised practices in degrees, depending on the various strengths of ethnic home practices (Lam, and Rosario-Ramos, 2009). For example, even though children eat hamburgers all over the globe, a burger in York will be made to cohere with local tastes. In addition, these tastes will differ from those in Nepal. It is not necessarily due to the availability of ingredients but more importantly the expectations of what a burger should taste like. This is because past experience with flavours affects overall taste expectations. Moreover, Japanese comics can be bought in Chinese, English, and even Bahasa Malay but they each contains socio-cultural language translation particular to the culture it is produced for.

Ethnic expectations and cultural assumptions shape and define socio-cultural language maintenance and ethnic identity practices. Over time traditional ethnic practices of the new immigrants become integrated into the local practices (Collins, 2007; Collins, and Slembrouck, 2007; Bartlett and Holland, 2002). Globally, there is a syncretism of practices that is occurring

(Rogoff, 1998). Thus, globalised practices, whether they are social language practices, literacy practices, or cultural customs assist children who immigrate/migrate. These practices enable children to acculturate more rapidly due to their exposure to similar types of foods, culture (television, books, comics, music, movies, and games) and clothing (Lam, and Rosario-Ramos, 2009). The adaptation of multimodal practices into a larger identity has been researched extensively (Bartlett and Holland, 2002; Kress and van Leeuwen, 2001; Pahl, 2002a; Street, 2003). This thesis aims to incorporate this previous research with an examination of global, traditional, multimodal and local practices. This is because as Heller (2003) states, globalisation creates an overall relationships between language and an identity of belonging. Belonging is often commonly understood to relate to practices that a local community adheres to regularly. However, belonging is also frequently derived from cohesive family or home practices.

It should also be noted that children do not learn language and social identity in the classroom alone; they are also subject to the other “spheres of influence” (Epstein, 2001), namely the practices of the home. As Rowsell and Pahl (2007) states, in multilingual contexts social literacy practices become driven by a local as well as a globalised habitus. A globalised habitus (Bourdieu, 2003) which creates a common bond amongst children can also highlight differences based on traditional ethnic practices. Whether or not these differences in language maintenance and ethnic identity practices cause the child to want to acculturate into the local community (Lee, 2005) or remain affiliated to their ethnic identity (Roberts, Phinney, Masses, Chen, Roberts, & Romero, 1999) is dependent on numerous other factors. These factors will be assessed in this study.

Furthermore, with the instantaneous nature of social interactive technology, language maintenance and ethnic identity practices can be increased rather than decreased, as satellite television, radio, music, and other cultural products are readily available (Bartlett and Holland, 2002). Nowadays, children have greater access to multimodal literacy practices both in their L1/L2 and even L3. With the increase in cultural and economic globalisation, multimodality and technological advancements the very context of language, literacy and cultural communication has become more fluid (Pahl, 2005). Appadurai (1996) coined the word “technoscape” to refer to how technology transfers content and information “at a high speed in different contexts, impervious to boundaries” (p.34). For the technologically proficient pre-adolescent and adolescent this technoscape expands their socio-cultural globalised practices. For children this is particularly true, as they engage in these practices to construct their self-identity through socio-cultural interaction with school peers, peers from the community, as well as their family and home environment. Ingold (2000) refers to “the creative interweaving of experience in discourse. . . which. . . in turn affect peoples’ perceptions of the world around them’ and would place the children’s perceptions at the centre of analysis (p.22)”. Often daily communication of social literacy practices occurs via multimodal technology (texting, tweeting, Facebooking etc.) and so their daily social interaction is more global and technologically driven than in the past. This is arguably no more prevalent than during the pre-teen and teenage years.

In the past, language maintenance and ethnic identity were either researched separately or the studies were conducted on participants at secondary school. Developmental changes occur from primary to secondary school and can affect attitudes and beliefs during the formation of the social and ethnic identity of the child (Bandura, 1997; Erikson, 1963; Wigfield & Eccles, 1999). Often, during the pre-adolescence and adolescent period of identity construction there is

an impulse to be independent from the family and to integrate into social surroundings (Bandura, 1997; Erikson, 1968). In a sense there is a desire to maintain an identity similar to that of their peers so that they may live a coherent life (Bruner, 1990; Lantoff, 2006). Research in ethnic identity and language maintenance has established a number of important related factors in language maintenance and ethnic identity affiliation which are: the importance of family cohesion, peer group exposure, cohesion of community, exposure to home and home culture, and economic and social status (Garcia, 2003; Padilla and Perez, 2003; Phinney, 1997, 2000; Phinney, Romero, Nava, & Huang, 2001). However, there are other external factors, such as the structural inequality of immigration policies, and the use of language as a social capital. These external differences can cause changes in attitudes towards language maintenance practices for both migrant and immigrant families. Changes over time to specific language maintenance practices, is an area that is currently under-researched. Recently, with the increase in overseas educational and employment opportunities many people are no longer emigrating for a better life. They have become more transient in their movements (Iqbal, 2013).

In addition, with recent global economic policies, short-term jobs and transmigration are increasingly prevalent compared with previous permanent immigration patterns (Ciarniene, and Kumpikaite, 2008). This phenomenon of transmigration and its effects on migrant and immigrant families and their pre-adolescent children must be addressed when comparing the three case study families. The other area to expand investigation is to understand the differences between globalised and traditional ethnic sets of language maintenance and ethnic identity practices. These new transmigration patterns (Featherstone, Ince, Mackinnon, Strauss, and Cumbers, 2012) will affect language maintenance and ethnic identity affiliation (na, United

Nations World Population, 2010). This study examines the differences between migrants and immigrants as they affect language maintenance and ethnic identity. In addition, investigation will take place with respect to the differences amongst siblings, a phenomenon yet to be fully explored.

The Nepalese and Gorkha immigrant/migrant identity, for those residing in the U.K., has had little investigation. This is an interesting ethnic group. Some are migrants due to their employment with the military while others are immigrants due to the educational capital they had acquired that enabled them to gain permanent residency. This dissertation will undertake a comparative analysis of immigrant and migrant Nepalese and the factors effecting individual changes between siblings and other family members. The objective of this study is to not generalise an ethnic community but rather to investigate variations. In addition, the reasons for these variations between families in the Nepalese community and amongst family members will be examined. This thesis extends beyond quantifying language maintenance and ethnic identity practices to include an assessment of new types of practices that affect attitudes towards identity affiliation and acculturation. Previously, most research in the fields of language and ethnic identity maintenance examined immigrants who had permanently moved to a new home country. However, for trans-migrant (Ciarniene, and Kumpikaite, 2008; Kochhar-Georges, 2010) children who spend little time in one location the question needs to be asked: how is ethnic affiliation affected when relocation occurs every few years?

The rationale for expanding the parameters of prior research is to investigate the often ignored areas of pre-adolescent and early adolescent immigrant/migrant children and the factors

impacting upon their acculturation. For primary and secondary school children ethnic identity and language maintenance is in a fluid stage of development. Moreover, the parameters they use to define their social and ethnic identity often differ from their parents' identity. This is due to the fact that during pre-adolescence, children are still constructing their social and ethnic identity (Hartner, 2012). How do primary school students identify themselves culturally, particularly in relation to their strengthening peer relations and their desire to fit in at the socially tenuous stage of pre-adolescence (Bandura, 1997; Erikson, 1968; Hartner, 2012; Wigfield & Eccles et al, 1997)? This research attempts to explore such questions as; How do children acculturate to their new home country if they are migratory rather than settled? Do they affiliate with a broad ethnic identity, a globalised identity or merge these into a third identity? These questions arise from an examination of previous research in conjunction with the context and experience of the participants in this thesis participants' context. This study will examine factors from prior research, in both language maintenance and ethnic identity affiliation. It will also define the types of language maintenance and ethnic identity practices found in the literature, such as social language practices, social literacy practices, in addition a newly uncovered practice of peripheral ritualised practices. This study examines the link between attitudes to language maintenance and ethnic identity affiliation and the practices which influence attitudes. What role do the various practices (social language, social literacy, and peripheral ritualised practices) play in the formation of ethnic identity affiliation? Does exposure enable ethnic identity affiliation? More succinctly, do children have strong ethnic identity affiliation even without strong language maintenance? Are there differences between siblings and language/ethnic maintenance? These areas are important and require examination.

### 1.1 *Research questions*

The thesis research questions are:

- 1) Do Nepalese immigrant/ migrant families maintain language and ethnic identity through observable practices, and if so, what type of practices do they use?
- 2) Do attitudes to language maintenance remain constant or do they shift over time?
- 3) In the families where shift/loss is occurring, what are the factors that caused this and do these shifts affect the strength of ethnic identity affiliation?
- 4) Is there a consistency of attitudes towards language maintenance and ethnic affiliation amongst the family members and comparatively between families?

#### 1.1.2 *Thesis aims and outline*

Chapter One establishes the context of the case study families by defining the differences between Nepali and Gorkha ethnic identities. Following on from this, an examination of historical context of the Gorkha and Nepalese language and ethnic identity policies will be undertaken. Next, the differences between urban and rural Nepalese are highlighted followed by a brief discussion of the effects of globalisation, migration and immigration and identity construction. Chapter Two provides a brief overview of the language maintenance field and defines some of the aspects and terminology in relation to language maintenance. Chapter Two also examines relevant factors contributing to language maintenance and ethnic identity affiliation. Subsequently, there is an examination of prior literature on Nepalese immigrants and the ethnic identity affiliation and language maintenance shifts that occurred. This is followed by an assessment of ethnic identity models. Finally, reasons for the choice of particular practices and a definition of the three types of language maintenance practices will be justified based. Justification will be based on theories and findings from prior research outlined in the literature review. Chapter Three explains the three level theoretical framework, by examining the macro,



micro, and individual factors mentioned in the literature that are considered to affect attitudes towards language maintenance and ethnic identity affiliation. This chapter also defines acculturation and constructs the acculturation continuum model best applicable to the case study families. The chapter will conclude with a justification of the choices of terminology as well as the exclusion of some terms in the acculturation continuum model. Chapter Four focusses on the methodology, observation process and analysis of the research. First, the chapter defines the author's epistemological and ontological position, followed by justification for the research approach chosen. Subsequently, the participatory nature of the observation process, ethnographic approach and highlighting the relationship with my son and the families in the research study are presented. This includes defining the observation process and reasons for that choice. The chapter will also highlight criticisms of ethnographic and case study research and will provide an explanation as to how these criticisms were addressed. An outline of the observation process will be followed by the fieldwork for each family, including observation schedule table and factors affecting ethnic identity for observation, conversation and interviews. The chapter provides evidence to support fieldwork structure, and examines the various factors and research in the area. Ethical considerations inherent in the research are also examined and a brief outline of research difficulties faced during the observation periods is provided. Chapter Five starts with defining acculturation, and a justification of the model constructed for assessment of the three case study families. This is followed by analysis of the observation field notes and placement on the acculturation continuum for each case study family. Chapter Six examines significant factors: age of exposure to ethnic practices and home country exposure as well as peripheral ritualised practices. Peripheral ritualised practices are practices, the extent to which families are exposed to them become determining factors in either the lack of acculturation or acculturation. Chapter Seven discusses significant factors from the theoretical

framework in terms of how they affected each family's attitudes towards language maintenance and ethnic identity affiliation. The final chapter presents a conclusion of the research findings, limitations of the study, as well as some presentation of future implications for research into peripheral ritualised practices. In the next section, the individual case study contexts will be assessed

## 1.2 Contextualising the case study families

A discussion of the Nepalese context must include a comprehensive examination of the case study families' varying home and ethnic habitus. This includes the historical Gorkha context, the Nepalese context, relevant rural, urban, and globalised contexts, as well as the immigrant and migrant contexts. Language learning, in particular, is determined by given socio-cultural and ethnic contexts (Cummins, 2001; Duff, and Uchida, 1997; Genesee, 2006; Norton, 2000). Often, in language maintenance studies, researchers examine immigrants/migrants based on their perceived ethnicity, which is founded upon the notion that nationality constitutes ethnicity. However, this approach neglects the complexities involved as, national and political boundaries do not always coincide with ethnicity (Wimmer, 2008).

In addition, the three case study Nepalese families' home context, religion, dialect and traditions vary even though they all come from a very small country. While community does not always connect with national boundaries, neither does it equate with a cohesive ethnic identity. Therefore, as ethnographic researchers, we cannot just examine language and ethnic identity based simply on a generalised understanding of the families' prior habitus (Bourdieu, 2000). We must construct a dialogue with the participants to allow for their voices to be heard (Rogoff,

2003). Furthermore, within language ecologies in the modern world, people retain traditional nationalistic practices, but they also adopt globalised cultural, socio-economic and educational practices. These practices become useful funds of knowledge for immigrants and migrants in the current globalised, multicultural era (Moll, 1992). Therefore, an examination of the degree to which globalised factors have affected language maintenance and ethnic identity amongst immigrant/migrant children, adolescent and adults by necessity demands a consideration of the language ecology or every individual context.

#### 1.2.1 *Historical context for constructing the perceived Gorkha identity*

The Gorkhas are a military group whose international exploits enabled the construction of strong cultural identity throughout the world. However, the Gorkha identity is not based on a locally constructed ethnic identity rather it was created and imposed by the British colonial powers (Golay, 2006). The group originated from the small principality in the Nepali Kingdom of Gorkha, which was created in 1559 by Shah (Golay, 2006; Calderbank, 2011). Over time, the Gorkhas progressively migrated to Darjeeling for two economic reasons: employment as soldiers or in the teahouses (Toba, 2010). They were recruited into the British army but were never considered intelligent enough to become officers. As stated at the time, “Gorkhas could realize their enormous potential only under tutelage, supervision and leadership of British officers” (Golay, 2006, p.31). Gorkha “strengthened nationalist sentiments but also gave identity to the outside world” (Bandhu, 1989 p.127). Although, Gorkha soldiers were originally from a particular region in Nepal it was a kingdom that housed many local ethnic identities and dialects.

For the past two hundred years soldiers have been recruited for the British military from various regions throughout Nepal and India (Golay, 2006). Therefore, the Gorkas do not speak a single, unified dialect nor do they necessarily belong to one particular ethnic group (Edwards, 2009). In fact, today some speak Mongol-Tibetan rather than Nepalese (na British Army - Brigade of Gurkhas, 2012). As a whole, the Nepalese have a strong national multi-ethnic identity (Golay, 2006). As previously stated, the Gorkhas are not a homogenous ethnic identity rather they have several identified dialects and several religions from a variety of regions in Nepal (Edwards, 2009; Kochhar-George, 2010).

To outsiders the Gorkha identity is steeped in historical mythology but that mythology was constructed *for* them rather than *by* them. Moreover, as previously stated the Gorkhas have several dialects as well as multiple religions. This means that if there is only provision for a Hindu temple the other (almost) 30 percent who identify as Buddhist or another religion are excluded in Nepal. As Edward's (2009) study stated "while there is a Hindu Temple, there is currently no provision for Buddhists or other religions" (p16). This creates a racist and structural inequality, and this is evident in the Gorkha family case as they identify as Buddhists. If community events occur at the temple, they exclude roughly one third of the Gorkha population. This is a constraint within the community that is structurally imposed upon the community. In addition, the colonial perceptions of the Gorkhas as a "martial race" continue to occupy a powerful place in the public imagination (Montgomery, 1998 as cited in Kochhar-Georges, 2010). Moreover, the fact the British Government still maintains they are a "distinct identity" which cannot be British codifies the ethnic racism. In the past, the colonists used derogatory labels, which referred to Gorkhas as "tykes", "little blighters", "mountain goats". Moreover,

during the Falkland war Argentinian soldiers feared being captured by the Nepalese (“Legends of Gurkha Bravery”, 2009). This is a preconceived myth about the Gorkhas ethnic identity.

Thus, there are some misconceptions by the British regarding the Gorkhas. Even the spelling of the name Gorkha is contentious. Originally, the regiments they belonged to were the 11 Gorkha Rifles. In 1949 the spelling was reverted from “Gurkha” to the original “Gorkha” (Chappell, 1993). This indicates that the present Gurkha spelling used by the British army is not the original spelling. In addition, it has been stated that Gurkha is an anglicised spelling of Gorkhas (na, “Ayo-Gorkhali”, 2012) in Nepal the true spelling of the word is in Nepalese script. In the final analysis any spelling other than Nepalese script is incorrect. However, this thesis will use the original Gorkha spelling unless quoting from a study of the Gorkhas with an alternative spelling. A vigorous assessment of this group demands a deeper investigation of their true context or habitus.

The past is an important dimension of the social contexts of language learning (Canagarajah, 1999; Goldstein, 1997; Watson-Gregeo, 1992). This statement pertains to the Gorkhas as it is past perception and racism that has shaped how they are currently viewed in the United Kingdom. Consequently, the context of the Nepali immigrant/migrant families in this study involves several interacting elements that impact upon identity construction such as: Gorkha versus Nepalese identity, differences between the rural and urban Nepal contexts, immigrant and migrant identity, the effects of globalisation, and finally differences in educational and employment status. Two of the families have similar employment and educational backgrounds,

as both have been, or are, part of the Gorkha military. Presently, the majority of Gorkhas living in Great Britain are economic military migrants (transient and mobile). The transient nature of their occupation means they are categorised as migrants rather than immigrants (Yamanaka, 2005). Due to visa restrictions, most will return to Nepal, after their children have grown up or finished school. Until recently, they were not granted the right to stay permanently. This changed in 2007-2008, but prior experience with ethnic segregation and racism created a deterrent for families to acculturate into U.K. society (Edwards, 2009).

Although families consist of parents and children an examination of military policy reveals a structural inequality that affects family members' ability to visit (Edwards, 2009; Kochhar-Georges, 2010). The Gorkhas' services were used but the Gorkhas were not welcome into British culture (Edwards, 2009). From this perspective, the Gorkha identity was based on a desire for socio-economic stability rather than socio-cultural status (Golay, 2006). In addition, their first language was not a factor in-group peer friendship. This is due to the Gorkha community's proficiency in English. This factor, combined with a variety of dialects amongst Nepalese children meant that when they played together they communicated in English. A more in-depth discussion regarding the effects these exclusionary policies had on language maintenance and ethnic identity affiliation appears in the comparative analysis in Chapter Five. Even though their ethnic identity derives from the bias of colonial powers (Golay, 2006) there remains a common identity amongst the Gorkhas themselves that can be explored in conjunction with the non-Gorkha Nepalese identity.

### 1.2.2 *The non-Gorkha Nepalese community context*

Nepal is one of the poorest and most underdeveloped nations in the world (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization Institute for Statistics, 2010). Moreover, nine of the tallest mountains in the world are situated in this very small nation. The ruggedness and isolation of the landscape means Nepal is replete with rural, isolated villages and multiple ethnicities and languages (Golay, 2006). For example, it is not unusual for villagers to walk for a day before they reach an area where they can catch a bus (Kochhar-Georges, 2010). Not only is the country scattered with remote villages which creates difficulties in implementing infrastructure such as transportation, utilities, and running water, language is also a constraint. Like India, Nepal has dozens of local dialects (Calderbank, 2011). To overcome difficulties with linguistic diversity, the now deposed king implemented a “One Language” educational policy. Thus, Nepali became the language taught in all schools over the past few decades (UNESCO, 2010). Such policies created a stratum of privileged Nepali speakers. As well the policy excluded some older generation, who only spoke a local dialect, and who were not fortunate enough to attend school.

In addition to language constraints, Nepal has one of the lowest literacy rates in the world with three quarters of Nepalese women being illiterate (“Index Mundi” Nepal demographic profile, 2012). As a consequence the level of education and literacy determine employment opportunities. Greater opportunities afford people capital (Bourdieu, 2000) that enables them to attain a higher status. In addition, Nepal literacy was traditionally transmitted through oral and historical storytelling (Golay, 2006). The three case study families live in a Western developed English-speaking environment. However, they have quite different literacy and societal

contexts from their prior home country. As a consequence their literacy practices and ethnic customs have altered. Within the so-called “Nepalese community”, ethnic identity, language and ethnic maintenance, as well as ethnic affiliation, differ between siblings not just generations. This study aims to address the paucity of literature regarding differences amongst family members in terms of ethnic affiliation and maintenance practices. The differences between the three case study families will be assessed in this thesis according to each individual family member’s context.

The rationale for this is that Nepalese ethnic identity is complicated by the number of ethnic dialects, customs and religious patterns, the economic status of participants’ home country and culture, the lack of community cohesion and out-group peer strength (Dhungel, 1999). An example of this complexity was confirmed in a conversation with the researcher, as the Gorkha case study family father admitted he was not Hindu [he was a Buddhist]. Yet he attended Hindu festivals. He participated in the festivals due to their national, rather than religious significance. “It [religious worship] doesn’t matter we celebrate them all” (Conversation with Gorkha family father, Oct. 28, 2010). This conversation highlights the fact that assumptions about ethnic and religious affiliation exist. Thus, closer examination into affecting language maintenance and ethnic identity attitudes must also take into account the varying motives regarding community practices. The existence of multiple dialects within Nepal itself also requires consideration (Kochhar-Georges, 2010). Nepal is a tiny country, and yet identity and socio-economic status are affected by a complexity of variables. Discussion now turns to an issue that affects identity which is rarely addressed: the difference between rural and urban identity, as well as immigrant/migrant identity.



### 1.2.3 *Rural and urban context in Nepal*

There is a marked difference between the remote rural context and the urban context in Nepal. In the remote rural context there are areas where electricity is also often inaccessible and water is collected from rivers. These infrastructure constraints influence the cohesiveness and unity of the community. Furthermore, the small towns have less exposure and access to globalised practices via IT or telecommunications (“Nepal, infrastructure, power and communication”, 2013). As a consequence residents cling to prescribed national ethnic identity norms and practices. However, Nepal is a developing nation which is becoming increasingly exposed to divergent globalised practices (Calderbank, 2011). Traditionally, the major proportion of jobs were in the agriculture and service sectors but the sector that contributes most to the country’s GDP is tourism (UNESCO, 2010).

An area such as Pokhara is remote and rural but offers some of the finest hiking and climbing in the world. Tourists flock there and inject capital into the region, thereby creating a demand for extensive transportation and living infrastructure. At the same time, villages situated close by lack consistent access to water and electricity (UNESCO, 2010). This is due not only to the poverty of the country but also to the rugged terrain which isolates ethnic groups from each other. However, the traditional belief that rural meant primitive no longer holds true when globalisation and tourism are taken into account. The infrastructure may be more primitive in rural areas but the number of English-speaking foreigners there changes the language context for some parts of rural Nepal (“Nepal, infrastructure, power and communication”, 2013). In other words, the definition of rural can be said to be dependent on the degree of outsider exposure rather than the infrastructure context alone. Children who were exposed to traditional cultural,

social, ethnic and religious practices will affiliate differently from the children exposed to more globalised practices. This is important as two of this case study's families lived in Pokhara and so the rural context was an intrinsic component of these children's ethnic identity construction. Much of this information was acquired during discussions with both the retired Gorkha and the Gorkha family participants. As indicated, the case study family members' prior habitus (Bourdieu, 2000) varies depending on their present status (Blommaert, 2003). However, there are other components that influence identity construction for children.

#### 1.2.4 *Difference between the immigrant and migrant context*

One of the factors influencing identity construction is the place you live. More importantly, the community one identifies whether it be ethnic home country or new home context. For the immigrant and migrant these will differ. The factors affecting these differences must be examined more closely. Immigration encompasses millions of people around the world (UN Population Report, 2003). While competing definitions of immigrant and migrant vary from country to country, I will define the terms for the study here. A refugee is someone who flees their homeland due to social, religious, or ethnic persecution. None of the families in this study are classified as such therefore the term will not be used. If a person is leaving temporarily for employment purposes and still has a desire to return home then he or she will be defined as migrant (de Guchteneire, 2005). Two of the case study families could be considered migrant (retired Gorkha family and Gorkha family) due to restrictive military visa policies this category and the fact that they voiced their desire to return to Nepal. In addition, these families were with the military and moved from job to job, an experience similar to mine as the daughter of a civil

engineer. Therefore, identities are immigrant rather than migrant. It is crucial for the reader to understand that while the participants may have come from the same country due to their varying life experiences the aspects that influenced ethnic identity are different. The reader must understand that while the migrant has a different identity for their work they also share a common ethnic identity with the professional Nepalese family. Therefore, they possess multiple identities and not just identities such as parent, mother, worker but Gorkha, Nepalese, migrant, immigrant, Buddhist and Hindu. During the analysis for this research there were times when the various identities became somewhat confusing. Later, in the analysis section the process will be revealed more in-depth. The identity of the migrant is complex however, recently in the literature researchers have begun to use the term 'transmigration'. This is a person who continually moves due to employment requirements (Kochhar-George, 2010). My son and I fall into the transmigration category. Later, during discussions with the families, this enabled a bond to be forged between myself and the two Gorkha families. We, as parents rather than researchers and participants, understood the difficult decisions that we face due to the nature of our employment. However, in the case of the Gorkhas, their transmigrated was due to the policies implemented by the British government (Kochhar-George, 2010). They did not have as much freedom to choose where they would go next.

In contrast, immigrants tend to leave their homeland with no desire to return home and they surrender their home country citizenship (UNESCO, 2005). Immigrants are people who move to another country, usually due to dissatisfaction with some aspect of their home country. For example, some people immigrate due to political pressure while others pursue employment opportunities. The immigrant Nepalese family is not considered migrant as they have British landed immigrant status (Edwards, 2009; Yamanaka, 2005). The immigrant Nepalese case study

family members fall under the category of immigrant. I could appreciate their situation. This is because I was the daughter of an immigrant family in Canada we were able to talk about the best way to balance culture, language and ethnic identity. While my son was considered an immigrant to his classmates who included Milan he is in fact a migrant. The perception of shared participation is as important as the membership into the ethnic community (Rogoff, 2003). As a researcher this identity, along with my single-mother status, and being a mother of an ESL/EAL dyslexic learner, enabled me to create a stronger bond with the participants.

Thus, this research makes a distinction between the terms *immigrant* and *migrant*. However, the terms are used in conjunction when discussing the case study families. Now that the terms have been defined, an investigation into the effects of the process of acculturation on the immigrant, and the factors which could affect acculturation of the immigrant, will be explored. Some people leave their home country unwillingly, and by necessity, and never acculturate into their adopted homeland. On the other hand, immigrants usually embrace the economic benefits of their new homeland as well as the cultural differences and/or freedoms so they readily acculturate (Berry, Phinney, Sam, and Vedder, 2006; Blommaert; 1997). Schumann (1986, cited in McLaughlin, 1987) defines acculturation as a process through which learners adapt to the new socio-cultural aspects of their new home country culture. He argues that to do so the learner must come into contact with the new target language and its culture (Schumann, 1978, 1986). From a linguistic perspective this appears correct. However, there are factors other than simple contact with language that influences whether or not someone acculturates. For example, acculturation does not simply involve obtaining the target language; it involves incorporating the culture as well. Immigrants are able to learn another language as well as cultural practices.

However, they may not ethnically affiliate with the new culture so they do not become fully acculturated.

The process of acculturation involves social, psychological, and economic adaptation. In addition with a new language both the social/oral and the text-based literacy components need to be learnt. Learning the appropriate linguistic habits to function within the target language group is one part of this process. Acculturation is determined by the degree of social and psychological “distance” between the learner and the target-language culture (Schumann, 1978, 1986). However, there are multiple factors affecting immigrant identity affiliation and acculturation. The reason immigrants leave their home country, as well the status in their newly adopted home country, affects identity affiliation, language maintenance and finally acculturation. As Pyke (2005) points out, if an immigrant’s legal status is in question the added stress may contribute to their struggle to acculturate. Therefore, the reason for leaving their homeland is an important factor affecting acculturation. However, while the attitudes of the parents can affect their adolescent children’s, this is not completely true. One element of acculturation is the reason for leaving their home country, and another is the age of the immigrant. Often, a type of social survival occurs amongst pre-adolescents and adolescents. Immigrant children construct identity differently from immigrant adults. This is because the adult’s personality and identity are already constructed whereas children are still constructing their identity based on the socio-cultural context (Duff, 1997; Hartner, 2012). Their personality or social identity becomes contingent upon their social context.

This thesis examines not only language, ethnic or cultural practices, but prior and present exposure. This is because “the identity status paradigm is based on the assumedly independent dimensions of exploration (sorting through various potential identity choices) and commitment (deciding to adhere to one or more sets of goals, values, and beliefs)” (Schwartz, 2005 p.294). As Roberts, et al., 1999) research illustrates “*Ethnic contact*” had a significant impact on psychological adaptation, but not on sociocultural adaptation. The results suggest that, “adolescents’ orientation toward their own group is more important for their psychological well-being than for their sociocultural adaptation” (Berry, Phinney, Sam, and Vedder, 2006 p.322). This research suggests that for adults the identity and reason for migrating is a factor affecting acculturation whereas adolescents may not be as strongly influenced by it. Previous research investigated changes, shifts and loss in language maintenance and/or ethnic identity affiliation. However, the literature to date has somewhat neglected to consider whether immigrant/migrant parents have changed their practices over time. In addition, investigation as to whether changes in practices create any differences amongst the siblings’ attitude towards language and ethnic identity maintenance will occur. In the next chapter there will be investigation of the literature in the fields of language maintenance, ethnic identity, in addition types of language maintenance and ethnic identity practice.

## **Chapter Two - Literature review**

### 2.0 Introduction to the fields of research

Now that the context of each case study family has been provided prior research in the fields of both language maintenance and ethnic identity affiliation will be reviewed. As the review of the literature will illustrate the rationale for relating language maintenance practices and ethnic identity affiliation in the context of this ethnographic study is closely connected to a number of factors including; the age and frequency of exposure to peripheral ritualised customs. There were variations in the factors affecting individual case study members such as; age, the types of capital accessed, stages of immigration/migration, ethnic and home country habitus, and the age of exposure to language maintenance and ethnic identity practices. A thorough review of the literature is necessary to enable a more detailed comparison between the individual family members. Extending from the prior research this dissertation will investigate an area which has had little research, that is, the individual differences amongst siblings. Sibling difference will also be examined in terms of how it relates to the literature review of immigrant/migrant ethnic identity and language maintenance practices.

The overarching question for this comparative three-family case study is: “Do Nepalese migrant families maintain language and ethnic identity through observable practices, and if so, what type of practices do they use?” This is followed by the question “Do attitudes to language maintenance remain constant or shift over time? In the families where shift/loss is occurring, what are the factors that caused this and do these shifts affect the strength of ethnic identity

affiliation? Is there a consistency of attitudes towards language maintenance and ethnic affiliation amongst the family members and comparatively between families?” Unlike previous research into language maintenance and ethnic identity this study considers the age of exposure to ethnic practices, the effects of transmigration on ethnic identity construction at the pre-adolescent age in addition, how peripheral ritualised customs can facilitate the slowing or prevention of acculturation. In other words, this thesis considers both language maintenance and ethnic identity as they connect to acculturation.

The specific thesis questions necessitate an extensive examination of factors in both the fields of ethnic identity and language maintenance. Initially, this chapter will highlight and define terms utilised in language maintenance research such as L1, L2, L3 and heritage language before settling on a term best applicable for the three case study families varying contexts in this research. From the investigation into prior research on immigrant/migrant attitudes towards language maintenance will be followed by defining the terms language shift and language loss as it relates to this thesis. After that, the chapter introduces previous research in language maintenance and ethnic identity affiliation and highlights common findings in both fields. There will be some discussion of Phinney’s (1989) ethnic identity model which incorporates specific facets of ethnic identity, such as the external socio-psychological, the economic, and the cultural. The chapter will then highlight three types of language maintenance and ethnic identity practices: social language, social literacy, and the newly defined peripheral ritualised customs. Finally, the notions of literacy, social literacy practices, how children acquire L2/L3, and an examination of the ways in which ethnic customs become inherent in social literacy practices will be clarified. This will establish a comprehensive overview of the field and create a



foundation from which the research questions can be addressed, specifically in terms of the similarities and differences in language and ethnic practices retained by the three case study families.

## 2.1 Language maintenance

### 2.1.1 *Defining language maintenance terms and concepts*

This section defines several terms connected with language maintenance. Language research usually defines the language spoken by an immigrant family as the L1. However, in some instances such as in multicultural countries such as Canada, the US and Switzerland, there may be more than one L1 in a single household. This means that identifying first and second languages is more complex. Another term used in language maintenance is heritage language. Heritage Language (HL) is not a term frequently used in the U.K. but it is used in multicultural ecologies such as Canada. Some term heritage language as the “language associated with one’s cultural background” (Cho, 2000). However, cultural background is somewhat vague term. Ethnic identity would be more appropriate. Heritage language is the term used to describe the minority or ethnic language used by people who have migrated or immigrated to another country. It also refers to the non-official language used by people. Other terms used are world languages, international languages, or community languages (Tavares, 2000). The heritage language family member is a person “raised in a home where non-English language is spoken’ and they “speak or understand the language to some degree” (Valdes, 2000, p.38). Heritage language is an important component in the creation of ethnic identity (Cho, 2000; Cho and Tse, 1997; Zhang, & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009). However, it is also true that a HL learner can possess

strong ethnic identity without necessarily being proficient in the language, as in the case, for example, of some indigenous peoples (Valdes, 2000). There is another reason why this thesis will not employ this term.

Heritage language could be perceived as imprecise term, as in some Indian and Nepalese communities there are multiple dialects spoken (Fishman, 2001; Polinsky and Kagan, 2007; Van Deusen-Scholl, 2003). For example, the retired Gorkha family parents speak different languages from the Nepalese their daughters learnt in pre-school and primary school. The parents speak both Murung and Nepalese. On the other hand, the Gorkha family speak a different dialect. Finally, the professional Nepalese family members use three different dialects. The father and his parents speak a dialect from the Terai region whereas the wife speaks a local Kathmandu dialect. Both the professional Nepalese family parents also speak Nepalese. Furthermore, there are competing L1/L2/L3 dialects within several of the case study families. Nepali is the one common dialect used in the classrooms in Nepal and often Nepali becomes the common language used in the homes (Ellis, 1994; Fishman, 2001). Bearing in mind these variations, the term “heritage language” is not appropriate for these particular case study contexts. Therefore, for this study the common ethnic dialect used as a medium of communication between all family members will be referred to as the ethnic L1 (EL1). Another term prevalent in language maintenance research which will not be used in this study is “mother tongue”.

Historically, the term “mother tongue” referred to the language of the home or the language transmitted by the mother (Hakuta and Diaz, 1985) who was generally the primary caregiver. Generally, in Portuguese families both parents would speak Portuguese. However, as stated in

Chapter One, there is more than one dialect in Nepalese communities even within a family. Nepalese or other immigrant families often speak more than one dialect in a family (Dhugel, 2006). “Mother tongue” is not an applicable term for certain cultures such as the Nepalese culture, as the father’s dialect is used rather than the mothers (Garcia, 2003; Hakuta and Diaz, 1985). This is because the wife moves in with or lives near to the husbands’ family. For this reason, the term will not be used in this study.

To reiterate, in this research, heritage language and parental home country language will be referred to as ethnic L1 (EL1) whereas the L2 will refer to the language used in schools (in this case English). The term language maintenance is used to describe practices families routinely perform to maintain either their ethnic identity and/or their language practices. The practices include social language, social literacy and ritualised cultural and religious practices that expose children to ethnic identity. Now that the terms have been assessed and defined, this study will now examine the factors affecting language maintenance and ethnic identity affiliation.

## 2.2 Attitudes to language maintenance – an overview

When immigrants/migrants arrive in their new host country they either maintain, shift or lose their EL1 depending on their attitudes towards the new host country, their reasons for being there and other factors that will be discussed in more depth in Chapter Four. In the past some countries viewed multilingualism as a constraint rather than a resource. However, research into multilingualism shows a recent change in attitudes. Stubbs (1985) used a wide scale socio-linguistic survey to examine immigrants in the United Kingdom and found that bilingualism was

viewed as a social capital resource rather than a problem (Bourdieu, 2000). Smolicz, Nical and Secombe (2000) used interviews and found that positive attitudes towards speaking ethnic language locally contributed to language maintenance. Hakuta and D'Andrea (1992) also examined attitudes in relation to competence in the field or language maintenance and loss by sampling Mexican-American teen immigrants. Key variables in this study were students' proficiency in Spanish and English. They found that the choice of language used in site was related to attitudes towards language. Garcia's (2003) study utilised ethnographic research methods and small student observations between 1998 and 2002. The findings revealed that one of the factors defining shift patterns was the prestige attributed to the home language spoken. Language maintenance is not constant but changes over time and space (Norton, 2002) in response to outside factors. Maintenance is also dependent on the external reasons for immigrating or migrating. In other words, attitudes to language vary in cohesiveness in relation to group identity to social context (Zhang, & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009). In addition, language is either maintained or shifts over time over generations rather than within a lifetime.

### 2.2.1 *Attitudes affecting language shift and loss over generations*

An examination of the literature on intergenerational language shifts reveals further key aspects affecting language maintenance. Research indicates that the trajectory of immigrants' language maintenance over time usually becomes language loss (Chow, 2001; Fishman, 1991; Hornberger, 2002; Rivera Mills, 2000; Tran and Young, 1999; Zentella, 1997). However, this is not inevitable. There are numerous factors that historically contribute to acculturation and language loss. In fact, studies of intergenerational language trajectories point towards two key factors for language maintenance: peer and family relations. An earlier study also found that

newer arrivals lost their heritage language more rapidly than previous generations (Zentella, 1997). Tran and Young (1999) examined language shifts and gathered data from 106 parental surveys that revealed a shift to English by second-generation children. Rivera-Mills (2001) studied acculturation and community needs. The study examined fifty subjects that included three generational groups. They used interviews and home visits. Findings showed that by the third generation only 10 percent used Spanish at home. This study also revealed that a level of education correlated with Spanish language proficiency thereby indicating that proficiency is not the only factor that correlates with language maintenance.

Other researchers who studied language loss connected language maintenance with attitudes towards minority language (Hornberger, 2002; Valdes, 2001). From this perspective, immigrants/migrants perceptions of language as either a cultural capital or a social resource, strengthens or weakens their maintenance practices (Fishman, 1991). Attitudes and external pressures mean that parents can struggle to decide between assisting their children to maintain their heritage language or to shift to the dominant one. Research also illustrates that “heritage speakers’ views of their parental language can change over time” (Suarez, 2007, p.32). The issue is not clear cut or simple, as often there is a shift rather than a loss in language maintenance.

Language shift refers to assimilating to the use of the local dialect combined with some L1 use whereas, language loss results in a complete lack of L1 language use as it is replaced by the dominant local L1 (Fishman, 1972; Valdes, 2001). Recently, other theorists have placed language shift outside the formal learning context. In other words, language shift is when a community in a specific social domain moves away from their L1 to use a target language

(Fasold, 1991). Fishman and Greenfield, (1970) define a social domain as a home, community centre or other informal social context. This thesis will examine the case study families' language maintenance and/or shifts in terms of the social contexts rather than quantifying it from a formal context, such as work or school (Fishman and Greenfield, 1970).

Previous research also examined language maintenance in terms of investment. From this perspective, shifts occur when there are 'competing investments' in the home L1 and the dominant language of the newly adopted country (Peirce, 1995). This is particularly the case when parents confront varying factors and ideologies to language maintenance (Luo and Wiseman, 2000; Pease-Alvarez and Winsler, 1994; Pease-Alvarez, 2002). However, in some contexts the new home country implements policies which encourage newcomers not to assimilate but to enable the maintenance of their L1 through afterschool heritage language and literacy classes. However, often a lack of resources or willingness by the new home country to facilitate L1 language maintenance can create a feeling of exclusion (Zhang, & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009). Furthermore, the attitudes of parents differ as some desire their children to assimilate into the society whereas others seek to maintain their ethnic language. Prior research has tended to examine language maintenance by measuring frequency of language use alone. As seen in previous studies language maintenance can shift even though ethnic identity affiliation remains strong (Padilla and Keefe, 1987). Thus, there are practices other than language discourse that are components in ethnic identity affiliation.

EL1 attitudes play a crucial role in the shifting of language over generations. Nguyen, Shin and Krashen (2001) studied language shifts by using survey data from 588 grade one to eight

students who were second generation Vietnamese. Positive attitudes towards the Vietnamese language resulted in spoken language retention but limitations in literacy language. The research showed that attitudes to language and ethnicity are connected and that they can be transmitted generationally. However, the generational shifts do not simply occur in families; they occur across communities as well. As a consequence, it is not just the attitude of the community that facilitates language maintenance but the interaction between the home, community and school. Tse (2001) studied language maintenance in second-generation speakers using language histories. The study used a small sample of three males and seven females and used survey data and interviews. Findings showed that home language was best promoted when home, community and school worked together (Tse, 2001, p.702). In addition, attitudes of the participants depended upon the age of immigration in conjunction with the reason for immigration.

The age at which one migrates is central to Phinney's (1997, 1999) study of language maintenance. This research revealed that those who arrived in the new country at an early age in their schooling did not retain their ethnic language (EL1). Early entrance into school caused shifts due to a correlation between out-group peer association and language maintenance. They did not value their EL1 because of the degree to which English was spoken with their peers and at school. There are many interconnected elements involved with language maintenance but this finding is significant as the three case study families in this thesis have primary to secondary aged children. In summary, attitudes, reasons for arrival, age of arrival and cohesion of the community affect language maintenance. Ethnic identity is connected with language maintenance however, there are elements within ethnic identity that require close examination:

language and identity, social, cultural and ethnic identity construction, influences of family and in-group peers, cohesion of the community, exposure to home country and economic status

### 2.3 Common factors of language maintenance and ethnic identity

As Blommaert (2010) states, a person can index or shift their identity in accordance with certain factors. The study revealed that investment in learning the home country L1 language becomes a key element in language maintenance. Previously, this study stated that there has been little research to date regarding the differences between siblings with respect to ethnic identity affiliation and language maintenance practices. While this is the case, Pyke (2005) examined the placement within a family as a possible factor in acculturation and found that, older children tended to take on a disciplinary role and were more traditional. The study interviewed 32 grown Korean and Vietnamese children who had immigrated to the US. The context of the study differs from this thesis's case study families as two of the Nepalese families were migrants rather than immigrants. As this present thesis will later discuss, as the age of exposure to home country is a strong factor in ethnic identity affiliation and ultimately placement on the acculturation continuum.

There are four common determinants amongst people who do not maintain their EL1 language or their ethnic identity affiliation. The first and main reason is either a lack of exposure, or the cohesiveness of an ethnic community (Chow, 2000). This is backed up by research which showed that Chinese people living in Chinatown were more likely to maintain their L1 than



those who lived far from other Chinese speakers in small towns (Schrauf, 1999). The second reason is a lack of a peer group. Lou and Wiseman (2000) study of Chinese teenagers showed that peers had the biggest influence. This is especially important factor for primary school children whose social language is more dominant than their cognitive academic language (Baker, 2000; Cummins, 2000). The third factor is the influence of family attitudes. When “facing the dilemma of language shift versus language maintenance, immigrant parents express diverse language attitudes and ideologies. Some urge their children to shift to English in order to assimilate” (Zhang, 2004, p. 35). Others do so to increase their child’s success at school. The final factor is socio-economic and affects language maintenance. All four of these components contribute towards the creation of social and ethnic identities. On the other hand internal factors include attitudes, beliefs, feelings, and non-interactive images such as posters, religious items and cultural paraphernalia (Chow, 2001, p.3). Chapter Three will define and investigate external factors in greater detail as they comprise the theoretical framework used for family data analysis in this thesis. In addition, the pressure to acculturate can increase depending on factors such as the age of migration, birthplace and the size of the immigrant/migrant community (Chow, 2001; Kralt and Pendakur, 1991; Schrauf, 1999). Schrauf’s (1999) study of immigrant language patterns in North America illustrated that migration patterns and degree of religious practice were critical in predicting whether language was maintained or not. There are a myriad of complex internal and external factors within ethnic identity that create attitudes towards language maintenance and ethnic affiliation which means that simple census or questionnaires are inadequate instruments if we are to accurately assess all these factors. This research investigates the interaction between language maintenance and ethnic identity affiliation, and so factors prevalent in the literature each of the fields will be examined. The next section considers the cohesiveness of the community and exposure to home country and the culture.

### 2.3.1 *Community cohesiveness*

Some ethnic communities have strong socio-cultural practices embedded in their daily rituals. These communities are cohesive. However, not all ethnic communities are the same. Even within a particular country ethnic communities can also vary in their cohesion. Thus, when communities migrate to a new country each member varies in their acceptance of the new adopted culture. Tajfel and Turner (1986) investigated newcomers and acculturation using survey methodology. The study resulted in three findings: 1) leaving heritage practices through reduction of identity, 2) reinterpreting group attributes and, 3) the promotion of changes of practices in social groups. Acculturation depends on how tight-knit the immigrant/migrant group is. For example, as discussed previously, Chinese living in Chinatown were more likely to maintain their EL1 than those scattered throughout the dominant population (Lin, 1982, p.179 of Shrauf, 1999). In other words a “higher density of ethnic population increases retention rates” of the EL1 (Schrauf, 1999, p.181). Hakuta and D’Andrea (1992) examined Spanish language maintenance using parent reports. These children retained high proficiency of language practices due to their large community. These studies indicate that cohesion and social networks are necessary for the maintenance of language and ethnic identity affiliation. In other words, the stronger the social network the stronger the cohesiveness of the community.

### 2.3.2 *Social context affecting community cohesion*

Cohesion of and social context within a community, play a critical role in language maintenance. Wei (2000) examined the importance of language value, identity, and goals in close-knit social networks. The findings revealed that individuals consider their relationship to each other and the

larger community as important. Fishman (1970, 1978) also analysed language maintenance and found that the variables for language maintenance are the size of the community, how close-knit that community is, a person's economic status, and the strength of the community language use. Goldstein (1997) investigated a slightly different perspective: the socio-political constraints that restricted language and literacy in the Portuguese immigrant community. Portuguese women in the workplace used peer social connections (L1) to maintain Portuguese language use rather than English. Lambert and Taylor (1990) previously examined changes in immigrant views of assimilation. They examined Detroit immigrants from various backgrounds using questionnaires. The findings showed that social background factors were important in language acculturation. The size and cohesion of the language community affect language maintenance. The findings of the study showed that there are social context issues that are connected to daily life, social position, and language learning. With children's construction of their identity, present participation is an important element in both language maintenance and ethnic identity affiliation. In addition, exposure to the ethnic traditional home country is crucial.

### 2.3.3 *Exposure to home culture and home country*

As revealed in the US Nepalese study one key factor in language maintenance was the lack of home country exposure. The less exposure to home culture, the greater the chance that heritage language loss will occur (Mora, Villa and Danla, 2005; Veltman, 1988). If families maintain exposure or proximity to the home country then the heritage language will be maintained (de Bot, 2000). Veltman (1988) examined Spanish language maintenance using questionnaires. Findings indicated that there were sub-groups in Mexican-American communities with the groups closer to the border maintaining their language, whereas immigrants living further away

from the borders experienced greater language loss. Mora, Villa and Danla (2005) confirmed that the closer their proximity to the home country the more likely a person is to maintain their ethnic L1. Cho and Krashen (2000) also examined language maintenance using survey data. The data came from surveys with 114 participants who were 19-year-old adults. The study indicated that Korean language input, reading, TV, and visits to Korea assisted in language maintenance more than having children attend Korean schools. This finding is crucial to this study. Exposure to language maintenance and ethnic identity practices was more effective than actual participation in EL1 education. However, access to the home country, in most cases, is dependent on the economic status of the families. Immigrants with a lower economic status have less opportunity to travel back to the home country especially if it is far away and not a border country. Therefore, from this perspective both home country proximity and economic and social status contribute to language maintenance. However, before investigating social and economic status in more detail, this study will assess the influence of in-group peers.

#### 2.3.4 *Peer group influencing language maintenance*

For primary school children who co-construct their identity through social active learning the peer group is a crucial influence. As seen in the literature peers facilitate socio-cultural language learning. A child's cultural and social knowledge is obtained through interaction with peers, adults and others (Vygotsky, 1962). Furthermore, the language acquisition process for primary school children is an active one in which the child generates their own knowledge through active engagement within a social context (Genesee, 2006). Primary school students learn language through socialising and active participation therefore an awareness of the power of informal social community and peer interactions is important (Gee, 1990). As discussed previously,

Phinney (1989) identified in-group peer interaction as one of the main factors in identity construction. Peer association is also a strong predictor for adult language maintenance. In-group peers, refers to peers (friends) of the same ethnic identity. For the Nepalese children in this study peers refer to other Nepalese friends. On the other hand, out-group peers, refers to friends who are not from the same ethnic community the Nepalese children's U.K. friends. Peer relations depend on two elements: the strength and cohesiveness of in-group (EL1) peer relations relative to the strength of out-group (L2) relations. Garcia (2003) discovered that the shift in language patterns was related to whether children associated more with in-group friends or out-of-group friends. Prior research has demonstrated the influence in-group peers have on language maintenance.

Dagenais and Berron (2001) examined three immigrant families from South Asia who chose to associate with immigrant friends. They used interviews and intra-generational data to uncover the families' reasons for language maintenance. Findings indicated that language maintenance existed when children had in-group peer relations. Rockhill (1993) also studied friendship and peer group interaction in the Latino community. This study revealed that strong in-group peer connections facilitate language maintenance. Other researchers, such as, Norris (2004) used census data for their research. Again, findings indicated that were that peer in-group friendships assist with language maintenance. However, Rodby (1992) investigated language acculturation in an ethnographic study involving observations of a classroom of first grade immigrant children. The study focused on the use of interactive routines and socialisation within peer groups and found that the desire to interact with out-group peers caused a decline in language maintenance. Wong Fillmore (1991) also found that first and second-generation Latino children

lost their ability to speak language. The study used parental reports and student interviews and found that, there was a shift from their EL1 for children who attended English language pre-schools. Most studies that focus on in-group peers used quantitative data whereas Rodby's (1992) study used observation of interactive routines. However, there have been some longitudinal studies on in-group peers and their acceptance and preferences that need examining.

Cameron et.al (2012) longitudinal study investigated the influence of group identity on individual ethnic identities as it connects to peer acceptance and preference for same-ethnic friendships. The participants were aged five and eleven years old. It showed that bicultural identification (i.e., higher ethnic and English identity) was related to higher perceived peer acceptance and less preference for same-ethnic friendships. However, it would be useful to examine if the age of arrival of the immigrant child affected the desire for local out-group peer acceptance (Phinney, Romero, Nava, & Huang, 2001). In addition, a criticism of this study is the lack of examination of the local community's perception of the immigrants. The more homogenous the community is the greater the immigrant feels like an outsider which children perceive as a social threat. Thus, the child desires to acculturate. This was seen in with Vietnamese in the US (Nguyen, Shin and Krashen, 2001).

Cameron et.al (2012) argued that bicultural identification (i.e., higher ethnic and English identity) was related to higher perceived peer acceptance and less preference for same-ethnic friendships. However, it would be useful to examine if the age of arrival of the immigrant child affected the desire for local out-group peer acceptance (Phinney, 1997). In addition, a criticism of this study is the lack of examination of the local communities' perception of the immigrants. The more homogenous the community is the greater the immigrant feels like an outsider which

children perceive as a social threat. Thus, the child desires to acculturate. This was seen in with Vietnamese in the US (Nguyen, Shin and Krashen, 2001). However, an important finding in this study (Cameron, et. al., 2012) suggests that “older children who adopted a bicultural identity were able to strategically ‘flag’ their multiple group identities, within their multicultural peer groups, to obtain acceptance amongst the maximum number of peers and show less preference for same-ethnic friendships” (p.1). This is seen in the findings of this study. However, this dissertation does not only examine older children but also younger middle primary school children. Thus, next this section will examine socio-cultural interaction.

Peer interaction at primary school age is a socio-cultural experience. Edelsky, Altwerger and Flore (1991) examined peer group and knowledge of in-group culture using questionnaires. Faltis and Hudelson (1994) studied ESL/EAL students from K-12 using classroom observation techniques and found that peers co-constructed identity. In other words, peers have an effect on ethnic identity as well as language maintenance. The specific focus of Kanno and Applebaum’s (1995) research was on socio-cultural experiences. They found there were two elements involved in the establishment of community membership: peer relations and negative identity. Peterson (1991) studied social practices by observing ESL/EAL immigrant fourth graders using stories and issues. A connection to their peer group resulted in a language shift for children from their heritage language to English. Pease-Alvarez and Hakuta’s (1994) study used case study methods to assess three children. They observed language and compared it to the larger community sample using interviews with two girls and six boys. Children learn language through social construction with friends but also by being exposed to the community and other

social contexts (Vygotsky, 1962). As with language maintenance studies ethnic identity studies also examined the influence of in-group peers.

### 2.3.5 *Influence of peer group and ethnic identity*

The age range of this dissertation's case study children requires a review of previous research into primary and adolescent peer group interactions. Much of the previous research on primary school children used either classroom observation or survey and questionnaire data. The difficulty with these methods for this study is it applies to this study is that the Gorkha were segregated in their living habitus whereas, their school was integrated. In addition, the Nepalese family was located within a different community context from the Hindu community. Observations in classroom settings alone only account for a small percentage of the overall language maintenance and ethnic identity affiliation experience. Of the research studies on language maintenance and ethnic identity few used ethnographic case study observation methods outside the classroom (Phinney 1992, 1997; Taylor 1996). Ibrahim (1999) examined 389 students with various ethnic, racial, cultural, religious, and linguistic identities. The researchers used archival data and observation in the classroom and other contexts. The findings revealed that peers contribute significantly to the processing of linguistic identity.

However, children have friends in out-of school social contexts such as sports clubs, after-school activities, or ethnic community clubs. Bashir-Ali (2006) investigated social cultural and ethnic identity. The study was a one-year ethnographic case study using participant observation for nine months (2003-2004). Another case study by Karanja (2007) examined Hispanic immigrant peer groups using only qualitative data and semi-structured interviews with ten people. However,



social context amongst family members is also important to consider as contexts can differ dramatically and ethnic affiliation may differ to varying degrees. For pre-adolescent and primary school children, an examination of differing contexts can create a more comprehensive understanding of the process children undergo with respect to language maintenance and ethnic identity. In other words, in order to assess children's attitudes, observation should occur in conjunction with historical narratives.

Han, (2009) used similar methods to conduct a three-year ethnographic study of immigrant L2 use. Data collection used statistics taken from 2002 to 2006. Twenty-two second-generation immigrants were audio taped. The study examined language learning through church practices or legitimate peripheral practices (Lave and Wenger 1991). The researcher examined the spoken narratives to assess language learning through church practices. Using narratives in this way to understand changes over time is an important methodology. Narratives are used by most human cultures and they enable us to make sense of communities over time (Ochs and Capps, 2001). Findings from another study revealed a relationship between language loss and language process (de Bot, 2000). Exposure to various ethnic community language practices should assure stronger ethnic affiliation as individuals create identity through social interaction. Therefore, to simply ask family members about their attitudes towards language maintenance and language maintenance practices, without also investigating historic-narrative changes, results in incomplete research findings. Phinney, Romero, Nava and Huang (2001) investigated ethnic identity and peer relations amongst adolescents. They sampled 81 Armenians, 47 Vietnamese, and 88 Mexican in the US using survey methods. Their findings showed that socio-cultural practices, language use, and friendship were interrelated. Furthermore, there was a positive correlation between ethnic identity and a variety of psychological outcomes in terms of self-

esteem, ego identity and school involvement (Phinney 1992, 1997; Taylor 1994). A sense of belonging contributes towards psychological well-being. Bashir-Ali (2006) studied socio-cultural and racial identity in a one-year ethnographic case study using participant observation for nine months (between 2003 and 2004). Major findings revealed that participant showed a desire to be part of a collective social identity. Moreover, negative out-group peer pressure impacted on identity creation. Karanja (2007) examined Hispanic immigrant teenage peer groups in a case study using qualitative data and semi-structured interviews with ten people. Results revealed a correlation between in-group and out-group peer association and identity construction. In-group and out-group association is connected to socio-cultural ethnic commonality. Operario and Fiske (1999) examined social identity and highlighted three key findings. First, people maintained a positive self-concept. Second, self-concept was derived from group identity. Finally, people established positive social identity by comparing in-group with out-group. Group identity can be derived from the ethnic community. Both Gumperz (1982) and Heller (1997, 2003) state that social identity and ethnic identity are in large part maintained through language however, this shifts with age. The previous research predominately involved the study of adolescents. Vygotsky (1978) maintains that children garner meaning through social interactions in their environment. For children, who learn language through social construction, their relations with friends and also the exposure and strength of their community and social contexts affect ethnic identity affiliation (Vygotsky, 1962). In addition, their family is a large influence on language maintenance and ethnic identity affiliation.

### 2.3.6 *Influence of family on language maintenance*

Research studies have illustrated the importance of parental attitudes on children's attitudes to language maintenance. Fishman (1991) stated that the most important point of intergenerational language shift relates to home use by women. Findings showed that mothers are central to intergenerational transmission. While these studies raise issues with respect to generalisations about the mother tongue it should be noted that further studies revealed a link to parents and language maintenance. Wong Fillmore (2000) used a case-study approach to research maintenance and language shifts in Chinese-American families. The study found that language loss might have negative effects on individuals and the family. This is due to the loss of ethnic identity and unity. As mentioned earlier, Hakuta and D'Andrea (1992) examined teens from Mexican-American immigrants. Key variables were students' proficiency in Spanish and English. The findings highlighted that parents appear to be key agents of language maintenance. Luo and Wisens (2000) also studied language maintenance amongst 245 first and second-generation Chinese-Americans. Performance and familial ties were found to be an influencing factor. This is reiterated, in Sakamoto's (2000) study of five immigrant Japanese families. The researcher's findings suggested that familial bonds were the most important factor for language maintenance. Furthermore, Garcia's (2003) research revealed that shift patterns were defined by family relations.

Lambert and Taylor (1996) researched in-family accommodation practices by conducting an ethnographic survey of mothers from different social classes. They showed how two groups of Cubans adopted two very different models of language accommodation. There were 108 mothers in the study, who were selected randomly from the Dade County area. The researchers transmitted the questions orally and translated them into Spanish. The study's findings revealed

that women from similar social backgrounds changed or accommodated the way they used their Spanish depending on their social context. The study was limited in that it only interviewed mothers and some cultures, such as Nepalese, are paternal. Pease-Alvarez (1993) researched language practices in fourth generation immigrants. The researchers used case study of three children. They observed the children's use of heritage language and compared it to the larger community sample. They interviewed two girls and six boys using interview protocols, which examined 1) the child's current language use 2) attitudes towards Spanish, English and bilingualism 3) narrative histories gathered through interviews to recall past practices 4) current relationship to their parents EL1 5) prior literacy events and 6) social background. The limitation in this study was the researcher's failure to correlate the connection between students' attitudes and their relationship with their friends. Most studies used teenagers rather than pre-teens for their language maintenance investigation. Wong Fillmore (2000) used a case study approach to identify shifts in language maintenance amongst Chinese-American families. In this study, the children were also high school age. There was a shift in the heritage language between the younger and older generation. The heritage language was used more often when young people interacted with older generation. An additional study in the U.K. Papapavlou and Pavlou, (2001) asked 34 questions that resulted in four key findings. First, the strength of family to ethnic identity was a factor. Second, reasons for attending Greek language classes varied among participants. Third, there was a variation in the perception of national identity between participants, and finally Greek ethnic identity differed from Cypriots ethnic identity. The first finding, which related to the strength of family is also highlighted in ethnic identity literature.

### 2.3.7 *Influence of family and ethnic identity*

There have been many studies of ethnic identity affiliation and language maintenance in various parts of the world. Alba's (1990) study used self-reporting from both parents. The findings confirmed that parents who believed ethnicity to be important were more likely to promote their child's ethnic identity. This is an important finding and will be further examined in the context of the findings in Chapter Six. This thesis attempts to address the gap found in previous studies by assessing differences as well as similarities between parents and children's attitudes toward ethnic affiliation. Seror, Chen, and Gunderson (2005) conducted another study, which highlighted parental attitudes and ethnic affiliation. The study used semi-structured interview protocol and found evidence to support the importance of parental support in ethnic affiliation. They also found that importance of educational input varied from group to group.

Due to the age of this study's participants, set questions did not enable elements of developmental change to be revealed, whereas a more probing method might have achieved this. Children, due to the socio-cultural nature of their learning often adapt their attitudes to fit into varying social contexts. In other words, the attitudes children demonstrate in the presence of their family may differ from those displayed with friends. Furthermore, lower primary age children seek to please adults (Carver, and Scheir, 2000; Erikson, 1968). Another study by Hakuta and D' Andrea (1992) explores the influence of family amongst teens from Mexican-American immigrants. Furthermore, Phinney, Romero, Nava and Huang (2001) sampled 81 Armenians, 47 Vietnamese, and 88 Mexicans teenagers in the US and used survey methods to collect data. Most studies focused on this age group rather than pre-adolescents. There have also been few studies involving observation of socio-interactions as they occurred. The age of students and how the questions were administered became important factors when designing the

data analysis tools for this study. As children enter pre-adolescence peer social interaction becomes a strong influence in the shaping of their attitudes (Hartner, 1998).

Papapavlou and Pavlou (2001) examined ethnic identity amongst teenagers and adults in the Greek Cypriot community. This was one of the few U.K. studies to analyse ethnic affiliation and language maintenance in immigrant communities. Since the context is similar in some aspects to this study, theirs is an important study to consider. The research investigated linguistic and socialising issues among Greek immigrants. They used questionnaires on 274 students aged between 12 and 18. By using structured questions alone there was little opportunity for participants to justify or explain their attitudes to their affiliation and so the robustness of the study was somewhat diminished. The findings showed language shaped cultural identity and was determined by language use, relationship to community, and customs practices. Most of the observations in the Papapavlou and Pavlou (2001) study took place during weekend sessions in Greek language classrooms. In the final analysis, the design of the study limited the findings to what had occurred in a specific temporal context rather than revealing factors that initiated change over time. There is one more factor to be considered for this analysis of language maintenance and ethnic affiliation and that is economic and social status.

### 2.3.8 *Economic and social status*

Economics is inextricably linked to social status. Furthermore, research has revealed major social variables that affect language maintenance (Cummins, 2001). The three variables were:

economic incentive, the nature of the social construct situation, and finally the status of the mother tongue. An immigrant's background correlates to status. Working class immigrants tend not to lose their language (Lambert and Taylor, 1996). This correlates with other studies on lower socio-economic groups, which found that economic status determined the rate of language maintenance. For example, Bills, Hudson, and Hernandez-Chavez (1995, 2000) stated there is a direct correlation between Spanish proficiency and economic status. They used data from the 1990 census and an interpretation of cross-generational data of 12 million immigrants. Their findings revealed that "economic status" strongly determines language maintenance and/or shift. The study also showed that the higher the economic status the greater of proficiency in English and a decrease in the use of Spanish (p.25). These findings cohere with Goldstein's (1997) study of Portuguese immigrant women whose lower economic status encouraged them to view other Portuguese women as assets of social capital as they formed social networks for jobs (Goldstein, 1997). Finally, Garcia's (2003) research indicated that the last two factors impact upon language shift patterns were education and economic status. These factors affect language maintenance as well as, ethnic identity affiliation. Before examining language maintenance and ethnic identity practices in particular, the study will review previous literature on Nepalese immigrant language maintenance and ethnic identity affiliation in the US.

#### 2.4 Review of prior Nepalese immigrant studies in the US

Dhungel (1999) studied Nepalese immigrants to the US using interviews, surveys and census data. The data revealed that in second-generation Nepalese the increase in English language education in conjunction with a lack of home country exposure, resulted in EL1 language loss. The comprehensive results revealed nine factors causing language loss. The first was

acculturation to the American lifestyle. The second a lack of connection with the home country. A third factor was the relatively small size of the Nepalese community compared to other ethnic communities. A fourth factor was the lack of Nepalese language schools. A fifth factor was an increased likelihood of marrying outside of the community. The sixth factor was the Nepali class system which discourages marriage within the same class, so men tended to married outside of their community (Dhungel, 1999; Golay, 2006). The seventh factor was acculturation. Because there is such a diversity of ethnic languages, groups and religions within the community, Nepalese lack the social community cohesion that other (newcomer/ethnic/immigrant) communities experience. As a result, Nepalese are more willing to accept their new way of life, and are more likely to experience greater heritage language loss. However, the study also identified three factors relating to affiliation to the Nepali community. The first was maintaining and celebrating cultural and religious Hindu and Buddhist ceremonies. These practices exposed families to traditional practices and norms that were not transmitted solely in formal language learning. A person can learn a language but will not necessarily be strongly affiliated with the community itself. The second factor was a strong hierarchy in the community. The Nepali community is very paternalistic and family oriented. Finally, the third factor was that ethnic identity remained strong even with language loss (Dhungel, 1999). This study correlates with other literature related to language maintenance and ethnic identity practices. It should be noted that Dhungel's study researched immigrants who willingly moved to the US to assimilate into the culture however, this case study's families had varying reasons for migrating to the U.K.. Part of this was due to the various dialects spoken within families, and so language has not been the contributing factor to ethnic identity affiliation. Changes in language maintenance occur over time and space (Norton, 2002). Therefore, which of the language and ethnic maintenance practices shift and the reasons for these changes is important to assess using the ethnic identity



framework created by previous researchers (Garcia, 2000; Roberts, et al., 1999). These frameworks have been modified for this study to accommodate the differing contexts of the three case study families.

## 2.5 Ethnic identity affiliation model

The original ethnic identity models in the literature compared ethnic identity affiliation, parental attitudes, peer interaction and language proficiency (Phinney, 1989; Erikson, 1968; Bennett, 1993; Lee, 2001; Padilla and Keefe, 1987; Padilla, and Perez, 2003; Pease-Alvarez, 2002; Schrauf, 1999; Schwartz, 2005). However, most models were based solely on either an examination of ethnic identity or language maintenance. Language maintenance studies highlight three main factors for ethnic identity and language maintenance; the socio-cultural, the socio-psychological, and economic status factors (Chow, 2001). These terms can be redefined in terms of individual or socio-psychological, micro or socio-cultural, and macro or socio-economic status. Padilla's (1980, 1987) study researched ethnic allegiance. The researcher used multidimensional qualitative data using two supra constructs. The findings produced a model showing that ethnic awareness is aligned with ethnic loyalty. Padilla and Keefe (1987) researched ethnic identity and ethnic awareness and utilised questionnaires and surveys. They found that communities negotiated ethnic preference on the overall acculturation process. The findings showed that ethnic awareness declined from the first to the fourth generation of Mexican immigrants. Phinney (2000) proposed a model of different components affecting ethnic identity, based on socio-psychological, economic and cultural practices: 1) parental cultural maintenance, 2) ethnic language process, 3) in-group peer interaction, 4) group cohesive

ethnic identity. Each component is an important part in self-identity affiliation as well as the immigrants'/migrants' positioning on the acculturation continuum. It is noteworthy that prior ethnic identity research showed that even with a lack of language maintenance ethnic identification remained strong (Padilla and Keefe, 1987; Phinney, 1997). For more rigorous analysis a reconstructed ethnic model is needed to allow for all the contexts with these case study families. Most of the research undertaken previously has used structured questionnaires, proficiency test data, or classroom observation (Cho, 2000; Cho and Tse, 1997; Cummins, 1981; Garcia, 1985; Hakuta and Diaz, 1985; Tran and Young, 1999; Zentella, 1997). However, there are other practices that contribute to ethnic identity affiliation and acculturation and they will be examined.

#### 2.6.0 Types of language maintenance and ethnic identity practices

Next, due to the varying ages of the case study family members, language maintenance in this thesis will focus primarily on informal social language rather than proficiency in language. Analysis does not simply include participation in language maintenance but exposure to language maintenance practices as well. Traditionally, the literature predominantly examined the maintenance of spoken language with the occasional inclusion of an investigation into literacy practices. For the purpose of this study, the practices used to address question one of the thesis have been extended to include a new third category. Therefore, the types of practices will include: social language practices, social literacy practices, and traditional ethnic peripheral ritualised practices, which are non-interactive customs that will be defined later.

### 2.6.1 *Social language practices*

The first type of language maintenance and ethnic identity practice is social language. Due to the nature of this research, classroom observations were not required in order to answer the research questions. Cummins (1981) argues that there are two types of languages for the EAL/ESL student. One is basic interpersonal communication (BICS), however these students must also attend to the cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP) expected in the classroom context. Since this study assesses language maintenance of the home and outlines social areas only social language or what Cummins (1996) referred to as BICS will be examined. Bahktin (1986) defines social language as “discourse peculiar to a specific stratum of society within a given social system at a given time” (p. 430). This refers to the use of language to “enact a particular socially situated identity” (Gee, 2004, p.42). It is the language used in informal situations in socio-cultural contexts. Social language differs from work, academic, classroom, and other more structured forms of language (Baker, 2000). Previous research has investigated the connection between the social language of home and that in the classroom (Baker, 2000; Cummins, 1981, 1996, 2000; Genesse, 2006; Thomas and Collier, 1996). The studies tended to examine the proficiency of the immigrant student. Cummins (1981) used data taken from over 400 students’ language assessment tests. Through data collection, interviews and observation the researcher identified an area of difference between classroom and non-classroom language. Moreover, the literature reveals that students’ social home literacies enable a “...deeper and richer than the forms of learning to which they (students) are exposed in schools” (Gee, 2004, p. 107). This study will not simply examine language maintenance practices it will also highlight the connection to ethnic identity affiliation practices. Social language “situates one’s identity in relation to someone else in a particular context” (Alvermann,

2005, p.46). Thus, for the purpose of this research, social language was broken down into three types; cultural interactive language practices, social interactive language practices, and multimodal language practices. These terms were created specifically for this present research. Furthermore these types of practices are specific to EL1 social language practices and will be discussed further in Chapter Four under interview data collection tools. The discussion will now consider how social language connects of identity construction of immigrant children, in addition, define any difference in identity construction for adult, children, and youth, and how language is learnt by young learners.

#### 2.6.2 *Social language, identity construction and age of immigrants*

Immigrants/migrants struggle with differences in socio-cultural discourse between their home community and newly adopted residence. They enter into a process termed ‘acculturation’ (Berry, 1997; Roberts, et al., 1999; Schwartz, 2005). Previously, language maintenance studies examined how identity was constructed with respect to language shifts, loss, or investment (de Bot, 2000; Fishman, 1972; Peirce, 1994; Valdes, 2001). However, there are two areas in this study that extends beyond previous research. First, not all these families are immigrant therefore they do not all strive to gain a ‘new identity’. Second, with the rapid advent of technology social language extends past national borders and is accessible to all. For children, pre-adolescents, and adolescents the type of technology changed and so exposure increased to a variety of types of social language as they alter developmentally over time. Multimodal technology (smartphones, Facebook, tablets, game boys, texting, tweeting, and MP3 players) have extended social language practices to include signs of communication (oral, text-based, visual, gestural, audio,

multimodal, and artefact)(Pahl, 2005) that in turn become signs of social value in contexts of inequality (Au, 1993; Jacob and Jordan, 1987). The forms of technology which transmit a globalised social language can create a division between immigrant/migrant parents and their children. Moreover, for parents, adolescents, and children language is a tool that creates an identity. Exposure to technology based cultural social language contributes to the construction of social identity (Alvermann, 2005; Duff, 1997; Gee, 2004; MacDougall, 2003; March, 2006). As a result, adult's and children's social language generates differing expectations.

Furthermore, language is acquired differently depending on the age of the person. For younger children variations in discourse style are not as problematic as they are for teenagers (Erickson, 1986). In addition, in the globalised world, knowledge of the differences in socio-cultural discourse assists children in later life. The literature suggests that language, whether it be EL1, L2, or L3, extends from socio-cultural practices within a community (Heath, 1983; Street, 1996). For adults, types of spoken discourse are connected to social status, economic status and power (Gee, 1994) however, this can create disadvantages within a dominant community.

Disadvantages occur in certain hierarchical professions such as the military. Many researchers view discourse as a kind of 'cultural identity toolbox' that included activities, behaviours, and norms comprehended by the community members. This cultural identity toolbox is inherently ideological and embedded with community understood social norms and practices (Gee, 1994). Depending on the status of the community, it can embed language and customs as ideological and power practices. Language is inextricably connected to belief systems and community

values as well as shared history (Pahl & Rowsell, 2005). The existing literature has not examined globalised practices in conjunction with traditional ethnic practices. Previous literature examined types of language maintenance practices or the connection of ethnic traditional practices with cultural identity. Later in this chapter, these studies will be examined in greater detail in terms of common factors in language maintenance and ethnic identity affiliation. When assessing language practices it is not just current participation that is important but the exposure and age of exposure to EL1 language practices. The theory of social constructivism in relation to language and learning will now be examined.

### 2.6.3 *Social language and the connection to learning for children*

Vygotsky (1978) states that; learning occurs through a social and interpersonal process. Children need to learn through socialisation and their environment. The assumption is that literacy practices come from the classroom but as Heath (1983) and others have illustrated children draw social literacy practices from home and community and integrate them into the classroom (Dyson, 2003; Heath, 1983; Pahl, 2006). For the Nepalese community, the home environment provides differing experiences in relation to spoken discourse. This could either marginalise the child's identity or enhance it. Moreover, for the Nepalese community, oral literacy relates not only to literacy skills but also to values, morals and ethnic cultural language norms. The longer children are exposed to a variety of socio-cultural language practices, the greater their acceptance of these varying EL1 practices (Cummins, 2001). As the literature argues, the success or failure of minority students is a function of the extent to which schools

reflect or counteract the power relations of broader society (Cummins, 1986, p.3). Furthermore, researchers state that the socio-cultural aspects of learning and the idea of power relations can result in lower scores in the immigrant minority situation (Edelsky et al., 1983; Rivera, 1984; Saville-Troike, 1984; Wiley, 1996). Power relationships for immigrant/migrant families vary between situations and context through dialogue and socio-cultural capital (Street, 1996, p.100). For the primary school student discourse is critical for language and literacy learning. At this particular age, children are still fluid in their language and ethnic identity. Therefore, there are several overlapping communities that play an important role in the child's language and literacy development which in turn affects their ethnic identity affiliation (Epstein, 1994). Social interaction extends beyond spoken discourse and into the realm of text-based reading and writing or what is commonly referred to as literacy. The next type of practice for consideration is social literacy. The following section will examine current and historical literacy practices, and social literacy as it affects children and adolescents.

## 2.7 *Literacy practices*

This study investigates social literacy practices in the informal home context rather than assessing the formal academic context. The informal setting is the non-class room environment but it is connected to and affected by the formal context. Literacy is a term which has varying definitions, depending on the person and the context in which it is being utilised. Literacy encompasses both the process of creating written code as well as decontextualising or decoding text-based discourse constructed during writing and reading (Bialystok, 2001). There are multiple social literacy frames, but one component is the “acquisition of new language and literacy practices driven by cultural and personal agency and purpose”(Perry, 2007 p.57). In

other words children must attempt to understand the socio-cultural reasons for genre, viewpoint and vocabulary choice. For this to occur the child must fully comprehend the cultural discourse parameters. Outlining the factors involved in literacy will better enable a more succinct definition of literacy itself.

### 2.7.1 *An historical overview of literacy*

Historically teachers have taught reading and writing as a product (Murray, 1972) in that the goal was the ability to read rather than the socio-cultural process of reading. Historically, being able to write one's name was the height of literacy skill now the Western-style academic essay is the marker (Scribner, 1984). As Scribner (1984) states "defining literacy becomes one of assessing what counts as literacy in modern social context" (p.8). In addition, defining illiteracy in conjunction with literacy opens up additional lines of enquiry depending on context. The first occurrence of the word 'literacy' was an entry in a dictionary in 1556, but it appeared under the term illiteracy (Rose, 2007). There was an assumption that literacy entailed reading and writing as few went to school and reached this level of learning. The term functional literacy was coined in relation to soldiers in the First World War to refer to the conditional proficiency levels needed in the armed forces (Rose, 2007, p.60). Functional literacy was a term used to define the skills needed to meet the requirements of the workplace. Schooling or the formal setting for learning is a relatively new phenomenon. It was not until after the Second World War in Western developed countries that all people rich and poor were expected to attend school up to university (Rose, 2007). As expectations with respect to learning and education increased over the next fifty years in the West, so too did the parameters of the definition of literacy.



### 2.7.2 *Autonomous viewpoint to social literacy*

Previously researchers such as Goody (1968) defined literacy as the simple ability to read and write. From this perspective, literacy is an attribute of individuals (Scribner, 1984, p.7; Street, 1984). However, reading and writing is also a social practice ingrained in cultural context (Street, 1993, p.21). Literacy is neither a static nor a universal construct. Moreover, what people actually achieve in terms of literacy is more important than approaching it from the standpoint of deficiency (Street, 1985, p.177). As Albright suggests, there is a difference between “doing literacy” and “being literate” (2001, p.645). Literacy is not just learning what to do, or how to do it, but also the text-based meaning stemming from the social context from which the social literacy performance is derived (Gee, 1994; Lemke, 1997; Moss, 2000). Furthermore, Moll (1992) discusses the “funds of knowledge”: how home, community and knowledge from the community’s social literacy practices and the family’s practices of values and knowledge shape a child’s opportunities, access, exposure, schemata, and interaction with literacy. Some groups see English language as an imperative to their child’s academic success. In fact, some of the parents in this case study demonstrated this attitude. This belief created an ill-informed conviction that removing the EL1 in order to increase the child’s school performance was important. Conversely, other researchers consider multiple language ability as a greater social resource (Baker, 2000; Cummins, 2001; Swain, 1984). “Literacy practices are not only of culture but also of power structures denoting ideological positions from which there are no escapes” (Street, 1993, p.65). From this perspective literacy means power (Cummins, 1984; Street, 2001). Research shows that if literacy practices in the home mirror identical practices in the classroom then the child’s academic success is more assured (Heath, 1983; Scribner and Cole, 1981). Literacy also includes the communication process students engage in with their

shared knowledge (Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group, 1992a, p.121). Moreover, as stated previously, Nepalese literacy is founded on the oral rather than the written text. However, as will be discussed in Chapter Three, educational proficiency can become a form of capital for immigrants/migrants.

While literacy deals with the linguistic code, it remains connected to the language learning process. As Purcell-Gates (2007) points out “Immigration may be a common experience but it is not played out the same within or across groups, at least when looking at it through a literacy lens.” (p. 56). This is especially relevant in the Nepalese context as storytelling is an important part of the Nepalese social literacy traditions. Considering the range of factors outlined above, defining literacy is not easy. Hudelson (2006) states that “literacy is the construction of meaning, either through the creation of one’s own text or the interpretation of text written by others” (Hudelson, 2006, p.151). Hudelson and others identify further aspects of literacy such as: the skills of decoding, whole word recognition, interpretation using prior schemata, reasons for reading and writing, understanding genres, knowledge of socio-cultural discourse, creation and understanding of symbolic code in language, unpacking meaning, and the ability to understand the framework (Bialystok, 2001; Hudelson, 2006; McKay, 2006). Literacy is closely connected to a community’s social cultural identity and is learnt orally as well as from texts. Gutierrez’s (1994) study found that there is a close relationship between patterns of interaction among groups and context; both are constructed and reconstructed as participants engage in specific literacy practices. As Dyson (1999, p.593) states “children bring their outside world into the school through their written and oral performances that encircle literacy events.” Thus, changes

in social literacy practices also affect the groups' cultural identity. How one views literacy practices is fundamental when accessing and analysing the research data.

### 2.7.3 *Defining social literacy practices and events*

Literacy practices and literacy events have changed how researchers view literacy over the past twenty years. Literacy was initially viewed in terms of literacy events: it was a participatory occasion with reading or writing involved (Scribner and Cole, 1981). Literacy events were viewed in relation to the wider socio-cultural community discourse patterns they reflected. Later the use of the term literacy practice came to refer to a more socially complicated occurrence. Scribner and Cole, (1981) were the first to introduce the term practices. Literacy practice is defined as a “recurrent, goal directed sequence of activities using a particular technology and particular systems of knowledge” (Scribner and Cole, 1995, p.236). Therefore, literacy practices are a social interaction occurrence outside the individual; they are not just a set of skills (Cole, 1995). Literacy is not just a practice, but a series of socially organised practices “not simply knowing how to but applying the knowledge for a specific context (Scribner and Cole, 1993 p.236). Literacy practices include; skills, technology, access and knowledge (LU.K.e and Freebody, 1997). This study examines particular practices of EL1 which occur in the informal setting.

Street (2001) argued that the term literacy practice is too finite. The literature states that literacy is viewed not as an autonomous entity but one housed in socio-cultural embedded contexts that

are present both in the formal and informal learning settings (Scribner and Cole, 1993). The old view of literacy practices defines them as concrete, whereas more recent research defines social literacy practice as more fluid over time and space (Street, 2001). The term social literacy practices will be used to refer to literacy practices that contain social-cultural interaction rather than practices related to academic purposes such as homework. Consequently, literacy practices will be referred to as social literacy practices to distinguish them from formal schoolwork. Moreover, social literacy practice is viewed as an integral component of socio-cultural communication and community practice transmission (Brandt and Clinton, 2002; Marsh, 2006; Pahl, 2005). Thus, there are components in not only language maintenance but ethnic identity affiliation such as; socio-cultural practices which involve spoken discourse and literacy that stem from socio-cultural community practices (Barton and Hamilton, 1998; Dyson, 2003; Larson and Marsh, 2005).

Within the case study families a variety of social literacy practices occurred and these formed part of religious and socio-cultural events. Mahiri and Godly (1998) found evidence of a strong connection between societal literacy practices and successful language learning. Literacy is an outcome of social transmission as literacy skills are acquired by the young learner in the course of participation of an activity (Scribner and Cole, 1981, p.8). Thus, social literacy includes three types of practices. Like social language, social literacy involves three types of practice: traditional text-based practices, cultural interaction literacy practices, and multimodal literacy practices. As with social language these practices will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Four under interview data collection tools. Having defined social language practice and social

literacy practices the study will now define the more intangible practices of culture and ethnic heritage practices I am terming peripheral ritualised practices (UNESCO, 2010).

## 2.8 Peripheral ritualised practices

### 2.8.1 *Peripheral ritualised practices rationale*

There were two seemingly insignificant incident, led the researcher to expand the scope of language maintenance practices from the traditional social language and social literacy to also include peripheral ritualised practices. I will recount the events leading to the creation of this term in Chapter Six. First, I must define and explain how this new term stems from the prior research. The ability to speak a language does not necessarily produce ethnic affiliation identity; rather it simply facilitates ethnic affiliation. Studies have shown that second and third generation immigrants may have strong ethnic affiliation even though they no longer speak the EL1 (Dhungel, 1999; Padilla and Keefe, 1987; Pavlenko, 2007). Therefore, this study has highlighted an additional component connected to ethnic identity that is not directly connected to language. Investment in peripheral ritualised practices impedes full assimilation into the newly adopted culture. Thus, allowing children to become more bi-cultural rather than marginalised. As seen in previous research, the degree of heritage awareness and ethnic loyalty is derived from the exposure to home country and traditional ethnic practices (Bankston and Zhou, 1995; Padilla and Keefe, 1987; Schechter and Bayley, 1997). However, ethnic identity affiliation is dependent on the amount of time spent in the home country, the age at which the home country was

experienced and the degree of exposure to peripheral ritualised practices (Dhugel, 1999). So I began to search for research that covered these types of practices. Although syncretic (Gregory, 2012) and peripheral legitimate practices (Lave and Wenger, 1991) came close they do not fully cover this new term.

### 2.8.2 Peripheral ritualised practices– defining the term

This study's findings identify previously un-named practices: 'peripheral ritualised practices'. The term needs to be broken down and defined more explicitly. "We come to every situation with stories, patterns and sequences of childhood experiences that are built into us." (Bateson, 1979, p.13). There are practices we experience over time and which inform us and affiliate our identity. I realise that identity is fluid dependent on the context one is in as well as one's relationship to others. However, as this study will illustrate there are a new set of important practices which have been overlooked or submerged in other research due to their very oblique nature. Components of these practices have been incorporated into other terms and this will be discussed further. First, however, I will provide a simple definition of what the term refers to and then clarify those things that the term does not refer to. The word 'peripheral' was chosen because the practices are not central to the individual's discourse and habitus rather they are outside socio-cultural interactive communication. For example, if I was participating in the act of chanting this would be considered an active discourse and would be central to me. On the other hand, if I am in my house and I consistently hear my mother, for example, chanting daily then the practice is not one in which I am actively involved. My mother's chanting, while relevant in some manner to my identity, is peripheral. However, it is a practice to which I am

exposed to and so synthesise into my identity. On the other hand, the chanting is not a practice that actively teaches ethnic identity. In the final analysis, these peripheral ritualised practices do not include active participation in linguistic, text or social discourse. In fact, these practices do not require any linguistic discourse at all.

There have been other researchers, namely Wenger and Lave (1998), who have used 'peripheral' in their term 'peripheral legitimate practices'. For these researchers, learning is part of a social practice in which there is an apprenticeship relationship with respect to legitimate peripheral participation in communities of practice (Lave, 2002). The relationship is one where an elder transmits knowledge through community practices to a new person. However, this is not the case with peripheral ritualised practices. Furthermore, for those familiar with Lave and Wenger's (1991) seminal work in the area of situated learning, it is important that I deconstruct the difference between my new term and theirs.

Lave and Wenger's (1991) model of situated learning proposed that learning involved a process of engagement in a 'community of practice'. From this perspective, these practices are the property of a kind of community created over time through the sustained pursuit of a shared enterprise (Wenger, 1999, p. 45). They also use the term *joint enterprise* to refer to continuous renegotiation by the community's members. These are the "*shared repertoire* of communal resources (routines, sensibilities, artefacts, vocabulary, styles, etc.) that members have developed over time" (Wenger, 2001, p. 73). However peripheral ritualised practices are not always shared. The act of hearing a family member clap before and after praying, smelling incense, hearing the rhythmic slapping of chapatti making, or witnessing other ethnic foods being prepared, seeing

decorations, or using specific clothing for festivals, for example, are all practices which frame the person rather than informing their learning. In addition, an individual's connection to food, clothing, decorations and customs can vary according to personal tastes. I am not assessing conversations that occur during the making of traditional food, for example. Rather I am assessing the pure exposure to the ethnic practice which, if removed and replaced with a globalised practice, changes the degree of ethnic identity affiliation.

Furthermore, in situated learning, members are involved in a set of relationships over time (Lave and Wenger, 1991, p. 98). Again this is an accurate observation, but peripheral ritualised practices do not necessarily need a relationship; they are practices that affect each individual differently. Some children will remember food, for example, while others are more influenced by music and still others are influenced by the rituals they are exposed to daily. Moreover, these practices cannot be defined as 'guided participation' (Rogoff, 1990). Peripheral ritualised practices do not include direct learning transmitted from elders to children. Often peripheral ritualised practices involve exposure to an ethnic practice, but they do not teach the child how, or why, those ethnic practices occur.

Furthermore, Rogoff states that children learn by observing and listening and she calls this 'intent participation' (2003, p. 177). While this term appears to be applicable to some elements of peripheral ritualised practices, the peripheral nature or non-direct interaction of these practices means that 'intent participation' is not applicable. Participants in peripheral ritualised practices do not interact, nor is there any active participation. Instead, this dissertation asserts that simple exposure to the act of making food, eating food or wearing clothes implies a peripheral nature



that is an extension of Rogoff's (2003) term 'intent participation'. This extension also incorporates non-learning practices which enhance ethnic identity affiliation. The new term 'peripheral ritualised practices', extends from this concept, as well as other practices such as: social literacy, globalised, multiliteracies and multi-modal, peripheral ritualised practices. Furthermore, children's learning through observation goes far beyond mimicking what they see and hear. As Wenger states, participation 'refers not just to local events of engagement in certain activities with certain people, but to a more encompassing process of being active participants in the *practices* of social communities and constructing *identities* in relation to these communities' (Wenger 1999, p. 4). However, the participants are not active in peripheral ritualised practices. They are exposed to, or framed within, the practices but they do not actively participate in them. While I agree with Lave and Wenger (1991) regarding the practices of social communities and the construction of identities in relation to these communities, my term, peripheral ritualised practices refers to the experience and exposure to the practices, but without participation. There are other terms which also need clarification as they relate to peripheral ritualised practices.

The term 'prolepsis', or the way in which knowledge, languages and practices are passed from one generation to another (Gregory, et. al, 2012. p.5) is an interesting concept. It describes some forms of peripheral ritualised practices, for example the professional Nepalese children watching their grandmother knead cornbread on the floor of their house. However, peripheral ritualised practices also incorporate constructed within a particular context, not just generationally learnt practices.

What I mean by that is, for example, there are some foods or decorations that cannot be purchased in the new home context and so the parents adapt traditional ethnic customs to fit their

new habitus. The term for this synthesis of ethnic and local literacy practices is ‘syncretic literacy practices’. By syncretic literacy we mean that an intermingling or merging of culturally diverse traditions informs and organises literacy activities (Gregory, et. al, 2012, p. 4). Again peripheral ritualised practices are not the synthesised syncretic practices that Rogoff discusses; they are practices which shape ethnic identity affiliation and as a consequence slow down language maintenance shifts. That is not to say they blend or synthesise into a new practices, instead the participants recreate a ritualised practice that connects them to their ethnic identity. Another reason the term syncretic practices is not used directly is because two of the families in this study are not immigrants; they are migrants. Migrants do not necessarily stay long enough to fully integrate both sets of practices into a new syncretic practice. However, Milan, who is a Third Culture Kid, does apply some forms of syncretic practice for example, when he adds peppers to his pizza. The practice of mixing foods is syncretic in nature but I argue it is a non-literacy practice.

These practices are an extended form of what Rogoff terms ‘prolepsis’ are cross cultural, intergenerational literacy interactions (2003, p.10). There is a constant syncretism of practices as what is available in the local home context merges with what is available in the new context. However, this study does not focus on the importance of prolepsis or syncretic practices. In this study the stress is on how these migrant/immigrants view them as means in the process of ethnic identity construction. The retired Gorkha family placed high value on language exposure and maintenance but included peripheral ritualised practices, whereas the professional Nepalese family placed more emphasis on religious peripheral ritualised practices than on language maintenance. The final family, the Gorkha family, placed high emphasis on language and

community practices such as food and decoration. However, regardless of the type of practice they considered to be significant, they all used peripheral ritualised practices and these ultimately maintained ethnic identity affiliation.

It is important to note that “in such families, cultural threads from diverse sources are interwoven into a single interactional fabric and enacted in daily routines where: an intermingling or merging of culturally diverse traditions informs and organises literacy activities” (Duranti and Ochs, 1996, p. 2). Furthermore, others have stated that “syncretism may include incorporation of any culturally diverse values, beliefs, emotions, practices, identities, institutions, tools and other material resources into the organisation of literacy activities” (Gregory, et. al, 2012, p.3). Peripheral ritualised practices extend from this concept to something more. They are not an interpretation, or synthesis, of different cultural practices, neither are they the children’s interpretation of these practices. One of the most important aspects of peripheral ritualised practices is that they are consistently and regularly performed. This consistency is inherent in the word ‘ritualised’.

The word ‘ritualised’ is included in the term to differentiate these particular practices from customs that are sporadic and not specifically adhered to such as, Valentine’s Day which is not celebrated by everyone. I am using the term ritualised practices not as Catherine Bell (1992 as cited in Bell, Evans & Shaw, 2000) viewed as connected to religion but extending from religious, cultural, ethnic and local traditional practices. Thus, practices that were ritually performed in a specific context, for specific reasons, and at a particular time such as; celebrating Diwali (Festival of Lights), eating certain foods during Ramadan, wearing certain clothes for

festivals, etc. were included and assessed in this study. Exposure to customs involving food, clothes and/or traditional practices align children with their particular ethnic community not just with political boundaries. These customs are generally cultural or ethnic in nature, but some could be classified as religious or spiritual, such as, the custom of burning incense. While, they can be religious, religion is not the sole basis for these customs. ‘The effectiveness of social reactions as incentives derives from their predictive value rather than inhering in the reactions themselves’ (Bandura, 1977, p.101). Vygotsky (1978) maintains that children garner meaning through social interactions in their environment. Thus, these practices contain elements that are peripheral to social interaction and are ritualised or consistently incorporated into their lives. There is one more aspect to this term that needs defining.

These practices are more specifically cultural, religious, traditional, or ethnic customs. These are cultural and ethnic practices that encapsulate communities of practice (Wenger and Lave, 1999). In other words, they are the practices of ‘intangible heritage’ (UNESCO, 2001). Intangible heritage practices or cultural customs include observing cultural holidays, wearing ethnic clothes, eating traditional foods, and exposure to non-verbal religious customs (such as chanting and burning incense). These practices assist the person to self-identify with a particular community. They are intrinsic to ethnic aspects of religious, culture, and community practices.

These practices do not include direct social discourse; they expose the family members to ethnic, cultural and religious traditional events or practices. Thus, this thesis argues that the fact that the child overhears, smells and sees particular ritualised practices that accompany chanting means that the practices influence the development of the child’s ethnic identity affiliation. Unlike

prior research, this study argues that consistent exposure to ethnic based practices is as effective as consistent language maintenance practices in maintaining ethnic identity affiliation. As stated previously, with the predominance of globalised practices today, ethnic traditional practices gain greater meaning to immigrants/migrants in terms of identity construction. While ethnic practices are practiced consistently, they differ depending on the particular ethnic group. For the three families most of the types of peripheral ritualised practices were performed on a regular basis. Now that the new term has been defined, the discussion clarifies the discovery of these practices and subsequently outlines the families' participation in these practices.

To sum up, a peripheral ritualised practice is one in which a child or person is exposed to consistent, continual, non-direct interactive practice. But these practices are not synthesised or global practices; they are connected to one's ethnic community. For example, the act of making a chapatti or perogies, in my case with my Ukrainian grandmother, exposed and connected me to part of my ethnic identity. When I used to make perogies and cook them with my grandmother, I was connected to my Ukrainian roots. This act was non-linguistic. However, often grandma (baba) would tell stories such as, "the real perogies (traditional) were made with cottage cheese not cheddar but I like the cheddar better." Later I would discover from my aunt that my grandmother used cheddar cheese instead of cottage cheese because the latter was harder to buy in the stores. It was an ethnic food; however, poor people in the Ukraine could afford cottage cheese not hard cheese which was more costly. The act of her telling me the historical narrative is a social literacy which, during our interaction, was connected to the peripheral ritualised practice of making perogies. So the act of making the food is the thread that connects the decoration onto the cloak of identity. To extend the metaphor, the decoration is the social literacy or social language. Peripheral ritualised practices are like threads, with each act and

practice weaving a design onto the person's identity cloak. This cloak is reversible, as one's identity changes depending on where one is and who one is with. In addition, the threads can be invisible while strengthening a cloak, whereas a social literacy or language practice is apparent to the wearer of the cloak. Thus, the act of seeing, hearing and doing (non-linguistically) peripheral ritualised practices enhances a person's ethnic identity. The other acts of syncretic practice, prolepsis practice, guided participation practice and peripheral legitimate practice are decorations on the cloak of identity. Thus, while peripheral ritualised practices are connected to these more obvious decorations they tend to be invisible even though they ultimately determine the strength of the identity cloak. These practices assist with an assessment of language maintenance and ethnic identity practices. However, there are other factors, which require examination. These are macro, micro, and internal level factors which assist with determining how and why attitudes shift amongst and between families and individual family members.

## 2.9 Macro, micro and internal factor – an overview

Heller (2003) stated that community identity is understood as social construct interconnected with community beliefs, attitudes and ethnic community language process. Furthermore, there is the cultural identity inherent in ethnic communities, families, school communities and amongst other communities of practice to which the primary school student is exposed. Further to this discussion is how some researchers identify how language and communities form due to a socio-cultural external power context. There is an aspect of language and identity that of the power relationship between ethnic communities identity and new community identity. One of the foremost proponents of the theory is Bourdieu (1977). Bourdieu (1977) examined the

relationship between identity and aspects of the symbolic power of investment. He addressed the issue of how certain ethnic groups are more marginalised than others. Marginalised immigrants feel forced to identify and assimilate into the dominant power. Language learners have a complex history and multiple desires. Kubota and Lin (2006) studied language, power and identity. Their findings showed that insiders' perspective and language maintenance are positively related. Norton (1997) examined the works of West (West, 1992 as cited in Norton,1997), Bordieu (1977) and Weedon (Weedon, 1987 as cited in Norton 1997) concluded that identity refers to how people comprehend their relationship to the world. She also highlighted how it is constructed across time and space. Furthermore, Weedon (as cited in Norton 1997) stated that subjects' identities changed over time. Therefore, language is closely related to identity construction. What other aspects are there in identity construction? Prior to accessing the macro, micro, and individual theories, which grew out of discussions with the participants, important theories that were investigated but ultimately discarded will be discussed.

This dissertation investigates the link between language maintenance practices (both social language and social literacy) and peripheral ritualised practices in relation to ethnic identity in immigrant and migrant Nepalese. Therefore, I am not attempting to codify or categorise practices within a particular ethnicity. Instead, I aim to co-construct the daily experiences of an individual of an ethnic community when their practices differ from local practices. One might argue that due to the post-colonial nature of the Nepalese/Gorkha's home country I should incorporate post-colonial theory into this study. However, there are several arguments for not including it into the literature review.

Strategic essentialism positions group identity by “minimising inter-group diversity” (Sharp, 2008). The basis of this dissertation is that ethnic identity, while constructed within the confines of a group community identity, differs for individuals based on the habitus and macro factors that most affect them. I do not want to impose a larger theory of post-colonialism onto the participants as I want their voices to be heard collectively and individually. The Gorkha and retired Gorkha families both moved around to various countries. Therefore, while the family had experienced some of the injustice and effects of postcolonial rule they specifically informed me that they had taken the job to provide a better life for their children. Ultimately, the Gorkha identity was a financial means to an end and not something that negatively affected the children, so it is most important that the process is not misunderstood and politicised. There are discussions in the dissertation regarding power structure but I chose to utilise the term structural inequality as it is a theory that applies to parents, children and extended family members.

In addition to the above, the professional Nepalese mother was concerned about possible misunderstandings with respect to their identity. It is arguably simple and convenient to generalise the families as coming from a poor, underdeveloped illiterate nation. However, that is where they came from, not who they are now. In particular, the professional Nepalese parents’ journey was radically different than that of the Gorkha families. Their experience resulted in greater English educational capital and they perceive themselves as professional. Yet, while identity they constructed for themselves has transcended the Nepalese stereotype, they still cherish their ethnic identity affiliation. Finally, and most importantly children are unaware of post-colonialism oppression as such. The children moved a lot from country to country and so they had not always lived in Nepal as a post-colonial country. Furthermore, their life was similar to any child of someone employed by the military, whether they are Nepalese or Canadian. The



visa restrictions may have affected them, however at this point in their life this is not a conscious part of their identity and this is their story too.

How people want to be perceived is different from how people perceive them. My sister's view of me, for example, is influenced by memories of childhood incidents. Often family members forget that we change and grow. Therefore, to impose a post-colonial theory on these families is to stereotype the existence of the ethnic group and negate any possibilities for variation. Allowing the participants' voices to come through is the main objective of this ethnographic study. My research position is one of derived ethic (Rogoff, 2003) which puts forth the notion that "individuals often identify their cultural heritage differently depending on the situation and audience, reflecting historical relations among communities" (p. 82). In the final analysis, applying post-colonial theory limits how the participants are viewed.

#### 2.9.1 *Macro level – policies affecting language maintenance and identity*

Research revealed immigrants constructed identities with the desire to belong. One of the strongest studies of this phenomenon used a framework of ethnic identity (Roberts, et al., 1999). The researcher measured the positive identification to ethnic identity compared to the new home country identity. Thus, at the macro level the power relationship between the new home country and the immigrant/migrant places a role in ethnic identity affiliation. Theories addressing macro factor involve habitus, status mobility, and structural inequality. The following section assesses factors which lie at the community/micro level.

#### 2.9.2 *Micro level - community as it affects language maintenance and identity affiliation*

Schechter and Bayley's (1997) study concurs that language embodies in and of itself "acts of idea". These ideas are connected to the socio-cultural identity of communities and the individual. Their study was a large-scale study of Hispanic immigrants over two states. They examined 400 immigrants but focused on four families using a case study approach. It is a seminal and large language maintenance and identity study. The study also utilised home visits as well as semi-structured interviews to assess language maintenance factors. However, they did not make comparisons between family members instead they assessed the family as a unit. Schechter and Bayley's (1997) is an important study however, there are other studies that have shown ethnic identity and language are positively related (Bankston and Zhou, 1995). In other words, social, educational or cultural capital which affects status and mobility, and is often based on prior habitus at the community level is a micro level factor. The next section will examine individual and community identity and language practices.

### 2.9.3 *Individual level – socio-psychology affecting internal individual attitudes*

An examination of language and identity must acknowledge the seminal research of Pierce (1995). Pierce's (1995) longitudinal case study focused on social identity, investment and language learning. The research showed that the more speakers invested in English the greater the language learning. Therefore, investment is a key factor in language maintenance. Identity formation is when the individual enacts, through language and other forms of representation, a sense of self (Giddens, 1991, p.26). Thus, individual identity affiliation is linked to ethnicity, culture and community. Duff and Uchida (1997) argue that "identities are co-constructed, negotiated, and transformed on an ongoing basis by means of language"(p.452). These identities can change over time. There is a need to maintain identity in order to live coherent lives (Bruner,

1990; Lantoff, 2006). Language maintenance and ethnic identity affiliation is complex as it transects the age of the participant, educational and economic status, prior habitus and current or prior structural inequality. Moreover, how these factors impact on changes, shifts and/or loss help provide justification for the theoretical framework and acculturation continuum when analysing the reasons for shifts in practices and attitudes amongst individual and family members. While I realize that the framework acts as a guide I must explicitly state that analysis of the families became more of a collaborative process between me and the various family members. The theoretical framework in conjunction with the acculturation continuum will be outlined in detail in Chapter Three.

## **Chapter Three - Theoretical frameworks and models**

### 3.0 Theoretical framework

As stated in Chapter Two, there are several factors prevalent in both language maintenance and ethnic identity literature. This study undertakes a comparative assessment of language maintenance and ethnic identity amongst individual family members rather than the family unit. However, this is an ethnographic study allowing for the various members voices to be heard. Therefore, the assessment in this ethnographic study, while generally applicable to each family, strives to enable the individual differences to be heard. I endeavoured not to silence the unique attitudes of the children, as they change over time and space but rather have woven them together into the overall fabric of a theoretical framework. This type of case study analysis requires a myriad of factors to be assessed at the individual level as well as family level. In addition, the analysis must include participatory construction of the individual participants as we proceeded together. To accommodate the multiple paradigms inherent in the ethnographic study a framework was devised that resulted in a three-tier model. The first tier is the macro level and includes national, governmental and social policies. The second tier is the micro level and includes community both local and ethnic attitudes and beliefs. The final tier is internal or individual. These are the personal factors which affect or motivate shifts in language maintenance as well as ethnic identity affiliation. These personal factors often highlighted how a persons' attitudes and beliefs were often overridden for the ultimate sacrifice parents make to benefit their children's future. The theoretical framework presented in this chapter is also used to address external factors relating to thesis questions three and four. In addition, in order to assess shifts and compare data an acculturation continuum was constructed. In order to undertake the

comparative analysis of the three ethnographic case study families the aspects more prevalent in causing acculturation will be investigated first. Discussion of this will occur after 1) introducing the concept and components of acculturation 2) defining the terminology and justification for terms in the acculturation framework 3) discussing evidence from the historical background and present practices and 4) a comparative analysis of the significant factors of age and Peripheral ritualised practices in all three case study families. Therefore, before placing the family members on the continuum a definition and justification of acculturation will be outlined in conjunction with all the elements intrinsic to interwoven in the concept. Discussion will initially clarify the three-tiered approach.

### 3.0.1 *Three-tiered approach*

The macro factors that emerged from the case study data were habitus (Bourdieu, 2000) vertical and horizontal status mobility (Blommaert, 2010), and structural inequality (Au, 1993). Social, educational, and economic capital emerged at the micro level (Bourdieu, 2003; Collins, 2000; Pollmann, 2013). Social networking theory (de Bot and Stoessel, 2002; Garcia, 2000; Milroy, 1987) was also applicable to two of the three case study parents. In addition, at the individual self-identity creation level, internal factors such as protection of family, education, health care, and future job prospects as well as reactions to local racist attitudes were evident. While there are comparative factors affecting language maintenance and ethnic affiliation amongst the children, the data analysis revealed there were specific macro, micro, and individual factors present in the individual family members' data. Some of the factors present at the macro, micro, and individual level affect only some of the members whereas other factors affect many of the case study participants to varying degrees. The degree to which they affected the family

members will be discussed in the individual case study analysis in Chapter Six. The first macro factor was found to incorporate habitus and mobility.

### 3.1 Macro Factors

#### 3.1.1 *Habitus*

As identity and language intersect, both occur through components such as; influence of social interaction, peers and family influence, status, community cohesion, and experiences or prior exposure to differing contexts. All of these factors create an experience that the person incorporates into their self-identity. All of these factors shape and influence the individual. Each experience is a moment. Each moment slightly alters a person's attitude and beliefs of their group and individual identity. In the literature, Bourdieu (2000) stated that "social identity is associated with class and gender, and embodied in the habitus". Bourdieu defines habitus as a set of "durable dispositions", explaining that the "schemes of perception, appreciation and action enable (us) . . . to generate appropriate and endlessly renewed strategies, but within the limits of the structural constraints of which they are the product" (2000, p. 138). He also maintains that class and gender are part of habitus. This study extends Bourdieu's definition of class and gender to include the term "status". The term "class" cannot be applied to young children as they have yet to start working or become economically mobile. On the other hand, status can refer to political identity, classroom identity, and community peer identity. Immigrant children's "status" can index and change depending on the social community they inhabit at a given time. The habitus also refers to how an individual learns to perceive and act in the world based on

previous experiences. Most of the children in these case study families had prior exposure to home country and this influenced their degree of ethnic affiliation.

### 3.1.2 *Habitus influencing ethnic identity*

Researchers have stated that habitus is a product of (personal and social) history (Bourdieu, 2000; Menard-Warwick, 2005). Unlike the theory of indexicality which focusses on linguistic changes in within a particular space such as work (Blommaert, 2001), habitus (Bourdieu, 2000) accounts for how social and personal experiences create and alter a person's context. Developed in a particular context and social position, the habitus can adapt to new contexts and new social positions as a result of the "gap between expectations and experience" (Bourdieu, as cited in Collins, 2000, p. 149). For children the social world is an important component in language maintenance and ethnic identity affiliation and habitus facilitates this. In the literature Pahl (2002), observed children in their home, using ethnographic methods. Her research identified how habitus was inscribed into social practices. When they experience the social world, human beings internalise its values. It should be noted that for Bourdieu (2000) the social world is neither neutral nor benign, rather it is constituted by systems of inequality and domination. Moreover, he argues that since interactions between individuals tend to reflect the societal positions of the interlocutors, these interactions will probably both express and reproduce the structures of society (1991). Historical narrative or past habitus is an important dimension of the social contexts of language learning (Canagarajah, 1999; Goldstein, 1997; Watson-Gregeo, 1992). Goldstein (1997) points out that in order to understand how such forces "interacts with people's social roles, relationships, and goals," it is necessary to examine the stories of individuals (p. 177).

This case study's immigrant/migrant children have a multitude of experiences and habitus even varies within their own families. For example, although both professional Nepalese family sons visited Nepal the age at which the visit occurred changes their memories of it. The older brother was at a cognitively aware stage of ten whereas, the younger brother was only seven. This difference in developmental stages changed the degree of importance for the exposure and memory of the visit. Ultimately, their differing ages changed how the experiences interacted with their habitus or community social learning contexts. As this study examines both language maintenance and ethnic identity affiliation comparatively amongst each family as well as individual habitus the changes either in vertical or horizontal economic, social, educational, or ethnic community status were important to assess.

### 3.1.3 *Vertical mobility*

As the research indicates, structural inequality (Au, 1993) can lead to marginalisation, and this in turn has a direct bearing on social and economic status mobility. Mobility is the overall term used to describe a person's movement vertically or horizontally in terms of economic, social or community status. There are several elements intrinsic to the notion of mobility. First, mobility is not always vertical but can be horizontal as well. Second, mobility in terms of status, whether horizontal or vertical occurs due to language, job, as well as types of social, community and professional memberships. Thirdly, how mobility is measured depends on the indexing of community, language and people, and utilises a scale as a form of measurement. Mobility of status (Blommaert, 2010) encompasses a significant number of social and economic variables.



However, this study is specifically concerned with language maintenance and ethnic identity affiliation amongst both the parents and children of immigrant/migrant Nepalese families. Therefore, an examination of these components will involve a consideration of language as it affects status in particular. On the other hand, when the force of globalisation intersects with the immigrant/migrant child's construction of identity, how is his or her status measured? Globalisation causes a movement of linguistic resources as well, groups can move between various vertical and horizontal spaces within the temporal framework. In addition, horizontal and vertical spaces are closely linked to norms, expectations and conceptions of what is important. Groups whose social membership excludes them from the higher status of the local community will not experience vertical mobility; however, the children could later experience some vertical mobility based on their experience of living in the U.K.. Due to the structural inequality inherent in military policies, the Gorkhas will not gain the social or economic capital that enables vertical mobility. Rather, their situation of marginalisation will force a lateral or horizontal shift in mobility. So the Gorkhas may, move horizontally, whereas other immigrants such as the professional Nepalese family members will may experience vertical mobility due to their social, economic, and educational capital. The marginalisation experienced by the Gorkhas is a form of structural inequality. The next section will discuss structural inequality in terms of how it specifically affects the case study family members.

#### 3.1.4 *Structural inequality affecting the Gorkhas*

“Structural inequality” (Au, 1993) refers to the effects of an unequal relationship between the hegemonic power on the one hand and groups and communities on the other (Au, 1993; Jacob and Jordan, 1987). Furthermore, “oppressive social structures” create vast inequalities in power and available opportunities and ultimately favour the dominant group (Au, 1995, p.87). LU.K.e (1995) also argues that, there are “particular interactional patterns and textual practices...that systematically exclude those...from economically marginal and culturally different backgrounds” (p.16). For immigrants/migrants policies embedded with structural inequality or policies that create a feeling of marginalisation for immigrant/migrant members lead them to become reluctant to assimilate. Due to the fact that two of the families faced possible structural inequality further examination of structural inequality is necessary.

For the families in this study, structural inequality must be examined as it affects their placement on the acculturation continuum (Au, 1993). Historically the Gorkhas were not promoted to officer positions because of their perceived lack of communication and reasoning skills (Golay, 2006). The Gorkha identity, as we saw in Chapter One is tied to the imperial power structure created by the British colonialists. In addition, until recently laws for Gorkha military personnel differed from the laws applicable to British national military personnel. Moreover, military families live in separate compounds: one for British military personnel and another for the Gorkhas. Social functions are attended exclusively by the Gorkhas or by British personnel. This power segregation creates an us-and-them relationship. As this research shows, the military policies that result in structural inequality for the Gorkha community result in horizontal rather than vertical mobility. While it is difficult to quantify racism and discrimination in a reluctant community, there have been previous research studies on the subject. One investigated the Gorkha community in Dorset (Edwards, 2009) and the other the Gorkha community in Hong

Kong (Kochhar-George, 2010). These studies showed that a pattern of structural inequality does exist.

The Gorkhas spend 15 years in service but when they retire they are ill-equipped to perform in other sectors. Moreover, their limited education precludes job security (Kochhar-George, 2010). Other areas of marginalisation as Kochhar-George (2010) stresses are “matters such as pay and pensions, mobility within the chain of command and restrictions on their right to settle permanently in the U.K.” (p.1). Thus, the Gorkhas have always experienced unfair or structural unequal relationships. Racism, which could normally be addressed under the U.K. *Race Relations Act*, exempts military servicemen. In addition, all complaints must be made from within the U.K. itself. Thus, those serving in the Hong Kong U.K. regiment could not make a claim. These provisions act as a structural inequality embedded within the constructs of the law.

The studies indicated that there was a sense of racism and structural inequality from the U.K. government amongst the Gorkhas but criticism was barely voiced due to cultural factors. The wives and children of the Gorkha soldiers experienced this as well (Edwards, 2009). The Equality Report conducted by the Race and Equality Council in Dorset, U.K. found that “Gurkha wives in Blandford face several barriers to employment, including educational underachievement, discrimination, lack of affordable and appropriate childcare, lack of suitable training, and travel costs” (Edwards, 2009, p. 15).

While racism is not spoken about due to the precarious nature of the Gorkha immigration status, past historical perceptions, and the Asian cultural disinclination to openly criticise,

discrimination still exists and affects the community (Kochhar-George, 2010). As Nepalese tend to avoid direct questions it will be culturally difficult to obtain quantitative data regarding the true feelings of the Gorkha and their families. However, data taken from my thesis and other studies, such as Kochhar-George's (2010) point to the policy restrictions as well as the statements made by the case study members. For example "One child said people are racist towards us, whilst some Gurkha wives commented that they were treated unfairly at work" (Edwards, 2009, p. 25). In responses to his questionnaire, some members of the Gorkha community complained about the discrimination amongst students. Structural inequality was stronger for children who lived in the U.K. before 2009. Until 2009, Gorkhas had to pay international student rates and these were three to four times more than the local rates (Edwards, 2009). In addition to these studies, the Dorset Race Equality Council, in a separate initiative, has received some complaints from Nepalese workers regarding unfair treatment from employers (Edwards, 2009, p 17). Although, the Gorkhas do not feel comfortable complaining and criticism for them is rare, governmental institutions should perhaps pay attention when it does occur.

The Edwards study (2009) which was a questionnaire of the whole community revealed significant dissatisfaction. Thirty percent of the respondents voiced dissatisfaction with their conditions and treatment. While this may not seem a significant statistic, the figure should be cause for concern as criticism is rare (Edwards, p. 20). The structural inequality surfaced in areas such as visas, pay and pension restrictions. What is more alarming is that these policies restricted community cohesion.

A specific example, of how policies affect cohesion can be found in terms of the restrictions on the time grandparents could spend with their children. Grandparents, in many Asian cultures, live with their children. There is a closeness in the extended family that is largely absent in the U.K. context for Nepalese families. This is due to the legal restriction prohibiting grandparents from staying with families for longer than two months. The retired Gorkha family daughters (Sue and Sara) were well aware of how such visa policies affected their community. They had spent time living in Nepal and were aware of the respect given to elders in the community. In addition, they would also have been aware of close-knit nature of the community in Nepal which contrasted with their experience to the U.K.. This restriction may appear minor to the Western mind but for Asian people it is a significant restriction to their community, life and ethnic identity creation (Edwards 2009; Kochhar-Georges, 2010). As Edwards (2009) states in his study of the Gorkha community in Dorset that:

Some Gurkhas, wives and children seem quite sad that their older relatives cannot live with them. Some older relatives have moved to the U.K. to be nearer their loved ones but there are no older Nepali people living in Blandford. As a result the Gurkha families at Blandford Camp take every opportunity to visit them. (p. 13)

In addition to this restriction there is also a scheduling problem. The wives of the Gorkha soldiers are stationed on military compounds while the husband is deployed in areas such as Afghanistan or Pakistan. The military are restrictive terms of the amount of leave they grant soldiers. Unfortunately, as Edwards (2009) states it is difficult for “Gurkha wives to get annual leave at the same time as their serving husbands, a return visit to Nepal is very infrequent” (2009, p13). This lack of cultural consideration places greater structural inequality on the

Gorkha family. Moreover, in broad terms, employment in the military trains the Gorkhas in military skilled jobs thus, there are limitations on post-service employment opportunities. This creates, what Yamanaka (2005) terms “split-household families”. These are families separated due to overseas employment.

There are also emotional and psychological effects resulting from restrictive policies. The spouses and children display a lack of confidence. Edwards observed that “some reported stress and others seemed to be unhappy” (2009, p.25) due to long term discrimination and marginalisation of the Nepalese from the U.K. policies and restrictions. However, most Gorkhas were reluctant to provide more detail however, and this was partly due to fear of upsetting the British Army (Edwards, 2009, p.25). The Hong Kong study (Kochhar-George, 2010) examined the growing Gorkha litigation as a way of understanding why policies that institutionally discriminate against the Gorkhas have persisted. Judicially there is an inherent colonial discrimination evident in the legislation which labels the Gorkhas as a “distinct identity”. Ultimately, this means they can never truly acculturate as Kochhar-George (2010) states:

As a marker of ethnicity among the Nepalese population, the term only begins to take on any real significance when framed within the context of foreign military service. To conceive of those labelled Gurkhas as a homogeneous ethnic group is thus a fallacy that the British government seem content to perpetuate. (p. 47)

In addition, the Gorkhas received substantially lower pay than their British counterparts and continue (depending on their date of discharge) to receive substantially smaller pensions (Kochhar-George, 2010, p. 49). Furthermore, most Gorkhas serve overseas and so the new legislation that granted servicemen greater access to residency in the U.K. also contained the

proviso that they had to have lived in the U.K. for at least 3 years. Most resided in Hong Kong so 30,000-34,000 Gorkhas who served in the U.K. military were unable to obtain a U.K. visa (Kochhar-George. 2010). These factors illustrate the structural inequality of provisions that are insidious and together create a barrier to any desire to acculturate.

Power varies between situations and contexts and is initiated by dialogue and socio-cultural capital (Street, 1996, p.100). Certain policies contribute to the marginalisation of newly arrived immigrants/migrants and lead to non-acculturation. Vygotsky (1962) claims that primary school children should not be affected by these power relations as their identity derives from socio-cultural peer interactions. However, data from this case study revealed that the strength of the structural inequality often affects the attitudes of parents as well as the local community. As a consequence negative parental attitudes can become ingrained in children's own perceptions even though they are transmitted unintentionally. It should be noted that, the professional Nepalese family members never experienced any form of structural inequality. Instead they experienced an increase in capital due to the educational background of the parents.

## 3.2 Micro factors

### 3.2.1 *Social, cultural and economic capital*

Bourdieu (1991) maintains that there are three types of capital: economic, cultural, and social/educational. Capital is linked to notions of “connections” (Bourdieu 1991), “relationships”, “durable networks” and “group memberships” that provide benefits or tokens. From this perspective, capital is a type of benefit or token derived from socio-cultural contexts rather than an abstract monetary concept. Language is a form of social capital. Bourdieu relates linguistic capital to social class and to the habitus: “What expresses itself through the linguistic habitus is the whole class habitus of which it is one dimension” (Thompson, in Bourdieu, 1991, p. 83). Linguistic capital only provides for the dominant language. “Every linguistic interaction, however, personal and insignificant it may seem, bears the traces of the social structure that it both expresses and helps to reproduce” (Thompson, in Bourdieu, 1991, p. 2).

On the other hand, cultural capital comprises the knowledge and skills that individuals use to position themselves in society (Bourdieu, 1991). Recently, Pollmann (2013) stated that “in an ever more interdependent world, *intercultural capital* emerges as an increasingly significant type of cultural capital and marker of sociocultural distinction” (p.2). A person’s ability to negotiate socio-cultural knowledge between cultural contexts enables them to potentially gain human capital. In addition, culture connects with ethnic identity and social capital. These factors vary in relevance from community to community and are dependent upon a group’s purpose, needs and environment. Garcia’s (2003) research discovered that the two factors defining shift patterns were education and economic status. Cultural capital, also refers to symbolic resources and forms of knowledge (Collins, 2000), whereas social capital is the investment in social relations with expected returns (Kubota and Lin, 2006). These returns are first comprehended then later used (Bourdieu, 1997). An example of this would be exposure to a particular expression from



popular television shows. For the child, cultural insider knowledge such as expressions from television will enable them to become part of the culture of the classroom social group. On the other hand, social capital is not a given. Social capital takes time and effort and negotiation in order to establish the networks of connections with the right people at the right time. For Bourdieu, "...the network of relationships is the product of investment strategies, individual or collective...aimed at establishing or reproducing social relationships that are directly usable in the short or long term...such as those of neighbourhood, the workplace, or even kinship..." (Bourdieu, 1997 p. 52). As stated previously, the Gorkhas' neighbourhood and workplace community is segregated from the British military personnel. However, the Gorkhas experience is even more marginalised as the Gorkhas personnel live in a ghetto neighbourhood that is also separated from members of the Nepalese non-military community. Another element of capital that is important to consider is family.

For Bourdieu the institution of the family is "the main site of the accumulation and transmission of that capital..." (1993 p. 33). There are two aspects of family that are affected by capital. First, the visa policies previously only allowed Gorkha family members to live in the U.K. for up to three years. This necessitated constant movement and made the accumulation of social capital from local communities very difficult. As a result Gorkhas were only able to accumulate and expend ethnic Gorkha social capital. Furthermore, "children generate their own social capital networks and, particularly in the later years of childhood, it may be these which are more influential than parents" (McGonigal, et al., 2007 pp. 89-90). If children are constantly moving how can they build social capital? Coleman's (1988) notion of the transferability of social capital via human capital between family members is dependent upon the parent-child and

community relationship (Coleman, 1988, p.109). This is the case with the professional Nepalese family parents as both were comfortable socialising with local British parents and this had repercussions in terms of the ease with which their children made friends. On the other hand, the other two couples were less comfortable socialising and so their children had few local U.K. friends. These relationships develop into various kinds of inequalities for the primary student for a migrant family.

Educational capital is also a form of cultural capital. While the professional Nepalese family parents gained social and cultural capital due to their educational and professional work experience the Gorkha family and retired Gorkha family parents relied on social capital within their own community. Furthermore, the professional Nepalese family father's particular context differs from other members of his family as he was afforded educational capital. Although originally from the remote region of Terai he attended a private English boarding school in Kathmandu the country's capital and large globalised tourist centre. His wife also comes from Kathmandu. Due to the tourist industry, Kathmandu has access to ICT and English books, television, and new release movies. In addition, English is in common daily use throughout Kathmandu. The local Nepalese understand the social capital of learning English. By way of contrast, both the Gorkha family and retired Gorkha families were raised in small rural villages in the Pokhara region and had little access to the internet or even electricity. Therefore, the context and reason the families' migration, varies significantly for the three families. For each of the case study families the context of work defines and changes their language and identity construction as much as the context of the parents' birthplace. Work determines whether the families willingly chose to immigrate to the U.K. or whether the U.K. is, for them, a home of

economic convenience. Due to the marginalised situation and lack of opportunity to acquire social capital with local U.K. citizens some Gorkha family members, especially the wives, become more reliant on community relationships to develop various forms of social networking capital.

### 3.2.2 *Social network theory and immigrants/migrants*

Network analysis is applied at a micro-societal level to individuals who are defined in terms of their ethnic language and their in or out-group social contacts (Milroy, 1987b). Social network theory considers as the social networks used by migrant/immigrants to maintain and garner social capital (Goldstein, 1997). Social network theory provides a more detailed framework with which to comprehend how external societal factors affect immigrant/migrants language maintenance and ethnic identity affiliation (de Bot and Stoessel, 2002; Garcia, 2000; Goldstein, 1997). Social identity refers to the relationship between the individual and their community language as it is mediated through the institutions of family, school, workplace and community (Papapavlou and Pavlou, 2001; Pierce, 1995). Pierce (1995) found that social identity is distinct from cultural identity. Socio-economic horizontal status and a lack of opportunities to obtain social capital marginalises women immigrants/migrants more than men. This is seen in the types of part-time jobs the Nepalese wives were able to secure which were mainly menial and required little or no education or English language proficiency. The men, on the other hand, were provided with English language classes by the military. This increase in proficiency combined with the other technical training the Gorkhas received allowed the men to apply for more specialised technical jobs requiring greater use of English. Goldstein's (1997) study of Portuguese women factory workers found that few had opportunities to acquire English.

Although men often worked in technical positions where they had extensive contact with English speakers, the women were far more likely to work on production lines. The Portuguese women maintained friendships with other Portuguese so they were able to network socially and gained horizontal status. This is a similar situation as that experienced by the wives of the retired Gorkha family and Gorkha family members.

de Bot and Welten's (1991) small-scale study investigated ten immigrants in the US and it highlighted the fact that social networks affect EL1 language practices. Furthermore, de Bot and Stoessel (2002) study revealed that social networks affect the vitality of community and ethnic language. Ethnic identity partially relates to how an individual conceives their ethnic community and the society as a whole (Heller, 1997). When communities are marginalised due to socio-economic factors members create a social network based on ethnic identity affiliation. The wives of the Gorkha soldiers had little access to other British military or local U.K. wives due to language proficiency, educational status, and the location of their homes. In order to obtain work or find living information to maintain friendships, wives of the Gorkha soldiers created social networks with other Gorkha community members. Even the children of the retired Gorkha family maintained friendships with other Nepalese and/or Gorkha children rather than with their U.K. school peers. Moreover, the higher the economic status of the family the more likely the family was to shift their ethnic identity to affiliate with the new community. Findings indicated that immigrant parents of higher status were more likely to shift identity and were less reliant on their community social network. Papapavlou and Pavlou (2001) state that social identity is determined by the ways individuals defines themselves in relation to the roles and social groups around them.

### 3.3 Internal/individual level socio-psychological components

Prior research highlights psychological factors as key indicators influencing ethnic identity affiliation. Psychology plays a role in identity construction, and it affects ethnic identity affiliation as well as attitudes to language maintenance (Berry, Phinney, Sam, and Vedder, 2006). In addition, in Phinney's (1989) ethnic identity model, one of the components measuring ethnic affiliation is socio-psychological. This research acknowledges the difficulties inherent in generalisations with respect to personal psychological factors. Moreover, the nature of the Nepalese character is to avoid direct questioning to save face (Edwards, 2009; Kochhar-George, 2010). Previous studies however, have investigated psychological factors as they influence identity construction.

One of the prior studies that analysed psychological factors was Rumbert's (1994). The researcher studied the correlation between ethnic identity and self-esteem. The study surveyed 5000 children in grades eight and nine using multivariate analysis to determine degrees of assimilation. The findings showed major differences in patterns of ethnic self-identity both between and within groups. There are several minor moments of internal psychological crisis that affect ethnic identity affiliation, language maintenance and/or acculturation. Brewer (1991) examined the conflict of social identity and highlighted a struggle between the need to belong and the need to be different. For pre-adolescent and adolescent children this is crucial as at this stage in life social identity construction can depart from the child's family identity construction (Ibrahim, 1999). Therefore, some people chose not to identify with either their old ethnic identity or the new local identity rather they aligned themselves with a third multicultural

identity. This multicultural or ‘third culture kid’ identity (Fail, Thompson, and Walker, 2004; Pollock and Van Renken, 2001) contributes to the creation of a minority identity. Furthermore, Tajfel (1978) studied social identity theory and found a link between social identity, minority identity and language attitudes. He stated that identity is derived from group membership and is part of an individual’s self-concept. From this perspective there are two factors from which identity derives: knowledge of membership of a group and the emotional significance of identity (p.69). Tajfel (1978) maintains that social identity is dynamic but he does not discuss multiple group membership. The emotional significance of identity changes with age and gender. Thus, it is important to take into account individual internal factors such as shyness, traumatic life-altering events, and experiences of racism. For example, a parent’s fear of losing a child or their desire for a child to obtain a better education might override their negative attitudes to their present living conditions. Immigrants are often faced with the choice of providing for their children or for their own comfort and most choose the former (Tajfel, 1978). Previously, in the literature, discussion regarding the trajectory of language learning has been considered in terms of successive generations (Peirce, 1995). Parents invest in language learning to assist their children’s future success. However, these studies were conducted prior to mass globalisation and fluid migration patterns. Nowadays, people often move for work and rather than immigrating permanently they choose to return to their home country. These individual choices are prevalent in each of this case study’s participants. As stated previously, in Chapter One in relation to context, Nepal is one of the poorest countries in the world. Education and healthcare in Nepal are some of the worst in the world (UNESCO, 2010). As a result, for some parents depending on their children’s age, personality, and ability to accept change personal internal factors can affect decisions and attitudes to language maintenance and ethnic identity affiliation.

The previous discussion has shown that it is important to understand how immigrant/migrant and their children's ethnic and social identity is constructed when analysing the data. By applying a theoretical framework that takes into account the varying macro, micro, and individual factors, a guide can be established for the analysis of the data findings. This theoretical framework will be used to compare case study families, but more importantly individual family members.

### 3.4 Acculturation overview

#### 3.4.1 *Defining acculturation*

Acculturation is the process of cultural and psychological change that follows intercultural contact (Berry, 2003, p.305 in Berry, 2006). Acculturation is the adaptation process whereby family members integrate the new local ideals, values, and behaviours of the host country (Phinney, 1989; Schwartz, 2005). The process occurs when “immigrants settle in their new homeland, it is reasonable to expect that a stable set of goals, values, and beliefs would help to anchor the immigrant during her or his transition into a new society” (Schwartz, 2005, p.294). This often requires the immigrant/migrant to identify with the new local culture. This relates directly to where and how immigrants see themselves reflected in the mirror of the new society. Integration occurs when both cultural maintenance and involvement with the larger society are sought (Berry, 2006, p.306). Thus, identity and acculturation are viewed as extensions of the cohesion of the local community, their various cultural, ethnic and language practices that occur daily (Cairney, 2000; Cummins, 2001; Dyson, 2003; Hull, 2000; Pahl, 2002; Street, 2000). Language loss can relate to acculturation yet it has been argued that language loss does not

always relate to shifts in ethnic identity affiliation (Fiske, 1994; Padilla and Keefe, 1987; Phinney, 2000). This study's findings concur with the latter point. With regard to acculturation, the research found that it was not just exposure to EL1 but more importantly exposure to home culture and home country living as well as parents' attitudes to their ethnic identity that affect the degree to which a person acculturates and maintains language. Thus, for a positive non-marginalised acculturation to occur constraints from the newly adopted home country cannot exist.

Acculturation is a process contingent on external and internal factors as well as perceptions of both the local and home country ethnic identity. Like some previous research, this study found that acculturation was dependent on the participants' strength of their ethnic identity affiliation, their view of their home country and the ethnic practices they use regularly (Padilla and Keefe, 1987; Pease-Alvarez, 2002; Schrauf, 1999). Consequently, the age at which the exposure occurred is of vital importance (Phinney, 2000). For children, there are factors affecting acculturation that differ from those which impact upon adults.

#### 3.4.2 *Components in the acculturation process*

There are a myriad of factors such as: social, cultural, ethnic, religious, community, political factors, types of status and capital, and psychological impacts which contribute to or reduce the acculturation of immigrant family members into the local newly adopted community. Furthermore, the degree of exposure and access to a cohesive community, in-group peers, and



local perceptions of the immigrants' ethnic practices determine whether children readily adopt local practices and customs. Factors such as perceived discrimination, awareness of cultural differences, and a perceived expectation to assimilate are often factors which dictate whether acculturation occurs (Finch, Hummer, Kolody, and Vega, 2001; Schwartz, 2005). These latter factors affect adults and can indirectly influence the attitudes and beliefs of their children. In addition, research (Bennett, 1993; Lee, 2001) has found that parental cultural maintenance, language processing, various forms of in-group peer interaction and community ethnic identity cohesion are crucial factors in the process of acculturation over time. As previously stated in the literature review, family ethnic loyalty plays an integral part in ethnic identity affiliation and consequently the degree to which a family becomes acculturated (Nguyen, Messe and Stollak, 1999).

The factor of identity is crucial in both immigrant and child identity construction. Identity is formed according to the degree to which an immigrant family maintains language and ethnic identity as opposed to acculturating into the adopted identity (Luo and Wiseman, 2000; Pease-Alvarez, 2002). While some discuss the degree to which family maintenance affects identity, other researchers state that residence or exposure to EL1 maintenance practices is important: "the longer in the new language ecology with little or no exposure to the parents L1 the harder to maintain the family L1" (Schrauf, R. 1999, p.178). However, when investigating identity and more specifically ethnic identity affiliation in children, there are further identity construction elements to be considered.

### 3.5 Acculturation framework

As mentioned in the literature review, Phinney (1989) conducted extensive research in the area of acculturation drawing on Erikson's (1968) identity construction theories. This study will utilise Erikson's identity construction theories but will also consider the age of the participants and the process of identity construction they were experiencing. There are three aspects to Erikson's identity process; the ego (unconscious), personal goals and values, and how one represents oneself to the world. Erikson's theories (1963) maintain that; ethnic practices are embedded into self-identity (Phinney, 2000). However, self-identity changes over time. Immigrant ethnic identity and its connection to acculturation is complex. Moreover, due to the varying ages of the children (childhood to adolescence), several aspects that influence acculturation were identified and synthesised in accordance with other research studies (Bennett, 1993; Lee, 2001) into this studies acculturation continuum framework.

There are many aspects to immigrants'/migrants' lives which influence the degree to which they acculturate into a newly adopted community. The definition of acculturation, as previously discussed, is based on an integration of terms used in Phinney's (1989) and Lees' (2005) acculturation models. How do the three case study families differ in terms of the acculturation continuum? What significant factors are shared amongst the families and what factors differentiate them? The question demands consideration of the frequency of exposure to home country and ethnic practices but more importantly the age at which the exposure to the home country occurs. In addition, the frequency of peripheral ritualised practices is important in terms of ethnic identity affiliation. Moreover, the variable of the age of the children being assessed demanded alterations to the acculturation scale. The next section details these important alterations to the acculturation model.

### 3.5.1 *Justification for the modifications to the acculturation model*

The reason Phinney's acculturation model was modified, and the reason for combining it with other models relates to the varying ages of the family members. Age and developmental attitudes towards gender, age, and status justify changes to the prior model. Ages of the children in these case study families ranged from childhood to adolescence, whereas previous acculturation models dealt with teenage and/or adult participants. Elements of language process and in-group peer are affected by shifting stages in social cognitive development (Erikson, 1968). Factors such as gender and age must also be included in acculturation models. Moreover, research places strong emphasis on status in many acculturation models (Schwartz, 2005). This is valid for adult immigrants however, for young children identity is connected to socio-cultural practices. As children grow up, they begin to move away from this towards the status of literacy practices. In other words, at the early primary school age, status is not an issue for the majority of the children. Thus, this study concurs with Schwartz (2005) who suggested researchers move away from status towards Erikson's (1963) original concepts.

For the primary school aged child, language and ethnic identity are transmitted through socio-cultural literacy practices in school and at home. Thus, exposure to social literacy and historical narratives are an important practice in terms of the facilitation of ethnic identity affiliation. More specifically, the Nepalese culture is oral based (UNESCO, 2010) therefore exposure to practices such as, historical narratives or the retelling of family stories facilitates the children's ethnic identity construction and form a part of the acculturation process. How families co-construct experiences may play a critical role in the self-identification of the child (Bohanek, DU.K.e,

Fivush, and Marin, 2006). Identity construction for migrant/immigrant children sees them vacillate between the local identity, a global identity, and their ethnic identity (Dyson, 2003; Marsh, 2006; Pahl, 2002). The acculturation model synthesised from Phinney's (1989), Lee's (2005), and Bennett's (1993) acculturation models include several terms which are relevant to discussions of immigrant/migrant ethnic identity. First, however, it is important to clarify how one constructs one's identity.

### 3.6 Acculturation – immigrant identity construction

Acculturation is the process through which new immigrants take on values, attitudes and practices of the newly adopted home. Acculturation involves shifting or altering one's previous ethnic identity affiliation (Hartner, 1998; Lee, 2001). Even within a single family, each family can possess multiple ethnic identities. In this research study, there are three Nepalese families and each family's context varies slightly in terms of educational background, religious affiliation, and socio-economic status. In other words, "members of every nation, though held together within national boundaries, will vary along a spectrum of differences that result from their history of migration, group isolation, geographic locale, religious affiliation, and other internal or external forces" (Heath and Street, 2008, p.9). How this affects social language maintenance and ethnic identity affiliation is dependent upon attitudes to the new local culture, exposure to the home country, and ultimately the reasons for migrating/immigrating to the new home country. Ethnic identity can include positive ethnic affiliation even with the loss of language (Fiske, 1994; Padilla and Keefe, 1987; Pavlenko, 2007). The variable for positive ethnic affiliation is dependent on certain factors. Some of these aspects are personal in nature and are often overlooked in research studies.

When immigrant children create their social and ethnic identity, they either invest in ethnic practices or else they invest in acculturation into the newly adopted home identity practices (Heller, 1997; Norton, 2000; Peirce, 1995). “Identity helps one to make sense of, and find one’s place in community” (Schwartz, 2005, p.294). Many immigrants/migrants experience difficulties acculturating to differing ethnic and language societies. Moreover, there are various reasons for the migration. Some immigrants/migrants migrate for political reasons or they are refugees. Others seek economic opportunities that are not available to them in their home country. Often migrants or immigrants physically leave their home country but do not distance themselves ethnically and so the families never acculturate into the adopted home country culture.

Identity construction is inherent in norms, practices, and customs that are learnt from various contexts (Schechter and Bayley, 1997). Construction of the acculturation continuum framework is based on theories of acculturation and its purpose is to measure the strength of ethnic identity affiliation. As the language ecology for the three case study families in this study differ from previous studies, rather than impose a fit into a preconceived framework, additional terminology was incorporated into the construction of the ‘acculturation continuum’ framework.

### 3.7 Acculturation - factors affecting child identity construction

When immigrant children arrive in the newly adopted home country structures inside educational and work settings often vary from those at home and children frequently face a

conflict of identity. Furthermore, identity at the pre-adolescence and adolescence ages is more social in terms of self-identity construction (Erikson, 1968; Hartner, 1998). Social identity construction for children who move into adolescence this is an important issue to understand in terms of acculturation. "Social identity refers to a group of identification and one's assigned and chosen place in the social world, as well as to processes by which one negotiates one's way through the social world" (Schwartz, 2001, p. 295). Tajfel (1978) studied social identity theory and highlighted the link between social identity, minority identity, and language attitudes. Tajfel (1978) stated that identity is derived from group membership as well, part of an individual self-concept. Identity derives from two factors: knowledge of membership of a group, and the emotional significance of identity (p.69). Tajfel (1978) maintains social identity is dynamic, but he does not discuss multiple group membership. Rogoff (1995) points out that analysis of sociocultural phenomena incorporates three interrelated levels: the individual, the interpersonal, and the community. This is why it is important that researchers of acculturation and identity must investigate the macro, micro, and internal factors that affect change.

There are sociocultural and historical factors which shape a context and affect individual reactions to these events (Rueda and Moll, 1994). In addition, the varying practices the children are exposed to often create conflicts in socio-cultural practices at the socio-cultural interaction stage of primary school (Cummins, 2001; Vygotsky, 1978). In addition, exposure to home country and the age at which that exposure occurs are strong influencing factors for children's ethnic identity affiliation and their placement on the acculturation continuum. Often children acculturate quicker than their parents and this can cause friction between the generations. One of the reasons is the factor of age of arrival and degree of exposure to home country following

migration. Thus, the child integrates and constructs various identities based on several intersecting contexts. Furthermore, these intersecting contexts include a variety of variant ideals, values, practices, beliefs, and attitudes. Consequently one must examine how identity and age impact upon each other for immigrant children over time.

### 3.7.1 *Age and identity construction*

There are components in Phinney's (1989) acculturation model that are relevant for this case study. Phinney's acculturation framework stems from the Eriksonian view of identity construction. Erikson viewed identity as a "collaborative project between the young person and her or his context" (Schwartz, 2001 p. 295). He also stated that identity construction at a young age was more fluid and thus not measurable. Children in early primary school rely on family practices to construct their self-identity but as they move towards pre-adolescence peers become more influential in self-identity construction (Heath, 1983; Peterson, 1992). At the primary school age, identity is still evolving. Initially the child identifies with parental identity. But as children get older they tend to become more independent in their thinking. During pre-adolescence, children also begin to assert their own opinions and beliefs.

There are differences between a child and an adolescent, emotionally, socially, and cognitively in terms of identity construction and changing relationships between family and friends. However, as children develop a greater ability to socialise they begin to learn through peer interaction rather than family members (Schwartz, 2001). In the classroom, students consolidate knowledge, norms, discourse, and social literacy practices from peers. Consequently, the

primary school student constructs social identity from both classroom interaction, community peer in-group social interaction as well as family social interaction (Cummins, 2001; Fishman, 1977; Li, 1995). Therefore, families who lack exposure to community, cultural, religious, and ethnic practices experience greater constraints in terms of maintaining their language and ethnic identity (Duff and Uchida, 1997).

Moreover, children spend the majority of their time in the school context. This is most true of primary school students (Erikson, 1994; Vygotsky, 1962). For the primary school student socialisation in classroom interactions constitutes a large portion of their life experience and is an important factor in their social identity. Learning occurs through social interaction and activity with their peers (Lantoff, 2006). The children in this study range from middle primary school age to adolescence. For this reason, it is important to look more closely at the various ages of the case study participants.

### 3.7.2 *Children and identity- developmental differences*

There are three broad levels of identity: the individual ego, understanding differences between oneself and others, and understanding ones place over time (Adler and Adler, 1998; Erikson, 1968). Around the age of two years the language of the verbal self emerges. For a younger child self is overt and connected to family relations as the child has not fully developed the private self (Adler and Adler, 1998; Erikson, 1963; Hartner, 2012; Schwartz, 2001). Children are concerned with pleasing the adult figures whether they are parents, family members, care givers, or teachers (Harter, 1999). There are also differences in gender identity construction which are



“pronounced in early adolescence as children first begin to form a more enduring sense of self” (Bluck and Habermas, 2000, p.19 in Nelson and Fivush, 2004). Research shows that in primary school children experience a three-stage process in gender relations. At the early stage integration is common. This is followed by separation and finally cross-gender friendships occur (Adler and Adler, 1998). For the present study, gender relations are significant for some of the children due to their age and experience. For example, the professional Nepalese family children who are both boys (Ji and Milan) in the pre-adolescent and adolescent stages. Their identity, gender, and age differed significantly from the Gorkha family middle primary school girls (Tina and Karen). This will be discussed further but first an overview of pre-adolescence is required.

### 3.7.3 *Pre-adolescence and identity – developmental differences*

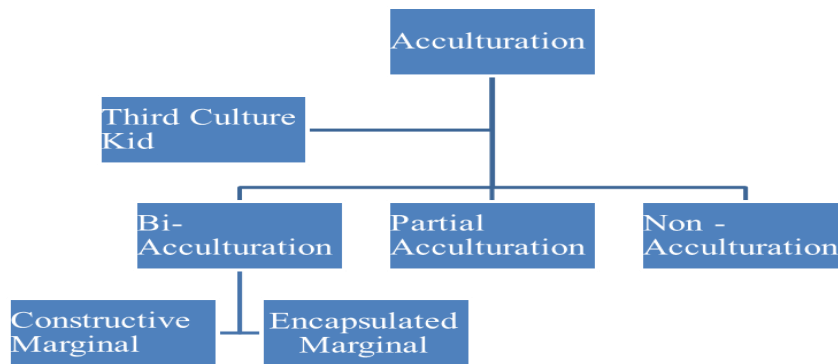
Early adolescence is the stage when self-identity begins to reflect the social context rather than the family’s alone. At this age peer affiliation is important; thus how one’s identity is constructed depends on peer attitudes towards the child’s ethnic affiliation. At this stage, pre-adolescents start to compare their own performance and behaviours with those of their peers. In middle childhood they begin to reason and accept other points of view (Erikson, 1968). Older children are more interested in the private self and their peer friendships (Harter, 2012). Often at this age there is a desire for independence and so pre-adolescents begin to move away from prescribed family beliefs towards creating their own attitudes to life based upon their experiences with friends (Adler and Adler, 1998). The final stage in identity development occurs at adolescence.

### 3.7.4 *Adolescence and identity – developmental differences*

Adolescence constitutes the bridge from child to adult. Many changes occur during this phase, such as; 1) physical changes 2) academic changes, whereby the school structure changes from supportive to independent and finally 3) social changes, in terms of peer relations and social status. Early and mid-adolescence is when identity development begins to form (Schwartz, 2005). As children enter the early adolescent period they begin to differentiate between higher order qualities of self and identity construction (Harter, 1999). This means that they are able to comprehend restrictive policies and ideologies such as racism. For this study, specific current age of the participants and ethnic identity construction are as significant as the age of prior exposure to home country and ethnic community. The fluid nature of ethnic identity construction must be stressed, specifically in relation to the age at which internal social identity is created (Schwartz, 2001; Wigfield, Byrnes, & Eccles, 2006). Most of the case study family children fall within the upper primary and lower secondary school age range and context. However, a comparison of these three case study families reveals more defining factors than has previously been included in the research. The element of age is critical when investigating ethnic identity affiliation. Now that the elements and differences of the acculturation continuum have been assessed and identified, definitions of acculturation terms will be provided.

### 3.8 Defining the acculturation continuum and terminology

Due to the ages and on-going identity construction of the children this study cannot definitively assign particular identity labels to the various children of the case study families. Nonetheless, an identification of the factors regarding the reasons for their current ethnic identity affiliations is possible. It should be noted that of the three families only one had officially migrated to the U.K. at this time in the study. The other two families' migration status is undetermined at this point. This situation is a possible contributing factor for the lack of acculturation in some of the case study families. As a result, the case study parents' attitudes towards language maintenance and ethnic identity affiliation remained undetermined. People only fully acculturate if they consider the new residence to be their home. If the residence is only considered a stopping point true acceptance of local practices, customs and beliefs is less likely to form part of the family's daily existence. Over the nine-month observation period I assessed the overall consistency of practices in conjunction with participants' attitudes, and prior exposure in order to accurately place each participant on the acculturation continuum. To this end, I compared the types of books read, television and film watched and participated in religious customs, in conjunction with social language maintenance or shifts amongst the three families. However, some of Phinney's (1997) terms have been excluded from this study, such as "encapsulated marginal identity". Reasons for exclusion will be discussed further under the appropriate definition. Before assessing the case study family data analysis I need to define the terminology utilised in the acculturation continuum as illustrated in Figure 1 below.



**Figure 1** *Acculturation Continuum for Immigrant/Migrant Nepalese in the U.K*

### 3.8.1 *Non-acculturation*

At one end of the acculturation continuum there is non-acculturation (see Figure 1 above). When a family or family members are referred to as non-acculturated they are deemed to have not assimilated into their newly adopted country of residence. The non-acculturated family is seen to have rejected or not yet appropriated local values, customs, traditions, and practices (Lee, 2005; Phinney, 1989, 2000). Furthermore, a non-acculturated person maintains a strong home country ethnic identity as well as social language maintenance affiliation (Lee, 2005). Often maintenance occurs through social networking with the ethnic community, attending afterschool classes, or maintaining religious customs and practices. Goldstein (1997) discussed how Portuguese immigrants in Toronto, Canada, worked in factories with other members of their community; they lived within their ethnic community, and maintained their own religious, social, national and language practices therefore they did not integrate into the main stream of their newly adopted country. In addition, the term non-acculturated refers to behaviour and beliefs that reflect home country culture (Lee, 2005; Phinney, 1989). Immigrant children whose

parents hold the belief or attitude that their ethnic identity is more important is reflected in the degree to which children affiliate with their ethnic identity. Alba's (1990) findings in relation to immigrants in the US confirmed that parents who believed ethnicity to be important were more likely to maintain their child's ethnic identity. This is an important factor with respect to the strengths of a child's ethnic affiliation in the three case study families. Furthermore, there is another term related to acculturation and that is "separate identity" (Lee, 2005). This is negative position whereby immigrants remain separated and detached from the local community. Not only do these migrants/immigrants fail to incorporate any local practices but they actively cling to their home country ethnic practices. None of the families in this study exhibited such strong negative attitudes towards the newly adopted country. The next term, on the continuum, is 'partially acculturated' (Lee, 2005; Phinney, 1989).

### 3.8.2 *Partial acculturation*

'Partial acculturation' (Lee 2005; Phinney, 1989) refers to a person's move to adopt aspects of the new local culture while maintaining strong ethnic community affiliation (Lee, 2005). "Partial acculturation" (Lee, 2005; Phinney, 1989) occurs when the immigrant/migrant believes there are benefits in both cultures but remains reluctant to fully abandon home ethnic identity practices. It is important to note partial acculturation can be divided into either positive or negative. How the new immigrant is included into the new community affects children's possible academic success. Prior research has shown that success in school amongst migrant children is dependent, not only on how the communities are perceived by the new home country, but also by the

family's attitudes to language maintenance and ethnic identity (Barnard, 2009; Boshier, 1997; Cummins, 2001; 2007; Schechter and Bayley, 1998).

For the Gorkhas a military job provides opportunities to obtain vertical economic status but at the same time U.K. visa and military policies segregate them from the local British military community. As a consequence the Gorkha active military community becomes characterised by the need for survival and marginalisation rather than a community that offers social benefits and a sense of inclusion. As a result these particular families remain close to their ethnic community. Thus, partial acculturation could be viewed as one stage in the overall process of acculturation. However, some families never fully acculturate. In addition, as military families frequently move, their language and ethnic identity practices are taken from a more global perspective rather than a local U.K. perspective. This is what Blommaert (2010) describes as "translocalisation". Translocalisation denotes that "global images, discourse, and patterns of conduct become re-localised into existing strong patterns" (Blommaert, 2010, p.79). Over time, the children may either become acculturated, bi-cultured, or remain strongly affiliated with the home ethnic identity. It is, however, more likely that a partial acculturated person will eventually acculturate or shift slightly towards bi-culturation. It is rare for people to regress towards non-acculturation (Roberts, et al., 1999).

### 3.8.3 *Bi-acculturation*

Bi-acculturation is a term used to describe a person who combines positive aspects of their ethnic identity with local practices. They alter their behaviour, customs and practices depending on the community they are interacting with at a given time (Lee, 2005). Bi-cultured children are cross-cultural which means they could be made to feel marginalised as they are not members of either group. However, there are two types of “marginal identity”. One is “constructive marginal” (Bennett,1993) which implies “continual and comfortable movement between cultural identities such that an integrated multicultural existence is maintained” (Bennett, 1993, p.118). In this case the child sees the benefits of moving between two worlds. As Berry, Phinney, Sam, and Vedder (2006) states:

This bi-cultural way of living includes various ways of engaging in both cultures: preferences (acculturation attitudes), cultural identities (both ethnic and national), language behavior (ethnic and national language knowledge and use), social engagements (with both ethnic and national peers), and relationships with parents within their families (including acceptance of both obligations and rights). (p.323)

This abstract metacognitive understanding of the individual’s place in the world is unlikely to occur at a later developmental age. For example, primary school children have little experience or understanding of other cultural social domains until they reach the final year (year six). The other type of marginal identity on the acculturation continuum is “encapsulated marginal identity”(Bennett, 1993) whereby the person becomes trapped in the marginality of their identity and is unable to construct a unified identity. This is a more negative identity which none of the family members in this study presently fit. “Encapsulated marginal identity” could lead to a sense of alienation from others (Bennett, 1993). However, there is another identity where the child is neither marginalised nor acculturated, but instead belongs to a third type of identity called “Third Culture Kid” (Lee, 2005).

#### 3.8.4 *Third culture kid*

“Third Culture Kid” or TCK (Fail, Thompson, and Walker, 2004) is a new identity which involves the synthesis of the two cultures. This occurs when a strong, cohesive ethnic community is lacking but when some aspects of the ethnic community still exist. TCK is “a person who has spent a significant part of his or her developmental years outside the parents’ culture” (Pollock and Van Reken, 2001, p. 19). This term was created in the 1950’s to describe children of parents living abroad. The term could similarly apply to immigrants as they often do not acculturate, therefore they construct their ethnic identity and language maintenance practices in a similar fashion.

#### 3.8.5 *Acculturation*

An “acculturated identity” (Lee, 2005; Phinney, 1989) is one in which a person fully assimilates into the new local culture and abandons or rejects their previous home ethnic identity. None of the case study family members fit this definition but most of the children are either at primary school or in their early teens so they are still in the process of creating their ethnic identity. Previous research in language maintenance and ethnic identity affiliation has focused on either third generation high school or adults. This study examined newly arrived immigrants and changes to their identity and affiliation over time. To date, none of the case study families could be labelled as truly ‘acculturated’. The following chapter, Chapter Four, will provide an outline



of the methods applied, the rationale for the case study design and explanations as to how the data will be analysed.

## **Chapter Four - Methodology**

### 4.0 Justification of ethnographic case study approach based on research literature

Having established the field of study, in terms of language maintenance and ethnic identity, as well as reviewing the relevant literature this chapter will define the scope of the comparative case study methodological approach (Stake, 1995; Yin, 2003). As this study is an ethnographic case study analysis, the methodology selected and data techniques require clarification. In this chapter, the research design will be discussed followed by my ontological and epistemological position. After that I will attempt to justify the chosen approach for research methodology approach based on theories that emerged from the literature review. This includes ethnographic case study methodology, the constructivist paradigm, and criticism of observational case study approach, as well as responses to that criticism. Then, the case study participant selection will be discussed and the data collection tools will be assessed. The rationale for the design of the practice chart for the three types of practices (social language, social literacy and peripheral ritualised practices) will subsequently be addressed. The following section will include the case study observation schedule and the observation context along with interviews. Following this, the data analysis will be discussed. Finally, this chapter will discuss problems that arose using the methods, the study's limitations and ethical considerations. This comparative ethnographic case study analysis uses observation, historical narratives during interviews, and semi-structured interviews therefore establishing the rationale of the research habitus is vital.

#### 4.0.1 *Basis for the research design*

The original research plan for this study was ethnographic however, after consultation with my first supervisor they advised me not to pursue a purely ethnographic approach. The reason was that ethnographic research is vague and often hard to substantiate during the viva. The supervisor suggested an ethnographically-informed case study using survey information from the Gorkha community, which was the largest ethnic immigrant community in the area. In addition, I had already formed ties to that community having lived and taught in Patan, Nepal. So I researched and designed a survey to obtain initial assessment data. I first needed to pilot it. By chance there was a boy, in my son's class, whose parents were from Nepal. While picking up my son's Nepalese friend on the way to school I asked the father if they would like to participate in the piloting of the survey questionnaire. After he agreed I asked him if I could ask the children questions as well. He orally agreed to this.

I had a stop the original design of the research due to a lack of cooperation from the wives. However, this forced me to reposition the study and adopt a more ethnographic approach. Since my MA thesis, I had been a strong advocate of the ways in which culture is intertwined in a child's language acquisition process. Furthermore, I felt that parents and the home context are important aspects of the process of language acquisition and maintenance. This perception came from reading the literature as well as from my personal experience of growing up as a daughter of a multicultural immigrant. Furthermore, I had witnessed the struggle my son had had balancing bicultural, bilingual and multi-religious practices and the assumptions educators made about him based on the colour of my skin. These factors informed, and drove, the participatory nature of my ethnographic study.

Local ethnic communities are not delineated by politically established boundaries; they are constructed from aspects stemming from socio-cultural, ethnic practices particular to that community. To fully understand the individual members of a particular community a more ethnographic case study methodology is required. While it is convenient and easier to categorise participants, the nature of this research is to collaborate towards a common truth. Of course, I realise that we all inherently biased. However, allowing voices to be heard is the important aspect of the process. Therefore, the use of questionnaires alone would reveal the attitudes and affiliations of the families on a superficial level. This is especially true in the light of the Asian characteristic of “saving face” and the prevalent reticence to criticise amongst the Nepalese community (Edwards, 2009; Kochhar-Georges, 2010). The nature of embarking on an ethnographic study enabled a more in-depth and reflexive questioning of participants, thereby creating a more dependable and valid response data (Yin, 2001). The simple quantification of what practices are presently occurring does not fully justify or enable an understanding as to why shifts in attitudes to ethnic identity affiliation and language maintenance exists, which affect acculturation placement. We must remember that identity is fluid, especially at the pre-adolescent and adolescent age where they are trying to negotiate their place within an expanding number of socio-cultural contexts. In addition, at this age identity and affiliation is developing at this crucial juxtaposition in their social identity construction. Therefore, this study is basing its methodological approach on having a deeper understanding of the participants various shifting contexts that will enable full analysis to occur (Heath and Street, 2008).

This study aims to ascertain whether speakers of Nepalese (including the various dialects) living in the north of U.K. maintain their language and ethnic affiliation. If there are shifts in either language maintenance or ethnic identity, do attitudes differ between family members, such as

younger and older siblings? What are the potential macro, micro, and individual factors causing changes in attitudes towards language maintenance by the parents? All three of these levels are assessed in this study, which sets it apart from prior research. My study considers how the various practices of social language, social literacy, and ritualised peripheral practices facilitate or hinder formation of ethnic identity affiliation. More importantly, perhaps, this study considers both similarities and differences in the various family contexts, as well as amongst individual family members themselves (Yin, 2003) as there is a gap in the research from this perspective (Heath, 1983; Padilla and O'Keefe, 1987; Phinney, 1997; Schechter and Bayley, 1997). Before the methodology used in this study is outlined, it is important to evaluate the epistemological and ontological knowledge perspectives of the researcher.

#### 4.1 Epistemological and ontological position of the researcher

Epistemology is the "theory of knowledge" (Rose, 2007). There are three areas from which I gained an epistemological understanding of Nepalese culture: life experience, family background, and work experience. In each of these areas there was a habitus (lived experience) (Bourdieu, 1977) that connected my life to Nepalese culture. In order to gain trust and to be able to take a more participatory observational approach it was important to disclose to the case study participants my ontological and epistemological position. This process of disclosure enabled a connection between me and the participants as I am the mother of an EAL migrant child, as well as a researcher. In addition, there are aspects of my past that must be revealed to the reader in order to consolidate this ethnographic research. Whyte, (1997) discusses "the importance of observing people in action and getting down a detailed report of actual behavior completely

divorced from moral judgments" (p. 17). I do not claim a complete lack of bias, however, the transitory nature of my upbringing, that was similar to that of the retired Gorkha and Gorkha families, enabled me to more fully appreciate and understand their experiences. My father was a civil engineer and worked on big hydroelectric projects between the 1960s and 1980s. I grew up moving every two years. I lived in various places across Canada from the remote (45 miles from the Arctic Circle) Churchill Falls Labrador to Bakersfield, California. The longest I had lived in one house was five years, from grades three to seven of primary school, when we lived in Beaconsfield, Quebec (1973-1977). This was an extremely formative experience for me, as it was a politically crucial time in the province. The terrorist group Front Liberation du Quebec's tactics of blowing up mail-boxes to highlight the structural inequality of the French-speaking Quebec people gave rise to separatist sentiments and subsequently the Parti Quebecois (a separatist party) gained political power. This resulted in experiencing a significant shift which occurred in Montreal. The socio-cultural identity went from a predominantly English language environment (main language of government, business, and culture) to a French only speaking environment. It came at a pivotal time in my development and when we moved out west I was exposed extreme differences in Canadian attitudes. This informed my understanding of regional, cultural, ethnic, religious and linguistic variations that occur in a seemingly homogenous society.

Personally, I enjoyed experiencing new environments and people and I tended to make friends rather easily. However, the experience of migrating from place to place affected my siblings differently. My older sister hated it, the middle sister found making friends difficult and retreated into a structured personality type to maintain a sense of stability. My personality is a combination of Ukrainian survivalist and extroverted French Canadian. My personal experience

informed how I approached the families, my research style of being able to assess a new social situation quickly, and I am able to adapt personal interactions to cohere with local socio-cultural expectations. In addition, my theatre training enabled me to better read people's micro facial expressions, intonations and body language. Having consistently been an outsider I never judged local customs and behaviours. Rather I learnt to adapt my tone, rhythm, vocabulary choices, and expressions based on initial assessment. I have noticed that my son is also able to behave like a cultural chameleon, as he too has moved often. Thus, my son and I had gained intercultural capital based on our continual migration from place to place.

My multicultural immigrant family background negated the possibility that strong outsider bias might occur. At one of the observation sessions the professional Nepalese family mother asked about the depth of my understanding of Nepalese culture. I spoke about living there during the time of protests when the one language policy was being implemented. I also discussed walking for twenty minutes to the ring road before taking a *tuk tuk* to my volunteer teaching job. I mentioned how much I admired the little milk girl who would wake up at 4:30 to milk the cows, deliver her milk and eat breakfast before she went to school. These anecdotal replies illustrated my knowledge and experience of the diversity, and multi-ethnic nature of, Nepalese culture and reassured her with respect to my willingness to keep an open-mind regarding ethnic and cultural practices. The important issue of my epistemological understanding should now be clarified. The participants knew that my son was an ESL child from an Asian background. Moreover, my immigrant multicultural background was an important factor in gaining trust and facilitating more in-depth observations and interview data.

I will now illustrate three important aspects of my background for the purposes of this research. The first habitus was my personal experience of living in rural Nepal at the time when there was a critical language policy debate in the country (Giri, 2009). I rented a house, for six months, from a local community worker and lived without running water or electricity. The experience provided me with insights into the constraints experienced by the case study families. I lived in the small rural community of Patan in Nepal and was able to directly experience the daily traditions and customs of the local community. As a researcher, I was also exposed to ethnic clothing, traditions and language prevalent within a single city; I interacted with the community and became familiar with the daily difficulties faced by the locals such as rolling blackouts. My stay in the country coincided with a critical moment in Nepalese history. I witnessed protests regarding language and ethnicity (Bandhu, nd p.127; Golay, 2006). Nepalese culture is not homogeneous rather it consists of many dialects, ethnic affiliations, religions, and cultural practices that are often more resonant than the overall national identity (Golay, 2006; UNESCO, 2010). My experience living in rural Nepal is not the only habitus which informs the research.

The second habitus which informs my epistemological and ontological position derived from my personal family experience which was multicultural, multi-religious and multi-lingual. This experience contributed towards my understanding about how identity is often fragmented than appears on the surface in the form of a national identity (Gee, 1994). As a researcher, from an immigrant family, I do not generalise in terms of perceived stereotypes rather I listen carefully to the participants' voices. Furthermore, my Chinese immigrant background, meant I had experience of the restrictive Canadian immigration policies (citizenship not permitted to Asians until after World War II) and this facilitated my understanding of structural inequality (Au, 1995) and social capital (Collins, 2000; Bourdieu, 1977; Coleman, 1988; Rose, 2007) issues



experienced by this case study's Nepalese families. The structural inequality inherent in U.K. government and military policies was similar to that experienced by my family (for example, the head tax paid by each Chinese immigrant who entered Canada) (Edwards, 2009; Kochhar-Georges, 2010). Furthermore, my understanding of identity, language and power stems from my fathers' own marginalisation due to his French L1. In addition, my father was a French speaker in the English province of Ontario. Later on, he derived capital from spoken English at the cost of a shift from his EL1. The strength of language as capital emerges in one of the case study families (Bourdieu, 2000). As discussed in the language maintenance research, immigrants either choose to acculturate in the local language community or use their ethnic L1 as a social capital to garner work (Collins, 2000). In addition, my personal experience, of trying to maintain a bi-cultural, bilingual child has proved challenging. My son's EL1 is different from mine (Cummins, 2001; Schecter and Bayley, 1997; Schribner and Cole 1981; Heath, 1983; and Skutnabb-Kangas 2000). My personal and living experience grounded my research in particular theories but I also had relevant work experience.

The third, and final habitus, was my employment experience in Nepal. I worked in the Tibetan refugee school as well as a private rural Nepalese primary school. This provided me with opportunities to discuss the language and ethnic issues that were prevalent at that time in Nepal. My prior academic research and overseas teaching experience as a multi-cultural literary educator added to my understanding of issues faced by immigrants and mothers of bilingual children. My Masters' dissertation involved research on immigrant, bilingual and TEFL primary students. Therefore, my work, life and academic experiences influenced and strengthened my epistemological and ontological position. This position needed clarification as the thesis was structured around participatory observational case study model (Yin, 2003).

#### 4.1.2 Researchers ethnographic position

Lareau, Schultz, & Schultz explain an ethnographer's position: "rather than being interested in how frequent a behavior is, they wonder about the meaning of a behavior. They seek, generally, to understand the character of the day-to-day life of the people in the study" (1996, p. 4). This framing of ethnographic research is how I approached the process. For me, it was a matter of living while being metacognitive of the people, actions and behaviors within varying indexicalities.

The nature of the research requiring participatory observation (Yin, 2003) entails the establishment of a relaxed trusting relationship with the younger primary school-aged participants. Thus, it is important that I reveal any perceived possible inherent bias. As I have indicated, I have a unique perspective and deep understanding of the pressures and issues with respect to language maintenance and ethnic identity affiliation. The experiences I had enabled me to perform a more comprehensive analysis during observational settings. Thus, the research originally tried to blend of emic and etic approaches. Using these terms from the field of anthropology where it is defined as knowledge which stems from cultural aspects (Headland, Thomas, Pike, Kenneth, Harris, and Marvin, 1990) that is determined by local custom, practices, and belief. Whereas, etic knowledge refers to generalisations of behaviour considered universal (Hong, Benet-Martinez, Chiu, and Morris, 2003). However, this would change and the process of my re-examination of the research will be discussed later. I choose to use participatory research as in-depth ethnographic work into the scope and nature of children's home and community literacy practices would be the most appropriate way of documenting what actually *does* count as important in family literacy lives (Gregory, 2012, p.167). Any ethnographically

based study of language use is the need to have an understanding of the range of events within which a particular type of phenomenon occurs (Hymes, 1962). Next, the following section will clarify the rationale for the case study methods chosen.

## 4.2 Methodology and methods

### 4.2.1 *Rationale for methods based on research literature*

According to the literature, discussed in Chapter Two, there are five major factors overlapping between the fields of language maintenance and those in the field of ethnic identity affiliation. They are; family attitudes towards language and ethnic identity, in-group, or out-group peer exposure, home community exposure, community cohesion, and socio-economic status (Fishman, 2001; Heath, 1983; Garcia, 2003; Phinney, 1997; Papapavlou and Pavlou, 2001; Schecter and Bayley, 1997). The majority of studies in the literature review used structured questionnaires or observations in the classroom and few utilised home visits. If the studies included interview techniques most used structured questionnaires or survey methods. Furthermore, the age of the children investigated in the literature were usually high school or middle school and few focused on pre-adolescents or upper primary school children (Alvarez and Hakuta, 1993; Cho and Krashen, 2000; Cho and Krashen, 2001; Wong Fillmore, 2000; Fishman, 1971, 1972, 1978, 1999, 2001; Fiske, 1994; Garcia, 2003; Hakuta and D'Andrea, 1992; Kerabja 2007; Kubota and Lin, 2006; Lambert and Taylor, 1996; Padilla and Keefe, 1987; Padilla, 1980; Papapavlou and Pavlou, 2001; Pavlenko, 2007; Phinney, 2000; Pierce, 1995; Schecter and Bayley, 1997). Heritage language studies in the US and Canada, as well as language maintenance and ethnic identity studies (Chow, 2001; Lin, 1982; Shrauf, 1999; Suarez,

2007; Zhang, 2004) used similar methodologies. Studies of first and fourth-generation language shifts used mainly structured interviews and classroom observations with some secondary consensus data analysis (Alvarez and Hakuta, 1993; Dagenais and Berron, 2001; Hakuta and D'Andrea, 1992; Lambert and Taylor, 1996; Luo and Wiseman, 2000; Papavlou and Pavlou, 2001; Pease-Alvarez and Winsler, 1994; Tajfel and Turner, 1986). Most data retrieved answered the “what” questions but few the “why”.

An important large study using ethnographic observation techniques was completed by Schechter and Bayley (1997 and 2002). Their case study investigated language maintenance practices among Mexicans and the researchers used life histories to provide a comprehensive picture of language shift. The case study triangulated data with historical narratives and observation. In addition, observation assisted with contextual understanding. The original 1997 study was part of a larger two-state (California and Texas) Hispanic immigrant study of 400 participants. The part of the research study this present study is modeled on examined four families using 25-hour observation techniques. They also conducted semi-structured interviews. Schechter and Bayley's (1997 and 2002) study was one of a few immigrant language maintenance and ethnic identity studies to utilise historical narratives, ethnographic observation methods, as well as semi-structured questionnaires. Other researchers have also used various mixed methodologies. For example, Ali (2006) undertook a one-year ethnographic case study using participant observation for nine-months, from 2003 to 2004. Findings revealed that participants wanted to be part of collective social identity, but negative peer pressure led to a resistance to ethnic affiliation. Rivera Mills (2001) also used observation techniques to investigate acculturation and

community shifts in the use of heritage language. This research examined fifty subjects from a third-generation group and utilised both interviews and home visits

Social literacy research employs ethnographic research approach. However, very few language maintenance studies have used full ethnographic observation of only the home and community context. A large percentage of previous studies relied on proficiency tests, structured questionnaires, survey or census data. Furthermore, the studies that used observation techniques tended to do so in the context of the classroom and only a few examined home practices (Chow, 2004; Garcia, 2003). While some studies did examine ethnic identity affiliation almost none examined differences within the community or between family members themselves. Finally, none of the studies examined types of practices used for language and ethnic identity maintenance. Only 11 used observation and of these eight occurred in the classroom and only three in the homes. Finally, eight or nine percent used meta-narrative and three used social networking tools. In summary, few previous studies have used observation tools in conjunction with meta-narratives, and semi-structured questionnaires. After having utilised these various tools, this research is able to provide a fuller and more in-depth analysis of family attitudes to language maintenance and ethnic identity.

While several studies have examined language maintenance factors, proficiency, and ethnic affiliation amongst immigrants the research has yet to assess whether peoples' attitudes change over time due to external or developmental factors. Few studies have examined differences and similarities between siblings at both the primary and secondary school level. In addition, studies have assessed factors relating to language and ethnic identity maintenance but none have examined the reasons for shifts in attitudes with respect to language and ethnic identity

maintenance. Furthermore, previous research in the US on the Nepalese people (as indicated in Chapter One) only used census data and structured interviews extensively (Dhungel, 1999). This researcher has found that, in terms of language maintenance, delving deeper into the attitudes and changes of attitudes requires an in-depth method of interviewing. Furthermore, the research literature fails to address differences in ethnic identity affiliation between siblings. The gaps in the literature are one of the reasons I chose to utilise a combination of meta-historical narratives, semi-structured interviews, and observational techniques. The following section addresses the methodological approach of this research.

### 4.3 Methodological approach

#### 4.3.1 *Derived Etic Approach*

Rogoff (2003) advised: “open-mindedly revising one’s understanding in the light of new information is essential for learning about cultural ways”, and this is how I tried to approach the families. In an emic approach, an investigator attempts to represent cultural insiders’ perspective on a particular community, usually by means of extensive observation and participation in the activities of the community. Emic research produces in-depth analyses of one community and can often be useful as such. However, the nature of this research changed due in part to the process of the research. My first supervisor advised me to implement a more imposed etic approach by surveying the community (Rogoff, 2003 p.30). As I have stated previously, the Gorkha wives were reluctant to embark on the survey. However, I was able to form a relationship with the professional Nepalese family. In addition, their relationship to the retired Gorkha family, and my son’s relationship with both families’ children, allowed for a more

participatory relationship to develop. This relationship enabled a *derived etic* approach, “the researcher adapts ways of questioning, observing, and interpreting to fit the perspective of the participants” (Rogoff, 2003, p. 30). While originally I strove to integrate both the emic and etic approaches to the research, ultimately my approach became derived etic in that I was “discerning cultural patterns in the variety of human practices and traditions” (Rogoff, 2003, p. 31). I believed that I originally started from an emic position, but as the parents and I began to share more of our lives the position of the each family participant was reassessed. I never imposed any theories such as post-colonialism onto the family members. Instead, I choose to assess each individual’s habitus based on a relationship that involved our children and us as parents. As Rogoff (2003) states, the derived etic is a process of review, revision, and continual reassessment of the research and the process I undertook in this research was of continual reassessment and revision.

Some argue that “because observations can never be freed from the observer’s assumptions, interests, and perspective” (Rogoff, 2003, p.31) it is not valid. However, my multicultural ethnic background had resulted in empathy towards others’ cultural practices. “Research on issues of culture inherently requires an effort to examine the meaning of one system in terms of another” (Rogoff, 2003, p. 31). I was not trying to examine across communities; my purpose was to investigate whether there were practices that differed from person to person, but which were relevant for most participants. My thesis extends from Rogoff’s suggestion that “cultural processes can be thought of as practices and traditions of dynamically related cultural communities in which individuals participate and to which they contribute across generations” (2003, p77).

This study differs from previous research as it focusses on examining changes, if any, that occurred in parental attitudes over time as well as changes in primary school aged children. This study also considers home contexts at different times, the family habitus in prior contexts, as well as defining the differences and similarities between the various family contexts. Unlike Schechter and Bayley's (1998) research, this study does not assess L1 spoken discourse repair or maintenance in families or academic scores compared with home language use. Instead, this study provides an analysis of the types of practices used, if any, in terms of ethnic and language maintenance as well as identifying differences over time in parental attitudes to ethnic language and practices. Did any of the case study parents change their attitudes and is there a difference between the ways they treated their first and second child for example? In addition, this study asks: what experiences and factors cause variations in attitudes towards language maintenance and ethnic identity affiliation between siblings? To answer these questions effectively and allow for the participants' voices to be heard, I moved away from quantifying practices to assessing the participants individually as they identified themselves, not as I saw them.

#### 4.3.2 *Ethnographic comparative case studies*

One of the most common approaches to researching social language is through ethnographic or ethnographic case studies. Originally derived from the disciplines of anthropology and sociology over the past few decades, the fields of education, social language, and social literacy have come to incorporate ethnographic methodology (Heath and Street, 2008). Some critics highlight a perceived lack of scientific methods in this approach, however, it could be argued that the breadth of detail the ethnographic approach achieves regarding language maintenance and ethnic



identity affiliation is immeasurable (Baxter and Jack, 2008; Flyvbjerg, 2006). Ethnographic design enables a deeper, more in-depth, analysis of individual contexts.

During the questioning I used the parameters outlined as a guide during the observation (listed in appendix 1). The questions guide the participants rather than direct their answers. We were participating in the research. Issues, concepts and theories often arose during off-handed conversations on the way to school. As convenient as it would be to state that all data came from the structured observation periods, much of the information I gathered occurred during either unofficial interview sessions or purely social interactions. Throughout the process I told the children and family members that I would use all the information I received. Even when I was not taking notes I went back and recorded the information immediately. While analysis is perhaps more challenging, the findings will show a deeper understanding of the families' context.

The decision was made to adopt the ethnographic method because I found that structured questionnaires were too confining (Heath and Street, 2008; Stake, 1999; Yin, 2003). I wanted their voices to be heard. My desire was to empower voices within a traditionally marginalised community, as I felt their voices are not often heard. However, I began to realise that this will not always be shared by community members if they feel that I was being 'used' to 'gather' information to 'expose' the community (Gregory Arju, Jessel, Kenner, & Ruby, 2011, p.167). Instead, the semi-structured questions (listed in the Appendix 2) acted as a guide or protocol for a deeper and more intensive understanding of the attitudes of family members, their beliefs, and the actual practices used to maintain language and ethnic affiliation (Heath and Street, 2008). In order to gain a deeper understanding of background attitudes as well as to reveal any changes

that may have occurred over time this study utilised in-depth meta-narratives and historical narrative research techniques (Papapvalou and Pavlou, 2001). In the following section, the review of the types of case study approaches and their structures will be defined

#### 4.3.3 *Ethnographic case study approach*

This ethnographic case study research is an approach that investigates phenomena in a natural context in order to expose themes using various data collections methods. There are three types of case studies: intrinsic, instrumental and collective (Kreftling, 1991; Yin, 2003). Often termed multiple case studies, collective case studies enable the researcher to explore differences within and between, cases. The purpose of this method is to replicate findings across cases. This study utilises the multiple, or collective comparative case study approach to ensure that quality of data from the participants was the most effective (Yin, 2003).

#### 4.3.4 *Constructivist paradigm approach*

The ethnographic collective case study is based on a constructivist paradigm. This paradigm is informed by the supposition that truth is relative and is dependent on the perception of the participants (Stake 1995; Yin, 2003). The primary advantage of the constructivist approach is the establishment of a close interaction between the researcher and participant (Miller and Crabtree, 1999). Rather, as Macleod (1987) argues, “the best fieldwork emerges when the sociologist is completely immersed in the community under study, it means that his or her personal life will be inseparably bound up with the research” (p. 114). Due to my daily interactions stemming from my son’s relationship with two of the families, the submersion of my life and research was

definitely an aspect of the participatory observation. Yin (2003) and Heath (2008) both argue that researchers need to focus on the “how” and “why” questions rather than the “what” in a given context. However, the research must be conducted so that behaviour is not altered (Baxter and Jack, 2008; Flyvbjerg, 2006).

Based on the above method and approach I used inductive reasoning as the basis for my research structure. I observed and searched for patterns and analysed both similarities and differences. Then I considered the theoretical hypothesis that social capital and structural inequality are external factors that affect ethnic identity affiliation and language maintenance (appendix 7). I undertook initial interviewing and examined similarities and differences before applying any hypothesis to the data in order to maintain a less biased approach (Heath and Street, 2008; Yin, 2003). “A case study is a holistic inquiry that investigates phenomenon within a natural setting” (Harling, 2002, p.1). Techniques can be scientific, but simultaneously personal. For example, using confirmatory statements in conjunction with consistent data response coding can produce comparative results between families. Using confirmatory questioning as well as re-questioning the participants addressed the criticisms with respect to case study design. However, there are other criticisms with respect to the dependability of observation that needs addressing.

#### 4.3.5 *Observation dependability – addressing case study criticism*

The dependability of observation methods relates to the notion that “interpretation always takes place within the ideological framework of a researcher because of his or her knowledge and experience” (Rose, 2007, p.126). As long as the researcher is honest and reflective then the data obtained has a good chance of being dependable. Participant observation is a tool for collecting

data however, as (Heath and Street, 2008, p.31) state, “only rarely can we shed features of ourselves to be a real participant”. Due to my son’s relationship with the families I had been granted a degree of insider status with the case study parents and children. Moreover, for the third family due to my son’s multiracial and multilingual background (Asian/Canadian) we were viewed with less distrust, as we had experienced similar language and ethnic identity maintenance issues.

Another criticism of observational case study data is that it is purely qualitative. However, case studies are not based solely on qualitative data; they can incorporate other methods of data collection such as ethnographies, historical narratives and participant-observation (De Vaus, 2001). From this perspective, a single case is acceptable (Stake 1995 and Yin 1999, 2003). In addition, case studies must adopt a theoretical dimension such as grounded theory method (Glaser and Strauss 1967). In this way, the case study researcher starts with an observation and builds towards a theory rather than trying to impose a theory on a particular context that may not be relevant. Researchers must also retain the epistemological foundations of research based on these methods.

Finally, the chosen methods should be grounded on theoretical perspectives or conceptual frameworks from a field of study (Stake, 1995; Yin 1999, 2003). With respect of these particular methods, everything becomes possible data. For example, observing socio-cultural practices does not answer any particular pre-determined question; rather it can become an indication of the frequency of exposure to ethnic identity practices. There is one final area to

address in terms of the design of this research and this relates to the comparative constructivist approach.

#### 4.3.6 *Integrating comparative constructivist approach to the case study*

Some critics of case study design suggest that researchers need to establish: credibility, transferability, dependability and to be able to confirm ability (Krefting, 1991; Mays and Pope, 2000). Examples of this researcher having used confirmation questions and reflections are discussed later in the fieldwork section and illustrate the strengths of this approach. The genre and goals of the ethnographic approach rely on a linkage with other subfields. It is important to highlight that this method is a theory-building enterprise that involves constructing through detailed systematic observing, recording and analysing of human behaviour in specifiable spaces and interactions (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995 p.2).

Moreover, ethnographic case studies address the overarching research question as well as, the sub-questions. Due to an apparent discrepancy towards language and ethnic beliefs combined with a possible shift in attitudes on the part of the parents since the children`s early childhood I felt the approach required more in-depth questions that would yield greater and richer qualitative data. This “issue” in conjunction with the review of prior quantitative research approach to data-collection was considered too restrictive. Instead a largely qualitative ethnographic case study approach to the research was found to be better suited to a comparative in-depth examination.

The three families were chosen, as stated in Chapter One, on the basis of similarities in economic status as well as family size, combined with differences based on purpose for migration and their use of linguistic capital for work. A consideration of several cases in order to understand similarities and differences “predicts similar results” or theoretical replication (Yin, 2003, p.47). Multiple case studies enhance data credibility (Patton, 1990; Yin, 2003). This approach is well suited to analysis across communities and families as well as between family members (Stake, 1995).

#### 4.4 Research methods overview

##### 4.4.1 *The Process of obtaining consent*

When I originally began the research in 2009, the University of York did not have an ethics committee nor was there a need to obtain special permission from children. However, I would like to detail the process I went through with the three families before observing them. The first family is the Gorkha family. I had to go to the military base. This was due to the research process as I thought then that I would be undertaking a community survey. On September 15<sup>th</sup> (between 10am-12 am) I met the Social Welfare Officer (Gorkha family father named Moorthy) on the army base in order to make contact with the community. I discussed giving out the questionnaire. Later that week I made contact with the Gorkha family father. He subsequently acted as a liaison between the community and me. I discussed the research with him and how I would approach data collection. The next day, September 20<sup>th</sup> (between 10am-12pm), I met with the Gorkha father Moorthy to give him questionnaires for the Gorkhas. He took the survey with the informed consent. A little later he informed me the wives did not feel comfortable doing the

survey when the husbands were not present. At the moment they were deployed to Afghanistan. I was disappointed, but then Moorthy, the Gorkha father, stated he would be willing to allow his family to be observed. I told him I would not be observing the children in their classroom but in their social areas such as playgrounds, home and where events took place. Would he agree to me coming over and observing? He asked how many times I would be coming over. I told him I intended to make ten visits lasting around 2-3 hours each. At that time I thought I would be doing just 25 hours. He asked if there would be other families involved as well. I explained that I would be asking the professional Nepalese family and that I would be look for one more family.

The professional Nepalese family's son was friends with my son. Since July when we first met we had spent many hours together and had built up trust. Originally, I asked them to help me pilot the questionnaires that I would distribute to the Gorkha community. I also asked for informed consent from the entire family for the piloting of questionnaire. He agreed and asked me and my son to come over for dinner. We met at his home on September 18th from 4-7pm. I then met with entire professional Nepalese family including Ji and Milan. Before dinner I asked the mother if she too was willing to participate. She stated she would agree to participate. Again I asked the mother if she would approve my asking her sons the survey questions. She too stated it would be all right. She said the older son was in the computer room and I could ask him if he would participate. I asked the older son and he said it would be fine. He asked if it would take a lot of time and what would it involve. I discussed the piloting of the questionnaire and wanting to observe the families in their home. He agreed in a typical teenager fashion stating "okay". He went back to his computer role-play game. I then went to the TV room and asked the younger son if he would like to participate. He also stated he would be okay with it. I gave both the

children the same information. Afterwards, we had dinner with the whole family, as well as the visiting grandparents and my son.

On the weekend of September 26<sup>th</sup> I attended a Hindu Festival in the north of the U.K. with the professional Nepalese father. I informed him of my setback in giving the questionnaire to the Gorkha community. I asked him if I could observe the families over approximately a 25-hour period. He stated he thought his wife would be okay with that. I asked if he knew other families. I told him I would redraft the letter of consent for the whole family. I asked if he was sure his children wanted to participate. He stated he thought so but I should ask them again. I then drew up papers to be signed.

On October 14<sup>th</sup> I asked the professional family if they would alter their consent for the piloting of the questionnaires as well as for an ethnographic study. I asked each family member again and explained what the change meant and how I would be observing their actions, attitudes, practices and behaviours. They all consented to being involved in the study and everyone from each of the families signed the new consent form.

During the Hindu festival, the Kieran, the professional Nepalese father told me about the retired Gorkha family. The youngest daughter attended the same school as my son, Thai. I asked whether he thought the retired Gorkha family would be willing to speak with me. He said he would ask. After school on October 5<sup>th</sup> I spoke with the mother from the retired Gorkha family and arranged to meet with the father. While I was with them I met the mother walking home after school and spoke to her. She told me she would have to ask her husband. Later, on October 28<sup>th</sup>, I had my first meeting with the retired Gorkha father and family members at their home. I



presented the outline of the research to the children and the parents. The whole family signed the new consent form, including the children Sara and Sue.

Ten days later, on October 15th, I met with the Gorkha family mother and father for two hours. Their consent took longer as I had to meet the parents separately before the children. The mother and father both agreed and signed consent forms. They also agreed to allow their children to participate and we decided the children would sign consent forms next session. Since I was changing the nature of the study I rewrote the consent form. I met the Gorkha family on October 20<sup>th</sup> at their home, and the parents signed the revised form then. The two daughters, Tina and Karen, signed a new form as the previous form related only to the questionnaire.

I must now alleviate any concerns that I might have forced the children to participate. I explained to the children that I would be watching them and taking notes. I told them I was like a detective looking for clues, but I was not trying to solve a murder. I told them I was solving a mystery about language, culture and ethnicity. I omitted words such as immigrant and identity as I felt they were a) too complex for some of the younger children and b) would give them preconceived ideas about the research. I wanted the children to feel free enough to discuss anything with me. Instead of forcing answers I wanted the participants to be active in the construction of their data and to hopefully be in a position to gain more truth in the research process.

I told each of the participants I was doing my PhD and I wanted to examine the Gorkha community. I informed them I would be asking questions about language maintenance, literacy practices and ethnic identity. I told them that I was investigating how ethnicity, language and

culture are connected. The children seemed to understand. I maintain that I obtained consent from all family members in an ethical fashion.

Due to the various ages of the children participating in the study a structural approach to the fieldwork was implemented. First, I took notes, reflected, confirmed, and re-confirmed. Next, I interviewed head teachers and other family friends who were able to confirm or question what others had stated. While a variety of participants in the school and ethnic community were interviewed, the times of the observation sessions were consistent in terms of total hours. There were three types of observation sessions. The sessions varied in terms of the context of observation and degree of informality. The first type of session involved official observations at the families' homes and they consisted of semi-structured questions posed to the various case study family members. These sessions were generally outside class time and were either after-school or at weekends. The second type of observation session was less structured. They involved pure observation of the practices performed by the case study family members. These sessions did not involve any questions unless clarification was required. The final type of observation was informal and usually occurred outside the home at school, at afterschool clubs, in the temple, at the playground, the shops and parks. Questions arose during conversations. For example, while walking home with a classmate of the professional Nepalese younger brother, Milan, we discussed how he had previously attended Nepalese language classes. In addition, the classmate revealed that Milan did not like these classes and he pretended to be sick to avoid them. This was informal, but useful, information that was used later after clarifying the veracity of the remark.

#### 4.4.2 *Participants- family selection*

Subjects for observation were three immigrant/migrant families with primary school and pre-adolescent children. Other community stakeholders (teachers, class peers and family friends) were also interviewed for background and confirmation of the answers given during the semi-structured interviews. This allowed for a comparison between attitudes of EL1 social literacy practices and ethnic identity variations between the three groups. Modelled on Schecter and Bayley (1998) ethnographic case study of Mexican migrant families this research project's subjects were three divergent Nepalese migrant/immigrant families.

Only three families were selected for an intensive case study. The selection criteria for the case study families were based on the similar ages of the children, the family size, and their economic and social status. Three families volunteered for observation. Selection was also based on the representativeness of the emerging family language use profiles distilled from interviews and preliminary observations of the families. Even though a criterion for case study selection was in place, the researcher was dependent on the families willingness to volunteer their home for observation. While the size and the age of children and the socio-economic status were similar for the case study families the differences between them related to jobs, their reasons for coming to the U.K., and finally their religious backgrounds. The two Gorkha military case study families were similar in their home country context but in the U.K. they varied in terms of local ethnic exposure, affiliation, religious practice exposure and other factors that affected their living conditions. The professional Nepalese family case study family moved to the U.K. for the purposes of post-graduate study and had chosen to stay. The process of selection, due to the ethnographic nature of the study was contingent on a participatory relationship being developed

between myself and the participants. In the case of a lack of a social relationship the use of my son to facilitate a closer relationship occurred.

## 4.5 Data collection

### 4.5.1 *Data collection tools*

The overarching research question for this study is “Do Nepalese migrant families maintain language and ethnic identity through observable practices, and if so, what type of practices do they use?” Before addressing this broader question there are several sub-questions to be considered first.

2) Do attitudes to language maintenance remain constant or shift over time?

3) In the families where shift/loss is occurring, what are the factors that caused this and do these shifts affect the strength of ethnic identity affiliation?

4) Is there a consistency of attitudes towards language maintenance and ethnic affiliation amongst the family members and comparatively between families?

To facilitate an assessment for the first question, a practices chart (for all three types) was created based on the literature review (Wagner and Lave, Norton, 1998; Phinney, 1997; Street, 2001). The chart was divided into social language practices (appendix 3), social literacy practices (appendix 4), and the newly termed peripheral ritualised practices (appendix 5). However, these charts are in the appendix as they are not quantifying anything rather acting as a guide during the observation. However, the third type of practice is peripheral ritualised. This is

a newly defined practice and as such needs closer assessment. The next section discusses the newly termed peripheral ritualised practices which were previously defined in Chapter Three.

4.5.2 *Peripheral ritualised practice chart*

The final practices which were assessed were *peripheral ritualised practices*. There are three areas of ethnic assessment; cultural/religious music, community exposure, food and décor. These are new practices which were defined and justified in Chapter Three. These practices were also typified and categorised.

Peripheral Ritualised Practices - Community Cultural/Ethnic Ritualised Practices									
	Types of Practices					Exposure Adults	Exposure Children	Participation Adults	Participation Children
<i>Daily</i> <i>Weekly</i> <i>Occasionally</i> <i>or never</i>	<i>Practice</i> <i>Score</i>								
<b>Type 1</b>	Listening to ethnic music concert								
	Listening to a religious live music								
<b>Total</b>									

**Table 1a** *Peripheral Ritualised Practices- Type 1- Community Cultural/Ethnic Ritual Practices* – The chart illustrates both prior exposure (outside of U.K.) to and present participation in type 1 Peripheral Ritualised Practices; listening to ethnic music live or recorded and religious live music for the participants.

The first type is *community cultural/ethnic ritualised practices*. These practices include listening to ethnic or religious music. As stated in Chapter Three peripheral ritualised practices which refer to ethnic, religious, or cultural practices. However, as these practices involved some forms of language yet they are peripheral. These practices are not randomly practiced. They have a meaning and/or context. Exposure to religious music being played without active participation in the event exposes a child to ethnic practices but not necessarily to the spoken or written discourse. The child exposed to music at a particular festival could eventually embed this

memory as an ethnic experience which differs from the local children’s experience. The next peripheral ritualised practice type is *socio-cultural communication exposure*.

Peripheral Socio-Cultural Communication Exposure									
	Types of Practices					Exposure Adults	Exposure Children	Participation Adults	Participation Children
<i>Daily</i> <i>Weekly</i> <i>Occasionally</i> <i>or never</i>	<i>Practice</i> <i>Score</i>								
<b>Type 2</b> <i>overhearing</i> <i>not</i> <i>conversation</i>	Family/ community speaking in Nepali								
	Hearing family members chanting/ Praying								
<b>Total</b>									

**Table 1b** *Peripheral Ritualised Practices- Type 2 - Peripheral Socio-Cultural Communication Exposure* – The chart illustrates both prior exposure (outside of U.K.) to and present participation in type 1 Peripheral Ritualised Practices; overhearing conversations in EL1 but not participating and hearing family members chanting or praying for the participants.

The type two practice of socio-cultural communication exposure involves an assessment of practices that expose the children to language but do not involve two-way oral discourse. Unlike type two and three under social interactive language practices these peripheral ritualised practices - type two only involve exposure to social language; there is no participation in social language. The rationale for differentiating between these two is that some families do not actively participate in language maintenance but still retain exposure through constant conversations overheard with parents and grandparent. Unlike prior research this thesis attempts to assess participation in language and ethnic identity maintenance, as well exposure to these practices. This was embedded into the practice chart so that during data collection full assessment could occur. The final area of data collection is that of *peripheral community and religious practice exposure*.

<b>Peripheral Community and Religious Practices Exposure</b>									
	Types of PRC Practice					Exposure Adults	Exposure Children	Participation Adults	Participation Children
<i>Daily</i>	<i>Practice</i>								
<i>Weekly</i>	<i>Score</i>								
<i>Occasionally</i>									
<i>or never</i>									
<b>Type 3</b>	Eating traditional food								
	Eating religious festival foods								
	Eating Western foods with Asian taste influence								
<b>Type 4</b>	Celebrating religious festivals								
	Celebrating non-religious festivals								
<b>Type 5</b>	Exposure to traditional clothing								
	Exposure to traditional art and décor								
<b>Total</b>									

**Table 1c** *Peripheral Ritualised Practices- Type 3, 4, and 5 - Peripheral Community and Religious Practices Exposure* – The chart illustrates both prior exposure (outside of U.K.) to and present participation in type 3, type 4, and type 5. *Peripheral Ritualised Practices*; ood (eating religious, ethnic or Western with Nepalese influenced food), celebrating holidays (celebrating religious or ethnic festivals), and clothing or decor (exposure to ethnic clothing or décor) for the participants.

The chart above shows type three, four, and five termed peripheral community and religious practices. These practices are probably the most important practices in ethnic identity affiliation. Assessing whether, and the degree to which, family members participate or are exposed to ethnic food, cultural, and community ethnic practices facilitates an analysis of any possible patterns between acculturation position, factors affecting attitudes, language maintenance and ethnic identity practices. For the purpose of data collection, there was an examination of food in the

house, food eaten, the celebration of ethnic and religious holidays, and exposure to traditional clothing, religious clothing, and/or ethnic décor.

Type three assesses practices that incorporate ethnic food. It included eating traditional food and religious foods. It also includes eating Western food, but with Asian flavours. Type four is celebrating religious and ethnic or traditional holidays/celebrations. In this category singing or reading of religious texts was not assessed as a type of peripheral ritualised practice. Types of religious or traditional holiday peripheral ritualised practices include; religious decorations and festival decorations. The final practice of peripheral ritualised practices was type five which entailed exposure to traditional clothing or décor. As stated previously in Chapter Three, these practices could strengthen ethnic identity affiliation even though they involve no language or social literacy (Au, 1999; Cummins, 2001; Genesee, 2006).

The practice chart that collected data for the practices, social languages, social literacy, and peripheral ritualised practices enabled the data to give a fuller examination into language maintenance and ethnic identity affiliation. These practice charts will assist during analysis with semi-structured interviews and historical narrative interview sessions. However, these were used as a starting point to develop areas where a conversation could emerge. Findings taken during the observation sessions and semi-structured interviews were also analysed, based on the theoretical framework discussed in Chapter Three. Again the analysis occurred in participation with the families as I will discuss in the analysis section. The data for past exposure to literacy practices were extracted from historical narrative interviews conversations I had with the family members over the nine-month observation.



During the observation and interview sessions I employed the practice chart as a guide during interviewing of the participants. This chart acted only as a guide and in no way limited the scope of the investigation.

### Ethnic Identity Factors

Coding Sheet	Father	Mother	Older Sister/Brother	Younger Sister/Brother	Reasons
<b>Socio-cultural factors</b>	<b>/15</b>				
<i>Religious Practices</i> 1. Daily 2. Weekly 3. Only occasionally or never					
<i>Cultural Practices- including food</i> 1. Daily 2. Weekly 3. Only occasionally or never					
<i>Homeland Exposure</i> 1. Consistently phone calls 2. Inconsistently visit and phone 3. Hardly ever					
<i>In- Group Peer Exposure</i> 1. Daily 2. Weekly 3. Sometimes					
<i>Language Exposure</i> 1. Daily 2. Weekly 3. Sometimes					
<b>Socio-psychological factors</b>	<b>/9</b>				
<i>Language use</i> 1. Use L1 and L2 regularly 2. Use L1 sometimes 3. Never use L1					
<i>L1 educational exposure</i> 1. Daily exposure to ethnic peer group 2. Little exposure 3. Positively viewed but no exposure					
<i>Community Exposure</i> 1. Daily 2. Weekly 3. Sometimes					
<b>Socio-Eco Status</b>	<b>/6</b>				
<i>Job and language use</i> 1. Use L1 and L2 regularly 2. Use L1 sometimes 3. Never use L1					
<i>Education and L1</i> 1. Spent several years in L1 schooling 2. Spent short time at an early age in L1 school 3. Never experience L1 school					
<b>Total</b>	<b>/30</b>				

**Table 2** Ethnic identity chart based on Phinney's model (1989) used during data collection to guide interview questions and during analysis of the observation data.

This framework guided the areas of assessment prevalent in prior research. However, it is important to note that the research was not confined to these areas; rather it was open to investigation of emerging patterns. In order to comparatively examine the three case study families an acculturation continuum was synthesised from models identified in the literature. The acculturation continuum model is defined in the comparative analysis in Chapter Five. In the next section data collection will be discussed.

#### 4.6 Data collection – observation sessions

##### 4.6.1 *Evidence to support fieldwork structure*

The data originated from intensive, observations during home visits of 25 hours per family. In addition, I observed and interviewed each family for 30 hours over a period from September, 2010 to June, 2011. As well, there were hours both in informal observation such as walking to and from school and socializing such as attending Bonfire night party together. Thus, the total hours spent observing and interviewing case study family members totalled around 50 hours per family.

##### 4.6.2 *Outlining the observational process*

As previously stated, the data collection process involved observation, note taking, reflection, posing questions, comparing patterns, re-observing, assessing similarities and differences and confirmatory interviews. This data was documented, analysed and compared against relevant

theories to falsify or confirm intuitions (Heath and Street 2008, p. 33). Geertz (1973) discusses the power of “thick description” to assess themes, patterns and emerging actions that occur within a context. Agar (1996) observed that most findings will be a combination of “assumptions about perceptions or intent on the part of group members” (p.239-240). “Ethnographic work is dialogic between existing explanations and judgments and on-going data collection and analysis” (Heath and Street, 2008, p.57). The notes taken during the observations were analysed using thematic patterns. A limitation in the qualitative nature of the research is the lack of generalisability of the data extracted from the observation, sessions, interviews, and historical narrative interviews. However, the process if transparent yield deeper truth from the data. Below is an example of the process I went through to gain trust and use my son to form a relationship with the participants.

An example of the observation process in which I used my son to obtain a closer relationship is best seen during the initial stages of my introduction to the shy daughters of the Gorkha family. From what the father had mentioned I knew the girls liked to do dance and art. During the first initial visit the girls sat on their bed in the bedroom and drew pictures. The rooms were decorated in girlish hues of pale and vibrant pinks and purples. There were various stuffed animals, pictures of festivals and Nepalese Buddhist prayer flags. The meeting went well. I realised I would have to brainstorm how to approach the girls. In a previous conversation their father implied that they are very shy stating “this was a reason I have tried to keep them in\_\_\_\_\_ (village in the North of England)”. I also know that the girls had lived in the U.K. from 2005-2007 and that each year had been spent in a different city in England. Then they moved to a foreign country for two years and now are back here. In addition the girls had spent a few

months back in Nepal during a funeral. The girls had had little consistency in their social relationships.

During the initial meeting with the girls I did not get the sense that they were intensely shy. I had encountered children much more shy than them. However, I needed to devise ways of being part of their lives without being too disruptive or artificial. Later, I was at home watching my son draw and it suddenly dawned on me how valuable a resource he could be for me. In the past, as a TEFL teacher in Japan, he often came to my classes as a way to connect to the children. He would facilitate a more open and fun atmosphere for learning. So I asked him if it would be all right with him if he came and helped me with the research. I explained that we just wanted the girls to become familiar with me. I told him he could ask questions about Nepal he might have felt uncomfortable asking his Nepalese friend. He agreed. I stressed once more, “if you don’t feel comfortable don’t do it!” He said “No, Mum, this will be cool. I will be like a spy getting information from them”. We went and bought art paper and went to their home directly after school. We arrived at the council estate and Thai was surprised about how hidden it was from the street. The white house had a good sized front yard. The houses seemed crowded together and the neighbours quite close in compared to North American suburbs. I knocked on the door and the father answered it. I introduced Thai to both the father and mother and he bowed his head slightly. The father commented on how Japanese he seemed and Thai smiled. We sat at the dining table and I took out the art paper. The father went and got the girls. I smiled and introduced them to Thai. They said ‘hi’ shyly. I asked if they wanted to draw. The girls’ faces lit up and the older sister Tina raced back to her bedroom to get colouring pencils. We sat down:

*Thai asked:*

*What type of candy does Nepal have?*

*Karen replied:*

*It is white and chewy.*

*Thai asked: Can you eat the inner wrapper?*

*Karen: Yes it melts.*

*Thai: I know that one. We have it in Japan. I think it is from China. White rabbit yeah?*

*Karen: Yeah.*

During this exchange Tina returned with colour pencils. They children started to draw. While drawing;

*Thai asked: Brunei. What is it like? Is it a Muslim country?*

*Tina replied: Yes.*

*Thai asked: Do they cover up? [placing his hands in front of his face to represent a Nijaba].*

*Tina laughed: No, but they cover their head.*

After about 10 or 15 minutes of silent drawing, Thai piped up with a new question.

*Thai asked: Hey, what animals are in Nepal?*

*Karen: Lots!*

*Thai: Like what?*

*Karen: Well there are some snakes and spiders.*

*Tina interjecting: Also mountain pigs.*

*Thai puzzled: Mountain pig, say what?*

*Girls giggled and Karen said: Like in the Lion King.*

*Me: Do you mean wild boar?*

*Tina: Yes, that's it.*

*Thai: Hey, are there bears or tigers where you are from?*

*Karen:* *Yes, there are tigers.*

*Thai:* *Cool!*

*Tina:* *We also have yaks and monkeys!*

*Thai:* *What is a YAK! [emphasising the word].*

*Tina:* *It looks like a hairy buffalo or big cow.*

*Thai:* *Awesome, do you eat it!*

*Karen:* *[giggles]* *Some people do.*

*Me:* *I ate yak yogurt in Tibet.*

*Tina:* *Was it good?*

*Me:* *I liked it but it was really sour.*

*(A pause in the conversation.)*

*Karen:* *We have dogs back in our old house in Nepal.*

*Thai:* *How many?*

*Tina:* *We have six dogs.*

*Thai:* *Wow! What other kinds of animals are there?*

*Karen:* *There are monkeys like in the stories.*

*Thai:* *What kind of monkey?*

*Karen:* *[flaps her arms]* *Flying ones.*

*Thai:* *Like in The Wizard of Oz?*

*Karen:* *What is that?*

*Thai:* *It is a movie about a witch that has evil monkeys that fly and steal a dog!*

*Tina:* *No, these monkeys are in old stories from Nepal [Hindu stories].*

The children continued to chatter about various topics. Often what they discussed seemed random. The ice broke when my son farted loudly and the girls laughed hysterically. When it was time to go the girls seemed to be less shy with Thai and we made a date to meet again. I brought Thai to their house twice more in order to gain their trust and create an open, and less awkward, dialogue with the girls. For this reason their observation sessions were longer than originally intended. Unlike the other two families who I had social and research connections with, I had a purely research-based relationship with this family. However, as I clarify later, we did develop some common connections regarding our children.

#### 4.6.3 *Rationale for techniques used in observation session*

Some commentators of case study design suggest that one cannot generalise based on one case. However, “more discoveries have arisen from intense observation than from statistics applied to large groups” (Beveridge, quoted in Kuper and Kuper, 1985, p.95). “That knowledge cannot be formally generalised does not mean it cannot enter into the collective process of knowledge accumulation in a given field of study” (Flyvbjerg, 2006, p.227). Moreover, as Rose (2007) argues the in-depth nature of the case study allows patterns to occur and “these allow the research to make generalisations on a theme which can then be refined through further investigation (p.126). There are also techniques that can be used to make observations more generalised. Using Popper’s (1959) “falsification” idea of critical reflexivity is one of the most rigorous means of testing. His idea is explained through an example: the belief that all swans are white will be falsified when one observes a black swan. In terms of this research participants were able to clarify the observation data at the end of the observation period (Heath and Street,

2008; Yin, 2003). This clarification acted as a “falsification” technique for the purposes of validating statements and theories (Stake, 1995). This occurred not just for description of events and actions but also for historical narrative as well as explanations stemming from theory. Therefore, case study research is an effective method for obtaining more in-depth data about attitudes to language and ethnic identity maintenance.

The change in observation techniques was based on my realisation that if a relationship did not exist then the observations would yield very little insights (Heath and Street, 2008; Yin, 2003). Another difference in the observation format for this research is that it occurred in the nearby playground as well as in the home. In the playground other Gorkha children facilitated discussions. If the interviewer had relied solely on data from questions posed to the children then it would have appeared as if their only friends were white British children. Due to the protracted nature of the observation and interview sessions, with the girls, it was later revealed during observations in the park that they have strong exposure to in-group peers. Having established that observation was an effective method for these particular case studies an outline of observation contexts is required.

#### 4.6.4 *Observation session - contexts*

Observations occurred in the playground, school yard, on the way home from school, at friends’ houses, at school functions, and at Nepalese community functions. There were schools visits as well as discussions with the head teacher; however there was no classroom observation. The next section outlines the observation schedule.



#### 4.6.5 *Observation session – schedule*

My observation structure used “compressed time mode” (Jeffrey and Troman, 2006), therefore, observations were brief but intensive. Observations began officially, in September 2010 (with the preliminary piloting of the original survey questionnaire) and concluded in June 2011. Most observations occurred at the families’ homes but, opportunities arose for the researcher to attend an ethnic event which allowed for deeper cultural observation. I used the constant comparative perspective moving between present and the past. Since the observation timeframe was over a ten-month period the intense exposure allowed the families to become familiar with the researcher.

The timeframe for the home observations for all three case study families included weekends (Saturday mornings every other week), weekly afterschool observations from 3:30 pm until 5:30 pm and evening observations once a week from 7pm until 9pm to include dinner and bedtime events and practices (See Table 5 and 6). In the case of the two case study families who attended the same school as the researcher’s son, observation also occurred early morning both at the home and in the schoolyard. The researcher’s son also attended after club activities with the Gorkha Family younger daughter which became additional informal observation sessions with this family.

Finally, the Professional Nepalese family’s youngest son was in the same class as the researcher’s son, which provided opportunities for informal observation sessions on days such as, Halloween, or if there was a birthday party or school dance. It is important to note, that even

though there was a strong relationship between the children in the families there was no social relationship between either the Gorkha family, retired Gorkha family, or professional Nepalese family parents and the researcher. Thus, no ethical boundaries were crossed and data analysis was not compromised. Data analysis was treated with objectivity, constructive assessment, and timely treatment.

During all three types of observation sessions field notes were taken. They were immediately transcribed onto a computer. Every three days notes were reviewed in order to identify patterns and reflections. Field notes enabled an assessment of changes in audience, routines, or rituals with particular reference to social language, social literacy and peripheral ritualised practices. In Table 5, below the original observation schedule for all three case study families is provided. However, due to the personality issues arising in the Gorkha family children a different schedule had to be created. So Table 5 refers to both retired Gorkha family and professional Nepalese family observation and interview sessions whereas Table 6 is only for the Gorkha family sessions.

As is evident, Table 2 outlines the adapted observation schedule which was altered to lengthen the observation sessions. This lengthened time period enabled the two shy girls to become more comfortable with the researcher. It should be noted that the timeframe for the retired Gorkha family and professional Nepalese family was identical only the days were altered whereas the Gorkha family schedule was different as the children's personalities needed to be accommodated.

Below is the schedule that altered weekly. One week on Monday the Professional Nepalese family would be observed then the following week the retired Gorkha family would be observed.

TIME	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
Morning	8-8:40 am (mini session while going to school )	8-8:40 am	8-8:40 am	8-8:40 am	8-8:40 am	9:30-12:30 (at a festival in a Northern town)	<i>conceptual memo and field note writing</i> 2-5 pm (occasional special event such as a birthday, cultural, or religious event)
Afternoon	3-6:30 pm Visits and dinner with Professional Nepalese family and retired Gorkha family participants			3:30-5:30 pm After school visits with Professional Nepalese family and retired Gorkha family participants during drama class		1-2 pm	
Evening				5-8pm	6-7 pm	5-7pm	5:30-8 (initial session)
<b>Note: Each family was visited for 3- 3.5 hours at home per visit for a total of 10.5 hours. No visits were made during the holidays as the family went abroad. Subsequent informal observation sessions totalled approximately 30 hours.</b>							

Table 3 - Observation Time Schedule for retired Gorkha family and professional Nepalese family members

The observation sessions occurred from September through to June (see Table 5). There were ten hours of scheduled visits with another 30 hours of brief observations excluding formal semi-structured interviews. These informal observation sessions yielded a great deal of information such as confirmatory questions regarding the other families, historical narrative practices, and the clarification of attitudes and beliefs regarding prior practices and statements. However, some informal sessions with the case study families varied according to the availability of the children. Below are specific details of the differences in the observation sessions between the retired Gorkha family and professional Nepalese family member

#### 4.6.6 *Retired Gorkha family sessions*

Both the retired Gorkha family and professional Nepalese family participants due to the prior relationship with the researchers son, allowed for greater observation and interview sessions. The timing of both family sessions was not always identical. Initially, the retired Gorkha family father only wanted the observations to occur when he was present. However, after the initial visit, subsequent observations occurred without his being present and he gave his consent for these. Interviews occurred formally and informally at the school as well as their retired Gorkha family home. Additionally, the retired Gorkha family children maintained a social connection through their participation in the after-school drama club. The schedule for this family originally was contingent on the father being present but over time and with the added social connection with the youngest daughter to my son this constraint disappeared. The professional Nepalese family members schedule will be discussed next.

#### 4.6.7 *Professional Nepalese family sessions*

The observation schedule was more flexible with the professional Nepalese family. Moreover, my son and the younger professional Nepalese family son (Milan) were friends so there were opportunities for casual conversations, unofficial observations, as well as the format observations. I was allowed to visit when the grandparents stayed with them and I attended a religious festival at a Krishna Temple. These experiences gave me a fuller and richer understanding of the family's language and ethnic identity practices. For example, I visited, their home, with my son, just before the family went to school or work. In other words, opportunities

for case study observation were numerous for both the retired Gorkha family and professional Nepalese family participants.

Furthermore, the boys were in the final year of primary school. Social events such as school dances and overnight school trips increased the social connection with the young sons. Next, the other more protracted schedule will be examined. Table 6 outlines the observation schedule for the Gorkha Family children.

TIME	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
Morning	(during school holidays) 10 am-1:30pm		10-1pm  2-5pm (initial session)			9:00-1pm	<i>conceptual memo and field note writing</i>
Afternoon			3:30-6:30			1-4 pm	2-5pm
Evening						7pm-9pm	7pm-9pm
<b>Note: Each family will be visited for 3-3.5 hours at home per visit for a total of 10.5 hours. Subsequent informal observation sessions totalled approximately 30 hours.</b>							

Table 4 - Observation Time Schedule Altered for Gorkha family

Due to the personality of the Gorkha family children their schedule differences needs discussion.

#### 4.6.8 *Gorkha family sessions*

The Gorkha family had previously been approached in October, 2010 regarding the original structured survey questionnaire. My initial meeting with the father occurred when I explained the project and discussed the community with him. This original meeting lasted for three hours and notes were taken during the session. I was also introduced to his wife and two daughters all of whom appeared reserved. However, the father was very outgoing. The family consisted of the

father, mother, older sister and younger sister. The mother worked part-time as a cleaner. The two girls both attended primary school, whereas the other two families had one child in primary and one child in secondary.

As with the other two case study families, the observation sessions occurred in the home as well as the neighbourhood playground. However, the sessions with the Gorkha family members were longer (four hours) than the other families' sessions (two to three and a half hours) to allow for data retrieval from these shy children. The sessions took place over a seven-month period from November to June (see Table 2 above). The fieldwork structure was designed around the constraints and needs of the individual members of each case study family. I will now address the use of historical meta-narrative interviews in this research.

#### 4.6.9 *Data collection – interviews using historical meta-narratives*

Meta-narratives garnered from interviews assist participants to provide reasons for their particular history or to reveal variations in cultural patterns. Essentially, meta-narratives explain why do we do this and not that (Heath and Street, 2008). Meta-narratives are used in both ethnographic observation studies and case studies (Stake, 1995; Yin, 2003). If designed properly meta-narratives can be powerful and revealing research tool for the ethnographic approach to research observation (Heath and Street, 2008).

Meta-narratives enable researchers to gain a deeper understanding of how attitudes are formed over time and how they change. An example of this was when one of the mothers described

festivals she had attended when she lived in Nepal. She wistfully stated that even though there was a lack of infrastructure (running water and electricity) in Nepal life was less stressful than in the U.K.. “We have modern convenience yet we still don’t seem to have enough time for family” (conversation with the professional Nepalese mother taken November, 2011). In other words, in order to answer research question three this type of in-depth investigation tool, is required. These interviews add to the depth and understanding of both the parents and children’s attitudes to language maintenance and ethnic affiliation. They facilitate a triangulation with the semi-structured interviews during the data analysis.

#### 4.7 Data analysis

Interviews with the family started in September, 2010 and continued until June, 2011. However, there were several months of informal observation and assessment. I ensured that the data is written in a timely fashion and that all questions were reconfirmed by other people, including family, community and peers. Following the collection of data and confirmation, field notes were examined using the technique of reflexivity to ensure depth and raise awareness of additional issues that needed addressing. Finally, data from interviews were compared with data from other participant interviews and finally confirmed by the types of practices observed. Data from observation, peers and community interviews are triangulated. A comparison of data from more than one source ensures that data findings are more transferable (Mays and Pope, 2000). In order to reduce the possibility, especially with children, of their providing socially desirable answers to questions (Kreftling, 1991) and in order to also ensure the data is confirmable, I consistently rechecked the interpretative data.

#### 4.7.1 *Data analysis technique*

Data assessment derived from several sources. First, the data was extracted from the home observations and interviews with family members. A comparison of the types of practices and responses of individual family members to these practices as well as attitudes and perceptions of cultural identity occurred. A second comparison then took place between the case study families. I looked for patterns in the conversations and later thematic areas emerged. Often it was during intimate conversations regarding our children that the patterns emerged.

I used general observation, participant observation, semi-structured interviews, historical narrative interviews, and follow-up confirmation interviews with family members, friends, and school and community members (Heath and Street, 2008; Stake, 2000; Yin, 2001). The data for each case study family was analysed and represented in a table before assessing the next case study family. Due to the qualitative nature of the data the researcher came to realise that types of practices vary in frequency. For example, the difference between the frequency of daily Hindu and Buddhist prayer is due to religious tradition and is not necessarily representative of the strength of the participants' faith. Quantifying the data for analysis is not the important factor in this study; rather the aim was to represent the major patterns of similarities and differences.

Thus, while observing the case study families during their language maintenance and ethnic identity practices a chart was created and used at the time (listed in Appendice 3,4 and 5). Furthermore, participation in the practices illustrates a present use, whereas historical exposure highlights past participation in the practices over time that should not be dismissed. The reason for this is that practices can change over time. Alternatively they may not be performed at that



particular juncture. A fuller picture is presented if past practices and exposure to language are assessed in conjunction with present occurrences.

Observations of family life, in conjunction with interviews and reconfirmation interviews produced data regarding practices and attitudes to language, ethnicity and participants' feelings regarding their home culture (see Table 4). I re-confirmed individually with family members to establish that the frequency of the data assigned to each person was based on a perceived truth. Time is also a critical factor with respect to ethnic identity. Each of these factors was assessed in three ways. First, analysis of the practices examined the frequency of the performance of the ethnic practices on the part of each family member. This frequency was then compared with that of the other family members. It should be noted that research into how often practices generally occurred was first investigated. For example, most Buddhists pray daily however, some pray more often. The norm standard was taken from the rest of the community.

When I observed each family participating in Hindu prayer practices it became evident that the INF father spent more time performing these practices. Originally, I had formed an impression that the retired Gorkha family father was not as religious as the others. However, deeper examination revealed that one of the retired Gorkha family father's immediate family members' had died less than a year ago. According to Hindu traditions, after the death in the family, prayers are chanted only once a day due to traditional religious customs. This religious factor was taken into account during analysis of the data. As a result, it was not just the frequency of the practice that was assessed.

Secondly, in order to retain the richness of the data, in accordance with the questions, regarding attitudes to ethnic identity and language practices, participants' attitudes and feelings towards the various practices were also analysed. Therefore, it was not just the degree of practice, but whether the practices were meaningful to the participants or whether they were simply rote in nature. For example, Milan the youngest son of the professional Nepalese family discussed how much he liked incense. In a brief conversation he gave me an incense stick to burn at home when he discovered I liked the smell too. He spoke with unusual pride about the practice his father engages in every day. This indicated an affiliation, for this boy, with religious practices. However, when discussing language use he and his brother said they were not very interested in using the language. Conversely, in a later conversation the professional Nepalese family older brother claimed he would like to learn to speak Nepali when he grows up.

Thirdly, assessment of homeland exposure was not just based on the number of times they had visited, it was also assessed in terms of the age at which the visits occurred and the strength of the memories about the visits. Similarly, assessment was also made about the frequency of exposure to ethnic food as well as how much the foods were enjoyed. During a shared lunch with the Gorkha family members I learnt that they eat rice every day. However, during the same conversation both the children from the Gorkha family said they both prefer to eat Western-style pasta than rice.

Socio-psychological factors were assessed rather than proficiency levels as younger primary students are still developing the language skills in their educational L2 (English). For this reason

I chose not to analyse proficiency of the language but instead focusses on the degree of exposure to the language. As a child emerges into adulthood language acquisition can occur. Measuring proficiency does not indicate how attitudes are constructed. Thus, during my assessment I asked about the degree of exposure to the EL1 children had from parents, other family members, and in-group peers.

I also considered the strength of each participant's current desire to learn their ethnic L1, as well as their willingness to learn it in the future. Factors such as education exposure also included informal exposure such as private ethnic L1 tutoring as well as formal ethnic L1 classroom exposure - either at the preschool or primary level. Again, the degree of their memory with respect to education ethnic L1 exposure was considered. The final factor of socio-economic status as stated above was assessed not only in terms of the direct effect on the participant but also indirectly with respect to the children's attitudes to their parents' job and community status. To sum up, the data was retrieved not just from the practice chart but also from historical semi-structured interviews and home observations over a nine-month period. Each chart contains an exposure and participation data score as explained in the methodology section. Data was also gathered from historical narrative interviews regarding past exposure to the types of practices (social language, social literacy, and peripheral ritualised practices). This enabled the ethnographic eye to focus on literacy events and practices rather than proficiency and frequency alone (Martin, Jones and Jones 2000). Moreover, the questions assessing attitudes and their possible changes over time used conceptual memos and observational interview data to highlight any findings. Finally, this chapter will address research difficulties and ethical concerns.

## 4.8 Research difficulties and ethical concerns

### 4.8.1 *Assessing attitudes over various ages*

One of the challenges when attempting to assess the attitudes of primary school-aged children is that they tend to be influenced by parental attitudes. However, observing children in their home environment enables a researcher to gain a greater ability to compare attitudes and practices. It is critical that all data is approached systematically and consistently (Harling, 2002; Yin, 2003). Attitudes tend to be justified on a personal level and as a consequence can change over time. Children construct their world in a socio-cultural interactive experiential manner (Cummins, 2001; Vygotsky, 1962). Therefore, children occasionally misinterpret the reasons why adults have certain attitudes. For example, a misunderstanding occurred regarding attitudes to the consumption of garlic. There were differing reasons for why the father did not like garlic and onion. The youngest son stated that his dad just doesn't like garlic and onions and insisted he did not abstain from them for religious practices. However, I asked the professional Nepalese mother. She stated that his abstinence from onion and garlic is a Krishna (sect of Hinduism) belief. Krishna Hindus believe that garlic and onions make you aggressive. She went on to state the professional Nepalese father believes eating garlic and onion makes him more aggressive and he does not enjoy the feeling. In other words, after several re-confirmations it was revealed that the truth is a combination of religious practice and the dislike of certain foods. This incident illustrates how researchers must search for truth as much as possible, and confirm and reconfirm, when dealing with young participants. In addition, there are other factors such as personality traits researchers must be aware of.

Based on the shyness of one of the Gorkha family's daughters (Tina and Karen) the observation process and timeframe had to be altered. Instead it occurred over a longer more consistent time period to increase the girls' familiarity with me. After the initial meeting I assessed the personality of the girls. I decided they would not open up to me for a long time as they had had little contact with me. Therefore, I decided to bring my son along to ease the formality of the meeting. As described above my son is Asian, has moved around a lot and makes friend easily. His joking and easy-going personality helped the girls to relax. I had asked my son if he would assist me to build a trust with the Gorkha family girls because they were reserved and shy. On his first meeting with the girls, they drew pictures and chatted. My son came with me on three more occasions. We visited weekly for several hours and shared dinners to allow the girls to relax and create a more comfortable atmosphere for them. Eventually the girls relaxed and developed a willingness to answer my questions. As a consequence the observations remained meta-narrative in nature but this did not affect the coding or analysing of data obtained.

#### 4.8.2 *Ethical considerations*

There were two ethical issues to consider. First, I secured written permission and then re-confirmed oral permission before I interviewed family members. Informed consent was obtained both in written form and reconfirmed orally (appendix 6). In the written letter I declared that identities, locations, and names would be altered in order to ensure their anonymity. All data was secured. However, due to the nature of the observations another issue needs to be clarified.

The second issue concerned observation of the children in a home context. After an explanation of the research and permission from the parents I proceeded to interview the children. I avoided using questions that could be harmful. In addition, any serious topics were introduced in a comfortable, joking and non-threatening manner. For example, while talking to the two retired Gorkha family daughters I enquired about the strength of their ethnic affiliation. One question was to jokingly ask who they wanted to marry. They giggled but were not threatened by the topic. My primary and secondary teaching experience afforded me a calm, reassuring, and engaging manner with the children. Furthermore, my son's relationship with two of the families created a more nurturing relationship.

The two of the families participating in the study both knew my son. The youngest children Milan and Sara attended the same primary school. So daily we would meet dropping off and picking up our children. As well, every week after drama class (afterschool program) the children and parents would wake home and talk. Sometimes we would talk about school matters, other times difficulties our children were encountering. Then often the conversation was light and casual discussing the weather, the latest gossip or current affairs. Not only did my son have relationships with the children of the families but the parents of these two families were very close. The mothers especially were calling each other almost daily. Children from the Gorkha family also became friendly with my son and established a trusting relationship (see below). Children were interviewed separately to alleviate the researcher's concerns that parents would influence them. However, while the children were not in the presence of the parents they remained continuously in plain sight of the parents via an open door. I explained all data gathered in the interviews to the participants. Consent for all the information was gathered, names and identities changed and questions were assessed and transmitted in a friendly fashion.

The next chapter will discuss the findings from the practice chart which answers research question one “Do Nepalese migrant families maintain language and ethnic identity through observable practices, and if so, what type of practices do they use.”

## **Chapter Five - Comparative analysis of practices and acculturation placement**

### **5.0 Comparative analysis of retired Gorkha family, Gorkha family, and professional Nepalese family participants**

I will make a comparison between the three case study families reveals several differing factors such as: the amount of time spent in the home country, the degree of social language use and the age of exposure to home country habitus and customs. While some case study family participants maintained their social language, in others a shift or loss was observed. Furthermore, all three case study families showed a comparative decline in social literacy practices. This is not surprising as these types of skills tend to decrease quicker than social language practices (Cummins, 1984). Therefore, social language practices tend to be higher than literacy practices. However, this dissertation also investigates peripheral ritualised practices. These were highly maintained and will be discussed in Chapter Six.

There were also other individual, significant factors that affected changes in language maintenance practices and ethnic identity affiliation. These factors contributed to the maintenance, shift or loss of the EL1 and ethnic identity affiliation, thereby affecting placement on the acculturation continuum. Those affect attitudes and will be discussed in Chapter Seven.

First this chapter will consider the placement of the case study families on that continuum.



Each family will be assessed separately, followed by evidence from the research for each type of practice: social language and social literacy. Following the placement on the acculturation scale, an examination into prior exposure and age of the exposure will occur. In addition, an analysis of social language and social literacy practices will each be broken down under the individual types.

This analysis begins with investigating the types of social language practices the families participated in which include; cultural interactive practices (type 1), social interactive practices (with in-group peer, type 2 and with family type 3) and multimodal interactive practices (type 4). After that, there will be an assessment of social literacy practices which include traditional text-based social literacy practices (type 1), multimodal social literacy practices (type 2), socio-cultural ethnic social literacy practices (attending EL1 afterschool classes, type 3 and oral traditional storytelling, type 4). As I have stated previously I use these practices as guides to investigate possible areas where there appears to be a shift or loss. These guided me through the observation data and historical narrative interviews. Finally, there will be an analysis of the effects prior exposure to language maintenance and ethnic identity practices have on the family members. The next section explains the placement of the retired Gorkha family participants on the acculturation continuum.

### 5.1 Retired Gorkha family placement on acculturation continuum

The placement of the families on the acculturation continuum demands an examination of the families, as well as each individual member, using several data sources. After assessing the

semi-structured and historical narrative interview conversations, with the various practices observed, it was determined that the retired Gorkha family members are closest to non-acculturation on the continuum. Moreover, this family was the most cohesive in their placement on the continuum. The retired Gorkha family parents stressed daily EL1 language maintenance practices, ethnicity identity practices (both cultural and religious), and peripheral ritualised practices rather than British practices. During walks with the mother the reasons for this were revealed. These discussions will be analysed in the next section. Moreover, as well be revealed next, of the three case study families, the family that participates the least in U.K. festivals, holidays, customs and food is the retired Gorkha family. The retired Gorkha family members consistently maintain daily (EL1) language practices and a high degree of weekly exposure to (EL1) social literacy practices such as watching subtitled Nepalese dramas and comedies. Just observing the frequency of practices does not explain how and why. Therefore, maintaining a derived etic approach (Rogoff, 2003) I was able to better understand and analyse what we had shared in the process.

Furthermore, the parents socialised mainly with ethnic in-group peers. Therefore, the rejection of local customs, maintenance of social language and some forms of social literacy, retaining home ethnic customs, and showing a lack of desire to permanently immigrate is evidence of this family's non-acculturation. Yet they are not completely non-acculturated as the children were observed wearing U.K. fashion and participating in afterschool clubs such as Kumon and piano. Therefore, they fall somewhere between non-acculturated and partially acculturated. Of the three case study families, the retired Gorkha family members are the most cohesive and similar on the acculturation continuum. However, it is not just the present practices observed that determined their placement as non-acculturated. Analysis of historical background, prior

exposure to language maintenance and ethnic identity practices indicated a strong affiliation with their ethnic identity.

### 5.1.2 *Retired Gorkha family prior exposure to social language practices*

The retired Gorkha family consisted of a father who will be called Sam, a mother who will be called Nirmala and two daughters named Sara (eldest daughter) and Sue (youngest daughter). The parents were from the Pokhara area, as were the Gorkha family parents. As mentioned in Chapter One in relation to family context, the parents both spoke the same dialect, Murgar. However, the father was partly raised in India, and had attended school there for four years, as his own father was in the Indian army. The retired Gorkha family father learnt Nepali, which is the language they speak with their daughters. The eldest daughter, Sara, was born in Nepal and went to school there for two years but her younger sister was born in Bahrain. These experiences gave them a lot of previous social language exposure. Policy dictated that they often visit their home village in Nepal (Kochhar-Georges, 2010). In July 2010, they visited Nepal due to the ill health of Nirmala's mother. Before they lived in the U.K., the girls from this family had lived in Nepal and Bahrain where they attended a school mainly populated by Nepalese. As a consequence the sisters were immersed in Nepalese culture, language, and traditional practices. While the interviews highlighted much of this exposure, more personal dialogue revealed a deeper sense of outsider identity in the mother, Nirmala.

As parents, Nirmala and I experienced intimate struggles with our daily decisions, thereby maintaining a derived etic approach (Rogoff, 2003). The retired Gorkha mother and I would

walk home after drama club. We discussed many things, and as time went on, the conversations became more intimate and personal. Nirmala told me how difficult it was to make friends outside her community. This is because she is reserved. She also said she did not know how to socialise with local U.K. community members. I understood and explained that even though English is my first language some of the intricate social niceties were difficult for me as well. I revealed that I often felt out of place at a party. She said she was surprised, as I always seemed so confident. This projection of confidence was an aspect of my identity I created as a child moving around. I had realised that confidence fools people. As a child, I quickly learnt that if you project weakness, people will go after you. She laughed and said she hoped her daughters created that kind of inner strength. We discussed how connecting to the outsider ethnic identity felt safe and right but was not always easy. The notion of ‘trying to fit in’, as well as allowing our children to create their own identity, often surfaced in our conversations. She would worry that her rejection of local U.K. customs in favour of traditional ethnic practices might not be good for her daughters. However, she felt more comfortable with practices she knew than trying to grapple with local customs and U.K. social practices. This family was forced to move often, which created a social divide for them, between ‘us and them’, which was exacerbated by the racist undertones from the military community. This was something she phrased carefully, rather than in an overt manner, as is the norm with many Nepalese.

Due to discriminatory policies this family was often forced to transmigrate. As a consequence the retired Gorkha family father Sam, had been compelled to raise his children outside the U.K. more than inside the country. The children from the retired Gorkha family and professional Nepalese families attended the same schools and celebrated traditional festivals together. In

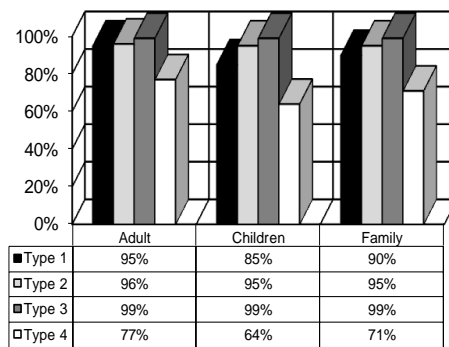
addition, while the daughters were not enrolled in language school they had lived and attended school in Nepal. With respect to prior exposure to homeland and ethnic in-group peers, the father's ties with the Gorkhas combined with the policy constraints which forced the family to return to their home village in Nepal each three years of U.K. residency, meant they were exposed to a high degree of EL1 language and traditional customs.

## 5.2 Retired Gorkha family comparative social language maintenance practices

After analysing all the data it was found that language and ethnic maintenance amongst each of the retired Gorkha family members was relatively high compared with the Gorkha and professional Nepalese families. The retired Gorkha family children had a lot of exposure to language maintenance with family and friends.

My son's relationship with Sara was not as close as Milan and Ji. We would pick up Milan in the morning on the way to school. While Thai studied drama with Sara and occasionally played football with the children he was not as close. My son, Milan and Sara would play while we were walking home from drama class. The retired Gorkha family were very close with the professional Nepalese family. So they were over for meals, celebrating Nepalese traditional holidays and play sports with the family. During the observation periods, the children spoke in English, but the analysis of all observations including the casual interactions outside of research sessions, indicated that the children and parents did speak Nepalese amongst themselves.

All retired Gorkha family members presently participate in all three types of practices (social language, social literacy, and peripheral ritualised practices). The retired Gorkha family members' prior exposure to the various practices especially social language practices, is strong due to home country living and their lower economic, social and educational status. As seen in the literature review the social network of lower income immigrants is more likely to be with the ethnic community than the newly adopted community (King, 2000). The high degree of overall language maintenance correlates with strong ethnic identity affiliation and lack of acculturation. I acknowledge that identity shift dependent on daily negotiation with ones' context however, ethnic identity affiliation at this point in their life placed them at this point on the acculturation continuum. As the chart below indicates overall both the adults and children participated to a high degree in all four types of social language practices.



**Figure 2a** Retired Gorkha family participation in social language practices

While overall language was highly maintained, for the family unit, the next section explores the social language types individually. The first to be examined is cultural interactive language practices.

### 5.2.1 *Retired Gorkha family cultural interactive language practices type 1*

Cultural interactive language practices consist of riddles, jokes and chanting. They are cultural in nature and differ in discourse style from social conversations as they are mainly characterised by one-way discourse. The first type, of cultural interactive language practice which all the case study family members participated in, was ritual chanting. In the early stages of this study, during observation sessions, there was little evidence of ritualised Hindu praying. There was no smell of incense evident, nor were family members seen to participate in cultural interactive practices. However, after historical interviews were conducted with the father it became apparent that chanting has been restricted due to a death in the family and in accordance with Hindu funeral rites and practices. According to Hindu custom, praying is less frequent until after of the first anniversary of the death. The following extract from a conversation with the retired Gorkha family father reveals the daily ritual of prayer that was suspended to adhere to religious tenets. The meeting took place at the families' home which was situated between the Gorkha families' home and the professional Nepalese families' home.

*Extract from October 28<sup>th</sup> 3-6pm first meeting with retired Gorkha father:*

*Interviewer: Do you pray every day?*

*Sam: Yes, we do but with the death of the grandma we traditionally don't pray until the anniversary. We just give the evening offerings.*

This conversation revealed that while the observation sessions showed little current participation in type 1 chanting practices this was not due to a lack of maintenance; it related to cultural religious restrictions. Therefore, it is important to note that present participation was actually quite high.

Furthermore, the children displayed strong attitudes to social cultural language maintenance. In a conversation with the retired Gorkha family daughters they revealed their attitude towards chanting.

*Extract from November 1st 3:30-5:30 pm retired Gorkha family children Sara and Sue:*

*Interviewer: Do you like to pray?*

*Sara: Yes.*

*Sue: Me too!*

*Interviewer: Do you chant often?*

*Sara: As often as our traditions let us.*

Sara was referring to the restrictions following the grandmother's death. Other forms of cultural practices, including jokes and riddles, were performed but not as often. The retired Gorkha family mother indicated that jokes were told during family social interactions, and they were exposed to Nepalese humour during their weekly viewing of downloaded Nepalese TV shows. These shows consisted of mainly comedies and some soap opera.

It worth noting here that all three case study mothers attempted to reiterate Nepalese riddles even in English. The particular humour seemed to play a significant cultural role in all three families' routines. This was confirmed in a conversation regarding TV with the two sisters.

*Extract from December 2 3:30-5:30 pm retired Gorkha family:*

*Sara: We listen a little to radio but every weekend we watch Nepalese comedies.*

*Sue: I love them!! They are so funny.*

These girls are old enough and fluent enough in Nepalese to appreciate the culturally specific comedy. The connection to these socio-cultural language practices indicated that current



participation in social language was quite strong. Evidence of this was revealed in an off-hand comment from Sue. She said that she had chosen the names of her future babies from the names of her favourite characters in the Nepalese comedies. Even at her age, primary year five, the comedies held some significance for Sara. Thus, there is evidence of participation in cultural interactive social language practices by the whole family. Discussion now turns to an investigation of type 2 and 3 of social interactive language practice. As detailed earlier, type 2 are social interactive language practices with in-group peers whereas type 3 refers to family social interactive language practices.

#### 5.2.2 *Retired Gorkha family social interactive social language practices type 2*

In-group peer friendship is one of the factors that influence language maintenance practices. The retired Gorkha Family members were closer socially with the professional Nepalese family than with the Gorkha family as they are both Hindu whereas, the Gorkha family members were Buddhist. In addition, the retired Gorkha family and professional Nepalese family children were the same age and attend the same school. Furthermore, Sara had in-group peers to talk to at the secondary school as the Gorkha children attended that school. However, retired Gorkha family daughter Sue experienced less in-group peers as the primary school she attended was not the feeder school for the Gorkha housing estate. It should be noted that Sara spoke every day to in-group peers at the secondary school she attended. There was quite a large group of Nepalese Gorkha students attending this school. While, Sue only had the younger brother, Milan from the professional Nepalese family as an in-group peer and he does not speak Nepalese proficiently. During conversations with the parents, it was revealed that some Nepalese friends had been living nearby but had recently moved away.

*Extract from November 8th 3:30-5:30 pm retired Gorkha family:*

*Interviewer: Do you speak Nepalese with the (professional Nepalese family) brothers or other Nepalese children attending secondary school?*

*Sara: I speak Nepalese to friends at school. Professional Nepalese family replies in English. They are not good at speaking Nepalese but they understand it.*

Sue did not have the same degree of access to in-group peers. As a result, her only social language was with her parents and that of the occasional Nepalese friend who came to visit.

Even though Sue had less in-group peer contact this had not been the case in previous years'. Moreover, in two years' time she will be attending a secondary school with a large Gorkha population. This indicates a temporary current absence of in-group peers.

Even though the Nepalese community is divided between active Gorkha military personnel and retired Gorkha military personnel, a connection with the Nepalese community was retained. More importantly the role the parents had in maintaining social language practices was quite strong. Both the parents and children were consistently observed using social interactive language with in-group peers. The parents maintained a close-knit group of Nepalese friends and so they were able to maintain type 2 practices regularly. The consistency of social interactive language practice was also observed with family members (type 3).

### 5.2.3 *Retired Gorkha family social interactive social language practices type 3*

An assessment of the observation and interview data revealed that all family members did in fact engage consistently in social language, especially type 3 social interactive language practice type 3. Social interactive language practices involve using the EL1 with family members. This was observed as a daily practice between the daughters and their parents. Furthermore, during interviews discussions regarding frequency of social language, type 3 occurred. In this conversation the parents' attitudes, including similarities and/or differences between the siblings is compared. A conversation with the parents revealed their attitudes towards maintaining social interactive language practices (type 3).

*Extract from October 28th 3-6pm retired Gorkha father:*

*Interviewer: Do you speak with the children in Nepalese?*

*Sam: Yes everyday!*

*Interviewer: Is this important for you?*

*Sam: My wife, Nirmala and I feel it is important for the girls to continue with Nepalese.*

This final statement from the father indicates how important EL1 maintenance is to the family. The parents' attitudes to daily maintenance of language and cultural practices indicate the importance of ethnic identity affiliation for them. This conversation highlights the importance, for the parents of speaking Nepalese and exposing the girls to social language practices. The Retired Gorkha family mother, like the father, stated she spoke Nepalese to her daughters every day. She also expressed her wish for her daughters to learn to read more proficiently in the EL1. Sara and Sue appeared proud to speak Nepalese with both of their friends (type 2) and their parents (type 3). So far, three of the four social interactive language types were highly maintained. The final type to be assessed is type 4, multimodal social language practice.

#### 5.2.4 *Retired Gorkha family multimodal social language practice type 4*

Despite technological constraints and high costs of long distance phone calls, the retired Gorkha family parents demonstrated strong consistent attitudes towards maintaining EL1 language practices with relatives living in Nepal. They believed in using any type of available technology to speak with Nepalese people back in their home country. The following conversation highlights the extent to which the parents were willing to participate in multimodal social language practices (type 4).

*Extract from October 28th 3-6pm and November 1st 3:30-5:30 pm retired Gorkha family:*

*Nirmala: I like talking to the relatives. We talk for hours every weekend... it gets quite expensive.*

*Interviewer: Why do you do this?*

*Sam: So the kids get exposure to Nepalese.*

The above conversation indicates a strong, positive attitude to language maintenance. This concurs with Nirmala's experiences and attitudes. In addition, both Sara and Sue have strong affiliation to language and cultural ethnic practices. This was revealed in a series of interviews over the nine-month period.

The father also, revealed strong maintenance of cultural, ethnic, religious and language practices. The family was often observed listening to Nepalese singing on the radio or downloaded from satellite radio. Each week the family watched both dubbed and subtitled movies and television programmes from Nepal. The girls enjoyed watching these dubbed programs. These dubbed

multimodal social language practices (type 4), like the other three types reveal an overall strong family participation in EL1 social language practices. In addition, this consistent overall use of all four types of social interactive language practices provides strong evidence of their attitudes to language maintenance and ethnic identity affiliation.

Not surprising, parental attitudes to social language maintenance was strong. However, what was surprising was the strength of the children's attitudes to social language maintenance. The conversation below highlights the children's strong positive attitudes to speaking with ethnic in-group peers. Both girls also firmly stated that when they are older they want to spend more time learning to read and write in Nepalese.

*Extract from November 15 3:30-5:30 pm retired Gorkha family:*

*Interviewer: Do you like to speak Nepalese?*

*Sara: Yes, I will continue to learn. I want to learn to read.*

*Sue: Me too!!*

*Interviewer: Do you speak Nepalese with the INF brothers or other Nepalese children attending secondary school?*

*Sara: I speak Nepalese to friends at school [Professional Nepalese family] younger brother replies in English. They are not good at speaking Nepalese but they understand it.*

The use of language is not just for social purposes. As other research has shown social language is the easiest to maintain whereas social literacy is often the first to diminish (Cummins, 2001).

### 5.3 Retired Gorkha family social literacy practices

Literacy practices in the form of reading and writing are the most difficult practice to maintain as they involve the greatest amount of cognitive academic language proficiency (Cummins, 1984; 2001). In part, the low occurrence of social literacy practices is based on three constraints. First, there was a lack of community resources for afterschool Nepalese classes or books written in Nepalese. In addition, Nepal is an oral-based culture rather than a text-based one (UNESCO, 2010). Literacy in the formal sense, or formal books and Western-style education, are relatively new to Nepalese rural village life. Previously, learning occurred through oral discourse such as, storytelling. Many indigenous cultures rely on information, values, ethnic practices and religious rites that are transmitted orally rather than through the written modality (Dyson, 2003; Heath, 1983; McKeough, 2008; Street, 1997; UNESCO, 2010). As a consequence the Nepalese and Gorkha cultures in particular score higher social language practices than on social literacy practices.

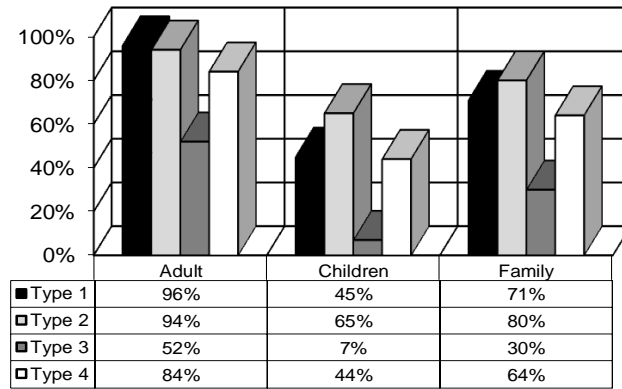
The retired Gorkha family and myself had less of a friendship, but the parents and I found common ground with respect to our struggles with trying to provide the best educational assistance at this crucial age. The father wanted to provide his daughters with tutoring in maths and English that would help them at school. We also often discussed how hard it was to create a balance between help with English and simultaneously maintaining language and ethnic practices. They knew that Thai attended Japanese classes on Saturdays. I spoke about how much of an outsider I felt. I am not Japanese and so was not truly accepted into that community although I did maintain peripheral relations. Even helping Thai with Kanji was difficult as I only had a grade two Kanji reading level. I understood how some of the parents must have felt being

functionally illiterate in the child's other language. The feeling of frustration about not being able to help my son was an issue I shared with all the families early on. This relationship enabled me to construct a more participatory research study. Even the children were informed about how my son did not speak English until he went to school in grade one in Canada. They knew I had struggled to provide access to his Japanese cultural, linguistic and social literacy practices. They also knew how he struggled to memorise Kanji, as they had seen him doing Japanese homework. The degree of effort parents must expend to coax a child into studying literacy means it is not surprising that text-based writing becomes the least maintained. Our discussions around this subject allowed me to gain a deeper understanding into the reasons for maintenance or shifts in literacy practices.

As a result, participation in social literacy practices by the retired Gorkha family members was is not highly maintained. Yet, there was not a complete absence of social literacy practices as the children did have previous exposure to social literacy practices. Nonetheless, the family participates in multimodal social literacy practices. The second constraint was that the families had restricted access to the temple on the military base and so access to religious texts was also limited. It should be noted here that not all the temples are situated within the army compound (Edwards, 2009). Finally, the daughters' busy after-school schedule limited the amount of the available time the girls had for Nepalese literacy classes.

Every individual's social literacy practices will be assessed. These include traditional text-based social literacy practices (type 1), multimodal social literacy practices (type 2), and socio-cultural ethnic social literacy practices (attending EL1 afterschool classes, type 3 and oral traditional

storytelling, type 4). The chart below illustrates the degree of participation of the retired Gorkha family members in social literacy practices.



**Figure 2b** Retired Gorkha family Participation in Social Literacy Practices

### 5.3.1 *Retired Gorkha family traditional text-based social literacy practices type 1*

In the present context there are numerous constraints that lead to a decrease in social literacy. Some of the case study families had exposed their children to social literacy in the past. However, currently these children are rarely exposed to Nepalese literacy. This is due to limited access to Nepalese literature.

As mentioned above, emailing and Skype were restricted due to external factors within the home country's infrastructure. Even though this family consistently used social language and social literacy practices was rarely observed. Thus, of all the social literacy practices type 1 traditional text-based was the least practiced. However, the children had a great deal of prior exposure to traditional text-based when they lived in Nepal. This prior exposure will be discussed later in the section.



### 5.3.2

#### *Retired Gorkha family multimodal social literacy practices type 2*

Multimodal social literacy practices were more consistently practiced in this family. However, as noted earlier, the family watches weekly television shows. I asked whether or not they were subtitled. The conversation with family members below relates to their watching subtitled Nepalese television programmes.

*Extract from November 8th 3:30-5:30 pm retired Gorkha family:*

*Interviewer: Do you watch Nepalese dramas or comedies?*

*Mother: Yes, every weekend we watch some downloads show.*

*Interviewer: Are they ever subtitled?*

*Sara: Yes, sometimes they have Nepalese subtitles.*

This conversation reveals exposure through multimodal means to social literacy maintenance practices. In addition, using Skype or on-line chatting would usually be done in English. This was because the computers were purchased in the U.K. and the keyboards are in English. While most social literacy practices were infrequent there was one traditional social literacy practice that was maintained. These were type 3 and 4, socio-cultural ethnic social literacy practices.

### 5.3.3

#### *Retired Gorkha family socio-cultural ethnic social literacy practices type 3*

Like other families there is a strong Asian influence in terms of the retired Gorkha family's expectations with respect to education. The children are expected to learn core subjects such as maths and English, but music and other cultural clubs are considered important. Their busy schedule impinged upon their ability to attend weekend or afterschool Nepalese literacy classes,

even though funding was not available to the Gorkha community for these classes. The conversation below highlights the constraints with respect to EL1 afterschool classes.

*Extract from November 15 3:30-5:30 pm retired Gorkha family:*

*Interviewer: Do you have any clubs you go to?*

*Sue: I take Kumon (for maths) twice a week, violin, drama and gymnastics!*

*Sara: I tutor students at Kumon and take music classes.*

*Interviewer: So you don't have time to formally learn Nepalese.*

*Sara and Sue: No, not really!...No*

This conversation demonstrates that the girls' present lack of social literacy is due to their busy after-school schedule rather than negative attitudes. The girls do not participate in any formal literacy learning of Nepalese however, they had both attended primary school in Nepal. In spite of this, both indicated a strong desire to learn to read and write better.

*Extract from November 15 3:30-5:30 pm retired Gorkha family:*

*Interviewer: Do you want to learn Nepalese?*

*Sara: Yes, I will continue to learn.*

*Interviewer: What about reading and writing of Nepalese?*

*Sara: I want to learn to read.*

*Sue: Me too!*

Studying the EL1 could possibly increase in the future for these two girls. It is also important to consider how immersed the children were in social literacy as they previously lived in Nepal and attended school there. Therefore, their exposure to social literacy is higher than the other retired Gorkha family members. In addition, as researchers argue a large part of social literacy relates to cultural and oral storytelling practices (Golay, 2006; Heath, 1983; Street, 2001). This section

has shown that while type 3 practices did not have high participation rates, but oral storytelling type 4 did. The mother and I frequently discussed how we liked to tell our children stories from when we were young as well as, what life was like for their grandparents. These historical narratives are important part of ethnic identity affiliation.

#### 5.3.4 *Retired Gorkha family socio-cultural ethnic social literacy practices type 4*

The oral storytelling traditional in religious and ethnic cultural practices occurred regularly. For example, the mother told stories of what life was like in Nepal. The stories were about her and her husband growing up in a small rural village.

*Extract from November 22 3:30-5:30 pm retired Gorkha family:*

*Interviewer: Does your mother read Nepalese traditional stories to you?*

*Sara: Not really but she would tell us stories what it was like in her village.*

*Sue: She had to walk for an hour to school!*

Oral rather than text-based storytelling was a prevalent ethnic cultural tradition (Dhungel, 1999; Golay, 2006). This means that the social literacy practices of telling bedtime stories is not a cultural practice in the Nepalese community. Even though the children participated less in social literacy practices this was counterbalanced by their prior exposure to social literacy practices. Their desire to learn Nepalese written script possibly stems from the girls' high degree of prior exposure.

#### 5.3.5 *Retired Gorkha family prior exposure to social literacy practices*

The girls had the most exposure to living in Nepal and so they had a strong affiliation to cultural traditions and practices. Moreover, Sue's age of exposure to Nepalese school system was a factor in her strong affiliation with ethnic identity affiliation and language maintenance practices (Phinney, 2001). Moreover, the children's exposure was rated high due to the time spent in Nepalese primary school in the rural village near Pokhara. Furthermore, the trip in the previous year to attend their grandmother's funeral exposed them to reading and chanting from religious prayer books. I understood the significance of this moment having participated in several 'hojis' (Japanese funeral and remembrance ceremony) in rural Japan at the home of my mother-in-law. The exposure to traditional, religious, cultural, and ethnic practices embedded in this long process which can last days has an impact on the children's ethnic identity. Or at least my sons' experience and what the participants told me in our discussions. The extract below does not include the background questions I asked when I was comparing Japanese funeral practices with those the families experienced. The following discussion concerns prior exposure to social literacy.

*Extract from November 15th 3:30-5:30 pm retired Gorkha family:*

*Interviewer: Did you learn Nepalese before?*

*Sara: Yes I learnt in primary school in Nepal.*

*Interviewer: Do you remember a lot about your time in Nepal?*

*Sara: Yes, that is why I use Nepalese more than the elder brother. We just visited last year.*

Prior social literacy exposure was also confirmed in an earlier conversation with the father regarding historical interview data.

*Extract from December 13th 3:30-5:30 pm retired Gorkha family:*

*Interviewer: Did your oldest daughter go to school in Nepal?*

*Sam: She went to Heavenly Bodies primary school for Kindergarten in 2003 and grade one. Then in 2004 we moved here.*

This conversation reveals a strong prior exposure to social language as well as social literacy practices. The oldest daughter, Sue was seven when she moved to the U.K.. The fact that the parents still exposed both children to some form of social literacy is a factor contributing to the daughters' strong desire to learn Nepalese literacy skills.

The prior home country exposure and attendance at the temple on the army base combined, with present social literacy and language maintenance practices meant the girls had a somewhat higher degree of social literacy practices. In conjunction with peripheral ritualised practices, this accounts for their position on the acculturation continuum. The next family to be examined is the Gorkha family.

#### 5.4 Gorkha family placement on acculturation continuum

This section will examine the placement of Gorkha family members on the acculturation continuum. This will be followed by a consideration of their prior exposure to social language practices. Then the section will assess social language practices which include cultural interactive practices (type 1), social interactive practices (with in-group peers type 2 and with family type 3) and multimodal interactive practices (type 4). Secondly, there will be an assessment of social literacy practices which include traditional text-based social literacy

practices (type 1), multimodal social literacy practices (type 2), and socio-cultural ethnic social literacy practices (attending EL1 afterschool classes types 3 and oral traditional storytelling type 4). Peripheral ritualised practices will be examined separately in Chapter Six.

The Gorkha family consisted of the father who will be named Moorthy, the mother who will be named Prema, and the eldest daughter Tina and youngest daughter Karen. During discussions with the Gorkha family parents it was revealed that they did not want to stay in the U.K. permanently. However, the Gorkha family parents acknowledged the advantages of their newly adopted culture. For this reason, this this family is positioned as partially acculturated. The historical narrative data also indicates that the Gorkha family members are only partially acculturated. If, as is the case of the Gorkhas (both the retired Gorkha and Gorkha family) the move was for greater economic benefit then the result would be a vertical increase in social scale. This would affect both social literacy practices and ethnic identification. However, a further variable relates to the length of time spent within the military outside of the home country. Gorkha family members integrated some local practices with those of their home ethnic practices. They generally incorporated some of the local food (pizza), games (Nintendo DS), holidays and festivals (Christmas and Halloween) and customs (sleepovers) while maintaining regular participation and exposure to their ethnic identity. Thus, the definition of partially acculturated would apply to the Gorkha family members. The next section will consider the Gorkha family's present participation in social language maintenance.

#### 5.4.1 *Gorkha family prior exposure to language and ethnic practices*

The Gorkha family was also from the Pokhara region and they came from a rural mountainous area that was remote and had little access to electricity and internet. Both parents spoke a local dialect, but at home they spoke Nepali as this was the language taught in school. Even though both daughters were born in the U.K. the restrictive nature of the military visa policies regarding families at this time meant they were forced to move to Brunei for a short time.

The Gorkha family had less of an intimate journey than the relationship with the retired Gorkha but we both had issues with educational assistance and deciding on the best place for our children. These issues the study parents faced were the same as those I was facing as an immigrant to Great Britain. As a Canadian citizen in the United Kingdom, I had more visa restrictions than a European, even though I was from a post-colonial, Commonwealth country. Therefore, ironically I faced the similar visa constraints as the Nepalese Gorkha. Surprisingly, my biggest connection in co-constructing how we perceive ourselves was with the Gorkha family. We agreed that we survive and continue on, for our children, even when things were not great emotionally.

This came up during discussions about life as a Gorkha. I told Moorthy what the British Army officer at the military base had said while I was waiting to meet him. The officer had asserted, “You will need a translator”, thereby implying that I would not understand him. Moorthy nodded as if he had heard similar remarks. I told him about my Chinese grandfather in Northern Ontario and how he had experienced a lot of veiled prejudice. My grandfather went to Canada to help his father when he was 12. They had to pay a head tax (government imposed tax to certain Asian immigrants). At this time in Canada’s immigrant policy, only single people were allowed in to Canada not families. He would only see his mother and siblings a few times afterwards. He got

married and raised his daughter, but was prohibited from voting until his daughter was an adult. From this perspective, I have some understanding about misguided visa policies. The difference being that the policies in Canada were in place some time ago, whereas the Gorkha visa restrictions remain current.

This led to a discussion about often we go to a place, not because it is where we want to be but for the purposes of financial survival. Some people go to the Middle East to make money. This situation is different. As Moorthy explained, there is not much choice when it comes to work: if one family member can get a job overseas, they are expected to take it. Then they send money back to the family. I told him my grandfather had sent money back to China until he died. As the conversation progressed, it occurred to me that he might not stay in Britain. So, I asked him whether he would stay in the country after his military service finished. He stated he wanted to stay until the girls finished their education. I understood the desire to want to provide children with a safe and good life and that is why one sacrifices personal satisfaction for a child's future.

Like the retired Gorkha family members, and due to the restrictive visa policies, this family had plenty of opportunities for prior social language exposure such as; visits for the funeral of the grandmother, extended periods of living in Nepal, as well as opportunities to visit temples and partake in community gatherings in Brunei. Therefore, the children had had prior social language exposure. The conversation with the Gorkha family parents illustrates one such opportunity.

*Extract from November 8th 3:30-5:30 pm retired Gorkha family:*

*Prema: They understand Nepalese.*

*Moorthy: In 2006 my in-laws came.*



*Interviewer: Did they speak with the grandparents when they came?*

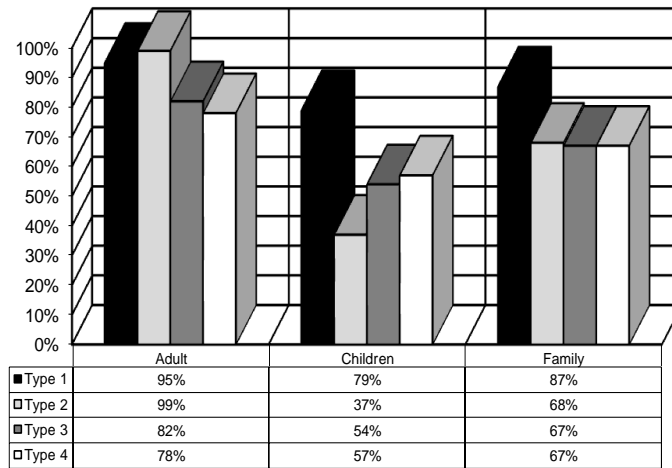
*Prema: The girls spoke a little to them. They understood everything that was said to them but not always talk with in great detail. But they always tried to speak in Nepalese.*

So while social language maintenance was somewhat decreasing there was a high frequency of prior exposure to social language practices at a younger age. The eldest daughter Tina, aged nine turning ten, was the same age as the retired Gorkha family's youngest daughter, Karen. The other daughter, Karen was eight and in year three. The girls' previously attended Nepalese classes and were in a predominantly Nepalese school in Brunei. Thus, they had high exposure to social language. This correlates with the attitudes the girls had regarding future social language learning. Access to in-group peers, as research has found is a large factor in language loss (Dhungel, 1999; Phinney, 1997). This family was partially acculturated, as seen in the slight decrease in their social language.

## 5.5 Gorkha family comparative language maintenance practices

The Gorkha family members faced some language maintenance shift but overall they used their language and ritualised practices frequently. This accounts for their placement as partially acculturated on the continuum. The Gorkha family members are partially acculturated and still maintain language practices. For example, the family held weekly Nepalese days to encourage their daughters to use Nepalese. They also listened to Nepalese radio. There were several types of social language maintenance practices observed by all family members. As the chart below

shows the Gorkha family maintained relatively high frequency in most of the social language practices.



**Figure 3a** Gorkha family present participation in social language practices

However, one of the reasons for the decrease in the children’s social language was personality. Both daughters, Tina and Karen are extremely shy and so moving around was difficult for them. This became a factor for the parents, as stated in the initial meeting with Moorthy when he voiced their desire to stay in the U.K.. This point is important to remember when assessing the children as decreases were based on an internal personality trait rather than a negative attitude to language. This internal factor will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Seven. The following section provides an individual assessment of type 1, cultural interactive language practices.

### 5.5.1 *Gorkha family cultural interactive practices*

The cultural interactive practices encompassed chanting, riddle and joke telling. Like the Retired Gorkha family members the Gorkha family members' observation sessions revealed a present participation by family members in chanting and singing. It must be noted that chanting occurs in the EL1 and this results in a strong participation and exposure to social language as well as ethnic identity practices. The family discussed their regular participation in the cultural social language practice of chanting.

*Extracts from October 21st 3-5 pm Gorkha father:*

*Interviewer: Do you practice Hindu chanting?*

*Moorthy: Not really, I am a Buddhist. We chant daily.*

*Interviewer: Do the girls chant daily?*

*Moorthy: At their age not daily, but they do it at least once a week.*

This conversation illustrates the regularity of chanting by the children. Moreover, it indicates that the age of the child influences the frequency of type 1 practices rather than desire for language maintenance practices.

The factor of age continues to reveal itself as an important factor in the degree to which acculturation occurs for family members. Social language was engaged in at a high degree of frequency for the Gorkha family members. The following extract from the Gorkha family father reveals similar practices to those of the retired Gorkha family members.

*Extracts from October 14th 5-8pm Gorkha father:*

*Interviewer: Do you sing Nepalese songs with the girls?*

*Moorthy: Yes my wife likes to do karaoke and sings with girls. Sometimes the girls join in but they are shy.*

In addition, the girl's shyness plays a role in their reluctance to speak Nepalese (Bandura, 1994; Wigfield, 1999). This was also confirmed in discussions with the girls. Spoken discourse is a type of performance, and for shy children speaking is difficult regardless of the language.

Other cultural interactive practices were observed during the sessions. During the interview I asked whether jokes and riddles were told in Nepalese. The parents confirmed that in Nepalese culture joking or teasing is often practiced. A cultural practice performed in most ethnic dialects is telling riddles or playing with words. Jokes in Nepalese were told but riddles (play on words) which is a common Nepalese cultural practice was considered too difficult. The Gorkha family mother revealed she had tried to translate the riddles into English but it was too difficult and lost some of the cultural context in translation. This shows the parents desire to continue to expose their children to traditional cultural practices even if it occurred in English.

Humour is an important component of ethnic identity (Holmes, and Hay, 1997). Due to this constraint they hardly engaged in cultural interactive practices except for the chanting. Occasionally they would tell simple jokes in the EL1. Thus, there was less use of social language and cultural practices however practices were still somewhat maintained. The following sections consider social interactive language practices type 2 and type 3.

#### 5.5.2 *Gorkha family social interactive language type 2*

There are more Gorkha children at the primary school Tina and Karen attended compared with Sara, the youngest daughter from the retired Gorkha family. However, the personality of a child plays a role in language maintenance, alongside access to in-group peers. The shyness of the girls seemed to prevent them from speaking Nepalese. The sisters felt a strong desire to ‘fit in’ with their new friends (Bandura, 1994) and so, speaking a foreign language in front of their U.K. peers at school was an uncomfortable experience for them (Dhungel, 1999). This relates to internal identity construction that influenced the girls’ attitudes toward language maintenance practice. This factor is found in other research on immigrants and language maintenance. The way in which an ethnic community is perceived plays a crucial role in desire to assimilate (Barnard, 2009; Boshier, 1997; Cummins, 2001; 2007; Schecter and Bayley, 1998). The father indicated in a previous interview session that the girls had difficulty making friends. In later sessions, they were asked who their friends were. The conversation below reveals who the girls felt were their friends.

*Extracts from November 14th 9-1pm and November 21 2-6pm Gorkha family:*

*Interviewer: Who is your best friend?*

*Tina: Rachel.*

*Interviewer: Is she from U.K.?*

*Tina: Yes.*

*Interviewer: Do you have Nepalese friends?*

*Tina and Karen: Not really... No.*

This lack of in-group peers was surprising in terms of the size of the Gorkha community. The conversation revealed a lack of exposure to in-group peers. However, during sessions four and five it was observed that the girls played with several Nepalese children at the playground on the military housing estate. In addition, a younger next-door neighbour (on the Gorkha estate)

spoke to them in Nepalese. Therefore, the Gorkha family girls did in fact have exposure to in-group peers. However, the Gorkha family children spoke mainly in English and only occasionally in Nepalese. The variety of ethnic dialects in the community was also a contributing factor to the children speaking English in conversations in the playground. This corresponds with previous research conducted on the Nepalese community in the US (Dhungel, 1999). While some form of in-group peer relations did exist, the girls bonded with local classmates. The parents stated they were pleased about this as the girls had difficulty in making new friends due to their shyness. Even though, in-group peers are a strong factor in language maintenance, it is not the only one. The Gorkha family parents also had in-group peers. For example, group social or religious gatherings would only include present serving military families. As seen in the literature review, family can facilitate language maintenance practices. The next section examines type 3 social interactive language practices with the family.

### 5.5.3 *Gorkha family social interactive language practices type 3*

The Gorkha family members showed similar attitudes to the retired Gorkha family parents in terms of language maintenance. After assessing the data, it was revealed that various types of language maintenance practices were utilised to a significant extent by all families. As seen in the above interview and observation data, both Gorkha family members did in fact engage in some form of language and ethnic practices. The family's recent prior exposure to social language facilitated their continued maintenance of some form of social language practices within the family. The conversation below reveals attitudes to language maintenance.

*Extract from October 14th 5-8pm and November 14th 9am-1pm Gorkha family:*

*Interviewer: Do the girls speak Gurung?*

*Moorthy:* *No, but we both speak Nepalese.*

*Prema:* *They understand Nepalese. Nepalese is what was taught them in Nepali class.*

*Interviewer:* *Do you want the girls to learn your local dialect?*

*Moorthy:* *It (local dialect) is not useful for them.*

This conversation reveals an attitude regarding the lack of social capital of the parents' local dialect. Moreover, it illustrates the difficulties Nepalese families face when there are multiple dialects in the house. While there is a belief that English has more social capital than Nepalese, the following extract reveals a desire to maintain social language with the children.

*Extract from October 14th 5-8pm and November 14th 9am-1pm Gorkha family:*

*Interviewer:* *Do you still speak to them in Nepalese?*

*Moorthy:* *Sometimes- we have Nepalese days. We try...the girls understand but they don't like to speak as much.*

*Interviewer:* *My son was the same. There is an age and after around 11 they understand why it is good to learn another language.*

*Moorthy:* *Really?! I hope so, we want them to learn.*

This shows the parents desire for language maintenance.

The comments from the Gorkha family daughters indicate a willingness to continue to learn Nepalese. The girls expressed a desire to learn Nepalese as a social language rather than written social literacy practice. It should be noted that the parents were not in the room when this question was posed answer appears to indicate a genuine desire to learn.

*Extract from November 14th 9am-1pm and December 5th 9am-12pm Gorkha family:*

*Interviewer:*                                *You used to study Nepalese in Brunei?*

*Tina:*    *Yes, after school.*

*Interviewer:*                                *Did you like it?*

*Karen:*                                        *It was fun!*

*Tina:*                                        *There were more Nepalese kids.*

*Interviewer:*                                *Do you want to learn Nepalese?*

*Tina:*                                        *Yes, later when I get bigger.*

*Karen:*                                        *Yes, later.*

This conversation does not indicate a decline in the girls' desire speak Nepalese, rather it appears to suggest that they are at a developmental stage where assimilation with their peers is important. Thus, age could be a factor in the children's use of their EL1 rather than a lack of desire to maintain their social language.

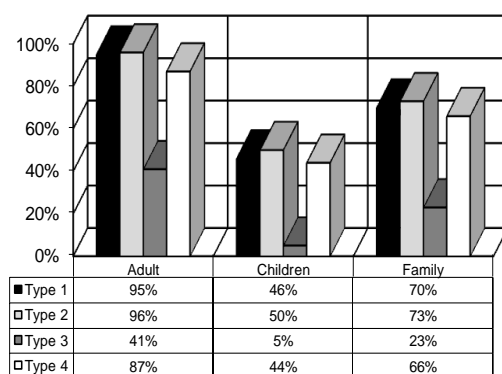
#### 5.5.4                    *Gorkha family multimodal social language practice type 4*

Tina and Karen rarely used any form of EL1 multimodal practices. Often they spoke with grandparents on the phone. This was a rare occasion. It was discussed with the parents as a bi-monthly event. This had to do with the fact many of his siblings were in the South of England. They visited these family members but rarely called them. It is possible that the daughters were in middle primary. As they became pre-adolescence they would engage more in multimodal practices. They have moments of family social language interaction including going back to Nepal to attend a funeral as well as in-laws coming for a visit. The conversation below highlights the children's comprehension of social language practices. Next, social literacy practices will be examined.



## 5.6 Gorkha family social literacy practices

The Gorkha family members, like the retired Gorkha family members, had reduced their use of social literacy practices. However, their socio-economic status and the age of their children were both contributing factors in this decline.



**Figure 3b** Gorkha family present participation in social literacy practices

As seen in the above chart, the Gorkha family members' participation in social literacy practices was less frequent than social language practices. Based on observation and interviews there was no evidence of high maintenance by family members in terms of social literacy practices. Yet, there is not a complete absence of social literacy practices either.

### 5.6.1 *Gorkha family traditional text-based social literacy practices type 1*

Present social literacy practices that were still being maintained were related to religious or cultural reading and oral storytelling by the parents. However, there were some forms of traditional text-based social literacy practices. Below is a conversation extract with the girls regarding traditional text-based literacy practices.

*Extract from November 21st 2-6pm Gorkha family:*

*Interviewer: Do you ever read religious stories or read prayer books?*

*Tina: Yes sometimes we chant using the prayer book.*

*Karen: I find it hard to read.*

It should be noted that the Gorkha family children are the youngest of the three case study children and were in the early stages of reading. Therefore, one would not expect a high level of participation in traditional text-based practices at this age. However, they did participate in multimodal social literacy practices.

#### *5.6.2 Gorkha family multimodal social literacy practices type 2*

During the home observation session, as well as in a conversation with the parents there was no indication of current participation of multimodal social literacy practices. In part this is due to a lack of video or DVD rentals of Nepalese movies. The family discussed living in Nepal and watching some old Nepalese movies. In addition, during their stay in Nepal in 2004 -2005, and again in 2006, the girls remembered watching TV with the parents. However, due to rolling blackouts, TV viewing was not a daily occurrence. The following conversations illustrate the exposure to social literacy practices that occurred prior to the home observation period.

*Extract from November 7th 12-5pm Gorkha family:*

*Moorthy: In 2006 in-laws came – my mother –in-law died of a heart attack*

*Interviewer: You're a Buddhist. What happened to the body?*

*Moorthy: We had to get all the paperwork but friends helped us get it through quickly because of the religious needs*

*Interviewer: In the Buddhist ritual did you get the body burnt and take a bit of the bone?*

*Moorthy: Yes I had to burn the body myself because I was the son-in-law. The relatives were very impressed I did the job myself. It was horrible.*

*Interviewer: Did the kids go to Nepal?*

*Moorthy: The girls chanted with the rest of the family for 49 days.*

*Interviewer: Were you chanting using a prayer book?*

*Moorthy: Yes.*

This conversation confirms that the girls had been exposed to the religious literacy of the chanting from the prayer book. However, this was not the only exposure to social literacy practices. The children experienced a high degree of socio-cultural ethnic literacy practices.

### *5.6.3 Gorkha family socio-cultural ethnic social literacy practices type 3*

Although Tina and Karen were not currently participating in afterschool EL1 classes prior exposure had been high. With respect to afterschool literacy learning, the following conversation provides evidence of a consistent formal learning environment. On the death of the grandmother in 2006 the family returned to Nepal and the children attended school there. The extract was

conversation taken from sessions two and three and illustrates some of the prior exposure to the various types of social literacy practices.

*Extract from October 25th 3:30-5:30 pm and November 7th 12-5pm Gorkha family:*

*Moorthy: No, from 2007-2009 we lived in Brunei. The army school had Nepalese classes three times a week.*

*Interviewer: The school you mentioned before was it just learning to speak or did they learn to read and write?*

*Moorthy: The students were taught the Nepali script.*

*Interviewer: Do they girls still practice the writing?*

*Moorthy: No, there was no place to send them here. I want them to get better at English.*

There appears to have been a consistent prior exposure to varying types of social literacy practices as well as some present participation in social literacy practices for these children. The girls' academic struggle in the U.K. system was one of the reasons they stopped literacy learning. Like the other retired Gorkha family members the Gorkha family maintained a high degree of peripheral ritualised practices even while other practices decreased. This will be discussed later in Chapter Six. The next conversation reveals a two-year period of social literacy reading practices or socio-cultural interactive practices.

*Extract from October 21st 3-5 pm and October 25th 3:30-5:30 pm Gorkha mother and father:*

*Moorthy: At the school in Brunei they had a lot of money so the classes had Nepalese traditional story books. The girls were able to read.*

*Interviewer: What types of stories did they like to read?*

*Prema: They had religious stories, historical traditional tales, and modern children's books all in Nepalese.*

This highlights a two-year period when the girls were exposed to social literacy practices. Even though they rarely participated in socio-cultural literacy practices type 3 they did experience type 4 oral storytelling.

#### 5.6.4 *Gorkha family socio-cultural ethnic social literacy practices type 4*

Traditional social literacy practices were maintained in the form of oral story telling by the parents. The following series of conversation extracts illustrate a continued participation in these types of social literacy practices.

*Extract from November 21st 2-6pm and December 5th 9-12 am Gorkha family:*

*Interviewer: Do you often retell traditional stories to the girls?*

*Prema: Yes, sometimes I tell them stories.*

*Interviewer: Have you ever told stories about what it was like for you two growing up in Nepal?*

*Moorthy: I will often tell them how lucky they are by telling about what it was like for me growing up.*

*Prema: I like to tell them about their family life in Nepal.*

This conversation highlights oral cultural traditions which instil ethnic identity practices. The researcher had her own ontological experience when her immigrant grandparents told and re-told

her of the hardships they encountered growing up. This reinforced an ethnic divide between myself and my white Anglo-Saxon friends. These stories facilitate an 'us and them' identity, which is a factor in self-identity construction (Phinney, 1998). However, for the Gorkha family daughters, after-school social literacy classes stopped since they had returned to the U.K. from Brunei. Therefore, other than some religious and cultural story reading and parental oral storytelling, social literacy was decreasing. Yet, social literacy practices can be offset by an investigation into prior exposure. While present participation was low, prior exposure was quite high.

In this study there was a big shift between prior exposure and present participation in social literacy practices. Moreover, the low frequency of social literacy practices was based on the two-fold constraints mentioned previously. The Gorkha family's social literacy practices reveal a similar difference in terms of past exposure versus present participation in social language. Unlike the Gorkha family, there is a slight difference of placement on the acculturation continuum between the parents and children. However, it is not as great as the individual family member difference in their placement on the acculturation continuum. The professional Nepalese family members varied the greatest individually.

#### 5.7 Professional Nepalese family placement on acculturation continuum

Originally, I approached the professional Nepalese family parents to assist me with the pilot questions for the dissertation research study of the Gorkha community. I was familiar with the

family as their youngest son Milan, was in the same class as my son. Thai was close to Milan. They slept over at each other's houses, attended bonfire events with their classmates, went to movies and attended birthday parties. The professional Nepalese parents socialised at some of these events and had been over for dinner several times. As a single mother, I was in small university accommodation so I was not in a position to have the family over. We were asked to attend religious ceremonies at a Hindu temple with them. These were all day events. This is where I witnessed their interactions with the local Nepalese community. These types of informal interactions and relations changed my identity from being an outsider to them to more of an insider.

The professional Nepalese family members had different language maintenance and ethnic identity exposure, due to the lack of constraints on their visa. The father, who will be called Kieran, had immigrated so forced leave was not an issue. The mother worked in a hospital lab. She will be called Sumika. Both sons, Ji the eldest and Milan the youngest were born in the U.K.. The children were aged ten turning eleven and thirteen turning fourteen (their birthdays occurred during the observation period). The professional Nepalese family members were the most individually varied of all the case study families. The parents differed from their children but there were also differences between the siblings in acculturation positioning. The professional Nepalese family while employing a high degree of peripheral ritualised practices and other ethnic identity practices also integrated a lot of local language and customs. Therefore, they are positioned as bi-cultural. The professional Nepalese family parents' placement is due to their continued adoption of language maintenance practices, social literacy and religious and cultural practices. The professional Nepalese family members celebrate Hindu festivals, but they also celebrated Western holidays such as gift giving at Christmas and candy

receiving at Halloween. Pre-adolescent and adolescent children are still engaged in the process of constructing their cultural identity (Hartner, 1998). Therefore, at this stage in their life they are “grappling with issues of self-concept and identity” (Bennett, 1993, p.11). However, even though they were both still developing their self-identity it is still interesting that the two brothers differed in their placement on the acculturation continuum. These are the only case study children who were the siblings and who were positioned differently from each other. Reasons for this will be explained after first placing the youngest professional Nepalese family son on the acculturation continuum.

#### 5.7.1 *Comparing the professional Nepalese family brothers placement on the acculturation continuum*

This is the only case study family in which the siblings differed in their placement. Thus, it was important to investigate not only the placement but the reasons for the placement. The term third culture kid (TCK) (Pollock and Van Reken, 2001) is eminently applicable to the professional Nepalese family youngest son as he incorporates customs and identity facets from both cultures to create a new identity that is neither Nepalese nor British. When asked how he perceived himself, he was the only child not to affiliate as solely Nepalese. All the other children from the case study families identified themselves Nepalese. However, he labelled himself as British-Nepalese. This was partly due to the age at which he was exposed to his parents’ home country. The lack of exposure to home country experience at a developmentally critical age forced him to synthesise both identities and create a third cultural identity (Hartner, 1999; Pollock and Van Reken, 2001). Furthermore, as a young child his parents practiced social



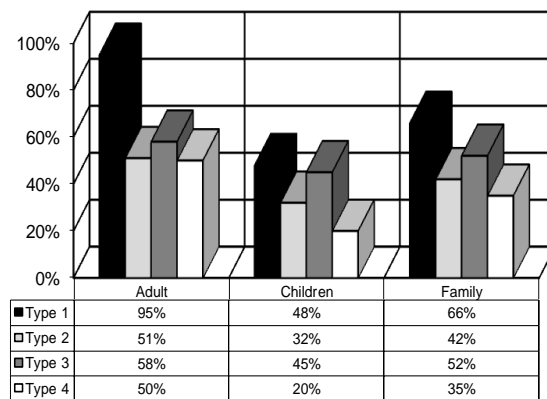
language practices to a greater degree than they did with their youngest child. However, while identity is individually constructed it also involves negotiating mitigating external elements such as the degree of ethnic affiliation, culture and more specifically, the context placed upon them (Duff, 2001). An example of this related to his eating habits. He is a strict Krishna Hindu and adhered to the principles of vegetarianism. When ordering pizza (local globalised cuisine) the vegetarian option was chosen. However, unlike most local British children the younger brother also ordered spicy jalapeno peppers (Nepalese style taste) and so the boy integrated local food with his ethnic identity. In terms of acculturation, the child extracted images, values, and customs from the local and globalised domain and integrated them with ethnic community practices and customs. While the Milan is placed on the continuum as TCK, Ji is not.

Identity formation that the individual creates through language and other forms of representation leads to a sense of self (Giddens, 1991, p.26). This is most obvious with the professional Nepalese family children. Ji acculturated differently not just from his parents but also from Milan. This was most probably due to the older age at which he experienced home country exposure. The elder brother, Ji is more aligned to 'constructive marginal' identity. During the observation period, especially the time when the grandparents of the professional Nepalese family were present, Ji was observed easily transiting between EL1 language practices and participating in traditional ethnic practices with the professional Nepalese family grandparents. On the other hand, Milan was clearly comfortable participating in ethnic practices but exhibited signs of embarrassment when speaking in the EL1. This was partly due to a lack of prior social language exposure which will be discussed later in this chapter. The higher status job and

education level was vastly different from that of the other two Gorkha family parents whose jobs required no higher education. Next, prior exposure to practices will be assessed.

### 5.8 Professional Nepalese family comparative language maintenance practices

This section will first, assess social language practices which include cultural interactive practices (type 1), social interactive practices (with in-group peers type 2 and with family type 3), multimodal interactive practices (type 4). Following on from this it will examine prior exposure to social language practices. Secondly, an assessment of social literacy practices will take place in terms of traditional text-based social literacy practices (type 1), multimodal social literacy practices (type 2), and socio-cultural ethnic social literacy practices (attending EL1 afterschool classes type 3 and oral traditional storytelling type 4). Finally, the section will consider prior social literacy practices.



**Figure 4a** Professional Nepalese family participation in social language practices

The above chart reveals that this family participated least in most of the social language types. The professional Nepalese family members were almost never observed speaking in Nepalese.

The only occasions Nepalese was spoken was when the professional Nepalese family grandparents visited for several months. The other occasion was during the bi-monthly visits to the temple. However, the professional Nepalese family members participated in peripheral ritualised practices more frequently than the other families due to Kierans' (father) strong religious beliefs. The effects of this variable will be seen in the next section investigating comparative language maintenance practices.

#### 5.8.0 *Professional Nepalese family prior exposure to social language practices*

Ji and Milan were the only ones who had they not lived in Nepal. They did not have extensive visits to Nepal and had never attended a Nepalese school. So only the prior exposure for the eldest brother, Ji was his mother speaking Nepalese to him. Milan was exposed to the grandparents who visited every other year. While there was a lack of present language maintenance it should be noted there had been prior language exposure. The professional Nepalese family parents used to speak Nepalese with their children when they were younger and the mother stated when she is angry at her sons she reverts to Nepalese. Recently, due to a lack of time and convenience English became the predominant language spoken in the house. Therefore, social language maintenance was greatly reduced. Moreover, there was little or no present participation in social literacy maintenance. If I had been making assessments based purely on observation, my analysis would be different. However, I applied a derived etic approach (Rogoff, 2003) which enabled increased shared participation. The following reflection highlights a conversation we had regarding language maintenance.

The professional Nepalese mother discussed wanting to do the best for her children. I told her I understood and explained how Thai had just come back from attending a Japanese school for over a year. I was worried moving from Japan and his immersion into Western culture was making him subtractive bilingual. I explained that it is not great to completely remove the first language. She was surprised Thai's first language was Japanese. We discussed how I had to go back to work and how this meant Thai was spending more time in Japanese daycare than with me. I was teaching 28 hours a week over six days. She was surprised by the number of hours I worked and stated this. I explained it typical of a Japanese lifestyle.

She confessed she felt a little bad about not spending as much time with Milan. She had stayed home with Ji and spoke to him in Nepalese. When Milan was born, she was working full time and he spent significant time in daycare. She felt his access to Nepalese was limited compared with his brother. We both agreed how difficult it was to know what the best thing was to do for our children. I identified with how she felt, but she was in a harder position as decisions were shared with her husband. The identity of a mother is often subjugated by the identity of the parent. What I mean by this is, what we as mothers instinctively feel should occur does not always coincide with what the group, or community pressures us to do. Should we maintain our language to ensure a closer affiliation with our family or should we assimilate to try to make the lives of our children easier? The conversation and feelings we shared, connected us more deeply as women and mothers than if I was Nepalese.

Overall however, the parents maintained some social language and ethnic identity practices for the children but evidence of some loss is noted. It was found that the professional Nepalese family members are the most acculturated and use the least social language practices. However,

as stated before, loss of language does not always result in a lack of ethnic identity affiliation (Phinney, 2000). Other factors influence this and will be discussed further at the end of this chapter.

#### 5.8.1 *Professional Nepalese family cultural interactive practices type 1*

As with the other two case study families, the peripheral y family participated in forms of social interactive language practices. Chanting was a cultural practice that Ji and Milan were exposed to due to the strength of the father's religious beliefs. The researcher witnessed first-hand Kieran chanting before dinner in the evening.

*Extracts from September 18th 4-7pm Nepalese professional family:*

*Interviewer: Does he do this every day?*

*Milan: Yeah!*

*Interviewer: Do you chant?*

*Milan: Sometimes.*

Chanting is performed twice a day by the professional Nepalese family father and the children participated during religious or ethnic holidays. Findings indicate that current participation in these forms of cultural social language practice was high. Another type of cultural interactive language practice was joke telling. The practice of telling Nepalese style jokes and riddles had decreased for the professional Nepalese family members as it had with the other case study families. The following conversation reveals how Sumika attempts to expose her children to cultural interactive social language practices.

*Extract from November 4th - 3:30-5:30pm professional Nepalese family:*

*Interviewer: Do you ever do any cultural speaking activities with the kids?*

*Sumika: I used to tell them riddles, but it was too difficult to translate. So I tried telling the riddles in English but they just don't translate!*

*Interviewer: Any other types of conversation such as jokes?*

*Sumika: We tease them. It is a Nepalese thing.*

Therefore, while the social language of the EL1 was declining the cultural aspects of social language was maintained. This is an important factor for the later analysis of ethnic identity affiliation. Like the Gorkha family members' social language practices Sumika tried to maintain the cultural social language practice of telling riddles. She found it difficult to translate into English for her sons who were not proficient enough in Nepali. However, Nepalese humour was evident in their playful manner when they teased each other. It seems to be a trait all three families possessed. So while the social language maintenance practices were not presently performed the cultural humour practices were being maintained.

### 5.8.2 *Professional Nepalese family social interactive language type 2*

The literature states that in-group peers are important factors for language maintenance (Dagenais and Berron, 2001; Dhungel, 1999; Garcia, 2003). Milan was entering secondary school and is at the early adolescent age. Same-sex peer association is quite important at this age (Wigfield, Eccles and Rodriguez, 2001). The only in-group peer at Milan's school, was Sue the retired Gorkha family youngest daughter. She is a year below him in primary school. Moreover, it is worth noting that when the boys approach middle school age, same sex in-group peers are more important than opposite sex in-group peers (Parker, Rubin, Erath, Wojslawowicz, and Buskirk, 2006; Wigfield, Eccles and Rodriguez, 2001). The professional Nepalese family

children's attitude to language was mixed when compared to the two Gorkha families. The brothers had seemingly opposite opinions. Ji preferred to speak Nepalese than study the written language, whereas, the younger brother preferred to study the written language rather than to speak Nepalese. However, his attitude to Nepalese is positive. This is evidenced in the conversation below.

*Extract from December 6th 3:30-5:30 pm and December 17th 3:30-5:30 pm professional Nepalese family:*

*Interviewer: Do you want to learn to speak Nepalese better?*

*Ji: Yes, in the future I want to learn more.*

*Interviewer: What about the writing?*

*Milan: Yes, I want to learn that too. I like speaking more. My younger brother likes the writing better.*

Yet the elder brother is at an age when social acceptance is important. In a previous conversation, when discussing his use of social language with other Gorkha children in secondary school he revealed the following.

*Extract from November 11th 3:30-5:30 pm professional Nepalese family:*

*Interviewer: There are a lot of Gorkha that go to your secondary school. Do you ever speak to them in Nepalese? Do you speak with the elder sister from the Retired Gorkha family?*

*Ji: No, she speaks to me in Nepalese but I speak in English.*

*Interviewer: Why?*

*Ji: I think it is rude. Other kids can't understand Nepalese.*

*Interviewer: But you speak with your grandparents?*

*Ji:* *Yes, but they cannot speak English.*

This conversation illustrates how age and gender of the child facilitates or hinders attitudes to language maintenance. The elder brother Ju is the same age as Sue, the elder sister from the retired Gorkha family yet she still maintained social language. Therefore, it seems that, it is not just age alone but age of exposure to home country and language maintenance practices in the home that shapes an adolescent's attitudes. This correlates with Willett's (1995) findings that children showed positive social identification with same-sex peers. This is evidenced in the data from the youngest professional Nepalese family child who can understand but does not speak Nepalese whereas his older brother can speak and understand Nepalese. Part of the difference can be explained by personality but another factor could be the age of the brother. Further investigation reveals how family language practices differed from the other case study families.

### 5.8.3 *Professional Nepalese family social interactive language practices type 3*

Most of the professional Nepalese family members did engage in some form of ethnic practices but signs of language shift were evident with Ji and Milan when compared to the other two Gorkha families. However, it was the professional Nepalese family father's belief that academic excellence was of paramount importance. This was revealed in a conversation with him. The father appeared more concerned about maintaining proficiency in English and maths than maintaining Nepalese social language.

*Extract from November 4th 3:30-5:30pm professional Nepalese family:*

*Interviewer:* *Do you speak with them in Nepalese?*



*Kieran: No, my wife spoke to (eldest son) in Nepalese but when (youngest son) was born she was working so could not continue.*

*Interviewer: Do you want them to study Nepalese to learn to speak?*

*Kieran: I would like that but now my sons are in Kumon.*

*Interviewer: Studying Math or English?*

*Kieran: At first he was in English and Math but now just Math.*

It was revealed later during interviews with the head teacher that Milan had scored slightly below the average national band. The parents were convinced it was better to increase his English speaking ability. Now he only studies maths as his English is fine. The previous extract of a conversation indicates a correlation between these findings and those presented in the literature review. The interviews with the family suggest their attitudes to Nepalese were positive. However, time constraints, lack of cohesive community and a desire for increased social capital through the English language were factors in the language maintenance loss. The next extract from a conversation with the family members reveal a positive attitude to Nepalese.

*Extract from December 6th 3:30-5:30 pm professional Nepalese family:*

*Interviewer: Do you want your children to speak Nepalese?*

*Sumika: Yes, I hope they will. They can speak a little. I often speak to them and they understand me.*

*Interviewer: Do they want to learn Nepalese?*

*Sumika: You will have to ask them. Then let me know. If I am present they might tell what I want to hear.*

The children spoke less and accounts for their placement on the acculturation continuum. The next section considers the family's participation in multimodal social language practices

#### 5.8.4 *Professional Nepalese family multimodal social language practices type 4*

Unlike the other two case study families the professional Nepalese family participants were never observed watching Nepalese television shows, radio or using Skype in EL1. In a conversation with the mother she discussed trying to persuade her children to watch Nepalese television.

*Extract with December 6th 3:30-5:30 pm professional Nepalese family:*

*Interviewer: Did you ever watch Nepalese dramas or comedies with the boys?*

*Sumika: Yes, I tried to get them to watch. When they were younger they watched.*

*Interviewer: And now?*

*Sumika: Now they are too big to watch (sighs). They just want to play on the computer.*

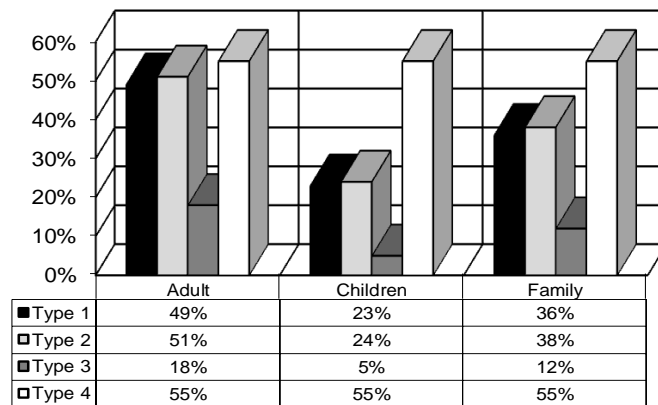
The professional Nepalese sons' participate in more globalised multimodal social language practices rather than acculturate. The parents seemed to have stopped pushing social language maintenance onto their children. The next practice for review is social literacy. As seen with the previous two case study families it was the least participated practice.

#### 5.9 Professional Nepalese family social literacy practices

Social literacy practices had decreased the most out of the three types of practices in the professional Nepalese family. Moreover, due to the fathers' vertical mobility based on his English language educational capital the desire to have their children attend after-school classes was not a priority. Therefore, the children received the least exposure to social literacy practices.

However, the data indicate a present participation in some form of social literacy practices. This indicates a willingness on the part of the parents to expose their children to ethnic social literacies. As Nepal has a largely oral tradition (Golay, 2006) the concept of text-based literacy does not apply. Nonetheless an assessment of traditional text-based literacy practices is required.

As seen in the chart below traditional text-based literacy practices were the least participated in by the professional Nepalese family members. This is partially due to the degree of English spoken by the parents in a work context. In addition, the parents and children had a higher amount of out-group peers compared with the Gorkha family and retired Gorkha family parents and children.



**Figure 4b** Professional Nepalese family Participation in Social Literacy Practices

Both the parents and children in this family had shifted their social literacy and language practices and only maintained their ritualised custom practices.

5.9.1 *Professional Nepalese family traditional text-based social literacy practices type 1*

During the year-long observation, it became clear that the mother read to her children when they were younger. The youngest son likes to attend religious festivals and does so regularly. During an observation at the festival the son was seen attempting to read a Nepalese prayer scroll. This somewhat peripheral, yet consistent exposure to the written text maintained some form of social literacy practices. However, written notes, letters, or emails in Nepalese were non-existent in this family. Upon initial observation and interviews with the family it appeared no social literacy was maintained. One factor for the lack of present participation in social literacy skills was the difficulty the youngest son had previously in English.

*Extract from December 17th 3:30-5:30 pm professional Nepalese family:*

*Interviewer: Can you write your name in Nepalese?*

*Milan: Yes, want to see?*

*Interviewer: Wow that is good. Do you know all the characters?*

*Milan: Yes.*

*Interviewer: You don't speak that much do you want to learn.*

*Milan: I like the writing better. I can understand Nepalese.*

However, after examining the data retrieved during the historical interviews it was revealed that Milan had had Nepalese lessons but he did not like the lessons they were stopped.

5.9.2 *Professional Nepalese family multimodal text-based social literacy practices type 2*

Previously the mother would show the boys Nepalese videos. However, there was a lack of interest in these films, so presently they had no access to multimodal type social literacy skills. At this age they were more interested in video games than Nepalese dramas so there was a decrease in multimodal text-based literacy practices such as watching TV or movies with subtitles.

5.9.3 *Professional Nepalese family socio-cultural traditional social literacy practices type 3*

At present both Ji and Milan do not attend any EL1 afterschool classes. They concentrate on English and maths at Kumon. As stated previously, Asians consider higher education to be very important. The professional Nepalese family younger brother showed little interest in social language although he indicated a preference for learning Nepalese script.

*Extract from January 6th 3:30-5:30 pm professional Nepalese family:*

*Interviewer: Do you want to learn Nepalese?*

*Milan: Yeah I guess.*

*Interviewer: Your classmate said you hated to take lessons so you tried to make yourself sick. Is this true?*

*Milan: No, that is not true. Okay, once I did it once. I did not like studying but in the future I would like to learn the writing.*

Even though there was a lack of social literacy practices the mother still reinforced oral storytelling with the professional Nepalese family children. The next section focuses on socio-cultural traditional social literacy practices.

5.9.4 *Professional Nepalese family socio-cultural traditional social literacy practices type 4*

Sumika recounts stories about her past to the sons regularly. They read the prayer book and some Hindu tales. She still spends time orally recounting historical biography and ethnic festival tales.

*Extract from November 25th 3:30-5:30 pm professional Nepalese family:*

*Interviewer: Do you ever tell stories about life in Nepal?*

*Sumika: Yes, during festivals I tell them stories about how we would celebrate the holiday. My favourite was the women's holiday. The men must leave and the women spend time decorating and fixing their hair. It is a fun festival.*

*Interviewer: Do you read stories in Nepalese to them?*

*Sumika: I used to read religious tales when they were younger. They liked those stories.*

The above conversation highlights social literacy practices that previously occurred. This prior exposure needs further investigation.

5.9.5 *Professional Nepalese family prior exposure to social literacy practices*

Present participation in social literacy practices decreased over time; however, when Milan was around eight or nine years of age he had after-school tutoring in Nepalese social literacy practices. Kieran tried to have the youngest son, Milan to take Nepalese lessons several times a

week but he would pretend to be sick to avoid the lessons. This information surfaced during a casual conversation with the younger son's classmate.

*Extract from October 4th 3:30-4 pm 20 minutes:*

*Interviewer: He has to study Japanese.*

*Classmate: He [referring to youngest son] had to study Nepalese.*

*Interviewer: When was this?*

*Classmate: He was in year three.*

*Interviewer: But he stopped?*

*Classmate: He didn't really like it. He used to pretend to be sick to get out of the lessons.*

The researcher reconfirmed this with the child and parents for verification purposes. Kieran confirmed that he had a friend come to the house for a period of eight months to give the boys lessons in Nepalese. The lessons took place several times a week. However, as education is considered a priority the father worried that his son was not strong enough in English and felt learning the two languages caused academic problems. Ji also attended social literacy tutoring sessions for a similar length of time. However, it became difficult to maintain the language sessions as part of his after-school schedule once he started secondary school.

Milan's reluctance to learn Nepalese is not necessarily a reflection of the child's dislike of the language. In a conversation with the child he indicated that he enjoyed writing the characters however his U.K. school friends stated he did not enjoy the extra homework involved in learning the written Nepalese text. The variation in desire to learn the written system and having to speak

in public might have more to do with pre-adolescent identity than the preferred type of language learning. I asked him the questions regarding the written text in his home in private. The other situation was constructing his U.K. identity with his U.K. friends. These lessons made an impact as Milan is still able to write Nepalese characters.

*Extract from December 17th 3:30-5:30 pm professional Nepalese family:*

*Interviewer: Can you write your name in Nepalese?*

*Milan: Yes, want to see?*

*Interviewer: Wow! That is good. Do you know all the characters?*

*Milan: Yes.*

Ji's attitude to Nepalese is positive. This is illustrated in the following conversation with him.

*Extract from January 6th 3:30-5:30 pm and January 13th 3:30-5:30 pm professional Nepalese family:*

*Interviewer: Do you want to learn to speak Nepalese better?*

*Ji: Yes, in the future I want to learn more.*

*Interviewer: What about the writing?*

*Ji: Yes, I want to learn that too. I like speaking more. My younger brother likes the writing better.*

Yet the professional Nepalese family older brother is at an age when social acceptance is important and can impact upon whether or not social literacy practices were maintained. This conversation showed that, even past exposure to social literacy can be retained for years. It is not unexpected that immigrant and migrant families focus predominantly on maintaining socio-cultural practices and social language rather than social literacy skills. At this age children, especially boys (UNESCO, 2010), fall behind in literacy skills. It is not uncommon for these families to concentrate on increasing English proficiency as many of the parents have indicated in conversations that English holds high social and educational capital. The professional



Nepalese family children were more willing to assimilate into U.K. culture due to their lack of exposure to the home country (Dhugel, 1999). In addition, the children were both born in the U.K. and the parents had already emigrated there. Furthermore, all the parents' colleagues were from the U.K. rather than from Nepal. Milan avoids EL1 social language or cultural practices however, he enjoys engaging in EL1 social literacy. However, "it is just his age" (extract from professional Nepalese January 24th 3:30-5:30) as Ji suggested. Consequently for the immigrant family there is a greater desire to shift from language maintenance and social literacy practices due to immigration. However, this does not predicate a complete decrease in ethnic identity affiliation.

For all three case study families, social language shifted slightly but the attitudes to maintenance were stronger in the two Gorkha case study families (retired Gorkha family and Gorkha family). Conversely, there appeared to be somewhat of a loss in language maintenance in the professional Nepalese family. As for social literacy practices some were maintained while for text-based literacy there was a loss in all three families. This is not surprising as Nepalese culture is traditionally an oral culture. As found in previous language maintenance practices shifted but comparatively ethnic identity was not weakened. The frequency of social language maintenance is related to several factors. The data taken from the semi-structured interviews reveal differing contexts in which the children's ethnic identity affiliation is created. From a comparative analysis there were two dominant significant factors, which affected social language maintenance and the children's ethnic identity affiliation. According to all the data that has been analysed including observation and interviews with other community stakeholders, two significant factors emerge from all three case study families that influence their positioning on the acculturation scale. Inherent in all three case studies are the factors of age, both the degree of

exposure to language maintenance practices, and age of home country exposure, and use of peripheral ritualised practices. However, unlike previous research this dissertation uncovered a practice which slowed down acculturation. This practice was strong in all three families. Peripheral ritualised practices are newly termed practices, which slows down or stops acculturation. The next chapter will discuss the two variables that influenced acculturation that of the new peripheral ritualised practices and the age of exposure to home country.

## **Chapter Six – Peripheral ritualised practices and age – case study analysis**

### 6.0 New significant factors – Peripheral ritualised practices and age of exposure

Now that the case study families and the individual members have been placed on the acculturation continuum, an examination into the attitudes influencing their placement will occur. As stated in other research there are many factors affecting language maintenance and ethnic identity affiliation such as: the influence of in-group peers, influence of family, cohesion of the ethnic community, exposure and/or proximity to home country and status (economic, cultural, social). Furthermore, as previously stated in Chapter Three there are macro, micro, and individual factors affecting attitudes of the individuals and communities towards acculturation. However, in this thesis a new practice has emerged as an influencing force on acculturation. Peripheral ritualised practices interconnect with the age at which the person is exposed to them and will facilitate the slowing down or cessation of acculturation.

These significant factors will be discussed in this chapter, as they constitute an original contribution to the field of research. First, the newly termed factor of peripheral ritualised practices will be defined. Subsequently, the chapter will justify the terminology used. After that, the degree of exposure to peripheral ritualised practices by the families and its impact on acculturation will be analysed. Finally, the chapter will discuss a secondary factor which also played a role in acculturation placement, that of the age at which exposure to peripheral

ritualised practices and home country exposure occurred. Assessment of this factor for each case study family will occur but first definition of terms.

### 6.1 *Origin of peripheral ritualised practices*

There were two moments which defined and propelled this research in a specific direction. The first was the incense. Investigation into peripheral ritualised practices was initiated by an incident which occurred during a pre-observation session. It was an informal play date at the professional Nepalese family home. My son had knocked on the door and Milan asked us to come in. The researcher smelled incense burning.

*Extract from professional Nepalese family September 18th 4-7pm:*

*Interviewer: What is that smell?*

*Milan: Nothing just, uh, my dad.*

*Interviewer: Do I smell incense?*

*Milan: [hesitantly] Uh, yeah.*

*Interviewers Son: My grandmother in Japan burns these every morning. She does it while she is chanting.*

*Milan: My dad does it every morning and evening.*

*Interviewer: I like the smell.*

*Milan: Really? Wait! [He runs into the next room and returns with an unlit stick of incense.] Here you go. I like the smell too. We get them at the temple when we go.*

*Interviewer: You go to a temple? Here?*

*Milan: No, in [a city 90 minutes north by car].*

*Interviewer: That is far! How often do you go?*

*Milan: Once or twice a month. We eat vegetarian food, listen to music, and wear traditional clothes.*

During this conversation the researcher noted a change in tone from a slightly embarrassed pre-teen attitude towards peripheral ritualised practices to a more engaged, proud attitude. Prior to this moment there had been a reluctance on the part of the professional Nepalese family youngest son to discuss ethnic or cultural aspects of his background. However, after this incident the boy opened up regarding his attitudes to his ethnic identity. During this exchange, the realisation that this researcher and her son shared similar customs meant that the youngest son's tone became more inclusive. His sudden pride about a different type of ethnic practice facilitated an examination into the practice itself.

About the same time as this incident, I was able to make some additional conclusions about my son's ethnic identity affiliation. My son was born and raised in rural Japan for the first six years of his life. His father is Japanese and his mother is a multi-cultural Canadian immigrant. He lived on a conservative, traditional island off the coast of Kobe near Seto Inland and experienced daily offerings at the home altar. In addition, Thai ate local, traditional food, and he slept on a futon and tatami. The food eaten in the area was always seasonal. So in the autumn he ate chestnuts, Chinese cabbage and pumpkin and in the summer shaved ice, cold noodle salad and strawberry rice cakes. There were few foreigners on the island compared with Tokyo and English was rarely spoken. Most signs were in some form of Japanese (they have three writing

systems) but they were occasionally in English as well. In order to better understand how traditional and conservative the area was, I will briefly mention a story about my sister-in-law. When Thai's aunt was accepted into a law school in Tokyo (a significant undertaking), her father (Thai's grandfather) prevented her from going as she was a woman. He said as a woman, she should attend the local university, which did not have as high academic standards. My son grew up in this traditional environment until he was six. We moved back to Canada when he started grade one and we lived there for two years. After that we moved to Qatar for two years and then to the UK.

In the northern village where we lived in the U.K., a boy named Ry went to the same school as Thai. Both his parents were Japanese, but they were from urban cities in Japan. After visiting their house a few times, I noticed there were very few traditional Japanese decorations. When I asked the parents about this, they told me they hardly ate Japanese food (except for snacks) and that they slept in Western style beds in the U.K. as well as in Japan when they were visiting the grandparents. I asked about a home altar. The mother stated that they did not have one in the U.K. or in Japan. I was surprised, but then I recalled that when the boys were at the Japanese school Thai bowed to adults but Ry didn't. Thai ate more Japanese food, wore traditional Japanese clothing, celebrated ethnic holidays and had experienced more local traditional customs than Ry. Most of the practices Ry had experienced were more globalised in nature. So even though both his parents were Japanese, my son, Thai, was exposed to more traditional peripheral ritualised practices. Speaking a language does not affiliate your identity to a particular ethnicity. My son was more Japanese in his ethnic identity than Ry. This incident occurred at a similar time to the incense incident. These two unrelated events indicated the degree to which practices outside discourse could affect ethnic affiliation identity.

### 6.1.2 *Peripheral ritualised practices*

Social language and social literacy incorporate practices which enable language maintenance and ethnic identity affiliation to occur. However, culture, traditions and ethnic practices are becoming globalised for example, some Hindus celebrate Christmas and Halloween. This shows how practices are beginning to be assimilated across cultures. This is compounded with recent trends in immigrant/migrant employment and education as they move to newly adopted countries. Increasingly, brands, shops, shows, and food are accessible globally. Therefore, the previously unique tastes of one's home country food which made ethnic identification more definite are now harder to determine as a consequence of variations in cultures. Thus, if specific traditional ethnic practices are maintained in the immigrant/ migrants households then these small variations become more meaningful to families ethnic identity affiliation. In addition, more people realise the importance of multilingualism for purposes of globalised markets and so language becomes less an ethnic marker than a social capital. However, there are unexplored types of practices that differentiate the bilingual speaker from the ethnic affiliated speaker and these are the traditional peripheral practices inherent in ethnic and cultural practices. Cultural practices while not strong components of discourse remain strong indicators of ethnic identity cohesion (Phinney, 1989, 2000). In order to interconnect between communities socio-cultural practices need to exist (Lave and Wenger, 1991, p.98). Within every community, the expertise of elders is transmitted through social literacy practices or community practices (Moll, 1992). There are other practices which expose the child and family members to ethnic cultural and religious norms that do not involve direct social discourse or social literacy communicative interaction. Lave and Wenger (1991) refer to learning as "legitimate peripheral participation" (LPP). Legitimate refers to anyone who is a member of a community of practice or discourse

community. This study will not use the term legitimate but will utilise the term peripheral instead. “Peripheral” refers to interactions outside of the formal learning context. These are non-interactive practices. “Participation” refers to learning through active involvement (Flowerdew, 2000). Newcomers participate in their new community to a limited extent as they do not have sufficient linguistic proficiency. As they become more proficient their participation becomes more central and less peripheral (Kanno, 2000). However, the original concept referred to a novice/expert relationship and while the concept is useful for a child learner it requires a more explicit definition.

### 6.1.3 *Rationale for peripheral ritualised practices*

The concept of peripheral ritualised practices is connected to ethnic, traditional and culture customs but does not involve social discourse or social literacy practices. As stated before there are three types of practices: social language, social literacy and peripheral ritualised practices. Extending from Bahktin’s (1981) definition of discourse this research applies a newer term which gives voice to non-oral discourse as part of the social relationship within communities and other institutions (Bloome and Clarke, 2006). In addition, peripheral ritualised practices form part of practices, which define one’s ethnic identity affiliation. The peripheral ritualised practices encapsulate ethnic communities of practice or “intangible heritage” (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2004; UNESCO, 2007). These include such practices as observing cultural holidays, wearing ethnic clothes, eating traditional foods, and being exposed to non-verbal religious customs (overhearing a family member chant or burn incense). These cultural practices, unlike social language and literacy practices, do not incorporate an interactive discourse or literacy component (such as reading a prayer book). However, exposure to these practices enables



children to strengthen their ethnic identity, which could also increase their desire to maintain language. The practices are ritualised in that they are done continually in a specific context and for a particular reason such as celebrating Diwali, Ramadan, or Halloween. In addition, they are cultural in nature. Peripheral ritualised practices can be religious but religion may or may not form the basis of them. In addition, these practices are peripheral because they do not directly involve the individual. These practices do not include direct social discourse rather they are practices that solely expose the family members to ethnic, cultural and religious traditional practices. For example, the daily Hindu or Buddhist chanting that includes; incense burning, prayers, and offerings expose the children to traditional language and ethnic practices. Exposure to, rather than participation in, these types of peripheral ritualised practices enhance children's affiliation of ethnic identity. Peripheral ritualised practices do not require linguistic social interaction. However, the exposure, albeit peripheral, creates a difference from other U.K. children thereby potentially strengthening the child's ethnic identity affiliation. When surrounded by unified culture consisting of Starbucks coffee, pop music, movies, manga, and food, peripheral ritualised practices clearly delineate the child's ethnic identity from a more global identity (Brandt, and Clinton, 2002). In this study social language, social literacy and peripheral ritualised practices are the main elements used to measure affiliation with ethnic identity. The more one participates in them the more they maintain ethnic identity affiliation. This thesis aims to ascertain whether the less children are exposed to these practices then the greater the possibility of a shift, or loss in ethnic identity and language maintenance. The most important factor emerging from the data analysis in all three case study families is the frequency and degree of exposure to peripheral ritualised practices. The developmental, cognitive and social age at which the child encounters peripheral ritualised practices, both in the U.K. and their home country, affected ethnic identity affiliation and to some extent, language maintenance

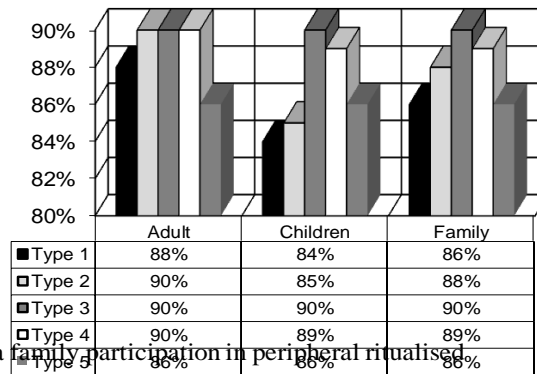
practices. The role of peripheral ritualised practices is this study's most important original finding and they played a significant role in each family's position on the acculturation continuum. This section will investigate the types of peripheral ritualised practices exposure, participation in them by each of the case study families experienced and the effect it has on ethnic identity affiliation. Finally, this section will explain how age and peripheral ritualised practices are interconnected, and which ultimately influence language maintenance practices and ethnic identity affiliation.

## 6.2 Peripheral ritualised practices case study family member assessment

Like the other practices in language maintenance and social literacy practices presented in Chapter Five, the research endeavoured to examine present participation as well as prior exposure to these practices. In this section, assessment of peripheral ritualised practices and their relationship to acculturation will occur for each family. "Culture can be regarded as integrated constellations of community practices" (Rogoff and Angelillo, 2002, p. 212). More specifically culture can also consist of practices people are exposed which in turn frame their perception of their ethnic identity. It should be noted, at this juncture, that a number of peripheral ritualised practices are often interconnected. For example, listening to music often occurs during festival celebrations which also include the practices of wearing traditional clothes and eating traditional foods. So rather than trying to isolate each specific practice this thesis will highlight the overall influence of peripheral ritualised practices.

6.2.1

*Retired Gorkha family peripheral ritualised practices frequency assessment*



**Figure 5a** Retired Gorkha family participation in peripheral ritualised customs

The above chart highlights the strong degree of participation in peripheral ritualised practices by both individuals as well as the whole family. The chart is based on observations and interviews. The retired Gorkha family members frequently participated in cultural, community, religious and traditional clothing and food practices throughout the observation period. Pictures of family members wearing traditional costumes were prominently displayed around the house. Observation of the décor in the retired Gorkha family house revealed several paintings, knick knacks, and other souvenirs related to religious and ethnic affiliation. For example, the living room had incense holders. There were statues of elephants in the children’s bedroom. Therefore, evidence of peripheral ritualised practices was found throughout the house. Peripheral ritualised practices were observed in conjunction with the various frequent types of social language undertaken by family members.

The amount of peripheral ritualised practices was similar to that of the other two case study families (Gorkha family and professional Nepalese family). Furthermore, there was an absence of participation in local U.K. traditions and norms for this family. The only exception to this

was that the Hindu father drank alcohol occasionally when British guests came to visit. The family were vegetarian but not as strict as the professional Nepalese family father who was a Krishna Hindu. Krishna Hindus, in addition to abstaining from meat do not eat onions or garlic. From the interview and observation sessions it was revealed that the children regularly participated in both cultural and religious holiday practices. These customs were celebrated with the retired Gorkha family members.

However, in further discussions it was revealed that attending temple was not always easy. Due to his retirement from the Gorkhas, access to the temple was restricted. There was a requirement of a visitor's pass with signature from an actively serving soldier. Therefore, participation in religious and cultural events required a lot of effort from the family members. The following conversation highlights the difficulties faced in religious participation.

*Extract from November 8th 3:30-5:30 pm retired Gorkha family:*

*Interviewer: Do you participate in temple ceremonies?*

*Nirmala: Not as often as before. Access to the temple is difficult without a pass.*

*Interviewer: So do you still celebrate festivals?*

*Nirmala: Yes... often our families get together to celebrate religious festivals.*

This conversation indicates how difficult community cohesion was due to restrictive military policies. These restrictive policies made the parents feel discriminated against (Edwards, 2009). Furthermore, this separation within the ethnic community itself created resentment within the

community. These restrictive policies ultimately decreased their desire to assimilate into local U.K. culture (Phinney, 1989). Thus, it was significant that this family sought out moments to participate in peripheral ritualised practices. These practices served to strengthen their identity even when policies tried to exclude them from participating in community practices.

The retired Gorkha family parents were observed making a strong effort to maintain peripheral ritualised practices such as celebrating festivals with the professional Nepalese family. Even though access to active military Gorkha personnel was restricted, the parents also spent a lot of time with the professional Nepalese family members and they celebrated religious and cultural festivals together. This is evident in the conversation below.

*Extract from November 8 3:30-5:30 pm retired Gorkha family:*

*Interviewer: Do you spend a lot of time with other Nepalese or Gorkha families.*

*Sam: We have visits from old neighbours who used to be in the Gorkha. Also we celebrate holidays with the professional Nepalese family members.*

*Interviewer: What sort of festivals do you celebrate together?*

*Sam: We celebrate festivals like Dewali but we can't use as many candles as we would back home.*

This conversation indicates an almost consistent social communication with the ethnic community. However, some traditional customs had to be modified due to health and safety constraints from external local governmental officials in the U.K.. For example, they were prohibited from fully celebrating Diwali although food was there and some practices did occur.

The above conversation highlighted the constraints on peripheral ritualised practices experienced by the Nepalese community in the U.K.. However, even with constraints the children's attitudes

to these festival extends beyond simple receiving of gifts. This was seen in a conversation with the retired Gorkha family daughters.

*Extract from November 15th 3:30-5:30 pm retired Gorkha family:*

*Sara: I like the customs during the festival time like Diwali.*

*Interviewer: What do you do?*

*Sue: We wear special clothes and decorate the house. We get money.*

*Interviewer: This is why you like the festival – the presents?!*

*Sara: No, no I like making special foods and decorating the house.*

*Sue: Yes the decorations are the best part.*

This reveals a positive attitude to the overall peripheral ritualised practices including wearing clothes, making food, and decorating the house. It also should be noted that the retired Gorkha family did not celebrate local U.K. festivals and customs such as bonfires during Guy Fawkes, Halloween costume parties, or Christmas. This reveals a stronger ethnic affiliation with their home country of Nepal than with their newly adopted U.K. (Lambert and Taylor, 1990). This will be discussed in more detail when comparing families.

The celebration of festivals was not the only peripheral ritualised practices. There were other ethnic customs such as consistently eating of traditional foods as well as the preparation of traditional festival foods (Schrauf, 1999). The following conversation reveals an instance of these practices.

*Extract from November 14th 9 am-1pm Gorkha family:*

*Sara: We eat special foods.*

*Interviewer: Do you like Nepalese food?*

*Sue and Sara:* *Yes.Yeah.*

*Sue:* *Dumpling.*

*Interviewer:* *Do you make homemade momos?*

*Sue:* *Yes.*

*Interviewer:* *Is this done often or only occasionally?*

*Sue:* *We eat Nepalese several times a week and for special celebrations there is one almost every month or so.*

This conversation shows the degree to which they continue to participate in, and are exposed to, ethnic food practices. The children make the food rather than buy it and so the process is more meaningful as they are participating in peripheral ritualised practices. My son and I discussed with them how fun it was to make homemade ethnic food. The girls agreed and asked us questions about Japanese traditional food. Traditional food connects one to their ethnic identity. As well, the process of making the food is more intimate connection to our ethnicities. Furthermore, while Indian food is easy to purchase some types of traditional Nepalese food are harder to purchase so they have to be homemade. Foods, and the customs around the preparation of traditional food, are often neglected practices which contribute to a higher degree of ethnic identity affiliation.

However, it is not simply participation that strengthens ethnic affiliation identity, but it is also previous exposure to local peripheral ritualised practices. In addition, photographs of the children wearing traditional clothes and decorations were observed in the retired Gorkha family house. Moreover, in discussions with the family members it was revealed that they experienced a significant degree of peripheral ritualised practices exposure and at an older age. Thus, the

retired Gorkha family consistently, regularly, and strongly participated in all types of peripheral ritualised practices. As with social language and social literacy practices it is not just the present participation which is important but the prior exposure to these practices as well.

### 6.2.2 *Retired Gorkha family prior exposure to peripheral ritualised practices*

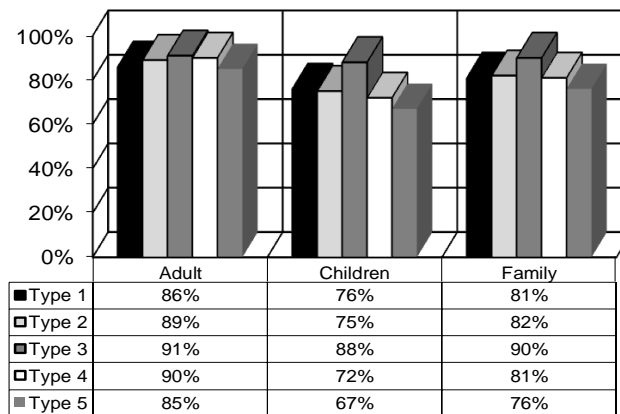
Children's exposure to living in Nepal and past religious festival exposure facilitate in positive ethnic identity affiliation. The family spent several years living in a small rural area in Nepal. They were surrounded by the smells, sights, and sounds of ethnic traditional peripheral ritualised practices. The age of exposure was at a young age but due to consistent participation these practices were continued. Therefore, the frequency of exposure to home country, daily peripheral ritualised practices and language maintenance practices are possible reasons for the families' placement on the acculturation continuum. Exposure to peripheral ritualised practices at an older age in both the home country rural context, as well as maintenance of these in the U.K. context are strong indicators as to why they are only partially acculturated. Peripheral ritualised practices only further solidify the lack of acculturation to the local community and their strength of attitude towards language maintenance. Next, the Gorkha family peripheral ritualised practices will be assessed.

### 6.3 Gorkha family peripheral ritualised practices frequency assessment

Like the retired Gorkha family, the Gorkha family members frequently engaged in peripheral ritualised practices. As confirmed in a conversation with the parents, the girls appeared to



participate highly in peripheral ritualised practices. The chart below highlights a relatively high degree of participation in peripheral ritualised practices. Unlike the retired Gorkha family members who were excluded due to retirement from the military, this was partially facilitated by the father, as the social welfare officer, who organised bi-monthly outings for the Gorkha families.



**Figure 5b** Gorkha family participation in peripheral ritualised customs

Thus, community cultural/ethnic ritual practices were still performed regularly. The family participated in many ethnic, cultural and religious festivals.

*Extract from November 21th 2pm-6pm Gorkha family:*

*Interviewer: Do you listen to live Nepalese music?*

*Karen: Sometimes on the radio there is a concert when there is a festival.*

*Interviewer: Do you like them or are they weird?*

*Tina: I like going to them. They aren't weird. We have always gone to these festivals wherever we lived.*

This indicates current participation in community and ritual practices. In addition, the statement by Tina indicates a positive belief in traditional ethnic practices. The girls maintained a strong of

participation in these practices. First, they had peripheral exposure to the Nepalese-speaking community and secondly they heard chanting and praying by other community and family members. Buddhist and Hindu religious practices are very specific and ritualistic. Therefore, constant exposure to these practices reinforced ethnic identity affiliation. To reiterate, it is not a question of whether or not the children participate in the chanting, rather that they are regularly exposed to Peripheral ritualised practices. Confirmation of chanting being practiced is illustrated in the following conversation.

*Extract from December 5th 9-12 am Gorkha family:*

*Interviewer: Do you ever play religious music when the girls are around?*

*Moorthy: Yes, and we chant every day.*

This statement from the father indicates continued maintenance of peripheral ritualised practices. Previously, under the discussion on social language, it was shown how the girls regularly hear their neighbours in conversation in Nepalese. Moreover, Tina and Karen attended religious festivals as Moorthy confirmed.

Other peripheral ritualised practices, including food, were revealed during a lunch time observation session. In the conversation below an interesting comment regarding the girls' attitude to cultural celebrations is revealed.

*Extract from December 5th 9-12 am Gorkha family:*

*Interviewer: What is your favourite Nepalese holiday?*

*Karen: [Pause] Desai.*

*Tina: Desai/Dewali both, but I guess Desai.*

*Interviewer: You like getting the money?*

*Tina:* [She giggles] *I like the community and the food.*

*Interviewer:* *Do you like Nepalese food?*

*Tina and Karen:* *Some of it but I don't like rice. Yeah we like pasta better.*

This preference demonstrates a Westernisation of the girls' diet. However, the girls are still exposed to Nepalese food. After obtaining permission, the researcher looked through the kitchen cupboards and found that the family kept mainly Asian food in the cupboards and fridge. Moreover, the parents discussed extensive long visits during religious ceremonies for the funeral of a close relation. This event, that occurred less than one year prior to the data collection period, reveals exposure to traditional foods as well as religious customs not normally experienced by all immigrant/migrant families. The Gorkha family children were older than the professional Nepalese family youngest son when they attended this funeral. Furthermore, their length of stay in Nepal was several months (dictated by Buddhist funeral practices of 49 days of praying) thereby consolidating these ritualised practices with the children. Thus, exposure at an older age affects identity construction, particularly if the child was too young to remember.

### 6.3.1 *Gorkha family prior exposure to peripheral ritualised practices*

While present participation in religious and ethnic practices was decreasing in this family previously they had received a high degree of exposure to peripheral ritualised practices. In addition, while the girls wore Western clothes large family photographs of the girls wearing saris are on prominent display in the living room. The extent to which they received prior cultural and ethnic exposure was quite high, as is illustrated in the following extract from a conversation.

*Extract from December 5th 9-12 am Gorkha family:*

*Interviewer: Do you listen to live Nepalese music?*

*Tina: We often listened when we were in Brunei and Nepal.*

At that time, Tina and Karen were immersed in ethnic practices but cultural practices were not the only ones the children had been exposed to. Due to a death in the family, the children experienced more profound peripheral ritualised practices. During the 49-day Buddhist ceremony there would be special daily prayers, chanting, ritual food, and certain customs that are only performed during a funeral. These were specific to the Buddhist religion and would differ from the other two Nepalese case study families as the latter are Hindu. The conversation below highlights the children's prior exposure to peripheral ritualised practices.

*Extract from October 25th 3:30-5:30 pm Gorkha mother and father:*

*Moorthy: It was very hard. I had 28-day leave.*

*Prema: The kids came.*

*Moorthy: We did the 49-day Buddhist ceremony as the body took a while to get back to Nepal.*

In a later conversation the father elaborated on the degree of exposure to traditional religious customs the girls had experienced recently.

*Extract from December 12th 9-12am Gorkha family:*

*Moorthy: When the girls were in Nepal a year ago they got to experience a lot of the local customs and traditions including family celebrations. They got to eat real Nepalese food and wear a sari.*

*Interviewer: Were there celebrations of religious and cultural festivals at the Brunei school?*

*Moorthy: Yes, the school was good about putting on festival and cultural events for the students. The whole community participated. But here it is different. There isn't as much money.*

In this conversation, the father discusses prior exposure. Moreover, the reason for decrease of the practice was based on financial restraints rather than negative attitudes from the children. This is seen in the conversation below with the girls' regarding their attitudes towards their ethnic and cultural prior exposure.

*Extract from November 21st 2pm-6pm Gorkha family:*

*Tina: When we lived in Brunei the school would put on religious and cultural festivals. They would play music at these festivals.*

*Interviewer: Did you like them?*

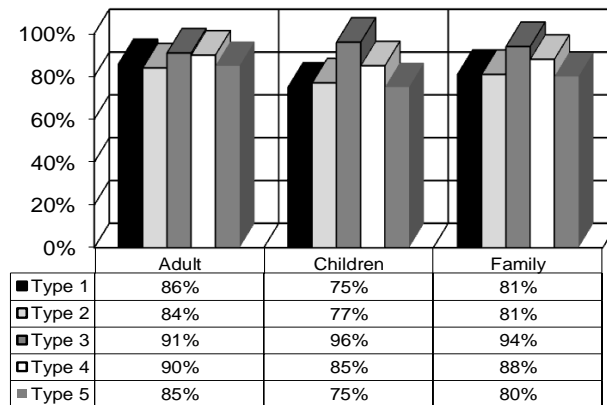
*Tina: Yes, I miss going to them. They were fun.*

The response by the Gorkha family children is similar to the retired Gorkha family children. Both families daughters appreciate peripheral ritualised practices. There is a strong positive attitude towards participation in peripheral ritualised practices. Thus, even though the Gorkha family children are becoming more interested in Disney and other Western cultural customs they still affiliate with Nepalese. During discussions with the parents they revealed that the girls have been exposed to many traditions, religious ritual celebrations, clothing, and food. Comparatively the retired Gorkha family children use as much social language as they do peripheral ritualised practices whereas the Gorkha family children use more peripheral ritualised practices than social language practices. Therefore, for this family the most frequently participated language maintenance practice related to peripheral ritualised practices.

While the parents in this family would fall on the ‘partially acculturated’ continuum, the children are more closely aligned to the bi-cultural continuum (Lee, 2005). They are classified as partially acculturated as they perform globalised Westernised practices as well as ethnic practices. The prior exposure to living in Nepal, attending Nepalese classes, constant moving, and the parents desire to maintain ethnic affiliation (even with a decrease in social language maintenance and in-group peers) are the reasons for the children being partially acculturated. The parents, on the other hand, are in-between partially acculturated and non-acculturated. As with the other Gorkha family Peripheral ritualised practices enabled their ethnic identity affiliation even though there was a decrease in social language and literacy practices. The next section outlines the peripheral ritualised practices practiced by the professional Nepalese family members partook.

#### 6.4 Professional Nepalese family peripheral ritualised practices frequency assessment

While the professional Nepalese family members had given up regular maintenance of social language and literacy practices the peripheral ritualised practices were still very much in evidence. As with the previous two case study families, the professional Nepalese family participated the most in peripheral ritualised practices. The chart below illustrates the degree to which professional Nepalese family participated in peripheral ritualised practices.



**Figure 5c** Professional Nepalese family participation in peripheral ritualised customs

Participation in peripheral ritualised practices was high in the professional Nepalese family compared to social language and social literacy practices. Although there was a loss in social language and literacy practices the family did not become fully acculturated. This is due to the extent to which they performed peripheral ritualised practices. Current performance in peripheral ritualised practices was maintained at a high level due to the devout religious adherence by the father. The children were exposed to, and participated in, ethnic food, traditions and other peripheral customs. There was frequent, almost monthly, peripheral participation in community and religious festivals. The father exposed the children to religious music on a weekly basis. The schools both held annual cultural festivals. This was confirmed in interviews after a festival.

*Extract from November 25th 3:30-5:30 pm professional Nepalese family:*

*Interviewer: What was the festival like?*

*Milan: We danced.*

*Classmate: The food was good.*

*Interviewer: Was there singing or music?*

*Milan: Yes they sing and play instruments.*

This indicates the range of peripheral ritualised practices at the full day festival. The youngest brother still actively participated monthly, sometimes bi-monthly, in the festivals at the temple whereas the older brother did not always participate due to sports commitments. This was confirmed after session four in a conversation with the father.

*Extract from December 6th 3:30-5:30 pm professional Nepalese family:*

*Kieran: He had a good time.*

*Interviewer: Yes, he likes cultural events.*

*Kieran: When we go again we will take him.*

*Interviewer: How often do you attend the temple?*

*Kieran: There is an event every month but often there is more than one event in a month. It is good the food is free. It is part of the Krishna beliefs to serve anyone the food if they come to the temple.*

This conversation demonstrates the regularity of temple attendance. The temple is not in the same city; it is one and a half hour's drive away. So while it was not explicitly stated it can be assumed that participating in temple events took a great deal of effort. Often families with modern busy lives forego religious participation due to a lack of time or energy (Kirkland, 1999). In addition, this family often had Nepalese speaking friends over, the grandparents regularly visited for extended periods and the retired Gorkha family parents also came to visit. During the nine-month observation period there was hardly a week when someone from the ethnic community, or a family member, was not at the house.

While the family participated regularly in both traditional and religious festivals with local community members and at the temple, it should be noted that the professional Nepalese family



members also celebrated Christmas and Halloween, thereby maintaining bi-acculturated practices. The celebration of Western festivals is the result of the children's demand for it; these attitudes do not necessarily come from the parents' desire to acculturate into local culture but rather from a desire for presents to be exchanged. This was revealed in a conversation with the younger brother.

*Extract from December 6th 3:30-5:30 pm professional Nepalese family:*

*Interviewer: What do you do at Christmas?*

*Milan: We get presents.*

*Interviewer: What but you're not Christian!*

*Milan: We made our parents buy presents just like everyone else.*

However, gift giving was the only custom participated in at Christmas. There were no decorations nor was any traditional U.K. food eaten. The children of this family are exposed to a significant amount of peripheral ritualised practices food. Due to their father's devout religious practices food and clothing take on a greater significance.

The mother also recounted a story she told her children when they were younger about a particular celebration. She is not able to celebrate it the same way now, but the children see photos of their mother in traditional dress during the celebrations. The retired Gorkha mother and her own mother prepare a special meal to commemorate it. So this memory is shared and displayed; therefore it is a form of peripheral ritualised practice. As a form of 'decontextualized discourse', storytelling involves the narrator drawing on memory and imagination to talk about the past, future or abstracted information separated from current settings (Curenton et al., 2008). In this case, the photographs are considered a peripheral ritualised practice.

During one of the observations the professional Nepalese mother recounted the Teej, which is a Hindu festival that falls between the end of August and the beginning of September. It is held between the planting and harvesting of the crops. She described it nostalgically as *'a time of unity and freedom for women. The men leave and only the women get together to sing, dance, fast, and pray at temples'*. She described it vividly: *"We wear bright colour saris made from bright red cloth. We decorate ourselves wearing with orangish-red colour in our hair, red bangles and green-beaded "tilahari," a traditional necklace. These are symbols of marriage. The women get together to pray for their husbands or future husbands. It was such nice time. Men were not allowed. They had to go away for three days. It was a nice time to be with other women. We would talk, laugh, tell stories and sing. I miss the celebration. We cannot do it here; it is not the same. It was a great experience growing up celebrating together. There is a kind of closeness that I do not feel here.* She then goes to the living room and shows me photographs of the festival. The Hindu festivals and celebrations were events this family participated in regularly. In addition, this family maintained a much stricter food regime than the other two families.

Throughout the nine-month observation period, it was noted that the family were strict in their adherence to a Krishna vegetarian diet. While the food was vegetarian it was not always Nepalese. During the evening we were invited to dinner. The food was very Western and included pizza and lasagne. However, the food served could have represented an attempt to please the palate of the guests and so was not representative of their usual food. Moreover, it was witnessed when the grandparents visited they ate a lot of homemade food such as sweet corn bread. I observed the grandmother on the floor, wearing traditional Nepalese long skirts, kneading the corn bread. She then gave it to the father who placed it in the oven. All of the

professional Nepalese family were strong vegetarians. Food connected to their ethnic identity. Milan was proud to be a vegetarian. The conversation below with the Nirmala discusses the professional Nepalese family's peripheral ritualised practices food practices.

*Extract from November 22nd 3:30-5:30 pm retired Gorkha family:*

*Interviewer: I see alcohol.*

*Nirmala: He doesn't drink a lot but sometimes.*

This type of peripheral ritualised practices strengthens ethnic affiliation. The children were also observed eating religious foods at the temple. During festivals the retired Gorkha family and the Professional Nepalese families cooked traditional foods. The professional Nepalese family members often performed these practices together. Other than food the peripheral ritualised practices of exposure to traditional clothing occurred for this family.

The professional Nepalese family participated more frequently in Western practices than the other two case study family members. The boys watched British TV, played Western video games, and attended local sports and education clubs. However, during the observation period the grandparents constantly wore traditional clothing. The father was observed wearing traditional clothing when he attended the temple. The older brother enjoyed participating and wearing traditional clothes. However, in front of his peers, the younger brother was not so keen on wearing traditional clothing at his primary school although he did wear it at the temple. His older brother did not mind dressing in traditional costume for cultural days at primary school (this emerged in a conversation with primary school head teacher). This could stem from the fact that the professional Nepalese family youngest son had the least exposure to home culture of all the children and therefore was not comfortable with traditional clothing.

The boys' attitudes were understandably influenced by British culture due to the young age of home country exposure, lack of frequent home country exposure, and the lack of social language. Therefore it would be logical to argue the children were acculturated into British culture. Yet this was not the case. In fact, due to the extensive, consistent peripheral ritualised practices, the eldest son was constructive bi-cultural whereas the youngest son was not acculturated. He reconstructed his identity into a TCK. A high level of participation in peripheral ritualised practices has been noted in all three families.

#### 6.4.1 *Professional Nepalese family prior exposure to peripheral ritualised practices*

Two of the three families maintained regular social language maintenance practices. One difference between the professional Nepalese family members and those of the Gorkha was the lack of prior exposure to home country peripheral ritualised practices. The third family, in accordance with their placement on the acculturation scale had shifted their language maintenance practices. However, these practices were not completely lost. The degree to which each family maintained social language practices varied, from high use for the non-acculturated family members, to moderate use for the partially acculturated family members, and little use for the bi-cultural and TCK (Pollock and Van Reken, 2001) family members (Lee 2005; Phinney, 2000). All three families participated in and were exposure to a high degree of peripheral ritualised practices. The only reason the professional Nepalese family youngest son did not completely acculturate and his brother bi-cultural was due to peripheral ritualised practices. One might ask why the difference between the brothers acculturation and ethnic identity affiliation? The most obvious factor is the age of exposure to home country and peripheral

ritualised practices. Age plays an intricate role in acculturation particularly with respect to exposure to home country and home country traditional practices. The next section focusses specifically on age of exposure.

## 6.5 Second factor - age of exposure to home country

Many factors contributed to language maintenance and shifts as well as ethnic identity affiliation amongst the case study family members. Previous work has shown that, the degree of exposure to home country is a strong determinant in ethnic identity affiliation (de Bot, 2000; Veltman, 1998). However, the data reveals an added aspect: the age at which this exposure occurs. Moreover, this study argues it is not just the exposure to home country but also exposure to traditional ethnic practices such as peripheral ritualised practices which affect ethnic identity creation.

### 6.5.1 *Components of age*

The case study children's ages ranged from early primary to middle school. There are two major developmental components in age: cognitive development, and identity construction. The first, cognitive development will be discussed in reference to the age range and developmental changes in the case study children. Memory processing and retention at the toddler age is weaker than at the primary school age (Gibson, 1988). At the age of pre-adolescence children are meta-

cognitive and socially more aware with respect to language learning and ethnic identity affiliation (Cameron, 2003; Cummins, 2001). For example, the retired Gorkha family children were asked about their memories of the exposure to their parents' home country.

*Extract from December 13th 3:30-5:30 pm retired Gorkha family:*

*Interviewer: Do you remember Nepal?*

*Sue: Yes, very much.*

*Sara: Yes, I miss Nepal.*

*Interviewer: What do you remember the most?*

*Sue: There is a greater feeling of being part of a group. Life seems harder in Nepal but really sometimes it is easier than here. There is more... help or community there than we feel here.*

*Sara: We went back just a while ago for a funeral. The community is closer there. You spend more time in a group in Nepal.*

*Interviewer: You like this feeling?*

*Sara: I feel like I belong.*

Both girls had visited and lived for an extended period in Nepal at an older age. They also speak Nepalese so all aspects of the community are accessible. Whereas, the Gorkha family daughters' were at a younger age when they visited the home country and they spoke less Nepalese.

*Extract from November 14th 9 am-1pm Gorkha family:*

*Interviewer: Do you remember Nepal?*

*Tina: Yes, we went last year.*

*Karen: Yes.*

*Interviewer: What do you remember the most?*

*Tina: We have more family there.*

*Karen: We went back just a while ago for a funeral. There were lots of special foods and customs we did at the funeral.*

*Interviewer: You like this feeling?*

*Karen: Yeah, there is like a bigger family thing there in Nepal.*

This contrasts with, the professional Nepalese family members, who had little exposure or extended periods of stay in the home country and so the children in this family were the least affiliated of the families to the ethnic identity of their parents. The eldest professional Nepalese family child had stronger memories due to the age of exposure whereas his brothers' memories were weaker.

*Extract from November 25th 3:30pm-5:30 pm professional Nepalese family:*

*Interviewer: Have you visited Nepal?*

*Milan: Yes, we went twice but I only remember the second time.*

*Interviewer: What do you remember?*

*Milan: I remember playing with kids.*

*Interviewer: Anything else?*

*Milan: Not much. Just some of the food was well good.*

This conversation with the two professional Nepalese family children indicates a stronger affiliation with the Nepalese home country for the elder professional Nepalese family brother than for Milan, the professional Nepalese family younger brother (Roberts, Phinney, Masses, Chen, Roberts, & Romero, 1999). Milan barely remembers his visits to Nepal. In addition, his friends are all from the U.K.. However, Milan does have exposure to peripheral ritualised practices during festivals as well as interactions with the grandparents and family friends. Thus, the factor of age of exposure, in conjunction with repeated exposure to peripheral ritualised

practices, is crucial in terms of ethnic identity affiliation. Another component in the factor of age of exposure is how it influences identity creation.

### 6.5.2 *Age and ethnic identity creation*

Age of exposure determines how deeply the memories and experiences will affect of identity construction. If the child is older at the time of exposure their identity is more solid. However, younger children who also have meta-cognitive development embed these experiences into their identity construction (Bandura, 2001). Moreover, for the child there are two aspects to identity construction. First, is the group ethnic identity and the second is the self-identity creation. As a child develops his or her social identity solidifies (Eccles & Wigfield, 1998; Hartner, 2012; Bandura). For children and adolescents the influence of peers is important in self-identity creation. Discussion turns now to community identity and belonging.

Exposure to ethnic community facilitates language maintenance and ethnic identity affiliation. As Duff and Uchida (1997) argue “identities are co-constructed, negotiated, and transformed on an on-going basis by means of language” (p.452). This is evident in the Gorkha family children as their social language maintenance has shifted but their ethnic identity remains strong. When asked about their Nepalese heritage they were expressed pride in their ethnicity.

*Extract from November 21th 2-6pm Gorkha family:*

*Interviewer:* [After asking how they identify ethnically] *Why do you identify with Nepal?*



*Sue: Nepalese culture is ... more, hmmm, more honest and kind than English.*

*Sara: I like Nepalese traditions. There are lots of family festivals.*

The Gorkha family children voiced their preference for Nepalese cultural practices over British practices. This is partly due to the strong, constant presence of the Gorkha military personnel and their families who live next to each other in a compound-style accommodation [in terraced housing]. The constant interaction with the community, exposure to home country and peripheral ritualised practices, even without EL1 language, give these children a sense of belonging to a community. This sense of belonging creates a relationship with their ethnic identity and their self-identity (Hartner,1999). The process occurs over time and it subject to the cognitive, emotional, social developmental age of the child in terms of the impact it will have on their ethnic identity affiliation. For the retired Gorkha family, during one of the historical interviews the extent to which the children (Sara and Sue) had been exposed to the home country and ethnic practices became evident as can be seen from the conversation below.

*Extract from October 28th 3-6pm retired Gorkha father:*

*Interviewer: Where was your Sara born?*

*Sam: She was born in Bahrain in 2001. We spent a year in East Timor. Then in early 2002 we moved to Nepal for two years.*

During their stay in Nepal the youngest daughter, Sue attended preschool and the eldest daughter, Sara went to primary school. Sue also experienced Nepalese schooling. This was discussed at the end of the same conversation.

*Extract from October 28th 3-6pm retired Gorkha father:*

*Sam: Sara was born in Nepal in 1997.*

*Interviewer:*                         *Where, in Nepal, was she born?*

*Sam:*   *In my village near Pokhara – called Syangje ...Then another two years in Nepal from 2002-2004.*

This means Sara attended year one and two of primary school in Nepal. This preschool experience, combined with continual family social language and social literacy participation, facilitated the retired Gorkha family daughter's strong ethnic identity affiliation and social language maintenance. However, early migration in conjunction with a lack of exposure to home country caused language loss (Mora, Villa and Danla, 2005).

Two of the case study children (retired Gorkha family and Gorkha family) lived in Nepal and went to Nepalese schools, whereas the professional Nepalese family children only visited for short times and so missed out on a true living experience. The professional Nepalese family children visited Nepal twice, first at the young age of three, whereas, the other retired Gorkha family children were between six to eleven years old. In addition, the retired Gorkha family and Gorkha family both experienced peripheral ritualised practices during their extended visit to attend their grandparents' funeral and this had a profound effect on children's ethnic identity affiliation and language maintenance practices. For immigrant/migrant children, age is a developmental process which is continually changing over time and what they experienced influences their ethnic identity construction (Adler and Adler, 1998). Another aspect of this process relates to peers and self-identity construction.

### 6.5.3                         *Peer influence, age and self-identity construction*

For the primary school student ethnic identity construction occurs through peer, family, and cohesive social networks (Bluck and Habermas, 2000 p.19, in Nelson and Fivush, 2004). These identities are still forming in conjunction with interactions with the family, societal and communities of practices (Lave and Wagner, 1998). Therefore, ethnic identity construction changes due to many influences such as family and in-group and out-group peers (Erikson, 1963, 1968). There is a link between a person's socio-cultural context and the creation of their self-identity. Erikson (1963) viewed identity as a "collaborative project between the young person and her or his context" (in Schwartz, 2001 p. 295). Sue, the youngest daughter of the retired Gorkha family is still in upper primary school. As Erikson (1994) states, identity construction at the primary school age is more fluid and so not measurable during pre-adolescence. Yet when children receive differing versions of identity from the school, home and community contexts then the age at which the consistent components of identity construction begin is relevant to ethnic affiliation and degree of acculturation. At this point in time, self-identity construction is more fluid than it is for adults (Ibrahim, 1999; Tajfel, 1978, 1981).

The older the age of exposure prior to adolescence (Erikson, 1963, 1968), the more likely that exposure will be integrated into the child's ethnic identity affiliation. The older professional Nepalese family brother was exposed to more in-group peer interaction over a longer period of time due to the large Gorkha student population. Elder children emphasise traits and attitudes as well how they are perceived. Moreover, research shows that older children internalise behaviours in order to fit into a peer group. Peer relationships for children in pre-adolescence expand and gain in meaning (Genesee, 2006; Halliday, 1993; McKay, 2006; Vygotsky, 1962). The professional Nepalese family youngest son, Milan, not only lacks in-group peers (Phinney,

2000) but also same-sex peers at an age when this becomes of greater importance (Harter, 1999).

Research indicates that in primary school a three-stage process occurs in gender relations. At the early stage integration is common. This is followed by separation and finally cross-gender friendships occur (Adler and Adler, 1998). The particular school context can help or hinder self-identity (Baker 2000; Cummins, 2001). The two Gorkha families (retired Gorkha family and Gorkha family) had daughters who were predominantly in primary school. However, the professional Nepalese participants have sons one who is entering secondary school and the other who was already in secondary school. This slight difference in age actually becomes a factor which needs to be examined. Early and middle adolescence is when identity development begins to form (Harter, 1999; Schwartz, 2005). Children often acculturate quicker than their parents so there are often intergenerational differences in attitudes within the home (Schwartz, 2005). Differences in identity construction are “pronounced in early adolescence as children first begin to form a more enduring sense of self” (Bluck and Habermas, 2000 p.19, in Nelson and Fivush, 2004). One must understand the more abstract concept of self and identity construction that occurs around the age of pre-adolescence (Harter, 2013).

Similar to the other case study children, Ji, the eldest son of the professional Nepalese family immediately identified as Nepalese. Some of the reasons for this might be that, the elder brother had more in-group peer association, stronger memories of home country visits, and the fact that his mother stayed at home and spoke Nepalese to him when he was a toddler. In contrast, the

youngest brother's only connection to Nepalese culture was related to the ritualised peripheral customs he experienced. However, due to the extensive peripheral ritualised practices exposure, Milan was still affiliated with Nepalese as well as U.K. culture. When asked he said he was British-Nepalese. Whereas, his elder brother affiliated as Nepalese due to his home exposure at an elder age and his in-group peers.

#### 6.5.4 *Case study children comparative assessment of age*

Thus, the factor of age impacts upon in the difference in ethnic affiliation not just amongst families, but also between siblings. The two Gorkha case study families both had daughters. This study does not consider gender to be an issue for ethnic affiliation. Moreover, as both the retired Gorkha family and Gorkha family children had prior living experience and greater exposure to social language and social literacy practices these children's ethnic identity affiliations were consistent. In addition, both sets of children (retired Gorkha family and Gorkha family) experience the practices and home country habitus at an older age. However, the two sons from the professional Nepalese family differ from the children from the other families. They are boys; however the age of exposure to the various types of practices and to home country experience had more significant implications. Furthermore, unlike the retired Gorkha family and Gorkha family daughters, the professional Nepalese family sons 'home country experiences' were at wider age range. These findings demand further exploration.

The professional Nepalese youngest son Milan was only three years old during his first visit to Nepal, and eight years old on the second visit whereas, Ji the eldest brother was six years old and eleven years old respectively. The following two extracts reveal how age of exposure affects identity construction. These two conversations support the idea that age of exposure and present developmental stage can affect a person's attitudes to language learning. Ji visited Nepal later in this childhood and he also had more in-group peer friendships in primary and secondary school, factors that cohere with research from the literature (Phinney, 1997; Schrauf, 1999). Milan did not have the same degree of exposure to home country or in-group peer friendships. His attitudes are revealed in the discussion below.

*Extract from January 19th 5:30-8:40 pm professional Nepalese family:*

*Interviewer: How would you identify yourself?*

*Milan: What do you mean?*

*Interviewer: If someone asked you what are you? My son says Japanadian.  
What would you say?*

*Milan: British-Nepalese.*

This contrasts with the elder professional Nepalese family brother discussion of his ethnic identity affiliation.

*Extract from January 19th 5:30-8:40 pm professional Nepalese family:*

*Interviewer: How would you identify yourself?*

*Ji: Nepalese.*

*Interviewer: Your younger brother stated he was British-Nepalese. Why do you think he said that?*

*Ji: It is an age thing. I was like that when I was his age.*

*Interviewer:* *So you think when he enters secondary school he will change?*

*Ji:* *Yeah.*

These differences in ethnic identity affiliation are not found in either of the sets of daughters. All the other participants identified as Nepalese without hesitation. Ji, also identified only as Nepalese whereas, Milan identified as British-Nepalese. This is due to his family having immigrated to the U.K. before his birth, his lack of home country exposure (at an older age), his strong out-group peers as well as his lack of participation in social language and social literacy practices. However, most informatively is that he did not identify as British rather he created a new, or third identity British-Nepalese.

When asked about the differences in their ethnic identity affiliation his elder brother stated it was due to “his age” and that he would “change his mind” later. The professional Nepalese father concurred.

*Extract from January 24th 3:30-5:30 pm professional Nepalese family:*

*Interviewer:* *Your youngest son is the only child to identify as British-Nepalese. All the other children identify as Nepalese. Why do you think that is?*

*Kieran:* *It is just his age. The elder brother went through a stage where he was not so close to the culture.*

However, a conversation with the Head Teacher from the primary school revealed a possible personality difference variable as well. She said she felt the eldest son participated more in

cultural events than the youngest son. She also said the youngest son had a very British personality more so than his brother. He did not like being involved in cultural aspects of his ethnicity as it made him stand out and segregated him from his British friends.

*Extract from October 11th 10 am-11:30 am 1.5 hrs:*

*Interviewer: You were the head teacher for the elder brother as well as the younger brother?*

*Head Teacher: Yes, I saw both go through the system.*

*Interviewer: Did they appear ethnic affiliated to Nepalese culture?*

*Head Teacher: The elder brother very strongly identified with the culture. I remember during cultural festivals that we had the elder brother enjoyed doing traditional dancing. The younger brother is very British. He won't do any of the cultural customs.*

*Interviewer: Why do you think caused the differences in attitudes?*

*Head Teacher: The younger brother seems to identify with the U.K. culture. Even his accent is more Northern than his brother's.*

During the nine-month observation period, it was observed that the younger brother's manner, attitudes, and personality appeared more British in nature whereas the older brother appeared to be more Asian. This correlates to previous research that found that more exposure to home culture combined with greater in-group peer exposure play a role in ethnic identity affiliation (Chow, 2000; Papapavlou and Pavlou, 2001). Milan had less in-group peer association, fewer memories of Nepal and minimal social language exposure. However, it should also be noted that he still affiliated in part to his Nepalese identity. He is an example of a child who has



created a third identity that deviates both from the ethnic family identity and the local identity. Instead there is a fusion of both identities. While Milan appeared more connected to a British identity, he was still proud of his religious and ethnic background (Chow, 2001). He never spoke about Nepalese customs unless asked. He appeared reluctant to discuss elements of chanting which occurs in the EL1. In addition, he experienced the least exposure to home country at the youngest age however his parents are the strongest in terms of their religious and peripheral ritualised practices. Therefore, rather than becoming acculturated he created a third culture identity that is neither British nor Nepalese.

Ultimately, exposure alone would not increase ethnic identity as a more crucial factor is the age at which the exposure to ethnic and traditional practices occurs. This is crucial for understanding how ethnic identity affiliation is formed. The exposure to peripheral ritualised practices enabled ethnic identity affiliation in the Gorkha family children. However, the children were the youngest of the three families and their identities could possibly change over time. Therefore, age is possibly a main factor when examining the acculturation of immigrant/migrant children. The exposure, depending on each of the case study family member children, differed in terms of the age and emotional development of the child. The age of the retired Gorkha family children's home country living experience and the age they were when they visited relatives in Nepal are possible factors in the strong ethnic identity affiliation of both these parents and children (Alvarez and Hakuta, 1993; Hakuta and D'Andrea, 1992; Lambert and Taylor, 1996; Padilla, 1980; Pease-Alvarez and Winsler, 1994). For the professional Nepalese children the frequent exposure to peripheral ritualised practices had more of an influence.

Consequently, if exposure occurs too early, prior to an awareness of the relationship between the world and oneself (Flavell, Miller and Miller, 1993; Piaget, 1967; Selman, 1980) then the exposure most probably will not strengthen ethnic identity affiliation. “As the child enters middle childhood, he or she begins to develop the ability to reason, take the perspective of others and develop social skills” (Harter, 1999 cited in Brinthaupt and Lipka, 2002, p.3). However, if the exposure occurs at a slightly more meta-cognitive stage or is deeply meaningful then the child will integrate the experience and this will most probably strengthen his or her ethnic identity affiliation. Differences in identity construction are “pronounced in early adolescence as children first begin to form a more enduring sense of self” (Bluck and Habermas, 2000, p.19 in Nelson and Fivush, 2004). The professional Nepalese family never lived in Nepal nor did they spend extended periods of time there. However, full acculturation had not occurred for the professional Nepalese children due to the high degree of exposure to peripheral ritualised practices which affected ethnic identity affiliation. This was the case for the parents as well as the older brother. However, they did highly participate in peripheral ritualised practices. Therefore, both the age at which the child is exposed to the home country, combined with the depth of integration into peripheral ritualised practices, affects ethnic identity maintenance and ultimately acculturation. Next, assessment of influences affecting attitudes to language maintenance and ethnic identity affiliation for the three case study families will occur.

## **Chapter Seven - Macro, micro and internal theoretical framework analysis**

### 7.0 Theoretical framework assessing case study families – macro, micro, and internal

There are factors at the macro, micro, and individual levels, which directly affect attitudes towards language maintenance practices, ethnic identity affiliation, and ultimately acculturation. These various factors influence an individual's placement on the acculturation continuum. As discussed in Chapter Two, the literature has identified five factors that affect language maintenance and ethnic identity affiliation. However, as Phinney (1997) and others (Padilla and Keefe, 1987) stated there are also socio-psychological factors which greatly influence eventual acculturation. These external and internal factors are; structural inequality, social and educational capital, mobility and social networking. In addition, there are internal aspects that affect individuals differently, depending on psychological stressors in relation to the subject's personality. These socio-psychological factors (Padilla and Keefe, 1987; Phinney, 1997) are macro (national or governmental policies), micro (community), and individual factors affecting acculturation. Each person's experiences are different. Thus, a detailed comparative examination of individual factors affecting the families' acculturation placement will occur.

First, this chapter will examine the macro levels this will be followed by the micro and finally the individual factors. Secondly, the families will be comparatively analysed using data extracted from the practice chart and interviews. The first level of the framework concerns the

macro factors. This was defined previously as the policies from national, governmental, or institutional levels that assist or hinder the immigrants/migrants living context.

## 7.1 Macro factors

There are two competing macro factors influencing language maintenance: structural inequality, and social capital. The first is a negative factor, which deters acculturation whereas the second promotes acculturation. ‘Structural equality’ affected both the retired Gorkha family and Gorkha family members. The second factor relates to the varying types of social capital (education, language, social). The professional Nepalese family participants were not affected by the factor of structural inequality. This was because they were not employed in the Gorkha British military. However, the professional Nepalese father received greater affordances due to the social capital of completing U.K. graduate degree. In addition, educational capital greatly influenced the retired Gorkha family and Gorkha family parent’s decisions regarding educating their children in the United Kingdom. First, examination of the factor of structural inequality will occur greater.

## 7.2 Structural inequality

The retired Gorkha family and Gorkha family members were employed by the British military. As stated previously the visa restrictions forced the retired Gorkha family and Gorkha family

children to spend more time in Nepal. The constraints of the military policies were three-fold. First, policies prohibited family and extended family members from staying in the U.K. and thus impacting negatively on their acculturation (Edwards, 2009). Second, it forced families to regularly migrate to other countries (Kochhar-Georges, 2010). Finally, policies segregated U.K. military personnel and their Gorkha counterparts in military housing estates (Edwards, 2009; Kochhar-George, 2010). The original military policies stated that U.K. citizens served in the military for 22 years, whereas Nepalese were only allowed to serve 15-19 years depending on their rank. Moreover, families could only reside in the U.K. once, for a period of three years during their fifteen-year military career unless the soldier moved away and was thereafter promoted to a higher rank. Most extended family members could only visit for short-term stays (three months). These exclusionary policies may have contributed towards the families' negative attitudes towards British culture. Moreover, the frequent migration, often to non-English speaking countries, contributed towards the retired Gorkha family and Gorkha family parents' strong attitudes to language and ethnic identity maintenance.

This particular macro factor is significant, as it was commonly believed there was a constant cohesive Gorkha community. However, the reality is that the Gorkha are a transient community in constant flux. Recently, military policy was challenged in the court and overturned in the high court (Taylor, 2009), and this occurred during the military tenure of the GF father. For the Gorkha military personnel, the overturning of the visa policy signalled a more welcoming atmosphere. However, there are legal loopholes still preventing Gorkha visa applications being accepted by the U.K. government (Kochhar-George, 2010). In addition, due to the prior visa restrictions partially being in place during his military service the retired Gorkha Family

members experienced overseas living including time in Nepal. The atmosphere from the U.K. locals is not welcoming, as findings from the questionnaire of the Dorset Gorkha community indicated (Edwards, 2009). Newspaper stories complaining because elderly Nepalese “just sit[ting] on the benches all day” (McTague, 2012). The next section compares of how and why these policies affected the individual members of the retired Gorkha family and Gorkha family members.

#### 7.2.1 *Analysis of the effects of structural inequality - Retired Gorkha family participants*

The most important and defining factor experienced by both the retired Gorkha family and Gorkha family father was the high degree of structural inequality of military policies. The negative attitudes of the local U.K. community were experienced in conjunction with macro level policies of ‘structural inequalities’ (Bourdieu, 2000; Gee, 2001) and these influenced the retired Gorkha family’s language maintenance and ethnic identity affiliation.

In addition, military macro policies restricted retired personnel from entering the Hindu temple as it was situated on the military base (Edwards, 2009). A conversation regarding the policies reflects the family’s attitudes towards acculturation (Bourdieu, 2003; Gee, 1996).

*Extract from October 28th 3-6pm retired Gorkha father:*

*Interviewer: How long were you in the army?*

*Sam: I spent 19 years in the army. I started in 1988. You can only serve 19 years.*

*Interviewer: Is this the same for British?*

*Sam: No, they serve longer. Well if you are a low rank you can serve only 15 years. Higher ranks like sergeant can serve 18 years. I was a staff sergeant so I could serve 19 years. I left in 2007.*

*Interviewer: So essentially your family has been serving in the British military for...(trails off).*

*Sam: For three generations. My grandfather also served in the military.*

*Interviewer: Your family served for three generations yet you have not been given special residency status? That seems unfair.*

*Sam: It is that is why we protested for the law to change. Before you were looked at as an outsider.*

This conversation reveals that even though his family had served for several generations they were not afforded given the same pay or pension, neither was he allowed to serve for the same length of time as a British soldier. This is similar to criticisms revealed in Edwards (2009) findings of the Gorkha community in Dorset. Furthermore, family members were discouraged from settling in the U.K. (Kochhar-Georges, 2010). The father had external constraints placed on him by military and governmental policies. During discussions, regarding military policy, he quietly voiced his belief that it was important for his children to learn Nepalese. Thus, the retired Gorkha Family father implies that he did not necessarily want his children to remain in the U.K. after he retired. Possible factors influencing this decision was the amount of time spent living

abroad in various foreign countries combined with his lack of connection to the local U.K. culture.

In addition, due to their constant forced migration, even within the U.K., the children adopted less local U.K. customs and more globalised social literacy practices. This transmigration hindered their acculturation into local British culture (Blommaert, 2010). The retired Gorkha family parents' attitudes regarding daily maintenance of their EL1 were due in part to the discrimination experienced by the parents. The daughters' daily participation in spoken Nepalese, weekly exposure to some form of written Nepalese and constant, daily peripheral ritualised practices strengthened their ethnic identity affiliation. The following conversation highlights the father's attitude towards language maintenance.

*Extract from October 28th 3-6pm retired Gorkha father:*

*Interviewer: Do you speak with the children in Nepalese?*

*Sam: Yes, every day! This is important. I do not want them to lose it.*

*Interviewer: Is this important for you?*

*Sam: My wife and I feel it is important for the girls to continue with Nepalese.*

Like the father, Nirmala stated she spoke in Nepalese every day to Sara and Sue. She also stated that her hope, in the future, was that they would learn to read more proficiently in Nepalese. This illustrates the extent to which the parents realise the importance of speaking Nepalese and of exposing the girls to peripheral ritualised practices. In addition, Sara, also spoke Nepalese every day with her with in-group peers at secondary school as there were a fairly large proportion of Nepalese Gorkha students attending this school.

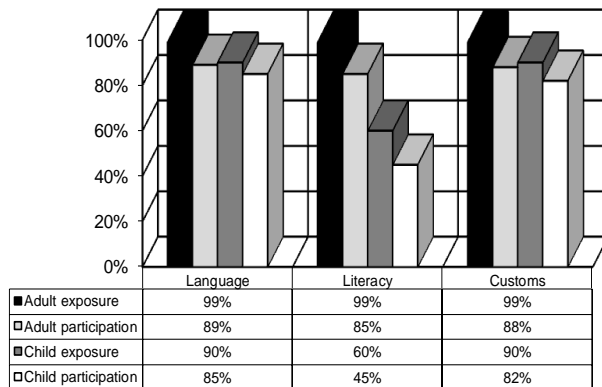
*Extract from November 15th 3:30-5:30 pm retired Gorkha family:*



*Interviewer: Do you speak Nepalese with the brothers or other Nepalese children attending secondary school?*

*Sara: I speak Nepalese to friends at school. Professional Nepalese family older brother replies in English. They are not good at speaking Nepalese but they understand it.*

Thus, due to discriminatory policies and inherent racism in the military the retired Gorkha Family had maintained both a high degree of prior exposure as well as present participation in most of the practices. As the chart below illustrates for this family there was a high degree of exposure and participation.

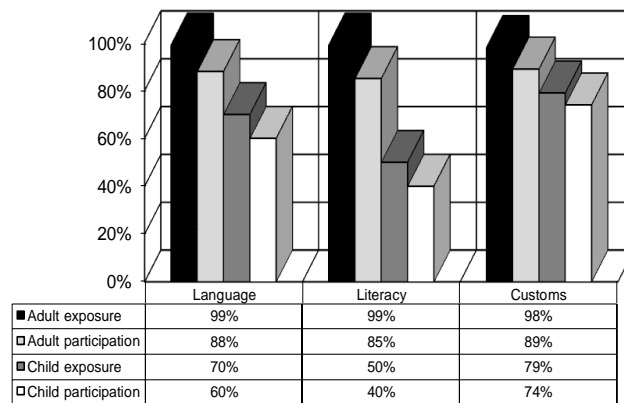


**Figure 6a** Retired Gorkha family exposure versus participation

The Gorkha family members faced similar structural inequality policies. However, during the Gorkha family father’s employment in the military some of the policies changed. This meant he experienced greater freedom in terms of visas.

7.2.2 *Analysis of the effects of structural inequality – Gorkha family participants*

The military structural equality had lessened during the past few years, although institutionalised racism was still prevalent (Kochhar-Georges, 2010). This is evident in that the Gorkha family military housing that was still in a separate council estate from the U.K. military housing. Like the retired Gorkha family case study family, the restrictive military policies were a significant negative factor that influenced the Gorkha family placement on the acculturation continuum. The Gorkha family children also demonstrated connections to the Nepalese community. The macro policies also affected this family’s migration patterns and ultimately increased the degree of exposure they had to local ethnic practices. This was a possible strong factor in the family’s ethnic identity affiliation and their position on the acculturation continuum.



**Figure 6b** Gorkha family exposure versus participation

The chart above shows the high degree of participation in peripheral ritualised practices and social language practices, despite their frequent moves.

*Extract from October 14th 5pm-8pm and October 21<sup>st</sup> 3pm-5 pm Gorkha father:*

*Interviewer: When did you come here? I was told you couldn't have your family here until 2007 only once for three years.*

*Moorthy: Yes, I was not married until 2000. On one of my leaves – we would get three month unpaid leave to go home.*

*Interviewer: Then you went back to Nepal?*

*Moorthy: Yes, we had to. Then in 2002 I was promoted to sergeant and 2004 staff sergeant. But not commissioned I have to leave the army next year. I will get pension for 22 years.*

This conversation demonstrates how policy changes facilitated this family's migration to the U.K.. This was a possible reason the girls were bi-cultural rather than acculturated as their ethnic identity was still strongly affiliated with the Nepalese community.

The restrictive policies also affected the parents' attitudes to British culture (Edwards, 2009). Often such attitudes are unintentionally transmitted to the children. In addition, the parents possessed a strong desire to expose the children to social language and peripheral ritualised practices. This is confirmed in the following conversation with the children regarding their own ethnic identity affiliation.

*Extract from November 21st 2pm-6pm Gorkha family:*

*Interviewer: How would you describe yourself?*

*Karen: What do you mean?*

*Tina: [Giggles]*

*Interviewer: How would you call yourself? French, Italian?*

*Tina: [Giggles] Nepalese*

*Interviewer: And you?*

*Karen:* *Nepalese.*

The girls maintained a high level of ethnic identity affiliation even though they were losing their language and literacy. The constant moving and the shy personality of the children facilitated ethnic identity affiliation.

### 7.2.3 *Structural inequality influencing attitudes to U.K. culture*

Military constraints also directly influenced these parents' attitudes towards British culture. This was evidenced in a conversation with the Gorkha family father.

*Extract from October 14th 5-8pm Gorkha father:*

*Interviewer:* *Here without the family? Why?*

*Moorthy:* *You can only bring your family one time in your service. And only for three years at the most!*

*Interviewer:* *That seems unfair.*

*Moorthy:* *Yes, but that is typical British rules.*

His use of the words typical British rules refers to his perception of unjust policy and reveals negative attitudes that extend beyond this policy alone (Edwards, 2009; Kochhar-Georges, 2010). Yet the structural inequality caused by the government and military policies is not the only factor that significantly influenced the family's position on the acculturation continuum. The children were cognisant of the discriminatory policies at the governmental and military levels. Parental attitudes to racism and their negative attitude to U.K. culture were apparent to the children. This was revealed in conversations with both the Gorkha family parents and

children. In the conversation, they discussed their desire for their daughters to marry a Nepalese. The following are extracts from conversations with the mother and daughters regarding marriage.

*Extract from December 13th 3:30-5:30 pm retired Gorkha family:*

*Interviewer: Who do you want your daughters to marry?*

*Nirmala: I hope they marry Nepalese.*

*Interviewer: Why?*

*Nirmala: We have the same values.*

Sara and Sue also expressed a preference towards marrying a Nepalese. During a discussion with the girls about who they would marry both girls fervently wanted a Nepalese boy. When asked why they stated Nepalese were more moral and reliable. It is of course possible that they might change their minds in the future. However, there was currently a high degree of ethnic identity affiliation.

*Extract from December 2nd 3:30-5:30 pm retired Gorkha family:*

*Interviewer: Who would you like to marry?*

*Sue: I will probably marry someone from my community.*

*Interviewer: Is this because you must?*

*Sara: No, my parents will let us marry who we want. I just prefer someone Nepalese because they understand our customs and (pausing to think) values.*

*Interviewer: I know you are too young but who would you want to marry?*

*Sue: I want to marry someone Nepalese and have three children.*

*Sara: She has even chosen the names from Nepalese drama!*

The retired Gorkha family members, compared to the Gorkha family members experienced more negative moments. The negative attitudes from the British military personnel experienced by the Nepalese from the British could have influenced their decisions as to who they would prefer to marry. That they will marry Nepalese is not a certainty, however their desire reveals the impact the negativity had on this family's attitudes towards acculturation and ethnic identity affiliation.

Later, the retired Gorkha family daughters were asked how they identified themselves. Their answers are illuminating.

*Extract from December 2nd 3:30-5:30 pm retired Gorkha family:*

*Interviewer: How would you identify yourself ethnically?*

*Sue: Nepalese!*

*Interviewer: How do you identify yourself?*

*Sara: Nepalese!*

The strength, speed, and convictions of their answers indicated a strong sense of ethnic identity affiliation. Findings indicate that a lack of acceptance into in the U.K. culture combined with the exclusion of the Gorkha from the regular British army resulted in a strengthening of this Nepalese's family ethnic affiliation. The Gorkha family girls identified as Nepalese and categorically stated they would prefer to marry someone 'similar to them'. The significant finding at this level is the family's exposure to negative attitudes towards the Nepalese community from the local military. The children affiliated with Nepal, however they created an ethnic identity that was more "constructive marginal" (Bennett, 1993) than assimilated. Thus, the children are bi-cultural whereas the parents have created a more "marginal identity". They are separated from the local ethnic community but, unlike the retired Gorkha family members,

they do not maintain strong language maintenance practices. However, as was discussed in Chapter Six, it is not just the negative policies but the degree of exposure to peripheral ritualised practices customs that create a non-acculturated identity.

### 7.3 Macro factor – educational and social capital

The second macro factor affecting attitudes and decisions regarding language maintenance is educational and social capital. The professional Nepalese family father's educational and social capital influenced his decisions with respect to language maintenance practices (Blommaert, 2003; Bourdieu, 2003; Gee, 1996). Previous studies have shown that the higher the education and job status the more proficient in English and the greater occurrence of language loss. Whereas the retired Gorkha family and Gorkha family members maintained residence in the U.K. the reason was due not to a great affection for the country. These families sought to acquire the economic capital that the U.K. education system afforded them. In Nepal, there were few employment opportunities in areas other than farming. The retired Gorkha family father used his military employment to obtain a higher economic status.

Educational capital had a direct effect on the professional Nepalese family father's economic and social status which in turn affected the ethnic identity affiliation of the children. The professional Nepalese family father received a national scholarship from the Nepalese Ministry of Education. The Education Ministry sent assessors throughout Nepal to identify academically

advanced students and he was granted a scholarship and sent to an English boarding school in Kathmandu. It should be noted that the professional Nepalese family father had previously attended a private school so he spoke Nepalese and English rather than his parents' local dialect from the Terai plains region. This information was revealed during the pilot question historical background and assessment interview with the professional Nepalese family father.

*Extract from September 18th 4-7pm Nepalese professional family:*

*Interviewer: You are from the Terai region?*

*Kieran: Yes, that is where my family came from. But I went to school in Kathmandu.*

*Interviewer: Oh why?*

*Kieran: I won a nationwide scholarship to attend a private English language boarding school in Kathmandu.*

*Interviewer: Wow that is wonderful. So you grew up away from home.*

*Kieran: Yes, I would go back on the school break.*

*Interviewer: Was that hard?*

*Kieran: It gave me an opportunity I would not have had otherwise. That is how I got to go to university in the U.K..*

*Interviewer: Is that how you came here?*

*Kieran: Yes, I got a job after my schooling.*

In addition, he rarely returned to his parents' village with the result that his social literacy practices included a lot of English and more 'globalised' literacy practices rather than local customs and practices. The English language private education he received afforded him the opportunity to attend university in Britain. After graduation he was able to obtain work in a U.K.



architectural firm due to student visa policies. This higher paying job provided him with vertical mobility (Blommaert, 2003; Bourdieu, 1991; Heller, 2003) an opportunity that otherwise might not have presented itself. The macro factors of educational capital enabled an increase in social capital and vertical indexicality. This is a major influence in shifting language maintenance attitudes. In addition, these factors also influenced the decisions made by the professional Nepalese family parents and their placement on the acculturation continuum (Baker, 2000; Chow, 2001; Cummins, 2001; Ichiyama, McQuarrie and Ching, 1996).

### 7.3.1 *Educational and social capital influencing professional Nepalese family attitudes*

The professional Nepalese family father's educational and social capital influenced his decisions with respect to language maintenance practices (Blommaert, 2003; Bourdieu, 2003; Gee, 1996). Previous studies have shown that the higher the education and job status the higher the proficiency in English and the greater the occurrence of EL1 language loss. The next two extracts from conversations with the professional Nepalese family parents reveal attitudes to the Nepalese language.

*Extract from January 6th 3:30-5:30 pm professional Nepalese family:*

*Interviewer: Do you want your children to speak Nepalese?*

*Sumika: Yes, I hope they will. They can speak a little. I often speak to them and they understand me.*

*Interviewer: Do they want to learn Nepalese?*

*Sumika: You will have to ask them. Then let me know. If I am present they might tell what I want to hear.*

Further discussions with the professional Nepalese family father revealed more about the economic status of his parents in Nepal. His family was very poor. His parents did not attend school after year three. The father's educational and social capital enabled him to move his parents to a different village and into a much nicer house. This was revealed in the conversation below.

*Extract from September 18th 4-7pm Nepalese professional family:*

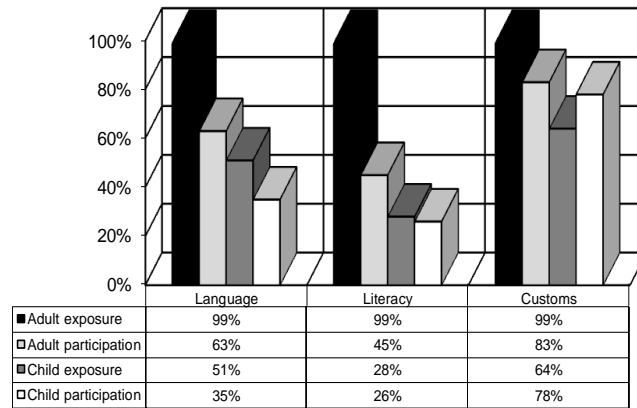
*Interviewer: Do you ever go back to the Terai region?*

*Kieran: Yes, but they don't live there...now.*

*Interviewer: Where do they live?*

*Kieran: I moved my parents to a more [Long pause] convenient house for them.*

It should be noted that the father is a committed Krishna Hindu and as a result he does not covet material goods. In fact, the father seemed a little embarrassed by his ability to move the parents to a nicer house in Nepal. Both the professional Nepalese family parents work in professional fields, the father is an architect and mother is a laboratory researcher in a hospital.



**Figure 6c** INF exposure versus participation

Thus, for the Professional Nepalese family parents the vertical indexicality and their increase in social capital are balanced by their desire to expose the children to Nepalese ethnic practices. For Nepalese and many Asians access to education is seen as a great advantage (Dhungel, 1999; Golay, 2006). Therefore, concern over their children's ability to do well is an individual concern that derives from a community's ethnic beliefs. In addition, the desire for better educational attainment is related to the economic/educational capital which grants children with greater vertical indexicality. English education is a perceived social capital (Bourdieu, 2003). This was revealed in a conversation with the Gorkha family father.

*Extract from November 21st 2-6pm Gorkha family:*

*Interviewer: Is your family back in Nepal?*

*Moorthy: Most of my family live in southern U.K.. I have two brothers in Nepal who aren't working [He laughs]. I also have one sister in Hong Kong.*

*Interviewer: You have to leave after next year. Do you want to stay here or go back home or southern U.K.?*

*Prema: I want kids to stay until 18 then after that they can go where they like. We will return to Nepal. Where the girls settle is up to them.*

Language does not just index knowledge; it also serves as powerful tool for migrants from developing nations to increase their home identity and acculturate in the local community (Bourdieu, 1990; Heller; 1997).

Therefore, to ensure his daughters attained a higher status by gaining educational capital through English he believed that any obstacles to high grades had to be removed. It is worth noting that it seemed less important to the parents where the girls chose to settle after the parents are retired. For the parents the priority was for their daughters to gain an education in the U.K.. This indicates that the parents are only partially acculturated as the discussions indicated a lack of desire to immigrate to the U.K..

#### 7.4 Micro factor - social networking

##### 7.4.1 *Social networking for the Gorkha family participants*

In the literature review; economic status, access to the U.K. community, and language proficiency contribute to whether immigrants/migrants create an ethnic community or integrate into the local social network. Social networking occurs amongst lower socio-economic

immigrant/migrant families. Maintaining ties with people who have similar language and ethnic practices is something immigrants have participated in over the years (Goldstein, 1997). The Gorkha family mothers socialised informally in self-created Nepalese networks. She was shy and not a strong English speaker whereas the father was a confident English speaker and had an outgoing personality. The Gorkha family mother had little education and worked as a cleaner with other Nepalese wives in a small company. This correlates with other studies which noted that women of lower economic and social status tend to use ethnic social networks rather than integrating into the local community (Dhugel, 1999; Goldstein, 1997). In other words, the Gorkha family mother was more reliant on an in-group peer social network. In addition, her English proficiency was limited. This is similar to the wife of the retired Gorkha family father.

#### 7.4.2 *Social networking for the retired Gorkha family participants*

After retiring from the army, the retired Gorkha family father's job, the house they rented, and the wife's part-time employment were all obtained through social networking within the Gorkha community. This is evidenced in the conversation below with the retired Gorkha family mother.

*Extract from November 15th 3:30-5:30 pm retired Gorkha family:*

*Interviewer: Are you working?*

*Nirmala: Yes, part-time.*

*Interviewer: How did you get your job?*

*Nirmala: I got it from a friend.*

*Interviewer: Nepalese friend?*

*Nirmala: Yes, her husband is part of the regiment. There are a lot of Gorkha family wives working in the company.*

Therefore, both the Gorkha family and retired Gorkha family parents used social networking within their ethnic community to obtain advantages. The Gorkha family parents mainly socialised with other Nepalese work colleagues and friends who had also retired from the Gorkha regiment. A sub-community of retired Gorkha soldiers and their families existed and this sub-community had become slightly “marginalised identity”.

*Extract from November 8th 3:30-5:30 pm retired Gorkha family:*

*Interviewer: After you had to retire where do you work?*

*Sam: I had taken training courses in the military for electronic servicing. After I had to retire I was able to get a job in a company which was contracted with the military.*

*Interviewer: Are there a lot of Nepalese in the company?*

*Sam: Yes, mainly retired Gorkha soldiers work in the company.*

*Interviewer: So you mainly speak Nepalese at work?*

*Sam: Yes usually.*

Their experience with negative attitudes and policies influenced their participation in strong social networks (Bennett, 1993). Social networking amongst lower income immigrant is more prevalent than amongst immigrants with higher education status (King, 2000). As noted in the literature review, communities who work in the blue collar sector feel they have stronger social capital within their ethnic community (Fishman, 1991; Goldstein; 1997; King, 2000).

In the final analysis, both the restrictions and the prejudices strengthened the positive identity of this family's ethnic affiliation. For this family the experience of racism in the military and exposure to negative aspects of the new country (U.K.) tainted their perception of their new home and led them to actively maintain positive ethnic identity affiliation. Furthermore, the higher educated professional status of both the professional Nepalese family parents meant they interacted on a social basis more with local U.K. people. This was due to the fact they worked mainly with locals from the U.K. whereas both of the other Gorkha parents predominantly worked with Gorkha or Nepalese. However, although there was a constraint on community cohesion due to restrictions on lengths of stay for extended family members staying as well as access to religious institutions Nepalese social networking remained strong. This was partially due to a common bond formed in relation to discrimination practices. Essentially the structural inequality policies created an 'us and them' identity for the Gorkha family and retired Gorkha family members. However, the professional Nepalese family case study members had immigrated to the U.K.. Therefore, they had other macro factors affecting them. Both macro and micro level factors contributed to attitudes which in turn affected language maintenance, ethnic identity and acculturation. However, for individual participants, there were more personal or internal factors affecting these decisions.

#### 7.5 Individual internal factors – socio-psychological affects

While, individual attitudes need to be assessed, that assessment should occur from within the acculturation continuum framework. There were two major socio-psychological internal factors involved: safety and children's self-esteem. The issue of safety will be addressed first. While the Gorkha family were stationed in Nepal, the wife had a miscarriage. The Gorkha family

parents blamed the poor quality of Nepalese hospitals (Tajfel, 1978). This factor, in addition to the perceived poor education system in Nepal, had a decisive effect on the Gorkha family father's decision to bring his family to the U.K.. The miscarriage was mentioned during a conversation about where the Gorkha family children were born.

*Extract from October 14th 5-8pm Gorkha father:*

*Interviewer: What affected your decision to come to U.K.?*

*Moorthy: She was pregnant but the hospitals in Nepal are bad. She lost the baby.*

*Interviewer: That is awful. What did you do?*

*Moorthy: Yeah we weren't supposed to right away but brought her to Hong Kong. She got pregnant and in November 2001 in U.K.. I brought to the U.K.. I wanted the baby to survive. In 2001 was born. Then in 2003 May was born.*

*Interviewer: So both kids born here within the three years.*

*Moorthy: Yes. It was safer here.*

The last comment about it being 'safer here' indicates the Gorkha family father's personal desire to have and raise, children in a place where the health standards were higher than Nepal. Rather than stemming from an overarching micro or macro factor, this desire is driven by a socio-psychological need for safety and survival (Maslow, 1943). Nepal is one of the poorest countries in the world with a low literacy rate (UNESCO, 2010). Having their baby die was a strong determining factor for the timing of their subsequent births. The incident of the miscarriage caused the quick succession of births, within the three year visa period, so that the babies would be born in the safety of a U.K. hospital. However, it was not just the safety issue that influenced the Gorkha family parents' decisions; social status and self-esteem were also critical factors.



The Gorkha family parents' desire for their daughters to obtain so-called better schooling was not their only motive for deciding to remain in the U.K. for the immediate future. Their daughters' personalities were also a factor in that decision. The girls' shyness contributed to their not wanting to stand out. Introverted children work hard to fit into their school culture. However, the girls had moved around considerably during their formative years and so did not have opportunities to significantly bond to a particular culture. The following comment highlights how the father realised that his daughters' individual personalities put constraints on his desire to move again. Now they are settled in the U.K. and are making friends.

*Extract from November 14th 9 am-1pm Gorkha family:*

*Interviewer:               Where next?*

*Moorthy:                    June 12, 2005 for one year in Bath. Then 2006-2007 a year in Kent.*

*Interviewer:               You have family in Kent. How was that?*

*Moorthy:                    I think it was hard on the girls. They are shy and don't make friends easily. It takes them a long time to warm up.*

As a result, the father worked the system so his daughters had the opportunity to remain the U.K.. Thus, despite the structural inequality experienced by the Gorkha family, their basic need of security and a safe standard of living took precedence.

To sum up, a richer picture emerges if we consider the family's engagement with language maintenance and ethnic identity practices alongside the external and micro factors which facilitated the decision-making processes involved in that maintenance. Research has shown that macro and micro factors have a considerable influence in this respect (Roberts, et al., 1999). In

this case, at the individual internal level, the father made decisions based on the death of their first child in Nepal. The other critical factor for the father's decision to remain in the U.K. was the structural inequality of the restrictive family visa policies that affected the father's right to remain in the U.K.. This allowed the girls to obtain social and educational capital through a U.K. education. These forms of capital would enable his daughters to vertically index to a higher status.

However, while these factors affected decisions regarding their children's future, other significant factors such as age of exposure to home country and traditional practices and exposure to Peripheral ritualised practices greatly influenced the individual families' ethnic affiliation and ultimately their placement on the acculturation continuum. Comparatively, even with inconsistencies in degree of social language and social literacy practices amongst the three case study families the one consistent factor was the high degree of peripheral ritualised practices. Furthermore, even the professional Nepalese family youngest son who experienced the least exposure to social language and home country ethnic practices still maintained ethnic identity affiliation. In addition, this family received the greatest positive affordances at the macro and micro level (social capital and vertical mobility). Therefore, complete acculturation would be expected from the youngest son. However, prior research stated macro, micro or language maintenance and ethnic identity factors (cohesion of community, home country exposure, in-group peers, and family influence) are the main reason for placement on the acculturation scale. This thesis argues that placement can also be slowed and/or stopped with consistent exposure to peripheral ritualised practices. This was the most consistent factor affecting language maintenance and ethnic identity affiliation.

## **Chapter Eight - Conclusion**

### **8.0 Conclusion**

In the first chapter, the research began by asking “Do Nepalese immigrant/ migrant families maintain language and ethnic identity through observable practices, and if so, what type of practices do they use? Do attitudes to language maintenance remain constant or shift over time? In the families where shift/loss is occurring, what are the factors that caused this and do these shifts affect the strength of ethnic identity affiliation? Is there a consistency of attitudes towards language maintenance and ethnic affiliation amongst the family members and comparatively between families?” Three Nepalese families, one immigrant and two migrant with children, whose ages ranged from primary to secondary school were chosen for case study observation and interviews. Based on initial pilot interviews types of language maintenance and ethnic identity practices encompassing social language, social literacy and peripheral ritualised practices were identified. The observation process due to the familiarity between two of the families and my son became a real process of participatory observation. This final chapter summarises the findings amongst family members and comparatively between case study families, based on the theoretical framework and acculturation continuum presented in Chapter Three. While addressing the above questions this chapter illustrates how the layered and complex assessment of language maintenance and ethnic identity practices relate to attitudes towards acculturation. Finally, this chapter will discuss limitations of the research, future implications, and how this thesis expands the scope of the previous research in the field.

To conclude, even with the decrease in some types of language maintenance and ethnic identity practices such as social language and social literacy practices, the frequency of participation in peripheral ritualised practices and the age at which family members were exposed to home country and traditional ethnic practices influenced the slowing and/or stopping of acculturation in all three case study families. Examination of the findings of the three family case studies revealed that even with some loss or shift in language maintenance practices ultimately exposure to extensive, consistent, repetitive peripheral ritualised practices at a particular age, prevents full acculturation amongst the various family members. This became most apparent during the social moments my son and I spent with the families. The intimate moments playing games, sharing meals, participating in ethnic and religious practices allowed with the families and my son provided me opportunity to witness the full extent of their participation. In a globalised world where ‘transmigration’ is becoming a norm rather than an exception, maintaining ethnic identity affiliation through peripheral ritualised practices and social language practices is important. While, the shifts in language maintenance were due to the age and frequency of exposure to the home country as well as the ethnic community, these were not the only factors that influenced the changes in familial attitudes towards language maintenance and ethnic identity affiliation. As seen in the findings macro, micro, and often internal factors influence attitudes as to whether or not a person wishes to acculturate. However, this thesis argues that, there is a critical factor in terms of the age at which the child exposed to peripheral ritualised practices that strengthens their ethnic identity affiliation. This study also revealed several issues such as pre-adolescent age, globalised practices versus traditional practices and most importantly the existence of peripheral ritualised practices being constructive influences on ethnic identity creation and affiliation.

The parents in this study were consistent in terms of their social literacy practices. As stated in the interviews the parents wanted their children to acquire Nepalese literacy skills. However, for all three case study parents there is a difference as to when this should occur. From the interviews the parents felt social literacy could be allowed to decrease as it is a skill that can be learnt later in life. Yet, Tajfel (1981) stated that a child must acquire knowledge of the community in order to incorporate it into his or her self-identity. While this is true it could be argued that the Nepalese and Gorkha community is diverse as it encompasses several religious, cultural, and linguistic practices. Thus, in the future further research is needed into the differences in ethnic communities as they affect language maintenance and ethnic identity affiliation.

Another aspect discussed was the significant factor of age. At the pre-adolescent stage, boys become detached from cross-gender relationships and identify with same-sex peer groups. In addition, the lack of same-sex in-group peers combined with a lack of exposure to the parents' home country cause a shift in ethnic identity affiliation. Early adolescence is the stage when self-identity initiates reflections on social context, as well as family. At this age peers' affiliation is important and so, how one's identity is constructed depends on peer attitudes towards the child's ethnic affiliation. One factor that directly affects this, as seen in the data, is the extensive exposure to peripheral ritualised practices.

Peripheral ritualised practices are a new and important aspect in language maintenance and ethnic identity affiliation for primary and early adolescents. All three case study families engaged in extensive peripheral ritualised practices. Even family members, who were initially

perceived to be acculturated, were in fact found to be more bi-acculturated following close observation. The reason for the family members' bi-acculturation, rather than full acculturation, was the fact that their daily lives were embedded with moments of continual ethnic identity affiliation. These derived from intensive participation in daily peripheral ritualised practices. These small, yet consistent, practices acted as reminders of the participants' ethnic identity affiliation. The practices helped immigrants/migrants to construct a positive self-identity rather than feeling marginalised even while experiencing forms of structural inequality.

This particular finding has implications for how communities conduct and implement policies and programs for newly arrived immigrants. However, other than defining how policy is set there is a micro application that ultimately affects the overall community educating teachers, community members and immigrant families about the benefits of peripheral ritualised practice maintenance. The Dorset Gorkha community is an example of how educating managers who hire Nepalese wives, in the awareness of peripheral ritualised practices such as the importance of food and clothing, would provide a more inclusive community experience rather than the present marginalised feeling which exists. There would be less resentment and community bridges could be built rather than the present walls of discrimination (based on ignorance). However, the limitations need addressing.

## 8.1 Limitations of the research

While the researcher is confident in the findings related to age of exposure and peripheral ritualised practices, there are limitations to this study. This study was not quantitative and so cannot be generalised. This study was a journey taken together with the researcher and the family members. Although in some research circles the familiarity would be considered a restriction in that a bias could occur. However, I argue that the relationship we forged produced a greater truth or understanding of how the individuals perceived their process of ethnic identity and language maintenance. Therefore, while this dissertation cannot generalise across an ethnic group it is imperative that for future research we try to understand how the individual and family co-construct their ethnic identity through the use of ritualised peripheral practices. Thus, that is one of the points of this study. It was always argued that generalised statements regarding language maintenance and ethnic identity practices should not be made. However, the design of the research allowed for deeper more individual assessment of the families and factors influencing them. As stated in Chapter Four, Heath (2008) argues that researchers need to focus on the “how” and “why” questions rather than the “what” in a given context. Thus, while the design of the research lacks the quantifying “what” element, the “why” and “how” have been highlighted for these case study families. This ethnographic case study analysis, while limited in its generalisability, has opened up the debate and enabled these findings to be utilised in further areas of investigation.

## 8.2 Future implications of peripheral ritualised practices

When considering the future implication of peripheral ritualised practices, it should be noted that educators and families need to become more active participants in language ecology, rather than

just allowing language maintenance and ethnic identity to occur. Prior research investigated either language maintenance or ethnic identity affiliation. Few investigated the influence of prior exposure and how the age of that exposure could affect acculturation. While social literacy studies have vigorously examined global practices, art and multimodal social literacy practices, few have investigated peripheral ritualised practices. It is important for stakeholders to understand the nature of their role. Immigrants/migrants both children and adult, co-construct and adapt their evolving identity in conjunction with their living context or habitus. Tajfel (1978) studied social identity theory and identified a link between social identity, minority identity, and language attitudes. He stated that identity is derived from group membership and is part of an individual's self-concept. Identity derives from two factors: knowledge of membership of group and emotional significance of identity. The former connects to the concept of peripheral ritualised practices. Peripheral ritualised practices are often forgotten in globalised societies but they positively define and enable affiliation to an ethnic identity. There is a worldwide push for English to be the lingua franca for business, politics, and international proceedings. However, language is only a tool people use to communicate. A more critical factor for immigrants/migrants to consider is ethnic identity affiliation.

This dissertation concurs with Pollmann's (2013) assertion that intercultural capital, or more specifically the newly termed peripheral ritualised practices, can "offer more than a set of economically viable skills that allow their respective bearers to successfully compete in global markets. As well, it can complement "original" cultural perspectives without imposing a need to abandon them in favor of assimilation to "new" ones" (p.3). This dissertation presents a term that researchers could utilise to when creating awareness and sensitivity training, in peripheral ritualised practices, for newly arrived migrant/immigrant families, elders, community members



as well as government stakeholders and educators in order to expand people's awareness of how constructive ethnic identity affiliation can ameliorate immigrants' well-being in their new country or residence. The course would train immigrants and stakeholders who come into contact with them in the importance of intercultural capital, more specifically, peripheral ritualised practices. As well, training awareness would highlight the importance of exposing children and community members in peripheral ritualised practices. The participants of such an awareness course would enable immigrant officials, government employees, both at the national and local level, who deal with immigrants in any capacity, as well as pre-service and in-service teacher trainees to better comprehend how even inadvertently marginalising immigrants creates pockets of resentment that often expresses itself in the form of violence. Local community members, stakeholders and educators knowledge of peripheral ritualised practices will expand people's awareness of how constructive ethnic identity affiliation can ameliorate immigrants' well-being in their new country or residence. The awareness training enables all stakeholders to co-construct new forms of practices. Consequently, language maintenance and ethnic identity is not subjugated and marginalised but instead become funds of knowledge for immigrants to share.

After training the families, the research would further examine whether awareness of peripheral ritualised practices enables constructive identity over time. Following on from the initial assessment, researchers would train families in peripheral ritualised customs examining how using multimodal technology enables young children and older people to participate in multicultural identity co-construction. The practical application of this project would involve collaboration on digital art projects, stories, animation, and flash mobs in order to facilitate a positive understanding of the various ethnic voices within a community. Furthermore, a dual

training event, for example, could have students from the university, (health, tourism, global studies or anthropology), as well as young children, interviewing and collaborating with elders on storytelling projects. As part of a school community project the children could co-create multicultural stories using multimodal technology. Thus offering both local school children and immigrant/migrant children to better understand intercultural capital and more importantly, peripheral ritualised practices.

Co-collaborating in educational and community settings, on practices such as peripheral ritualised practices, facilitates a more comprehensive understanding of the similarities and differences between various socio-cultural practices. If these transformative practices can become an integrated part of the school curriculum for local, indigenous, migrant and immigrant children then they grow up familiar with a collaborative multicultural voice. Rather than believing there is only one unilingual post-colonial viewpoint. Furthermore, the project could investigate whether awareness of the various types of practices better facilitates understanding and collaboration amongst ethnic and local communities. Exposure to these practices enables children to strengthen their ethnic identity, which could in turn also increase their desire to maintain language. These future implications arise not just from the findings in this dissertation, but also from what Pollmann (2013) who stresses as a need for “intercultural capital [that] can be realized in terms of (a combination of) awareness, acquisition, and application” (p.2). Implementing programs to raise awareness and educational community development training of peripheral ritualised practice will ultimately promote the application and creation of larger capital for migrants, immigrants, indigenous, as well as local citizens.

Understanding the importance of peripheral ritualised practices and how they enable families to become more confident in their new environment is important. Policy makers, educators and families need to be aware of how damaging restrictive, segregating, or marginalising some policies can be for newly arrived immigrants/migrants. Globalised practices do “not take into consideration certain characteristics that differ between the group and the individual” (Tajfel, 1978, p.69).

In the area of multiculturalism, peripheral ritualised practices can open up a dialogue between new immigrants and locals. Encouraging educators to embed critical pedagogy and critical literacy through an inquiry-based multimodal framework could facilitate a greater understanding of our similarities and differences. Rather than retaining the ‘us and them’ approach, educators could encourage students to work together to create video interviews, stories (live and filmed), as well as art and photo collage to tell traditional stories. Children start to see how similar instead of pointing out differences, and as a consequence a collective understanding occurs. By facilitating questions in future research such as: *How can families negotiate the balance between local practices, global practices and PRC practices? What percentage of these practices change due to age or exposure to globalised practices and PRCs? Does providing a conscious awareness of how PRCs maintain LM and ethnic identity facilitate immigrants and/or migrants to have a more constructivist multicultural identity?* From this perspective, giving immigrants a voice to express their feelings regarding how important food, culture, and practices are enables a constructivist approach. This means they are more productive in the society in which they live (Cummins, 2001; Edwards, 2009; Kochhar-Georges, 2010; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2002; Yamanaka, 2005). “Even among demographically similar families, a diverse set of constraints and

affordances are at play which significantly impact students' achievement orientations towards literacy and schooling" (Monzo and Rueda, 2001, p.1).

Countries across the globe are evolving into multicultural societies. North America has already implemented governmental, educational, and social policies to enable bi-acculturation rather than assimilation. Historically, Canada originally implemented assimilation policies but after decades of research it was shown that transformative policies facilitate better learning and more satisfying living conditions. Immigrants under these kinds of policies are not aggrieved and embrace their new home country. However, indigenous peoples in countries such as Canada and Australia are still marginalised. Consequently, awareness training in peripheral ritualised practice not only for immigrants/migrants but as well, indigenous peoples could benefit them. As seen in the dissertation, exposure to peripheral ritualised practices increase or facilitates a more constructive identity. Furthermore, for indigenous peoples they are often forced to migrate from remote rural areas to urban centres to seek employment. Migration compounds the difficulties in maintaining a constructive ethnic identity. Awareness of peripheral ritualised practices would enable indigenous populations struggling with reclaiming language and identity after decades of marginalisation at the hands of colonial powers such as, Australia, Canada, New Zealand and United States, to better facilitate a constructive identity. However, in the context of the United Kingdom, immigrants/migrants are the main participants who benefit from peripheral ritualised practices.

Northern United Kingdom recently had issues with new immigrants and the country has yet to embrace multiculturalism nationally. This is evidenced in the lack of transformative educational

policies in primary schools, as well as the lack of support for educational programs which encourage immigrants to maintain their L1. Neither of the primary schools these case study students attended had full-time ESL/EAL support staff, even though roughly 20% of the student population were immigrants. It is important to implement transformative policies and to recognise the need to maintain the L1 to facilitate greater learning. This transformative style of learning enables students to own their EL1 while learning their new L2, and enhances the immigrant student experience as well as forging collaboration with other U.K. students.

Furthermore, this type of learning would provide opportunities for people to experience a global education. Instead of discussing how we can alter our thinking so that immigrants can feel more at home we need to investigate the issue from a more shared and equitable educational power paradigm. In this context being a unilingual ethnic country is a disadvantage. In this globalised world, with shifting economic powers, children who grow up without learning or truly experiencing multilingual and multicultural habitus are disadvantaged in the workplace. Understanding intercultural communications increases social and human capital, but these ideas cannot be simply taught in a course. I propose no longer treating immigrants as disadvantaged to be 'saved by us', but as people who have hidden cultural and social capital and resources. Their children are educational tools for disadvantaged white western, unilingual, uni-cultural local students. By adopting a critical literacy approach, teachers can be trained to elicit the resources of immigrant students. Programs could focus upon collaboration between local and multicultural students so all students are able to assess similarities in genre, voice, cultural practices. Awareness of intercultural communication and more importantly peripheral ritualised practices encourages an understanding of multiculturalism amongst unilingual students. This would translate into being more effective communicators and problem-solvers in a future global

and multicultural world. If a transformation of how we perceive immigrant resources were to occur then there would be less marginalised immigrants. In addition, awareness and training programs could extend to community, government, police and immigrant officials. Essentially all people in official capacities could have their awareness raised so they understand that it is not just language that contributes to affiliation or assimilation. This type of training creates a stronger relationship between the locals and immigrants which could lead to a greater worldwide understanding. In addition, less people would feel dispirited with their new home country, as they would be considered necessary contributors to the education and community processes.

This study coheres with other language maintenance studies which found ethnic identity could be maintained even with a degree of language loss (Dhungel, 1999; Fiske, 1994; Padilla and Keefe, 1987; Pavlenko, 2007). Understanding the importance of peripheral ritualised practices and how they enable families to be more confident in their new environment is important for educators, policy makers and parents to be aware of. Policy makers, educators and families need to realise how damaging restrictive, segregating, or marginalising some policies can be for newly arrived immigrants/migrants. There is a limitation in that globalised practices do “not take into consideration certain characteristics that differ between the group and the individual” (Tajfel, 1978, p.69).

Children who participate in peripheral ritualised practices avoid full acculturation into the new home culture. Rather than creating an acculturated identity for children, peripheral ritualised practices and language loss result in the creation of ‘third culture kids’ (Fail, Thompson, and Walker, 2004). More importantly they maintain a positive self-identity rather than a

marginalised self-identity. For a child to maintain a coherent identity, he or she must be encouraged by parents to maintain both language and peripheral ritualised practices (Baker, 2000; Cummins, 2001; Duff, 1997; Genesse, 2006; Heath, 1983; Street, 1997). These practices should not be an add-on, thereby separating ethnic immigrants from local citizens. Instead these should be incorporated as critical literacy, embedded in classroom critical pedagogical practices so that they teach all students there is more than one way to view stories. In addition, a critical literacy research viewpoint needs to be adopted if transformative educational practices are to assist rather than constrain students. Another area that requires further investigation is that of raised community awareness. This could be achieved by raising educators' awareness of the power of peripheral ritualised practices for immigrant/migrant primary and middle school students. As Monzo and Rueda (2001) state children often engage in alternative forms of social literacy practices at home that typically go unrecognised at school.

The future of immigrant children can be better served if families and educators are aware of the power of peripheral ritualised practices in assisting the development of an empowered bi-cultural child. At this stage, if a child is connected to their language and ethnic identity then both will be maintained. Otherwise, they could become either marginalised acculturated or worse. This is an important point as today migration is increasingly based on education and global business opportunities. Finally, further investigation into peripheral ritualised practices over an extended period of time and with other immigrant/migrant families, must occur. In the context of globalisation of goods (brands, smartphones, toys, clothing, and food), services (IT, telecommunication, banking), and culture (movies, news, magazines, television, and restaurants) maintaining some form of ethnic traditional peripheral ritualised practices is important as it aids ethnic identity affiliation as well as the motivation to maintain language practices. As this thesis

has shown, peripheral ritualised practices and age of exposure to these practices and the home country influence whether acculturation is positive or negative, as in encapsulated marginal identity. This is an area future research should examine.



## Appendices

### Appendix 1a - Appendices Family Chart – Gorkha Family

<b>Gorkha Family</b>				
<b>Information</b>	<b>Father-Moorthy</b>	<b>Mother-Prema</b>	<b>Older Sister Tina</b>	<b>Younger Sister Karen</b>
<b>Age</b>	late 30's	Late 20's	9-10	7-8
<b>Schooling</b>	-High school -Army technical Courses -Army English course	-High school	Primary year Five	Primary year three
<b>Proficiency</b>	Fluent both speaking and listening	Low but understands and speaks enough	Good –attended international school	Good –attended international school
<b>Job</b>	Social welfare officer -Will retire 2012 after working 22 of 22 years	Part-time cleaner	student	Student
<b>Birthplace</b>	Small village near Pokhara	Small village near Pokhara	In U.K.	In U.K.
<b>Other residences</b>	South of England one town 2005-2006 Different town 2006-2007, 2009 - Now Brunei 2007-2009, Nepal 2004-2005, 2010 (3 months)	South of England one town 2005-2006 Different town 2006-2007, 2009 - Now Brunei 2007-2009, Nepal 2004-2005, 2010 (3 months)	South of England one town 2005-2006 Different town 2006-2007, 2009 - Now Brunei 2007-2009, Nepal 2004-2005, 2010 (3 months)	South of England one town 2005-2006 Different town 2006-2007, 2009 - Now Brunei 2007-2009, Nepal 2004-2005, 2010 (3 months)

**Appendix 1b - Appendices Family Chart – Retired Gorkha Family**

<b>Retired Gorkha Family</b>				
<b>Information</b>	<b>Father-Sam</b>	<b>Mother-Nirmala</b>	<b>Older Sister Sara</b>	<b>Younger Sister Sue</b>
<b>Age</b>	Mid - late 40's	Late 30's	14-15	9-10
<b>Schooling</b>	-High school --electrical training provided by the - British army English courses given by British army	Completed High school	Secondary year 10	Primary year five
<b>Proficiency</b>	Fluent both speaking and listening	Fluent both speaking and listening	Good – attended school in the U.K. for 5 years	Good –attended school in the U.K. for 5 years
<b>Job</b>	-worked in an electrical company -obtained employment through contacts With the Gorkha Community -Previously worked 19 *** Work limit changed from 19 to 22 years after his retirement		student	Student
<b>Birthplace</b>	Small village near Pokhara	Small village near Pokhara	Near Pokhara 1996	Near Pokhara 2001
<b>Other residences</b>	East Timor 2000 (only dad), Bahrain 1998-2001, Nepal 1996-1998 and 2001-2004, U.K. 1995, 2004-present	East Timor 2000 (only dad), Bahrain 1998-2001, Nepal 1996-1998 and 2001-2004, U.K. 1995, 2004-present	East Timor 2000 (only dad), Bahrain 1998-2001, Nepal 1996-1998 and 2001-2004, U.K. 1995, 2004-present	East Timor 2000 (only dad), Bahrain 1998-2001, Nepal 1996-1998 and 2001-2004, U.K. 1995, 2004-present

**Appendix 1c - Appendices Family Chart – Professional Nepalese Family**

<b>Professional Nepalese Family</b>				
<b>Information</b>	<b>Father- Kieran</b>	<b>Mother- Sumika</b>	<b>Older Sister Ji</b>	<b>Younger Sister Milan</b>
<b>Age</b>	Mid - 40's	Early 40's	14-15	10-11
<b>Schooling</b>	Part of Primary and Secondary in a private English school in Kathmandu on a government scholarship -Obtained a BA and MA in Architecture in the U.K.	- BA in a U.K. University after marriage	Secondary year 10	Primary year six
<b>Proficiency</b>	Fluent both speaking and listening	Fluent both speaking and listening	Good –attended school in the U.K. for 5 years	Good –attended school in the U.K. for 5 years
<b>Job</b>	Architect	Lab technician in a hospital	Student	Student
<b>Birthplace</b>	Small village near Terai	Just outside of Kathmandu	U.K.	U.K.
<b>Other residences</b>	Nepal	Nepal	Visited Nepal Age 11 and 7	Visited Nepal 7 and 3 but only a short trip

## Appendix 2 - Interview Protocol

- 1) Please tell us about your life before coming to the U.K.?
  - What languages could you speak? Read? Write?
  - What languages did you first study school in?
  - When did you first learn to read and write in English?
  - Why did you come to the U.K.?
  - How did you feel about coming to the U.K.? (excited, nervous, happy etc.)
  - What kind of education did you receive prior to coming to Canada? Where did this occur?
  
- 2) Tell us what happened when you arrived in the U.K.?
  - What grade did you enter school (the children)?
  - How did you choose the school/parents choose the school?
  - What were you first feelings and impressions of the school?
  
- 3) Do you get any help at school for your reading and writing in English?
  - If so, what kind of help and how much per day/week?
  - Did you have to overcome difficulties in English? How did you cope with them? How did you feel about that?
  
- 4) How would you rate your English language skills? 1=weak 5=fluent
  - How would you rate your Nepali (or other dialect) language skills in speaking?  
1=weak 5=fluent
  - How would you rate your Nepali (or other dialect) language skills in listening?  
1=weak 5=fluent
  - How would you rate your Nepali (or other dialect) language skills in reading?  
1=weak 5=fluent
  - How would you rate your Nepali (or other dialect) language skills in writing?  
1=weak 5=fluent
  
- 5) What kind of Nepalese language schooling have your had?
  - a) weekend or afterschool class in a formal setting b) tutoring by a family member or community member c) mother or father gives homework in reading or writing d) never attended any of the above
    - How long did these language practices last? A) one year b) over two years c) never occurred d) still occurring
    - What kinds of practices a) spoken language b) reading and writing c) both a & b d) none

- In the past did your parents speak to you in Nepali?
  - If so for how long?
  - When did they stop?
  - Why did they stop?
- 6) Do you feel you have changed language maintenance practices from you first to second child? If so why?
- 7) Do you have other Nepali friends?
- What peer groups do you mix with? Assign a number from one (weak affiliation) 100 (strong affiliation) to each group.
    - a) Nepali friends b) Nepali community members c) multicultural school friends d) British school friends e) afterschool club friends
  - When you are interacting with the Nepali community what kinds of Nepali **social language practices** do you do? (*choose as many as you wish*)
    - a) Speaking to elders b) speaking to friends c) speaking with parents friends d) listening to stories by elders e) listening to parents speaking with friends or family
  - What kind of Nepali **social literacy practices** do you do? (*choose as many as you wish*)
    - a) Reading stories or comics b) being read to by parents or family c) watching Nepali TV or movies d) listening to Nepali music e) reading newspapers, magazines or website
  - What kind of `Nepali **ritual peripheral practices** do you do? (*choose as many as you wish*)
    - a) Listening to family members or community members chanting/praying b) following Hindu/Buddhist religious festivals c) eating traditional food d) celebrating Nepalese non-religious festivals e) wearing traditional clothing
- 8) Do you attend afterschool classes to improve your English?
- What language do you feel most comfortable socializing in?
  - What language do you feel most comfortable working in?
  - When you are angry or upset, which language do you use to express yourself?
  - Which language do you think best suits your personality?
- 9) In terms of your values and lifestyle, do you view yourself as ?

- a) Gorkha b) Nepalese b) Nepalese-British c) British-Nepalese d) Asian e) British
- Why?
  - How would you rate your affiliation to the country Nepal 1=strong home country 5=just where my parents are from
  - How would you rate your connection to the Nepalese/Gorkha local community 1=strong community connection 5=weak feel like an outsider
  - How would you rate you connection to the U.K. local community 1= strong group member 5=outsider

### Appendix 3 - Decision Rules

1. *Who or what is the phenomenon of central focus?*

The Nepalese families and the communities' social literacy practices in relation to the formal context is the central focus.

2. *What are salient features?*

Spatial structure (formal, informal), cultural identity, formal context structure (academic literacy practices in comparison with informal social literacy practice), attitudes towards literacy, experiential background (where have lived, exposure to culture, religion, internationalism).

3. *Who am I with respect to these individuals, community, and /or the sites?*

For the Nepalese family in (village name), I am viewed as, a friend and someone who is helping the family. However, for the Nepalese family in (Northern town) I am viewed as someone who could help with cultural literacy practices. The community will view me as an outsider.

4. *What will the times and spaces of data collecting be?*

Monday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday and Sunday will be the days I am able to visit the sites. However, Monday will be evenings only and Saturday usually will be in the morning. Whereas, the other days will vary from afternoon to evening depending on participants schedule. The time spent per visit will be between 1.5-2 hours. The minimum visits a week will be two with the maximum being four visits a week.

5. *What makes me curious about what is happening here? How would I answer someone who asks about the one or two central issues or experiences in my own life that have led to my being here?*

The opportunity to examine differences between communities whose social literacy practices differ widely from those of the host country filled me with curiosity.

Furthermore, the opportunity to examine two multicultural schools with Nepalese students and assess the differences in terms of how formal setting affects the informal setting.

The central experience comes from raising a bi-cultural, bilingual child in various formal contexts around the world and discovering how cultural identity and social literacy practice affected his literacy learning.

Secondly, having implemented culturally relevant social literacy learning strategies and noticing an increase in student engagement after implementation caused me to examine informal and formal social literacy learning.

6. *What will I consistently be able to tell others about whom I am and what I will be doing here?*

I will inform those involved that I am observing the social literacy practices in the Nepalese community.

7. *How will I protect the identity and interests of those whose lives I propose to examine?*

Reference to the type of community will be as a northern Nepalese community rather than a Gorkha community. Family names and other student names will be altered.

Moreover, reference to the identities of the schools will only be as a North U.K. school.

The use of the students' age and not the Year will occur.



Appendix 4a – Original Informed Consent Form For Background Survey

THE UNIVERSITY *of York*

Department of Education

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

*Dear Parents, Children, Teachers and Family Friends,*

*I, Nettie Boivin, am asking for permission to interview you, your sons and other family members (grandparents, aunts and uncles) for a background survey that will be part of my PhD dissertation. I am also asking for permission to observe your child in the playgrounds, play areas and common areas in and around the neighbourhood. The nature of the study is to examine the relationship between language maintenance, social literacy and ethnic practices and ethnic identity of the Nepalese/Gorkha community, in the home and community setting. This part of the study is to obtain crucial background information and to pilot the interview questions.*

*I will observe the children near their schools and in their homes. The observations will be weekly from September, 2010 to June, 2011. I will take notes and some portions of the conversations might possibly be audio-taped. Transcripts of the conversation will be used to examine the area of ethnic identity and socio-cultural practices. However, the research or any written information regarding the project **will not include** any first or family names of the students or community members. The school name and city name will also be anonymous. The students will be referred using pseudonyms. The school will be referred to as a school in the North of England. None of the observations or interviews will be videotaped. The transcripts and any written material in the dissertation may be requested for reading by the parents. If you are okay with your son/daughter being included in the study please sign this form and return it to me immediately.*

*Yours Sincerely,*

*Nettie Boivin, PhD candidate University of York*

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(Signature of parents/guardians/head teacher/principal) \_\_\_\_\_ 2011 (date)

*Contact information:*

*Nettie Boivin, University of York, (name of village and county) England, U.K. [nlb511@york.ac.U.K](mailto:nlb511@york.ac.U.K). I wish to receive a copy of the research (Please check the above box if your answer is yes.)*

Appendix 4b – Updated Version of Informed Consent for Ethnographic Study

THE UNIVERSITY *of York*

Department of Education

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Dear Parents, Children,

*I, Nettie Boivin, am asking for permission to interview you, your sons and other family members (grandparents, aunts and uncles) for an ethnographic study for my PhD dissertation. I am also asking for permission to observe your child in the playgrounds, play areas and common areas in and around the neighbourhood. The nature of the study is to examine the relationship between language maintenance, social literacy and ethnic practices and ethnic identity of the Nepalese/Ghurkha community, in the home and community setting.*

*I will observe the children and family members near their schools and in their homes. The observation and interviews will be around 30 hours over a nine month period. The observations will be weekly from October, 2010 to June, 2011. I will take notes and some portions of the conversations might possibly be audio-taped. Transcripts of the conversation will be used to examine the area of ethnic identity and socio-cultural practices. However, the research or any written information regarding the project **will not include** any first or family names of the students or community members. The school name and city name will also be anonymous. The students will be referred using pseudonyms. The school will be referred to as a school in the North of England. None of the observations or interviews will be videotaped. The transcripts and any written material in the dissertation may be requested for reading by the parents. If you are okay with your son/daughter being included in the study please sign this form and return it to me immediately.*

Yours Sincerely,

Nettie Boivin, PhD candidate University of York Department of Education

---

(Signature of parents/guardians/head teacher/principal) \_\_\_\_\_ 2011 (date)

Contact Information:

Nettie Boivin, University of York, (village name) England, U.K. [nlb511@york.ac.U.K](mailto:nlb511@york.ac.U.K). I wish to receive a copy of the research (Please check the above box if your answer is yes.)

Appendix 4c - Gorkha Background Survey – Questionnaire



University of York Educational Studies- for Nettie Boivin 104030111

05/10/2010

**General Instructions:** *My name is Nettie Boivin. I am researching an ethnographic comparative study on socio-cultural literacy practices and the difference between home and formal setting for my PhD. This questionnaire will be gathering background information from families who have a child with more than one LI. The information will be triangulated against questionnaires, observations, and the researchers' notes. Please answer freely and openly. **The information will be completely confidential. Identity of the respondents will not be disclosed under any circumstance.** The information you provide will given an honest assessment of the Gorkha community in England, U.K.. There are no right or wrong answers. All of the questions are ranked by number and therefore any identification to you will be removed. Thank you for your time. If you wish to get a copy of the results please let me know.*

**I. Background of Respondent:**

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Occupation: \_\_\_\_\_

Education: a) College b) High school c) Junior High d) Primary

Economic level in U.K. – a) lower class b) middle class c) upper middle class d) rich

Economic level in home country - a) lower class b) middle class c) upper middle class d) rich

Age of the respondent \_\_\_\_\_

Age of the child/children \_\_\_\_\_

Ethnic background of the mother: \_\_\_\_\_

Ethnic background of the father: \_\_\_\_\_

Language(s) spoken by the mother: \_\_\_\_\_

Languages(s) spoken by the father: \_\_\_\_\_

Country and village of child/children birth  
\_\_\_\_\_

Country and village of mother's birth \_\_\_\_\_

Country and village of father's birth \_\_\_\_\_

Country and village of the grandmother \_\_\_\_\_

Country and village of the grandfather\_\_\_\_\_

Religion practiced by the  
parents\_\_\_\_\_

Religion practiced by the grandparents\_\_\_\_\_

Religion practiced by the children\_\_\_\_\_

Festivals celebrated by the  
family\_\_\_\_\_

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Type of festival – a) religious b) ethnic c) cultural d) nationalistic e) other \_\_\_\_\_

**II. Attitudes to literacy-**

A) What is literacy?

B) What does it mean to you?

C) What is its importance to your child?

D) What are the ways to practice it? At home only    At school only    At home and school    In the  
community    home-community-and school

*Contact information:*

*Nettie Boivin, University of York Department of Educational Studies, (village and county) England, U.K.  
[nlb511@york.ac.U.K.](mailto:nlb511@york.ac.U.K)*

*I wish to receive a copy of the research summary*

(Please check the above box if your answer is yes.)

**Appendix 5a – Language Practice Chart - Social Language**

<b>Social Language</b>									
	<b>Types of Literacy Practice EL1</b>	<b>Father</b>	<b>Mother</b>	<b>Older Sister</b>	<b>Younger Sister</b>	<b>Exposure Adults</b>	<b>Exposure Children</b>	<b>Participation Adults</b>	<b>Participation Children</b>
<i>Daily</i>	<i>Practice</i>								
<i>Weekly</i>	<i>Score</i>								
<i>occasionally</i>									
<i>or never</i>									
<b>Cultural Interactive Language Practices</b>									
<b>Type 1</b>	Singing/ Chanting								
<i>Buddhist</i>									
<i>twice daily</i>									
<i>Hindu daily</i>									
<i>or weekly</i>									
	Riddles								
	Jokes								
<b>Type 1 Total</b>									
<b>Social Interactive Language Practices</b>									
<b>Type 2</b>	Conversation In-group peers EL1								
<b>Type 3</b>	Conversation Family in EL1								
<b>Type 2 &amp; 3 Total</b>									
<b>Multimodal Language Practices</b>									
<b>Type 4</b> <i>(These are in the ELI not subtitled)</i>	Watching videos/DVDs <i>(In the ELI)</i>								
	Watching TV or listening to Radio <i>(In the ELI)</i>								
	Watching a movie <i>(In the ELI)</i>								
	Listening to music taped or on TV <i>(In the ELI)</i>								
<b>Type 4 Total</b>									
<b>TOTAL</b>									

**Appendix 5b – Language Practice Chart - Social Literacy**

<b>EL1 Social Literacy</b>									
	<b>Types of Literacy Practice EL1</b>	<b>Father</b>	<b>Mother</b>	<b>Older Sister</b>	<b>Younger Sister</b>	<b>Exposure Adults</b>	<b>Exposure Children</b>	<b>Participation Adults</b>	<b>Participation Children</b>
	<i>Daily Weekly Occasionally or never</i>								
	<i>Practice Score</i>								
<b>Traditional Text-based Social Literacy Practices</b>									
<b>Type 1</b>	Reading books								
	Reading letters								
	Reading text messages								
	Reading e-mails								
	Reading notes								
	Reading religious or cultural books								
	Reading newspapers or magazines`								
<b>Type 1 Total</b>									
<b>Multimodal Text-based Social Literacy Practices</b>									
<b>Type 2</b>	Watching videos/DVDs ( <i>with subtitles</i> )								
	Watching a movie ( <i>with subtitles</i> )								
	Reading news on Nepalese/ Gorka website								
<b>Type 2 Total</b>									
<b>Socio-cultural Traditional Social Literacy practices</b>									
<b>Type 3</b>	Participating in ( <i>ELI afterschool club activities</i> )								
<b>Type 4</b>	Oral storytelling ( <i>biographic tales</i> )								
<b>Type 3 &amp; 4 Total</b>									
<b>TOTAL ALL TYPES</b>									

**Appendix 5c - Language Practice Chart – Peripheral Ritualised Practices**

<b>Peripheral Ritualised Customs</b>									
	Types of PRC Practice EL1	Father	Mother	Older Sister	Younger Sister	Exposure Adults	Exposure Children	Participation Adults	Participation Children
<i>Daily</i>	<i>Practice</i>								
<i>Weekly</i>	<i>Score</i>								
<i>or never</i>									
<b>Community Cultural/Ethnic Ritual Practices</b>									
<b>Type 1</b>	Listening to a live music concert								
	Listening to a religious live music performance								
<b>Type 1 Total</b>									
<b>Peripheral Socio-cultural Communication Exposure</b>									
<b>Type 2 over hearing not active in discourse</b>	Family/ community speaking in Nepali								
	Hearing family members chanting/ Praying								
<b>Type 2 Total</b>									
<b>Peripheral Community and Religious Practices Exposure</b>									
<b>Type 3</b>	Eating traditional food								
	Eating religious festival foods								
	Eating Western foods with Asian taste influence								
<b>Type 4</b>	Celebrating religious festivals								
	Celebrating non-religious festivals								
<b>Type 5</b>	Exposure to traditional clothing								
	Exposure to traditional art and décor								
<b>Type 3,4,5 Total</b>									
<b>TOTAL</b>									

## Appendix 6 – Observation Time Line

<b>Dates &amp; Time</b>	<b>Official Observations and Interviews</b>	<b>Unofficial Observations and Interviews</b>	<b>Social Moments of Observation</b>
	<b>GF 9OV 34hrs. RGF 17OV 33hrs. NPF 15 OV 31 hours</b>	<b>GF 3 UOV 6 hrs. RGF 15 UOV 9 NPF 27 UOV 14.5</b>	<b>GF 3SM 11hrs. RGF 3 SM 19 hrs. NPF 10 SM 56 hrs.</b>
September 15 <sup>th</sup> 10am-12am 2 hrs		Met with Social Welfare Officer discussed giving out the questionnaire	
September 18 <sup>th</sup> 4-7pm 3 hrs	Obtained informed consent from the entire family piloting of questionnaire met with entire professional Nepalese family including Ji and Milan		
September 20 <sup>th</sup> 10am-12am 2 hrs		Met Social Welfare Officer to give questionnaires to the Gorkhas	
September 23 8:15-8:30 am 15 mins.		Walked professional Nepalese youngest son (Milan) to school with Thai my son	
September 26 <sup>th</sup> 9-7pm 10 hrs.			Hindu Festival in Northern U.K. (informal) Spoke with father regarding another retired Gorkha family speaking to me. Daughter attended same school as Thai
October 1 <sup>st</sup> 6-10pm 4 hrs.			Attend friends birthday party. All parents were there socially talking.
October 4 <sup>th</sup> 3:30-4 pm 20 mins.		Walked home with classmate of professional Nepalese youngest son and discussed past events	
October 5 <sup>th</sup> 3:30pm 15 mins.		After school spoke with mother of retired Gorkha family and arranged to meet with the father.	
October 5 <sup>th</sup> 8:15-8:30 am 15 mins.		Walked professional Nepalese youngest son Milan to school with Thai my son	
October 11 10-11:30 pm 1.5 hrs		Met with Head teacher and interview her about the Gorkha children	



October 13 <sup>th</sup> Wednesday 5:30-6 pm 30 mins		Retired Gorkha youngest daughter Sue, professional Nepalese son Milan and my son attend the first after school drama club. Parents gathered and talked while waiting.	
October 14 <sup>th</sup> 2-5pm 3hrs	Met with Gorkha father for three hours- initially told wives wanted to wait until the husbands returned before they filled out forms. Then he suggested I interview him and his family. He then agreed to sign consent form		
October 15 <sup>th</sup> 3:30-5:30 pm 2hrs	Met with Gorkha mother and father – both parents signed consent forms. They agreed to allow children to participate. Children would sign next session		
October 19 <sup>th</sup> 8:15-8:30 am 15 mins.		Walked Milan to school with Thai my son	
October 20 <sup>th</sup> 5-5:30 pm 5:30-7:30pm 2hrs	Meeting with entire Gorkha family. The children Tina and Karen signed a new form as the previously signed form regarded the questionnaire	Met retired mother, Sue and Milan after drama class. We all walked home and talked.	
October 21 <sup>st</sup> 3-5pm 2hrs	Meeting with entire Gorkha family and the children Tina and Karen		
October 25 <sup>th</sup> 3:30-5:30 pm 2 hrs	Met with professional Nepalese family		
October 27 <sup>th</sup> 5:30-6pm 30 mins		Met retired Gorkha mother picking up Thai We walked home together and talked.	
October 28 <sup>th</sup> 3-6pm 3 hrs	First meeting with retired Gorkha father and family. They signed the new consent form including the children Sara and Sue.		
October 31 <sup>st</sup> 6-8pm 2hrs			Milan professional Nepalese and my son went trick or treating for Halloween. The father accompanied them with us.
November 1, 3:30-5:30pm 2hrs	Met with retired Gorkha family for observation and semi-structured interview including		

	the children Sara and Sue.		
November 2 8:15-8:30am 15 mins.		Walked Milan to school with Thai my son	
November 3 <sup>rd</sup> 5:30-6pm 30 mins		Met retired mother, Sue and Milan after drama class. We all walked home and talked.	
November 4 – 3:30-5:30pm 2 hrs	Met with professional Nepalese family including Ji and Milan for observation and semi-structured interview		
November 5 <sup>th</sup> 6-10pm 4 hrs.			Bonfire party with professional Nepalese family and all the kids from school. Spent time with parents and children
November 7 12-4pm 4 hrs.	Observed and interview Gorkha family children. Spoke to parents first. Then spoke with Tina and Karen brought my son to break the ice.		
November 8 3:30-5:30 pm 2 hrs	Met with retired Gorkha family including the children Sara and Sue for observation and semi-structured interview		
November 10 5:30-6pm		Met retired mother, Sue and Milan after drama class. We all walked home and talked.	
November 11 3:30-5:30 pm 2 hrs.	Met with professional Nepalese family including Ji and Milan for observation and semi-structured interview		
November 14 <sup>th</sup> 10am -2pm 4 hrs.	Observed and interview Gorkha family children Tina and Karen. Spoke to parents first. Then spoke with daughters brought my son and played in the backyard		
November 15 3:30-5:30 pm 2 hrs.	Met with retired Gorkha family including the children Sara and Sue observation and semi-structured interview		
November 16 8:15-8:30 am 15 mins.		Walked Milan to school with Thai my son	
November 17 5:30-6pm 30 mins		Met retired mother, Sue and Milan after drama class. We all walked home and talked.	

November 18 3:30-5:30 pm 2 hrs.	Met with professional Nepalese family including Ji and Milan for observation and semi-structured interview		
November 21 1pm -5pm 4 hrs.	Observed and interview Gorkha family children Tina and Karen. Spoke to parents first. Then spoke with daughters brought my son and played in the playground with other Gorkha children		
November 22 3:30-5:30 pm 2 hrs.	Met with retired Gorkha family including the children Sara and Sue for observation and semi-structured interview		
November 24 5:30-6pm 30 mins.		Met retired mother, Sue and Milan after drama class. We all walked home and talked.	
November 25 3:30-5:30 pm 2 hrs.	Met with professional Nepalese family including Ji and Milan for observation and semi-structured interview		
November 28 <sup>th</sup> 10-6 pm 8 hrs.		Attended Hindu Festival in a town in Northern U.K. with Nepalese Professional father and mother Ji and Milan	
November 16 8:15-8:30am 15 mins.		Walked Milan to school with Thai my son	
December 1 <sup>st</sup> 5:30-6pm 30 mins		Met retired mother, youngest daughter of retired family and youngest son of Nepalese professional family after drama class. We all walked home and talked.	
December 2 3:30-5:30pm 2 hrs.	Met with retired Gorkha family including Sara and Sue for observation and semi-structured interview		
December 5 10am -2pm 4 hrs.	Observed and interview Gorkha family children Tina and Karen. Spoke with children in their bedroom. We played with dolls		
December 6 3:30-5:30 pm 2 hrs.	Met with professional Nepalese family including Ji and Milan for observation and semi-structured interview		
December 7 8:15-8:30 am		Walked Milan to school with Thai my son	

15 mins.			
December 12 9-12 pm 3 hrs.	Observed and interview Gorkha family children Tina and Karen. Spoke with children in the playground		
December 13 3:30-5:30 pm 2 hrs.	Met with retired Gorkha family including Sara and Sue for observation and semi-structured interview		
December 17 3:30-5:30 pm 2 hrs.	Met with Professional Nepalese family including Ji and Milan for observation and semi-structured interview		
December 19 1-5 pm 4 hrs.	Observed and interview Gorkha family children Tina and Karen. Spoke with children in their room, then moved to the living room and finally went outside to play.		
December 21 4pm -next morning 19 hrs.			Milan slept over during the holidays.
January 3 10-12 pm (no school) 2 hrs.	Met with retired Gorkha family including Sara and Sue for observation and semi-structured interview		
January 6 3:30-5:30 pm 2 hrs.	Met with professional Nepalese family including Ji and Milan for observation and semi-structured interview		
January 10 3:30-5:30 pm 2 hrs.	Met with retired Gorkha family including Sara and Sue for observation and semi-structured interview		
January 13 3:30-5:30 pm 2 hrs.	Met with professional Nepalese family including Ji and Milan for observation and semi-structured interview		
January 17 3:30-5:30 pm 2 hrs.	Met with retired Gorkha family including Sara and Sue for observation and semi-structured interview		
January 18 8:15-8:30 am 15 mins.		Walked Milan to school with Thai my son	
January 19 <sup>th</sup> 3:30-5:30 pm 2 hrs.	Met with professional Nepalese family including Ji and Milan for observation and semi-structured interview	Met retired mother, Sue and Milan after drama class. We all walked home and talked.	
January 20 3:30-5:30 pm	Met with retired Gorkha family including Sara and Sue for		

2 hrs.	observation and semi-structured interview		
January 24 3:30-5:30 pm 2 hrs.	Met with professional Nepalese family including Ji and Milan for observation and semi-structured interview		
January 26 <sup>th</sup> 5:30-6pm 30 mins.		Met retired mother, Sue and Milan after drama class. We all walked home and talked.	
February 2 3:30-5:30 pm 2 hrs.	Met with retired Gorkha family including Sara and Sue for observation and semi-structured interview	Met retired mother, Sue and Milan after drama class. We all walked home and talked.	
February 3 3:30-5:30 pm 2 hrs.	Met with professional Nepalese family including Ji and Milan for observation and semi-structured interview		
February 6 12-4pm 4 hrs.			BBQ with Gorkha family and neighbouring Gorkhas
February 7 3:30-5:30 pm 2 hrs.	Met with retired Gorkha family including Sara and Sue for observation and semi-structured interview		
February 8 8:15-8:30 am 15 mins.		Walked Milan to school with Thai my son	
February 9 3:30-5:30 pm 2 hrs.		Met retired mother, Sue and Milan after drama class. We all walked home and talked.	
February 10 3:30-5:30 pm 2 hrs.	Met with professional Nepalese family including Ji and Milan for observation and semi-structured interview		
February 11 9:30-10:30 am 1 hrs.		Met with Head teacher and interview her about the retired Gorkha children and the professional Nepalese children (she was Head teacher for both older and younger children)	
February 14 3:30-5:30 pm 2 hrs.	Met with retired Gorkha family including Sara and Sue for observation and semi-structured interview		
February 16 5:30 -7:30pm 2 hrs.	Meet with Gorkha family including Tina and Karen for brief visit	Met retired mother, Sue and Milan after drama class. We all walked home and talked.	
February 17	Met with professional Nepalese		

3:30-5:30 pm 2 hrs.	family including Ji and Milan for observation and semi- structured interview		
February 21 3:30-5:30 pm 2 hrs.	Met with retired Gorkha family including Sara and Sue for observation and semi-structured interview		
February 22 8:15-8:30 am 15 mins.		Walked Milan to school with Thai my son	
February 23 3:30-5:30 pm 2 hrs.		Met retired mother, Sue Ji and Milan after drama class. We all walked home and talked.	
February 24 3:30-5:30 pm 2 hrs.	Met with professional Nepalese family including Ji and Milan for observation and semi- structured interview		
March 1 <sup>st</sup> 8:15-8:30 am 15 mins.		Walked Milan to school with Thai my son	
March 2 5:30-6 pm 30 mins.		Met retired mother, Sue and Milan after drama class. We all walked home and talked.	
March 9 5:30-6 pm 30 mins.		Met retired mother, Sue and Milan after drama class. We all walked home and talked.	
March 15 <sup>th</sup> 8:15-8:30 am 15 mins.		Walked Milan to school with Thai my son	
March 16 3:30-5:30 pm 2 hrs.		Met retired mother, Sue and Milan after drama class. We all walked home and talked.	
March 20 3-6 pm 3 hrs.			The drama performance socialised with retired Gorkha family and professional Nepalese family including Ji, Milan, Sara and Sue
March 29 <sup>st</sup> 8:15-8:30am 15 mins.		Walked Milan to school with Thai my son	
April 10 9-12 am 3 hrs.			Went to Gorkha family Tina's violin concert
April 19 <sup>th</sup> 8:15-8:30 am 15 mins.		Walked Milan to school with Thai my son	
April 24 <sup>th</sup>			professional Nepalese

5-9pm 4 hrs.			family and retired Gorkha family celebrated a Hindu festival and asked Thai and I to join
May 10 <sup>th</sup> 8:15-8:30 am 15 mins.		Walked Milan to school with Thai my son	
May 12 <sup>th</sup> 4pm-6pm 2 hrs.	Met with professional Nepalese family including Ji and Milan for observation and semi-structured interview		
May 13 <sup>th</sup> 6-10 pm 4 hrs.		Classmate's birthday party both my son and Milan attended. Spoke to parents when picking up	
May 17 <sup>th</sup> 8:15-8:30 am 15 mins.		Walked Milan to school with Thai my son	
May 22 9-5 pm 4 hrs.			Went with the Gorkha family and the Gorkhas to Whitby on a social event my son came as well.
May 31 <sup>th</sup> 8:15-8:30 am 15 mins.		Walked Milan to school with Thai my son	
June 7 8:15-8:30 am 15 mins.		Walked Milan to school with Thai my son	
June 12 9-11:30 am Then lunch until 2pm			Soccer game with Professional Nepalese father and Retired Gorkha father children included Sara, Sue, Ji and Milan Thai
June 14 8:15-8:30 am 15 mins.		Walked Milan with Thai my son	
June 17 2-3:30 pm 1.5 hrs.			Final year 6 concert with all the parents
June 26 <sup>th</sup> 12-4pm 4 hrs.			My son's birthday party and picnic

**APPENDIX 7 – Field notes and Conceptual Memo Chart**

<b>Data Tools</b>	<b>Gorkha Family</b>	<b>Retired Gorkha Family</b>	<b>Professional Nepalese Family</b>
<b>Field Notes</b> Official observation and interview	<b>9 Official visits 34hrs</b> 140 typed A4 pages for observation and interview	<b>17 Official Visits 33hrs</b> 136 typed A4 pages for observation and interview	<b>15 Official visits 31 hours</b> 142 typed A4 pages for observation and interview
<b>Conceptual Memos</b> Official observation and interview	<b>9 Official visits 34hrs</b> 40 typed A4 pages of conceptual notes for observation and interview	<b>17 Official visits 33hrs</b> 35 typed A4 pages of conceptual notes for observation and interview	<b>15 Official visits 31 hours</b> 36 typed A4 pages of conceptual notes for observation and interview
<b>Field Notes</b> Unofficial observation and interview	<b>3 Unofficial visits 6 hrs. + 3 social moments 11 hrs.</b> 25 typed A4 pages of Field notes of unofficial observations and interviews	<b>15 Unofficial visits 9 hrs. + 3 social moments 19 hrs.</b> 21 typed A4 pages of Field notes of unofficial observations and interviews	<b>27 Unofficial visits 14.5 + 10 social moments 56 hrs.</b> 24 typed A4 pages of Field notes of unofficial observations and interviews
<b>Conceptual Memos</b> Unofficial observation and interview	<b>3 Unofficial visits 6 hrs. + 3 social moments 11 hrs.</b> 5 typed A4 pages Conceptual memos of unofficial observation and interview	<b>15 Unofficial visits 9 hrs. + 3 social moments 19 hrs.</b> 10.5 typed A4 pages Conceptual memos of unofficial observation and interview	<b>27 Unofficial visits 14.5 + 10 social moments 56 hrs.</b> 9.75 typed A4 pages Conceptual memos of unofficial observation and interview



## Appendix 8 – Notes on Data Framework and Practice Chart

<b>Framework and Practices</b>	<b>Retired Gorkha</b>	<b>Gorkha Family</b>	<b>Professional Nepalese Family</b>
Social Language	Every day	Several times a week	Rarely
Social Literacy	Weekly	Rarely	Never
Peripheral Ritualized Customs	Daily	Daily	Daily
Prior Exposure	Lived and went to school	Lived and attended Nepalese classes	Visited and short exposure to Nepalese classes
Attitudes to future learning	Wants to learn	Wants to improve	Possibly wants to learn
Ethnic identity affiliation	Nepalese	Nepalese	Younger brother British Nepalese
Structural Inequality	Worst experience with it	Some experience	No experience
Social Capital	Nepalese important	Nepalese still important	English Education is a social capital
Social Networking	Obtained job and apartment through community ties	Ties strong to community. Wife works with other Nepalese	Both parents work with U.K. nationals not Nepalese
Internal moments	Faced racism in army Wants children to marry a Nepalese	Fear of poor healthcare father wanted girls born in U.K.. Wants to return to Nepal girls can go wherever	Is assimilated into U.K. culture. No in-group same-sex peer and age of home country exposure affected identity affiliation. Family believes it is due to age.
NEW Factors	Age of exposure to culture	At certain age the sex of the friends makes a difference	Schools and families need to realize at the age of 9-11 children need coaxing as they tend to rebel against second language learning.

**APPENDIX 9a – Examples of Field Notes and Conceptual Memos**

<b>Field Data: F home (BG), Mon. Oct. 25<sup>th</sup>, 2010, Mother (M), Father (F), Daughter (D), Friend (P)All names are pseudonyms.</b>	<b>Reflections</b>
1. 2 pm BG. Home: Was interview by social welfare representative for the Ghurkhas.	Took notes during the oral questions of the background survey.
2. 2 pm BG Home: F welcomed me into the house showing me around D & P wanted to watch TV- Disney but mother told her she had to wait. D & P went outside to play. M home but upstairs F brought tea. M came down after F called her. Gave letter of permission and they signed. At this time F answered questions from the background survey. After these questions discussed literacy and schools in Brunei.	House is on a cul-du-sac. All houses are military personnel. Preliminary visit to be exposed to the family. Initial background questions e.g. literacy practices, age of arrival to U.K., length of time in U.K., educational background and original home life back in Nepal
3. Asked questions about cultural identity and language maintenance.	M & F don't speak Nepalese to the D. Belief that she should concentrate on English. However, D went to Nepalese afterschool classes in Brunei as the government could afford to pay for the classes.

**APPENDIX 9b – Examples of Field Notes and Conceptual Memos**

<b>Observation location and Participants</b>	<b>Conversation</b>	<b>Reflections</b>
@Hes Home YS & N –morning	N-“Do you speak Nepalese?” YS “A little but not very well” N”You understand Nepalese you spoke back to your GF in English” YS “I didn’t reply in English. The English was speaking to OS” “Here have an incense” N “ Does your F pray?” YS “Yes every morning” N ”Does your mom pray?” YS “Sometimes”	-YS instigated the conversation asking me if I spoke Japanese. -His statement was made very matter of fact not sheepishly. - Discussed the foods eaten at the Hindu festival he and my son attend the day before he seemed proud the religious traditions. He really wanted to have me experience his religious traditions once he realized I was open to them.

## New Term Definitions

**EL1:** the term used to describe the common language or dialect chosen to be used between the majority of family members.

**Cultural interactive language practices:** are socio-cultural language practices, which are particular to the identity of an ethnic community. They are more formulaic in structure that can be done individually.

**Social interactive language practices:** They are not necessarily ethnic or cultural rather they are social in nature and use the EL1 between in-group peers and family.

**Multimodal language practices:** Multimodal language practices combined more than one type of language practice. These include; books are not read but listened to and photos can be tweeted thereby, combining linguistic practices with visual ones.

**Peripheral ritualised practices:** Practices as observing cultural holidays, wearing ethnic clothes, eating traditional foods, and being exposed to non-verbal religious customs

**Traditional text-based social literacy practices:** These include practices such as; a book, religious or ethnic book, comic, note, email, letter in the EL1.

**Multimodal literacy practices:** These include; watching TV, DVD, music videos, movies or internet with EL1 subtitles.

**Socio-cultural ethnic social literacy practices:** These are ethnic text-based practices; such as reading prayer books, learning Nepalese written script, or telling oral ethnic stories and historical family narratives.

**Community cultural/ethnic ritualised practices:** These practices include listening to ethnic or religious music.

**Socio-cultural communication exposure:** These involve an assessment of practices that expose the children to language but do not involve two-way oral discourse.

**Peripheral community and religious practices exposure:** Family members participate or are exposed to ethnic food, cultural, and community ethnic practices facilitates an analysis of any possible patterns between acculturation position, factors affecting attitudes, language maintenance and ethnic identity practices.

## Glossary

<b>Acculturation:</b>	A process through which learners adapt to the new socio-cultural aspects of their new home country culture.
<b>Heritage language:</b>	Language associated with one's cultural background.
<b>Mother tongue:</b>	The language of the home or the language transmitted by the mother.
<b>Language maintenance:</b>	Describes practices families routinely perform to maintain either their ethnic identity and/or their language practices.
<b>Social language:</b>	Language used in informal situations in socio-cultural contexts.
<b>Literacy:</b>	The process of creating written code, decontextualising or decoding text-based discourse constructed during writing and reading.
<b>Social literacy practices:</b>	Literacy practices that contain social-cultural interaction.
<b>Habitus:</b>	How social and personal experiences create and alter a person's context.
<b>Mobility:</b>	The term used to describe a person's movement vertically or horizontally in terms of economic, social or community status.
<b>Structural inequality:</b>	The effects of an unequal relationship between the hegemonic power of a group and community.
<b>Capital:</b>	Capital (social, educational and cultural) is linked to notions of "connections", "relationships", "durable networks" and "group memberships" that provide benefits or tokens.
<b>Social networks:</b>	Used by migrant/immigrants to maintain and garner social capital.
<b>Partial acculturation:</b>	There are benefits in both cultures but remains reluctant to fully abandon home ethnic identity practices.
<b>Bi-acculturation:</b>	Describes a person who combines positive aspects of their ethnic identity with local practices.
<b>Third Culture Kid:</b>	A new identity which involves the synthesis of the two cultures.
<b>Acculturated identity:</b>	A person fully assimilates into the new local culture and abandons or rejects their previous home ethnic identity.

## **List of Acronyms used in this Thesis**

<b>NLS</b>	<b>New Literacy Studies</b>
<b>LM</b>	<b>Language Maintenance</b>
<b>EL1</b>	<b>Ethnic First Language</b>
<b>L1</b>	<b>First Language</b>
<b>L2</b>	<b>Second Language</b>
<b>L3</b>	<b>Third Language</b>
<b>HL</b>	<b>Heritage Language</b>
<b>MT</b>	<b>Mother Tongue</b>
<b>PRCs</b>	<b>Peripheral Ritualised Practices</b>
<b>TCK</b>	<b>Third Culture Kid</b>
<b>EAL</b>	<b>English as an Additional Language</b>
<b>ESL</b>	<b>English as a Second Language</b>
<b>TEFL</b>	<b>Teaching English as a Foreign Language</b>
<b>UK</b>	<b>United Kingdom</b>

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