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Nurturing bilingual children: the voice of Spanish-speaking families in the West of Scotland

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ABSTRACT

Previous research in the Scottish context has focused on either the most prevalent or most vulnerable migrant communities, therefore, little is known about the Spanish-speaking community. This thesis gives voice to bilingual children and their parents who were linked to a community group for Spanish-speaking families in the West of Scotland and addresses this gap. A case study approach investigated the extent to which the 14 families of Latin American and Spanish heritage were able to nurture their linguistic and cultural identities, and crucially to understand why and how they did this.

In-depth, family group interviews highlighted that family and community play a vital role in shaping children's linguistic and cultural identities, and supporting their socio-emotional wellbeing, but this is difficult due to the small size of the Spanish-speaking community in the West of Scotland. Latin American families found it more difficult to nurture linguistic and cultural identities than their European counterparts due to geographical distance. Participants valued the support and sense of belonging that the community group offered in the absence of an organically occurring local community and extended family in Scotland; Latin American parents, in particular, highly valued the group. The findings revealed that amongst the numerous intrinsic and extrinsic benefits of bilingualism and biculturalism reported, families believed that intrinsic benefits, such as heightened empathy, confidence and open-mindedness were the most advantageous.

However, findings also showed that there were many structural and attitudinal challenges to developing bilingual and bicultural identities, with promotion of English monolingualism being the biggest perceived barrier not only in schools but also in wider society. What also emerged is that there were discrepancies between educational policy aims and how participants reported these were being implemented through professional practice in schools. Families recounted experiences of subtractive bilingualism, illustrating the need for more Continuing Professional Development for educators in order to effectively nurture the development of children's linguistic and cultural identities. The findings suggest that families used digital technology heavily to mitigate the

lack of wider Spanish-speaking community and the absence of extended family and friends. Existing ecological systems models of child development were limited in their explanatory power as they did not fully account for the heightened, constructive role of digital technology. Therefore, an adapted model incorporating a new 'digital trans-system' dimension was created to explain how digital technology transcends systems, settings and structures to have a positive impact on the formation of bilingual children's linguistic and cultural identities.

The study sheds new light on the experiences of bilingual Spanish-speaking families in the context of the West of Scotland and also offers a wider theoretical contribution on ecological models of child development.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ASN	Additional Support Needs
ASR	Asylum Seekers and Refugees
CEE	Central and Eastern Europe/European
CfE	'Curriculum for Excellence'
CMW	'Citizens of a Multilingual World' policy document
DfES	Department for Education and Skills
EAL	English as an Additional Language
EEA	European Economic Area
EU	European Union
GIRFEC	'Getting it right for every child' policy
HMIE	Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Education
ITE	Initial Teacher Education
SNP	Scottish National Party
SQA	Scottish Qualifications Authority
UK	United Kingdom
UNCRC	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child

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AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, this dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview

This first chapter outlines the background and research rationale for my research (1.2) as well as the motivations, both personal and professional, for undertaking this project (1.3). It also offers definitions of key concepts and terminology used in subsequent chapters (1.4), and outlines the aims and research questions that guided the study (1.5). The final section sets out the structure of the thesis, providing an overview of the content and focal points of each chapter (1.6).

1.2 Background and Research Rationale

Scotland has become an increasingly rich and diverse tapestry of languages and cultures from around the world where many people come to live, work and study. Whether this migration is a recent transition or whether one belongs to a second or third generation of immigrant families who settled here decades ago, Scotland has always been a land of new people. From the Picts and the Celts, to the Vikings and Romans, settlers have made modern day Scotland the society that it is, a nation seeped in history and with a unique identity that has evolved over centuries of influence from both home and abroad (Ross, 2013).

This pattern of migration to Scotland continues today with 7% of residents having been born outside of the UK. Of this figure, 15% were born in Poland, 6.4% India and 6.2% in the Republic of Ireland (National Records of Scotland, 2013). The ebb and flow of migrants to Scotland may fluctuate in number and nationality but it is clear that the current Scottish Government sees the benefits that immigration can bring. Speaking to an audience at Stanford University, Nicola Sturgeon (2017, paragraph 28), First Minister of Scotland, highlighted that "Scotland benefits hugely from the contribution made by people who come to Scotland to work or study".

Children and families coming to Scotland to live may not have English as their first language; 149 languages other than English are spoken by pupils in Scottish schools (Scottish Government, 2019). Children may need support to develop

their language and communication skills in English, and it may take them time to acclimatise and establish themselves both socially and in the world of study or work (Sorace, 2017). However, migrating and learning English does not necessarily mean that children need to forget their own language and culture (Grosjean, 2015). Researchers in bilingualism have suggested that English does not need to be added at the expense of a person's heritage language and culture (Cummins & Swain, 2014; Cameron, 2012; Kramsch, 2012). Further to this, evidence from the USA, Europe and Australia indicates that maintenance of heritage languages (see section 1.4 'Terminology' for definition) can be promoted as good practice (García, 2011; Le Pichon-Vorstman & Cummins, 2020; Little & Kirwan, 2019; Lo Bianco, Nicolas & Hannan, 2019). Mehmedbegović et al. (2018), in the context of London, argue that in an environment where children's heritage language and culture continues to be valued, young people are more likely to succeed socially, emotionally and academically than those whose heritage language and culture are devalued by their school and the wider society.

In addition to immigrant families, we must not forget the children and young people who are being brought bilingually up in a home environment with two or more languages. These home-born bilinguals may have a heritage language as their main language or have English as their main language in addition to a heritage language. Research by Baker (2011) on bilingual education highlights that this group of children, mostly born and brought up in Scotland in this case, may face a different set of challenges.

According to Leung (2016) some attention is given to meeting the broader linguistic and holistic needs of migrants and bilingual children but he argues that most schools still focus on rapid acquisition of English as policymakers appear to believe this increases academic achievement or facilitates social integration. Safford and Drury (2013) suggest that bilingual children are being prevented from activating their linguistic and cultural capital as a result of institutional and professional lack of regard for other languages and cultures. According to Hayes, O'Toole and Halpenny (2017) and Siraj-Blatchford and Clarke (2000), working in cooperation with parents and the extended family is key to good pedagogical practice to promote heritage languages. This speaks to Little and Kirwan's point

(2019) that families need not cast off the language and culture of the home by living and acting as though school and home represent two totally separate and different entities which have to be segregated. It is recognised that heritage languages and cultures contribute to constructing identity, a sense of self and belonging to a community or wider family (Grosjean, 2015; Berry, 2017). Yet professional practice in Scottish schools appears to contradict research evidence supporting the maintenance of heritage languages and cultures (Hancock & Hancock, 2018; Anderson et al., 2016; Phipps & Fassetta, 2015; Foley, Sangster & Anderson, 2013). In a study of Chinese-speaking children in Scotland, Hancock (2010, p.6) noted that most teacher participants were unaware that bilingual children in their classes were involved in language learning outside school, and "showed little interest in their accomplishments outside English literacy acquisition".

This study aims to capture insights into bilingualism and biculturalism from the perspective of children growing up in Scotland and their families, to consider any benefits and challenges from the inside-out rather than the outside looking in. This study emerges from an interpretative paradigm (Somekh & Lewin, 2011; Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2018), where families' stories can be better understood through talking to them and encouraging them to discuss their experiences and give their opinions. To truly capture the voices of bilingual families, and given my own personal language background (see 1.3 'Motivations Behind the Research'), I therefore chose to focus on Spanish-speaking families so that I could conduct the research in Spanish and English.

In addition, focusing on Spanish-speaking families in the West of Scotland would help address a research gap. There has been a wealth of research and scholarly activity on the experiences of Spanish-speaking children and young people in North America (Schwartz et al., 2019; Portes & Rumbaut, 2018; García, 2011), Australia (Mejia, 2007; 2016; Jones-Diaz, 2011; Martin, 2011), England (Deakin, 2016; McIlwaine & Bunge, 2016) and on wider bilingualism in Europe (Alisaari, 2020; Le Pichon-Vorstman & Cummins, 2020). By comparison, little is known about Spanish-speaking children in Scotland where previous research has concentrated on larger minority groups, such as the Chinese community (Hancock, 2010; Bell, 2013), the Asian community (e.g. Bonino, 2017; Hopkins,

2018), Central and Eastern European migrants (e.g. Ufkewska, 2019; Sime, 2020) and the Russian community (Ivashinenko, 2018). A study by Fernandez, Casado and Osanz (2014) looked into migration experiences of young Spanish adults in Edinburgh but did not focus on children or families. The present study addressed the gap that existed by focusing on children and families from across the Spanish-speaking world, many of whom were not migrants but home-born bilinguals. Here, I had the opportunity to get an insight into their world by collecting data in Spanish and English to build on the existing body of knowledge around bilingualism in the Scottish context.

The central focus of this thesis is to investigate the extent to which Spanish-speaking families nurture their linguistic and cultural heritage, and crucially to understand why and how they do it (see 1.5 'Aims and Research Questions'). This study seeks to explore the impact of educational policy and professional practice in supporting this group of bilingual children to develop their linguistic and cultural identities. The research gathered the narratives of Spanish-speaking families' experiences and gave insight into their perspectives of life in the West of Scotland with the intention of generating new evidence on how educational policy and professional practice could better meet their needs.

1.3 Motivations Behind the Research

Having explained the wider background to this study and the rationale for the research (1.2), the following sections outline the motivations behind my choice of subject and my journey thus far from two perspectives - the personal (1.3.1) and the professional (1.3.2). Day (2002) argues that the intertwining of the personal and professional in all aspects of life and work enriches one's identity. It is impossible to separate the personal and professional factors that initiated my PhD journey from the research rationale that identified a gap in the existing body of knowledge. I agree with Hammersley (2007) that the deeply personal nature of life and work in education makes it unrealistic that qualitative research such as this could be completely depersonalised. Rather than pretending they do not exist, by bringing one's background and motivations to the foreground, it allows the potential impact of my own beliefs and experiences to be acknowledged as an influencing factor – or even a driving factor - for the research (Hammersley & Gomm, 1997).

1.3.1 Personal Motivations

As a mother in an English/Spanish bilingual family, I felt that this research would be an opportunity to reflect in a personal way and to help shape my own identity as a bilingual parent. I saw it as an opportunity to hear other Spanish-speaking families' stories and compare these to my own experiences, to learn from them and to be able to support my own children better.

Research evidence suggests (Bak & Mehmedbegović , 2017; Cummins & Swain, 2014; De Houwer, 2009) that bilingualism and having a multifaceted, mixed cultural heritage can be advantageous regardless of which combination of languages and cultures a family is composed of. Despite this, I chose to focus on these themes from a Spanish-speaking perspective as it reflected my current status and identity. I grew up in a monolingual family, school and town in the Central Belt of Scotland but learning languages and discovering new cultures always intrigued me from an early age. I studied languages at school and later at university, for me it was a way of opening doors to the rest of the world. In the late 1990s, I came to study languages in Glasgow and heard different languages, saw people of different ethnicities with a variety of cultural fashions and appearances, smelt and tasted new and exotic foods.

This new and diverse experience played to my inner sense of adventure and it was not long before I was traveling and living overseas in Spain and Latin America. I used my language skills to communicate and develop friendships, but it was only once I met my Uruguayan husband that I gradually made the journey from Spanish language speaker to bilingual. Being a 'new speaker' (Soler & Darquennes, 2019) of Spanish, in the past I may have shied away from calling myself bilingual as I acquired Spanish as an adult but, as I explore further on in this thesis, there are many forms of bilingualism and a person does not have to have a perfectly balanced command of both languages in all four skills of reading, writing, talking and listening from birth.

I raise my children bilingually in a home environment where we alternate and switch between English and Spanish but we have struggled to maintain Spanish in our family at times due to lack of exposure to the language. My husband worked

long days and only saw the children for a few hours especially when they were younger. We do not often visit South America to see our extended family and my children have never been truly immersed in Uruguayan language and culture. We live in a semi-rural location where, to my knowledge, there are no other Spanish-speaking families. Teachers and schools have not really supported or celebrated my children's Spanish language skills and Hispanic cultural background.

I was always curious as to how other Spanish-speaking bilingual families functioned, and the challenges I encountered sparked my interest to learn more about bilingualism and what could be done to facilitate it both at family level and at societal level.

Finally, due to the fact that this research has 'voice' at the heart of it, I felt it was a great opportunity to listen carefully to the stories of Spanish-speaking bilingual children and their families. They would be free to express themselves in Spanish and/or English with a researcher who could talk and listen in both languages too. They would not be constrained by a potential lack of vocabulary, grammar or sentence structure.

1.3.2 Professional Motivations

My professional career in education began as a teacher of English in Spain and then later as primary teacher in Plymouth, but as the demographics of the city changed so did my role. Plymouth had many international students and staff at the universities, it had a large hospital where many staff were from overseas and it also became a dispersal centre for asylum seekers and refugees. The Refugee Council explains this process:

> Dispersal is the process by which the Home Office moves an asylum seeker to accommodation outside London and the South East. They are first moved to initial accommodation while their application for asylum support is processed. Once the application has been processed and approved they are moved to dispersal accommodation elsewhere in the UK. (Refugee Council, 2018, 'Terms and Definitions' section)

With an increase in immigrant families from a very diverse range of languages, cultures and socio-economic backgrounds, my experience as a linguist and former teacher of English was called upon as I moved to a new post in the city's

English as an Additional Language (EAL) Service. My role as a peripatetic EAL specialist teacher was to teach pupils English so that they could access the curriculum and activities planned by their class teachers. During this time I noticed challenges that I felt were detrimental to the children, for example, the vast majority of primary teachers across the city had limited (or no) training, knowledge or experience in how to teach children who were learning EAL. In addition to this, I felt that emphasis was placed upon learning English with little regard for settling in and the social and emotional needs of the pupils. There was barely any recognition of pupils' heritage languages and use of these languages was normally actively discouraged by school staff as they believed it would detract from the acquisition of English.

Furthermore, little support was allocated to pupils who had been in the country for some time with, what on the surface appeared to be, advanced levels of English nor was support given to home-born bilinguals many of whom had gaps in their language development (Baker, 2011). The support was primarily aimed at helping new arrivals to acquire English as quickly as possible to be able to access the curriculum. Due to this, I believed there was a city-wide deficit in attending to the holistic needs of these children and families with academic achievement taking precedent over their social and emotional wellbeing. This was especially evident for those who had suffered trauma in their young lives before coming to the UK. For example, a child who lived in a war-torn country and experienced multiple bereavements or a family seeking asylum who could easily be rehoused, moved on or deported with little notice. Informed by Maslow's seminal hierarchy of needs theory (1943), I felt that the basic human needs of these children and their families needed to be met before they could flourish academically. On returning to work in Scotland some years later, I noted that support for bilingual pupils, families, teachers and schools was unfortunately not dissimilar from that in Plymouth.

I had experienced bilingualism and biculturalism from a teacher's viewpoint, now I wanted to better understand these concepts from the perspective of children and their families. What is it like to be a Spanish-speaking child in the West of Scotland? What are their experiences of policy and professional practice in schools? What influences the development of their linguistic and cultural

identities? In terms of the development of my own identity, it is threefold as my researcher, professional and personal personas have merged through the journey of this PhD process.

1.4 Terminology

For clarity, it is important early on to contextualise and define some of the key terminology that will be used henceforth in this thesis, including bilingualism, heritage language and Hispanic.

As will be explored further in Chapter 2, there are various terms used to describe and define bilingualism. In this study, I use the definition offered by Grosjean (2010, p.4) that a bilingual is a person who uses "two or more languages (or dialects) in their everyday lives" as I feel this encompasses a broad variety of language backgrounds. I also apply this to the terms biculturalism and biliteracy to convey having two or more cultures and being literate in two or more languages.

There is also variety and debate around the term used to describe the language repertoire of an individual. Literature and policy documentation often use terms such as 'mother tongue', 'first language', 'main language', 'native language', 'L1/L2/L3', 'community language', 'home language', 'regional language' and 'minority language' (e.g. McPake, 2006; Mehmedbegović , 2011). In this thesis, the term 'heritage language' is used to describe languages other than the dominant language in a social context (in Scotland this is English) as defined by Cummins (2005). As Cummins indicates, the term 'heritage language' refers to the languages of all immigrant, refugee, and indigenous groups. As findings later show, it was also the most accurate vocabulary to describe my participants' contexts. Participants in this research had Spanish as a heritage language but some also used other languages (Catalan, Gaelic, German, Italian, Portuguese) - as Skutnabb-Kangas (1995) notes, linguistic identity is highly complex, personal and unique.

As this thesis is written in English, I have used the English word 'Spanish' as a noun and an adjective throughout to describe the language spoken across Spain and much of Latin America. This is the term that English-speaking readers would

recognise and understand most easily. However, in Spain, the word used is normally 'castellano' (Castilian) rather than 'español' (Spanish) to take into account the various other official languages that are spoken in the different regions of Spain. Here, the term 'Spanish' encompasses regional variety within the language across Spain and Latin America.

For the purpose of this study and brevity, I have elected to use the term Latin America to cover North, Central and South America. Also for brevity, I often use the adjective 'Hispanic' to mean 'Spanish and Latin American'. For example, 'Hispanic culture' rather than the longer phrase 'Spanish and Latin American culture'.

McPake (2006) defines complementary education as teaching and learning of heritage languages and cultures organised by communities, independently of local authorities. She explains that complementary classes or schools normally take place after school or at weekends often because children typically do not have opportunities to study these languages in mainstream schools.

1.5 Aims and Research Questions

The principle aim of this thesis was to investigate the extent to which Spanish-speaking families nurtured their linguistic and cultural heritage, and crucially to understand why and how they do it. As stated in 1.3 'Motivations Behind the Research', I had experienced bilingualism and biculturalism from a parent's and practitioner's perspective, now I wanted to hear more from children and families. Aligning with an interpretivist approach, it was important that my own pre-intuitions and values were put on hold, in order to listen and to understand the worldviews of the participants.

This study sought to explore how educational policy and professional practice supports this group of bilingual children to develop their linguistic and cultural identities. It also aimed to gain a better understanding of the perceived benefits and challenges associated with bilingualism in the participants' contexts.

From the above aims, the overarching research questions that guided this study were:

1. What role do family and community play in nurturing the linguistic and cultural identities of Spanish-speaking children in the West of Scotland?

2. What are the perceived benefits of bilingualism and biculturalism, and what are the main barriers to this as reported by participants in this study?

3. How do participants experience Scottish educational policy and professional practice in supporting the development of their linguistic and cultural identities?

A further intention of this research is to provide new understanding of how educational policy and professional practice could better meet the needs of Spanish-speaking children and families in Scotland. Therefore, this study offers insights which may prove helpful to policy makers at local and national levels to highlight the importance of linking theory to both policy and practice. I hope the findings of this research can also be of use to Headteachers, teachers and practitioners who implement these policies to give them a better understanding of the benefits that pupils can gain from having more than one language and culture, but also the challenges that these children face. The findings may also add to current diaspora where both the importance of family and community support are recognised in children's learning and development (Collier & Thomas, 2017; Little & Kirwan, 2019).

Finally, and critically, the findings may provide clues for other Spanish-speaking parents, and perhaps other heritage languages, as they navigate their own family's linguistic and cultural identities.

1.6 Structure of the Thesis

This chapter has provided a background to better understand the origins and context of the study, including the rationale behind this research. I also offered personal and professional motivations for the study, and explained key terminology that is adopted in the thesis. I outlined the overarching aims and three research questions that guided this study and gave suggestions as to who may benefit from

its findings.

This thesis consists of a further eight chapters as follows:

Chapter 2 presents existing research evidence and literature associated with the fields of bilingualism and biculturalism to position the study within literature. It is arranged into subsections focusing on different aspects of these two main themes and also considers how linguistic and cultural identities are shaped.

Chapter 3 discusses ecological theories of learning and development beginning with Bronfenbrenner's Bioecological Model (1994) and subsequent developments of his model (Johnson & Puplampu, 2008; Martin, 2014) which incorporate the role of technology in learning. It uses an ecological framework to present existing research evidence on language, culture and identity highlighting the impact of systems, structures and relationships between them.

Chapter 4 firstly discusses key policies and documents in Scotland which locate languages within wider educational policy; the influence of these policies on bilingual children's education and development is considered. Secondly, it looks at demographics to discuss linguistic, cultural and ethnic diversification in Scotland with a particular focus on the Spanish-speaking population to contextualise this research project.

Chapter 5 considers the qualitative research design beginning with an explanation of the epistemology and methodology underpinning this study, outlining the case study approach used to capture participant 'voice'. It provides an overview of participants and the community group Club Estrella, describing access to participants and field locations. It also considers the role, values and position of the researcher. This is followed by details of the data collection method adopted and ethical considerations, especially where research involving children is concerned. Limitations and aspects of validity and reliability are discussed. It explains how a pilot study influenced and improved the main study. In the final sections of the chapter, an overview of the data analysis process is given including translation, transcription, thematic analysis and presentation of findings.

Chapter 6 is the first of two chapters which present and critically analyse the research findings. This chapter reports on the themes of Language and Culture, and Bilingualism as they were revealed through the families' voices during semi-structured group interviews. Findings on Language and Culture are presented together as the two are inextricably linked, acknowledging previous research evidence and also families' perceptions.

Similarly, Chapter 7 presents and critically analyses findings from the semi-structured family group interviews on the themes of Community, Education, Identity and Technology and how these influence the development of participants' linguistic and cultural identities.

Chapter 8 discusses the findings that have emerged from the preceding two chapters. The chapter connects the findings to prior research on bilingualism and biculturalism, and it considers them in the Scottish context. The discussion is distilled into seven Key Findings, the last of which is theoretical and draws upon the previous six Key Findings to interrogate the power of existing ecological models in explaining the development of linguistic and cultural identities. Finally, I offer my own original adaptation as an explanatory model which better represents the participants of this study.

This thesis concludes in Chapter 9 with a summary of the research and its implications. It addresses the three research questions, highlighting my contribution to the fields of bilingualism and biculturalism. I argue the study sheds new light on the experiences of bilingual Spanish-speaking families in the context of the West of Scotland, and also offers a wider theoretical contribution on ecological models of child development. I then discuss limitations of the study, potential implications for educational theory, policy and practice, and I consider avenues for possible future research. Finally, a reflection on my own journey as a researcher concludes this thesis.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Overview

The aim of this chapter is to situate the research within the body of literature and existing knowledge associated with bilingualism and biculturalism. A thorough and comprehensive review of literature was undertaken using the 'Web of Science', the Glasgow University Library and British Library EThOS databases, and also Google Scholar. I adopted a thematic approach, originally searching for keywords around the themes of bilingualism, biculturalism and identity, for example combining these with 'Spanish', 'Scotland', 'England' and 'UK'. Initial searches outlined that little is known about Spanish-speaking families and communities in the UK, even less so in Scotland. Therefore, subsequent searches expanded the choice of keyword combinations to include 'heritage languages' and similar terms such as 'mother tongue' (outlined in section 1.4 'Terminology') using the Boolean operators 'AND', 'OR', and 'NOT'. This chapter draws upon wider international research evidence in addition to UK-based studies.

Relevant existing literature is presented in the two sections that follow. The first examines the literature associated with bilingualism including the role of heritage languages, misconceptions surrounding bilingualism, research evidence on the effects of bilingualism, and how the dominant position of English affects bilingualism. It also discusses the construction of linguistic identities (2.2). The second section considers definitions of heritage culture, the complex concept of biculturalism, and then the creation of cultural identity and how this can be related to linguistic identity (2.3). Lastly, a summary of the chapter is provided (2.4).

2.2 Conceptualisation of Bilingualism

This section includes five subsections that, first, consider key definitions linked to bilingualism (2.2.1) and the various misconceptions that exist around the topic (2.2.2). It then presents research evidence on the reported effects of bilingualism, and critiques of these findings (2.2.3). The section then reflects on

the dominant position of the English language and how it has become a global *lingua franca* (2.2.4). Finally, this section discusses linguistic identity and how it is shaped (2.2.5).

2.2.1 Considering Heritage Languages and Bilingualism

Heritage Languages

Heritage languages are often referred to as 'community', 'home' or 'mother tongue' languages or numerical L1/L2 (Language 1/Language 2 and so forth) but these terms highlight challenges in understanding the complexity of bilingualism and may perpetuate common misconceptions further. For example, Sood and Mistry (2011) point out that if a family lives in an area where they are the only speakers of their language then they do not have a community unlike larger, more established groups, so it is not always apt to use the term 'community language'. Using the term 'home languages' can give an impression that the language should be confined to the household and not used in the outside world (Sorace, 2017). Furthermore, the terms L1/L2 and so on can be confusing - does L1 mean the language they use most regularly, the one that bilinguals feel most comfortable and confident in, or the first language the person learned? Moreover, the latter term creates a hierarchy of languages through the use of ordinal numbers (Leung, 2016). Finally, in many families, it is the father who is the heritage language speaker, therefore it is not a 'mother tongue'.

Rather than focus on the relationship of the language to the individual, Cummins (2005) focuses on the relationship between languages and uses 'heritage languages' to describe all languages other than the dominant language in any given social context. As outlined in section 1.4 'Terminology', Cummins' definition is adopted in this thesis as it is broad and most suitably describes the participants who each had unique and complex linguistic repertoires. Due to the interchangeability of vocabulary in the literature, in this study the term 'heritage language' will be used for consistency and henceforth replaces similar terms that other authors may have used.

Bilingualism

There is much debate surrounding bilingualism, as if it were a strange anomaly when, in fact, using more than one language is the global norm (Romaine, 2004; Costa 2020). For example, in Singapore there are four official languages - Mandarin, Malay, Tamil and English; in Spain, Castilian, Basque, Catalan and Galician have co-official status; and even in the UK the heritage languages of Cornish, Gaelic, Irish, Welsh and Scots exist in addition to English (Tinsley, 2013). As Grosjean (2015) highlights, bilingualism is a natural phenomenon and whether it is long-established through regional, minority and indigenous languages or due to more recent movements in migration, monolingualism is actually the exception.

Bilingualism is a challenging concept to define, mainly due to the uniqueness and complexity of individual contexts and the many misconceptions that exist around the topic (Grosjean, 2010; Baker, 2011; Sorace, 2020). Highlighting this, Bailey et al. (2020) note that there are 37 different types of bilingualism based on age of acquisition, rates of immersion, family contexts, life experiences and language proficiency, for example.

In addition, there is a wealth of terminology in the field, some of which can be used or interpreted in different ways. 'Multilingualism' refers to the status of a society, group, environment or situation compared to 'plurilingualism' which can be used to describe an individual's language repertoire (Le Pichon-Vorstman, Siarova & Szőnyi, 2020). For example, in her study of heritage languages in Scotland, McPake (2006) adopted the term 'plurilingual' to avoid having to distinguish between those who spoke two and those who spoke more than two languages. On the other hand, Swiss researcher Grosjean (2010, p.4) uses the term 'bilingual' to refer to the use of "two or more languages (or dialects) in their everyday lives" - this definition is adopted in my thesis.

Edinburgh-based Sorace (2006; 2017) also adopts a broad 'two or more' definition of bilingualism and stresses that the individual does not need to have perfectly balanced fluency in each of their languages. She explains that bilingualism is dynamic because language competency and frequency of use

fluctuate depending on the person's situation. They do not need to be equally proficient in their languages because they may have differing communicative needs in each depending on the individual's context (Grosjean, 2010; 2015). Wei and Moyer (2008, p.6) expand upon definitions of bilingualism by stating that a bilingual is "someone in possession of two languages" reflecting the evolving nature of language use and acquisition; they make the valid point that an individual may not necessarily use one of their languages on a regular basis as Grosjean suggests. Because it does not quantify language use, Wei and Moyer's definition aligns with Diebold's (1964) concept of incipient bilingualism whereby someone with any level of competence in a second language is deemed to be bilingual. Deakin (2016) believes that this definition is too broad and unreliable in its scope as it could be applied to tourists or children learning a language once a week in school.

By stark contrast, other early definitions of bilingualism often proposed that bilinguals had "native-like control of two languages" (Bloomfield, 1933, p.56) or that language use was alternate (Weinrich, 1953; Mackey, 1962). However, this conceptualisation of a 'balanced' bilingual (Romaine, 2004; Baker 2011) with equal abilities in all languages is atypical and, realistically, most are 'asymmetrical' bilinguals (Wei, 2000) with stronger abilities in one language. De Houwer (2009) argues that depending on quantity and quality of language input, the bilingual child may be a 'passive' user of the language rather than actively using it in talking and writing. While Baker (2011) explains that a bilingual may become 'passive' if they do not regularly use a language, therefore the balance of bilingualism is fragile and can fluctuate over time (Deakin, 2016).

This discussion illustrates that defining bilingualism is problematic, so it is worthwhile considering Grosjean's (1997; 2013) explanation that bilingualism and language learning is a continuum which is not a linear journey between monolingualism and perfectly balanced bilingualism. As will be discussed in detail in subsequent sections, the degree of proficiency in each language of the bilingual's repertoire largely depends on the context and environment they are in at any given time.

2.2.2 Misconceptions Surrounding Bilingualism

Grosjean states that numerous misconceptions or 'myths', have formed around the subject of bilingualism, arising from common terminology in the field of bilingualism, public and professional perceptions, and a lack of knowledge on the topic in wider society:

> Even though the phenomenon is widespread, bilingualism is surrounded by a number of myths: bilinguals are rare and have equal and perfect knowledge of their languages; real bilinguals have acquired their two or more languages in childhood and have no accent in either of them; switching between languages is a sign of laziness in bilinguals; bilingualism will delay language acquisition and have negative effects on their development; if you want your child to grow bilingual, use the one person-one language approach; children being raised bilingual will always mix their languages; and so on. (Grosjean, 2010, p.xv)

Public misconceptions around bilingualism have often stemmed from terminology which reinforces the notion that monolingualism is the norm (Deakin, 2016). Kramsch (2012) adds that we must move away from the idea, grown from early definitions, that a bilingual is two monolingual persons in one. The prevailing misconception that a bilingual must have equal competency in all of their languages is important as it affects how bilinguals are perceived and how they perceive themselves (Sorace, 2006; De Houwer, 2009a). Albeit a small study, this was highly evident in Fielding and Harbon's (2013) Australian research into bilingualism where many children reported that they were not bilingual because they were not 'balanced' bilinguals. In addition, Piller (2012) warns that the quest for perfectly balanced bilingualism can result in both children's sense of failure and parental disappointment. De Houwer (1990) claims that the bias towards monolingualism and the misconception that a bilingual is two monolinguals in one body who can do everything equally in both languages is detrimental to how bilingualism is perceived by children, families and professionals alike. This, in turn, can affect the harmonious development of bilingual children's language skills and identities (De Houwer, 2007).

Sorace (2017) suggests that parents of young children have often been given conflicting information in the past from professionals such as health visitors, doctors and teachers, which itself is a result of lack of information and education at that level. Similarly, Moskal and Sime (2016) gave examples of how

speech and language therapists in Scotland had been recruited to 'improve' Polish pupils' English language skills and pronunciation. Their research discovered that Polish parents were often concerned that bilingualism was a risk for their children's development and that it could distract them from learning English.

Other studies report that there is simply a lack of societal knowledge about bilingualism and familial bilingualism (Deakin, 2016; De Houwer, 2009a). Misconceptions influence parental (Pauwels, 2005) and teacher (De Houwer, 2013) attitudes, values and beliefs which may be detrimental to children's development and the construction of linguistic identity (see section 2.2.5 'Linguistic Identity'). Nevertheless, where parents grew up bilingually themselves, they felt they knew the advantages of knowing multiple languages and also the myths surrounding it (Mejia, 2016).

Mehmedbegović (2014) discovered that teacher discourse around bilingualism included negative statements such as "children with problems in English", "children with no language", "severe EAL" and "children with bilingual problems", highlighting a profound lack of knowledge on the subject in many London schools. Rather than seeing the positive benefits of bilingualism, any challenges were magnified and evolved into problems of attainment, behaviour and attendance at pupil and wider school level.

Similarly, Sood and Mistry's research (2011) into attitudes towards bilingualism in English schools involved 48 interviews with school staff who reported that children with English as an Additional Language (EAL) were frequently seen as not very intelligent, slow learners, often having learning difficulties, possessing basic comprehension skills and an inability to access the curriculum fully. Their study showed a wide discrepancy in practice between urban and rural schools, with staff in the latter area suggesting that they were "culturally unaware and have little experience of supporting EAL children" and that their "unintentional assumptions" negatively influenced teaching and learning (Sood & Mistry, p.203). This is confirmed in wider research on educational outcomes by Ellis et al. (2016) who found that many UK teachers unfortunately hold deficit models of

children from backgrounds different to their own.

Small scale research involving Arabic-speaking pupils in England (Amniana & Gadour, 2007) and the USA (Sunami, 2004) both reported that pupils were regularly not included in mainstream classroom work and felt isolated. Sunami (ibid) suggested that as well as lack of training in bilingual pedagogy and EAL, teachers lacked vision and their own attitudes, values and beliefs impinged on pupil progress. Thus, the impact of lack of training and/or educators' belief systems directly influences pupil outcomes. This can be observed in research conducted by Forbes and Sime (2016) who reported that refugee and asylum seeker pupils have lower levels of academic achievement than Scottish-born children, with disproportionate representation in low ability groups compared to their native peers. Often immigrant children's level of English competency is (mis)used as an indicator of ability across all curricular areas, therefore their developing English language ability places them at a disadvantage (Sime, 2018).

Mehmedbegović et al.'s (2015; 2018) research involving education professionals in London revealed that the high number of EAL pupils was viewed as detrimental to other pupils and that bilingualism was often met with negativity by English monolinguals. Their research also involved a pilot study including trainee teachers who shadowed bilingual pupils in order to understand their experiences better. All 15 trainees reported that bilingual pupils were consistently placed in the lowest ability group, even when they were outperforming other students (Mehmedbegović et al., 2018). This practice is contrary to evidence by Hall (2001) that shows mixed-ability groupings provide the most social and academic benefit for pupils who are learning English.

Further to this, Mehmedbegović et al.'s (ibid) study showed that there was a hierarchy of heritage languages where some were well supported (e.g. Arabic, Urdu, Mandarin) whilst others seemed insignificant and received little respect (e.g. Shona, Swahili, Yoruba). This echoes Lanza's Norwegian study (2004) which found that European immigrant pupils encountered fewer negative attitudes towards their heritage language and culture compared to their peers from non-Western backgrounds. Mehmedbegović's (2014) other London-based research

further illustrates that languages often suffer from a power imbalance where one is favoured over the other or perceived to be better. Participants' responses unearthed some surprising opinions:

> Bengali has no value. It does not matter to this country if people speak Bengali or not, in terms of our culture. Bengali could matter if the Indian economy grows and it can be used for business purposes.
>
> <div align="right">Conservative MP</div>
> <div align="right">(Mehmedbegović, 2014, p.12)</div>

The perception and reputation of a heritage language by wider society plays a substantial role in encouraging migrant parents to use the language with their children (Pauwels, 2005; Ceginskas, 2010). In her research on Russian complementary schools in Scotland, Ivashinenko (2018, p.22) found that "the higher the value a heritage language has in the host country, the better its chance of transmission to the next generation". Therefore, it can be deduced that attitudes towards heritage languages in general and, moreover, the perceived value of individual languages has a heavy influence on the extent to which children and parents maintain heritage languages.

Several authors have recognised that teachers appear to show little awareness or interest in bilingual pupils' heritage languages (Hancock, 2010; Mehmedbegović, 2011; Berwick, 2020). Hancock (2010), in a study of Chinese-speaking children in Scotland, wrote that:

> Most of the teachers with whom I came into contact with, during the course of my work in central Scotland were unaware that the bilingual children in their class were involved in learning literacy outside of school, and they showed little interest in their accomplishments outside English literacy acquisition. (p.6)

Similarly, the Nuffield Languages Inquiry (2000) reported that the multilingual skills and linguistic resources of minority children in the UK were under-used and all too often viewed negatively. Molyneux, Scull and Aliani (2016) state that negativity and the promotion of monolingualism sends strong messages about the value of heritage languages and ignores the linguistic and cultural capital of pupils that could not only enhance their own but their peers' learning.

2.2.3 The Effects of Bilingualism

As Grosjean (2010) outlined, many myths surrounding bilingualism exist but the majority of these arguments have been dispelled through research in recent years with evidence indicating that the benefits of having more than two languages outweigh concerns or misconceptions. Other studies (e.g. Schwartz et al., 2019) suggest that being bilingual can carry disadvantages, while Sorace (2019) believes that although there is debate around the extent of bilingual advantage, the vast majority of research does not indicate significant disadvantage or detriment as a result of bilingualism. The following sections discuss this debate by considering the reported cognitive and neurological effects of bilingualism, code switching, biliteracy, and further possible intrinsic and extrinsic benefits.

Cognitive and Neurological Effects of Bilingualism

Drawing upon an extensive body of research in psycholinguistics and neurolinguistics, evidence indicates that bilingualism may carry advantages for the brain (e.g. Costa, 2020; Bak, 2020). Enhanced neural activity in the right cerebral hemisphere (the area responsible for attention) is so frequently observed in brain scans of bilinguals that it is deemed a 'neurological signature' of bilingualism (Kovelman et al., 2008). Perhaps as one would expect, other studies demonstrate enhanced function in the left hemisphere of the brain where language and communication are controlled (Mehmedbegović, 2014).

Evidence indicates that bilinguals have better metalinguistic awareness (Bialystok, 2001; Thomas & Collier, 2003; Littlemore, 2009) and are good problem solvers due to their ability to switch between languages (Bialystok et al., 2005; Prior & Macwhinney, 2010). Kovelman, Baker and Pettito (2008) found that the cognitive benefits of being bilingual are greater where multiple languages are learned before the age of five. However, the benefits of language learning are not limited to infants nor bilinguals (Costa, 2020). For example, Bak et al. (2016) found increased mental agility, or executive function, in elderly adults who attended short Gaelic immersion courses in the Western Isles of Scotland.

Due to enhanced executive function, studies report that bilingualism, and language learning in general, counteracts decreased brain function and age-related cognitive decline in elderly people (Gold et al., 2013; Bak et al., 2014). Bak et al. (2016) suggest that bilingualism may have a stronger effect on dementia than any currently available medication. Bilingualism has also been positively attributed against the onset of Motor Neurone Disease (Bak & Chandran, 2012) and Parkinson's Disease (Bialystok et al., 2012) and recovery after a stroke (Alladi et al., 2016).

On the contrary, other research indicates some negative effects of bilingualism including smaller or slower acquisition of vocabulary and lexical fluency in both languages compared to a monolingual (Harding-Esch & Riley, 2006; Bialystok, 2010). In addition, recent research by Bailey et al. (2020) refutes the positive effects of bilingualism. Their systematic review of 52 empirical studies on bilingualism, mainly Spanish/English in the USA, concluded that bilingual participants typically performed worse than monolinguals across most measures of verbal ability due to decreased vocabulary and a language processing deficit. However, as 37 types of bilingualism (for example, based on age of acquisition, rates of immersion, family contexts and so forth) were identified by the authors, it was difficult to generalise bilingual advantage or disadvantage:

> Comparing monolinguals to bilinguals is one fallacy, but comparing simultaneous to sequential bilinguals, or early to late bilinguals, or balanced to unbalanced bilinguals, is another.
>
> (Bailey et al., 2020, p.27)

Their conclusion was similar to other recent research by Nichols et al. (2020) which studied over 11,000 Canadians. They concluded that "across a broad battery of cognitive tasks of executive function, no systematic differences exist between monolinguals and bilinguals" (ibid, p.16) once other factors such as age, socio-economic status and level of education were taken into consideration.

Code switching

As a result of having two or more languages activated in their brains, bilinguals

have a unique communicative strategy (commonly referred to as code switching or language switching) that cannot be performed by monolingual individuals (Fornůsková, 2011). MacSwan (2004, p.283) defines code switching as "the alternate use of two (or more) languages within the same utterance". For example:

> This morning *mi hermano y yo fuimos a comprar* some *leche*.
> (This morning my brother and I went to buy some milk.)
>
> The student brought the homework *para la profesora*.
> (The student brought the homework for the teacher.)
>   (MacSwan, 2004, p.283)

Code switching, like any other linguistic behaviour, is used in meaningful contexts and follows certain rules (Harding-Esch & Riley, 2006) for example, bilinguals only code switch when speaking to others with the same linguistic repertoire (Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Dewaele & Wei, 2014). Wei (2008) explains that bilinguals know precisely where and when to use their languages. Recent studies suggest that language switching is one of the factors behind increased executive function reported to be associated with bilingualism (Green & Abutalebi, 2016) and that code switching might also play a key role in delaying the onset of dementia in bilinguals (Freedman et al., 2014).

MacSwan's (2004) example above is an illustration of code switching in 'Spanglish' - a splicing of the Spanish and English languages which has evolved predominantly in the USA due to widespread immigration of Spanish-speakers (Olague, 2003). Crystal (1997, p.41) notes however, that although Spanglish is an increasingly common feature of US society and a perfectly normal feature of bilingualism, that some language 'purists' see it as a threat to both the English and Spanish languages (Garafanga, 2007). Others view Spanglish as sign of lack of education or immigrants "altering the balance of society" (Crystal, 1997, p.115). On the other hand, Ramos (2002, p.208) believes that Spanglish has grown from a practical, communicative necessity for the Hispanic population in the USA and acts as a "generational, linguistic, technological, digital and cultural bridge". Spanglish is a blend of the two languages that reflects, preserves and enriches the linguistic and cultural identities of these bilinguals (Olague, 2003).

Ribot and Hoff's (2014) findings suggested that unbalanced bilinguals code switched more than balanced bilinguals, and Grosjean and Byers-Heinlein (2018) found that code switching was often strategically used to compensate for lack of vocabulary or grammar. However, Poplack (1987, p.71) refutes this stating that "smooth, skilled switching is the domain of highly fluent bilinguals" rather than laziness or deficiency in one of the languages (Poplack, 1979; Garafanga, 2007).

On a smaller scale, this is also evident in Smith-Christmas's (2012) research into Gaelic code switching where families used it as a powerful communicative tool, especially to convey needs, emotion or for attention. She concluded that the ratio of Gaelic/English code switching depended on the context and scenarios, but also on the generation of the family member. Albeit her ethnographic study involved only one family, it considered code switching habits across three generations and found that each successive generation used less Gaelic and more English. This echoes Lo Bianco's '3G attrition' theory (2014) and Fishman's three generation model of language shift in immigrant families (1991; 2001).

Biliteracy
In addition to executive function, knowledge of more than one language can lead to heightened literacy skills across all languages (Ozfidan, 2017), this is known as biliteracy defined as "literacy interdependency between two languages" (Lo Bianco, 2003, p.27). Where children have a secure knowledge of their heritage language, studies have suggested that their literacy skills in the language of schooling are better (e.g. Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000; Baker, 2011; Fielding & Harbon, 2020). A recent comprehensive review of research evidence outlines that literacy in English improves in line with aptitude in the heritage language (Tsimpli, 2017). Continued development of bilingual children's heritage language and literacy is positively associated with wider educational outcomes and academic achievement in some studies (e.g. Cummins, 2000; Collier & Thomas 2017; Safford & Drury, 2013). Further to this, Mehmedbegović (2011) outlines that if heritage language skills are not promoted and continued then patterns of educational under-achievement may arise. Research on cross-linguistic transfer by Cummins (2000; 2008) and Fornůsková (2011) suggests that balanced bilingual children outperform monolingual and asymmetrical bilingual peers in literacy tests, contrary to findings by Bailey et al. (2020).

Ivashinenko's findings (2018) showed that engagement with texts, from poetry to fairy-tales to classical literature, played an important role in children's emotional and cultural development. In her study of Russian complementary schools in Scotland, Ivashinenko found that parents who read Russian books with their children felt that it helped to share their culture and create a bond with their children. However, this can also be applied to mainstream education where fostering children's biliteracy within classrooms can enhance the engagement of migrant or ethnic minority students in learning and develop their sense of belonging and identity (Cummins & Early, 2011). Kenner et al. (2008), in a study of British Bangladeshi pupils, found that children's biliteracy not only led to heightened metalinguistic awareness but also gave children the chance to use and extend their bicultural knowledge. This also speaks to Curdt-Christiansen's (2009) findings where Chinese immigrant families in Quebec would not only focus on language skills but also literature and the arts to pass on their culture.

Extrinsic Benefits of Bilingualism

García (2009) and Callahan and Gandara (2014) emphasise that bilingualism affords positive 'extrinsic' benefits which can bring economic and commercial advantage to the individual or a society in an increasingly global world. Mobile, transient populations are a feature of modern society (International Organization for Migration, 2015; Mariou et al., 2016) with many migrant families not settling long-term in Scotland (HMIE, 2009). Therefore, it is important that children and young people have a knowledge of their heritage language so that they can function in education, social circles and in employment if they relocate again (Ivashinenko, 2018).

Significantly, in an increasingly globalised economy and labour market, a knowledge of other languages and cultures is reported to be advantageous as employers are increasingly looking for linguistic skills in new employees (McPake & Johnstone, 2002; García, 2011; Rumbaut, 2014; Sorace, 2017). In addition to the employee and the employer, bilingualism may benefit the overall economy of a nation (Callahan & Gandara, 2014; Foreman-Peck & Zhou, 2015). Foreman-Peck (2014) estimated that the UK economy loses £48billion a year due to a lack

of linguistic and intercultural talent; this is estimated as a loss of £500 million annually to the Scottish economy (Grove, 2012).

Yet, Phipps (2016) argues that we must be careful not to promote bilingualism and heritage languages purely for economic motivations. She cites other reasons for promoting multilingualism based on considerations of history, humanitarian aid, conflict resolution, the arts and international relations. In a later text, Phipps (2019) reiterates that multilingual ideologies should arise from respect and celebration of diversity of human life, languages and cultures rather than cultivating 'human capital'.

Numerous studies have suggested that parents too are aware of the economic and career advantages that may arise from cultivating their children's bilingualism regardless of the heritage language involved - Chinese in England (Francis et al., 2010); Russian in Scotland (Ivashinenko, 2018); Spanish in Australia (Mejia 2016); heritage languages in Canada (Ballinger et al., 2020). Piller and Gerber's (2018) Australian research involving parents' exchanges on an online forum on the topic of bilingualism found that discussions centred around academic, economic and, to a lesser degree, cognitive benefits. Their findings indicate that parents typically appeared to view bilingualism as a tool for widening their children's future career opportunities.

Intrinsic Benefits of Bilingualism

As well as future careers or financial 'extrinsic' benefits, there exist 'intrinsic' benefits which are personal to the individual's sense of identity and socio-emotional development (Sarkar, 2001; Sorace, 2017; 2020). In addition to communication purposes, being able to speak one's heritage language is an emotional and social affair. For some, it can trigger memories (positive or negative) or "happiness hormones might arise when you hear somebody address you in your mother tongue, especially when you are far away from home and feeling a bit low or depressed" (University of Glasgow, 2016, Section 1.5). Maintaining one's heritage language can reinforce a sense of self, community and 'home' after geographic, cultural and/or linguistic displacement, especially

for those who have recently migrated (Grosjean, 2015). Bilingualism can develop an understanding and respect for one's roots and heritage (both linguistic and cultural) and allow children and young people to develop the capacity to negotiate their own rightful place in modern multilingual and multicultural society (Baker, 2011).

Research has shown that a variety of intrinsic benefits such as cultural agility, effective communication skills, greater tolerance towards others, open-mindedness, social initiative and emotional stability can be achieved through bilingualism (Harding-Esch & Riley, 2006; Dewaele & Van Oudenhoven, 2009; Sorace, 2012). Other studies have shown that bilingualism makes people more empathetic (Dewaele &Wei, 2012) as illustrated in Moskal and Sime's (2016) research with many examples of Polish migrants helping new arrivals to integrate into life in the UK.

Bilinguals who constantly switch between their languages have been shown to perform better in contexts in which they have to quickly change routines and adapt to new rules (Hartanto & Yang, 2016). Preparedness for change, adaptability, increased strength of character and positivity have also been noted in bilinguals (Kim, 2001). Bilinguals typically value linguistic and cultural diversity more than monolinguals (Sorace, 2017) and they have a more positive attitude to language learning in general, coupled with an ability to learn new languages easier (Kao, 2008).

Knowing and using one's heritage language means that children are able to communicate and have emotional bonds with extended family members, in particular grandparents, especially where the relatives speak little or no English (e.g. Moskal, 2014; Sime & Fox, 2015). Preservation of family relationships typically plays a major role in socio-emotional development and mental wellbeing, not only for children but for their parents too (Ivashinenko, 2018). Speaking to Pavlenko's (2008; 2014) point that language and emotion are heavily connected, in Deakin's (2016) study of French and Spanish migrant parents in England and Mejia's (2016) study of Spanish-speaking mothers in Australia, most participants insisted that they emotionally needed their children to speak their

first languages. Yet, a lack of comprehension in the heritage language can lead to emotional bonds being broken between parents and children (De Houwer, 2015).

On one hand, Cummins (2006) and Kenner et al. (2008) argue that bilingualism can lead to increased self-esteem but on the other, Portes and Rivas (2011) and Sime (2020) argue that emotional damage can happen through racism, prejudice and linguistic bullying (Dovchin, 2020). In addition to this, lower levels of competence in one language than another may cause embarrassment and damage self-confidence or self-esteem (Deakin, 2106; Dewaele & Van Oudenhoven, 2009). It must also be acknowledged that some people may not wish to maintain a heritage language, for example, due to past trauma. For some children and families, adopting a new language can be emancipatory (Pavlenko, 2008) and it releases them from the constraints of the environments in which they grew up in (Kramsch, 2009).

On the contrary, Mehmedbegović (2014) believes that bilingualism is a source of wellbeing and cognitive advantage so significant for quality of life that it is not only imperative to promote it, but a moral obligation too. This links to the UNCRC Article 30 (OHCHR, 1989) which establishes a legal obligation that children who belong to a minority group have the right to practise their language, culture and religion freely (Mehmedbegović & Bak, 2017). Despite this, by reflecting on potential negative effects of bilingualism presented above, perhaps we should also keep in mind that language choice is personal and unique, it must be the freely formed decision of the individual.

2.2.4 Dominance of the English Language

In addition to misconceptions surrounding bilingualism, there also exist other challenges for bilingual families, for example, linguistic bias and a preference towards English arising from deep-seated attitudes, values, beliefs and power structures (Cameron, 2012; Gramling, 2016). This section discusses concepts such as linguistic imperialism, English as a *lingua franca* and discriminatory

linguicism.

Linguistic Imperialism

Contemplating the dominance of English, Phillipson (1992, p.47) controversially raised the problem of 'linguistic imperialism', defining it as the "dominance asserted and maintained by the establishment and continuous reconstitution of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages". Said (1993) adds that although direct colonialism has ended, imperialism still lingers to assert power in political, cultural, economic, and social spheres; not only is the language transferred, but also culture and religion. Having once been part of the British Empire itself, the dominant political, industrial and economic position of the USA has helped the English language to continue to grow globally and, of course, it is in their (and other anglophone nations') best interests to maintain this power.

At the time of writing (August 2020), there has been a global rise in right-wing politics and anti-immigration rhetoric which affects migrants and heritage language speakers across the world (reported amongst others by Uflewska, 2018; Baran, 2017; and Sime, 2020). Immediately after the Trump administration gained office, numerous anti-immigration and pro-English measures were taken. Similarly, on his campaign trail in 2015, President Trump stated, "To have a country, we have to have assimilation […] this is a country where we speak English, not Spanish" (Baran, 2017, p72), and more recently he told four non-White Congresswomen to "go back and help fix the totally broken and crime-infested places from which they came" (Pengelly, 2019). As the largest anglophone country in the world, and arguably the most powerful, prejudicial actions and attitudes in the USA filter through to leaders and citizens of other nations. The privilege gained from belonging to the majority race, language, ethnicity or nationality should not be underestimated, and maintaining this authority serves to benefit certain sectors of society and exclude others (Bal, 2007).

Gramling (2011; 2016) discusses the 'invention of monolingualism' as a tool to maintain this linguistic imperialism and power. Phipps (2019) highlights that the

power and dominance of English is also found in academia where the world of publishing and conference presentations further promotes English and underpins colonial practice. While Kandolf (1998) adds that the policy of most Western governments toward bilingualism is, and long has been, one of benign neglect. However, Gramling (2016) argues that lack of support and an apparent refusal to embrace heritage languages is a deliberate act by policy-makers and the ruling classes in order to continue to enjoy their position of control both within their nation and on the international stage.

Lingua Franca

Due to historical and current linguistic imperialism, English has become a truly global language and a *lingua franca* - the common language between speakers who have different native languages. Thus, English is in pole-position as the 'best' language to either have as one's mother tongue or to be learning as a foreign language. At this moment in time, the dominance of English is held in place historically, politically and economically but this is no mere coincidence and it has emerged as a *lingua franca* through colonialism, trade and globalisation. Regarding the ethics and politics behind the dominance of the English language, Phipps (2014) warns of the danger in the supremacy of any single language above others.

Bal (2007, p.112) claims that there is profound "inequality built into the predominance of English as the l*ingua franca* of the globe' while Lo Bianco (2003) states that there is a power imbalance between the cultural and economic capital afforded by English compared to heritage languages. This creates a hierarchy of languages in society where power dynamics give status and value to a few select languages while neglecting the rest, as discussed in section 2.2.2 'Misconceptions Surrounding Bilingualism' by Mehmedbegović (2014; 2017). It has been argued that the Latin phrase *lingua franca* romanticises an abuse of power and control and that metaphors such as "killer language" (Pakir, 1991) or "Tyrannosaurus Rex" (Swales, 1997) would be more fitting.

The dominance of English has also caused problems for language learning in education across the world. In continental Europe, the popularity of English

means that a previously broader foreign language offer has been diminished (Alisaari, 2020). 99% of primary and 97.3% of lower secondary education students in European Union (EU) countries now study English (Eurostats, 2017) and it is a compulsory foreign language in nearly all European education systems (Mehmedbegović & Bak, 2017). Le Pichon-Vorstman, Siarova and Szőnyi (2020, p.7) state that it is "necessary to deconstruct the existing hierarchy between languages, and to apply an inclusive perspective towards all languages, both in education and in society".

Linguicism

Skutnabb-Kangas (1998) coined the phrase 'linguicism' to describe discrimination on the basis of language. This bias can take the form of favouring English over other languages but also prejudice based on versions of English which are perceived as better or worse than others, for example regional and foreign accents or dialects being given lower status. Linguicism discourages rich and diverse forms of language, identity and culture and resonates with Cameron's notion of 'verbal hygiene' which she defines as a:

> […] collection of discourses and practices through which people attempt to 'clean up' language and make its structure or its use conform more closely to their ideals of beauty, truth, efficiency, logic, correctness and civility. (Cameron, 2012, p.7)

Dovchin's (2020, p.12) research expands upon this through two main discussions. Firstly, 'ethnic accent bullying' which mostly occurs in the form of laughing, joking or shaming regional and foreign accents in society and the media. Secondly, 'linguistic stereotyping' refers to negative perceptions and judgments based on language, accent or dialect. This links to misconceptions previously presented in section 2.2.2 which highlighted teachers' negative perceptions and assumptions towards migrant and heritage language speakers (Mistry & Sood, 2012; Mehmedbegović, 2014; Mehmedbegović et al., 2015; 2018). For example, assuming that they speak 'bad' or 'low level' English regardless of their actual proficiency in English. Dovchin's (2020) study involving international university students showed that frequent ethnic accent bullying and linguistic stereotyping led to social withdrawal, low self-esteem, fear, anxiety and apprehension to speak English. This was also found in Moskal and Sime's (2016, p.4) research

involving Polish migrant teenagers in Scotland, some of whom reported feeling "ridiculed and rejected by their peers because of their limited proficiency in English". Most felt an overwhelming sense of pressure to integrate and learn English quickly. One aspect that their participants highlighted, but I had not previously considered, was that immigrants have to learn and navigate both English and Scots.

Command of the majority language in a society is commonly viewed as an essential tool for social mobility and for a better future for migrant children (Remennick, 2012). Despite this, current research has revealed new patterns and ideologies in family language choices where parents have begun to associate better prospects through international career, study and travel opportunities for their children (García, 2011) as discussed in section 2.2.3 'The Effects of Bilingualism'.

2.2.5 Linguistic Identity

This section considers the role of language in the formation of identity, how it is closely linked to cultural identity, how the stage of language acquisition influences linguistic identity and how external influences from others impacts upon the development of linguistic identity.

Language, Culture and Identity

An individual can be bilingual, bicultural or both therefore linguistic and cultural identity are not necessarily the same but may coexist (Grosjean, 2015). Despite this, language is often a carrier of shared cultural values and for many immigrants and home-born bilinguals, the two concepts are interconnected (Byram, 2008; Kramsch, 2011). Language and identity are equally inseparable:

> The connection between language and identity is a fundamental element of our experience of being human. Language not only reflects who we are but in some sense it is who we are, and its use defines us directly and indirectly. (Llamas & Watt, 2010, p.1)

Language is an essential part of who we are as human beings and how we connect with others within and outside our own communities (Francis et al., 2010). Kanno (2003, p.3) writes "bilingual individuals position themselves

between two languages and two (or more) cultures [...] they incorporate these languages and cultures into their sense of who they are". Moskal and Sime (2016) found that although their participants needed to maintain Polish for communication purposes, it also played a pivotal role in developing a sense of belonging and identity. Therefore, it is commonly accepted that language and culture, and by default bilingualism and biculturalism, are closely intertwined. In light of this and the context of the present study, this section will discuss linguistic identity but some overlap will inevitably occur with subsequent sections on cultural identity.

According to Cummins and Swain (2014), to be told explicitly or implicitly that your heritage language and the language of your family is not valued negates one's sense of self-worth. Feelings of belonging and identity are directly attached to heritage languages (García, 2009). While researching experiences of bilingual Polish children in Scottish education, Moskal (2014; 2016) discovered there was a lack of recognition of pupils' Polish cultural and linguistic heritage preventing a recognition of their identity and belonging. Similarly, research into the perceptions of teenage bilinguals in London discovered that many were self-labelling as monolingual due to the negative connotations they were picking up around their language and culture (Wallace & Mallows, 2009; Mehmedbegović, 2014).

Mehmedbegović and Bak (2017, p.156) give an example of a recently arrived Iraqi pupil who reflected on the usefulness of her two languages (Kurdish and Arabic) saying: "Miss, who needs the languages of immigrants? You need to be good at English, very good at English". It was evident that the teenager had received low value messages in relation to heritage languages and had started to adopt these herself. Linking to section 2.2.4 'Dominance of the English Language', this illustrates issues of marginalisation, inequality and power; that the most desirable and acceptable linguistic profile is that of a fluent English speaker.

This is often reinforced in politics; for example, the former Home Secretary David Blunkett complained in a 2002 Guardian article (as cited in

Mehmedbegović & Bak, 2017, p.157) that 30% of British Asian households speak languages other than English at home, and called on them to speak English as a way to "overcome the schizophrenia which bedevils generational relationships", and he made references to terrorism, 9/11 and Osama bin Laden. Negative rhetoric surrounding social cohesion, unemployment and terrorism has helped to create a viewpoint that immigrants threaten 'traditional' society, represent a burden on resources and that diversity is a threat rather than an asset (Piller, 2012; Phipps & Fassetta, 2015; Moskal, 2016).

Additive and Subtractive Bilingualism

There is also a misconception that children and families should cast off their heritage language in order to learn English, and the perception that it is better for them to prioritise learning English over maintenance or acquisition of their heritage language (Cummins & Swain, 2014; Little & Kirwan, 2019). This deficit model of bilingualism can be easily described using Cummins' research on additive and subtractive bilingualism (1991; 1994). A term first coined by Lambert (1975), additive bilingualism allows children to 'add' the new language to their existing repertoire of languages so that both are valued. In an educational context, Cummins (2005) advises that teachers should incorporate the child's heritage language into teaching and learning, encouraging the upkeep of this language in addition to mastering the new one.

By contrast, subtractive bilingualism, considers the two languages to be in competition with each other and that a child should learn the new language at the expense of their heritage language. If the heritage language is not supported, valued or used enough, it will be replaced by the new one, eventually resulting in monolingualism, passive or imbalanced bilingualism meaning that the child will have lost an important element of their identity (Cummins, 2001; 2003; Baker, 2011). A child's identity or self-worth is enhanced (or diminished) when educators value (or devalue) their linguistic and cultural resources (Cummins, 2001b; García, 2009).

Research suggests that pupils working in an additive bilingual school environment succeed academically to a greater extent than those whose

heritage language and culture are devalued by their schools and by the wider society (Cummins, 2000; Portes & Hao, 2002; Molyneux, Scull & Aliani, 2016). An example of additive bilingual education is at Scoil Bhríde Cailíní in Dublin where over 50 languages flourish in a rich, diverse environment and heritage language learning is supported and encouraged by school staff (Little & Kirwan, 2018; 2019).

An additive approach to bilingualism, and societal multilingualism, is, at the time of writing, being embedded into the Finnish education system. Their new curriculum is described as being "language-sensitive" where all pupils are considered to be multilingual and that every language is equally valuable, whether it is the language of schooling, heritage languages, regional languages, dialects or foreign languages learned in school (Alisaari, 2020, p.78). Further to this, every teacher is considered a language teacher as they are expected to value and promote linguistic diversity, consider pupils' languages as resources for learning in the classroom, have a knowledge of language acquisition to scaffold learning, and be able to advise parents on familial bilingualism. To achieve this, a change in mind-set and investment in teacher CPD has been necessary (Alisaari, ibid).

The Influence of Other People

Kao (2008) emphasises that in a bilingual family, parents' languages and cultures do not automatically transmit to their children. They need to provide ample opportunity for the child to absorb heritage language and culture at home but in addition to this, external conditions must be favourable too. For young learners to develop a bilingual identity and learn languages, a complex process of social interaction occurs between the child and the other people with whom they come into contact — friends, parents, siblings, teachers, members of the community and wider society (Cummins, 2003; Gregory, 2005). Fielding and Harbon's (2013) Australian study demonstrated that children who felt that their parents, teachers, and others viewed them as bilingual felt more able to identify as bilingual. The young participants needed other people to perceive and value them as bilingual before they could consider themselves as bilingual - which is different, but just as poignant, to the research by Mehmedbegović (2014) where

self-labelling as monolingual centred around feelings of embarrassment and stigma.

Mejia's (2016) study found that other influences on linguistic development included demographic area, local community, economic situation, government language policy, societal language values and familial attitudes to bilingualism and heritage languages. This illustrates García's point (2011) that linguistic identity does not evolve by itself, it occurs under certain conditions and that "differences in power, value and status conferred on each of the two languages; and pressure in a political, economic, or social form from one of the two language groups" will influence the construction of linguistic identities (García, p.182). Evidence demonstrates that various factors influence the negotiation process of constructing a bilingual identity, and interaction in all languages of their linguistic repertoire is needed for positive identity development in bilinguals (Fielding & Harbon, 2013).

Just as bilingualism is flexible and dynamic, linguistic identity is too (Cummins, 2001; Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2004). In Ivashinenko's (2018) study of the Russian-speaking community in Scotland, parents discussed how relationships and bonds with their children changed as a result of their evolving bilingual identities:

> When my daughter started to attend the mainstream Scottish school, she began to speak Scottish, to look Scottish, and to think like them. I felt that I had lost her, and that I should do something to prevent a gap from growing between us (the Russian-speaking parents) and her.
>
> (Alexandra, parent, Glasgow)
> (Ivashinenko, 2018, p.106)

One point to note, is that second and third generation children still considered their heritage language to be a key aspect of their identities, albeit to a lesser extent that first generation migrants (Kenner et al., 2008). For CEE families in Moskal and Sime's study (2016), the preservation of heritage language was a marker of cultural identity but as children's identity and skills in English (and Scots) developed, family and peer relationships began to change. This was also noted in Mejia's research (2016) where mothers felt that attrition of Spanish would leave an emotional gap in their lives and in their relationships with their

children. A conflict of loyalties can sometimes occur when children struggle to navigate demands from school and society to prioritise English and pressure from parents to maintain the heritage language.

2.3 Conceptualisation of Biculturalism

This section will define culture and biculturalism, reinforcing how these concepts are closely linked to language and bilingualism (2.3.1). I discuss the importance of culture, how biculturals navigate two or more cultures, and I consider the complexity and challenges that young biculturals may encounter in negotiating their identities (2.3.2).

2.3.1 Definitions of Biculturalism

Culture

According to Bornstein (2012, p.1), every culture "distinguishes itself from other cultures, by deep-rooted and widely acknowledged beliefs and behaviours that are specific to the culture". Culture is the "transmission of inherited conceptions, symbols, values and attitudes […] how individuals dress, or what they eat, what their morale code is, or even what they perceive as beautiful" (Deakin, 2016, p.41). Indicating that culture is collective as well as individual, Kramsch (1993, p.205) described culture as "a social construct, the product of self and other perceptions", therefore understanding culture allows us to know how to interact with contexts, environments and other people. Culture can also be a way of behaving, a code of ethics both in community and family life. Traditions are often passed down through generations or have been in existence for hundreds of years yet culture is dynamic and evolves (Kramsch, 2011).

Cultural identity is a sense of belonging that involves sharing similar belief systems, attitudes, values and traditions. It can mean eating certain foods at certain times, practicing a specific religion, wearing a certain type of clothing or listening to a genre of music. When a person identifies with their heritage culture they often embrace customs that have been passed down through the years (Liebkind et al., 2004), although Kidd (2002) argues that cultural norms, expectations and values can serve as constraints to children and young people.

Abdallah-Pretceille (2006) explains that individuals acquire their identities through interaction, relationships or communication with others. People construct their own identities in relation to others and represent not only the way that individuals see themselves but the way they believe others view them (Holliday et al., 2004). Though, Kramsch (2012) believes that the word 'constructed' is too rigid as identities are dynamic. Likewise, Holliday (2013) prefers to view identity as fluid and believes that identities are like personal projects that can never be completed because they are constantly evolving. Therefore, individuals are permanently engaged in creating their identities (Hall, 2001; Pavlenko, 2008; Kramsch, 2011).

Biculturalism

Although language enables communication between members of the same socio-cultural group (Gumperz & Cook-Gumperz, 1982), contrary to popular belief, bilingualism and biculturalism may overlap but they are not necessarily coextensive (Grosjean, 2015). The heritage language is taken for granted as a social tool and cultural carrier (Block, 2007) but many people are bilingual without being bicultural and vice-versa. For example, a Peruvian who migrates to Madrid from Lima may not be bilingual but will have to navigate Spanish culture and may become bicultural, or a person from Barcelona may be bilingual in Catalan and Spanish but not necessarily bicultural. Researchers have defined biculturalism as "the meshing and interweaving of diversities" (Martin-Jones, Blackledge, & Creese 2012, p.7) or what Moskal and Sime (2016) refer to as 'bifocality' - the ability to see the world through two different lenses.

Navigating Two Cultures

Grosjean (1982; 2008) believes that in order to identify as bicultural, a person must participate in the life of two or more cultures, to varying degrees, and adapt their attitudes, behaviours, values, beliefs to reflect these cultures. He explains that biculturals may display certain traits from one culture or the other, or their behaviour may be a blend of these cultures. Grosjean (2015, p.575) writes of "cultural dominance" and states that two cultures rarely have the same importance in a bicultural person's life. One culture usually plays a greater

role than the other because the person has more contact with, and spends more time in, one culture than the other. However, this in no way makes them less bicultural in the same way that unbalanced or asymmetrical bilingualism is no less valid than equally balanced bilingualism (Grosjean, 2015). In Fielding and Harbon's (2013) study, some young people linked her feelings of belonging to two cultures with an ability to understand people from both cultures, therefore suggesting a passive role is also a valid form of biculturalism.

In various studies, parents have commented that cultural transmission was more important and easier than language maintenance because it involved simple day-to-day aspects such as food, music, traditions, parental expectations and the family unit (e.g. Deakin, 2016; Ivashinenko, 2018; Ballinger et al., 2020).

The Effects of Biculturalism

Biculturals are reported to be better equipped than monoculturals in understanding and valuing diversity because navigating between their own cultures allows them to appreciate that there is more than one point of view (Pavlenko, 2014; Sorace, 2017). To grow in confidence and self-esteem, it is crucial that children feel accepted for who they are, regardless of race, religion, language or cultural background (DfES, 2006). To achieve this, Cummins states that schools must "acknowledge children's cultural backgrounds, through positive inclusion and acceptance of cultural diversity" (Cummins, n.d. as cited in DfES, 2006, p.7). Sood and Mistry (2011) conclude that teachers would need to know that the cultural upbringing of a child will influence the way in which they behave. For example, when speaking to adults, some cultures refrain from making eye contact as a sign of respect, whilst others would treat this as insolence. Sood and Mistry's findings indicate that by better understanding the needs of children and their cultural backgrounds, educators can ensure that cultural diversity is celebrated in a meaningful way.

Campbell (2000) believes that agility to move across and within cultures is a distinct advantage in the modern, globalised world for career or travel opportunities. Despite this, behaving in ways consistent with two cultural contexts and holding values from both cultural streams may be easier in theory

than in practice, especially where two cultures are dissimilar or conflicting.

2.3.2 Bicultural Identity

As previously discussed in 2.2.5 'Linguistic Identity', it is difficult to separate the concepts of linguistic and cultural identities as both are socially constructed and entwined. Lo Bianco (2003, p.32) states that bicultural identities are not "separate, bounded and internally uniform" but "overlapping interactive and internally negotiated". Fielding and Harbon (2013, p.527) believe that the formation of cultural identities helps children to "determine who they are, where they belong in the world, and how they are related to others within and beyond their school and home communities".

Previous studies have shown that individuals' responses to being exposed to two cultures and the shape of their biculturalism varies significantly depending on a number of factors including family, the state and wider society (Grosjean, 2015; Deakin, 2016). For example, in Fielding and Harbon's (2013) study, comments about the cultures to which participants were connected typically reflected three common themes: family connections, language connections and country connections. In Australia, Jones-Díaz (2011) found that the acceptance of Spanish by the state, by schools and by wider society was important for bilingual and bicultural children to have positive identification with their heritage language and cultural practices. While Schwartz et al. (2019) discovered that having Hispanic role models and a large number of Hispanic peers facilitated biculturalism in Miami compared to other cities where Spanish language and Hispanic culture were not as prevalent. Therefore, we can observe that external influences influence how successfully a person is able to live within multiple cultural identities (Berry, 2017). In addition, internal influences such as personal characteristics, a person's origins, reasons for their migration to the new country and their attitudes towards the new country of settlement will shape their bicultural identity too.

Simultaneous Biculturalism

Another strong influence on biculturalism is if the cultures have been introduced

simultaneously or sequentially. Kao (2008) stresses that children from simultaneous bicultural families are unique in terms of their socio-cultural development because they have grown up immersed in both languages and cultures from birth. Baker (2011) and Grosjean (2015) explain that exposure to continuous input of more than one culture from infancy has a critical impact on a child's development in personality, cognition, and social attitude. The formation of their bicultural identity is part of their status from birth. Therefore, the issues faced by children growing up in a bicultural environment are very different from what immigrants encounter in the host country (Kao, 2008; Berry et al., 2006). Although they do not experience 'culture shock' as immigrants may, simultaneous bilinguals still face challenges. Some research indicated that raising children in mixed-nationality families was sometimes a source of conflict or tension for parents because as well as the languages being different, parents often had to negotiate different family traditions, values and beliefs (Jackson, 2007; Deakin, 2016).

Sequential Biculturalism

It has been recognised that the challenges for sequential biculturals (who have one cultural established before being introduced to another) are somewhat different as immigrants may struggle to negotiate their identity between their heritage culture and the host culture (Ivashinenko, 2018). Moskal and Sime (2016) reported that having two cultures (Scottish at school and with friends/Polish at home with family) often meant that children were exposed to conflicting behaviours and values which led to a challenging process of managing and negotiating cultural identities, sometimes having to choose between cultural affiliations.

Tyrrell et al. (2019) discovered that CEE adolescents often struggled with navigating two cultures having come to Britain perhaps at the age of 8/9/10 years old, or even as teenagers. As sequential biculturals, a complete change of culture and language meant their identity, and sometimes personality, changed too. Some participants described becoming shy, introverted and anxious after moving to the UK, and it may have negatively affected their self-esteem and sense of belonging. The study found that first generation adult immigrants

identify more with the culture of their country of birth while second generation children born in the country of destination (or who migrated at a very young age) identify more with the host culture. Whereas, children who were born and lived in one country for a substantial amount of time before migration were "stuck in-between" cultures (Tyrrell et al., 2019, p.3). The authors propose that the "1.5 generation" are stuck in-between countries of origin and destination, they are stuck-between youth and adulthood, and they are stuck in-between host and heritage cultures.

Portes and Rumbaut (2001) also studied migrant families and found that family members varied in their readiness to embrace the new culture. In line with Berry et al.'s findings (2006), typically children learned the language and adapted to the new culture very quickly, while their parents were slower to adapt, creating intergenerational conflict. In addition to this, Moskal and Sime (2016) found evidence of more significant changes in family relationships and roles after migration. The socio-emotional changes that families experienced through immigration were accompanied by cultural changes which often led to intergenerational tensions. This was noted in Bronfenbrenner's reflections on his childhood migration from Russia to the USA:

> I found myself in the role of an interpreter to my parents, not only of the new language, but also of the new culture in which we lived and about which I was learning from my friends. Not only had I learned English much faster than they but also, with my new peer group as source and vehicle, I was learning about the neighborhood and its way of life - the American way of life - that so puzzled my parents.
>
> (Bronfenbrenner, 1995a, p.603)

Acculturation

Berry defines acculturation as the "dual process of cultural and psychological change that takes place as a result of contact between two or more cultural groups and their individual members" (2005, p.698). Berry's theory of acculturation is based on four different acculturation strategies: assimilation (adopting the receiving culture and discarding the heritage culture); separation (rejecting the receiving culture and retaining the heritage culture); marginalisation (rejecting the receiving culture and discarding the heritage

culture); and integration (adopting the receiving culture and retaining the heritage culture).The opposing two of Berry's acculturation strategies, assimilation and integration, will now be discussed.

Immigrants may embrace and adopt the culture of their new environment while discarding their heritage culture, leading to a gradual process of assimilation with the receiving culture (Cobb et al., 2016; Sorrells, 2013). Assimilation typically starts with the acquisition of the new language and increasing participation in the new culture until eventually, the heritage culture is abandoned. Although research has shown that children born into two cultures may also adopt a strategy of assimilation by choosing one of their cultures over the other (Mejia, 2007; Berry, 2017).

In addition to language being cleaned up to suit certain ideologies, we have also seen political attempts to homogenise the population and quash cultural diversity so that the societal status-quo is not threatened. Cameron (2012) comments that the UK government and wider society expect immigrants and those from settled minority communities to assimilate their language, culture, values and identity to demonstrate their allegiance to Britain.

The term integration (adopting the receiving culture and retaining the heritage culture) used by Berry (2005) has further evolved to reflect new theories on bicultural identity. Rather than having two complementary cultures that sit alongside each other, some scholars believe that a cultural fusion takes place, as Faist (2000, p.13) writes "a diffusion of culture and the emergence of new types - mixed identities". Moskal and Sime (2016) call this process 'transculturation' where the individual selectively weaves elements of both cultures to create a new cultural identity.

Schwartz et al. (2019, p.33) call this phenomenon 'hybridisation' and suggest that it "may pave the way for a sense of self where the person is comfortable creating an individualized cultural mosaic". Their study showed that participants who had hybrid cultures reported greater life satisfaction, higher self-esteem and lower levels of stress. They had better mental health outcomes and had a

greater empathy and understanding of different cultural perspectives out with their own. The researchers concluded that a sense of comfort and harmony with one's bicultural identity is essential for emotional wellbeing, therefore, interventions from education and wider society to promote biculturalism would help young immigrants to view their cultural backgrounds as compatible.

The process of cultural evolution is explored further in Rama's (2012) work; growing up in Uruguay he experienced first-hand a merge, as opposed to clash, of cultures between indigenous, African, and European communities. Rama believed that society was enhanced by new, hybrid cultures as a result of a two-way 'transculturation' process where cultures combined and complemented each other.

Brexit

The issue of Brexit and the UK leaving the EU is a cause of concern for European immigrants as it raises uncertainty about their future. Sime (2020) describes how young people from CEE are unsure whether they will be able to continue to live in the UK. They were worried about their future post-Brexit as many of them feared they would have to return to their country of origin having constructed and negotiated a bicultural identity in Scotland. Tyrrell et al. (2019, p.2) state that Brexit is in fact deconstructing these young people's identities and what it means to belong in Britain. Their participants were acutely aware of the role that anti-immigration rhetoric played in the Brexit referendum and negative attitudes that some sectors of society and the media hold towards them. Sime's (2020) study reported that many CEE teenagers felt that Brexit was a rejection of their cultural identity, with 70% of participants reporting discrimination, prejudice or bullying in schools and their local communities.

National Identity

In many studies, participants have interchanged between cultural and national identity, some see national identity as integral to their cultural identity while others merely regard it as a label or a passport (Grosjean, 2015). In Sime's (2020) study involving young people from CEE who had moved to the UK, of the 190 participants in Scotland, 53% gave their national identity as the country of

their birth and 40% gave a hyphenated identity such as Polish-Scottish or Scottish-Lithuanian (Sime, ibid, p.7). Most of Sime's participants believed they could not claim to actually be Scottish, regardless of how long they had lived in Scotland. The general perception was that their accent or the fact that they were not born in Scotland meant that any claims to Scottishness would be denied by their Scottish-born peers.

This resonates with previous research by Jones-Díaz (2011) and Fielding and Harbon (2013) who found that validation by others (e.g. friends, parents, the state) was vital for positive association with one's heritage language and culture. Sime's participants felt that country of birth and citizenship corresponds to nationality, thereby forever remaining part of their identity. One said "I could never feel fully British or Scottish because your nationality is in your blood, not in the language you speak" (Sime, 2020, p.10). This speaks to Moskal and Sime's (2016) term 'bilocal' - although the teenagers considered themselves competent in two cultures, there was a split in opinion as to whether 'home' was Poland or Scotland. Nevertheless, all had developed an emotional attachment to both countries.

2.4 Summary

This chapter has positioned the thesis within existing research in two main areas: bilingualism and biculturalism. In the discussion of bilingualism and biculturalism, much research overlapped due to the interconnected nature of language and culture (Grosjean, 2015).

It presented literature on bilingualism by defining the complex nature of bilingualism and the misconceptions that are prevalent in society regarding living life in two or more languages. I considered research evidence on neurological, cognitive and socio-emotional benefits of bilingualism, and then reflected on the power of the English language in global society by illustrating the challenges that arise from the dominance of a language over others. The chapter then focused on the fundamental role of language in enabling human beings to connect to others. The formation of linguistic identity is more complex where two or more

languages are concerned as wider societal values and attitudes influence not only the acquisition of heritage languages but also the construction of evolving bilingual identities.

Next, I turned to the related area of biculturalism by considering definitions, misconceptions and the socio-emotional impact of living life in multiple cultures. Attention was drawn to the differing challenges encountered due to simultaneous or sequential biculturalism and when the person is exposed to multiple cultures. Like bilingualism, the construction of bicultural identity is not linear, it is dynamic and not necessarily equally balanced. Similarly, the literature review showed that external influences and perceptions also impact upon the shaping of bicultural identities with individuals navigating their cultures in various guises, from creating new, hybrid cultural identities to abandoning heritage cultures and assimilating with the majority culture.

Having situated my study within the body of literature and existing research evidence on bilingualism, biculturalism and identity, the following chapter uses Bronfenbrenner's Bioecological Model and subsequent adaptations as a theoretical framework to explore the construction of cultural and linguistic identities.

CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: UNDERSTANDING THE DEVELOPMENT OF LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL IDENTITY

3.1 Overview

Literature from Chapter 2 highlighted the fundamental role of language in enabling human beings to connect to others and the crucial role it plays in constructing our identities, which in turn creates the cultures and societies in which we live. Furthermore, literature indicated that external influences such as family, friends, school and community also shaped linguistic and cultural identities.

This chapter will consider the pivotal role that social learning and contextual factors play in forming children's linguistic and cultural identities using a theoretical framework that I was familiar with from my teaching career. I will discuss Bronfenbrenner's Bioecological Model and subsequent adaptations incorporating technology and the internet (Johnson & Puplampu, 2008; Martin, 2014) in order to understand child development (3.2). The chapter then positions existing research evidence and literature within an ecological framework of systems and structures to explore the development of linguistic and cultural identities (3.3). Finally, it ends with a summary of the main points (3.4).

3.2 Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Theories

The literature reviewed in Chapter 2 illustrated that language, culture and, in turn, the development of bilingual and bicultural identities are socially constructed, interconnected and dynamic. Theories of human learning and development tend to focus on children due to the "significant changes that take place from infancy through to adolescence" (Christensen, 2010, p.118). Using Bronfenbrenner's definition (1979, p.9), development is a child's "evolving conception of the ecological environment, and his relation to it, as well as the person's growing capacity to discover, sustain, or alter its properties". Evidence

has indicated that both internal and external environmental factors combine and interact to shape complex identities that sit within wider global and societal contexts. In light of this, I have chosen to adopt Bronfenbrenner's (1994) Bioecological Model (3.2.2) as a theoretical framework to explain bilingual children's linguistic and cultural development. The 1994 model is a revised version of Bronfenbrenner's (1979) seminal Ecological Systems Model (3.2.1) and takes into account wider research into heredity, genetics and the relationship between the biological make-up of a child and their environments. Other authors have continued to evolve Bronfenbrenner's framework in light of societal changes such as developments in technology (3.2.3).

3.2.1 The Ecological Systems Model (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) and its critics

According to Bronfenbrenner (1979), no child lives in an isolation, so it is impossible to understand their development if we do not also consider the social contexts in which they exist. Bronfenbrenner originally presented the Ecological Systems Model (ibid) as a conceptual model of child development which provided insight into the relationships and influence of interaction between the individual and all environments which affect their lives (i.e. the child's world or ecosystem). His original Ecological System Model (henceforth referred to as ESM) described the child at the centre of four systems, demonstrating the influential facets of their life.

As shown in Figure 3.1, these complex layers of environments (or systems) are represented graphically through ever-increasing concentric circles nested within each other. Bronfenbrenner (1979, p.27) stated that the nested arrangement of systems is because "development never takes place in a vacuum; it is always embedded and expressed through behaviour in a particular environmental context". Bronfenbrenner's theory was also reflected in his research methods which were deemed controversial at the time because he preferred to conduct research in children's own settings rather than the artificial, unfamiliar context of a laboratory (Maria Rosa & Tudge, 2013).
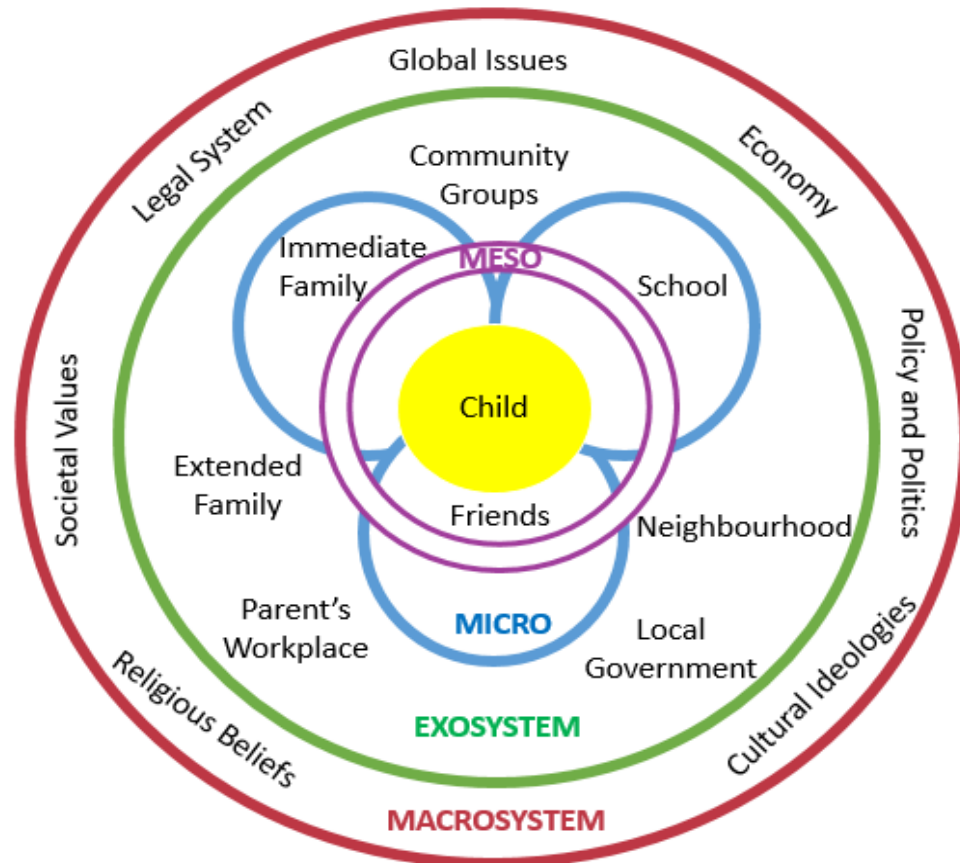
Figure 3.1: Ecological Systems Model
Adapted from Bronfenbrenner (1979, pp.3-8)

Bronfenbrenner emphasised the importance of the interconnection and reciprocity between the different facets of a child's life. Any change occurring in one system could create a ripple effect on others and ultimately on the development of the child at the centre. Bronfenbrenner explains this interdependency:

> The ecology of human development involves the scientific study of the progressive mutual accommodation between an active, growing human being and the changing properties of the immediate settings in which the developing person lives, as this process is affected by relations between these settings, and by the larger contexts in which the settings are embedded. (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p.21)

With the child located in the centre, Bronfenbrenner divided their environments into nested and interrelated systems: the microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem and macrosystem. He posed that the closest and most influential environment is the microsystem as it contains the structures with which the child has direct, regular contact. The microsystem encompasses the relationships and interactions a child has with their immediate settings and may include family, friends, school or nursery (Berk, 2000). Although Bronfenbrenner points out that

a child may have a "breakdown" in their systems, ergo their development, if key structures such as a parent, friend, school or neighbourhood community "are absent, or if they play a disruptive rather than supportive role" (1979, p.5).

Relationships are bidirectional, both away from and toward the child. For example, a child's parent may affect his behaviour and values, but the child can also affect the behaviour and values of the parent. Bronfenbrenner calls these 'bidirectional influences' which occur among all levels of system. Bidirectional influences at microsystem level are believed to be strongest and have the greatest impact on the child, however interactions and events in the outer systems still impact the inner layers. The interaction of structures within a system and between systems is key to this theory. Writing on the theme of development ecology, Shelton (2019) explains that the original model stressed that microsystems were settings or physical places, not people, however, later revisions emphasised that the quality of interactions or 'proximal processes' (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998) between people in the systems was paramount to enhanced development. For example, a child may have a family home microsystem but if there is abuse or neglect from a parent then the proximal processes are damaging.

The mesosystem provides connections between the child's different microsystems. For example, the interrelationships between the child's teacher and their parents could have a positive influence on children's development. The mesosystem is the interaction between two or more microsystems (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998; 2006).

Bronfenbrenner stated that the exosystem has an indirect influence on a child's development because they may not actively participate or engage with structures in this system. Examples of the exosystem include the neighbourhood, local government or a parent's workplace, for example, events happening at the workplace can affect how a parent interacts with their child. It should be noted that structures are situated in some children's exosystems while for others, who have regular engagement with those structures, they may be a microsystem. An example of this could be extended family, as some children live with their grandparents while others have very little or no contact with them.

The macrosystem consists of the wider social institutions, ideologies, and cultural values, norms and beliefs. It is the overarching "societal blueprint for a particular culture or subculture" which lays the foundations of action and behaviour for structures and people in all other systems (Bronfenbrenner, 1994, pp. 1645). The macrosystem can include societal, political, legal, economic systems in which families live and in the modern world global issues such as climate change and sustainability would be structures within this system. An aspect pertinent to this thesis, is that multiple macrosystems may exist in a person's life at the same time (Bronfenbrenner, 1979).

Depending on the context, cultural identity and shape of 'acculturation' (see section 2.3.2 'Bicultural Identity'), the individual may have overlapping macrosystems or a hybrid blend of two macrosystems. Shelton (2019, p.100) gives the example of an ethnic minority community having a different language, culture and religion from the wider society. Reflecting on Moskal and Sime's (2016) study involving Polish children in Scotland and Schwartz et al.'s (2019) findings on Hispanic young people in Miami, depending on the context, the two macrosystems may blend to create a new hybrid macrosystem with elements of both.

Alternatively, as Berry (2017) noted, they may 'assimilate' and disregard one macrosystem, or they could keep both macrosystems operating as separate entities and shift between one (e.g. in their own home) and the other (e.g. at school) (Shelton, 2019). Bronfenbrenner (1979) suggests that an individual's development is enhanced by having the opportunity to experience multiple macrosystems as it allows a person to encounter different beliefs, values, and ways of being or thinking. Furthermore, it allows them to enhance and build their overall set of resource characteristics. Shelton (2019) in his reflections of developmental ecology, writes:

> If multiple macrosystems are present [...] development is facilitated when the person has opportunities to experience and become familiar with all of them, not constrained to just one or hostile to the others. [This] encourages the construction of the most valid and differentiated understanding of the multiple cultures represented and the practice of skills that enable the person to relate effectively with all of them. (p.101)

The ESM allows for examination of how patterns of interactions within the systems influence each other and affect individuals' developmental outcomes. Nevertheless, this early model of ecological development was critiqued for not emphasising the active role of the child in their own development (Ashiabi & O'Neal, 2015; Paquette & Ryan, 2001). Enger (2007) felt that the ESM did not take into account human resilience and questioned the need to understand why some individuals succeed despite adversity, tragedy or trauma whilst others do not. While Christensen (2016, p.27) states that adding resilience to the model is not enough and that agency, motivation and 'entrepreneurship' should be considered.

I would argue that critics instead could have focused on Bronfenbrenner's maturer models of ecology which do take into account their concerns. In fact, Bronfenbrenner himself was discontent with the original ESM and called his own theory into question. He realised that advances in scientific research meant that the individual's own biological and identifying characteristics had to be taken into consideration:

> The realization of human genetic potentials and predispositions for competence, character, and psychopathology requires intervening mechanisms that connect the inner with the outer in a two-way process that occurs not instantly but over time. (Bronfenbrenner & Ceci, 1993, p.316)

3.2.2 The Bioecological Model (Bronfenbrenner, 1994) and subsequent adaptations

Bronfenbrenner refined and revised his theory to incorporate biological components and temporal concerns in what would come to be known as his Bioecological Model (Bronfenbrenner, 1994) (see Figure 3.2). The updated model viewed the child as an active agent in their own world and placed greater emphasis on a child's own biology in their development. It accounted for the impact of factors such as health, age, race, personality traits, temperament, genetic inheritance, and gender, thereby quashing the nature versus nurture debate by combining the two forces (Ashiabi & O'Neal, 2015). It considered the child to play an active role in their own development.
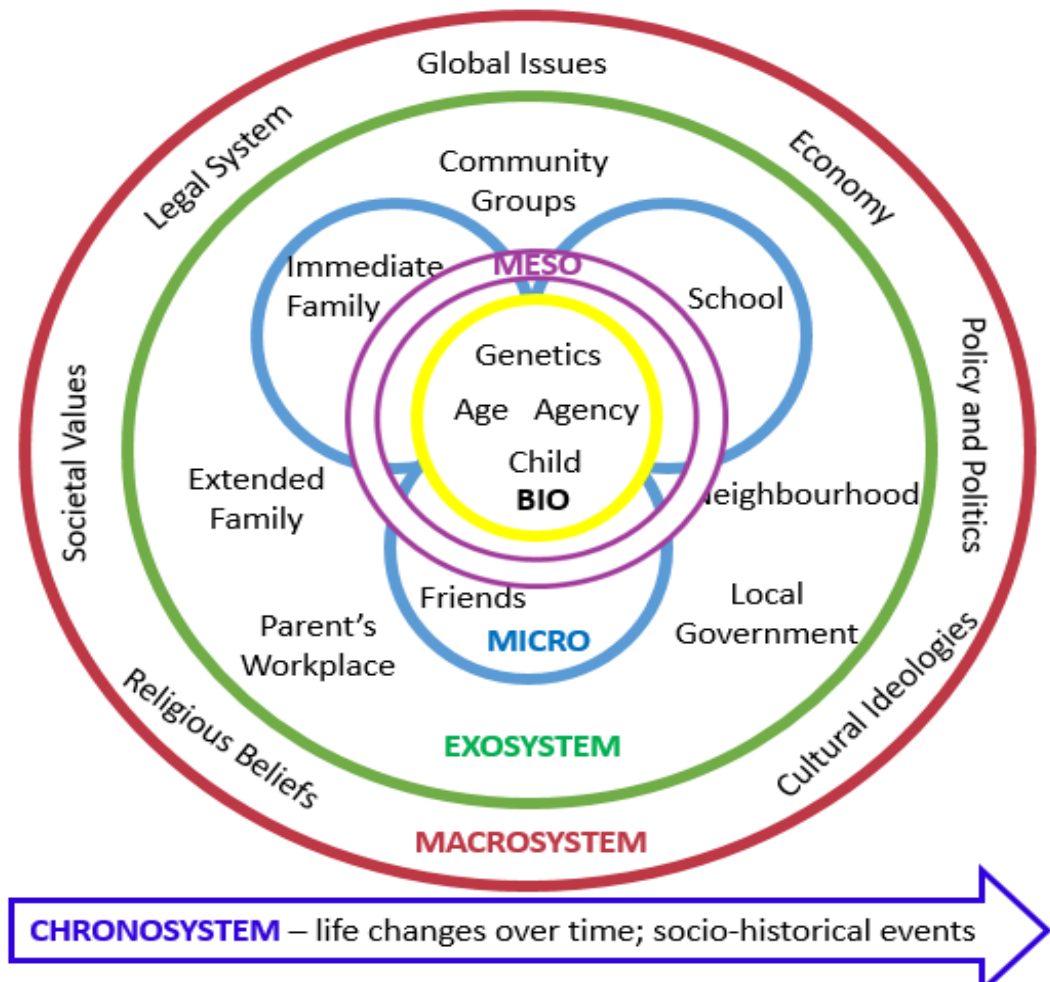
Figure 3.2: Bioecological Model
Adapted from Bronfenbrenner (1994, pp.1643-47)

In addition to the original four systems, the revised model included a fifth system called the chronosystem which focused on the interaction between the various systems and structures over time (Bronfenbrenner & Ceci, 1994). This system takes into account environmental events and transitions over the life-course of the person - past, present and future (Bronfenbrenner 1995b; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998). The chronosystem also considers the effect of socio-historical conditions on the development of the person, for example Black slavery or women's rights. Bronfenbrenner and Morris (1998, p.1020) pose that "the life course of individuals is embedded in and shaped by the historical times and events they experience over their life-time".

An observation by Bronfenbrenner himself, and something that I have previously found in scholarly articles examining child development from an ecological perspective, is that the model is frequently used to examine deficiencies and justify 'where things went wrong' regarding behavioural issues, substance misuse

or even child abuse, for example. He wrote:

> It seems to me that American researchers are constantly seeking to explain how the child came to be what he is; we in the U.S.S.R. are trying to discover not how the child came to be what he is, but how he can become what he not yet is. (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p.40)

He urged researchers and policy-makers to focus on influencing "what human beings may become tomorrow" rather than what has shaped their development in the past (Bronfenbrenner & Evans, 2000, p.117).

Tudge et al. (2009) explain that during the mid-1990s to the 2000s Bronfenbrenner's ESM evolved into the Bioecological Model but did not stay static as he collaborated with others and continued to refine his conceptualisation of human development. An example of this is in the later Process-Person-Context-Time Model (Bronfenbrenner & Evans, 2000) where heavy emphasis was placed on the quality and frequency of interaction (or 'proximal processes') between the child and others (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). As the present study did not seek to measure the quality and regularity of interactions, I chose not to apply this later model. The Bioecological Model was in a continual state of development up until Bronfenbrenner's death in 2005. However, Bronfenbrenner and Morris referred to the model as "an evolving theoretical system" (2006, p.793) and understood that it would continue to develop over time. The following section considers advancements in digital technology and how this continues to allow Bronfenbrenner's theoretical framework to evolve.

3.2.3 Technology

Shelton (2019) raises the topic of developments in technology and how they could influence some of Bronfenbrenner's original hypotheses. For example, Bronfenbrenner (1979, p.217) hypothesised that personal, face-to-face interactions support a child's development better, and that as communication becomes less personal (letter > phone call > announcement) the impact lessens. Shelton questions where modern methods of communication would fit into ecological theory and this hypothesis. Johnson and Puplampu (2008) added a 'techno-subsytem' in the microsystem to account for the increasing availability

and complexity of technology in children's lives (see Figure 3.3).
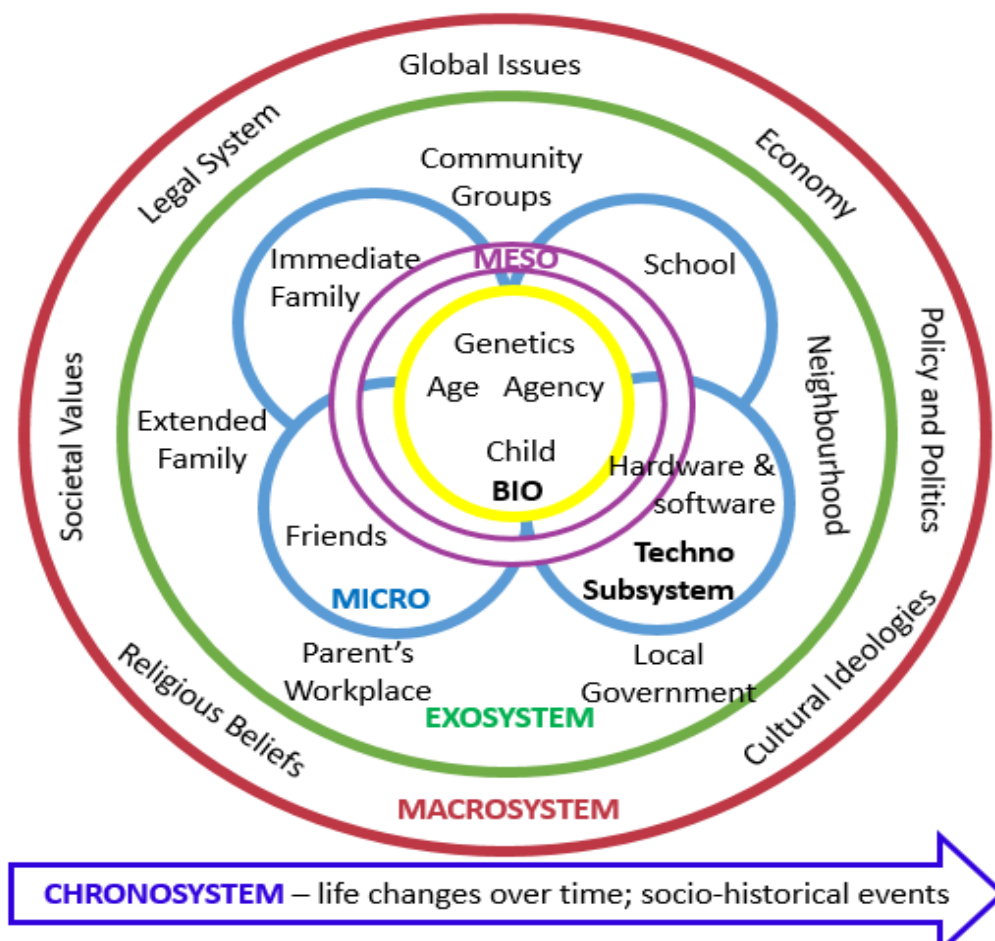
Figure 3.3: Techno-subsystem Model
Adapted from Johnson and Puplampu (2008, p.5)

The 'techno-subsystem' considers a child's interaction with both living (e.g. friends, family members) and non-living hardware (e.g. mobile phone, laptop) structures and the developmental consequences of these interactions. In the technologically advanced context of Canada, Johnson and Puplampu (2008) extensively reviewed prior research on the positive and negative impacts of technology on children's development and acknowledged that technology influences all systems. For example, online chat with friends (microsystem); parent using internet to work from home (exosystem); emails from teacher to parent (mesosystem).

However, the authors explained that the techno-subsytem "mediates bidirectional interaction between the child and the microsystem" (2008, p4.) which I would argue places more emphasis on the non-living hardware as a

vehicle for interaction rather than focusing on the impact and nature of relationships between living people. Moreover, by positioning the techno-subsystem as a dimension within the microsystem, Johnson and Puplampu's model heavily focuses on the child with their immediate proximal interactions and less on technology in wider society.

More recently, Martin (2014) built on the role of technology in child development in her Canadian research on social workers' experiences of working with victims of child sexual abuse and adapted the Bioecological Model further to contain the 'cybersystem'. Martin's research clearly articulated that the internet and cyberspace had a much wider influence across all systems, as illustrated in Figure 3.4. Although her model recognised bidirectional interaction and child agency (for example, a child participating actively in online images or 'grooming' other children), Martin heavily emphasised the role of cyberspace and the internet in child exploitation.

Traditional evidence on child sexual abuse has focused on proximal interactions involving perpetrators close to the victim, whereas Martin suggested that 'distal processes' in cyberspace were just as significant in the 21st century. Despite Martin's adaptation being used to explain 'breakdowns' and problems in child development, she did make recommendations for training (for practitioners) and education (for children and young people) in an attempt to create a structure of support to be implemented before breakdown occurs.
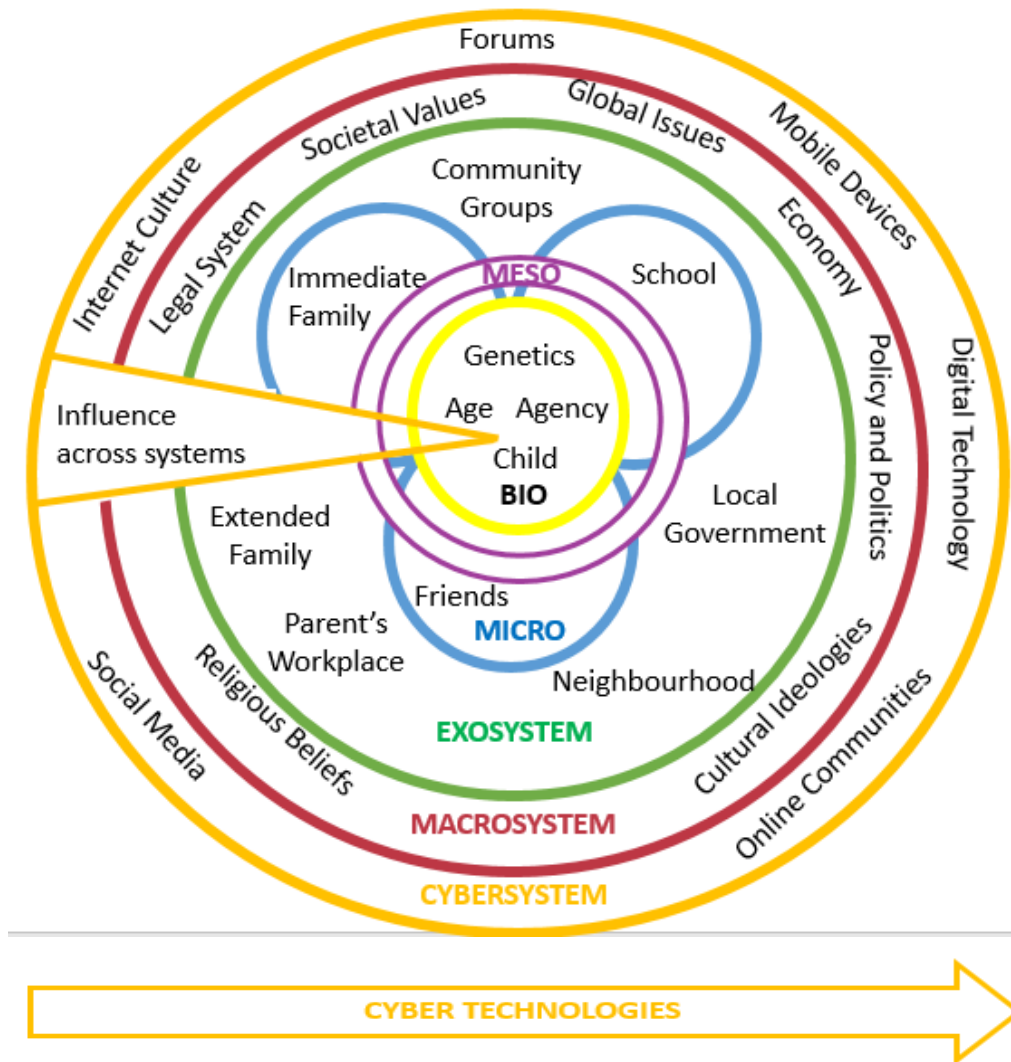
Figure 3.4: Cybersystem Model
Adapted from Martin (2014, p.111)

Other authors have considered the role of digital technology in modern living and how it affects society and the individual. For instance, Shapira (2013) states that the internet nullifies time and space through three major functions: it allows rapid 'transportation' of goods (e.g. Amazon) or services (e.g. car insurance), it 'teleports' information instantly (e.g. reading news online) and, finally, it allows interaction with others who are far away through 'telepresence' (e.g. Zoom).

In her study of 43 young Polish migrants in Glasgow, Uflewska (2018) argued that the power of digital technology and telepresence means that individuals are no longer limited to their local, physical community. Quoting Cairncross, she posed that "we are witnessing the 'death of distance'" (Cairncross, 1997, as cited in Uflewska, 2018, p.30) as instant, global communication removes barriers of

geographic location. Her participants had created their own 'hyperlocalities' (online communities) where they could negotiate their linguistic and cultural identities. If we consider Shapira's (2013) and Uflewska's (2018) research in the context of a Bioecological Model, telepresence and hyperlocality allow even greater interaction between the individual and all of the structures and systems in their ecosystem.

The following section (3.3) offers an in-depth discussion on the role of each layer of the Bioecological Model (bio-, micro-, meso-, exo-, macro- and chronosystems) as well as technology. It will explore the interactions between structures and systems in the development of language, culture and identities.

3.3 The Bioecological Model as a Framework for Shaping Linguistic and Cultural Identities

This section explores the role of the different levels of the Bioecological Model (bio-, micro- meso- exo- macro- and chronosystems) as well as technology, and the interactions between them in the development of children's linguistic and cultural identities. As previously discussed, the model itself is dynamic and fluid, therefore different structures may appear in different systems depending on the context of each child's life. The following seven subsections offer an original exploration of the possibilities of how linguistic and cultural identities are shaped through the layers of systems and structures using examples from previous research evidence. The subsections are organised following the six levels of the Bioecological Model with an additional seventh subsection on technology.

3.3.1 Biosystem (the child)

Biological or hereditary characteristics of the child impact upon their development and interaction with other systems and structures. The age at which a person migrates can affect how linguistic and cultural identities are shaped (see sections 2.2.5 'Linguistic Identity' and 2.3.2 'Bicultural Identity'). A striking example of this was illustrated in research by Tyrrell et al. (2019) who found that sequential bilingual and bicultural CEE teenagers struggled with their sense of identity and belonging having come to the UK at an older age.

Furthermore, Portes and Rumbaut (2001) found that older members of migrant families were slower to embrace the new culture. Children typically learned the language and adapted to the new culture very quickly, while their parents were slower to adapt, creating intergenerational conflict, aligning with Berry et al.'s findings (2006).

A person's physiological characteristics can affect how others engage with them, for example in section 2.2.4 'Dominance of the English Language', linguicism and linguistic bullying were discussed. Racism, stereotyping and prejudice can focus on physical appearance, such as skin colour, or even lead to a degree of invisibility. Mas Giralt (2011), in her study of Latin American families in the north of England, reported that participants were sometimes misidentified as Asian or Middle Eastern which not only ignored their real heritage but also led to misdirected Islamophobia.

The Bioecological Model (Bronfenbrenner, 1994) emphasises that children have a right to agency and involvement in decision making. However, this is not always the case as Sime (2017, p.5) explains how immigrant children have often been portrayed as 'luggage' in migration research as they follow their parents abroad.

3.3.2 Microsystem

As Figure 3.2 'The Bioecological Model' illustrated, the immediate environments which have direct impact on the child have the most significance and influence on their life (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) therefore, the linguistic and cultural knowledge of parents is essential in the development of identities (Kenner et al., 2008). It is widely researched that mothers are generally the main agents for transmitting linguistic and cultural heritage (e.g. Ballinger et al., 2020; Mejia, 2016; Phipps, 2019). Dailey-O'Cain and Liebscher (2011) highlight that communication in the heritage language between mothers and children tends to support emotional bonds.

Despite this, in Japan, Jackson (2007) found that English-speaking fathers were well placed to support the development of linguistic and cultural identities

where they had jobs that allowed them to spend several hours interacting with their children. This suggests that quality and quantity of interaction is more important than gender, however it also reinforces the role of the mother, given that main caregivers are typically women.

On the other hand, other research highlights the importance of both parents (in a two-parent family) in the formation of bilingual and bicultural identities (Piller, 2012; Lanza, 2004). De Houwer (2007) states that where two parents are heritage language speakers then there is a higher rate of fluency in that language compared to when only one parent uses it. De Houwer (2007; 2013) also emphasises that parents of bilingual children need to be aware of their pivotal role in their child's language learning and be active agents who develop their children's bilingualism by adopting effective strategies, therefore, it is important that parents are well-informed.

Knowing and using one's heritage language means that children are able to communicate and have emotional bonds with extended family members, in particular grandparents (e.g. Moskal, 2014; Sime & Fox, 2015; Deakin, 2016). In fact, parents in Ivashinenko's (2018) study expressed that building and maintaining relationships with grandparents and extended family was the key motivator for their children to learn Russian. Morris and Jones (2007) highlighted the contribution of maternal grandmothers in particular, as data showed that in two-thirds of their Welsh participant families, they were the second carers of the children.

Furthermore, individuals with extended family members residing in the same country have more opportunities to become bilingual in the heritage language (Sorace, 2012) as children become bilingual and biliterate through interactions with siblings, grandparents and other family members who are mediators of language and culture in their communities and homes (Safford & Drury, 2013). In their study of family language policy in Singapore, Ren and Hu (2013) point out the substantial role of grandparents by noting that it is more common for extended families to live together in Asian societies.

Kay and Trevena's (2018, p.28) study of CEE immigrant families in Scotland, participants reported that physical proximity was "a prerequisite for the proper performance of family relationships". The researchers identified that EU families were more likely to have extended family and grandparents in Scotland compared to non-EU immigrant families due to immigration laws and the associated visa costs. Families from the EU would quite often change their country of residence, depending on their wider family needs but non-EU families did not have this flexibility (Kay & Trevena, 2018). Similarly to Latin American families in London (McIlawine, 2007; 2015; Berg, 2017), immigration policies also shape family configurations in Scotland.

Prior research indicates that extended family and community are highly important for the preservation of heritage language and culture (e.g. Ballinger et al., 2020; Lo Bianco, 2014; Lo Bianco & Peyton, 2013; Fishman, 2001). Lo Bianco (2014) stresses that rates of language attrition depend on several factors, including the size of the local heritage language community, contact with the homeland and intergenerational transmission within the wider family. Meanwhile, Ballinger et al. (2020) in their study of family language policy in Quebec, suggest that heritage languages are not strong enough to successfully compete with the dominant language, thus transmission and maintenance within the family and the community is essential.

Another way that heritage languages can be preserved is through complementary schools where the scope of activities and functions are wider than children's language education (Conteh, 2012). To ensure that children also learn heritage culture, lessons may include fairy-tales or folklore for younger children, and classical literature for older children (Ivashinenko, 2018). Interdisciplinary approaches to teaching can incorporate history, geography, current affairs, and support cultural events involving music, drama, art or religious celebrations (Moskal & Sime, 2016; Hancock, 2010; Curdt-Christiansen, 2009).

Like Hancock (2010) and Bell (2013), Ivashinenko (2018) found that Russian complementary schools became positive community spaces and a social network where both adults and children could maintain language and socio-cultural

values. Francis et al. (2010) also discovered that these community hubs helped Chinese migrant families to develop an understanding of UK culture, society and bureaucracy, as well as the negotiation of new identities. Importantly, the researchers reported links and communication across the UK to other complementary schools thereby creating a national macro-network to support their community.

In light of the significant role that complementary schools play in establishing community cultural bonds, Ivashinenko (2018) asserts that they should be classified as community organisations rather than educational institutions. Despite this, Ballinger et al. (2020) found that opinion can differ on the role that complementary schools play. Some parents described a conflict between the values, attitudes and beliefs promoted by the schools compared to their own and wider Canadian worldviews.

Mainstream education also plays a role in the development of children's linguistic and cultural identities by either promoting diversity and bilingualism or stifling it. Section 2.2.2 'Misconceptions Surrounding Bilingualism' presented evidence on how misconceptions and lack of information or training on bilingualism can damage self-esteem, lead to biased teacher judgement, low value for heritage languages and cultures, and underdevelopment of literacy skills. Despite this, there are examples of additive bilingualism (Lambert, 1975; Cummins, 1994) in schools where it is reported that encouragement of heritage languages and cultures helps to promote confidence, biliteracy skills, enhanced academic attainment and socio-emotional wellbeing (Alisaari, 2020; Little & Kirwan, 2018; 2019). As the microsystem of school clearly influences the formation of linguistic and cultural identities, settings in which all languages and cultures are valued and validated may help children to view their heritage in a positive light (Molyneux, Scull & Aliani, 2016).

Bronfenbrenner (1979) included friends and peers within the microsystem with direct interaction and influence on a child's life. If we consider friendship from the perspective of linguistic and cultural identity construction, Grosjean (2015) emphasised the role of friends in heritage language preservation. Ivashinenko

(2018) supports this, writing that complementary schools were a source of friendship for many of the Russian-speaking families in her study. Informal, social language develops through communication with friends and peers (such as classmates) so in settings where there are children who share the same heritage language it is an opportunity to develop their linguistic skills (Cummins, 2000). However, O'Toole (2016) and Moskal and Sime (2016) discovered that lack of English language was often a challenge for immigrants when attempting to make new friendships in the UK, illustrating the power of language as either a barrier or conduit for socialisation.

3.3.3 Mesosystem

Figure 3.2 'The Bioecological Model' illustrates that the mesosystem is the interaction between structures of the microsystem which influence the development of the child (Bronfenbrenner, 1994). This interaction would include communication between parents and schools, for example. Siraj-Blatchford and Clarke (2000) believed that educational practitioners must work with bilingual parents to understand and meet their cultural and linguistic goals as they are central to the identities of children, families and communities. In addition, Hayes, O'Toole and Halpenny (2017) emphasised the importance of relationships between schools and bilingual parents to avoid heritage language attrition which they say can lead to low self-worth, breakdown of family relationships and inability to connect with the family/community culture. De Houwer (2009) and Alisaari (2020) make the point that teachers should be able to inform and support parents in familial bilingualism.

Nevertheless, there is some evidence that educational settings often fail to engage with parents from minority cultures who then tend to be less involved in their children's education (Robinson & Harris, 2014). O'Toole (2016), Moskal and Sime (2016) and Amniana and Gadour (2007) found that communication with school was difficult for many immigrant parents who had limited English language skills, resulting in uncertainty over how to address any issues and unawareness of events or opportunities at school. Moreover, they reported that understanding a different education system was often challenging. Murray and O'Doherty (2001) explain that many schools hold intercultural days or events

which can be perceived as 'tourist' interculturalism, therefore inclusion needs to be embedded in everyday practice not tokenistic.

In Deakin's (2016) study of bilingual families in England, she discussed relationships between parents and grandparents by recalling her own experiences as a child growing up in a bilingual and bicultural family. Her French mother and Spanish grandparents openly criticised each other's cultures and she would be "caught in the middle wondering about my identity and belonging" (ibid, p6). This highlights that interaction between immediate and extended family is also a mesosystemical layer.

3.3.4 Exosystem

The exosystem is the structures and settings that indirectly influence the child's development (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) but as previously highlighted, exactly where structures and settings are situated depends on the context of the child. Extended family could readily feature in the exosystem rather than the microsystem, likewise an absent parent who does not have contact with the child may feature in the exosystem. The same can be said for community or neighbourhood depending on the level of engagement a child has with their locality.

In the Scottish context, the Polish (Moskal, 2014; Sime & Fox, 2015; Uflewska, 2018), Mandarin (Hancock, 2010; Bell, 2013) or Asian communities (Sarkar, 2001; Bonino, 2017; Hopkins, 2018) may have opportunities to engage with others who share their language and culture. However, Mas Giralt (2011) noted that in the North West of England, the small Latin American community lacked spaces and forums to meet with other Latin Americans so it restricted their ability to develop linguistic and cultural identities outside the family home.

In contrast, the thriving London Latin communities have been reported to offer support, advice, employment and friendship (McIlwaine, 2007; 2011; Granada, 2013; Berg, 2017). This echoes Kay and Trevena's (2018) findings that CEE immigrants in rural and urban areas reported contrasting experiences, with

those in larger towns and cities encountering more diversity and social networking opportunities. Data from Taggart's (2017) research on the CEE community in Glasgow further demonstrates this as more established immigrants shared information and helped newcomers overcome language or cultural barriers. In short, Fielding and Harbon (2013) assert that community support is vital for young bilinguals to fully develop connections to their linguistic and cultural heritage, as illustrated by Deakin (2016) who observed that where there were no other Spanish-speakers in the local community, the language had little reality outside the family environment.

Bronfenbrenner (1979) gave the example of a parent's workplace being a structure of the exosystem, illustrated in studies involving Latin American families in London which highlighted that although 31% of South Americans and 62% of Central Americans had a university degree (McIlwaine, 2007), a disproportionately large number of them work in cleaning, hospitality and catering jobs (Berg, 2017). McIlwaine and Bunge (2016) explain that many Latin Americans in London have low English language skills which limits job opportunities, resulting in them being trapped in a cycle of deprivation. Salaries are low, hours are long and there is a high level of job insecurity (McIlwaine, 2007) - all factors which impact upon standards of living and family contact time. In particular, the employment status of the mother influences heritage language acquisition (Deakin, 2016; Mejia, 2016; Morris & Jones, 2007).

3.3.5 Macrosystem

The macrosystem (see Figure 3.2) comprises cultural values, norms and beliefs, and wider social institutions such as policy and law. It lays the foundations for how structures and people in all other systems operate (Bronfenbrenner, 1994). An example of this is how the 2007/08 global financial crisis led to many immigrants coming to the UK to seek employment (Taggart, 2017; McIlwaine, 2012). The macrosystem also influences how governments measure and create policy; Berg (2017) and McIlwaine and Bunge (2016) critique the way that the UK Government collects population data; Latin American is not included as an ethnic group in the census nor official documents, therefore the authors argue that Latin Americans are an invisible, hidden community. Because they are

forced to tick the 'other' box on government forms, they feel unrecognised, unvalued and this, in turn, negatively affects self-esteem and identity (Morales, 2020).

Law and immigration policy are other structures within the macrosystem that substantially influence the lives of bilingual and bicultural families. As noted in discussion on extended family previously, law and immigration policy makes life in the UK a different experience for Europeans compared to those from outside the EU (McIlawine, 2007; 2015; Berg, 2017; Kay & Trevena, 2018). Nevertheless, at the time of writing, Brexit was a major concern for European immigrants in the UK (Tyrrell et al., 2019; Sime, 2020). In addition, McIlwaine and Bunge (2016) explain that the majority of Latin Americans who now come to live in the UK are 'onward' migrants who initially moved to Spain, eventually gained Spanish citizenship and thus have freedom of movement within the EU. On one hand this frees them from expensive, lengthy visa applications and English language requirements, but on the other, it now means that the threat of Brexit looms over them too.

Wider cultural attitudes, values and beliefs can lead to racism, prejudice or linguicism (see section 2.2.4 'Dominance of the English Language') where speaking English and assimilating with British culture and values is promoted (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1998; Cameron, 2012). Negativity surrounding heritage languages and cultures can permeate all layers of system to affect the child. For example, in the school microsystem where teachers may form negative perceptions and assumptions towards migrant and heritage language speakers (Mistry & Sood, 2012; Mehmedbegović, 2014) or bullying from peers which can result in low self-esteem, fear and anxiety (Dovchin, 2020; Sime, 2020).

As discussed in section 3.2.1 on the ESM, multiple macrosystems can simultaneously exist in a person's life (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Examples of this can be found in previous research by Schwartz et al. (2019) and Portes and Rumbaut (2018) where having Hispanic role models and a large number of Hispanic peers facilitated biculturalism in Miami. Morales (2020) and McIlwaine and Bunge (2016) have written about the substantial Latin American community

in London and the positive impact that arises from spaces, groups and events which promote heritage language and culture. In London's 'Latin Village' one can eat, shop, socialise, find a job or a flat to rent - it is a vital community space for the area's Latin American population (Morales, 2020). There are also community groups and charities that offer a strong support network for immigrants in London (e.g. the 'Latin American Women's Rights Service' or the 'Indoamerican Refugee Migrant Organisation'). In a large heritage community, there is exposure to another macrosystem and the opportunity to live across and between two cultures.

3.3.6 Chronosystem

The most recently added system to the Bioecological Model, considers interaction, life events and transitions over time as Figure 3.2 illustrated. Immigration has been documented to have profound effect on children as they begin to develop their new linguistic and cultural identities. O'Toole (2016) and Moskal and Sime (2016) found evidence of significant changes in family roles and relationships after migration, for example children having to translate on behalf of their parents. Socio-emotional changes that families experienced as a result of immigration were accompanied by cultural changes which could lead to tensions between family members. Tyrrell et al. (2019) found that CEE teenagers often struggled to adapt to living in two cultures having come to Britain perhaps at the age of 8/9/10 years old, or even as teenagers. Their linguistic and cultural identities were somewhat already embedded before migration, thus the acculturation process (Berry, 2005) was challenging for them.

Furthermore, CEE migrants reported high levels of mobility to and from Scotland (Kay & Trevena, 2018) where family members changed country of residence periodically, depending on their own and the wider family's needs. For example, a mother going back to Poland to care for an elderly parent, or a family immigration 'chain' where the father comes to Scotland to find a job and settle before his partner and children join him, then the following year his parents move to Scotland to be beside their family (Kay & Trevena, ibid). Berg (2017) noted that family immigration chains were also common in the London Latin American community, where stories of family reunification are typically

preceded by instability and separation which can leave emotional scarring.

3.3.7 Cybersystem/Techno-subsystem

Section 3.2.3 outlined how recent research has offered technology and the internet as another layer of social learning that was not included in Bronfenbrenner's models (1979; 1994). Previous studies in Scotland have given examples of immigrants using digital technology to shape their linguistic and cultural identities, and moreover to support their socio-emotional wellbeing. Participants from various studies (e.g. Ulflewska, 2018; Ivashinenko, 2018; Kay & Trevena, 2018) used social media, internet phone calls and video calls to communicate inexpensively with family and friends abroad. This supports findings from other parts of the UK and beyond; Mejia's (2016) participants used Skype and FaceTime to counter the geographical isolation of Australia, while Piller and Gerber's (2018) participants used online forums for advice and support on familial bilingualism, and children in Morris and Jones' study (2007) watched TV and movies in Welsh.

Technology is being used for more formal education purposes to develop and maintain heritage languages, for example, Gaelic in Scotland through the digital learning platform e-Sgoil (Smith-Christmas, 2016) and online classes for literacy and mathematics in Polish language (Hancock & Hancock, 2018). Other innovative uses of technology have been illustrated by Anderson, Chung and Macleroy (2018) who developed multiliteracy through a digital storytelling project in London, and in the 'Studi/Binogi' digital resource that allows bilingual learners to both access the Swedish curriculum and continue to develop their skills in the heritage language simultaneously (Le Pichon-Vorstman & Cummins, 2020).

It is worthwhile noting that at the time of writing, schools have had to exponentially utilise online teaching and learning due to Covid-19, however a more in-depth review of digital practices and tools would fall beyond the scope of this study.

3.4 Summary

This chapter used Bronfenbrenner's Bioecological Model (1994) as a solid theoretical and evolving foundation to explore the role of social learning in the development of linguistic and cultural identities. It highlighted the adaptation of ecological models through the years to encompass the role of technology and the internet in modern living. It indicated that children's interactions with the people, places and structures in their lives, whether directly or indirectly, influence the formation of linguistic and cultural identities.

Absences or negative attitudes can have a profound effect on child development, therefore it is important to create positive and conducive environments to support bilingualism and biculturalism. The chapter ended by presenting previous research evidence on language, culture and identity using an ecological theoretical framework.

The following chapter contextualises this study further by positioning it within the Scottish educational and linguistic landscape.

CHAPTER 4: CONTEXT - THE EDUCATIONAL AND LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE OF SCOTLAND

4.1 Overview

Chapters 2 and 3 outlined that linguistic and cultural identities are socially constructed, therefore it is important to understand the context in which participants live and this research is set. This chapter contextualises the research within the Scottish backdrop in two areas – education policy and demographics. Firstly, discusses key policy movements in the 21st century that locate languages within wider educational policy, and specifically to consider how this impacts upon the teaching and learning of bilingual children (4.2). Secondly, the chapter presents census and immigration statistics to establish patterns of linguistic and cultural diversification in Scotland, with a particular focus on the Spanish-speaking population (4.3). Finally, the chapter ends in a summary of the main points (4.4).

4.2 Languages and Education Policy in Scotland in the 21st Century

Since the Act of Union in 1701, the Scottish Government has retained control of three key elements - law, religion and education - meaning that Scottish education has had freedom to develop its own characteristic features based on values of meritocracy and social mobility (Anderson, 2018). Humes and Bryce (2018) state that Scotland's education system is rooted in a historic ideology that emphasises inclusion and equality, even more so in the post-devolution political climate. The following ten subsections, arranged around key policy movements in the 21st century, discuss languages and wider education policy to contextualise this thesis and the educational experiences of participants.

4.2.1 Becoming 'Citizens of a Multilingual World'

In 2003, planning for a new 'Curriculum for Excellence' (CfE) commenced to introduce innovative approaches to teaching and learning in Scotland's schools (Scottish Executive, 2004). Amongst other reports and reviews, design of the new curriculum drew upon the Scottish Ministerial Action Group for Languages (2000) report 'Citizens of a Multilingual World' (CMW). The report outlined that Scotland needed to refresh its languages education offer and take a creative

approach to ensure young Scots had the same opportunities as their European peers. The authors made 14 recommendations (Appendix 1), two of which specifically addressed increasing cultural diversity in Scotland. Firstly, the Ministerial Action Group made reference to 'heritage languages' in the body of its report and recommended that local authorities should draw on financial support to enhance the learning and teaching of 'heritage or community' languages such as Scots, Gaelic and Urdu, as well the more customary modern European languages. Secondly, it used the term 'first language', acknowledging the fact that an increasing number of Scottish pupils no longer had English as their first or only language.

Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Education (HMIE) (2005) stated that in addressing the recommendations of CMW and designing the new curriculum, the aim was to develop Scottish children and young people as confident and successful language learners. It was envisaged that this new curriculum would provide broader opportunities for achievement in language learning, including heritage languages, and prepare them to be responsive, active international citizens (Robinson, 2006).

4.2.2 Inclusion

The Education (Additional Support for Learning) (Scotland) Act (2004), later revised in 2009, set out the policy guidelines for children who had English as an additional language (EAL) as part of wider measures to support pupils with additional needs. The Act stated that all learners had an entitlement to the broad general curriculum of a CfE, and opportunities to develop skills for life, learning and work. It emphasised the key role that schools play in maximising the potential of bilingual learners. It provided bilingual EAL learners with an entitlement to additional support, should they require it, to ensure that they made good progress in learning (HMIE, 2009).

Nevertheless, others (Hall, 2001; Sood & Mistry, 2011) believe that linking EAL with Additional Support Needs (ASN) can send erroneous messages to educators. Furthermore, Hall notes that children with EAL are often categorised as having

ASN rather than simply experiencing a 'temporary language barrier' (2001, p.1). He argues that EAL children are often incorrectly labelled as having ASN when actually the pupil just needs time to make linguistic, social, emotional or cultural adjustments. In addition to this, there exists a lack of understanding of different cultures from school staff (Sood & Mistry, 2011). Sood and Mistry (ibid, p.210) give the example of eye contact; in British culture it is courteous to make eye contact with the speaker whereas other cultures refrain from making eye contact as a mark of respect but lack of eye contact is sometimes an indicator of autism.

In the Scottish context, Sime and Fox (2015) and Hopkins and Hill (2010) also urge educators to be understanding of and empathetic towards children's social and emotional wellbeing including feelings of belonging, culture acclimatisation, pre-migratory experiences, and trauma, poverty or violence - especially in the case of asylum seeker or refugee pupils. However, it is crucial that immigrant pupils' needs are not generalised but met on an individual basis (Kohli, 2006; Fernandez-Kelly, 2008).

A subsequent resource document 'Learning in 2+ Languages' (Learning and Teaching Scotland, 2005) built on the provisions of this Act by helping staff in educational settings to better understand the needs of bilingual learners and to be able to support them more effectively within the mainstream classroom. Aimed at all professionals and practitioners in the field of education, the document identified good practice in supporting bilingual children to access the curriculum in English as well as their heritage languages. It highlighted strengths that bilingual learners often possessed, such as transferable literacy skills and intercultural competencies, and encouraged schools to be more proactive in raising the achievement of bilingual pupils.

With a wider focus on inclusion, in 2006 the Scottish Government started collecting 'home language' data for pupils in the annual School Census; until that point only pupil ethnicity was recorded which suggested little recognition and value for heritage languages.

4.2.3 From 'English' to 'Languages'

This new 'home language' data and the CMW report were catalysts for the evolution of heritage languages policy in Scotland with the addition of other languages into the curriculum over the years including Gaelic, Scots and the "ethnic community languages" of Urdu, Mandarin and Cantonese (Scottish Government, 2007, p.7). In 2007, the Scottish Government's 'Strategy for Scotland's Languages' was devised to promote language diversity in Scotland whilst still endorsing English fluency.

> [The strategy] emphasises the need to equip all Scots with fluent English language skills, as well as promoting linguistic diversity and multilingualism including BSL and ethnic community languages. The document also proposes the protection and promotion of the Gaelic language, as well as a pledge that the Scots language will be treated with pride and respect. (Scottish Government, 2007, p.7)

There was a shift away from the subject of 'English' to the wider subject area of 'Languages' recognising that all languages contributed to linguistic development and that skills were transferable across English, Modern Languages, Classical Languages and Scotland's indigenous languages of Gaelic and Scots (Education Scotland, 2011b). Later, British Sign Language was formally classified as the third of Scotland's official languages and introduced into the curriculum when the British Sign Language (Scotland) Act (2015) came into force in October 2015.

The introduction of 'ethnic community languages' in the curriculum was a positive development in response to Scotland's increasing ethnic minority population. Although language data was not collected in the 2001 population census, 2002 School Census data showed that 'Asian – Pakistani' was by far the single biggest ethnic group in Scotland followed by 'Asian - Chinese' (Scottish Executive, 2003). In response to this statistic and the growing bilingual Pakistani community, the Scottish Qualifications Authority (SQA) developed language qualifications for secondary aged pupils in Urdu, Mandarin and Cantonese (SQA, 2016).

It could be argued that the addition of 'ethnic community languages' was a reactive policy response that reflected demographics at a given time which

would be unable to meet the ever-changing population dynamics of the nation. For example, of the 149 languages used by pupils in Scotland in 2018, Polish had 16,425 speakers compared to 6312 Urdu speakers, and Arabic (*n*=4158) had more speakers than Mandarin (*n*=1888) and Cantonese (*n*=1135) combined (Scottish Government, 2019). Nevertheless, attempts by the Polish community to lobby for Polish as subject at SQA examination level were rebuffed by the Scottish Government (Hancock & Hancock, 2018).

The scope of languages offered by the SQA (*n*=8) (SQA, 2019) is small compared to other anglophone nations. In England, three exam boards offer 17 languages to modern language learners and heritage language learners (Association for Language Learning, 2019). Australia offers 14 languages that can be learned as a modern or heritage language (Australian Curriculum, 2019) as part of the curriculum, and 69 languages are taught in Australia's 1400 complementary language schools as part of their government's national community language programme (Community Languages Australia, 2019). One must acknowledge that Scotland has a smaller, less diverse population than England and Australia, however not all heritage language learning needs to carry formal accreditation from an exam board (Hancock & Hancock, 2018).

4.2.4 Improving Support for Learners of EAL

The SNP European elections manifesto envisaged Scotland in a multilingual Europe which would require an increasingly multilingual society to prosper (Scottish National Party, 2009). The SNP pledged to deliver high quality English language provision to support those who did not have English as a first language. Education Scotland (2017, p.11) state that, "for children and young people who have English as an additional language, it is important that their learning journey is carefully monitored and assessed as they develop skills in English language acquisition". Furthermore, it was recognised that immigrants and their heritage languages could enhance the nation's diversity and enrich Scottish society as a whole.

'Count Us In: A sense of belonging' (HMIE, 2009) reported on school support for newly arrived children and their families across all 32 local authorities, giving

examples of effective practice and highlighted areas for development. Like Sood and Mistry's (2011) and Murakami's (2008) research in England, amongst other issues, the policy document recognised that many children in rural areas did not have the same level of local authority EAL support or community links that their counterparts in larger towns and cities have. It recommended nationwide improvements in numerous areas, for example, more effective approaches to initial and ongoing assessments, provision of more challenging learning experiences, and allowing newly-arrived pupils to use their first language as a tool for learning. The report also suggested establishing effective partnerships with parents and providing training to support staff meet the needs of newly-arrived children and young people more effectively (HMIE, 2009, p.43).

It is worthwhile noting that no reference was made to 'advanced bilinguals' - children who have been in the country for some time and have a fair command of English but are still in the lengthy process of developing it (Sorace, 2017). Nor was there mention of support for home-born bilinguals - pupils born in Scotland who have learned more than one language simultaneously. This devotion of resources and effort to newly-arrived pupils echoes findings from Wallace and Mallow's (2009) case studies in ten English schools. Later, the disparity in EAL services across Scotland's 32 local authorities was further highlighted in research by Foley, Sangster and Anderson (2013). Their study correlated with Murakami's research (2008) in the South West of England which found that bilingual pupils in rural or remote areas received little local authority support. Foley, Sangster and Anderson stated that "provision is patchy at best and non-existent at worst" in Scotland (2013, p.203) which reflects Murakami's (2008, p.275) point that in rural areas EAL provision has "fumbled along".

4.2.5 A 'Curriculum for Excellence'

After years of planning and consultation, August 2010 saw the introduction of a CfE (Scottish Government, 2010) across Scotland's schools. It aimed to prepare children and young people with the future life and work skills they would need in an ever-changing Scotland, one which would be open to the world and could grow business and the economy. A CfE was a result of comprehensive public consultation 'National Debate on Education' (Scottish Executive, 2002) which

highlighted some concerns with the previous system, such as overcrowding in the curriculum, progression, assessment, and the balance between academic and vocational content (Robinson, 2006). A CfE claimed to be more flexible and have a focus on life-long learning, enabling young people to choose the academic or vocational route that they wished to follow. Yet, opinions differed on the extent to which it was radically new and unique (Priestley, 2010).

The purpose of a CfE was summarised in the realms of four overarching capacities - to enable every child or young person to be a 'successful learner', a 'confident individual', a 'responsible citizen' and an 'effective contributor'. The attributes and capabilities of the four capacities are fully outlined in Appendix 2. A CfE aimed to ensure that all children and young people in Scotland developed the knowledge, skills and attributes they would need to flourish in life, learning and work - now and in the future - and to develop their persona and identity in relation to others and the wider world (Scottish Executive, 2002).

Children and young people from the ages of 3 – 18 developed four capacities via eight curricular areas, each with a set of 'experiences and outcomes' statements describing the expectations for learning and progression at each stage in education. The curricular area of 'Languages' incorporated literacy skills, English language, modern languages, Gaelic, Scots and the classical languages of Greek and Latin. This shift away from the subject of 'English' that appeared in the previous curriculum, acknowledged that the core skills of talking, listening, reading and writing are woven through the hypernym of 'Languages' and were also vital in accessing the other seven curricular areas (Education Scotland, 2011a). Education Scotland stated:

> Our ability to use language lies at the centre of the development and expression of our emotions, our thinking, our learning and our sense of personal identity. Language is itself a key aspect of our culture [...] children and young people encounter, enjoy and learn from the diversity of language used in their homes, their communities, by the media and by their peers. (Education Scotland, 2011b, p.1)

Increasingly, it was being recognised that immigration and diverse demographics meant that Scotland had a wealth of languages and dialects that teachers

needed to value and build upon, including the languages that children brought from home into school (Scottish Executive, 2006).

4.2.6 'Getting it right for every child'

Between 2008 and 2012, Scottish local authorities adopted the 'Getting it right for every child' (GIRFEC) policy (Scottish Government, 2008; 2012a). It was a new approach to improving outcomes for children and young people by supporting their wellbeing through joined-up provision across public services such as health, education, housing, social care and policing. GIRFEC set out eight indicators of wellbeing which aimed to ensure every child in Scotland was **S**afe, **H**ealthy, **A**chieving, **N**urtured, **A**ctive, **R**espected, **R**esponsible and **I**ncluded.

As a result of its influence on the GIRFEC policy, the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) (OHCHR, 1989) began to feature more prominently in Scottish education. 54 Articles of the UNCRC cover all aspects of a child's life and set out the civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights that all children everywhere are entitled to. It also outlined that adults and governments must work together to ensure all children can enjoy all their rights (UNICEF, n.d.). While all articles are of equal value, there are some that are especially pertinent to bilingual children and young people.

For example, Article 30 declares that the right of every child to maintain their language, culture, religion and identity is paramount, and Article 13.1 states that children should have the freedom to communicate and express in the language (or other media) of their choice. Article 12 notes that children and their families should be respected at all levels in society and "have the right to have their voices sought, heard and acted upon by all those who support them and who provide services to help them" (OHCHR, 1989).

Articles 12 and 13.1 appear to be intrinsically linked because a child has the right to express their voice in the language of their choice. A clear message can be taken from these three UNCRC Articles in particular - it is a child's legal right

to be able to maintain their own language and culture in order to be able to express themselves freely and so that their voice is heard. This principle would later be key to the research design and methodological approach taken (see Chapter 5). Article 30 speaks to research evidence on the benefits of using heritage languages as discussed in Chapter 2.

An Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) review of Scottish Education (OECD, 2015) suggested that Scotland was 'getting it right' for immigrant pupils as they performed better academically than their Scottish-born native peers. Taking into consideration mathematics test results in secondary school, it reported that immigrant pupils in Scotland achieved higher levels on average than their non-immigrant classmates, suggesting a high degree of inclusion by international standards. Immigrant pupils in Scotland scored among the highest for immigrant pupils internationally, furthermore Scotland had one of the smallest proportions of 'low performers' among its immigrant pupils: only 16% compared with the much higher OECD average of 36% (OECD, ibid, p.59). Both first and second-generation immigrant pupils in Scotland performed better than their non-immigrant counterparts, even after accounting for socio-economic status.

Typically across OECD countries, immigrant pupils tend to be concentrated in schools in socio-economically disadvantaged areas. On the contrary, 8% of the students in the disadvantaged areas were of immigrant status compared to 13% of the students in the more advantaged areas. Scotland also differed from the general international situation in that Scottish-born pupils who attended schools where the proportion of immigrant pupils was high (above 25% of the school population) performed just as well as those where there were no immigrant pupils. The report stated "the cultural diversity and the subsequent challenges that this diversity brings are not creating additional inequities in schools hosting high shares of immigrant students" (OECD, 2015, p.60). This counteracted the common belief that children are 'held back' by immigrant pupils (Sorace, 2017).

The report also concluded that speaking a language other than English at home was "not a barrier to the achievement of immigrant children" (OECD, 2015,

p.60). Their evidence showed that Scottish schools were inclusive in terms of attainment, especially for immigrant pupils, but some questions should be raised to delve deeper into the results. Is 'immigrant' too broad a term? Do OECD refer to children who immigrated in their formative years or as a baby, or were they referring to more recent arrivals? Was the learning and achievement of Scottish-born bilinguals measured? Were there any pockets of communities where high achievement was not the case? For example, did the small group of low performers identified in the report (OECD, 2015, p.59) come from specific communities or heritage language groups?

However, Sime (2018) highlights that immigrant pupils' levels of English language competency are often used as an indicator of ability across all curricular areas, therefore their developing English language ability places them at a disadvantage in other subject areas. She asserts that the system of summative assessment in Scotland needs to be questioned to ensure that bilingualism is not a barrier to attainment. Forbes and Sime (2016) reported that pupils from refugee and asylum seeker backgrounds have lower levels of academic achievement than Scottish-born children, and they are also disproportionately represented in low ability groups in class.

4.2.7 A '1+2 Approach' to Languages

A CfE emphasised the need to equip young people for an increasingly globalised world and recognised the important economic contribution of languages, as this excerpt from the *Modern Languages Principles and Practice Paper* indicated:

> It is important for the nation's prosperity that young people are attracted to learning a modern language and that they become confident users of a modern language, well equipped with the skills needed in the new Europe and in the Languages global marketplace. This framework of experiences and outcomes is intended to help to address this national need. (Learning and Teaching Scotland, 2009, p.1)

With the economic benefits of language learning in mind, the Scottish Government set up a Languages Working Group in 2011 to investigate, advise and give direction on what language learning in Scotland should look like in the 21st Century. Two of the recommendations pertinent to heritage languages

were:

Recommendation 2. The Working Group recommends that local authorities and schools develop a 1+2 strategy for language learning within which schools can determine which additional languages to offer. As part of this strategy, consideration should be given to teaching modern European Languages, languages of the strong economies of the future, Gaelic and community languages of pupils in schools.

Recommendation 33. The Working Group recommends further development of the links involving cultural organisations, local authorities, language communities and schools.

The resulting policy, the 'Language Learning in Scotland: A 1+2 Approach' (Scottish Government, 2012c) aimed to introduce a new norm for language learning based on the European Union model, Action 44 of the EU 'Barcelona Agreement' (EU European Council, 2002). Its objective was to create the conditions, by 2021, for every pupil to learn two languages (L2 and L3) in addition to their own 'mother tongue' (L1) (Scottish Government, 2012b). As well as economic benefits, it promoted global citizenship and a multilingual Scottish society. It was also less Euro-centric, encouraging schools to learn languages such as Mandarin.

The policy stated that local linguistic diversity should help shape local authorities' provision of languages – especially for the L3 where decisions should incorporate community/heritage languages (Scottish Government, 2012c). The Languages Working Group (Scottish Government 2012b, p.14) recommended that schools "take into account the needs of pupils for whom English may not be their first language with language learning provision developed within a broad, inclusive context and which should be reflected in local language strategies". Many practitioners, especially those involved in the teaching of EAL and complementary education, saw the '1+2' strategy as an opportunity to encourage language diversity (Hancock & Hancock, 2018; McColl, 2012) and move away from the previous model of one European language being taught (Crichton & Templeton, 2010). It could also have been a chance to capitalise on the recommendations made over a decade previously in 'Citizens of a Multilingual World' (Scottish Executive, 2001) to utilise the expertise of community language groups and complementary schools.

The Strategy committed to further develop links with cultural organisations, language communities and complementary schools (Scottish Government, 2012c, p.24). This had also been an area for development in the HMIE 'Count Us In' report which stated:

> A few authorities have developed positive links with key community groups. A third of education authorities who responded to the survey are not currently interacting with community and faith groups. Some denominational schools have established positive links with the Polish community. However, the majority of schools have limited or no interaction with cultural or faith groups in the community. (HMIE, 2009, p.17)

However, data shows that there remained a focus on European languages (Christie et al., 2016), with 61% of secondary aged pupils sitting exams in French and 75% of primary schools teaching French as L2 from Primary 1, aged 5 (Doughty, 2019). Spanish was the second most common L2 with German and Mandarin following (Doughty, ibid). The '1+2 policy' was intended to be ambitious and bold with the addition of an L3 in Primary 5 (aged 10) to "encourage cultural and linguistic diversity whilst promoting multilingualism" (Allan, 2011, p.6).

Despite this, evidence indicates that the opportunity to experience a variety of languages was replaced, in many instances, by the desire to gain a deeper knowledge of only two languages which would, in turn, improve attainment and achievement at secondary school level (Glen, 2017). Although local authority annual returns data showed that Mandarin, Polish, BSL and Urdu were mentioned as L3s for primary schools and Mandarin, Japanese and Norge stated as L3s for secondary schools (Glen, ibid). However, these languages were only mentioned in the data and the extent of teaching and learning was not disclosed.

The implementation and interpretation of the policy was not always consistent with the original aims as schools appeared to default towards the Scottish Qualifications Authority exam board's suite of languages offered for their L3 provision rather than including heritage languages (Christie et al., 2016;

Hancock, 2016). Later, official guidance on L3 from Education Scotland again contradicted the Languages Working Group's (Scottish Government, 2011) original recommendations and policy aims by advising that "Ideally, children would experience the same L3 from P5 to P7" (Education Scotland, 2019, p.4). Which in turn, filtered down to policy decision-making at regional level, as we can see in one example from North Ayrshire Local Authority's 1+2 annual return:

> L3 for the most part will be a language that can be offered as a National Qualification in the cluster secondary school. (North Ayrshire Local Authority, 2016)

Cummins and Swain (2014) argue that curricula should move away from language education policy driven by economic benefit and school league tables, and focus on skills development, wellbeing and cognitive function. This change in mind-set would allow heritage languages to flourish, but schools and teachers must firstly be knowledgeable in the benefits of bilingualism and maintaining heritage languages (Lim, Stroud & Wee, 2018). Perhaps more importantly, government agencies must encourage this and make schools feel secure and confident that they are doing the right thing – a message that needs to come from the top down (Lo Bianco, 2018).

4.2.8 Welcoming 'New Scots'

To further support newly-arrived immigrants, the Scottish Government's 'New Scots' strategies (Scottish Government, 2013a; 2018a) built upon the joined-up public services approach initiated by GIRFEC specifically to meet the needs of asylum seekers and refugees (ASRs). The document detailed how various government departments and external organisations would support these 'new Scots' to enable them to realise their full potential and to make Scottish society a welcoming place.

The first three-year strategy (Scottish Government, 2013a) had detailed, practical actions and outcomes to support ASRs, taking into account their unique and differentiated needs and circumstances. However, due to wider politics and global events, the strategy was aimed at supporting ASRs specifically rather than immigrants in general. It could be argued that many of the principles and

guidance offered by the strategy could have been applied to all 'new Scots' arriving in the country to help support them in the transition.

In addition to this, the first New Scots strategy perhaps overlooked the needs of children and young people in schools, and the professional development needs of educational practitioners. The first column 'New Scots Strategy: 2014-2017' **in** Table 4.1 shows that strategy outcomes were mainly geared towards adults with no mention of children and young people. Heavy emphasis was placed on learning English quickly to maximise opportunities in either employment or education rather than on the general wellbeing of the individual concerned. The strategy was guided by Home Office and Department of Work and Pensions policies paying little regard to maintaining the heritage languages and cultures of ASRs.

Around the same time, the 2013 Scottish Government's White Paper, 'Scotland's Future', made several references to English, Gaelic, Scots and British Sign Language as 'Scotland's languages' (Scottish Government 2013b, p.564), but as Phipps and Fassetta (2015) noted:

> While there is ample discussion on Scotland's open and welcoming attitude to migrants, the White Paper makes no mention of the languages and cultures that migrants bring with them. (p.10)

The second New Scots Strategy (Scottish Government, 2018a) built upon the first version, as Table 4.1 illustrates, by addressing some of the gaps that had been identified. There was explicit reference to young people and their parents/carers, and staff training for educational practitioners featured more heavily to help support those working with newly-arrived families. Furthermore, a new outcome strand of 'Language' had been added to further support the heritage language skills of ASRs, and also to move away from the stronger emphasis on learning English that had featured in the previous strategy. The strategy outcomes for Languages also made reference to promoting the cultures of New Scots, recognising that the two concepts are intertwined, as discussed previously in Chapter 2. Language used in the strategy became more focused on additive bilingualism (see section 2.2.5 'Linguistic Identity'), for example people having the opportunity "to share their language and culture with their local

communities", thus addressing Phipps and Fassetta's (2015) concern. Finally, the second Strategy was perhaps also more inclusive as it aimed to support those working with ASRs to overcome language barriers.

Table 4-1: Comparison of 'New Scots Strategy' outcomes
Adapted from Scottish Government (2013a; 2018a)

New Scots Strategy: 2014-2017	New Scots Strategy: 2018 – 2022
Strategy Outcomes for Education 1. Refugees and asylum seekers are able to achieve the English Language skills they need to successfully integrate with Scotland's communities. 2. Refugees and asylum seekers access appropriate education opportunities and increase their qualifications/knowledge/ experience as a result. 3. Refugees and asylum seekers are supported to use pre-existing qualifications and access appropriate employment/additional education opportunities as a result. 4. Scotland's linguistic diversity is promoted and as a result is valued, enabling refugees to contribute fully/effectively to Scottish society.	**Strategy Outcomes for Education** 1. Young refugees and asylum seekers (and their parents, carers and guardians) are aware of, and understand the options available to them, in terms of learning, education opportunities and funding support. 2. All staff within education and learning settings are able to effectively communicate with refugees and asylum seekers. 3. The recognition of qualifications enables refugees to progress on to further learning or into employment. **Strategy Outcomes for Languages** (*did not feature in New Scots version 1*) 1. Refugees have the opportunity to share their language and culture with their local communities. 2. Refugees and asylum seekers have the opportunity to achieve the language and the language qualifications they need to progress to further learning or employment. 3. Those working with refugees and asylum seekers improve their understanding of the language barriers and how to overcome them.

4.2.9 Heritage Languages in Schools

Research by the Centre for Education for Racial Equality in Scotland (CERES) and the University of Edinburgh (Anderson et al., 2016) found limited use of pupils' first language in schools, common with other studies in this area internationally (Cummins, 2006; Conteh, 2012; Little & Kirwan, 2019). The research stated that educational practitioners would benefit from:

> Systematic professional learning opportunities to help inform their knowledge, beliefs and practices, thus resulting in the provision of better opportunities for EAL students in their development of the language and literacies of schooling. (Anderson et al., 2016, p.19)

The research confirmed that there was still a substantial void between EAL policy and professional practice in schools since previous research was undertaken by Foley, Sangster and Anderson (2013). One hypothesis is that this is due to a lack of training and professional learning in the field of education. Reports by the Scottish Centre for Information on Language Teaching (SCILT) in 2017 on languages input in Initial Teacher Education (ITE) courses, and also research undertaken by Anderson et al. (2016) both indicated very low levels of input on supporting EAL learners for student teachers. These studies showed that optional courses for interested students were regularly available in many Schools of Education but general input for whole cohorts was minimal or non-existent.

This correlates with evidence on ITE in England where many newly qualified teachers will only have had one lecture on teaching EAL learners (NUT & NALDIC, 2011; Cajkler & Hall, 2012). Mehmedbegović et al. (2018) state that is "seriously insufficient preparation" for the reality of modern education, especially in London and large cities. Foley, Sangster and Anderson (2013, p.193) explained that EAL input in the training of mainstream teachers was not a formally required element of the ITE offer in the UK which they described as "striking current lacunae in policy guidelines".

If we consider that teachers are "gatekeepers" in the development of children's linguistic and cultural identities (Fielding & Harbon, 2013, p.528), then it is imperative that gaps in teacher knowledge around EAL and bilingualism are addressed. However, in the context of the USA, Sunami (2004) suggested that

issues around teaching and learning of children from ethnic minorities were not related to pedagogy or lack of resources and training but rather to teachers' own attitudes, values and beliefs.

Moskal and Sime (2016) discovered that teachers raised concerns about the lack of specialist support in schools for children learning EAL. Teachers felt that there was a lack of clarity around school/ local authority policy and professional practice to be able to effectively support pupils with EAL needs. In addition, schools relied on teachers' abilities to improvise and adapt, or on other Polish-speaking children to act as interpreters. Moskal and Sime (ibid) found that the presence of specialist EAL teachers resulted in mainstream classroom teachers becoming more passive about addressing the needs of migrant children.

A recent positive development comes from the Scottish teachers' trade union, the Educational Institute of Scotland (EIS) who have published a series of 'Welcome to Scotland' booklets for pupils and parents who have recently arrived in Scotland (EIS, 2019) as immigrants or refugees. However, there is currently no advice booklet for teachers, who can only refer to an ASR specific document from 2007 (EIS, 2007).

At the time of writing, one of the key resources around bilingualism and biculturalism in Scotland 'Learning in 2+ Languages' (Learning and Teaching Scotland, 2005) was being rewritten, co-authored by the researcher of this thesis. The updated document (Education Scotland, 2020) takes into account the wealth of research evidence on how to support bilingual children and their families to provide advice and guidance for teachers and practitioners across the educational sectors. It promotes the inclusion of bilingual pupils and identifies good practice in supporting them. This revised resource aims to highlight the importance of effective pedagogies when working with bilingual children, given the increasing linguistic and cultural diversity in Scotland's schools.

Anderson et al. (2016) also identified the need for greater collaboration between educators, for example between mainstream class teachers and EAL specialists; between mainstream schools, families and local communities; and between mainstream and complementary schools. Research shows that collaboration and

communication is beneficial for pupils (HMIE, 2009; Hancock, 2010; Christie et al., 2016). It may also be beneficial for practitioners from mainstream and complementary sectors who could work together to develop suitable materials, exchange pedagogies and share knowledge of pupils' learning (Anderson, Kenner & Gregory, 2008; McColl, 2012, Hancock & Hancock, 2018).

4.2.10 Complementary Education

Building on McPake's (2006) mapping exercise of complementary school provision in Scotland, Hancock and Hancock (2018) identified provision for 18 languages. However, the 2017 School Census showed 154 different languages spoken by pupils in Scottish schools (Scottish Government, 2018b) so aside from Gaelic, Scots and British Sign Language, this suggests no provision exists for the teaching and learning of 136 languages (Hancock & Hancock, 2018, p.45). Their research reported that the 'vast majority' of complementary schools (76%) had never been contacted by local authorities to discuss local language strategies and build links with the community (Hancock & Hancock, 2018, p.43). Moreover, 90% of the schools involved in the research had no links with children's mainstream schools (ibid, p.41).

Their study showed that for the main heritage languages in Scotland (Urdu, Mandarin and Polish) there was a network of support in these large communities, often through faith-based organisations, but for less common heritage languages there was little information, funding nor support available. There was, in fact, a 13% decline in the number of languages served by complementary schools compared to McPake's (2006) earlier findings. Although, a substantial change in provision since 2006 was an increase in the number of Polish complementary schools which had increased substantially from one to eighteen.

Hancock and Hancock (2018, p.11) noted that community language groups and complementary schools were especially important in rural and semi-rural areas of Scotland "where minority families are geographically isolated". Their study expanded upon a small body of research evidence on complementary schools in Scotland by Hancock (2010; 2012; 2014; 2016) and Bell (2013) to highlight numerous shortcomings in the Scottish context. These included a lack of funding

or support in-kind from local authorities/consulates/embassies, challenges in acquiring resources and few professional learning opportunities open to teachers. There was also an issue that some educators were not qualified teachers and therefore had no formal training or expertise in language teaching methodology, pedagogy, assessment, behaviour management or additional support needs. These issues echoed findings on complementary schools in England by Mariou et al. (2016).

Hancock and Hancock's (2018) study, however, did not investigate monitoring and regulation of complementary schools, primarily because no information or registration is help officially at local or national government level (Ivashinenko, 2018). Therefore, crucially, I have also realised that there is no way of enforcing or guaranteeing that teachers and volunteers are members of the Scottish Government's Protecting Vulnerable Groups (PVG) Scheme. The PVG Scheme conducts background checks on adults wishing to work with vulnerable groups of people, including children, to ensure that they have no convictions, cautions or record of harmful behaviour that could endanger the safety of the individuals concerned.

4.3 Language and Migration Patterns in Scotland

The following sections present census and immigration statistics to establish patterns of linguistic, cultural and ethnic diversification in Scotland (4.3.1), with a particular focus on the Spanish-speaking population (4.3.2).

> Patterns of migration to Scotland…poses on the one hand challenges for both language policy planners and provision in schools but on the other hand it also provides fertile ground for schools with an unparalleled potential to tap into the linguistic resources of school students. (Hancock, 2014, pp. 179-80)

This research is not situated in the field of migration studies but it is useful to consider the linguistic and cultural backdrop of Scotland to contextualise this study. As will be discussed in Chapter 5 'Research Methodology', not all participants who took part in this study were migrants; only eight children were born outside of the UK and three of those had an English-speaking, Scottish mother. The vast majority of participants were UK born with the majority of

children being home-born bilinguals but their heritage languages and cultures were connected to their parents' nationalities. The last subsection looks specifically at patterns of heritage language use in Scotland's schools (4.3.3).

4.3.1 Patterns of Migration to Scotland

Historical migration patterns have resulted in Spanish communities spread throughout the world, commencing with the colonisation of Latin America in the 15th century. People from Spain and her former colonies continued to settle across the globe, and at the turn of the 20th century mass migration was in full flow, with some 24 million European immigrants relocating to North America (Uflewska, 2018). Nevertheless, some Europeans migrated to Scotland at this time with figures showing most immigrants came from Ireland, Poland and Italy (Kershaw, 2004). Immigration continued due to the significant social, economic and political changes after WWII with Scotland becoming home to many displaced Jews from Europe (Edward, 1993).

It should be noted that although Scotland has devolved powers in some areas of legislation, immigration policy is still controlled by the UK Home Office. Therefore, it is sometimes difficult to extrapolate Scottish immigration figures from the rest of the UK, for example an immigrant may first arrive in England but later move freely to Scotland.

In 1973, the UK joined the EU and enjoyed free movement and reciprocal benefits allowing European citizens to live, work and study in the other partner countries. Immigration from Europe increased further after the 2004 EU expansion (National Records of Scotland, 2019). The 2011 census showed that 7% of the Scottish population was born outside of the UK (National Records of Scotland, 2013) which was an increase from 4% in 2004 (Office of National Statistics (ONS), 2020). At the time of writing, it is estimated that this figure has increased again to 9% (ONS, ibid).

The 2011 census showed that 170 languages were spoken in homes across Scotland and that half of the 369,000 immigrants were under the age of 16 when

they moved to Scotland (Scottish Government, 2016). 2011 census data showed that recent immigrants (less than 10 years in Scotland) were less likely to live in the most deprived areas of Scotland and more likely to live in the least deprived areas (Scottish Government, 2016). Data shows that 50% of Scotland's immigrants were educated to degree level compared to 25% of Scots (ibid). Therefore, it could be argued that a generally high educational status of adult immigrants contributes to both their choice of geographic location/residence and educational outcomes for their children. Contrary to this, research by Forbes and Sime (2016, p.4) found that statistics from 2002/03 to 2004/05 (albeit prior to the 2011 Census) revealed that approximately 42% of children from minority ethnic families lived in poverty, compared to 24% of White (Scottish/British/Other) families. Non-European Economic Area (EEA) immigrants were more likely to be higher educated than EEA immigrants (Hudson & Aiton, 2016), which may reflect the substantial number of international students in Scotland's universities and also the visa entry occupation and qualification requirements that apply to applicants from outside the EEA.

Table 4-2: Most common non-UK countries of birth in Scotland in 2019
Source: Annual Population Survey (ONS, 2020)

Country	Population Estimate
Poland	80,000
India	25,000
Germany	24,000
Pakistan	23,000
Republic of Ireland	18,000

Data from the 2019 APS (ONS, 2020) shows that most immigrants in Scotland currently come from Poland (see Table 4.2 above). However, this table does not include children and young people born in Scotland to an immigrant parent(s). It is worthwhile noting that Table 4.2 presents the most common 'non-UK countries of birth' in Scotland. There is a discrepancy between figures for 'non-UK nationals' and 'non-UK countries of birth' data because some immigrants choose to adopt a different nationality from their country of birth. For example, the 2019 APS (ONS, 2020) shows there were 91,000 people of Polish nationality in Scotland but only 80,000 of those were born outside of Scotland. Presumably, 11,000 children were born in Scotland but have Polish nationality rather than British. Contrary to this, there are 25,000 people in Scotland who were born in

India and moved to Scotland, of whom 12,000 now have British nationality. Thus, statistics show that Indian nationals in Scotland only account for 13,000 of the population.

4.3.2 Migration from Spain and Latin America

2011 census data (ONS, 2017) revealed that 4908 people living in Scotland were of Spanish nationality. Numbers had almost doubled from the 2001 census (*n*=2555), as perhaps the global financial crisis of 2007/2008 and high youth unemployment in Spain may have contributed to higher numbers of working age migrants coming to Scotland (Fernandez, Casado & Osanz, 2014). By 2015, it had risen steeply to 9000 (Hudson & Aiton, 2016) and the 2019 Annual Population Survey (ONS, 2020) showed that there were approximately 10,000 Spanish nationals living in Scotland, despite the fact that net migration has decreased after the UK's decision to leave the EU. It is worth noting that APS data is based on a sample of 320,000 and includes university students (in halls of residence and those staying less than 12 months in Scotland) whereas, census data is more comprehensive but does not include those students.

In discussing immigrants' purpose for mobility, many UK immigrants to Spain are retired 'ex-pats' whereas, Spanish citizens coming to live, work and study tend to be younger economic immigrants. A joint report between the Office of National Statistics (ONS) and the Spanish Instituto Nacional de Estadistica (INE) showed that 296,600 British citizens lived in Spain, of whom 40% were aged 65 and over, compared to 132,000 Spanish citizens resident in the UK, 50% of whom were aged 20-39 years old (ONS, 2017). In Scotland, the majority of EU nationals work in the hotel, hospitality and tourism industries (Hudson & Aiton, 2016). The average hourly pay of an EU worker is £8.60 compared to non-EU immigrants at £13.20 and the UK average of £11.20. Again, this suggests that non-EU immigrants who are subject to high visa entry standards are more likely to be in professional/higher paid jobs.

The 2011 census data in Table 4.3 shows that a total of 5598 nationals from Central and South America were resident in Scotland (compared to 160,322 in

the rest of the UK). Population numbers for each of the Spanish-speaking countries in Latin America were too small to be recorded in Annual Population Surveys (APS) for Scotland alone but for the whole of the UK it is over 155,000 (ONS, 2020). This figure excludes Nicaragua, Guatemala and Honduras due to figures being less than 1,000 each and it also does not include students living in university accommodation.

Table 4-3: Historical population growth of Hispanic migrants in Scotland
Source: Census data (1991; 2001; 2011); APS data (2019)

	Central America	South America	Spain
1991 (census)	249	1728	1042
2001 (census)	465	2617	2555
2011 (census)	933	4665	4908
2019 (APS)	*unavailable*	*unavailable*	10,000

We should take into account that some immigrants were born overseas and now have British nationality and some children were born in Scotland but have Spanish or Latin American nationalities. We should also bear in mind the concept of 'onward' migration (McIlwaine & Bunge, 2016) whereby immigrants originally from outside the EU move to Europe, receive citizenship of an EU country and later move to the UK (see section 3.3.5 'Macrosystem'). This may account for the apparent decreasing number of Latin American immigrants between the 2011 census (160,322) and the 2019 UK APS (155,000).

4.3.3 Patterns of Language in Scotland's Schools

Looking at language data from the school census may help to provide an additional insight into immigration in Scotland, however it should be noted that the data shows pupils' 'main home language' and may not fully account for advanced or home-born bilinguals who may have a language other than Spanish as their main language at home, or those who did not disclose their details.

Data on main home languages began to be collected in 2006 and is presented in Table 4.4 which shows the historical pattern of Spanish as a main home language in state funded schools from the Summary Statistics for Schools in Scotland data (Scottish Government, 2007-2019). As the table shows, the number of languages

spoken in Scotland's schools has increased by 12 over 12 years, the percentage of pupils who have a main home language other than English has more than doubled in that same period and the number of pupils who identify as speaking Spanish as their main home language had increased three-fold. However, this does not include English/Spanish bilingual children and young people who may have responded that English was their main home language. These pupils may be just as invisible as the Latin Americans in London discussed in section 3.3.5 (Berg, 2017; McIlwaine & Bunge, 2016).

Table 4-4: Historical data of Spanish as a 'main home language' for pupils in Scotland
Source: Summary Statistics for Schools in Scotland data (Scottish Government, 2007-2019)

Year	No. of Spanish-speaking pupils	% of languages other than English as main home language	Comments
2006	391	4.1%	137 languages
2007	412		
2008	463		
2009	473		
2010	522		
2011	543	5.2%	138 languages
2012	592		
2013	619		
2014	765		
2015	834		
2016	999		
2017	1169		
2018	1323	8.6%	149 languages

Reflecting on the status of the Spanish language in Scotland, it is also useful to consider it in the context of a subject taught at school. The emerging position of Spanish language within global economics and trading systems has fuelled an interest in learning it in Scotland's schools with a 96% increase in uptake at SQA Higher Spanish between 2012 and 2019 (SCILT, 2019). Spanish was also identified in the British Council's 'Languages for the Future' reports in 2013 and again in 2017 as the most important language "for the UK's future prosperity, security and influence in the world" (British Council, 2017, p.4). On the other hand, this growing interest in learning Spanish is not without its critics as Krashen (2006, as cited in Hancock, 2010, p.17) claims this is "stimulated purely by selfish

economic motives rather than reasons associated with cultural or educational enrichment".

4.4 Summary

This chapter firstly considered key developments in education and language policy in Scotland. There remains a strong focus on European languages for financial motivations, however changes in demography, immigration patterns and politics meant that heritage languages have had a slowly increasing role in Scottish education. Despite this growth, heritage languages appear to have been given little recognition in schools so far and there appears to be a heavy focus on acquisition of English. Previous research has indicated that more input on bilingualism and EAL is needed in teacher professional learning and ITE in Scotland. Evidence suggests that a joined-up approach with other organisations, such as local authority EAL services, specialist EAL teachers and complementary schools (where they exist) would effectively support both the academic and holistic needs of bilingual families.

Scottish society is becoming increasingly diverse, as are schools where 149 languages are now spoken by pupils (Scottish Government, 2019). The number of Spanish-speaking migrants from Spain and Latin America who have come to reside in Scotland has increased rapidly over the last few decades. This is reflected in the school population where the number of pupils who use Spanish as their main home language has more than tripled between 2006 and 2018. Nevertheless, the true figure of Spanish-speaking bilingual children and young people in Scotland is most likely to actually be higher, as many may identify as having English (or another language) as their main language. Finally, there is a need for teachers and schools to diversify their skills and policies to meet the needs of a dynamic pupil population.

The following chapter moves on from the existing literature and research which has laid the foundations for this thesis, into the empirical methodology of the study including research design, data collection and analysis.

CHAPTER 5: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

5.1 Overview

This chapter considers the epistemological underpinnings and methodological approach of the study's research design (5.2). It discusses participant access and sampling, and explores the role of the researcher in cross-cultural and bilingual studies, outlining ethical considerations, especially when working with children (5.3). This chapter also outlines the process of data collection and data gathering tools, including issues of validity and reliability. I provide information on the locations where data was gathered and explains how the pilot study undertaken impacted upon the main study (5.4). I then present the stages of thematic data analysis undertaken, including transcription and translation, and offers some reflections on the process (5.5). Finally, a summary of the chapter is provided (5.6).

The research was driven by three questions at the core of this study:

1. What role do family and community play in nurturing the linguistic and cultural identities of Spanish-speaking children in the West of Scotland?

2. What are the perceived benefits of bilingualism and biculturalism, and what are the main barriers to this as reported by participants in this study?

3. How do participants experience Scottish educational policy and professional practice in supporting the development of their linguistic and cultural identities?

Devising the most effective way to answer these questions shaped the whole approach taken to research design, data collection and analysis, as will be discussed in the next five sections.

5.2 Research Design: developing an interpretive case study approach

This section establishes the theories underpinning the design of this qualitative

research project and considers my own values and beliefs as a researcher (5.2.1). It was also valuable to consider where this piece of research sat within wider methodological paradigms and perspectives. It discusses the case study approach used (5.2.2), and the importance of participant 'voice' within this (5.2.3), as a framework to scaffold the research design.

5.2.1 Epistemological Underpinnings

Central to gaining an understanding of participants' experiences of negotiating their bilingual and bicultural identities is an interpretivist stance to research which deals with the subjective experiences and interpretation of these (Somekh & Lewin, 2011). My study dealt with human perspectives and experiences, and, as such, was subjective in nature residing within an interpretivist paradigm which Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2018, p.19) describe as an endeavour to understand "the world of human experience" and "get inside the person and to understand from within". This speaks to Strauss and Corbin's (1998) argument that conducting educational research into real life scenarios demands a methodology which can offer social scientists a means of thinking about and studying social realities in ways that do not necessarily fit comfortably with the positivist methodology of conventional scientific research.

Taber (2013) argues that epistemological issues have to be carefully considered, as the researcher's beliefs will influence their research decisions. Wilson (2009) concurs, adding that the researcher's understanding of the world will influence how they think about complex issues. However, based on the epistemological assumption that knowledge is gained from the interpretation of individual experiences, listening to participants' stories and allowing them the freedom to express themselves would lay the foundations for the design of this research project. Merriam (1998, p.22) states that "reality is not an objective entity; rather, there are multiple interpretations of reality".

Also key to the design of this research, was my desire to improve the experiences of Spanish-speaking children in the West of Scotland by collating

participants' views and listening to their stories, voices and needs. I aimed to discover the current state of play for bilingual children and families then use these findings, along with literature and previous research to suggest recommendations for changes in policy and practice. Therefore, the personal motivations described in Chapter 1 section 1.3.1 cannot be separated from the formulation of the Research Questions and subsequent development of an appropriate research design to address them. Social justice and equality are at the heart of my practice as a researcher and as an educator. This speaks to Denzin and Lincoln's (2011, p.11) point that social sciences should be "committed up front to issues of social justice, equity, nonviolence, peace, and to universal human rights".

A social constructivist paradigm has influenced this research as it placed value on the communicative, interpersonal nature of academic research which seeks to understand the world in which we live, relying on participants' views and experiences (Creswell & Poth, 2018). This linked to ecological models of learning and development described in Chapter 3 which illustrated the power of social learning and environments (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Edwards and Holland (2013, p.3) describe data gathering as a 'potential learning event' for participants and the researcher as both actors can learn aspects of themselves and each other. Gray (1998, as cited in Bell, 2005, p.22) writes that this approach to inquiry allows participants to "portray intensely personal accounts of human experience".

The human experiences of words, feelings, emotions and images were the focus of this study, rather than numbers and figures (Denscombe, 2014). The latter quantitative approach deals with the extent of a phenomenon compared to a qualitative approach exploring its nature (Savin-Baden & Howell Major, 2013). Therefore, qualitative research would offer deeper insight into my particular group of participants, affording a better knowledge and understanding of how and why as they told their stories (Burton et al., 2008).

O'Leary (2010) considers the critique that qualitative data may be less credible than quantitative data for the reason that scientific 'rules' were developed under a positivist paradigm; however, she reflects that if the study has been conducted carefully then credibility ought not to be considered an issue. Burton et al. (2008) highlight that a potential flaw of qualitative inquiry could be that external factors can influence data collection and analysis, and thus question the credibility of the study if it is not managed adequately.

5.2.2 Methodology - A Case Study Approach

To achieve an in-depth understanding and fully address my research questions, a case study of a community group for Spanish-speaking families was conducted. Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2018, p.376) state that a case study "provides a unique example of real people in real situations, enabling readers to understand ideas more clearly than simply by presenting them with abstract theories or principles" which would help explore abstract concepts such as language, culture and identity. Using a case study approach can help readers understand how ideas and concepts fit together in a way that numerical analysis cannot explain (Yin, 2009). In addition, Stake (1995, p.xi) states that a case study offers a qualitative understanding of "the particularity and complexity of a case" while Denscombe (2014) says that case studies are characterised by their in-depth study of a setting and the individuals, focusing on interactions, processes and relationships.

According to Simons (2009, p.21) a case study is an "in-depth exploration from multiple perspectives of the complexity and uniqueness of a particular project, policy, institution, program or system in a 'real-life' context". This speaks to Yin's (2009, p.18) definition that case study research is "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context". By adopting a case study approach, I was able to gather rich data from a detailed investigation of the families who attend or previously attended the community group.

Advocates of case studies argue that they are "illustrative and illuminating, accessible and easily disseminated, holding the reader's attention and being vivid accounts which are strong on reality" (Wellington, 2015, p.174). Moreover, Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2018) add that further strengths include that they are real accounts of real-life scenarios, that they explore complexity, that data is rich, varied and can account for discrepancies across the case, and that they are accessible for a wide readership. Merriam (1998) stresses the unique distinctive attributes of case study methodology. She says it is 'particularistic' focusing on particular situations, events, groups, programs or phenomenons; it is 'descriptive' yielding a rich description and understanding of the case under study; and 'heuristic' by illuminating the reader's understanding of case and phenomenon under study.

Nevertheless, critiques of case studies include their lack of generalisability (Yin, 2014), that the researcher has little control over variables, or data are not easy to cross-check therefore they may be prone to bias, selectiveness and subjectivity from participants and/or the researcher (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2018, p.379). Furthermore, Denscombe (2014, p.64) adds that there can be difficulties in accessing case study settings, setting boundaries and "moving beyond description to analysis and evaluation". On the other hand, Ruddin (2006 as cited in Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2018, p.80) questions whether generalisability is even a desired outcome and an "appropriate requirement of a case study at all". Furthermore, Yin (2009, p.15) argues that the same critique could be applied to a single experiment; he believes that case studies can contribute to generalise broader theories which could later be tested in additional empirical studies.

Simons (2009) says that we can learn from case studies as they promote a general understanding, likewise Thomas and Meyers (2015) write that case studies contribute to wider understanding and wisdom. Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2018, p.381) add that although case studies "may not have the external checks and balances found in other forms of research, they still abide by canons of validity and reliability". On this theme, Yin (2009, p.122) explains

that a "chain of evidence" helps provide credibility, reliability and validity to a case study, and would allow an external researcher could follow each step of the case study, including the conditions and circumstances in which data were gathered. As such, I ensured that these details were recorded in my field journal (see 'Data Gathering Tools' in section 5.4.1 below).

It is useful to consider Thomas and Meyers' (2015) elements of case study design to establish what are the subject and object of the research, what is the purpose, what approach will be used and what is the process to be adopted. In this study, the object of the research was how linguistic and cultural identities were nurtured, and the subject in question was a community group for Spanish-speaking families in the West of Scotland. It could be argued that the purpose of the study was an exploratory one that took a descriptive approach because there is so little known about the case in question. Bloomberg (2018) writes that:

> A descriptive case study is selected when the researcher seeks to portray the specifics of a social phenomenon or issue that is not well conceptualized or understood. The goal is to seek rich detail regarding the inner processes of the given case and to provide multiple ways of understanding the layers of meaning inherent in the case through various data-gathering techniques. (Bloomberg, 2018, p.3)

By involving a number of families from the community group, the study process was an 'embedded single-case' (Yin, 2009) which involved more than one unit of analysis (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2018). Yin (2009, p.50) explains that "a case study becomes an embedded case study when, within a single case, attention is paid to more than one subunit". The term subunit refers to a smaller element of the larger case, in this instance, the families within the main case of the community group. Yin (2014) writes that embedded case studies are useful if the researcher wants to analyse within, between and across the case; when the researcher chooses a case study with embedded units they have the ability to explore the subunits that are located within the wider case (Gustafsson, 2017).

My focus was of an interpretive nature which listened to experiences, stories and voices as individuals and as a collective group (Lincoln & Guba, 1990). I felt that this would be the best way of researching families who each had unique,

distinctive characteristics in terms of family make up, language background and heritage but who all belonged, or had previously, to the community group (see section 5.3.1 'Participants, Sample and Access'). By gathering data from children and parents who shared the common feature of group membership, I present these multiple sources of evidence as a case study looking for patterns and replication within and across families, demonstrating the iterative process of data collection and analysis (Creswell & Poth, 2018).

5.2.3 'Voice'

The epistemological stance that knowledge is acquired from the interpretation of individuals' experiences meant that listening to the participants' stories was vital. As part of the case study, the individuals participating in this research brought their own voices based on their lived experiences within their unique circumstances but also contributed to a collective voice. Listening to families' voices was an essential methodological approach at the heart of the research design.

Research which takes children's perspectives on their everyday lives seriously has become an increasingly important element of childhood studies (Clark, 2005; 2007). If we actively listen to the voices of children and their parents, we can come to know their needs and interests, gleaning information and allowing researchers, practitioners and policy makers to respond appropriately and positively (Murray, 2019).

However, listening and engaging in dialogue can be difficult if children and their families use a language other than English and have differing cultural values and norms. Wall et al. (2019, p.268) state that voice "allows us to express who we are in ways we choose" and although the authors originally meant that voice may be elicited through non-verbal methods, I also applied their argument to the choice of language. McCracken (1988, p.34) advises that researchers should allow participants to tell their stories in their own language and on their own terms to "assure creation of their stories".

This study sought to listen to the thoughts, feelings, experiences and opinions of Spanish-speaking bilingual families in the West of Scotland, so it was only apt that I communicated with them in the language they felt most comfortable in. Being fluent in Spanish and English allowed me to interact with participants in either or both languages. From initial contact and introducing myself, to arranging and then conducting data collection, I was able to mirror participants' choice of language at any given time so that their voices could truly be heard. If a participant spoke to me in Spanish, I replied in Spanish, and if they changed to English, I did so too. However, in most instances, both participants and I ended up switching, or shifting (Garafanga, 2010), between languages in the conversation.

Code switching (see sections 2.2.3 and 6.2.2) between languages gave me a privileged position as a researcher through a greater rapport with participants and a deeper understanding of their responses. I could have chosen only to interview them in one language but I chose to give them the freedom and flexibility to use either English, Spanish or both, hereby reflecting the language choice of each bilingual child. This approach is similar to Ballinger et al.'s (2020) multilingual study in Quebec however, by limiting data collection to French or English, their participants' heritage languages were not involved and some parents had to respond in their second or third language.

Lundy (2007) writes that voice alone is not enough - children need to be respected, to have an audience and for decision-makers to recognise and respond to their perspectives (Dockett, 2017) (see also 5.3.4 'Research Involving Children'). In light of this, and with the children's permission, the implications arising from the findings of this research will be shared with Scottish Government and Education Scotland in the hope that wider educational change may occur, and at a more local level, findings may impact upon policy and professional practice within councils and schools (see section 9.4 on 'Implications' in Chapter 9). Therefore, I hope this research has meaning and is not tokenistic (Lundy, 2018).

5.3 Accessing Participants

This section discusses the actors in this research project - the participants and the researcher. I outline the case study, who the participants were and how they were selected, giving a rationale for the decisions I took (5.3.1). I discuss my own role as a researcher and the influence this had on the research project (5.3.2). Finally, I address ethical considerations (5.3.3) and the sensitivities that need to be taken into account when conducting research involving children (5.3.4).

5.3.1 Participants, Sample and Access

Created in 2003 by a group of migrant families, Club Estrella (pseudonym) is a non-profit community group for Spanish-speaking families in the West of Scotland. The group was established because a local community of Spanish-speakers did not exist in the area, unlike other long-established community groups in Scotland. The latter are often based around religious organisations with access to free, communal venues, for example, Punjabi-speaking groups at a Gurdwara, Arabic-speaking groups at a Mosque or the long-standing Greek Orthodox Church community (Hancock & Hancock, 2018).

On Friday afternoons in Glasgow city-centre, Club Estrella sessions are held for children, parents and companions of all ages and offers the opportunity "to make friends, play and learn in a Spanish-speaking environment, and to be able to understand and value their diverse cultural identity" (Club Estrella, n.d.). They organise regular cultural and community events, and have received charitable funding for a reading project which shares stories in Spanish with schools, early-years centres and the wider community in parks and public spaces.

At the point of recruitment for this enquiry, there were 32 families enrolled as current members of Club Estrella of which 75% were from Latin American decent. The small community group provides opportunities for the children and adults to converse in Spanish, share their cultures, for the children to play and participate in craft or story sessions, and for the adults to socialise, support

each other, share information and give advice in terms of raising their children bilingually or settling into life in Scotland.

Club Estrella was chosen as the case for this study because it was identified as the only Spanish-speaking community group in the West of Scotland that regularly met up physically, in person. In my professional capacity, I had already build up a relationship of mutual respect and trust with one of the Club trustees, therefore the initial approach to negotiate access to participants was relatively smooth. My role as a mother in a Spanish/English bilingual family and my ability to converse in both languages served as a 'passport' to accessing participants (Hancock, 2010). The Chairperson and the Trustee agreed to share an email from me with their members which outlined my research and invited them to participate.

Informed decision-making on sampling of participants is key to high-quality research which will yield deep insight and understanding rather than empirical generalisation (Patton, 2015). Patton (1990, p.169) describes 'purposeful' sampling as "selecting information-rich cases for study in depth, cases that offer insights into issues of central importance to the purpose of an evaluation". Yin (2011, p.311) describes 'purposeful' sampling as "the selection of participants or sources of data to be used in a study, based on their anticipated richness and relevance of information in relation to the study's research questions".

I initially aimed to have at least eight out of the total population of 32 families participate so I was pleased when 20 parents responded. Through conversations with the parents, two further families were recruited through unintended 'snowball' sampling (Dawson, 2002) because two mothers shared my original email with friends who had attended Club Estrella in the past. I then contacted the 22 parents individually to find out more about their own contexts to ensure that they fitted the appropriate sampling criteria for the research. Using the principles of purposeful sampling, I applied criterion sampling using the primary criteria that participating families must have at least one child over the age of three - this narrowed the potential sample down to 18.

Questions were asked about where parents originated from, age of children,

where they lived and parents' level of education (as a marker of socioeconomic status). Then, I used quota sampling (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2018) to ensure that the study had a percentage of families with parents from Spain (25%) and Latin American countries (75%) that represented the typical population of the Club. Alongside this, I used stratified purposeful sampling to narrow down the number of families of Spanish origin from eight to four based on level of parental education and geographic home location as I aimed for a level of diversity in individual family contexts. Patton (1990) explains that stratified purposeful sampling, where participants have mainly shared but some varying characteristics, is useful in documenting important patterns that emerge, capturing variations and facilitating comparisons. It should be acknowledged that attendance at Club Estrella indicates that parents were interested in investing in the linguistic and cultural capital of their children to some extent and shared this common value.

Using quota and stratified purposeful sampling narrowed down the number of final participating families to 14, as outlined in Table 5-1 below showing the participants' characteristics and family contexts. The characteristics were not hugely disparate but it would highlight the importance of parental education on human, cultural, and social capital within the family (Harding et al., 2015) as this influenced their experiences, expectations and outcomes thus far and also in the future. Furthermore, the geographic location where the families lived would give added diversity to the study, giving insight into whether that aspect of families' lives impacted upon their experiences of bilingualism and biculturalism.

Table 5-1: Participant characteristics and family contexts

Family	Parent information				Location	Children's Education Setting		
	UK	Europe	Latin America	Degree Educated		Nursery	Pri	Sec
García	Scotland	Spain			City		✓✓✓	
Sacco	Scotland		Argentina	✓✓	Suburb		✓	
Gonzalez	England		Guatemala	✓✓	City		✓✓	
Alonso	Scotland		Ecuador		Suburb		✓	
Lopez	Scotland		Colombia	✓✓	City	✓	✓	
Martin	England		Uruguay	✓✓	City	✓		
Fernandez	Scotland	Spain		✓	City		✓	✓
Gimenez	Scotland		Mexico	✓✓	City	✓	✓✓	
Sanchez		Spain x2		✓	City		✓	✓✓
Rodriguez		Germany	Mexico	✓✓	City		✓✓	
Perez		Spain Italy		✓✓	Suburb		✓✓	
Torres	Scotland		Argentina	✓✓	Rural		✓	✓
Gomez			Uruguay x2	✓	Suburb	✓	✓	
Carreras		Portugal	Venezuela		City	✓✓		
TOTAL	9	8	11	19		6	18	4

Table 5.1 provides an overview of the selected 14 families' characteristics and indicates that sampling was purposeful in selecting participants based on their characteristics (some shared and some more diverse). All family names are pseudonyms. 10 out of 14 families selected (71%) had a parent/s of Latin American origin which was comparative to the general percentage of group membership within Club Estrella (75%). Most children were of primary school age but there were also some from nursery and secondary school. Five families did

not live in the city of Glasgow and 19/28 parents were educated to degree level. 13 families consisted of two-parent households and one family had a parent living abroad. Once I had selected the sample, I shared the Participant Information Sheets (Appendix 3 for parents and for children Appendix 4) and Consent Forms (Appendix 5 for children and Appendix 6 for parents) and arranged dates to conduct the interviews – 'Ethical Considerations' are discussed in section 5.3.3.

Table 5-2: Further participant information including individuals' details

Surname	Languages spoken at home	Mother inc. country of origin	Father inc. country of origin	Children inc. age		
García	Cat, Eng, Gae, Span	Monica (Spain)	Thomas (UK)	Juan 9	Maria 8	Rafael 6
Sacco	Eng, Span	Laura (UK)	Andres (Argentina)	Lucas 7		
Gonzalez	Eng, Span	Angela (Guatemala)	Martin (UK)	Gabi 8	Marco 8	
Martin	Eng, Span	Susana (Uruguay)	Dan (UK)	Emilia 3		
Lopez	Eng, Span	Teresa (Colombia)	Ian (UK)	Teo 5	Santi 2	
Gimenez	Eng, Span	Rachel (UK)	Alfonso (Mexico)	Vicky 8	Charlie 4	Nicola 2
Alonso	Eng, Span	Mariana (Ecuador)	Robert (UK)	Enrique 8		
Sanchez	Cat, Eng, Span	Belén (Spain)	Jose (Spain)	Seba 18 Nacho 17 Jorge 16	Sofia 14 Carmen 11	David 9
Rodriguez	Eng, Ger, Span	Jannika (Germany)	Raul (Mexico)	Ana 7	Elena 4	
Gomez	Eng, Span	Gemma (Uruguay)	Samuel (Uruguay)	Diego 6	Matias 1	
Fernandez	Eng, Span	Rebecca (UK)	David (Spain)	Paula 16	Pedro 11	
Carreras	Eng, Port, Span	Gimena (Venezuela)	Sebastian (Portugal)	Valeria 4	Victoria 2	
Perez	Eng, Gae, Ita, Span	Honor (Spain)	Massimo (Italy)	Nicolas 8	Lucia 6	
Torres	Eng, Span	Jennifer (UK)	Pedro (Argentina)	Alejo 11	Mateo 6	

Table 5.2 gives further detail of the families and individuals including ages of children, languages spoken and nationality of each parent. All names are

pseudonyms. Individuals highlighted in green actively participated in interviews, those in grey did not. I had arranged to conduct interviews at family homes with all members of each family present but bad weather conditions during the data collection phases meant that I had to rearrange eight interviews and some fathers and children could not participate as they were at work or school. The three youngest participants Nicola Gimenez, Matias Gomez and Victoria Carreras were all two-years-old or under and not able to participate verbally in interviews. The three older Sanchez brothers and David Fernandez lived in Spain and, thus, were not interviewed.

Dawson (2002) believes that by choosing the sample with care, it is possible to generalise the data gathered to represent the wider population. I would argue that the unique voices of the children and their families would never be truly representative of the wider Spanish-speaking community in Scotland but that there were interesting themes, similarities and differences that could be applicable to a wider population of bilingual families in Scotland.

5.3.2 Role and Identity of the Researcher

In case studies, it is important that the researcher be an effective questioner, prober and listener who is able to "read between the lines" (Yin, 2009, p.70). Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2018) also state that it is advantageous for the case study researcher to have a good subject knowledge; as highlighted in previous sections (1.3.1 'Personal Motivations' and 5.3.1 'Participants, Sample and Access'), I shared similar linguistic and cultural identities with many participants, especially the mothers who were the main gatekeepers to arranging interviews with the families.

Parents knew I could understand and identify with their family situation and truly listen to their voices in either language. Lee (2016, p.40) believes that having a "natural affinity with the group may enable greater access and rapport to be obtained that in one is a social intruder". Therefore, because I shared many traits with the participants, it is useful to consider the role of the researcher - especially where the boundaries of insider/outsider are blurred (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009; Sulaiman, 2019).

Critiques of cross-cultural research argue that there is often a power imbalance or unconscious bias between the 'outsider' researcher and their participants (Wilson, 2008; Hammersley, 2012). Research with minority groups has historically been problematic as the researcher 'others' the participants and explores their lives from the outside leaving participants feeling exploited (Hall, 2014). There are challenges in conducting research where participants and researcher do not share common cultural values or language (Tsai et al., 2004). The cross-cultural researcher has often been a 'cultural outsider' who is "unfamiliar with participants' view of the world" (Hancock, 2010, p.61). Although I am not a native speaker of Spanish, I am neither a linguistic nor cultural outsider in this study thanks to my own identity as a bilingual and bicultural researcher.

However, it has been argued that being an outsider allows the researcher to approach the study without preconceptions and the ability to stand back and be more objective (Thomas & James, 2006). On the other hand, Hellawell (2006) contends that the researcher should be both inside *and* outside of the study to have a good insight and knowledge of participants yet at the same time be able to maintain his/her distance and be detached enough to remove any bias. Being a bilingual mother, I had my own opinions on bilingualism and biculturalism that needed to be set aside to fully appreciate participants' worldviews. Nevertheless, I could identify with Deakin (2016) who highlighted that being a part-time PhD student meant that I spent a long time working on the research, which allowed me to become gradually detached from my own experiences of familial bilingualism and increasingly open to listening to participants' experiences.

The process of data collection and analysis in cross-cultural/linguistic studies relies on the researcher's knowledge of the cultures and languages involved (Rubinstein-Ávila, 2009) therefore, as a linguistic and cultural insider, I am confident that I was able to collect and analyse findings in an accurate way. My stance as an insider has enhanced the research rather than being an obstacle to it. It has allowed me to do research 'with' rather than 'about' (Hall, 2014) this

group of Spanish-speaking families in the West of Scotland.

5.3.3 Ethical Considerations

On the subject of ethics, Oliver (2010) stressed that qualitative research focuses on people and that, naturally, this raises concerns about how these people – the respondents/participants – should be treated. He further emphasised that the issue of ethics needs to be considered from the very earliest stages of the project. A researcher should at all times take great care to protect the research participants from any physical or mental harm, respect the participants' autonomy and treat them with consideration and respect (Layder, 2013).

For this study, I ensured that ethical policy and guidelines set out by the University of Glasgow were followed very closely, taking extra care to fully inform the children involved of the purpose of this study and process of participation in an age appropriate manner. Furthermore, I consulted the British Educational Research Association's (BERA) Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research (2018, p.3) which are "intended to inform and support researchers as they develop their ethical thinking and practice". The Guidelines are underpinned by a set of ethical principles agreed by the Academy of Social Sciences (2015), which aim to ensure that research in social sciences is inclusive, respectful and conducted with integrity. Social scientists should act responsibly both during and after the research has taken place to minimise any harm to participants.

I engaged and committed to the BERA (2018) guidelines which state that the researcher must ensure that the study is ethically sound and fulfil their responsibilities towards participants, any sponsors, clients or stakeholders, and to the wider community of educational researchers. This must occur during the study and also in the stages of publication and dissemination.

Likewise, the Scottish Educational Research Association (SERA) argues that ethical guidance and rigour should enhance rather than detract from the research by improving "the quality of educational research in the widest sense"

(SERA, 2005, p.1). As such, the BERA and SERA guidelines and principles have been followed throughout this study to maintain the integrity of the research being undertaken. For example, I initially adapted Participant Information Sheets (Appendix 3 for parents and Appendix 4 for children) and Consent Forms (Appendix 5 for children and Appendix 6 for parents) to produce two versions – a child-friendly one for children and a regular one for adults.

Moreover, because participants did not necessarily have English as their first language, it was important to ensure that language and vocabulary used in these documents was easy to understand. Detailed research schedules for the interviews were redrafted several times and were shared and discussed with my supervisors, illustrating the iterative nature of ethics. Ethical approval from the College of Social Sciences' Research Ethics Committee was sought and granted in July 2017 (Appendix 7) and data collection commenced in October 2017 and was finalised by April 2018.

I had a duty of care for participants to ensure their wellbeing throughout the data collection phase and ongoing afterwards, especially as case studies often give rise to confidential material (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2018). I followed University protocols on confidentiality and management of data to ensure that it was safely stored and I gave participants anonymity. By using pseudonyms, it prevented them from being identified but also made analysis and the writing process easier as it linked family members and their responses. I chose traditional Spanish names to represent that element of their cultural heritage. Edwards (2019) believes that using personal names conveys a sense of closeness and intimacy between the researcher and participants, but it can help the reader engage with participants more too.

In addition to this, when working with potentially vulnerable groups such as children and migrants, researchers must take extra care to ensure a duty of care. Sánchez-Ayala (2012) believes that extra sensitivity is needed while conducting interviews with migrants, whereas others would argue that

classifying all migrants as vulnerable because of their nationality or ethnicity is stereotypical and 'discriminatory' (Uflewska, 2018, p.60). Particular attention to working with children will be discussed in the next section (5.3.4).

5.3.4 Research Involving Children

As a mother and former teacher, gathering children's experiences and opinions and listening to their voices lay at the heart of this study so adopting a child-centred approach was important to me. There has been a wealth of childhood studies research in recent years documenting the power of giving children a voice and respecting them equally to adults (Clark, 2007; Hammersley, 2017). This contemporary paradigm challenges traditional methodologies and places emphasis on conducting research 'with' children rather than 'on' or 'about' them (Hall, 2014). Research practices have seen a shift away from a traditional developmentalist view that children have limited or no capacity to think for and express themselves (Wall et al., 2019), especially younger children (Wall, 2017).

Under the UNCRC, children have a 'right to be heard' and a right to 'freedom of expression' (OHCHR, 1989, articles 12 and 13). Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2018, p.528) state that "it is important to understand the world of children through their own eyes rather than the lens of the adult"; we must value and respect children's competence as autonomous research participants (Morrow 2012). In conducting the Literature Review (Chapter 2), it was surprising to encounter so many studies on familial bilingualism that did not involve children as participants in their own right (Deakin, 2016; Kay & Trevena, 2018; Ballinger et al., 2020).

Respect for children's rights and autonomy had implications for the research design and the principle of informed consent (Cassidy, 2017; Alderson & Morrow, 2011). The Participant Information Sheet (Appendix 4) and Consent Form (Appendix 5) were adapted for children to ensure that language and vocabulary were age appropriate. I ensured that children were independently electing to participate in interviews by asking them to sign one consent form each because it was the parent who had given initial consent for the interview to take place.

This speaks to Flewitt's (2005, p.556) point that initial consent with children should be deemed as 'provisional consent' that is subject to their 'ongoing consent'. Children would have been entitled to refuse to participate and were reminded prior to interview that they could withdraw at any time, however all children were happy to be involved.

As discussed in 5.3.2 'Role and Identity of the Researcher', the power balance between researcher and participants has implications for the research process and it is especially important to reduce power differentials when conducting research with children as the researcher must be acutely aware of dynamics and sensitivities involved (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2018; Murray, 2019). For Child Protection reasons, I took my Protecting Vulnerable Groups (PVG) certificate with me to all interviews to prove that I was legally allowed to work with children. Graham et al. (2013) point out that awareness, respect and skill are needed to ensure children's wellbeing, dignity and rights. Because I had worked as a primary teacher for 16 years, my communication and interpersonal skills with children and parents were generally well-developed.

It could be argued my previous experience benefited data collection because a rapport with families was relatively easy to establish and I was able to be reflexive in my approach to questioning, especially with the younger children (Morrison, 2013). My experiences of children's behaviour also meant that I was able to look out for any indications that children were uncomfortable and either needed a break or wanted to withdraw (Alderson & Morrow, 2004; 2011). At the start of each interview I outlined that it was quite informal and if they wanted to take a break for any reason they could do so. This worked well with the younger children in the context of a family group interview especially who would come and go, alternating between playing and conversing. I also reminded them that they could withdraw at any time.

Amendments made to the data collection process after the pilot study (see section 5.4.4 'The Pilot Study and Implications') resulted in much richer data

being gathered. Instead of individual interviews, I conducted group interviews with the whole family which proved to be advantageous; children, especially the younger ones, opened up more when their parents were present. Presumably, they felt more confident and comfortable around a stranger when their parents were also there. However, through questioning, I was careful to ensure that children were given equal space to participate so that their voices were not filtered by well-meaning adults (Bucknall, 2014).

5.4 Data Collection

This section describes the approach to data collection including the data gathering tools employed (5.4.1) and the reliability and validity of this data (5.4.2). It also explains the locations where data gathering took place (5.4.3). The fieldwork for this study was split into two stages, the pilot study and the main study. This section describes and evaluates both phases and discusses how the implications of the pilot study and lessons learned (5.4.4), fed into and enhanced the data collection process in the main study phase (5.4.5).

5.4.1 Data Gathering Tools: family group interviews and research journal

A major goal of this research was to gain insight into the attitudes, values and lived experiences of participating families within the case study. I wanted to elicit the families' stories and make these discourses the object for analysis. Therefore, the data gathering tools adopted had to offer enough structure around the key themes arising from the literature review (presented in Chapter 2) whilst affording a good degree of adaptability and flexibility. After the piloting phase (see section 5.4.4) family group interviews accompanied by a research journal were selected as data gathering tools.

Family group interviews conducted in a semi-structured manner represented the most appropriate research method to achieve an in-depth understanding of participants' experiences. Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2018) state that group interviews are a time and cost effective way of gathering data which can often generate a wider range of responses than individual interviews. For example,

having more than one person present may provide a more complete and reliable record. Group interviews provide opportunity for commentary, discourse and interaction (Kidd & Parshall, 2000). Leshem (2012) states that "the group interview is an intensive social encounter that weaves a complex web of communication styles". Group members may correct, challenge or probe each other's responses, and conversations between participants can result in more data being shared than would otherwise have occurred during a one-to-one interview (Jaap, 2011). In group interviews, a collective group response is gathered - one unit of analysis and the researcher remains an interviewer asking questions compared to a focus group where s/he takes on the role of a facilitator of discussion (Morgan, 1998; Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2018).

Similarly to studies conducted by Moskal and Sime (2016), it was important that both children and adults' views were sought. This is in comparison with a substantial body of previous research into family/children's bilingualism where interviews with youngsters were either conducted separately (e.g. Hancock, 2010) or not at all (e.g. Deakin, 2016). Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2018) write that group interviews are especially useful in conducting research with children. Nevertheless, the social element of group interviews can be a shortcoming; sometimes peer pressure or group dynamics can skew responses, participants may dominate discussion or hold back due to either timidity or fear of revealing ideas in front of others (Leshem, 2012). Also 'group think' may occur if participants are anxious or self-conscious to speak out in front of others (Leshem, 2012, p.3).

By conducting group interviews with family members rather than friends, acquaintances or strangers, I believe this mitigated some of the concerns around group interviews (Smith-Christmas, 2016). There is a school of thought that children will open up more and feel more relaxed with their parents present, especially younger children however, depending on the topic and circumstances at home this is not necessarily always the case (Morrison, 2013).

I decided to carry out face-to-face interviews - versus video call or telephone - as they allow the researcher to build a rapport with interviewees so that

hopefully they would be more honest and open (Smith, Todd & Waldman, 2009; Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2018). Smith, Todd and Waldman (ibid) also state that this method offers the scope to explain any complex questions, collect in-depth data and probe answers to delve deeper. However, Wellington (2015) advises that 'over-probing' can lead to bias increasing the more the researcher prompts. Denscombe highlights the skills needed to be an effective interviewer. He states that a 'good' researcher should be:

> …attentive and sensitive to the interviewees and their feelings; able to tolerate silences; non-judgemental; effective in the use of prompts, probes and checks; and an effective facilitator in group interviews/focus groups. (Denscombe, 2014, p.192)

Similarly to Denscombe, but in contrast to other prominent case study methodologists, Merriam (1998) wrote much more explicitly about effective techniques and procedures for gathering data, for example, the importance of interaction between interviewer and interviewee, what constitutes a 'good' question and pitfalls to avoid.

Semi-structured interviews allow the researcher a blank page upon which participants can write their stories whilst maintaining rigour through questioning (Bell, 2005). The interviews were built around open-ended questions that focused on key themes but enabled me to pick up on unexpected issues and explore these further (Barbour & Schostak, 2011). Interviews explored the following domains: All about you; bilingualism and Spanish, English and other languages; biculturalism; daily life (see Appendix 10 Group Interview Schedule).

It was important to have some structure and ensure that the questions asked would address the themes being researched, but it was equally important to be able to explore any topics that interviewees discussed that perhaps I would not otherwise have considered or deemed essential (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2018). This gave the flexibility to expand upon their answers and explore topical trajectories if it seemed appropriate or to go into more detail (Smith, Todd & Waldman, 2009). Semi-structured interviews give freedom for respondents to talk about what is of central significance to them rather than what the interviewer prioritises (Bell, 2005).

Gillham (2000) reminds us that questions must be clear and not misleading nor biased so ensured that I kept this in mind when devising the interview schedule. Furthermore, having been a primary teacher for many years, I was used to interacting with children and speaking to them in an age-appropriate manner, so I was confident that I had the necessary skills of being a reflexive, impartial listener as Denscombe (2014) recommends.

Charmaz (2006) suggests that only a few broad, open-ended questions are required to encourage participants to articulate their ideas and experiences. I used open questions but had prompts ready in case participants did not give detailed answers. Furthermore, I originally devised two separate interview schedules - one for children and one for parents - which incorporated age appropriate language and vocabulary (see Appendix 8 'Child Interview Schedule') and Appendix 9 'Parent Interview Schedule') but as modifications to the research design occurred these were amalgamated (Appendix 10 Group Interview Schedule) (see Pilot Study 5.4.4). The sequence of questions was flexible to allow free-flowing conversation, and the schedule acted as an *aide-memoire* providing structure and reasonable consistency while allowing a variety of responses (Verma & Mallick, 1999).

Critiques of semi-structured interviews say that there can be inconsistency between interviews given that the questions and line of questioning are organic (Edwards & Holland, 2013). The researcher may start with key questions around specific themes but as semi-structured interviews encourage two-way communication, conversations may digress and answers may vary widely. Therefore, data analysis and interpretation may be time consuming and it may be more difficult to find patterns (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; 2011).

I had considered these potential challenges and explored other data gathering tools but I felt that none would offer me the same insight into participants' lives. For example, questionnaires would have been easy to administer and collate (Bell, 2005) but they would not have allowed flexibility of language or

taken into account the literacy skills, especially the children (Morrison, 2013). Moreover, questionnaires are arguably more effective at describing than explaining particular phenomena, answers may be constrained by the researcher's questioning skills and response rates can be low (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2009).

Earlier in the process, I had considered conducting a focus group composed of Club Estrella parents. This might have been a good source of dialogue and discussion but I realised that personal or family accounts could be compromised or lost through group dynamics given the lesser relationship with other parents compared to their own family members (Denscombe, 2014). Furthermore, a focus group would involve switching from question-based to topic-based research and taking a more passive role as a facilitator would lessen my control over the direction of discussion (Morgan, 1998; Kidd & Pashall, 2000).

Overall, the semi-structured family interviews I conducted fulfilled my goal of obtaining a balance of perspectives from the 14 families and also personal, unique insights into their lives as bilinguals in the West of Scotland, although not to the detriment of rigour.

5.4.2 Validity, Reliability and Triangulation

In any project, it is essential that any data collected must be critically examined to inspect that it is both reliable and valid. Bell defines reliability as "the extent to which a test or procedure produces similar results under constant conditions on all occasions" (2005, p.117). However, O'Leary (2010) argues that reliable results can be difficult to collect when researching social studies as they may not always be possible to replicate due to the nature of the project and so she advocates 'dependability' - ensuring that methods are well designed and carefully thought through to reduce flaws. This case study involved 36 participants who were unique and diverse, results were not replicable and generalisation was never my aim, but it was able to capture a deep insight into the complexities of 14 bilingual families as recommended by Wei and Moyer

(2008).

Stake (2005) argues that difference and uniqueness are what makes case studies such an interesting lens and, although they are bound to some extent to the specific context and the individuals concerned, this is what makes the data rich. Farquhar and Michels (2016) state that in interpretivist research involving case studies, divergent findings from data analysis reflects the multiple realities of participants. Furthermore, Dubois and Gibbert (2010) and Yin (2009) assert that the greater the number of sources or units/sub-units of data, the greater the degree of validity by triangulating the data sources that have been assembled to create the case study. For example, in this case, the group interviews around the themes of language and culture allowed me to triangulate the experiences of schooling by 14 different families in Scotland, from multiple viewpoints related by the policy framework of the time. According to Stake (2005), triangulation helps identify diversity of perception and different realities in case study research. This aligns with Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2018, p.254) who state that triangulation is "an attempt to map out, or explain more fully, the richness and complexity of human behaviour by studying it from more than one standpoint".

Meanwhile, Wilson (2009) explains that validity determines whether the research truly measures what it was intended to measure; due to the reflexive and open approach that I took in this embedded case study, I am confident it does. Additionally, interviews are widely employed as a method of investigation of migrant communities in Scotland and have produced reliable and valid results previously (Moskal & Sime, 2016; Kay & Trevena, 2018; Ivashinenko, 2018).

5.4.3 Locations for Data Collection

It was originally intended that individual interviews would be conducted at the location where Club Estrella was held but after the pilot study (see section 5.4.4) I realised that conditions were not suitable for that approach to data gathering and I deemed it unfeasible. Therefore, in the main study I conducted

group interviews at participants' homes in the West of Scotland.

As Bronfenbrenner (1979) identified, if the researcher believes that environment and context are important in child development then conducting research in children's own settings is a more consistent approach to data gathering (Maria Rosa & Tudge, 2013). The location where data is gathered has a profound influence on both the researcher and participants, especially where children are involved (Morrow & Richards, 1996; Morrison, 2013) therefore we must consider the advantages and disadvantages of using family homes as research locations.

Gollop (2000) notes that conducting interviews in families homes can create a more relaxed and informal atmosphere, helping to address some of the interviewer/interviewee power balance. Families may open up more as they are on 'home turf' and "children may be used to having a voice and being listened to in their own homes" (Bushin, 2007, p.243) although it must be acknowledged that not all children will feel safe sharing their voice at home, especially if parents are present (Morrison, 2013). Bushin (2007) also states that conducting research with families in their homes offers a greater degree of flexibility for the researcher compared to a school or youth club settling. However, she advises that the researcher must be more flexible too as they are a guest in the family's home and that each home is a different setting and context compared to carrying out research in one location.

In addition to this, Gollop (2000) discusses the matter of *when* to conduct interviews, suggesting that evenings are the worst time to interview because children may be tired and have bedtime routines. Bushin (2007) found that after school and weekends were good times to arrange interviews. In light of this, I decided to leave it to parents to decide when was best for their individual family circumstances and arrange a time and day that was most suitable for them. In addition, Morrow (2012) urges researchers to consider the location in family homes where interviews will be conducted; in this study, interviews took place in the communal spaces of living-rooms, kitchens and dining rooms.

It is also worth considering that although interviews took place in participants'

homes across the West of Scotland, other locations contribute to this study as they "hold the key to participants acquiring their norms, values and beliefs that many still hold to this day" (Uflewska, 2018, p.51). Participants came from six Latin American countries (Argentina, Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico, Uruguay, Venezuela) and five European countries (Germany, Italy, Portugal, Spain, United Kingdom).

5.4.4 The Pilot Study and Implications

Pilot fieldwork provides valuable information allowing the researcher to make any necessary methodological adjustments before the main fieldwork begins (Harding, 2013). I conducted a pilot study with the aim of testing the research design and evaluating the effectiveness of the semi-structured interview schedule. Yin (2009, p.92) writes that conducting a pilot study "will help to refine data collection plans with respect to both the content of the data and the procedures to be followed".

For the pilot study, I conducted two individual interviews at Club Estrella with a pilot family not included in the main study. I interviewed a Chilean mother and then her seven-year-old son during a Club Estrella session one Friday afternoon. Initially, it was difficult to find a quiet place to conduct the interview with the mother as the church hall location was quite a large, open space. We sat in an alcove near the kitchen area but I felt our conversation was easily overheard by other parents passing-by, which risked confidentiality and jeopardised the aim of participants opening up and sharing their stories. I could also sense that she felt slightly anxious as we were away from the main area where the children played and she could not visibly see her son. I had intended the interview to last 20-30 minutes but after 15 minutes, I used my intuition and wound it up, as recommended by Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2018).

Next, I interviewed her son who came happily and willingly with me to the alcove area but because of various distractions (noise, friends playing, interruptions) I again terminated the interview early as I could sense he was not entirely focused and his wellbeing was paramount. He was also quite shy and responses were limited, which of course was understandable in the company of a

stranger (Morrison, 2013). I also felt that after school on a Friday afternoon, he was tired and simply wanted to relax. Similarly, I felt that Club Estrella was his mother's weekly opportunity to socialise with her Spanish-speaking friends and I was intruding on this.

Moreover, their responses where similar and rather repetitive having shared many experiences. The bilingual methodology that I adopted worked well though, allowing both participants to switch between Spanish and English as they pleased. I let them take the lead and mirrored their choice of language throughout the interview, similar to the approach taken by Deakin (2016) in her interviews with French and Spanish parents in Kent.

As discussed in 5.4.1 'Data Gathering Tools', I kept a field journal to jot down my own thoughts, feelings and emotions as well as notes about the interviews that had just taken place which included my perceptions of participants' emotions, their actions and environmental factors which may have influenced the interview. Looking back at my field notes, I described these two interviews as "a disaster - far too noisy and not enough privacy". Nevertheless, my reflections indicated that my system for recording the interviews using a voice recorder went smoothly and only minor rewording for greater clarification was necessary. This speaks to Welman et al.'s (2005) point that the pilot study allows the researcher to test the language and vocabulary used to look for any ambiguity or particular sensitivity. I did not take notes during the interviews so that I could focus entirely on the conversation and participate fully (Creswell & Poth, 2018).

From the pilot study and my journal, I was able to reflect on what went well and what needed to be adjusted (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2009). Data would be gathered more effectively in a quieter location where participants felt relaxed and should be conducted at a time that was convenient and comfortable for participants. Reflecting on this, I decided to conduct one interview with each family as a group at their home, and by combining interviews, I then had to create a group interview schedule (Appendix 10). The pilot study was extremely useful in highlighting areas of improvement that I then applied in the subsequent

interviews thereafter in the main study.

5.4.5 The Main Study

During the first interview of the main study (Garcia Family), it was clear that the children opened up more and felt more comfortable when they were with a parent, as Morrison (2013) suggests. The interviews flowed better with mum Monica and her children interacting and engaging with me and with each other; for example, they jogged each other's memories and shared common experiences. Family members prompted, reminded and probed each other so that not all questions were coming from me (Kidd & Parshall, 2000).

Interviews became more of a group discussion rather than a one-to-one question and answer session, therefore the atmosphere was more relaxed (Leshem, 2012). Smith-Christmas (2016, p.26) noted that family members interacting with each other was conductive to "natural, vernacular speech" and that by interacting with people they know very well, it minimises the presence of the researcher and the recording device. Group conversations flowed freely and were interactive giving a sense that I was conducting research 'with' them rather than 'about' them (Hall, 2014). This interaction between family members was interesting and valuable, and moreover avoided a scenario of participants asking the researcher what the others had answered, as encountered by Bushin (2007). Although one must acknowledge and accept that participants' responses may have differed if each family member had been interviewed individually (Valentine, 1999; Morrow, 2012).

It also proved to be more successful due to the more relaxed, familiar environment and the fact that there were fewer distractions. Six-year-old Rafa left and returned to the dining room table as he pleased rather than having to sit for the whole time, and at one point eight-year-old Maria went off to play with her toys on the living room floor. In my journal I later wrote that this process was "much kinder to the children" and "worked miles better". Monica had arranged the interview to take place on a Saturday afternoon when she thought

it would be best and most convenient for her family. In addition, it was less repetitive in nature and not as time consuming as conducting separate interviews with each individual family member. The refined method of data collection was more comfortable for participants and more efficient for me which resulted in a more effective interview process with richer data being gathered echoing Smith, Todd and Waldman's findings (2009).

Thereafter, the rest of the main fieldwork took place from January to April 2018 at various locations across the West of Scotland at dates and times convenient for participants. It was important for me to work around their family commitments and it also gave them some power in decision making (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2018). I was satisfied with the semi-structured nature of the group interviews, which had clear core questions as well as the flexibility to improvise with follow-up questions and the freedom to adapt questions to suit child participants.

As the 14 interviews progressed, I was able to cross-reference data drawn from earlier interviews, to follow lines of inquiry that had not featured in my original schedule, for example how participants engaged with digital technology. I transcribed and translated interviews as I went along rather than waiting until all data were collected. Eisenhardt (1989) believes that overlapping data analysis with data collection not only gives the researcher a head start in analysis but, more importantly, allows researchers to take advantage of flexible data collection by having the freedom to make adjustments during the data collection process, such as probing particular themes that emerge. I was able to respond to interesting responses with secondary questions and further discussion.

In general, the children under the age of eight were more shy and less forthcoming. Two of the younger participants, at times, sat on their parents' lap. Whereas the older children, especially the teenagers, participated fully, providing rich data and deep insights into their lives. I made notes immediately

after each interview in my field journal to refer to later and give a more authentic account. By taking notes after each interview took place, it meant that I was fully immersed and part of conversations rather than being distracted by note-taking (Creswell & Poth, 2018).

Looking back on the interviews, I was happy that they resembled discussion rather than interrogation. Thanks to my prior professional experience, I was able to talk to children on their level, and as a parent of bilingual family I shared an identity with the parents. Participants seemed to enjoy talking and sharing their experiences, they were curious about my background too so, likewise, I shared my story with them. I felt that this maintained the balance in power between us. Transcripts of the later interviews demonstrated the growing depth of my understanding and that my interviewing technique was improving through time.

One obstacle that I encountered was the 'Beast from the East' winter storm that hit Scotland in early 2018. I had originally arranged to have all, or most, family members present to participate in the group interview but due to the heavy snow, I had to postpone five of the interviews to a later date which meant that not all family members were present. Nevertheless, I was confident that I was able to get a clear enough picture and reliable data from interviewing the other family members.

5.5 Analysis of Data

Merriam (1998, p.178) defines data analysis as "the process of making sense out of the data. And making sense out of data involves consolidating, reducing, and interpreting what people have said and what the researcher has seen and read – it is the process of making meaning". The following two subsections provide a detailed outline of the analytic methods and processes that were employed to make meaning for the data. Interviews were translated and transcribed simultaneously (5.5.1) then an iterative and rigorous procedure of thematic analysis was applied (5.5.2) using the principles of Creswell and Poth's (2018) data analysis spiral. This involved the following stages: (A) data gathering (B)

managing and organizing the data (C) reading and memo-ing emergent ideas (D) describing and classifying codes into themes (E) developing and assessing interpretations (F) representing and visualizing the data and (G) an account of the findings.

Data analysis overlapped with data collection to give me a head start in analysis and the ability to make adjustments during interviews (Merriam, 1998) therefore stages A, B and C were not linear. Using Creswell and Poth's data analysis spiral allowed me to move in "analytic circles rather than using a fixed linear approach" (2018, p.185), therefore I was able to be recursive and circle back to each part of data analysis to provide a thorough account of the study's findings. Finally, reflections on the data analysis process are offered.

5.5.1 Translation and Transcription

The process of managing and organising data (Stage B) began with transcribing and translating group interviews started in January 2018 when the main fieldwork began (Stage A) as I wanted to keep abreast of the process which was renowned as being long and time consuming (Collins, Leonard-Clarke & O'Mahoney, 2019). The transcription of interviews is an integral part of the data analysis process (Riessman, 2008; Squire, 2008) and can provide a first step into data analysis (Bailey, 2008), therefore I decided to transcribe the interviews myself. Also, Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2018) warn that there is a huge potential for data loss during transcription, therefore I was determined to stay close to the data.

There was also the challenge of translation which frequently code-switched between Spanish and English; being fluent in both languages I was also able to translate the interviews myself, using my native Spanish-speaking husband as a critical friend on a few occasions. More than bilingual competence, I also had the benefit of 'bicultural consciousness' (Hancock, 2010, p.78) having lived in Spain and South America. Kramsch (2011) argues that culture and language are symbiotic, therefore translating without being aware of cultural implications does not always convey meaning correctly.

I translated and transcribed simultaneously resulting in 195 pages of double spaced transcriptions. Because I conducted, translated and transcribed interviews I was confident in the validity of the research process. I cross-checked transcriptions with notes from my field journal and in addition to spoken verbatim, comments were added to present a clearer picture of not just which words were said but also how they were said (see sample of transcription from García family interview Appendix 11). Where appropriate, I added tone of voice, interruptions, emphases and mood of the speaker (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2018). To make reading and analysis easier, I omitted repetition of words within sentences and phrases such as 'um' and 'er' (Collins, Leonard-Clarke & O'Mahoney, 2019).

I offered to show the transcripts of the interviews to the participants afterwards, as I believed that they were the real owners of the data collected having co-constructed the account that I was subjectively writing (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Nevertheless, participants did not ask to see the transcripts.

5.5.2 Thematic Analysis

As indicated in the previous section (5.5.1), thematic analysis began with translating and transcribing hours of audio recording for 14 interviews which gave me my first insights into the data. I then uploaded each written transcription into NVivo data analysis software (Stage B) and scrutinised them in a semi-deductive manner against some pre-identified themes from the interview schedule which itself was guided by the initial literature reviews, theoretical framework and research questions.

I also kept note of other potentially important new themes that emerged (Stage C) as I read and re-read the data (Braun, Clarke & Terry, 2014). Through a thematic lens (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Riessman, 2008) the key themes of Language, Culture, Bilingualism, Community, Education, Identity and Technology emerged and also the numerous subthemes within them (see Table 5.3: Findings - key themes and subthemes). The themes and subthemes identified were generally well-covered in the interview data and would allow me to answer the

main research questions that underpin this study.

NVivo software was used to assist in organising the interview transcripts and in coding data into themes and subthemes (Stage D). From continual excursions through the data, coding of verbatim into themes (or nodes) and subthemes was carried out manually rather than automated because the semi-structured nature of the interviews did not follow a pattern that enabled automated machine coding to work effectively. I had previously done it entirely manually with numerous highlighters and post-it notes but it had been an extremely laborious task; I concur with Odena (2013) that using NVivo reduced the time spent managing data but I was also mindful of his warning that an over-reliance on data analysis software and autocoding can decontextualise the data.

Kikooma (2010) poses that qualitative data analysis has been critiqued due to limitations of transparency and trust but that using software assisted analysis counteracts this. This is echoed by Kaefer et al. (2015) who argue that while qualitative data analysis software will not do the analysis for the researcher, it can actually make the process more flexible, transparent and trustworthy. I felt that the semi-manual approach I adopted helped me to retain a sense of proximity to the data which ultimately helped in my analysis whilst offering better time efficiency. Which reiterates Bergin's point (2011) that the researcher should always remain in charge of interpreting the data and drawing conclusions.

The latter stage involved transcripts being analysed more inductively (Stage E) to make comparisons and look for patterns, similarities and differences across the case study (Braun & Clarke, 2016; Newby, 2010). It was important to look at differing perspectives and interpretations of the data because the case study dealt with multiple realities for 14 families and 36 individuals rather than a single correct answer (Yin, 2009; Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2018). At this point, I had to return to a manual way of viewing and sorting these patterns (see Figure 5.1) which illustrates that qualitative research can indeed be a 'messy business'

(Macintosh, as cited in Uflewska, 2019, p.68).

Figure 5.1: Photo of manual data analysis of patterns

At all times, I have tried to present a fair and accurate account of data gathered through verbatim transcriptions and translations of the interviews. This principle extended to my analysis and interpretation of the data that emerged, which was facilitated and assisted by data analysis software. Although using NVivo made the process of analysis easier, more structured and added a heightened sense of trustworthiness (Welsh, 2002), I felt I was 'inside' the data having heard the audio recordings and read the transcripts so many times. This iterative process connected me to participants and their voices.

However, this in itself presented a challenge when trying to write up these rich findings in Chapters 6 and 7 (Stage F). Summarising, paraphrasing and interpreting their voices was at odds with my desire to remain epistemologically faithful to my values and identity as a researcher. It was of paramount importance to me that participants were able to share their stories, so staying true to them and striking a good balance between being an analytical researcher and maintaining their voice was something that I had to ensure (Stage G).

5.6 Summary

This chapter has addressed the epistemological underpinnings of this

interpretive study and considered the methodological perspectives that influenced the design of my case study approach. It provided information on the case, the family subunits within it and how purposeful sampling affected selection. I also discussed the role of the researcher and outlined how the study was conducted in an ethical manner which did not have negative effects on participants, especially when research involved children.

Data gathering tools were presented and the merits of using semi-structured family interviews, supported by a research journal, to listen to participants' voices were identified alongside discussions on reliability and validity. I provided a rationale for the choice of home locations where interviews were conducted, and described how a pilot study informed the main study by allowing me to amend and improve the research design.

I applied the seven stages of Creswell and Poth's (2018) data analysis spiral in order to be rigorous and iterative. The process of data analysis was quite personal as I remained 'inside' data by translating and transcribing all interviews. This gave me a deeper insight into the data and supported the iterative process of analysis and interpretation. Although this was facilitated to a certain extent by NVivo data analysis software, I remained in a position of control that helped me to extrapolate discernible themes, subthemes and patterns across and within the case study.

Remaining epistemologically faithful to the tenet of participant voice, the following two chapters present the findings from data analysis and interpretation around key themes arising from the group interviews.

Overview of Chapters 6 and 7: Findings from data analysis

Chapters 6 and 7 present and analyse the findings from empirical interview data gathered from listening to the lived experiences of 36 individuals from 14 bilingual families in the West of Scotland.

Key Themes

Following the process of Creswell and Poth's (2018) data analysis spiral outlined in section 5.5 'Analysis of Data', a number of key themes and subthemes were identified from the rich, qualitative data gathered, as shown in Table 5.3 overleaf. Therefore, research findings have been split into two chapters: Chapter 6 examines responses explicitly surrounding the key themes of Language and Culture, and Bilingualism, while Chapter 7 presents the themes of Community, Education, Identity and Technology, and how these influence language, culture and bilingualism.

These chapters hear the voices of participants through their lived experiences, opinions, attitudes, values and beliefs. When reading these chapters, it may be useful to refer again to Tables 5.1 and 5.2 which give information on participants and detail the families' contexts and individuals' details (section 5.3.1 'Participants, Sample and Access').

Table 5-3: Findings - key themes and subthemes

	KEY THEMES	SUBTHEMES
CHAPTER 6	LANGUAGE and CULTURE (6.2)	*(6.2.1)* Family dynamics and contexts
		(6.2.2) Code switching
		(6.2.3) Compartmentalisation of languages
		(6.2.4) Opportunities to speak Spanish
		(6.2.5) Variety within the Spanish language
		(6.2.6) Skills transfer and positive attitudes towards languages
		(6.2.7) The impact of monolingualism and English as a '*lingua franca*
	BILINGUALISM (6.3)	*(6.3.1)* Bilingualism is natural
		(6.3.2) The reported benefits of bilingualism and biculturalism
		(6.3.3) Potential Future Benefits
		(6.3.4) Valuing diversity
		(6.3.5) Negative experiences
		(6.3.6) The (negative) impact of bilingualism on development
		(6.3.7) Hierarchy of languages
		(6.3.8) Misconceptions surrounding bilingualism
CHAPTER 7	COMMUNITY (7.2)	*(7.2.1)* Settling in
		(7.2.2) The Spanish-speaking community in the West of Scotland
		(7.2.3) Club Estrella
		(7.2.4) Family
		(7.2.5) Friends
	EDUCATION (7.3)	*(7.3.1)* Mainstream education
		(7.3.2) Complementary education
	IDENTITY (7.4)	*(7.4.1)* National identity
		(7.4.2) Cultural and linguistic identity
	TECHNOLOGY (7.5)	

CHAPTER 6: FINDINGS FROM DATA ANALYSIS (Part 1)

6.1 Overview

This chapter draws on participants' responses from semi-structured family interviews to present findings on the key themes of Language and Culture, and Bilingualism. Culture has been presented alongside Language as the two were inextricably linked by participants at interview and also as indicated by previous research evidence in the Literature Review (see Chapter 2).

First, this chapter considers the theme of Language and Culture (6.2) and seven subthemes within it. These subthemes were organised around the participants' experiences of family dynamics and contexts; language switching; compartmentalisation of languages; opportunities to speak Spanish; the importance of learning Spanish and varieties of the language; skills transfer and positive attitudes towards languages; and finally, the negative impact of monolingualism and English as a *lingua franca*.

Next, the chapter deals with the theme of Bilingualism (6.3), composed of eight subthemes. These subthemes provide an account of participants' experiences and perceptions on bilingualism being natural; the reported benefits of bilingualism; potential future benefits; valuing diversity, negative experiences; the negative impact of bilingualism on learning and development; a hierarchy of languages; and misconceptions surrounding bilingualism.

The chapter ends with a summary of initial findings and analysis of key themes of Language and Culture and Bilingualism, and the subthemes within them (6.4).

6.2 Language and Culture

As discussed in Chapter 2, language is an integral part of a person's identity as it is the medium through which we communicate with our social networks and the

wider world. There is a deep-rooted relationship between language and culture with both shaping one's identity - they are intrinsically and intricately related. They are interdependent with language being formed by culture, while culture is influenced and impacted upon by language. Seven subthemes around language and culture emerged from the families sharing their stories and experiences, each will now be explored in turn.

6.2.1 Family Contexts

The impact of motherhood and childcare responsibilities upon the ease and extent of bilingualism in the families was reported frequently by families. Pedro Torres expressed, with some disappointment, that he worked full-time and had less contact with his sons that his wife, resulting in their children knowing and using much less Spanish than English. He said:

> Because I was working, it was only evenings and weekends when they [his sons] would be exposed to Spanish, especially when they were little and going to bed at 7 pm and I was only getting in from work at 6/6.30. It meant that they were only listening to Spanish for an hour a day and some of the weekend too. So in reality, it meant that 90% of their exposure was to English and only 10% probably to Spanish, and I think this is reflected still, their Spanish is quite weak.

Table 6.1 shows that all of the fathers in this study worked full-time compared to five out of fourteen mothers; two were 'stay at home mums' (SAHMs) and the other seven mums worked part-time. This suggests that mothers were the main care givers and main model of language. Of the fourteen families involved in this study, nine had a native Spanish-speaking mother, one was German and four were British.

Table 6-1: Language and employment status of parents

Family	Mother		Father	
	Language/s	Employment Status	Language/s	Employment Status
Los García	Spanish/Catalan	Pt	English	Ft
Los Sacco	English	Ft	Spanish	Ft
Los Gonzalez	Spanish	Ft	English	Ft
Los Martin	Spanish	Pt	English	Ft
Los Lopez	Spanish	Pt	English	Ft
Los Gimenez	English	Ft student	Spanish	Ft
Los Alonso	Spanish	Pt	English	Ft
Los Sanchez	Catalan/Spanish	Ft	Spanish/Catalan	Ft
Los Rodriguez	German	Pt	Spanish	Ft
Los Gomez	Spanish	SAHM	Spanish	Ft
Los Fernandez	English	Pt	Spanish	Ft
Los Carreras	Spanish	SAHM	Portuguese	Ft
Los Perez	Spanish	Ft	Italian	Ft
Los Torres	English	Ft	Spanish	Ft

In the Perez household, dad Massimo was a native Italian speaker and used only that language with his children, however mum Honor commented that she was, "very conscious that the kids have less exposure to Italian because Massimo works a lot and at times we don't know how to maintain it".

Gimena Carreras echoed this by explaining that her "mother tongue is Spanish but at home we try to speak in Portuguese when my husband is there because he works nearly all day and because I'm at home with the girls I'm always speaking in Spanish with them. They understand Portuguese and they can speak a little but their dominant language is Spanish".

However, the effect of employment and reduced time spent with the children was not only an issue for fathers. Working mothers such as Angela Gonzalez felt that 'stay at home mums' such as her friend Jannika Rodriguez were in a much better position to share their native language with their children. She said, "[Jannika] works part time and is at home half of the day speaking in German to her kids, whereas I work full time and don't have as much time with mine". Interestingly, this was something that Jannika herself discussed during her interview:

> I've never wanted to work full-time because I feel that with multilingual children the exposure to language at home is so important and if I'm out of the house most of the day then they won't learn German or they might forget. Children whose parents are working all day pick up a lot more English than the home language, that's my experience from seeing friends and colleagues definitely. English takes over much quicker.
>
> (Jannika Rodriguez)

The subject of speaking in one's native language to children was highlighted by four of the mothers. For example, Honor Perez remarked, "From my personal point of view, I have to communicate with my children and I don't see anything more natural than doing that in my mother tongue". Rebecca Fernandez stated, "It just wasn't even a consideration for me not to speak in English" as she reflected on bringing up her daughter Paula in Spain with English as the home language. She added, "When you're tucking your child into bed at night it doesn't feel natural to read them a story in Spanish, it's natural to read in English as it's my mother tongue".

Monica García explained simply that before her children went to school, Spanish was their main language "because their Dad was working all day. That's why they call it mother tongue isn't it?" She also discussed the fact that although she was "perfectly bilingual" in both Catalan and Spanish, she deliberately chose to use just one of those languages here in Scotland with her children. She felt that Spanish was more widely spoken across the world and, indeed, in Spain too therefore she felt that "Spanish was going to be much more useful [to her children] in the future than Catalan".

This process of thought and decision making by Monica was in contrast to the views of other the parents who expressed the intrinsic need and instinct to speak

to their children in their heritage language. However, Monica had two "mother tongue" languages that she was equally competent in to choose from compared to only one, like most of the other mothers I interviewed. Nevertheless, Belén Sanchez, who was also from Barcelona and bilingual in both Catalan and Spanish chose to mainly use Catalan at home with her family. The main difference between Monica's context and that of Belén was that the whole Sanchez family had lived in Barcelona prior to coming to Scotland and therefore the children's main language was Catalan. Belén also highlighted that most of her children's prior education had been in Catalan therefore it was definitely L1 in the family with Spanish being the L2, and their language use in Scotland was just an extension of their prior experience in Barcelona. When asked about this, Jose Sanchez commented that "it's because it's her mother tongue and Belén is Catalan - it was just something natural". Whereas, the García children had never lived in Spain so Monica may have felt more free and independent to make a conscious decision around which language to use with her children.

Only two of the fourteen families were in a situation where Spanish was a main language of both parents (see Table 6.1 above). In nine families, one of the parents was a native English-speaker and the other three families had a parent who spoke Italian, German or Portuguese. The impact that having more than one heritage language has upon the linguistic dynamics within the family was also something that emerged during interview. Most of the non-native Spanish speakers could use the language to different extents, from fluent speakers such as Jennifer Torres, Laura Sacco and Rachel Giménez to Martin Gonzalez, Thomas García and Robert Alonso who knew relatively little Spanish. However, the disparity in Spanish language levels within families meant that families often had to revert to speaking English so that one parent was not left out of conversations. In an example of trying to ensure everyone is included in family conversations, Mariana Alonso stressed that:

> I speak more English when you're around especially, Robert, because sometimes you don't understand what's going on. You say, "I don't know what you're telling him" or "I'm a bit lost, I don't know what's going on".

Two of the English-speaking fathers acknowledged that their children's level of language was or would soon be superior to their own. Robert Alonso conceded that "sometimes I don't understand and I want to because I'm the dad and I'm

supposed to step in and I want to be involved". In an attempt to promote and maintain the language in their household, Dan Martin tried to use Spanish but stated that, "the problem now is that Emelia's Spanish is better than mine and I don't want to hold her back".

Gimena Carreras referred to her daughters' future use of the English language and spoke quite wistfully about the fact that currently the girls' first language was Spanish but once they started school they would start learning English. Because her own level of English was "quite basic", she would need to try and learn more to be able to communicate with her daughters. Gimena told me that her eldest daughter Valeria was four years old and had been eligible for a free nursery place for the past two years, but she "doesn't want to send her yet". I later wondered if maintaining the language and bond with Valeria had something to do with this decision. The subject of bonding and emotional connection through language and communication was something that Jannika Rodriguez also remarked upon:

> When Ana was little, she had Raul speaking Spanish to her and me speaking German to her. Whereas when the little one, Elena, was born she had me speaking to Ana as her main model of language so her German is stronger than her Spanish definitely. Perhaps this causes allegiances within the family and you might get upset if your think your child's isn't interested in your language.

Nine families had a native English-speaking parent, which meant that living in an anglophone country, children's exposure to English was quite high. Some participants felt this made maintaining Spanish a more difficult task. Angela Gonzalez suggested that "for Muslim, Arabic or Chinese, also Polish families, much of the time the parents are of the same nationality and so it's easier for them to speak their language at home. But for us, one of the parents speaks English therefore keeping up Spanish is dependent on one parent". Therefore, it felt like a big responsibility for Spanish language development to be placed upon just one parent in most families. It could also mean that there was little or no model of interaction, dialogue and conversation exchange between two adults in Spanish. Teresa Lopez emphasised that:

> If both parents are Polish or both parents are Arabic or both parents are Chinese, then naturally their children will end up with more exposure to the language at home. Whereas, if one of the parents is a native English speaker you maybe have to think consciously about the balance more and about bilingualism more.

Angela Gonzalez supported this by commenting that she felt that having one distinct home language made it "easier to separate the two languages and not get mixed up". Reflecting on friends' experiences, Angela also believed that when parents share the same first language it made it "easier to reinforce the minority language".

In household where there were two or more languages used, parents commonly raised the issue of having to consciously make more of an effort with Spanish, even forfeiting their own language. Dan Martin rather proudly recalled that "for the first two years I always spoke to Emelia in Spanish and I think she believed that was the only language we spoke. I kept it very simple, very basic and quite repetitive". Dan added that, "I wanted her to have both languages so I made an effort and forced myself to speak in Spanish because I knew she would learn English through nursery and school anyway". Mum, Susana was also conscious of trying to strike a good balance between English and Spanish, saying, "If Emilia has been speaking lots of English, for example on one of her nursery days, and not as much Spanish, then I would deliberately read a book in Spanish with her".

Ian and Teresa Lopez also made a conscious decision to speak to their son Teo only in Spanish from birth for two main reasons. Teresa said that at that time, "my English wasn't great and I didn't want to speak in bad English to him, plus Ian is completely fluent in Spanish" and also that she knew that Teo would eventually be immersed in English and "pick it up no problem" once he started nursery and school.

Jannika Rodriguez, a native German speaker, made an effort to keep up exposure to Spanish language with her daughters and reported that she took them to Club Estrella "even though it's my partner who is the Spanish speaker. It was actually a bit weird for me to go. I can speak some Spanish but he's the native speaker. I improved my Spanish and met lots of people there, and we're still friends, but he was the only guy there most of the time and didn't feel comfortable so it ended up being me who went". Again, this referenced the lesser influence of fathers' language input compared to mothers' and acknowledged that community groups and playgroups were typically attended by

mothers which made it more difficult for fathers to promote and use their heritage language with their children.

Being brought up in an anglophone country but in a bilingual 'bubble' and thinking that your heritage language is only spoken at home, is something that participants commonly discussed. As will be discussed later in this chapter, the fact that Spanish was not a widely spoken heritage language in Scotland and that the community was so small, some children who were interviewed thought that their parent was the only person who spoke Spanish. Monica García recalled taking her son Juan to Club Estrella for the first time:

> He was like, 'Wow, there's other people speaking Spanish here!' because up to that point he hadn't had any contact with other Spanish speakers outside my family or in Spain. He didn't realise there are other people here who also speak Spanish.

Being the only person regularly speaking Spanish to her children felt somewhat artificial to Monica García who described feeling "very isolated" in Scotland "like we are in our own little Spanish bubble". Lack of immediate family and/or community will be discussed in-depth in Chapter 7 (7.2) as it was revealed that it had a powerful impact upon children's use of Spanish.

In summary, the role of the mother and which language she speaks has a substantial impact upon a child's bilingual abilities. More fathers than mothers worked full-time, reducing the contact time the spent with their children. Some Spanish-speaking mothers who worked full-time were also concerned about the lack of contact time for communication in Spanish. Where the father was the Spanish-speaker, children and parents recognised that their Spanish language skills were somewhat weaker. The emotional and linguistic bond of the main carer was key to nurturing a heritage language, in this case Spanish. It was perceived to be easier to maintain heritage languages at home if both parents shared that language. Children often only had one model of Spanish language and Hispanic culture in their lives on a regular basis.

6.2.2 Code switching

The participants of this study were able to function in multiple situations due to their ability to speak more than one language. In fact, six out of the fourteen

participating families regularly used three or four languages (Gaelic, German, Italian, Portuguese) with the rest being Spanish/English bilingual. During the interview process, participants freely conversed with me in both of these languages, code switching (discussed in 2.2.3) spontaneously at their own free will. They reported that they valued this approach to data collection as it meant they were able to converse easily and express themselves in the language of their choice at any given time.

Participants' use of language not only changed during interviews but all gave examples of how, over time and through differing contexts, their use of Spanish/English or English/Spanish would fluctuate. Sometimes code switching was linked to the topic they were discussing, for example the Sanchez family mainly spoke to me in Spanish but when talking about school and the education system they spoke mainly in English. This was probably because their current context and conversations of school, exams, subjects and the curriculum were being played out in English as the children go to English medium schools.

Likewise, Teresa Lopez reported that her five-year-old son Teo also tended to speak in English and preferred to explain in English when he spoke about school, compared to when he chatted about "common everyday things" in Spanish. Often a word was associated with one language over the other because it had a strong emotional connection or played an important role in the person's life. Susana Martin explained that daughter always uses the word '*libro*' instead of 'book', even if the rest of the sentence was in English. Pedro Torres gave the example of his sons always using the Spanish word '*leche*' instead of the English word 'milk'. Even adults associate certain words with one language over the other:

> **Robert Alonso**: What I do notice is sometimes you chucking an English word in the middle of speaking Spanish. Like you'll be speaking to your brother in Spanish and then all the sudden you say, "Easter Sunday".

> **Mariana Alonso**: It's because both of us speak both languages and also I'm used to using 'Easter Sunday' rather than '*Domingo de Pascua*' because I've lived most of my life in English speaking countries and celebrated more Easters here.

Monica García also recognised this saying, "sometimes there are words that you are so used to now more in English than in Spanish. Sometimes I get stuck for words in Spanish because I haven't used them in so long".

Further to this, if the topic of conversation was somewhat emotive then some participants revealed that they felt a strong need to express themselves in their mother tongue language. Gabi Gonzalez shared that when her mother gets angry and reprimands her and her brother, mum Angela always speaks in Spanish. Gemma Gomez also said that if she was, "emotional or angry I would probably say it in Spanish. I wouldn't say 'shit', I would say '*mierda*'".

In addition to the context or topic being discussed, participants also explained that they code switched between languages depending on the person that they were talking to, even if both speakers knew Spanish and English, as Mariana Alonso described above in the example with her brother. Jannika Rodriguez highlighted the flexible communication and social skills of her bilingual family by giving the example of being in the park and speaking to her own children in German but then the girls freely switching to Spanish with Spanish-speaking friends and English with English-speaking friends.

The perceptive skills of bilingual participants meant that they were able to take into consideration the language levels of a person and responded appropriately - some described this process as "subconscious" (Paula Fernandez). If participants acknowledged a disparity in language skills of the other person, then they also took this into consideration in order to communicate effectively. Seven-year-old Ana Rodriguez said that she spoke, "English when I don't know if they speak Spanish or German".

This heightened empathy and sensitivity to communication could sometimes lead to an internal conflict regarding which language to use. Participants may want to communicate in Spanish with their children but felt that they needed to speak

English so that others did not feel excluded. Gemma Gomez said:

> I tend to speak in English with the boys if I'm in the street. Why - because I think it's just respectful. If I'm with other English speaking people or if I'm at the park with other mums and their kids, I speak in English because they won't understand what I'm saying otherwise and I think that's a bit rude and disrespectful.

Even in a domestic context, Mariana Alonso also reported feeling torn between using Spanish with her son and using English with her husband. She was conscious that she was increasingly using more English with Enrique and did not particularly enjoy this, saying, "I want to maintain Spanish with Enrique and I'm loathed to speak in English in my own house but for Robert to feel included I have to".

When parents had different languages, children appeared to be able to switch freely between these. Monica García explained, "If I'm there, they tend to use Spanish more but if my husband is there then they probably more English. And Gaelic if they are sitting at the table doing homework", demonstrating the power of person, topic and context in language switching.

According to the participants of this study, siblings most frequently spoke to each other in English, and quite often they chose to speak to their Spanish-speaking parent in English too. Gabi Gonzalez stated that, "our Mum speaks to us in Spanish but we speak English back to her". I probed deeper asking them if they understood what she was saying and they confirmed that they did but chose to reply in English as it was easier for them to express themselves. However, the Gonzalez family were certainly not unique in this phenomenon. The Sanchez family also said that despite family conversations being in Catalan, discussions between the children nearly always took place in English. Further to this, when David Sanchez revealed that he preferred English to Catalan or Spanish, this surprised parents Belén and Jose:

David: I prefer to use English.

Belén: Really David? Wow! With us at home he only speaks in Catalan, perhaps some things are easier for him in English though.
Interviewer: Why is that David?
David: Because I'm better at English.
Belén: I remember when they were little and doing role-play it was always in English. I realised that when they played, they used English.

This phenomenon was actually very common amongst participants with seven of the parents discussing use of English between siblings. Similarly, when asked which language/s she used with her sister, seven-year-old Ana Rodriguez told me:

> **Ana:** Sometimes we speak in German and sometimes in Spanish but mainly in English.
> **Interviewer:** How do you decide or does it just happen?
> **Ana:** It just happens. Sometimes I talk to her in one language and she talks back to me in another and that's normal for us *(laughs)* but we always understand each other.

This reinforced the subconscious language switching between equally able bilinguals as described previously. Taking this further, Gimena Carreras observed that her young daughters, who were completely immersed in Spanish and Portuguese, mainly communicated in Spanish but had started to invent words that appeared to be a mixture of both languages. She said, "it's quite clever but a bit weird!"

Therefore, code switching was mainly seen as a positive thing but it was not always favoured by parents. Jannika Rodriguez mentioned that her husband Raul got "quite frustrated that the children will sometimes answer in English". Mariana Alonso told how son Enrique went through a stage where he would not speak back to her in Spanish at all. She seemed nostalgic as she reflected on Enrique's changing language skills because he was brought up almost entirely in Spanish but was now more dominant in English. She said, "I still feel deep inside that Spanish is his first language and English is his second".

A change of language use over time and context was typical for participants, bringing with it an increased use of one language over another, as discussed by Honor Perez:

> This bilingual bubble is now a little unbalanced as my mother retired last year and she has come to live with us for the winter and my father travels here a lot so Spanish has much more advantage than Italian at the moment. I think Massimo will have to work a bit harder to keep it up, maybe more films and more books in Italian.

Family mobility also influenced which languages are used and to what extent.

Paula Fernandez recalled that the main person she would speak English to before she came to live in Scotland was with her mum and that she "was probably 75% Spanish and 25% English". However, now that she lived in Scotland, the percentages had reversed and that Spanish accounted for "about 10%" of her communication. This led to a discussion between Paula and her mother Rebecca around definitions surrounding languages. Paula said, "English was my '*mother tongue*' but Spanish was by far my main language, I was much stronger in it at that point [when they lived in Spain]". Rebecca suggested that an advanced level of Spanish, "is not something Paula can't get back. It's in her brain lying dormant most of the time so she could easily reignite it".

This echoed with Mariana Alonso's nostalgic feelings around son Enrique's Spanish language attrition. In one case, the changing use of language in the home was actually quite deliberate. When Teresa Lopez decided that she wanted to be a teacher in Scotland she, "needed to do my Highers and improve my English so we started speaking English more so that I could practise".

A pivotal moment in language use and development, observed by all parents, was when children started attending school or nursery. Even the children themselves recognised a change; Mark Gonzalez stated, "when I was wee I always used Spanish but when I got into school I started using English". Mariana Alonso conceded that son Enrique, "definitely used to be more fluent in Spanish until he started school". Teresa Lopez also brought her son Teo up in a mainly Spanish-speaking home environment but realised that, "he only really started to speak quite fluently in English when he was three and stared nursery but after that English started to dominate in our house as I was using it more too". Of the 14 families, only the Carreras children did not attend school or nursery and it did not feel like a coincidence that they were the only family where siblings still spoke to each other mainly in Spanish.

Having discussed the social and rational reasons behind language switching, participants discussed practical reasons behind this concept that perhaps only other bilinguals would understand – "just because we can" (seven-year-old Ana Rodriguez). Overwhelmingly, participants reflected that they code switched on purpose because it made sense to them. Lucas Sacco said that he deliberately

mixed Spanish and English because "it's cool and fun", while Rebecca Fernandez commented anecdotally that Paula used to say "cute, little Spanglish things". Meanwhile Mariana Alonso felt that she switched or mixed languages for ease because "sometimes it's just finding the easiest way to say something" as did Monica García who said "sometimes the quickest one that comes to mind is the English one" and Gemma Gomez who said that her family tend to switch to find "the shortest version". Andres Sacco summarised:

> You get to a point when you are equally as comfortable in both languages and the words are basically synonyms, like 'amor' y 'love' - they're the same, no? I think we look for shortcuts or the easiest way of saying what we want to say.

Gemma felt that "there are some words that convey themselves better in English than in Spanish and vice versa so we sometimes mix the two languages". Other participants also sometimes felt that words sounded better in one language over the other or because an equivalent translation does not really exist in English, such as Lucas Sacco using the word '*mimos*' for physical affection. Mariana Alonso agreed saying, "There are some words or phrases that don't exist in English or vice versa. Sometimes there just isn't a translation". Robert Alonso, a non-bilingual, found this difficult to comprehend, "They'll be talking in English one minute and then Spanish the next. I don't know why it changes and I find it hard to keep up!" Whereas, Juan García and Paula Fernandez described the fluidity with which their families switch between Spanish and English. Juan said, "It doesn't really matter which language we speak to each other in as long as we all understand. Like '*muy* weird' (*laughs*)".

An exception to this '*Spanglish*' was the Lopez family who switched between languages in conversations but not within sentences themselves. Teresa said:

> If we speak in Spanish, we speak Spanish in the whole sentence and if we speak in English we'll have a conversation or some lines in English. What we don't do is mix the two languages in one sentence, if you see what I mean…It's not Spanglish, it's in blocks.

Most participants also reported that when they mix or switch languages this was not normally through error - it was deliberate or purposeful. Even the youngest participants appeared to know the difference between them and stated that they did not make many mistakes. Eight-year-old Maria García explained that

she sometimes needed to self-correct in school if she had an answer in her head in Spanish or English but needed to use Gaelic. Furthermore, some mistakes maybe be age-related or developmental.

Teresa Lopez said that Teo "makes some mistakes but I think those are natural and any five-year-old would make them anyway. Like in English kids sometimes say 'I go-ed' instead of 'I went'". Susana Martin added that her three-year-old daughter Emilia "sometimes finds it hard to find the right word but most three year olds probably do, don't they?"

Belén Sanchez commented that sometimes her children speak in Catalan but insert a word in English then ask, "how do you say that in Catalan?" or if they come across an unfamiliar word they ask its meaning. Therefore, where participants had gaps in their vocabulary they often inserted words from the other language as a strategy or they recognised this gap and actively sought to address it.

Many participants were acutely aware of having a stronger domain of language over the other(s). David Sanchez stated he was better at English whereas his sisters who had lived longer in Barcelona felt that their levels of English and Catalan were similar, however they were not as strong in Spanish. Due to her parents' divorce and not having regular use of Spanish at home, Paula described her fluctuating skills in both languages:

> Sometimes I feel like when I'm in Spain my Spanish is a bit rubbish compared to everyone else and sometimes when I'm here I feel my English is a bit rubbish, and when I'm here sometimes I forget Spanish but when I'm in Spain I sometimes forget English.

Ten of the nineteen children interviewed said they preferred to speak in English at home, two preferred Catalan, two preferred German, two were unsure and three preferred Spanish. The latter children were all under the age of five, reinforcing the impact that starting school appears to have on Spanish. Nine of the ten children who said they preferred English had a native English-speaking parent – the exception was David Sanchez.

This subtheme showed that bilingual participants had a good level of linguistic awareness and could adapt by code switching depending on a variety of

circumstances. Sometimes this phenomenon occurred because of difficulties in translation, deliberate vocabulary choice or simply just because they were able to function and communicate with other bilinguals.

6.2.3 Compartmentalisation of Languages

Following on from code switching, participants commented that in certain situations or with certain individuals, they would definitely choose one language over another. Despite the fact that Andres Sacco and wife Laura are both bilingual, he reflected on the fact that quite often Laura would speak Spanish to him but he would reply in English.

> Sometimes I have a conversation with my family on the phone and Laura will ask, '*Cómo están tus padres*?' and I reply to her in English about a Spanish conversation I have just had - I don't know why though. And when I first met her she asked me '*de dónde sos*?' and I answered 'I'm from Argentina'. I don't know why I answered in English though - it's weird.

The Sanchez family were so accustomed to using Catalan at home that the children found it "very strange" if their parents spoke to them in English. Enrique Alonso also said it was "weird" when his dad tried to speak to him in Spanish. Describing this compartmentalisation, Paula Fernandez said:

> I always speak to her [a family friend] in Spanish because I grew up with her and always spoke in Spanish so I see certain people and I think 'English' or 'Spanish'. Like if I speak to my cousins in English it's just really weird, it doesn't feel right.

Similarly, Teresa Lopez commented upon son Teo's feelings towards using Spanish:

> He doesn't like to speak in Spanish with his teacher, he's a bit shy. She's interested in Spanish and has asked him how to say different words but he doesn't like it.

Susana Martin gave an example of two children compartmentalising in different ways. Her daughter Emilia told her Spanish/English bilingual friend at nursery, "*No hables en inglés conmigo - hablamos español*" meaning "Don't speak to me in English – we speak Spanish" to which her friend replied, "No, in nursery we speak English not Spanish". Some bilinguals associated a language with a place or context meanwhile others associated it only with certain people. This was

reported equally amongst adult and child participants who raised the matter; they said it felt strange and unnatural when they deviated from their normal language choice. They could not explain why they felt this way but perhaps routine and familiarity played a role in this.

6.2.4 Opportunities to Speak Spanish

All adult participants, and some children, noted the importance of having opportunities to use Spanish and the positive impact this had on language development within their families. According to Monica García, her children, "learn so much from playing with their cousins and other children when we go to Spain. That's how they learn the most I think. Here [in Scotland] it's a bit more artificial but there [in Spain] it's more natural". The Sanchez children had the opportunity to speak both of their heritage languages when they go to Spain on holiday - Spanish in Madrid, and Catalan in Barcelona. Belén emphasised the importance of these social networks on the maintenance of language:

> The children have continued their friendships with kids in Barcelona and they still see them from time to time, they also have friends from the summer camp they go to every year.

Rachel Gimenez reported that there was a marked improvement in daughter Vicky's use of Spanish which "came on really rapidly after a trip to Mexico" and seven-week visits to Ecuador were very helpful for Enrique Alonso, mum Mariana commented. She felt that after their most recent trip, "something just clicked and then his Spanish really improved" but she added that it was fortunate she was a teacher and had seven weeks' holiday. "Most people don't have that luxury", she said.

Similarly, other Latin Americans Angela Gonzalez, Andres Sacco and Pedro Torres expressed the difficulty of travelling such a long distance and felt their children missed out on opportunities to speak Spanish in an immersive context. Having only been once in their lifetime to Guatemala, Angela said that her children's Spanish, "came on 'leaps and bounds' while they were there" and that she was hoping that an upcoming visit would have the same positive impact on her children's Spanish language skills and cultural identity. South American dad, Pedro Torres remarked that:

> It's easy for people to go to Spain, even for a weekend, as it's only an hour or two away, and if you go with [a budget airline] it only costs about £50 each. Whereas we have only been to Argentina once because it costs nearly £1000 each and it's over 20 hours travel time. I have friends from Spain who send their teenagers alone on a plane to Madrid for family to meet them at the airport but there is no way I'd contemplate sending my son unaccompanied on a trans-Atlantic flight with two or three layovers. It's such a shame.

Susana Martin commented that she was "lucky" because their daughter was not yet of school age and they were able to go to Uruguay at any time of the year for extended stays, but when Emilia starts school they would no longer be able to do this. She noticed a clear increase/decrease in Emilia's level of Spanish during and after visits to Uruguay, and highlighted benefits of the visits on Emilia's Spanish language development:

> We've been going to Uruguay since Emilia was ten months old and I think this last time we went that was when she realised, it clicked. Like there was a clear emotional click that this is the language I can speak in and all these people speak it too, whereas that's not the case in Scotland.

Participants frequently mentioned the positive impact that communicating with family had on language development and cultural identity. They felt it was important for all members of the family to be able to communicate with each other and for languages not to be a barrier to building relationships. For example, Monica García said:

> My family is very thankful that the kids speak Spanish and that they can come here and speak to them easily. My parents are a bit embarrassed that they don't know English well but at least when they visit they can communicate with their grandchildren. The kids translate and interpret between them and my husband too.

Participants did not have any Spanish-speaking grandparents, aunts, uncles or cousins in Scotland and only had face-to-face interaction with their families a few times each year, or less. This was even more marked for the Latin American families who, due to travel time and financial constraints, were unable to visit their country of origin often, meaning that they did not benefit from immersion in language and culture.

Rebecca Fernandez, an EAL specialist teacher, observed the influence of community in her day-to-day work with other bilingual pupils:

> The Chinese children and the Polish children and the Korean children, they can go to the Saturday schools to learn their languages and to read and write, and that's such an amazing opportunity that most other languages don't have.

Lack of opportunity to speak Spanish was something that nearly all participants noted, with most only regularly speaking the language with one parent. There was a distinct lack of opportunity to use Spanish at school - only Susana Martin reported that her daughter was encouraged to use Spanish within the classroom and for learning in a nursery setting. Even in the Gaelic schools, where multilingualism was actively promoted, the Perez and García children did not get the opportunity to use Spanish as part of teaching and learning.

Some parents reported that their child's school was aware of heritage languages and celebrated multilingualism, for example, the Rodriguez, Lopez and Gimenez families, and that teachers sometimes showed an interest in Spanish language and Hispanic culture. Nevertheless, children were not allowed or not offered the opportunity to use Spanish for learning within the curriculum.

Where Spanish was taught as a 'modern language' subject in schools, children and parents reported mixed experiences. For example, six-year-old Mateo Torres, said he felt "happy" when they learned Spanish in school as it was familiar to him. Brother, Alejo was also learning Spanish in high school so I asked if his teacher acknowledged his bilingual skills and factored this into lessons but he told me, "No, I just do the same work as everyone else". Rachel Gimenez commented that her daughter's British primary teacher corrected Vicky's Mexican pronunciation during Spanish lessons. In addition, Teresa Lopez said that she was once invited into the school for European Day of Languages but the teachers only knew about Spanish language and culture from Spain, and little about other countries. She believed that, "there's still a lot of ignorance around bilingualism in society and in schools too".

In summary, participants reported that visits and extended stays in Spanish-speaking countries were hugely beneficial in helping children develop their linguistic and cultural identities. Visits provided opportunities to improve children's knowledge and confidence in Spanish, it allowed them to build

relationships with extended family and it immersed them in culture too. However, due to financial and travel constraints, families from Latin America felt disadvantaged compared to their European counterparts. The lack of opportunity to speak Spanish in Scotland meant that there were few models of language and little social interaction in Spanish. The majority of schools did not actively promote bilingualism (at school or at home) nor did they provide opportunities for the children to use Spanish in class.

6.2.5 Variety within the Spanish Language

Participants from Latin America were especially passionate about the need for their children to know and understand different varieties of the Spanish language as they felt this was linked to their culture and identity. Gemma Gomez stated that the different accent, slang and vocabulary of *'rioplatense'* spoken in the areas around Montevideo and Buenos Aires was a reflection of strong Italian and Spanish heritage and history. Cultural aspects such as tango, literature, sport, art and music contributed to, "defining the identities of Uruguayan and Argentinian people" (Andres Sacco).

Teacher, Mariana Alonso also felt it was important to introduce a wide vocabulary to her son, and her pupils of Spanish too, giving an example of the colour brown which in many Spanish-speaking countries is *'marron'* but in Ecuador, and others, it is *'cafe'* or *'pardo'*. She also felt that reading books and poetry contributed to a better knowledge of the language, the cultures and rich histories of Latin America. Uruguayan Susana Martin explained that she used synonyms and interchanged between *'rioplatense'* and 'standard Spanish', for example *'choclo'* vs *'maiz'* for corn as she was aware that, living in Europe, her daughter would be in more contact with people who speak and understand Spanish from Spain.

Even Spaniard Monica García felt it was important for her children to get used to different vocabulary, dialects and accents of the Spanish language, "so that they are able to function across the global Spanish-speaking world and understand other countries and cultures". Further to this, Teresa Lopez felt there was a need to educate wider Scottish society about the Spanish-speaking world:

> Teo's teacher said that we are a Spanish family - we're not Spanish. But people here seem to think Spanish equals Spain. Something really horrible happened to my husband when he was teaching Spanish, someone said to him that he shouldn't be teaching it with a 'strange' Mexican accent or using Mexican vocabulary. They said he must use Spanish from Spain. Can you believe that? My God, there are 21 countries that speak Spanish. It's like English from the USA and English from Scotland or England, there are differences but that doesn't mean one is right and the rest are wrong.

There is a wealth of variety within the Spanish language in terms of vocabulary, accent and dialect across the globe; culturally, these countries are also very diverse. Adult participants, especially those from Latin America, felt it was important for their children to have exposure to these different forms of Spanish language and Hispanic cultures.

6.2.6 Skills Transfer and Positive Attitudes Towards Languages

Most participants, including children, stated that the language and literacy skills they had in one language were transferable to others. Furthermore, because Spanish phonics are simpler than those of the English language, even where children were not receiving formal instruction on how to read and write in Spanish, some were still able to do so - or feel confident that they would be able to do so. Six-year-old Mateo Torres recognised that, "as long as they are the same letters as in English then I would be able to read and write in Spanish". Similarly, eight-year-old Enrique Alonso commented, "I can read and I can write a little bit because I know the sounds in English".

Monica García echoed this, saying she found that, "once kids know how to read and write in one language, it's easier to do it in others as they apply what they already know, don't they?" However, she acknowledged that although their home environment was orally rich in Spanish, she felt that she had to make more effort in teaching her three children to read and write in the language. During her summer holidays to Spain, she bought workbooks containing reading, writing, science, Spanish history and geography for her children to work on. She added that her family also brought books and comics when they came over to visit. Belén Sanchez had continued to teach her children to read and write in both Catalan and Spanish after they moved to Scotland. "The languages are quite similar so they picked both up quite easily," she said.

However, Uruguayan mum, Gemma Gomez, questioned her own ability to be able to teach her six-year-old son Diego how to read and write:

> Diego has started learning to read in English at school but because Spanish is very phonetic I think he can pick it up very easily. I'd like to help him to read fluently in future and learn to write in Spanish too but I'm not sure how.

Transferable literacy skills in English and Spanish were often the start of a further language-learning journey for the participants of this study as they commented on the ease at which they picked up other languages and a heightened interest in language studies. Younger participants such as Lucas Sacco and Mateo Torres told me that French was "easy" and "a wee bit like Spanish".

> **Mateo**: We're learning colours and that's quite easy. Some of them are almost the same as Spanish like 'blanc' and 'blanco', and 'bleu' and 'blue'.
> **Interviewer**: That's like English isn't it?
> **Mateo**: Oh yeah! *(laughs)*

Even though he made a mistake regarding which language French was similar to, Mateo was already making associations and identifying cognates. Teenagers such as Paula Fernandez and Sofia Sanchez articulated that their knowledge of Spanish had helped to get good grades in Italian and French at secondary school.

> Last year I did Italian and the only reason I passed that was because I knew Spanish, it helped me so much. The languages are so similar although it was hard to speak Italian without a Spanish accent.
>
> (Paula Fernandez)

Gemma Gomez, who grew up in Germany, reflected upon learning English as a teenager. "Maybe I found it easy to learn English because I already knew German. I've never thought about that before," she laughed. She added:

> English and Spanish are very good languages to know, they're spoken so widely and also they're two different types of languages. In the case of Spanish, it's a Romance/Latin language so it means that you can learn French and Italian and Portuguese quite easily, and with English being Anglo-Saxon perhaps that helps to learn languages like German.

Rachel Gimenez also noted daughter Vicky's aptitude in learning French, saying that she, "seems to be racing ahead with it and so confident" as did Teresa Lopez who said, "Teo's learning French at school and for him it's so easy. I think

because he's learning French at school, he's realised that languages are valuable and important".

Nicolas Perez summed up beautifully the passion and ease with which bilinguals learn new languages:

> **Interviewer:** So you speak four languages?
> **Nicolas:** Yes - Spanish, English, Italian and Gaelic and we're going to learn French too in P5! (*said very enthusiastically*)

One young person, Maria García hoped that her positive attitude would transfer to other people:

> I feel that if I speak other languages then that might make other people want to learn more languages too and more people will want to learn my languages.

The bilingual participants of this study were advocates for learning languages with some continuing to learn new ones. Scottish mum Rebecca Fernandez said that learning Spanish sparked her interest in other languages (she was learning Arabic at the time of interview) and gave her a deeper understanding of how languages operate. Gimena Carreras was also proactive as an adult continuing her language-learning journey:

> I'm thinking of taking a Mandarin course once I've got a bit more time, like a night class, just because the Chinese language and culture has always fascinated me. And because I'm in Scotland immersed in English, I try hard to keep up Portuguese. Obviously, I speak it with Sebastian but I also try to listen to music or watch programs on Netflix.

In this subtheme, participants displayed positive attitudes to languages and realised that they could transfer literacy skills across English and Spanish. They also applied their linguistic knowledge in order to learn other languages. They were confident in learning new languages and appeared to do so with relative ease. They also displayed very positive attitudes towards learning languages and embracing other cultures.

6.2.7 The Impact of English Monolingualism and as a '*lingua franca*'

The adult participants in this study frequently mentioned that the status of English as a world language and the issue of Britain being a predominantly monolingual nation, with a low value attached to languages, had a negative

impact on bilingualism. For example, Gemma Gomez commented that in the UK, "everyone assumes that the whole world speaks English and has an attitude like 'why should we have to learn another language?' - it's a real lack of value for languages I think". Meanwhile, teenager Paula Fernandez said:

> I notice that people say things like, 'Oh, everyone can speak English so what's the point?' But the difference in other countries…. like in Spain, all my cousins learn English because they have to in school but also to get a job later on or to go to university. They know that you need to learn languages to get jobs so that gives them motivation.

Andres Sacco noted that when his family or friends come to visit from Argentina, people in Scotland automatically speak to them in English and expecting that they know it. He explained that his mother-in-law (who was bilingual Irish/English) was the only person who made an effort to say a few words in Spanish, "she was the only person who has been empathetic or aware of a lack of language skills," he added. Dan Martin stated:

> There's something in British culture isn't there? We seem to think monolingualism is best for some reason. I think it's connected to Brexit and the post-imperial mindset. People shouldn't have to communicate in English just because most Brits don't know other languages and can't be bothered. I think that language teaching in school isn't very good and doesn't have a lot of value attached to it. I think that the cultural mindset definitely needs to shift.

Some participants felt that Scottish society and the education system put too much emphasis on learning English to the detriment of home languages. Belén Sanchez spoke angrily about the experiences that her older sons encountered in high school, so much so that she and husband Jose eventually took the decision to send the three boys back to Spain to finish their secondary education. She said:

> The teachers put so much importance on learning English that it made my boys feel like failures. There was absolutely no interest shown in their abilities in Catalan or Spanish, and no effort made to help them maintain it at all.

Monica García reported that she ended up involved in the Gaelic community, and eventually in Gaelic Medium Education, because when her children were pre-schoolers she felt they could not attend standard playgroups as she would have to speak in English. Nonetheless, she could go to a Gaelic playgroup and learn Gaelic alongside her children then use Spanish at home. She believed that, "as

soon as I started speaking English with them in a society where English is the majority language, that Spanish was going to be set aside and I didn't want that to happen. It wasn't interfering or minimising Spanish in the way that English would have". Rachel Gimenez also expressed strong views on the dominance of English. Reflecting on practice in her daughter's school, she said there was such a focus on getting bilingual pupils to learn English and commented that:

> [English] is too much of a priority and is taking over to the detriment of children's home languages. Learning to speak English is necessary, obviously. Kids need it if they're going to live here but not at the expense of their home language. The notion that children have to learn English at the expense of their home language, like it's either one or the other and you can't have both, is simply crazy.

Rebecca Fernandez introduced me to a new term, *'predator languages'* which take over to the detriment of other languages. She explained:

> The main predators are English and Russian [.....] The language that sneaks in is the one that has the most political power. Like Mandarin, when people say Chinese [language] they actually mean Mandarin but I'm sure there are dozens of other languages in China that are being ignored or dying out.

The impact of English as a *'lingua franca'* or *'predator'* meant that it had an elevated status in global society. Although the participants of this study clearly valued Spanish and other home languages, the importance of English - especially amongst the non-native English speakers - had perhaps altered their perceptions and values. Three parents told me that they placed more emphasis on English than Spanish (or had at some point in the past). When asked about the possibility of her son attending a potential Spanish complementary school, Gemma Gomez replied:

> I would be interested but not right now as he needs to put more attention on English than Spanish at the moment, but yes, in the future, once his English was more consolidated.

This reinforced the myth of subtractive bilingualism that one language must be chosen rather than both. When asked why, parents often reported switching to English because they or their child's teacher had perceived poor English language development - this will be explored further in section 6.3 Bilingualism.

By and large, adult participants perceived that the dominance of the English language was not supportive in terms of attitudes and values towards

bilingualism and wider language learning in general. Some parents also prioritised English over Spanish for their children due to the advice and information given by teachers.

6.3 Bilingualism

As discussed in Chapter 2, bilingualism can impact children's lives in a number of ways. This section presents and analyses findings on the perceived benefits of bilingualism, now and in the future, and some negative experiences that some participants encountered. Despite bilingualism being the global norm and perfectly natural, being bilingual in a predominantly monolingual country posed challenges. Adults frequently commented that being bilingual improved other skills such as communication, social interaction, problem solving, confidence and empathy. Eight subthemes around the topic of bilingualism emerged from the families sharing their stories and experiences, each will now be explored in turn.

6.3.1 Bilingualism is Natural

Being brought up bilingually was a straightforward and natural concept to children, they were very aware of languages but it was so instinctive and normal to them that they were sometimes unaware of their talent. In a discussion around opportunities to use Spanish in school, Jannika Rodriguez explained that her daughter Ana was asked to befriend and look after a new Spanish pupil in her class but was oblivious to why she had been chosen as the 'buddy'. "Was it because she didn't know the way around school and I did?" asked Ana, unaware that it was actually so she could support the new pupil in Spanish.

Participants frequently discussed that speaking more than one language was simply commonplace for them and their families, with many participants having come from bilingual families themselves. Robert Alonso laughed, "People say to me, 'it's amazing Enrique can speak another language, how lucky is he?' but he's been hearing Spanish since he was in his mother's womb, it's as simple as that".

Parents often could speak each other's languages (albeit with differing levels of fluency) therefore bilingual conversations are purely natural in most of the

family households. Participants also believed that learning languages as a child was "natural", "easy"; and "almost effortless". Gimena Carreras said:

> From what I've seen, it's really easy for children to learn two languages and then on top of that they're going to learn English too when they [her daughters] start school. I think when they start learning it at school it'll come easily to them because they already know two other languages.

Honor Perez agreed, saying that children are "very permeable and easily learn other languages". A positive attitude towards learning other languages in a school context displayed by some participants was reported in section 6.2.6. However, others added that it was even better to learn a language by natural immersion rather than formal study, and that if children were picking languages up naturally "they don't have to worry about the structure of the grammar and so on in class" (Teresa Lopez).

In conclusion, participants felt that it was very natural and easy to learn two or more languages, whether in the context of a bilingual family or in a school setting, despite living in a predominantly monolingual country.

6.3.2 The Reported Benefits of Bilingualism and Biculturalism

Overwhelmingly, participants viewed being bilingual and bicultural as a positive attributes, and could easily and openly discuss the benefits they perceived. They reported that bilingualism had enabled them to communicate effectively, interact and develop relationships with family and friends that would not have been possible if they only spoke one language. Eight-year-old Marco Gonzalez commented that he would feel "really sad" if he went to Guatemala and could not understand what any of his family were saying. Eleven-year-old Carmen Sanchez told me, "It's good being able to talk to your family and friends, I can't imagine not being able to do that".

Playing and establishing bonds with cousins abroad was mentioned by several participants as being highly beneficial to language development but these visits to Spain or Latin America were often seen as more than just a holiday; it was an opportunity to immerse in the language and culture of the Spanish-speaking world and "maintain our roots" (Gimena Carreras). Although being able to interact and communicate with family came across very strongly from

participants, especially the children, they also discussed the benefits of being able to communicate with wider society. Robert Alonso believed that his son Enrique, "can go almost anywhere in the world now and be able to speak to people. That's very powerful and very useful". Nine-year-old Juan García also acknowledged this benefit of bilingualism:

> It's good [being bilingual] because you can speak to loads of people. Because if you only know one language then you can't talk to as many people.

Similarly, when asked if he thought speaking two languages was a good thing, Mateo Torres replied that, "It's good because you understand different languages and you can talk to more people". A few parents such as Andres Sacco, Honor Perez and Teresa Lopez reported that their children's knowledge of Spanish had enabled them to make friends while on holiday in Spanish-speaking countries.

Nevertheless, the adult participants firmly believed that being bilingual was not solely a linguistic skill, it was deeper than that and meant that children were also bicultural. Andres Sacco commented that, "from a young age, Lucas will know that there is more than one language and more than one culture, more than one way of being and thinking". Participants felt that the impact of knowing more than one language and culture had led them to be more open-minded and reflective. Participants believed that by understanding different languages and cultures, it can help to see things from a different perspective and lead to greater acceptance, tolerance and "a deeper respect for others" (Honor Perez). Andres Sacco also added that he believed, "knowing different languages and understanding different cultures means being able to think differently too". Jannika Rodriguez agreed that bilingualism and biculturalism brought these advantages:

> In terms of open-mindedness it's a massive benefit [….] because they don't have one fixed model of 'this is how it's done' or 'this is how it's said' so they are less prone to be judgemental. They are more accepting. I think having more than one language and culture opens doors and borders come down.

Gemma Gomez said:

> [Being bilingual] helps you to be more flexible and open, there are so many benefits. When I was a teenager, my family and I went to Germany to live. I learned another language, another culture, another way of living

which was a world apart from the military dictatorship that I had grown up with in Uruguay. Now, I love travelling and discovering other places and cultures, and I'm not afraid to travel alone.

A few participants reported that they felt being bilingual gave them more confidence, whether this was confidence to travel and try new experiences like Gemma above, or as teenager Paula Fernandez described:

When we went on holiday to Los Angeles I could speak to everyone because of all the Mexican people and all the Puerto Ricans so it's great because I can go anywhere and speak to so many different people - you never know who you might meet.

Paula also commented later in the interview that she felt she had a high level of confidence in social interaction compared to some of her monolingual friends:

In my friendship group there are about six of us and one of my other friends who's French, we're the most sociable ones, we are the most open, we're the ones who'll happily go and speak to new people and do new things. We're not scared of doing new stuff.

Some of the younger participants said that being bilingual has made them more empathetic and considerate towards others:

If someone new comes into your class and they don't speak English then you can help them.

(David Sanchez, 9-years-old)

Yeah, if someone else is bilingual or comes from other country you have sympathy for them when they're new and you try to help them 'cause you were like that too in the beginning.

(Sofia Sanchez, 11-years-old)

Families often remarked that they use their bilingual skills as a 'secret code' so that they can talk about things without other people knowing; from reprimanding children in public, "Don't talk with your mouth full please!" (Pedro Torres) to telling secrets to her sister, "Yeah, we can tell secrets and speak in secret and other people won't know" (Ana Rodriguez).

Five adult participants discussed cognitive and neurological benefits of bilingualism they had heard about (see Chapter 2, section 2.2.3). For example, Gemma Gomez mentioned, "it is a good thing for your brain. When the brain is learning something new it's getting exercise" but she did not, or perhaps could not, explain this in more detail. Monica García said, "I know there are lots of

studies that bilingualism's good for brain development" but she did not go into further depth. Pedro Torres expanded upon this a little more, saying that bilingualism was beneficial "because languages help develop part of the brain that otherwise wouldn't be developed by being monolingual, I think there are studies to support that".

In summary, the wealth of benefits that participants reported ranged from being able to communicate with family, friends and the wider world, to being more empathetic, open-minded and tolerant of others. Participants also mentioned the wider cognitive and neurological benefits of bilingualism that they had heard about.

6.3.3 Potential Future Benefits

Participants unequivocally believed being bilingual and bicultural would continue to benefit them in the future, stating various reasons for their suppositions. Some of them reiterated the impact of bilingualism on making the children become more open-minded as adults but others looked to the future in a more pragmatic sense stating that jobs, careers, travel and study would all be positively impacted too. They felt it would, "give them more opportunities in the job market" (Pedro Torres) and could "open doors for them in the future" (Angela Gonzalez). The Sanchez family also envisaged greater career opportunities:

> **Sofia:** I think it'll help me to get a job.
> **Belén:** They will have more opportunities here and also be able to work in lots of other places too. Anywhere in Spain, South America, even the USA – the world is their oyster!

Furthermore, they discussed the confidence that migrating to Scotland had given them:

> **Carmen:** I think there's other opportunities as well so if we had to move somewhere else then it would be easier because we've done it before.
> **Sofia:** I think I would be confident to travel when I'm older and go to live or work or travel abroad like my brothers have done.
> **Jose:** I think our kids are more used to moving around so they're not scared to go to a different country and experience a different culture or learn another language.
> **Belén:** I would encourage the children to take part in exchanges and visits to other countries. I think that they have the confidence and open-mindedness to embrace opportunities like that.

Gemma Gomez highlighted future study opportunities abroad saying, "it means they can study in Spain, anywhere in Latin America, Scandinavia…..lots of places". Meanwhile, Jannika Rodriguez felt that teaching her children how to read and write in both German and Spanish would prepare them to be, "fully functional so they can live or work or study in Germany, Mexico or any Spanish-speaking country if they choose". Mariana Alonso agreed that reading and writing skills would be necessary if son Enrique, "wants to go to university in another country like I did; I want him to have those opportunities".

Dan Martin reflected on his own career path and his aspirations for his daughter:

> In my field, if you only have English it is a weakness {…} I'm very limited in terms of job opportunities compared to international colleagues. I want Emilia to have better opportunities than I had. Perhaps she would be able to go to university in Spain or South America rather than here in Britain.

Some participants from the EU discussed the immediate future and the negative impact Brexit may have on their children. Jose Sanchez expressed how "disappointed and frustrated" he felt and that he now wondered, "if British people don't like migrants and want to stop immigration so perhaps Britain isn't as open minded as we had hoped and they don't want us here after all".

Meanwhile his daughter Sofia said that she felt, "very stressed wondering what is going to happen to us after Brexit". German Jannika Rodriguez also raised concerns over Brexit, she said, "I hope Brexit doesn't limit the opportunities to live, study or work abroad. I'm hoping that they will have the same chances as I did."

Looking to the future, participants felt that being bilingual would bring better career and study prospects across the globe, and it had made them more confident and adaptable so that they would be more likely, or more likely to encourage their children, to travel the world and enjoy international experiences. However, they felt that Brexit was a threat to their future.

6.3.4 Valuing Diversity

The open-mindedness and acceptance of other languages and cultures described

in sections 6.2.6 'Skills Transfer and Positive Attitudes Towards Languages' and 6.3.2 'The Reported Benefits of Bilingualism and Biculturalism' has led to diversity being highly valued by participants. The adults frequently discussed the importance of inclusion and diversity. For example, the García and Perez parents deliberately chose Gaelic Medium Education for their children. They said:

> The school takes pride and encourages people knowing lots of languages *(sic)*, using them whenever they can and for me, the Gaelic School and the Gaelic community has been a great help in supporting bilingualism. The ethos is more open-minded and supports multilingualism because they encourage you to maintain your home language.
>
> (Monica García)

> It's surprising the number of international families there are at the Gaelic School compared to the number of Scottish families. Maybe the international families are already bilingual and know the benefits, maybe they're less frightened and more open to languages. I really don't know but the mix of cultures and backgrounds was really appealing for us when choosing a school.
>
> (Honor Perez)

Even though the Rodriguez sisters and Emilia Martin do not attend a Gaelic School, their parents chose to send them to schools and nurseries where there is a high level of diversity. Jannika said:

> I never want it to be the case that she comes up to me in the playground and says, 'Mummy stop speaking to me in German, I'm embarrassed'. I understand that children get to a stage when they just want to be the same as everyone else and fit in but if they grow up in a White, middle class, monolingual, Scottish environment then that's what they'll want to be like as well. Whereas at their school, there's so much diversity that's not the case and we thought it would be easier for them if they went to school with children from all over the world.

EAL specialist primary teacher, Rebecca Fernandez also recognised the importance of diversity, not only for bilingual pupils but for the wider school population:

> We're working with lots of children who don't have diverse cultural experiences of their own, they only have experience of Paisley so having an awareness outside of that is good for them. I mean, diversity in their school is good for them and will settle the concerns about immigration and terrorism etc that the media likes to portray.

Teresa Lopez also felt that bringing more diversity to Scottish society was a positive thing:

> Scotland is a warm and friendly place and has the conditions to bring up your family bilingually but people are still quite closed in terms of mixing with people from other cultures and people keep within their cliques. I think we're still quite far from integration. Maybe they feel intimidated, I don't know. There is still a lot of work to do in educating the Scottish people on the benefits of multilingualism and multiculturalism.

Inclusion and diversity were important concepts to my participants – some parents actively sought out schools and nurseries of this nature, feeling that that type of environment was more conducive to bilingualism and biculturalism. Moreover, some felt that they were contributing to Scottish society by helping it to become more diverse and multicultural.

6.3.5 Negative Experiences

Thus far, I have shared many positive comments from listening to the stories and experiences of the participants but around half reported that being bilingual had brought challenges or negative experiences. Six of the younger children stated they sometimes felt shy or embarrassed when speaking Spanish in Scotland "because nobody knows what it means" (Mark Gonzalez) or "people might think it's weird" (Alejo Torres). This was more apparent in schools where there was less cultural and linguistic diversity.

Belén Sanchez recalled how the negative school experience of her older sons knocked their confidence and ultimately led to them returning to Spain to complete their education:

> They were really intelligent kids and then suddenly they were bottom of the class. The teachers put them in low groups with kids who, cognitively, were at a low level or with bad behaviour. It did nothing for their confidence and it was as if all their knowledge and prior learning meant nothing just because their English wasn't at native speaker level. In my opinion, bilingualism wasn't valued at all and wasn't seen as something positive at that school.

Other participants described how they had encountered this negativity towards bilingualism and use of home languages in society. Teresa Lopez stated:

> When we speak Spanish it's not because we're showing off or trying to keep things secret, it's because it's our language and it's natural to us and I want to teach it to my children. I think people look down their nose at you and think it's strange. It's as if it bothers people.

Jannika Rodriguez referred to an incident in Glasgow City Centre that perhaps could have been a positive experience as the rally was against fascism and exclusion:

> One day in town there was a protest and someone had a card saying, "Stop Donald Trump, no wall!" and Ana asked what it meant so I explained to her. She entirely got the fact that there was a wall to be built to keep [Mexican] people like her and her dad out.

She went on to say how media coverage of Brexit had made Ana even more conscious of exclusion and bias towards immigrants and those from minority backgrounds:

> With Brexit being on TV all the time Ana asked, 'Does that mean they don't like German people like us Mummy?' and that's really hard to explain to a seven year old. Between Trump and the Americans being against the Mexicans and the UK being against the EU, including Germany, it's as if no-one wants people like us.

Children themselves sometimes distanced themselves from bilingualism and their minority language, Mariana Alonso told how her son Enrique "went through a phase" where he would not speak back to her in Spanish. Susana Martin was aware that children sometimes choose not to use their home language:

> The good thing is that she has never rejected speaking the language, so far anyway - she's only three! I know that's different with other children though and I've seen it happen with colleagues, friends and people who come to Estrella.

Teresa Lopez had encountered this too:

> I've got a few friends and their children don't want to speak Spanish with them, they're embarrassed. They don't want to be different. This hasn't happened to us yet but Teo has said, 'I'm not Colombian, I'm Scottish' and I said to him, 'well, you're half Colombian and half Scottish'.

However, with years of experience working with bilingual families, Rebecca Fernandez stated "parents can think this is a rejection of their language and culture but in reality, it is the child growing up and just not wanting to be different or to stand out from their peers".

The children in this study sometimes perceived a 'weakness' in their use of Spanish language which led to them being reluctant to speak it or perhaps affecting their confidence in using it. Paula Fernandez described her mixed

feelings about being bilingual:

> Most people are really good at one language but I feel as if I'm ok at both but I'm not great in one or the other so that makes me feel a bit inadequate […] When I was younger, I used to think, 'why do I have to speak two languages?' but now that I'm older I think it's such a blessing.

Meanwhile mum Rebecca, and several other parents, questioned or negatively assessed their own abilities to raise their children bilingually:

> I feel that I've slightly failed my son Pedro because we moved back to Scotland when he was much younger and I didn't keep Spanish up […] Sometimes he's reluctant [to use Spanish] and a bit shy, I feel that I should have done more.

Overall, the benefits and positive stories told by participants throughout the interview process outweighed the negative experiences and challenges but it was very important to present a balanced argument and a true representation of their lived experiences. Some of these barriers centred around monolinguals' negative perceptions, attitudes and values towards bilingualism and minority languages. While others felt slightly awkward speaking Spanish in a monolingual society as it was not the norm. A few parents were concerned about their children rejecting Spanish or their cultural identity. Finally, some parents were disappointed that their children did not know as much Spanish as they had hoped and regretted this.

6.3.6 The (negative) Impact of Bilingualism on Development

Section 6.3.2 presented the positive benefits of bilingualism and biculturalism that participants reported but some described how they felt bilingualism had impacted negatively upon learning and development. Susana and Dan Martin said that they had questioned their initial decision to use only Spanish at home. They were "really concerned at one point because when Emilia started nursery she didn't understand much English and we felt bad, like we'd let her down, so we started to use both languages at home and gradually we've ended up using less Spanish with her".

Andres Sacco described a similar experience although he and wife Laura had used a different strategy to foster bilingualism. They used a '*one parent/one language*' approach (Baker, 2011) and reported that this had worked well

initially but once son Lucas started nursery, the teacher showed concern, Andres recalled:

> The teacher said Lucas was a bit behind in English - his vocabulary, knowing sounds and the basics of reading and writing. She also said he was behind classmates in his speech and she didn't know if it had something to do with him speaking Spanish with us at home but it was very noticeable for all the staff - that really frightened us. I ended up stopping speaking Spanish and speaking in English more so I could support him better.

I asked Andres if he thought the staff were correct in their concerns or if he thought perhaps they were misinformed or perhaps jumping to conclusions. He replied:

> I think a mixture of both but they were the professionals and we felt we should listen to them. In hindsight, I wish there had been more opportunity for him to keep Spanish as well as improve English but the school's focus was 100% on improving his English and I think that has been bad for his Spanish. I think sometimes it can be a lack of information about the benefits of bilingualism or perhaps that staff don't have the confidence or experience in working with children with more than one language.

He further explained:

> We just wanted to do what we thought was best for him and what the professionals advised us. Maybe it was a lack of knowledge on our part at the time as well because now I know more about it and I know that some of what Lucas went through was probably 'normal' for many bilingual kids.

Similarly, Mariana Alonso also noticed son Enrique's vocabulary in English was limited compared to other children. I asked her if she meant now or in the past, she replied:

> Still now but it was definitely more apparent when he was younger. When he was in P1, you could hear other kids who only knew English and their vocabulary was quite wide but for him it was a little bit more difficult. I felt it was my fault because I spoke to him most of the time in Spanish so that's why he was struggling and I felt really bad.

Mariana explained that she, "used to read to him in Spanish but because he was having problems in English I decided to stop. I thought it was best to concentrate on English rather than confuse him". When I probed to find out what his school said, Mariana reported that Enrique's teacher had little knowledge or experience in bilingualism and could not offer support or guidance.

Gimena Carreras also reported a language delay in daughter Valeria who only started speaking after the age of two. Her friends and family were concerned and advised that Gimena should contact a Speech and Language Therapist. Gimena spoke to her Health Visitor who advised that it was a fantastic opportunity to bring up her daughter bilingually and that bilingualism had many benefits. Monica García received helpful and accurate advice from professionals too:

> I had a really good experience with a Speech and Language Therapist who came to Parent Craft classes and he was very positive about bilingualism, telling us all to make sure we used our mother tongue languages at home with our babies and toddlers. But I don't think everyone is as positive. You know, some people were worried that my children wouldn't know English but that is a typical monolingual concern I think as they don't understand how bilingualism works.

Giving an example of a lack of professional knowledge around bilingualism, Paula Fernandez recalled her own first experiences of school in Scotland:

> When I arrived I was put into P2 in a lower group with these two boys who obviously had learning difficulties and I felt like a weirdo. I was like, 'please don't put me in that group with them', and they were really badly behaved too. The only other really negative thing I've ever had was teachers being worried about my inability to read and write in English but then later we discovered I had dyslexia which was something they hadn't picked up on, they thought it was just because I had English as my second language at that point. Teachers really need better training.

Many parents discussed how the approaches to bilingual parenting had not worked for their families and that they felt their children's knowledge of Spanish was under-developed. Meanwhile, other parents were concerned about an under-development in English which led to academic, speech and language or social issues being highlighted by teachers or family/friends. Several participants recognised that whilst some professionals were informed on the topic of bilingualism and able to support, others distinctly lacked this knowledge and experience.

Most parents told me that they had done some independent reading or research into bilingualism and different strategies/techniques to help support their children's language development. They had to be autonomous because they had no other source of information or point of reference to guide them. Andres Sacco said he wished that:

> There was more guidance available for parents. We didn't have a clue what to do so we read books and stuff online. We basically fumbled our way through.

Similarly, Mariana Alonso wished that "someone had pointed the myths, challenges, benefits and strategies out to us sooner because I've spent years feeling guilty!" and Susana Martin believed that, "if the parents aren't confident or don't have much information or have just arrived in Scotland, then they might get bad advice about being bilingual". Whereas others, such as Honor Perez and Rebecca Fernandez, told me that they did not investigate the matter, they just instinctively spoke to their children in their own native language.

Three participants strongly felt that terminology used in literature and society is restrictive and further exacerbates the challenges of bringing up children bilingually:

> I've heard people saying that English is the language for school and the other language needs to be only used at home which I think is the wrong impression to give.
>
> (Mariana Alonso)

Rachel Gimenez questioned:

> Is 'first' language the one you learn first or the one you are strongest in? Thinking of some of the Polish kids I know, their strongest language is not necessarily their 'mother tongue'. Or if the mother tongue is English, does that mean we should refer to the minority language as 'father tongue'?

Andres Sacco felt that the term 'community language' was irrelevant in his context, as there was not a substantial Spanish-speaking community for his family to belong to or communicate with compared to the large Arabic or Chinese communities.

In summary, parents were often concerned about possible negative effects of bilingualism, mainly around language delay in English and how this would affect schooling. Although there was research and reading on raising bilingual families available for parents to engage with independently, as many did, there was no real practical guidance and advice from a person or organisation. Parents typically felt unsupported and bilingual approaches were generally not as successful as they had hoped with many switching approaches looking for a

solution that fitted their context. Finally, three parents felt that terminology used in bilingual discourse was not helpful and was actually detrimental to raising a bilingual family.

6.3.7 A Hierarchy of Languages

A quarter of adult participants noted that they perceived a distinct hierarchy of languages by the Scottish public, with English dominating. They felt that some languages were considered more useful than others and this impacted upon society's perceptions and values towards languages. Jannika Rodriguez believed that her family were privileged in that sense:

> Because we have two major European languages, if we get any comments they are normally very positive like, 'Wow, that's brilliant' but I can imagine for other multilingual families who speak languages that aren't as popular then they might experience negativity. We've got friends from Poland and the way people react to them is a completely different story so I think we're privileged.

Rachel Gimenez agreed, stating:

> British people see Spanish as useful because they go on holiday there. Spanish is pretty cool with music and football etc, whereas Kurdish, for example, isn't perceived as useful so it's quite low down in the pecking order where languages are concerned.

EAL teacher also felt there was a hierarchy of languages:

> British people say Spanish is useful or French is useful because they go there on holiday but they don't think that about Bulgarian or Pashto or Urdu. I think European languages are more respected. At the moment I'm learning Arabic and people say, 'Wow, that's amazing!' but I've got dozens of pupils who speak, read and write Arabic and no one says 'wow!' to them. But because I'm a middle-class, educated, White, professional woman learning Arabic they seem to think it's amazing but no-one thinks it's amazing that an asylum seeker, refugee or a shopkeeper speaks Arabic do they?

Overall, participants perceived there to be a hierarchy of languages based on the attitudes and values of Scottish/British/Western society. To the advantage of the participants, they felt that Spanish was perceived as a high value language in Britain and was somewhat supported and encouraged. Whereas, participants recalled negative experiences of acquaintances from different heritage language backgrounds and felt that this was unfair as all languages should be valued.

6.3.8 Misconceptions Surrounding Bilingualism

According to several parents, they had encountered many myths and misconceptions from family, friends, professionals and wider society. Belén and Jose Sanchez gave the example of teachers focusing more on deficit of English rather than their sons' cognitive ability. They felt the school was more interested in the school's results rather than the individual academic achievement of her sons. Belén stressed that, "the Head of the English department said 'they can't do this, they can't do that so the ESOL class would be the best place for them'".

This resonated with Paula Fernandez's earlier example of being put in the lowest ability group. EAL specialist teacher, Rebecca Fernandez observed that many teachers still placed English language ability before cognitive ability and had low aspirations for bilingual pupils. She said:

> People used to think that having a bilingual pupil would detract from the attention that the rest of the class got and that it would be a huge problem for the teacher but once you put it simply for teachers then they feel more reassured. They don't have to do something completely different with that pupil but they need to have high expectations and not put pressure on the child.

Having grown up bilingually herself, Gemma Gomez dispelled another myth:

> Some people say their [her sons] brains are going to be all messed up because they're learning two languages at the same time. I'm not an expert in bilingualism but I know that our brains are ready to acquire two languages, it might take them a while because they're learning two rather than just one but it's not a problem, I know that are more pros than cons.

However, when later asked if she would like her son Diego to potentially attend a Spanish complementary school, she said that she would not be interested at that present time. She would prefer to focus on English until he was more secure but it was something she would be interested in in the future. I found this interesting as at various points Gemma said she believed learning two or more languages was "easy and natural" for children, and that they are "ready to acquire two languages" yet she wanted Diego to concentrate on one at a time.

Jannika Rodriguez reported her own parents' concerns over raising her children bilingually:

> My parents think it is more important for the children to learn English and therefore by speaking Spanish and German at home they originally thought we were denying them the right to learn English. For my parents that was a bit of a sore point but because we had researched bilingualism we felt it was the right thing to do.

She added that she felt "in society there is still negativity about minority cultures and minority languages - maybe it is fear of the unknown". Mariana Alonso gave an example of this:

> **Mariana:** A few years ago I was speaking to Enrique in Spanish in a shop and a woman said, 'I hope you're not speaking about me'.
> **Robert:** Do you think they were trying to be funny?
> **Mariana**: No, I think it felt more like insecurity on their part.
> **Robert:** Maybe you're reading too much into it.
> **Mariana:** Yeah but it's not you who went to the baby and toddler groups full of English-speaking monolingual people though. People would sometimes say, 'You need to speak to him in English' or 'Why don't you speak to him in English?' I'm choosing to speak to him in my own language and I'm sticking to it.

Monica García had also experienced this:

> The problem for me is that society seems to be against it [bilingualism]. Like if I'm speaking Spanish to my kids on the street people sometimes look at me funny. I think they're thinking you live here so you should speak English, you know? But it's not that I don't know English, it's just that I'm choosing to speak to my children in my language. I'm not trying to keep them away from English, it's just that I want them to have something extra because of all the benefits and because it's natural for me. Most people don't understand that or maybe they think it's rude.

Another misconception that Rachel Gimenez, Pedro Torres and Rebecca Fernandez discussed was schools not recognising their children as bilingual because the mother was a native English speaker and the children's English was strong. Rachel believed that her daughter's school did not regard Vicky as a bilingual child:

> Because I'm her mum and I'm Scottish, she has English as her main language and speaks with a Scottish accent, so they forget she is half Mexican. They just think that she's a Scottish lassie with a Mexican dad rather than thinking about the impact of having another language and culture at home.

Likewise, according to Rebecca Fernandez:

> Paula was never considered an EAL pupil, not like the new pupils who spoke Arabic or the new Pakistani children and were supported by the EAL unit. It's something I'm very passionate about - that every single child is regarded as bilingual if they have more than one language. I'm constantly

> told by teachers, 'They're not a bilingual pupil, they have a Scottish accent' and I say, 'Can they speak more than one language? Then yes, they're bilingual'.

In summary, participants reported misinformation and misconceptions they had encountered from family, professionals and even strangers. Myths around children being confused and negative impact on language development often came from schools and teachers who appeared to think a subtractive model of bilingualism was best. Teachers sometimes failed to recognise children as bilingual because they spoke with a Scottish accent or had a native English-speaking parent, resulting in children not receiving the support they needed in school.

6.4 Summary

Chapter 6 has presented and analysed findings surrounding the key themes of language and culture and bilingualism. Section 6.2 explored the theme of language and culture and seven subthemes within it. We saw that the dynamics, organisation and contexts of families had a substantial impact upon children's bilingual abilities. Participants reported that they had a good level of linguistic awareness and could easily code switching depending on who, when, where and what they were discussing. Visits and extended stays in Spanish-speaking countries provided opportunities to improve children's knowledge and confidence in Spanish, build relationships with extended family and it immersed them in culture too but this was harder for families from Latin America. Most school settings did not provide opportunities for the children to use Spanish nor did they actively promote bilingualism.

Adults felt that the dominance of the English language and negative attitudes and values towards bilingualism and wider language learning in general were real challenges. Some parents prioritised English over Spanish for their children due to advice and information given by teachers which reinforced a detrimental model of subtractive bilingualism. Adult participants, especially those from Latin America, felt it was important for their children to have exposure to and respect for these different forms of Spanish and Hispanic cultures. Parents and children reported the benefits of bilingualism they had experienced, such as literacy

skills transfer and enabling them to learn other languages with relative ease. They also displayed positive attitudes towards learning languages and embracing other cultures.

Section 6.3 considered the theme of bilingualism, comprised of eight subthemes. Participants felt that it was very natural and easy to learn two or more languages, whether in the context of a bilingual family or in a school setting. They reported a range of benefits of bilingualism, from being able to communicate with family, friends and the wider world, to being more empathetic, open-minded and tolerant of others. Participants also mentioned some potential cognitive and neurological benefits of bilingualism that they had heard about.

Parents felt that being bilingual and bicultural would bring better career and study prospects for their children, and it had made them more confident and adaptable to travel the world and enjoy international experiences. However, they felt that Brexit was a threat to these opportunities. Inclusion and diversity were important concepts to my participants.

Participants told how a monolingual mind-set and negative attitudes towards bilingualism and minority languages were often detrimental to bilingualism. Others felt awkward speaking Spanish in a monolingual society as it was not the norm. A few parents were concerned about their children rejecting Spanish or their cultural identity as they tried to fit in with peers, and some were disappointed that their children did not know as much Spanish as they had hoped and rued this. One reason for this could have been that approaches to bilingual parenting had not worked for their families. Some parents were concerned about an under-development in English leading to academic, speech and language or social issues. Whilst some professionals were informed on bilingualism and able to support, others distinctly lacked this knowledge and experience. More support, advice and guidance on this would have been beneficial from official sources but in the absence of this, families supported each other at Club Estrella.

Participants identified a hierarchy of languages based on societal attitudes and

values. Spanish was perceived as a high-value language, and was somewhat supported and encouraged compared to other minority languages. Finally, a few parents felt that terminology used in bilingual discourse was not helpful and was actually detrimental. Similarly, misinformation and misconceptions on bilingualism from family, professionals and the public did not support participants in raising their family bilingually. Myths around children being confused and negative effects on language development often came from schools and teachers. Teachers sometimes failed to recognise many children as bilingual because they spoke with a Scottish accent or had a native English-speaking parent, resulting in children not receiving the support they needed in school.

The next chapter will follow on by presenting findings and analysis on the other key themes of Community, Education, Identity and Technology.

CHAPTER 7: FINDINGS FROM DATA ANALYSIS (Part 2)

7.1 Overview

Table 5.3 illustrated how findings have been arranged into two chapters. Chapter 6 presented data around the key themes of Language and Culture and Bilingualism. Here, Chapter 7 presents findings and analysis on the key themes of Community, Education, Identity and Technology and how these influence engagement with heritage language and culture.

It considers the theme of Community (7.2) and five subthemes within it. These subthemes were organised around the participants' experiences of settling in; the Spanish-speaking community in the West of Scotland; Club Estrella; extended family; and friends. It then discusses the theme of Education (7.3) and two subthemes within it - mainstream education and complementary education. Next, the chapter explores the theme of Identity (7.4) and two subthemes within it - national identity and cultural identity. Finally, it considers the theme of Technology (7.5) and how it influenced the lives of participants. The chapter concludes with a summary of data findings and analysis (7.6).

7.2 Community

Participants' views on friendships, family and wider social networks were categorised under the theme of Community which includes five subthemes focused on settling in; the Spanish-speaking community in Glasgow; Club Estrella; family; and friends. This section discusses how relationships and social networks including friendship, extended family and wider community influenced the development of participants' linguistic and cultural identities.

7.2.1 Settling In

The transition of migrating and building a new life in a new country caused some challenges for participants, particularly for families where neither of the parents was a British national. The three participating families who spoke at length about the challenges they encountered relocating to Scotland were the Sanchez family from Spain, the Carreras family from Venezuela and Portugal, and the

Gomez family from Uruguay. In these three families, neither of the parents were native English-speakers. They had established the family unit abroad before moving to Scotland.

Belén and Jose Sanchez reflected on how difficult it initially was to move to Scotland from Spain, even though they both had a "very high level of English [….] the first six months were really hard". Belén recalled how it was easier for her older children to settle because they had learned English at school in Barcelona compared to the younger siblings who had no prior knowledge of the language. Despite this, Jose noted that:

> It's incredible how quickly the kids learned to adapt to the situation - much faster than us actually. They soon made friends and picked up the Scottish accent quickly.

The Sanchez children remembered how they felt in the beginning, saying that it was "a bit scary at first" (Sofia) and "quite hard because we didn't understand English" (Carmen). The girls recalled feelings of frustration because they "wanted to talk but didn't know the words" (Carmen) and Sofia said "You want to say stuff but don't know how". Dad Jose strongly felt that although the experience was initially challenging, he and his family had benefited from the skills they had developed such as resilience, problem solving, flexibility and communication.

Gemma Gomez and her family were quite recent arrivals to Scotland, having only moved from Montevideo, Uruguay, four months before the interview took place. Therefore, her experiences and reflections were recent unlike the Sanchez family who moved to Scotland over five years ago. Gemma felt that her experiences had been mainly positive because her neighbours and other parents at school made an effort to say hello. She reflected upon her son Diego's experiences:

> On his first day he was so full of emotion; he said that he'd wanted to cry but he managed to be brave. In the first few weeks he came home really exhausted. In Uruguay, school is only four hours but here it's six so he was quite tired. He also wasn't used to having lunch at school. Since then, things are quite smooth - he hasn't got any problems with academic work, he follows instructions and he seems to be making friends.

Gemma emphasised how challenging it had been to understand a different

education system but that she had relied on new friendships at Club Estrella to get her navigate the application process and integrate.

Venezuelan mum Gimena Carreras came to Scotland two years ago from Lisbon, Portugal, with her husband Sebastian and their daughters. She told me that moving to Scotland "took a bit of getting used to in the beginning" but in general it had been a really positive experience for her family. She said:

> I like Glasgow, it's very cosmopolitan and there are people from Spain and Latin America that I have become friends with. Scottish people are friendly and our neighbours are nice so we've integrated quite well I think.

She recalled that she had only encountered one incident of hostility since moving to Scotland; she was trying to get a double buggy onto a bus and could not understand what the driver was saying to her about folding it down. He got angry and commented that she should not be living in Glasgow if she could not understand English.

Two other families did not have a native English-speaking parent - Jannika Rodriguez (Germany) and husband Raul (Mexico), and Honor Perez (Spain) and husband Massimo (Italy). In comparison, these couples had lived in Scotland before having children and did not discuss any challenges of settling-in during interview. Therefore, settling in to life in Scotland appeared to be more difficult for families who already had children upon relocation.

Further to this, it appeared that settling-in was distinctly easier if one parent was British. Andres Sacco, Monica García, Susana Martin and Pedro Torres all had Scottish partners and did not discuss settling-in at all but they also fell into the category of having experienced relocation before they had children. Susana Martin, who moved to Scotland before having children and had a British partner, did not seem to have encountered many challenges herself but she discussed the experiences of other families she had met through Club Estrella:

> More information for nurseries, schools and teachers would be good. I know families who had no support at all when they first arrived. Some parents were lucky because another family spoke Spanish and helped them but there was no actual help from the school or the council.

Susana also spoke about other Spanish-speaking families who might be in greater

need of support:

> There are vulnerable people in from Latin America, like refugee families from El Salvador or Honduras, who get nowhere near the level of support that the Syrian refugee families get. They are as vulnerable and deserving as each other but some are high-profile cases and get so much support compared to others - it's not fair!

The Lopez family were the one exception to the 'one parent from Scotland makes it easier to settle in' pattern; Ian was a Scot who lived in Colombia where he met Teresa. They moved to Scotland before having children so one would presume they had an easier settling-in phase due to these two factors. However, Teresa explained that she had no knowledge of English before moving to Scotland so settling-in and adapting to life in Scotland was difficult for her:

> It was really difficult with all the visas and bureaucracy because obviously Colombia isn't part of the EU. We must have spent around £2,500 and we had to show that we had £50,000 in the bank to be able to support me so I didn't use up public funds. I couldn't speak much English at all when I came here. It was tough because I soon had a baby too but I learnt through my in-laws and friends I made at baby classes.

She explained that their initial move to a suburban location on the outskirts of Glasgow meant that she did not meet any other Spanish-speaking people so, having no knowledge of English, she did not make many friends:

> We lived for the first few months with my in-laws in [a suburban area] when we were trying to find jobs and a house. It was so, so hard - I felt really lonely and isolated. But after that, we moved to the West End [of Glasgow] and that's where I met the Club Estrella group. I met good friends there and it was a really nice but really small community.

From listening to these stories, we can see that some participants found settling-in more challenging than others. There appeared to be four main characteristics which affected settling-in: relocating after having children, one parent being British, the level of English language that the immigrant parent had, and the geographical area where they resided. The latter being pivotal for the opportunity to be part of a community or social network.

7.2.2 The Spanish-speaking Community in the West of Scotland

Participants frequently commented on the lack of Spanish-speaking community in the West of Scotland. In fact, apart from membership of Club Estrella they

felt there was no substantial Spanish-speaking community for them to be part of. Participants in nearly all families reported that a lack of wider Spanish-speaking community left them at a disadvantage compared to other larger communities such as the Pakistani, Polish or Chinese communities in the West of Scotland. For instance, Angela Gonzalez believed that in these communities, parents often shared one heritage language meaning that their children had more exposure to that language (see 6.2.1 'Family Contexts'). Mariana Alonso had experienced this in schools where she worked as a teacher of Spanish:

> I found from my experiences working in schools that it is easier for the Eastern European or Polish families as they have Saturday schools and a big community. There are even Masses at church which are conducted in Polish, did you know that? Or Arabic or Urdu kids have the mosque - they have a religious and community group, and there are many families so that supports the children learning their language and culture. Many have cousins and friends too.

Likewise, Pedro Torres felt that having a community - even a small one - was important, especially living in a rural area outside the city as he did:

> A language is something that needs to be kept alive and the more people who speak it the better - it gives you a small community. When we lived in England, we knew another Argentinian family from Mendoza who also had two boys and we were very good friends. We would have BBQs together and I think that gave the boys the opportunity to use Spanish with other people, not just their parents. But around here [in a rural area] I don't think there are any other Spanish-speaking families. Cities are more cosmopolitan and you meet people from all over the world whereas here in the suburbs it's much less diverse.

A lack of substantial community in the West of Scotland meant that several children had never had any contact with other Spanish-speakers in Scotland until they started attending Club Estrella. Monica García's son, "didn't realise there were other people [in Scotland] who also spoke Spanish" and similarly, Rachel Gimenez stated that her daughter Vicky had, "never heard Spanish from anyone else in the outside world" either. She explained:

> Spanish is a huge global language and widely spoken around the world, but in Scotland we are quite a small community, maybe an invisible community. If you don't have a community or the number of people, like for example Polish does, then you don't have the same support network.

Rachel also noted a substantial difference in language development and confidence between her own children compared to extended family who lived in

Arizona, USA and benefited linguistically and culturally from being immersed in a Latino community. She felt that "their children are much better at Spanish than ours […] but it's understandable as there just isn't the same community or exposure here [in the West of Scotland]".

In larger communities, a bigger population also meant more opportunity to speak to other people, including those of the same age to develop friendships. 17 out of 20 children who participated in this study said that they had no friends who spoke Spanish. Nonetheless, most parents saw the value that communicating with other children could bring. Monica García said:

> When we go to Spain the children learn so much from playing with their cousins and other kids. That's how they learn the most I think. But children from the Pakistani community or Chinese community often have family here in Scotland as they have been established for much longer, maybe 2nd or 3rd generation so they are very lucky.

One of the challenges in the Spanish-speaking community was diversity within the population. Colombian teacher Teresa Lopez felt that although members of Club Estrella had a language in common, albeit with distinctive accents and vocabulary, the Spanish-speaking nations were vastly different culturally so it was harder to find common threads to 'gel' a community. This was also a barrier regarding external support and funding, as Susana Martin explained in the context of Club Estrella:

> We have such a diverse community so we can't just go to the Spanish Consulate and ask for support or funding because our families come from twenty different countries. The French community have the Alliance Française and the Germans have the Goethe Institute but we don't have an official body like that, we're just an independent charity. And the Spanish Consejeria [*de Educación*] won't support us as there are more Latin Americans than Spaniards in the Club. I know in comparison to other communities we are small but we still exist, and funding and support would allow us to flourish.

In the following section 7.2.3, we explore the role that the Spanish-speaking community group Club Estrella played in participants' lives and their thoughts on this type of support network.

7.2.3 Club Estrella

All participating families attended or had attended Club Estrella (see 5.3.1) at some point in time and described to me how valuable this small community was.

Participants had many positive experiences and benefits from attending the Club however, there were also some negative points they raised, and families who no longer attended Club Estrella were quite open about the reasons behind this, including lack of time and logistics of travel.

Reported benefits from attending Club Estrella mainly focused around two areas - firstly, being part of a community and social network of other Spanish-speakers and secondly, to immerse children in the language and culture. The former was the primary reason given by most participants. Angela Gonzalez admitted that she was slightly sceptical when she first started going as she wondered, "if the only thing I would have in common with these strangers would be the fact we all spoke Spanish". Nonetheless, she made many friends and participated in social events until she stopped attending; still she is "best of friends" with two women she met there though. Similarly, Rachel Gimenez met many friends through Club Estrella and still maintained these relationships after her family stopped going to the weekly sessions. Monica García also viewed Club Estrella as a venue to socialise:

> It was more for me to meet people, to have someone to chat to, someone to help with some problems, to share what I'm going through being new to the city. I felt that the community was more for me than for my kids. If they met a child who they connected with then great but I needed friends too.

Teresa Lopez described how she valued the Club, especially when she initially moved to Scotland:

> Estrella really helped because we made friends and we could speak with other Spanish-speaking families, especially when we were living in [a suburban area], this was really important for me. I found out about the Club through a colleague of Ian's and I made the effort every week to travel through to Glasgow purely because I needed the company. We then decided to move to the city permanently.

Focusing on language benefits, two participants said that they took their children to Club Estrella to increase their exposure to Spanish language and Hispanic culture. These mothers, Jannika Rodriguez and Rachel Gimenez were both non-native Spanish-speakers and felt their children needed more opportunities to hear and speak the language because the father was the Spanish-speaker in their family and exposure was low.

Club trustee, Susana Martin highlighted that at Club Estrella there were families from numerous Spanish-speaking countries, therefore her daughter Emilia experienced things from a wide range of cultures. She also spoke about the Club's book project and the impact it had had, not only on Emilia but on the wider community too:

> Emilia loves the storytelling sessions so much. It's very interesting to see the impact it's having on children in nurseries and schools too. It is really promoting Spanish to children and teachers, and giving them support from native speakers. And for us it is a chance to share our language and culture with Scottish people. The public storytelling sessions are fantastic to raise awareness of the importance of languages for everyone but also to spread the word that the Club exists.

Her latter point had proven to be one of the biggest barriers to growth for Club Estrella, as two participants pointed out. Teresa Lopez told me it was only "by chance" through word-of-mouth that she found out about the Club and that "there are lots of people who have been living in Glasgow for years and don't know it exists". Susana Martin agreed:

> Club Estrella is going to be 15 years old and I think there are lots of people in the Spanish-speaking community in [the West of Scotland] who still don't know the group exists so one of the jobs has been to advertise the group more. I think the storytelling project it helping with this though.

Families who no longer attended Estrella gave a variety of reasons for this, primarily due to accessibility, especially after their children reached school age. Teresa stated that although she lived in Glasgow, she could not get from Teo's school to the city centre where the Club was held for a 4pm start. Mariana Alonso encountered the same issue:

> We stopped going when Enrique started school because it was too difficult to get there for the starting time, you know what the traffic is like on Friday afternoons.

Andres Sacco recalled that a change in his work patterns meant that he could no longer attend with son Lucas, and accessibility was also a barrier for Gemma Gomez:

> We've only been a few times because it's a bit too far away for us and we still don't have a car yet, and with two children on public transport it's a bit crazy. We've been to the storytelling sessions and we're going this Saturday to one in the Botanic Gardens.

Other participants cited different reasons why they had stopped attending the Club:

> My partner stopped going with the kids because he was the only guy there most of the time and he felt awkward.
>
> (Jannika Rodriguez)

> The Club is set up more for younger kids, and Juan was the oldest in the group anyway when we started going. I stopped because my oldest two were getting bored, it was too infantile for them….there were a lot of babies and toddlers.
>
> (Monica García)

Teresa Lopez agreed with Monica, that the Club was geared towards younger children, and at a linguistic level she wanted "something more formal" so that Teo could learn to read and write in Spanish. Andres Sacco praised the fact that both English and Spanish were interchanged frequently at Club Estrella, reflecting the bilingual upbringing of son Lucas and that there was no pressure on the children to use either language. Contrary to this, Monica, who primarily used Spanish with her children until they went to school, was disappointed in the amount of English used at the Club:

> When we started going to Estrella, my kids were probably the only ones speaking Spanish, most kids seemed to speak in English between them. I found that many children couldn't, or wouldn't, speak Spanish and that my kids were probably better at it so they weren't improving - most kids speaking in English defeated the purpose of going.

In addition to Club Estrella, there existed another community group for Spanish-speakers. Susana Martin explained:

> I know of another group called 'Latinos in Glasgow' […..] I think their activities are more focused on adults rather than children and families. I think that's where the main difference lies between the two groups. They need to find connections or make friends; it's not about children, it's more about themselves as strangers in Glasgow and trying to integrate but at the same time trying to find other Latinos to be friends with. It is mainly a Facebook group but I think they hold a couple of events each year to socialise.

In summary, all 14 families in this study had attended Club Estrella at some point because I used the group as a source of recruiting participants (see Chapter 5). Parents explained that they had gone to the Club for two main reasons – to be part of a community and social network, and also to immerse their children in Spanish language and Hispanic culture; although, it appeared that adults had made more friendships than their children. Many participants no

longer attended the Club due to time and travel constraints, especially once their children had reached school age. Members were mainly mothers and it was difficult for fathers to attend.

Parents told me that Estrella was a small, relatively unknown group that would benefit from more promotion to raise awareness of its existence. Participants had different views regarding what they needed and expected from this community group, ranging from language immersion to friendship and a social network. Overall, Club Estrella had made a positive contribution to participants' lives, even if they no longer attended, and allowed families to engage with Spanish language and Hispanic culture through this community group. The Club had more Latin American members and it was a good source of information and support for newly arrived families.

7.2.4 Extended Family

Outside their immediate household family, no participants in this study had any other Spanish-speaking family members in Scotland (grandparents, aunt/uncles, cousins). The implication of having no immediate or extended Spanish-speaking family meant that the children in this study had less exposure to Spanish and few direct models of interaction or conversation exchange between speakers (see 6.2.1 'Family Contexts'). It also meant they had less interaction with the attitudes, values and beliefs of their cultural heritage.

As aforementioned (in sections 6.2.4 'Opportunities to Speak Spanish' and 6.3.2 'The Reported Benefits of Bilingualism and Biculturalism'), one of the key drivers that motivated children to learn Spanish was being able to communicate well with their family abroad, either through technology (as will be explored in section 7.5) or in person when the families went to visit their relatives. In fact, because some grandparents and cousins did not speak English at all, it was essential for the children to be able to communicate in Spanish and 'glue' the family together. Spaniard Honor Perez, stated that a knowledge of Spanish and Italian was essential for her children so they could "communicate with their families but more importantly have a relationship with them".

Many of the children reiterated this in their own words, for example Alejo Torres

said, "If you don't understand what each other are saying then you might not end up in a good relationship with your own family". In the case of the Sanchez family, the children were able to keep up their knowledge of both Catalan and Spanish from visiting their two sets of cousins in Barcelona and Madrid respectively. Mum Belén highlighted that being able to communicate with cousins was actually one of the main reasons her children were motivated to read and write in these languages:

> They wanted to write in Spanish so that they could write a message to their cousins about the snow and show them photos. They needed to know Spanish so they could communicate with their cousins.

Paula Fernandez spoke about the impact of spending time with her cousins in Madrid:

> They are the ones that really help me keep up my Spanish, they correct me and keep me right, and teach me slang.

As discussed in 6.2.4, families from Latin America faced difficulties in visiting their country of origin due to financial and logistical barriers, compared to European participants who were able to regularly visit their native country. This meant that children from the former group were somewhat disadvantaged in the development of their linguistic and cultural identities as they did not benefit from immersive experiences as often.

The Carreras and Rodriguez participants visited family in Europe regularly yet had only been to Venezuela and Mexico twice. The Sanchez and Fernandez children visited family in Spain various times throughout the year, equalling approximately two months in total compared to seven-year-old Mateo Torres who had not yet been to Argentina. The exceptions to this were teacher Mariana Alonso who took son Enrique to Ecuador every summer for seven weeks, and Uruguayan mum Susana Martin who visited Montevideo annually with her pre-school age daughter Emilia.

Immediate and extended family in Europe also more typically came to Scotland for holidays or extended periods of time, for example at the time of interview Honor Perez's mother had just returned to Spain having spent the winter months in Scotland. Jannika Rodriguez and Monica García also said that their families came to Scotland regularly to visit. None of the Latin Americans reported this

phenomenon, and neither did they discuss their children going to stay with family abroad. Whereas the Europeans did mention this, for example:

> The girls are going on holiday with my sister in Germany and doing pony riding and lots of outdoor stuff so that will be really good for them. And then Oma and Opa are going to pick them up and they're going to stay with them for a week.
>
> <div align="right">(Jannika Rodriguez)</div>

In families where one of the parents was a Scottish national, it was quite common for them to have immediate and extended family in Scotland though. In these cases, participants sometimes spoke about their Scottish relatives and how they tried to teach them Spanish language and culture. For example, the García children told how they had taught their Scottish cousins some Spanish Christmas songs, and Lucas Sacco helped to teach his grandmother Spanish.

It could be argued that family is the most important and influential social group in a child's life (see sections on Bronfenbrenner's Bioecological Model in Chapter 3). Immediate and extended family play an essential role in a child's development, attending not only to physical and emotional needs but also providing an environment where children develop language skills and cultural identities. The lack of extended family in Scotland meant that the children in this study had less exposure to Spanish and no direct models of interaction or conversation exchange between speakers. Some cited family as a motivator for learning Spanish in order to communicate with grandparents and cousins. Family bonds were somewhat difficult to maintain due to distance, with those from Latin America being further disadvantaged compared to their European counterparts.

7.2.5 Friends

Most participants exemplified the importance of friendships and bonds with other people; both adults and children spoke about friendships, or the lack of, and the impact this had upon their lives. This subtheme includes the adults' views on establishing friendships with other Spanish-speakers, both for themselves and for their children. It also includes children's comments on friendships in Scotland and abroad.

Many of the mothers had sought and found friendship through Club Estrella, and even some of those who no longer attended the group spoke about the friendships they still maintained with other Spanish-speaking parents they met there. Angela Gonzalez stated that she had made a few "very meaningful, true friendships" through Estrella, whereas Gimena Carreras felt that the people she had met there were acquaintances rather than real friends. Rachel Gimenez and Judith Rodriguez both commented that the Spanish-speaking friends they had in Glasgow were people they had met through Estrella and that their children had established friendships from this too.

There were several examples of children getting to know each other via maternal connections at Club Estrella but there were only three cases where children had the organic opportunity to befriend other Spanish-speakers outside the Club. Ana Rodriguez had made a few friends through Estrella but had a friend in her class at school who was also a Spanish-speaker; she told me how they chiefly used English but sometimes spoke to each other in Spanish in secret. Similarly, Nicolas Perez had a best friend who was half-Chilean and half-Swedish. He said they mainly spoke to each other in English but sometimes they used Spanish. I asked him if there was a reason for this and he simply told me it was so that all their other school friends would understand as well and not to exclude them from conversations. Three-year-old Emilia Martin had two Spanish-speaking friends in her nursery class but, conversely, preferred to speak in Spanish with them.

The majority of the young people who participated in this research did not have any Spanish-speaking friends at all, mainly because there were no other children in their school, class or neighbourhood who spoke the language. Both Andres Sacco and Pedro Torres, who lived in the suburbs, said that their families were the only native Spanish-speakers in their towns.

> There are no other [Spanish-speaking] children or families here. I'd love it
> if Lucas had the chance to know other kids and I think if this were the
> case, he'd understand the benefits of being bilingual and it would help
> him to practise and improve his Spanish. But sadly, that's not the case.
> (Andres Sacco)

Contrary to this, Gimena Carreras felt that although making friends with other Spanish-speakers would be "nice" for her daughters, she believed that "having

their Mummy and Daddy to teach them the language is enough".

Participants discussed maintaining old friendships and establishing new ones in other countries. Ana Rodriguez had a friend in Germany that she saw fairly regularly and the García children frequently went to Spain to visit their family and made plenty of friends in the town too. Teenager Paula Fernandez explained that from visiting her family in Madrid regularly, she had made many friends over the years.

The Sanchez children, especially Sofia and Carmen who had attended school in Barcelona prior to moving to Scotland, told me how they enjoyed seeing their friends when they went back there on holiday. This was both motivation to keep up the use of Spanish and Catalan at home, and an excellent opportunity to develop linguistically. Mum Belén also mentioned that the children went to a summer camp in Spain every summer and met new friends there. Honor Perez and Teresa Lopez gave examples of how their children had made friends whilst on holiday in Spain and that if they had not known Spanish, this would not have occurred. Teresa explained:

> Last year, Teo made friends at the beach in Spain. Some children were from England and some children were from Spain and they couldn't understand each other. He was in the middle helping them to play and get along so that helped him realise the importance of his two languages.

Socialising and having a network of Spanish-speaking friends was highly important to parents in this study. They wanted friendships for themselves and also for their children as they thought that children would learn from each other and that this would help nurture their linguistic and cultural heritage. However, only three children had Spanish-speaking friends and two of them chose to converse mainly in English with the friend. Knowing Spanish enabled children to make or maintain friendships with other Spanish-speakers when they went to Spain or Latin America.

7.3 Education

Educational experiences, in school and out-of-school, are important in the development of academic, linguistic and social skills. This theme will look at the experiences and views of participants regarding mainstream education (including

nurseries, English Medium schools, Gaelic Medium schools) and complementary education in relation to the development of linguistic and cultural identities.

7.3.1 Mainstream Education

Research shows that school plays a substantial role in children's lives (see Chapters 2 and 3). Participants were asked about their experiences of mainstream schooling in Scotland either as a bilingual learner or as parent. Families shared some positive experiences but they reported numerous negative experiences including perceptions of low-value being placed on bilingualism and biculturalism, and a lack of teacher knowledge/training on the matter.

Some elements of the Scottish education system were reported to be barriers to settling in, for example Rebecca Fernandez felt strongly that the school starting age of five in Scotland was too low and that even at the age of six, daughter Paula was too young. Moreover, she was put into a Primary 2 class and, thus, missed crucial opportunities to develop linguistic and social skills through phonics and play.

Gemma Gomez, who had only lived in Scotland for four months at the time of interview, was still quite unsure how the Scottish education system functioned and did not know where to find basic information. A simple example of this was being uninformed about playtime snacks. Childhood obesity is a serious issue in Scotland therefore schools require parents to provide healthy snacks such as fruit. Whereas in Uruguay, obesity was not as much of a national challenge and parents are free to send in any type of snack. When Gemma sent Diego to school with a chocolate croissant he was reprimanded by a teacher and neither Gemma nor Diego could understand why. Nevertheless, Gemma praised the staff's approach to allowing Diego to settle in and not apply too much academic pressure. She reported that his teacher was "very friendly but speaks far too fast for me".

The majority of parents gave examples of schools and teachers being misinformed and untrained with regard to bilingual strategies, transferable literacy skills and other benefits of bilingualism that research evidence suggests

(see section 2.2.3). Belén Sanchez believed that her sons' secondary school "saw bilingualism as a barrier, a challenge, or a handicap even. Basically, the teachers saw it as a bad thing rather than a positive thing". Belén and husband Jose cited various examples of where they felt the school had failed their sons, ultimately leading to them returning to Spain to a boarding school to finish their secondary education. Jose believed that "There was no aspiration for them, or maybe the teachers just didn't know how to teach children who were new to English". Belén was also concerned about the effect it had on their confidence:

> It hit them hard, they were very intelligent boys and all of a sudden they were 'bottom of the class'. It did nothing good for their confidence and it was as if all their other skills and knowledge counted for nothing because their English wasn't good enough in the school's opinion. I think they don't value bilingualism nor any other languages for that matter.

In 6.3.6 'Negative Experiences', Paula Fernandez recalled how her teachers showed a lack of knowledge regarding bilingual pedagogy and methodologies when she was put into a low ability group due to her lack of English language. Mum Rebecca had the official job title of 'EAL specialist teacher' but preferred to call herself a 'bilingual specialist teacher' as it gave higher value to all languages and not just English. Echoing Paula's experience she reflected:

> Teachers still put them [newly arrived bilingual pupils] straight into the bottom group. It's such bad practice and I'm campaigning really hard against it. I'm always saying to teachers in schools that they shouldn't be doing that. And then you have teachers who are just completely apathetic; I've walked into schools where they've said, 'see all this bilingual stuff, I'm not interested. We've got attainment gap problems so we just need these kids reading and writing in English ASAP'.

Rebecca also wished that schools were more informed so that they could advise parents better:

> If I could get hold of all the headteachers and ask them to stop telling parents to speak only in English with their kids and to not use their own languages. I've met lots of parents who don't speak their own languages at home because they've been told not to by teachers and headteachers. Typically they're using a poor version of English instead of a rich version of their own languages.

Susana Martin also experienced indifferent values and attitudes towards languages in schools she had visited as part of the Club Estrella storytelling project:

> We've been to twelve schools in Glasgow and there was only one that actually seemed to be conscious about the children's cultural heritages and their home languages.

This leads on to a reported lack of opportunity to use Spanish in mainstream educational settings. Whether it was due to low value being attached to minority languages and negative attitudes, or teachers' lack of knowledge on the benefits of bilingualism and transferable literacy skills, 19 out of 20 children who participated in this study stated that they did not get the opportunity to use Spanish as part of a bilingual methodology in their mainstream classroom. The exception was three-year-old Emilia Martin in her nursery setting.

Even in the Gaelic Medium schools where participants reported an ethos of multilingualism and celebration of heritage languages, pupils were not actually allowed to use their heritage languages in the classroom. However, Honor Perez explained that the school tried to maintain a focus on Gaelic to maximise exposure to it but had "a very open atmosphere where they celebrate all nationalities, all languages and all cultures". Although the children did not have the opportunity to use their heritage languages (Catalan, Spanish and Italian) in the classroom, their mothers Monica García and Honor Lopez highly praised the schools and their positive, international outlook towards languages and culture. Monica commented:

> Everybody at the school speaks at least two other languages and there's a lot of families with multilingual backgrounds like ours: Welsh, Chinese, French, German. So everyone is more open to bilingualism. They respect all languages and encourage people to know lots of languages.

This was also true at three other settings, which were located in highly diverse areas of Glasgow where some of the participants attended school or nursery. Jannika Rodriguez explained that her daughters' school had a very diverse population, and languages and cultural difference were really celebrated. Although seven-year-old Ana did not use Spanish or German in the classroom, she outlined positive strategies the school employed such as sending home bilingual books, 'international nights' organised by the Parent Council, and a 'language ambassador' scheme for pupils and parents to support each other in their heritage languages.

Rachel Gimenez and Susana Martin also gave examples of inclusive practice at

their children's nurseries, such as 'Language of the Week', inviting parents in to read stories in their heritage languages for World Book Day, teaching Christmas songs in Spanish and sending home bilingual books in children's heritage languages. Susana explained an excellent communication strategy used by Emilia's nursery:

> The school sends out newsletters and messages in the children's heritage languages, so I receive communication in Spanish, the Italian families get it in Italian and families who speak Arabic get it in Arabic, etc - it's amazing, they make such an effort. There are other kids who speak Spanish and the teachers encourage them all to speak to each other in Spanish to develop their language. But I know they do this for Urdu and Polish kids too, for example.

Alejo and Mateo Torres, Teo Lopez and Vicky Gimenez all learned Spanish in school but this was part of the schools' 1+2 modern language policy, not bilingual methodology. I asked Alejo Torres about his experience of learning Spanish at high school:

> **Interviewer:** Did your teacher ask you how much Spanish you knew or if you use Spanish at home?
> **Alejo:** Yeah, he asked if I spoke Spanish at home and I told him I did.
> **Interviewer**: So do you do different work or the same as everyone else?
> **Alejo**: Just the same as everyone else.
> **Interviewer:** And how do you find that?
> **Alejo:** Easy but really boring.

Primary 7 pupil Carmen Sanchez used Spanish when she had English language intervention sessions with a specialist EAL teacher who obviously employed bilingual teaching and learning strategies, and encouraged learning in both languages. Her father Jose recounted an event which took place in their primary school which was organised by the EAL teacher who gave a presentation on the benefits of bilingualism and how parents could support this at home, then families all shared food from their own countries and socialised. Mother Belén said, "Every school needs a teacher like her. A person who values languages and cultural difference".

EAL specialist teacher Rebecca Fernandez spoke about the work she had been doing in her allocated schools:

> We're having a celebration of the heritage language poems that the children have produced. It'll be a real celebration of bilingualism and the languages that these children and their families use. And the message to them is that you have this opportunity to do something amazing, don't lose it and don't feel shy; keep your culture, keep your language and keep

that opportunity open for your children so they can have a broader education. But it's not just about the language, it's about culture as well.

Several participants identified that a higher regard and value towards languages in general was what they would most like to see most in their children's schools. Teacher Mariana Alonso would like to go into her son's school and teach Spanish or read books, as Rachel Gimenez did in her son's nursery, but she had never been invited. She felt that heritage language speakers in the community could support teaching and learning in schools well:

> I think there's a lot of people like me who are native Spanish speakers but we don't have a PGDE from this country so we can't be official teachers but maybe the council could take advantage of us and use us as a resource in some way to support the teaching going on.

She believed that the school could do more in general to celebrate languages, for example European Day of Languages on 26th September annually. Whereas, that particular event was the only time that Teresa Lopez had been invited into school to share Spanish so she felt it was "a bit tokenistic as it's the only time they're ever interested in our language and culture".

In summary, participants reported various negative experiences of their engagement with mainstream education. Families new to Scotland often struggled to understand the rules, norms and expectations that made the admissions process and integration difficult. Many participants shared perceptions of schools and teachers being misinformed and untrained with regard to bilingual strategies, transferable literacy skills and other benefits of bilingualism. Some felt that schools and teachers had a low regard for languages and bilingualism. However, there were a few positive stories of settings (nurseries, Gaelic Medium Education and a school in a very diverse area of Glasgow city) which celebrated bilingualism and biculturalism. EAL specialist teachers were praised for the support they gave bilingual families and could perhaps serve as role models for other mainstream teachers.

7.3.2 Complementary Education

This subtheme listens to participants' opinions on complementary education where bilingual children can learn their heritage language outside of normal, mainstream school hours (see sections 1.4 Terminology' and 4.2.10

'Complementary Education'). At the time of writing, there was no complementary school for Spanish in the West of Scotland. There were commercial companies offering private tuition and language classes but there was no complementary schooling in the same way that Chinese, Polish or Arabic speaking children could participate (see Chapters 2 and 3). Susana Martin explained to me that this was an area that Club Estrella wanted to develop further:

> **Susana**: We're going to try and run a pilot. Twenty-five people have responded to a survey and the thing that most people wanted was Spanish classes for their children. So the committee is looking for some funding to start a pilot something similar to the ALCE classes [*Note: ALCE classes are are taught classes of Spanish language and culture provided by the Spanish Government's Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport for children of Spanish nationals living outside of Spain*]
> **Interviewer**: But that was an issue in itself wasn't it because it was only open to Spanish nationals?
> **Susana**: Yes, we'll see how it goes on the same principles but open to everyone so we'll see if there's interest. Some people have said it's too much and they're not interested though.

Susana was concerned that uptake might be low so I decided to ask the participants of this study is it was something that they would potentially be interested in. Using a hypothetical example of a Saturday school, opinion was divided with approximately a third of participants stating they would be interested in this type of provision, a third unsure and the remainder not interested.

Angela Gonzalez, Pedro Torres and Andres Sacco showed most interest in the idea, although Pedro did raise the issue that he lived 15km from the city centre so travel was potentially a challenge. Some of the children were attracted to the idea because they could see the benefits of attending this type of school. Gabi Gonzalez identified that, "we would be able to read and write, and there would be lots of kids there too so we could make friends". Participants who were in favour could see both educational and social advantages.

Participants who said they would not be interested in their children attending a Spanish Saturday school mainly cited logistical reasons for this rather than being against the principle of it. However, the García children seemed entirely disinterested when I mentioned a Saturday school to them, and mum Monica was

not enthusiastic either:

> Saturdays aren't great for us. I have three children, I work full time and the weekend is the time for us to spend as a family together.

Like Monica, other parents also cited being too busy at the weekend as the main reason they would not attend a potential Saturday school.

> Yes, I'd be interested in that type of thing but it depends on how much time I have. I've got all the cooking and cleaning to do, and looking after the girls. It also depends what time as my husband works at the weekends sometimes and often Saturday is the only time we have to spend together as a family.
>
> (Gimena Carreras)

> We've got other obligations at the weekend and the kids have swimming lessons, parties and so on. Something more flexible would be better for us.
>
> (Teresa Lopez)

Gemma Gomez said that she would prefer son Diego to concentrate on English for the time being:

> I'd like him to go to some type of school like that in the future but at the moment he needs to put more attention on English than Spanish. So yes, in the future once his English is more consolidated as I'd like him to learn to read and write with other Spanish-speaking children, and make friends.

Jannika Rodriguez gave an example of flexible complementary education using digital technology which will be explored in greater depth in section 7.5 'Technology'. She explained that it was a good way to engage families who had barriers of time or travel to contend with and for those who lived in remote or rural areas who would otherwise not be able to participate.

Complementary schools allow bilingual children learn and practise their heritage language, and establish friendships, however one did not currently exist in the West of Scotland for Spanish. Club Estrella wanted to offer a Spanish language complementary school but there were issues around funding and support from the Spanish Government given that most group members were not Spanish nationals. Participants were divided in opinion whether they would be interested in a potential Spanish complementary school - the principles of learning to read and write, practicing Spanish orally with other youngster and making friends were ideals that most participants agreed with. However, the logistics of busy

family life were obstacles in many cases and some parents preferred that their child focused on English. An example of distance complementary learning was given which could offer a solution to some of the barriers cited (see 6.5).

7.4 Identity

Participants in this study came from a variety of countries and regions, 12 nationalities were represented, 14 if Scottish and Catalan are considered separate to British and Spanish as regional identities. This subtheme presents discussions around the topics of national identity and cultural and linguistic identity, the latter two concepts being closely linked in participants' opinions (see Chapter 2). They discussed how the attitudes, values and beliefs of the parents' native countries and Scottish culture impacted upon their behaviours and cultural identities.

7.4.1 National Identity

Three quarters of parents who participated in this study reported that their children had official nationality of another country for varying reasons. The Carreras girls were born in Portugal and therefore had Portuguese nationality. When I asked Gimena if she would seek official British nationality for the family she explained that although she was Venezuelan, she also had Portuguese residency and a Portuguese passport which was, "much easier to travel with than a Venezuelan passport as it means I don't need to pay for visas and have all that hassle".

The Rodriguez children had three passports reflecting the country they were born (UK) and the home nations of their parents (Germany and Mexico). Mum Jannika explained:

> I have a German and a British passport, Raul has both British and Mexican passports and the girls have all three but they might have to sign that over depending on what happens with the Brexit legislation as Germany might make them decide when they're 21 to choose but at the moment they have all three.

When asked about which nationality her children would identify with Jannika said:

> Ana would be adamant she's Scottish. It's funny, her friend Sara who has

> lived in Scotland for years but was born in Spain always said she was Spanish and Ana always referred to Sara as being Spanish too. Maybe at that age, it's more about where they're from.

Echoing this, Rachel Gimenez believed that her daughter Vicky would say that she was Scottish, "I think she would say that she's Scottish but her dad's from Mexico". Similarly, Paula Fernandez reported that she describes herself as "half Scottish and half Spanish". On the contrary, Teresa Lopez told me that her young son Teo contested that he was not Columbian, he was Scottish. Teresa felt that this was due to him not wanting to "stand out or be different - kids just want to be the same as the rest of their friends". She added that the lack of diversity in Teo's school and neighbourhood might have been impacting on his self-identity in this respect.

Jannika, Andres, Pedro and Rachel all commented that international sports were an opportunity for their children to identify with their parents' countries. "The girls figured out that being German in terms of football is good thing," laughed Jannika. Andres Sacco often took his son to watch Argentina play rugby when the team were in Scotland, and Pedro Torres said his sons were "very proud of their Argentinian football roots and always cheer on the national team".

Most participants discussed this subtheme from a bureaucratic or citizenship point of view, discussing passports and visas. They had little to say and appeared to view nationality as a label more than an identity. Instead they focused more on cultural and linguistic identity, which will be presented in the next section.

7.4.2 Cultural and Linguistic Identity

In this section, findings on the development of cultural and linguistic identities are presented and analysed. The behaviours, traditions, attitudes and values of their heritage country, and Scotland of course, shaped dynamic and evolving identities.

Overwhelmingly, participants reported a close relationship and interdependency between language and culture, that the two are woven into the fabric that makes one's identity. Monica García stated:

> Knowing the language helps to understand the culture behind it because they are both very linked. Without the language you can never fully understand the culture behind it and vice-versa. For example, English has a lot of 'please' and 'thank you' but Gaelic and Spanish not so much because they have polite forms already. So if you only know English then you might think people are forward or rude.

Gemma Gomez said, "languages and the variety within them, for example Scottish or *'rioplatense'* are linked to the culture too, like the slang and different vocabulary".

Parents gave examples of how they maintained, or attempted to maintain, their heritage culture with their children. Some participants gave examples of subtle, discrete elements of culture that represented day-to-day life, and deeper attitudes and values – to be explored further below. However, many more examples were given of observable behaviours and practices, for example around food, festivals and celebrations such as *los Reyes Magos* (The Three Kings), c*arnaval* (celebrations to begin the Lent period) and *la navidad* (Christmas).

An example of tradition given by many of the children surrounded the Spanish and Latin American myth of *Ratoncito Pérez* who was similar to the British Tooth Fairy. Six-year-old Lucia Pérez told me that "if a tooth falls out here in Scotland then the Tooth Fairy comes but if it happens while we're in Spain then *Ratoncito Pérez* comes as he can't travel across the water and he's the Tooth Fairy's friend". In a similar discussion around cultural traditions, Monica García told how she had also adapted Spanish traditions to life in Scotland:

> Eventually we had to adapt to Santa because we did *los Reyes Magos* but by that time [6th January] everyone had gone back to school and it didn't feel as special so we decided that the two are connected and *los Reyes Magos* speak to Santa and he brings the presents to Scotland.

Mariana Alonso described how she tried to maintain Ecuadorian traditions, for example on New Year's Eve:

> We have the *monigote,* a little doll that we burn and there's a thing you have to jump over to say goodbye to the old year and welcome in the new year. We celebrate Easter and *carnaval*. We celebrate Christmas on the 24th, not the 25th, and have a big meal then.

Mariana further explained that she chose not to celebrate and give gifts on 6th

January for *los Reyes Magos,* as "it's just too much and too expensive on top of Santa Claus". Rachel Gimenez claimed they used to celebrate *los Reyes Magos* and *Dia de los Muertos* but "it's kinda fallen by the wayside as time has passed because trying to juggle three kids, five birthdays and two sets of festivals and celebrations was overwhelming and really expensive".

Pedro Torres and Teresa Lopez also felt this way whereas other parents such as Honor Perez, Gemma Gomez and Belén Sanchez felt that this celebration was an essential part of keeping their culture alive for their children. The latter three participants were from families with no British parent. Honor Perez felt that celebrating, and moreover experiencing, these traditions was very important:

> We try to recreate as much as we can at home but for me the most important thing is actually going to Spain and Italy so they can eat there with their family, see how the people live, how they act, take in the atmosphere, actually celebrate Christmas over there. That is having an authentic experience of all those cultural things rather than a half-hearted experience here in Scotland.

German Jannika Rodriguez and Mexican partner Raul also tried to maintain cultural celebrations and festivals. She explained how they prepared an *ofrenda* [an offering] for Day of the Dead and made *pan de muertos* [bread of the dead] and she also made German Christmas biscuits and Glühwein. She added:

> In Mexico, *carnaval* is a big thing but that needs participation in the streets and we don't really have that here in the cold, wet February weather but at Club Estrella we have a party where everyone dresses up. For me, it's a mixture of preserving traditions but having the room to make your own space, your own character.

Families frequently discussed food as a cultural focal point and a way of sharing heritage language and culture with each other on a daily basis around the table. The Sanchez family told me that their meals are still typically Catalan/ Spanish/ Mediterranean involving "plenty of olive oil and seafood". Mum Belén joked, "I stick to what I know. I haven't got a clue how to cook Scottish things like haggis or stovies or Yorkshire Puddings!"

Angela Gonzalez loved to cook typical Guatemalan dishes but "finds it hard to get all the right ingredients here in Scotland". Mariana Alonso encountered similar issues:

> I cook my Ecuadorian soup with potatoes and rice dishes and things like that, like *llapingachos* [potato pancakes] but it's difficult to get all the ingredients for some recipes. Like, you'd never get *cuy* [guinea pig] here, someone would call the society for animals! I don't really cook Scottish food though as I don't know how but Scottish ingredients like fish and langoustines are great for some Ecuadorian dishes so it's a compromise.

Colombian teacher Teresa Lopez reminisced about "perfectly ripe, fresh fruit that is sweet and juicy, not like the bland fruit you get here in Scotland which is expensive and tasteless". Although she did add that since moving to Glasgow city centre, she had been able to buy more ethnic ingredients such as plantains and different flours and beans needed to prepare dishes from her home country. Gimena Carreras agreed that the main way she saw Venezuelan and Portuguese culture being shared was on a daily basis through food:

> I cook things from my own country and recipes I learned from living in Portugal. The kids love these types of food but I suppose that's all they're used to. Maybe when they start school they'll find Scottish food strange - I hadn't thought of that before!

Jannika Rodriguez commented that her children found partner Raul's Mexican food too spicy:

> The girls don't like spicy food very much but Ana has picked up that her dad sees it as a very positive thing if you can put up with the spiciness. It's part of the culture!

Whereas, Rachel Gimenez went the extra mile to get real, authentic Mexican food:

> There's a shop in London that makes proper tortillas and you can buy them online - even the blue tortillas - and they post them in vacuum packs so when we get a delivery the kids get really excited because they love it.

Interestingly, six-year-old Mateo Torres was unaware that the typical Argentinian food he enjoyed was not Scottish, presumably because it was just typical in their household:

> **Mateo:** I haven't tried any food from Argentina before
> **Pedro:** What about *dulce de leche* [caramel] and *faina* [chickpea flatbread] and *chorizo* and *asado* [BBQ meat]?
> **Mateo:** But that's Scottish food.
> **Alejo:** No it's not, it's from Argentina *(laughs)*.
> **Mateo:** But we eat it in Scotland.
> **Pedro:** Maybe they are just used to that food and for them it's normal so they don't see it as Argentinian.

Several participants mentioned that culture could be kept alive through music and sport by using digital technology to access TV, film and radio in Spanish. Rachel Gimenez said she used "the internet, YouTube and Spotify to listen to Mexican radio and the kids sing along to music. Alfonso watches the football and baseball too". This will be discussed further in the following subtheme of Technology (7.5).

On the other hand, and rather uniquely, Susana Martin admitted that she did not actively try to maintain overt elements of Uruguayan culture with her daughter:

> We don't do many special cultural things. I don't feel particularly Uruguayan in many ways, you know. I don't drink *mate* [herbal tea], I'm a vegetarian so I don't miss *asado* either but I think we try to give her a more open version of Hispanic culture. At Club Estrella there are families from nearly every Spanish-speaking country so she gets to see and experience things from all of these cultures which are different in some ways but similar in others. It just opens her eyes to different cultures of the Hispanic world. For me, it's more about the values and beliefs that transfer daily between us rather than big events.

When asked how Guatemala was different to Scotland, eight-year-olds Marco and Gabi Gonzalez commented on more discrete dimensions of culture such as general friendliness and openness of Guatemalan people compared to Scots. Their mother, Guatemalan doctor Angela agreed, saying that "Latino people give more *mimos y cariños* [caresses and affection]. They're friendlier, more open and care about other people more".

Mariana Alonso agreed, commenting that "in Ecuador as soon as you wake up you always give each other a kiss and wish each other a good day". The Sanchez family from Barcelona echoed this. Belén said that she realised, "I'm always touching them [her children] and giving *mimos* and kissing their heads. Scottish mums don't really do that as much, well maybe not in public. We're very affectionate compared to Scottish people, more tactile". The children offered adjectives to express that people in Spain were more "warm", "open" and "friendly" compared to Scottish people who "are more polite but a bit cold" and "definitely more punctual".

As the Sanchez family highlighted, the British appeared to have a reputation for being somewhat reserved, distant or cold. These cultural attributes were something that took participants, especially those from Latin America, time to get accustomed to.

> We've got a saying that 'the British don't say what they mean and they don't mean what they say'. I prefer people being open, honest and direct but it has got me into trouble a few times and some British people think I'm too forward. It's hard to adapt because it's in your culture to be that way.
>
> (Pedro Torres)

> People will smile on the street and be really pleasant but having a deeper friendship is more difficult. My colleagues are all lovely but they don't socialise much and never invite people to their houses. It's like they want to keep their two lives separate - their personal life and their professional life. Whereas, in Guatemala if you start a new job, people will invite you out for a drink or something to eat, or to their houses to get to know you better, to help you integrate. Another example, my Scottish neighbours are lovely but I have never been inside their house and I didn't know their names for about the first two years! We're neighbours but nothing more.
>
> (Angela Gonzalez)

Uruguayan mum Gemma Gomez also found Scottish culture to be overly formal and not as welcoming as she recalled being told she could not take a buggy into Diego's school for "health and safety regulations". As she did not feel she could sit with her other toddler son on her lap for the entirety of the show she did not go and "felt awful". She said:

> That wouldn't happen in Uruguay, it's much more relaxed and welcoming. A parent seeing their child perform trumps some silly health and safety rule. We Latinos are more family orientated and laid back.

Scottish mum Rebecca Fernandez discussed sense of humour and the power of language:

> You can see culture in language and behaviour and also sense of humour. I'm quite sarcastic and dry, quite a Glaswegian sense of humour I suppose. When I lived in Spain people thought I was being serious and it didn't translate well in words or in the nuances and I found that difficult. It's much more difficult to make jokes in another language.

Her daughter Paula, who is fluent in Spanish, said she still struggled with that element of culture:

> I find that I don't laugh as much in Spain. Sometimes they [Spanish friends and family] tell jokes and I just don't get it or when you tell a joke in Scotland it's funny but when you say it in Spanish it's not really that funny.

Nearly all participants gave examples of how weather impacted upon culture and behaviour. Eight-year-old Enrique Alonso loved the fact that he could go out and play with his cousins "every day because the weather's nice" when in Ecuador. Similarly, nine-year-old David Sanchez stated that he "loved" Barcelona because he could "play in the pool all day and then stay in the park 'til late" whereas in Scotland, outdoor pools are scarce and cold weather, even in summer, can stop children from playing outdoors as much. The hot climate in Spain and Latin American countries meant that participants were used to having their meals later than most Scots. Sofia Sanchez said that their family "usually have dinner about 7:30/8.00 which is late for Scotland" and that her friends "think it's a bit weird". The Sanchez family discussed differences they had experienced between the two climates and how this impacted upon behaviour and culture. Belén commented:

> In Spain we had more social life. All of us used to finish school and nursery then go to the park for a few hours, whereas here people tend to finish school and go straight home so I miss the social side of things [...], I think your social life is ruled by the weather.

Dad Jose revealed that "the miserable weather made me feel miserable too" and that he struggled to cope with the poor Scottish weather initially as he "felt really depressed".

As well as sharing his own Catalan and Spanish culture with his family, Jose Sanchez reported wider benefits of "bringing our culture to Scotland and helping to create diversity". Rebecca Fernandez also emphasised the benefits of heritage cultures being shared in Scotland, particularly with pupils who did not have diverse experiences of their own:

> People are often frightened of the 'unknown' so experiencing different cultures and meeting children from different backgrounds could help allay those fears and help pupils be more tolerant.

Valuing children's heritage languages and cultures was something that Honor Perez felt was very important and it attracted her to choose Gaelic Medium Education for her children:

> I really like the intercultural vibe and open atmosphere of the school, it's very diverse and it's obvious the staff value all languages and cultures. They understand the post-colonial issues of the British Empire and the grotesque power of the English language.

Discussing her children's school, which had a very positive attitude towards diversity, Jannika Rodriguez recognised that other contexts might not be as constructive:

> Because of the school's catchment area, with university students and staff, it means there are lots of international pupils. It's quite an affluent area where multilingualism and multiculturalism are very much celebrated compared to other areas with immigration and poverty where perhaps there's a negative attitude towards speaking other languages and cultural diversity. It's not like that here in the West End.

A major discussion point that arose during interviews was biculturalism. Parents revealed how their children, and some of the older children themselves, easily adapted to different cultural norms and behaviours when they visited Spain and Latin America. For example, Andres Sacco said that his son Lucas:

> Doesn't act like he's on holiday. His way of being automatically converts to acting like an Argentinian boy. It's not like he's a wee Scottish boy who doesn't fit in, or like a stranger. It's the opposite - he easily integrates. You can see his brain is going at 100 miles an hour and he's observing and absorbing everything.

Monica García also noted a change in how her children behaved when they went to Barcelona, she observed them "adapting to their surroundings and behaving more sociably". This bicultural agility and ability to switch between heritage cultures was something that participants appeared to do naturally (see 2.3 Biculturalism). Jannika Rodriguez stated that her children "integrate quite seamlessly into the family and our circles of friends in Germany and Mexico" and used an interesting phrase to describe herself - a chameleon. She explained:

> Knowing the language and having a deep understanding of culture, values and traditions from having lived there, means that I behave differently to adapt and connect with people in Germany, Scotland and Mexico. A simple example of this is with greetings, in Mexico there are people who I hardly know that I would hug and kiss because that's what they do there, yet in Germany and here in Scotland there are close friends that I wouldn't touch because that's just not what they do - I'm a bit like a chameleon trying to blend and fit in.

Jannika added that although her daughters integrated and adapted to the 'host' culture, what she witnessed is actually more like an evolution:

> The girls create their own space and their own mix of both cultures, and the Scottish culture too. One thing is accepting different cultures and fitting in with them, and another thing is creating your own fusion of the cultures that makes you you and gives you your unique identity. I think it's good that the children have created something that's unique to them like, 'This is me, I'm a bit German, a bit Mexican and a bit Scottish - this is the way I am'.

This was something that teacher Rebecca Gimenez had picked up on too:

> With culture we tend to think of cultural aspects like festivals and celebrations and ways of doing things but maybe it's more to do with identity. I found with my own children and with other bilingual children I teach, they've got their own identities. They've got a new identity, it's not a Mexican culture or a British culture, it's a kind of new identity that they have constructed where they take aspects of both to find themselves. I feel their social and emotional intelligence has come from having more than one language and culture. How to behave, what's acceptable in one culture and one country, what's civil in the other…. Not just accepting that there is only one way of doing things. It's not tradition so such as more ways of being that have given them a real social advantage.

Teenager Paula Fernandez discussed how her personality was different in Spain compared to when she is in Scotland, this illustrated the agility that she possessed to be able to manoeuvre different cultural arenas:

> **Rebecca**: When Paula's in Spain her character changes. She gets quite lively and she is much more animated too. She wrote a really nice personal essay about identity and how her character changes. I was amazed when I read it.
> **Paula:** Yeah, I'm definitely more sassy *(laughs)*. I find it really weird when I'm in Spain…. but yeah I'm more sassy and more 'grrrrrr!'
> **Interviewer:** Like different persona?
> **Paula:** Yeah, my character really does change but it comes naturally, it's not like I'm in Spain and I switch it on consciously.

Jose Sanchez summed up aptly what most participants felt:

> I suppose when you're here you try to integrate because you want to be part of the Scottish society but at the same time you need to keep your roots and your culture - it's good to have both I think.

As discussed in section 6.3.2 'The Reported Benefits of Bilingualism and

Biculturalism', many parents felt that having two cultural and linguistic identities, and thus two different ways of thinking, behaving and being, was a great benefit in itself. This allowed bicultural and bilingual children to be more open-minded and more flexible in their outlook. It meant they could see things from differing points of view and realise that neither is right nor wrong - they are simply different. Argentinian dad Andres Sacco stated:

> Lucas is going to become a more open and reflexive person. From a very young age he was aware that there is more than one language, more than one way to express himself, more than one way of being and more than one culture. I think someone once said that learning another language isn't just learning new words it's learning new ways to think about things.

In agreement with this, Jannika Rodriguez said:

> I think it makes you more open-minded and helps you to understand why other people act differently from yourself. It's not that one way is wrong and one way is right; it's just different. A different way of thinking, a different way of behaving, a different culture.

Honor Perez also felt that her children were going to have a deeper respect for other languages, other cultures and other people in general. "Hopefully they won't have prejudices and will be open and accepting of difference and diversity," she commented.

In summary, participants reflected on their own definitions of cultural and linguistic identity and what it meant to them. From overt elements of culture like celebrations, festivals, traditions and food, to more discrete attitudes, values and beliefs including sense of humour and behaviours. It was important for them to integrate into Scottish society but at the same time, maintain their heritage culture too. Participants strongly felt that language and culture were interdependent with one underpinning the other. They discussed contrasting cultures, combining of cultures and evolutions of cultures creating new identities for these bilingual and bicultural young people. Some participants emphasised that by sharing their culture, they were bringing diversity to Scottish society.

7.5 Technology

This section presents findings related to participants' use of digital technology and how it facilitated language and communication. The importance of digital technology in their daily lives was compelling. It allowed them to communicate with extended family and friends abroad and connect with other Spanish-speakers in their local area or across the globe. Participants explained how they used technology to develop and maintain language skills and cultural identities in a way that would not have been possible a decade or two ago.

All parents reported using telecommunication apps such as Skype, Messenger, FaceTime and WhatsApp to communicate instantly with family and friends abroad. Participants chatted or sent photographs, messages and videos via these apps for free and opened up a world of instant global communication with family and friends abroad. This was by far the main way that participants communicated with their families, allowing them to share developmental milestones and celebrations or sometimes even more serious conversations that had to be had. Participants explained the importance of being able to communicate with family overseas:

> We use WhatsApp to send video messages wishing each other 'Merry Christmas' or 'happy birthday'. I've sent videos of important stuff like when my son crawled as a baby for the first time and photos of us doing silly day-to-day things like going to the cinema or walking in the woods just to share what we're up to and keep in touch. It helps my dad and sister feel like they are a closer part of my children's lives even though they are thousands of kilometres away.
>
> (Pedro Torres)

> When my mum was sick I felt helpless that she was in Ecuador and I was here. I felt completely impotent and I didn't know what was going on. Then my brother had the idea to Skype her in hospital on his iPad so every day I was able to see her and speak to her, and see for myself how she was getting better. I even spoke to the doctors and nurses through Skype so they could explain to me about mum's condition, the prognosis and the medication she'd need.
>
> (Mariana Alonso)

Belén Sanchez's family in Barcelona used to send books and magazines through the post but it was quite a time consuming and expensive process. She explained

that her children now mainly read books in Spanish or Catalan using Kindle and e-books that she downloads. "It also solved the problem that the libraries here have no books in Catalan and very few in Spanish!" she said.

Fourteen-year-old Sofia explained how she used online dictionaries to support her literacy skills in the three languages she knew as well as the Google Translate app. She explained that on a mobile phone or tablet there was a camera function which captures an image of the word or sentence to be translated so there was no need to even type it in "which is really useful for languages such as Urdu, Arabic, Japanese or Mandarin [that use characters or script]".

Most parents reported that they use video sharing or streaming platforms such as YouTube, Netflix and Amazon Prime to allow their children - and themselves - to listen to cartoons, movies, TV programmes and vloggers in Spanish; some of them also did this in the other languages they knew such as German, Portuguese and Italian, reflecting a wider linguistic repertoire. This not only allowed them to maintain their listening skills in Spanish and other languages, but also to maintain elements of culture.

Honor Perez explained that they watched the *Reyes Magos* procession online because they could not attend in person. Pedro Torres told me that he watched current affairs programmes daily to keep up with news and politics "back home" in Argentina, and both Rachel Gimenez and Gemma Gomez reported that their partners streamed live Latin American sports on the internet too. Teenager Paula Fernandez named several popular YouTubers that she watched in Spanish and eagerly emphasised how much listening and watching them had helped her learn more Spanish "especially modern things that my dad doesn't talk about like make-up or funny things or memes". It also meant that she could interact with other young Spanish-speakers in forums and comments.

The younger participants also spoke about digital technology they used in Spanish such as Roblox and Minecraft (Enrique Alonso), playing the Nintendo Wii in Spanish (Juan García), and watching DVDs, Disney movies (Lucia Perez) and TV programmes such as Peppa Pig in Spanish (Emilia Martin and Teo Lopez). 11-

year-old Alejo Torres did online Xbox live gaming, playing with and against Spanish-speaking youngsters in the USA and Latin America. He explained that he had developed friendships online and his virtual friends had taught him new words in Spanish.

Another illustration of learning languages through technology was cited by Jannika Rodriguez. Although an example of German language education, it was a great example of how technology could truly support young bilinguals regardless of their geographical location and context:

> There's a German distance learning school for children of German people who work in other countries and live abroad. They have the whole learning package with live Skype support from a teacher in Germany, it's fabulous. The idea is that if you have parents who are sent abroad to work for a few years, the children can keep up their German and when they return, they can easily reintegrate because they've kept up their knowledge of the language and kept up with the curriculum. It's really expensive but it's great, yeah.

Overwhelmingly, digital technology was a vital tool in participants' lives. They relied heavily on the internet to keep in touch with friends and extended family, to ensure that their children were exposed to Spanish, to explore elements of culture and also for their own pleasure and information. It supported the development and maintenance of language skills and cultural identities. It also allowed them to make new friendships and belong to online communities.

7.6 Summary

Chapter 7 has presented and analysed the key themes of Community, Education, Identity and Technology. The relatively low number of Spanish-speaking families in the West of Scotland meant that there was a lack of substantial community to belong to and network with. It was even more difficult for families who lived in rural or suburban areas as they were likely to be the only Spanish-speakers in their town. Parents attended (or had attended in the past) the community group Club Estrella for two main reasons: to be part of a community and social network (for the parents as much as their children), and also to immerse their children in Spanish language and Hispanic culture. Parents highly valued the friendship and support system of the Club, especially those from Latin American heritage.

The absence of extended family in Scotland meant that many of the children in this study had little exposure to Spanish. It also meant that children had less cultural reference points as they had less exposure to Hispanic attitudes, values and beliefs systems. Many cited communication with grandparents and cousins as a motivator for learning Spanish, but family bonds were often difficult to maintain due to distance, with those from Latin America. Socialising and having a network of Spanish-speaking friends was highly important to parents in this study. They wanted friendships for themselves and also for their children as they thought interaction would help nurture their linguistic and cultural heritage.

Numerous participants reported barriers and challenges in their engagement with mainstream education. The school admissions process, settling in, struggling to understand the rules, norms and expectations were all some of the challenges reported. Many participants perceived that schools and teachers were misinformed and untrained regarding bilingual strategies, transferable literacy skills and other benefits of bilingualism. However, the skill, expertise and support from specialist EAL teachers were highly valued. Most participants felt that teachers and schools placed a low value on languages and bilingualism but there were some positive examples of good practice. Nurseries and Gaelic Medium schools celebrated bilingualism and diversity but only one child was actively encouraged to use Spanish for learning.

At the time of writing, there was no complementary school for learning Spanish language in the West of Scotland. Club Estrella wanted to offer one but there were issues around funding and support from the Spanish Government because most group members were not Spanish citizens. Most parents saw the potential benefits of complementary education but the logistics of busy family life would be an obstacle for some. Some parents would not choose to send their child to a complementary school as they preferred that s/he focus on English.

Participants' responses on national identity centred around topics such as nationality, passports, visas or citizenship. National identity appeared to be a mere label, participants were more engaged in discussions around their cultural and linguistic identities which shaped who they were. Families strongly felt that

language and culture were intrinsically linked and complimented each other. They discussed the importance of maintaining traditions, celebrations and festivals. Food played a substantial day-to-day role in developing linguistic and cultural identities over the dinner table. Participants also discussed how wider attitudes, values and beliefs from Spain and Latin America were important in developing identity. It was important for them to integrate into Scottish society but, at the same time, maintain their heritage culture too and become bicultural. Cultures often fused to create new identities for these children and young people, some participants emphasised that by sharing their culture they were also bringing diversity to Scottish society.

Participants gave examples of using technology to communicate with extended family abroad and preserve these relationships. They also gave examples of using digital technology to maintain and learn Spanish language and to engage with culture such as festivals, music, film, TV, current affairs and sport. Many participants belonged to online communities where they posted on forums and chatrooms, and some of the young people participated in gaming to support their language skills and/or to make friends.

Social media allowed them to engage with other Spanish-speakers from across the world and teenagers followed YouTubers and vloggers who spoke Spanish. We saw an innovative example of how technology was being used in German complementary education. This theme demonstrated how digital technology greatly influenced the lives of participants and helped them to construct their linguistic and cultural identities whilst also enhancing social and emotional wellbeing. In some respects, adults used technology differently from their children.

The following chapter will discuss the key findings that emerged from data analysis of both Chapters 6 and 7, and considers their significance in light of literature reviewed in Chapter 2, the Bioecological theories of child development explored in Chapter 3, and the Scottish context presented in Chapter 4.

CHAPTER 8: DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

8.1 Overview

Rich data gathered from interviews was presented in the previous two chapters with seven Key Findings emerging from analysis which will be discussed in this chapter. It compares and contrasts these findings with existing research (outlined in Chapter 2) and ecological theories of child development (presented in Chapter 3) and considers them in the context of Scottish educational policy and demography (reviewed in Chapter 4).

Key Finding 1 considers the crucial role that family and community play in supporting the linguistic and cultural development of children (8.2). Key Finding 2 discusses how geographical distance negatively affects the linguistic and cultural development of children for families from Latin America (8.3). Key Finding 3 illustrates how technology is being used to complement and replace community thereby facilitating Spanish-speaking children's linguistic and cultural development (8.4). Key Finding 4 addresses the advantages of bilingualism and biculturalism as reported by participants (8.5) and Key Finding 5 discusses the perceived barriers to bilingualism and biculturalism in the Scottish context (8.6). Key Finding 6 shows that families' experiences appear to highlight inconsistencies between educational policy and how it is implemented in practice (8.7).

Key Finding 7 reflects on the empirical evidence from the previous six Key Findings to interrogate the adequacy of existing ecological models of development for the participants of this study. This theoretical finding offers a new adaptation, which I called the 'digital trans-system', in light of the heightened role that digital technology plays in contemporary formation of linguistic and cultural identities (8.8). The final section presents a summary of the chapter (8.9).

I must emphasise that each Key Finding is presented in the specific context of the Spanish-speaking families from the West of Scotland who participated in this research. Each Key Finding could have contained the phrase '… for Spanish-speakers in the West of Scotland' but to avoid repetition, I have omitted that

clause from the titles.

8.2 Key Finding 1: Family and community are crucial for bilingual families

In this section, the important role that family and community play in supporting the development of language and cultural identity will be discussed. Key Finding 1 highlights lack of opportunities to engage with extended family and a wider Spanish-speaking community that participants reported, and the implications of this for the linguistic and cultural development of bilingual children. I reflect on existing research which evidences the importance of extended family relationships and heritage community in a child's life, and I consider this in the context of Bronfenbrenner's Bioecological Model (1994).

In discussing household circumstances and immediate family, one noticeable feature was that in the nine households where the mother was the native Spanish-speaker, perceptions of children's confidence and competence in Spanish language were higher compared to the three families where the father was the native Spanish-speaker. This speaks to previous evidence highlighting the crucial role of mothers in children's language development (Kenner et al., 2008; Morris & Jones, 2007). Nevertheless, perceived levels of confidence and competence were highest in the two families where both parents were Spanish-speakers which confirms previous literature (e.g. Baker, 2011; Ballinger et al., 2020).

Another factor was the employment status of the main caregiver and whether they worked full-time, part-time or not at all as this dictated how many hours of contact were available to interact with children, consonant with Jackson's (2007) case study of English-speaking fathers in Japan. Full-time working mum, Angela Gonzalez recognised that she could not spend as many hours interacting and communicating in Spanish with her son compared to her friend Jannika Rodriguez who "does not work and is able to spend nine or ten hours more each day talking with her children in German".

This speaks to Bronfenbrenner's (1979) argument that parents' employment (exosystem) impacts upon a child's development and ergo their language

acquisition. It also correlates with previous research by Deakin (2016) and Mejia (2016) who recognised the influence of mothers' employment status on children's language development.

No participants had any Spanish-speaking extended family living in Scotland. This meant that children had relatively little exposure to Spanish language and their heritage culture outside the home as they did not have family members to communicate with nor develop their cultural identity. For example, some children had never had any contact with other Spanish-speakers in Scotland until they started attending Club Estrella.

This is different to larger heritage communities in Scotland such as those who speak Polish (Moskal, 2014; Uflewska, 2018), Mandarin (Hancock, 2010; Bell, 2013) or the Asian community (Bonino, 2017; Hopkins, 2018). These well-established or large communities often featured extended families where children interact with cousins, aunts, uncles and grandparents, whereas several children in this study had never met their extended family abroad. This makes me reflect on Bronfenbrenner's Hypothesis 46 (1979, p. 282) that positive interaction with people other than the parents is beneficial for child development; I realised that 'absences' (Bronfenbrenner, ibid, p.5) existed in most of the participants' lives.

Furthermore, in larger communities, adults and children can establish friendships with others from within their heritage language and culture. These relationships had not occurred organically for participants but had been facilitated by Club Estrella, echoing Ivashinenko's study of Russian communities in Scotland (2018).

Outside of the Club, 16 out of 19 children and young people who participated in this research did not have any Spanish-speaking friends at all, mainly because there were no other children in their school, class or neighbourhood who shared the language, in contrast to Spanish-speaking communities in London (McIlwaine 2007; 2011; 2012). Further to this, Pedro Torres, Andres Sacco and Teresa Lopez emphasised that living in a rural/suburban area meant that there were often no

other Spanish-speakers at all in the towns where they lived and they felt isolated, which aligns with Murakami's (2008) and Sood and Mistry's (2011) findings. Andres said:

> How can Lucas be Argentinian if the only person he sees being Argentinian is me? I'm his only reference point for language, culture and identity, he has no-one else to learn from.

Twelve families reported that the sole source of regular interaction and communication in Spanish came from one parent, and four families told me that they normally used English at home because one of the parents did not understand Spanish well enough. This is contrary to many of the Russian, Polish and Asian families in previous Scottish research cited above where two parents often shared the same language. Moreover, a lack of linguistic role models and social interaction between children and adults is detrimental to language development as there is less opportunity for children to practice speaking and listening skills (Smith-Christmas, 2016; Ellis et al., 2019).

In addition to language development, being part of an extended family and wider community offers people a sense of belonging and connection, it is important for social and emotional wellbeing (Moskal & Sime, 2016; Deakin, 2016). Children in this study illustrated that the two points are inextricably linked, as being able to communicate with extended family was a prime reason for wanting to speak Spanish. This speaks to Mejia's (2007) findings in her study with Spanish-speaking adolescents in Australia, and research with teenagers from Central and Eastern Europe in Scotland (Moskal, 2014; Sime & Fox, 2015).

Therefore, in the absence of extended family and friends, participants actively joined the Spanish-speaking group Club Estrella looking for a community to belong to and a social network to engage with. Some participants still attended the group and others had since stopped but all were able to share their experiences and motives with me. Repeatedly, participants cited the socio-emotional, cultural and linguistic benefits they perceived they had gained from attending Club Estrella – the group played a key role in many participants' lives.

Again, this echoed Ivashinenko's (2018) findings of Russian community groups in

Scotland. Parents explained that it was as important for them as adults, especially those who were stay-at-home mums and/or had little English, to make friends and human connections with people who shared their language and often culture.

> It's like, when I speak in English I manage to function but when I speak in Spanish I can actually express my thoughts, feelings and emotions properly. At Estrella, I can be the real me.
>
> (Gimena Carreras)

Children had established friendships with other youngsters and stated they enjoyed participating in cultural activities such as 'D*ia de los Muertos*' and '*carnaval*'. Parents felt that the short, weekly sessions offered additional models of language and an opportunity to use Spanish with others, whilst engaging with culture. As well as language, the sharing of culture in complementary schools and community groups is highly valued by parents (Hancock, 2010; Ivashinenko, 2018). However, there was the added complexity that although Spanish-speaking migrants may share a common language, they come from multiple countries which have diverse and distinct cultural identities, also noted in London by McIwaine and Bunge (2016), Berg (2017) and in the Leeds area (Mas Giralt, 2011).

Some participants reported other personal benefits that reinforced the importance of linguistic identity, for example, Monica García said she enjoyed having "a safe space to just be bilingual in a monolingual country" which echoed with Fishman's (2001) argument that heritage language speakers often felt vulnerable using them in monolingual contexts. The group had also been a source of advice and information on how to support the development of two languages at home. Like Deakin's (2016) study in England, many participants reported a lack of guidance on bilingualism at local or national government level, therefore families typically "fumbled through" (Andres Sacco) bilingual strategies and techniques at home.

Teresa Lopez described how the group had been a "lifeline" when she first arrived in Scotland and had really helped her to settle in. It is clear that Club Estrella played an important role in participants' lives offering friendship, language, culture and community, especially for newly arrived families who do not have a native English-speaker in the household, as noted by Granada (2013)

and McIlwaine (2012; 2015) in the London Latin American community.

> When I was alone and needed help, they [members of Club Estrella] were the first people I turned to - they helped me to settle and explained how things were done [in Scotland].

(Gemma Gomez)

Despite this, participants mentioned some challenges they had encountered which had led to many families no longer actively participating in Club Estrella weekly sessions. Like participants in Hancock's study (2010), some parents cited that once their children started school it was logistically difficult for them to get into the city-centre for the session starting. Also, children and their parents were often tired after a full week of school, had extra-curricular activities to attend or children simply wanted to socialise with their own school friends rather than their Club Estrella acquaintances.

Parents sought Spanish-speaking friendships for their children but sometimes children preferred to use English when conversing between themselves which "defeated the point" (Monica García). Most parents said that they enjoyed the fact there was so much cultural and linguistic diversity in Club Estrella meaning that their children had rich experiences but other parents felt that post-colonial resentments between Spain and Latin American countries meant that there was frustration around which version of Spanish to use, or being excluded for using Catalan. Albeit in Spanish, this exemplifies linguistic imperialism and linguicism discussed in section 2.2.4 by Skutnabb-Kangas (1998) Cameron (2012) and Phipps (2014).

It was recognised that most Club attendees were female and therefore three fathers reported that they felt somewhat uncomfortable, similar to Jackson's study in Japan (2007). It seemed that Club Estrella functioned well as a 'mother and toddler' style playgroup but perhaps increased diversity in the group's activities would encourage more families to continue to participate.

Susana Martin explained that through recent charity funding they would be able to expand the group's activities. She hoped this would lead to a greater number of families attending and an increased awareness of the organisation's existence

which was an issue that Susana Martin, Rachel Gimenez and Monica García highlighted. They believed that Club Estrella was relatively unknown in the West of Scotland and that it was purely due to word-of-mouth that Spanish-speaking families happened to discover the group. This speaks to Phipps and Fassetta's (2015) findings that bilingualism is driven and supported by families, community groups and religious bodies.

In his Bioecological Model, Bronfenbrenner (1994) demonstrated how neighbourhood, extended family, friends and community all contribute to child development as they form the microsystem, mesosystem and exosystem (see section 3.2). However, my data shows that the vast majority of children who participated in this study had no Spanish-speaking friends, 12 out of 14 families only had one native Spanish-speaking parent at home, and no children had any extended Spanish-speaking family in Scotland.

There was no substantial Hispanic neighbourhood or community to organically belong to, unlike the Hispanic community on London (McIlwaine, 2007; 2011). Moreover, as they lived in Scotland, they were not regularly immersed in Hispanic cultural attitudes, values and beliefs of that macrosystem as could possibly be the case in London (McIlwaine, ibid) or Florida, USA where Schwartz et al. (2019) emphasised the importance of cultural role models. Therefore, models of Hispanic culture and Spanish language were often missing from participants' systems leaving gaps which impacted negatively on the development of their linguistic and cultural identities.

Where Spanish-speaking community, friendship and extended family did not organically exist in the West of Scotland, Club Estrella helped to provide a community to belong to and a social network to make friends and acquaintances. It filled gaps by strengthening families' microsystems and exosystems, and it allowed them to interact with another macrosystem of Hispanic culture, attitudes, values and beliefs to some extent (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Shelton, 2019). Club Estrella also interacted with the chronosystem as members supported newly arrived families to transition into life in Scotland after their migration. However, changes in families' lives over time also affected how they engaged with the Club.

8.3 Key Finding 2: Latin American families find it challenging to nurture linguistic and cultural identities

The previous Key Finding considered that having a limited social network can negatively affect bilingual children's Spanish language development, their cultural identity and relationships with extended family and friends. It also highlighted the valuable role that Club Estrella played in creating a small community group to mitigate these effects. Key Finding 2 explains how this phenomenon is magnified further for Latin American families, and I again consider this in the context of Bronfenbrenner's Bioecological Model (1994).

Susana Martin, Uruguayan mother of one and Trustee of the Club at the time of data collection, explained to me that approximately 75% of parents who belonged to the group were from South or Central America which is an over-representation if we consider the demographics and immigration statistics in Scotland (see statistics in 4.3). Figures showed that more Spanish-speakers in Scotland originate from Spain than from all of the Latin American countries combined yet more of the latter group attended the Club by far. This pattern was generally replicated in this study, ten families had a parent who originated from Latin America (71%) compared to four with a parent from Spain (29%). This section provides insight into why families from Latin American backgrounds were more likely to engage with Club Estrella.

All parents tried to visit their country of origin as often as realistically possible so that their children were immersed in their other macrosystem which served as a 'blueprint' for Hispanic culture and language (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p.165), and it was also an opportunity for children to nurture relationships with extended family (Granada, 2013; McIlwaine, 2007; 2011; Mas Giralt, 2011).

However, this was much more challenging for Latin American participants who outlined that, due to long travel times and substantial financial costs, they did not have as many opportunities to visit 'home' as their European counterparts. This supports previous research on the Latin American community on London (McIlwaine, 2012; Granada, 2013), for example, Argentinian dad, Pedro Torres commented:

> It's easy for people to go to Spain, even for a weekend, as it's only an hour or two away, and if you go with [a budget airline] it only costs about £50 each. Whereas, we have only been to Argentina once because it costs nearly £1000 each and it's over 20 hours travel time. I have friends from Spain who send their teenagers alone on a plane to Madrid for family to meet them at the airport but there is no way I'd contemplate sending my sons unaccompanied on a trans-Atlantic flight with two or three layovers.

Other parents also discussed how high costs and extensive travel time were real barriers for them, illustrated by Guatemalan mum Angela Gonzalez who described a 36-hour journey with two young children as "hellish". The six families who had extended family and friends in Spain, Germany, Italy and Portugal all recounted frequent visits 'home' and the benefits they perceived that they and their children gained from this immersion - increased language development, engagement with heritage culture, and maintenance of relationships with extended family and friends.

They also had their European families come to visit Scotland regularly which further enhanced these benefits, for example, Honor Perez's mother came from Spain to stay with them for the whole winter, and Jannika Rodriguez's mother stayed to support for a few months after her grandchildren were born. This reflects findings from Kay and Trevena (2018) who described substantial, fluctuating transnational mobility of CEE migrant families in Scotland.

The Sanchez and Fernandez children visited family in Spain various times throughout the year, totalling approximately two months annually; by contrast, five children of Latin American descent had never visited the continent, similar to findings from London-based studies (McIlwaine, 2011; 2012; Granada, 2013). Of the eighteen children who had a parent from Latin America, only two had visited their parent's native country more than once (eight-year-old Enrique Alonso and three-year-old Emilia Martin).

Again, we can see the exosystem (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) at play, as the Alonso family went to Ecuador each summer because mum Mariana's job as a teacher made the seven week visit possible and worthwhile, given the extensive travel commitment involved. Susana Martin commented that she was "lucky" because their daughter was not yet of school age and they were able to go on extended

stays to Uruguay at any time of the year but once Emilia started school they would not be able to do this, emphasising biological factors in child development (Bronfenbrenner, 1994). This also highlighted a chronosystemic (Bronfenbrenner, ibid) barrier around school holidays which do not coincide in the northern and southern hemispheres making it difficult for families to go on extended trips to see their relations; adults are working and cousins are in school.

Latin American families felt that exposure to a variety of accents, dialects and cultures was important so that their heritage roots were fully recognised. Teachers were reported to be more familiar with language and culture from Spain, with little knowledge of Central or South America. In this respect, it could be hypothesised that these parents felt their heritage just as invisible as the Latin Americans in London discussed in section 3.3.5 'Macrosystem' (Berg, 2017; McIlwaine & Bunge, 2016).

Two mothers mentioned that due to political tensions and personal safety, they had never taken their children to Colombia and Venezuela as they were concerned about crime, drugs, kidnapping and civil unrest. Speaking about Venezuela, Gimena Carreras said, "It's a beautiful country with a rich history but it's just not a safe place to be at the moment". Despite this, no families in this study had come to Scotland seeking asylum unlike a proportion of Latin Americans in London (McIlwaine & Bunge, 2016).

Due to the challenges above, Latin American parents all felt that their children were disadvantaged in the development of Spanish language and their cultural identity. In addition to this, they indicated that relationships with extended family and friends were even harder to build and maintain compared to Europeans because of geographical distance, echoing McIlwaine's (2012) findings on challenges for Latin Americans in London. Teresa Lopez said, "They [members of Club Estrella] became my friends and family when I had no-one".

Children with Latin American origins had sometimes never met their extended family in person and only had online relationships with cousins and grandparents (an aspect to be explored further in section 8.4 on digital technology) which was further restricted by up to seven hours' time difference compared to Central

European Time being only one hour ahead. For all of these reasons, participants from Latin America typically felt more isolated and were more motivated to attend the Club to compensate for the lack of interaction they naturally encountered in their daily lives.

Four Latin American parents who participated in this study described complicated procedures and high financial costs involved with visa applications, also highlighted as a barrier by Berg (2017). Three of these parents explained that other members of Club Estrella had helped them navigate their way through bureaucratic processes, further demonstrating the support network the group provided, like Ivashinenko's (2018) Russian school. This mirrors the support that the Latin American communities in London provide for each other on a larger scale (Granada, 2013; McIlwaine, 2015; Berg, 2017).

Key Finding 1 illustrated that Club Estrella had helped to provide a community to belong to and attempted to fill gaps that existed in families' systems (Bronfenbrenner, 1994). Key Finding 2 builds on this to show that participants of Latin American decent had even less interaction with their heritage culture, friends and extended family and therefore their systems had more substantial absences in linguistic and cultural development than the European participants.

As a result, Latin American families were more likely to attend Club Estrella to compensate for the gaps in their microsystems, exosystems and macrosystems. They were also more likely to depend on the support from Club Estrella during their transition to a new life in Scotland so the chronosystem played a greater role. Latin American families were also more likely to use digital technology to communicate with extended family and friends, showing that they used the 'digital trans-system' heavily to further fill the gaps in their systems (later presented in 8.8). Digital technology did not feature at all in Bronfenbrenner's models but later appeared in adapted models by Johnson and Puplampu (2008) and Martin (2014) (see section 3.2.3 'Technology').

8.4 Key Finding 3: Digital technology mitigates lack of wider community

The third Key Finding considers the vital role that digital technology plays in

developing - and maintaining - language skills, cultural identities and relationships to counter the absence of extended family and wider Spanish-speaking community. Families illustrated how they used digital technology to establish online social networks which facilitated bilingual children's linguistic and cultural development and enabled them to connect with extended family and a wider Spanish-speaking community. This was even more important for families of Latin American origin.

To combat the challenges, outlined in Key Findings 1 and 2, that arose from having no extended family nor a substantial Spanish-speaking community, participants discussed how they used digital technology to address these gaps. Like participants in previous Scottish studies (e.g. Uflewska, 2018; Moskal & Sime, 2016; McGonigal & Arizpe, 2007), they used telecommunications apps such as WhatsApp, Facebook Messenger and Skype to talk to, message or video call family and friends who lived abroad.

They incorporated multimedia by exchanging photographs, videos and audio clips which kept families informed and connected - they felt this was highly beneficial for communication and also for socio-emotional needs. This calls Bronfenbrenner's Hypothesis 40 (1979, p.217) into question, as although the use of the internet and digital technologies were not nearly as prevalent in the 1970s, he argued that two-way face-to-face interaction was most beneficial to child development. However, my participants reported that free of cost, asynchronous communication was incredibly easy and useful, especially where families lived in different time zones. Moreover, it could also be argued that apps such as Skype, WhatsApp and Zoom are face-to-face interaction, albeit digitally. This study did not seek to measure or rank methods of communication but it was apparent that all forms of digital communication contributed to developing linguistic and cultural identities.

Using apps and social media platforms allowed instant communication across continents and gave the opportunity for participants to maintain or learn Spanish with extended family and friends through speaking and listening (Mejia, 2016). Online communication also became a way of maintaining and establishing transnational family bonds (Ivashinenko, 2018) as some children – especially

those of Latin American origin – had never met their relations in real life.

> If I Skype with my *abuelo* [grandfather] then it means I know what he looks like and he won't forget me and we can chat to each other. I've never met him properly but I love him lots.
>
> (Matteo Torres)

Families were able to share special moments such as birthdays and Christmas so that they felt connected but also shared simple day-to-day events such as demonstrating a karate move or losing a tooth. At other times, communication was more serious in nature, for example Ecuadorian mum Mariana Alonso told how she spoke to her mother's consultant in hospital via WhatsApp to receive updates on her health condition. These apps were reported to be an excellent way to feel part of a family and maintain a sense of belonging and connection, exemplifying Itzigsohn and Saucedo's (2002) concept of 'transnational community'. As well as aiding language development and cultural identity, participants suggested that it was important for their social and emotional wellbeing.

However, Latin American participants disclosed that online communication was somewhat challenging due to the time difference which varied between four hours (Uruguay and Argentina) and seven hours (Guatemala) compared to their European counterparts who only had to compensate for a one hour time difference.

Children and adults outlined how they used online forums and groups to be part of a wider Spanish-speaking community and connect with others. This ranged from Twitter conversations to playing X-Box games with or against other Spanish-speakers from around the world. Parents gave numerous examples of being members of special interest groups on Facebook involving food, sports, fashion and motherhood. Similar to Piller and Gerber's study (2018), some parents used online forums to even discuss bilingual parenting.

Adults told me that they read electronic newspapers and magazines from their country of origin to keep up to date with politics and current affairs. They engaged in discussion forums and comment on other people's posts to interact and communicate within online social networks. This online interaction speaks to Shapira's conceptualisation of 'teleportation' and 'telepresence' (2013) which

reiterates Uflewska's (2018) point that migrants often fill the gap that exists from not having a physical community by creating their own 'hyperlocality' or online communities as discussed in Chapter 3 (3.2.3 'Technology').

Another example of this was Club Estrella creating their own webpage, Facebook page, Twitter account and WhatsApp group to facilitate interaction and communication between group members. Trustee Susana Martin explained that many parents who no longer attended weekly group sessions were still actively engaged in online activity, especially the WhatsApp group.

Backing up Mejia's (2016) findings, participants watched videos on YouTube and Netflix in Spanish to develop or maintain their linguistic skills, and often to give them a sense of cultural heritage. Adults watched movies and television programmes in Spanish or English with Spanish subtitles, these were often set in Spain/Latin America. For some participants, these images were the only recent encounters they had had with their 'home' country and brought back memories or even nostalgia, confirming Itzigsohn and Saucedo's (2002) point that migrants strive to maintain a connection with their 'home' country.

Some of the fathers explained that they watched live football matches and other parents said they listened to music and radio from their native country, stating that these provided cultural insight as well as language input. Children also watched movies and cartoons in Spanish as parents thought this would support their language development, although Sorace (2020) questions the effectiveness of this passive engagement with language. Two parents explained that they put Spanish subtitles on when their children watched movies or television so that they could read and make links between the spoken and written word, illustrating that parents considered children's biliteracy as an important skill and supporting previous studies by Hancock (2010), Kenner et al. (2008) and Ivashinenko (2018).

In addition to this, three families used digital technology in more formal learning scenarios to replicate traditional face-to-face complementary education. The Sanchez family used educational materials in Spanish and Catalan to teach their

children, teenager Paula Fernandez used Spanish tutorials to support her knowledge of grammar and Jannika Rodriguez shared the example of online German tuition that she had signed her daughter Ana up to. Although this was not related to Spanish, she felt this was a very effective way for children to learn heritage languages generally, especially where complementary schools do not exist or if challenges such as lack of time or rural living were barriers. Other studies have also highlighted the importance of online education platforms for heritage language learning (e.g. Le Pichon-Vorstman & Cummins, 2020; Hancock & Hancock, 2018; Morris & Jones, 2007).

My data shows that families heavily relied on digital technology in the physical absence of extended family, friends and formal language education from complementary schooling. Key Finding 3 exemplifies the positive influence of the 'digital trans-system' across and within each system (see further section 8.8 'Key Finding 7'). They used digital technology and the internet to create social networks and fill in the gaps that existed within their microsystems and exosystem from not having a substantial local community - especially where they no longer attended Club Estrella. It facilitated interaction and relationships in the mesosystem.

Families used digital technology, formally and informally, to develop or maintain Spanish language skills, and provide a sense of cultural identity. Apps and social media allowed family bonds to form and for relationships to blossom regardless of geographical distance which was important for the emotional and social wellbeing of both children and adults alike. Digital technologies also allowed participants to belong to online communities with other Spanish-speakers across the globe, thereby reinforcing their microsystems and exosystem.

Many children in this study, specifically those with Latin American roots, did not have regular opportunities to immerse themselves first-hand in Spanish language and Hispanic cultural attitudes, values and beliefs. Therefore, this virtual, second-hand experience was the main opportunity they had to connect with their language and wider culture in that macrosystem.

There were some differences in the way that families engaged with digital

technology, with adults often initiating the use of telecommunications apps (e.g. FaceTime, WhatsApp) to communicate with grandparents and extended family. Children and young people participated in online gaming, whereas none of the adults reported this. Both groups used YouTube and Netflix, albeit different genres.

8.5 Key Finding 4: Having more than one language and culture 'opens doors and borders come down'

As discussed in Chapter 2, some research evidence indicates that bilingualism and biculturalism may bring a variety of benefits to the individual and wider society. This section shows that the findings of this study support this view but also it presents additional data on the perceived benefits of being a Spanish bilingual in the West of Scotland context. Participants highlighted extrinsic benefits that could bring economic and career advantages to children in the future but they also recognised the 'bidirectional transfer' (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) of these benefits onto Scottish society.

However, in even greater depth, families discussed intrinsic benefits of bilingualism and biculturalism such as confidence, enriched cultural identities, respect for difference and diversity, cognitive and neurological function and the shaping of positive, open-minded attitudes and values. The interaction between the individual and their systems is compared with Bronfenbrenner's Bioecological Model (1994).

Participants reported a variety of benefits arising from being part of a bilingual family that could be categorised as extrinsic or intrinsic (Sarkar, 2001; Sorace, 2017). As explored in section 2.2.3 'The Effects of Bilingualism', extrinsic gains of bilingualism are the value-added benefits derived from knowing two or more languages that can bring economic and commercial advantage to the individual or a society in an increasingly global world. Meanwhile, intrinsic benefits are personal to the individual's sense of identity; understanding and respect for one's roots and heritage; developing the capability to negotiate their own rightful place in a multilingual and multicultural society; their cognitive and socio-emotional development; and shaping of their attitudes and values.

In terms of extrinsic benefits, all parents felt that being competent in Spanish would enhance their children's career opportunities in the future, as language skills are often sought after by employers (Foreman-Peck & Zhou, 2015; Callahan & Gandara, 2014). Due to the dominance of Spanish in Latin and North America, all parents said that Spanish was a useful language to know as it was so widely spoken which supports (2016) Mejia's findings in Australia. These two factors could provide better employment opportunities as their children would not be restricted to employment in the UK or other anglophone countries and would have desirable skills in a global employment market. This finding echoes parents in previous studies involving other languages (e.g. Francis et al., 2010; Piller & Gerber, 2018).

> They will have more [job] opportunities here and also be able to work in lots of other places too. Anywhere in Spain, South America, even the USA - the world is their oyster!
>
> (Belén Sanchez)

Some parents mentioned that Spanish language and intercultural skills would also allow their children to attend university or college in Spain or any Latin American country rather than being restricted to the UK university system. Moreover, both children and parents commented that their heightened linguistic and cultural skills gave children the confidence to travel; many were frequent travellers going on trips to visit extended family abroad (especially within Europe) and others expressed they were confident in adapting to new settings.

They embraced linguistic and cultural diversity – they were not frightened of difference or meeting new people. Teenager Paula Fernandez had travelled quite extensively with her family and stated that being able to speak Spanish "is great because I can go anywhere and speak to so many different people" and that she would "happily go and speak to new people and do new things". This confidence could be considered an intrinsic benefit for the young participants but it is also key to realising opportunities to work or study abroad later in life.

Previous research by Foreman-Peck (2014) highlighted the economic benefits for not only the individual but for employers and for the overall economy of a nation too. He stated that the UK economy loses out on approximately £48billion a year due to a lack of linguistic and intercultural talent; this has been estimated as a loss of £500 million annually to the Scottish economy (Grove, 2012).

Education Scotland (2010) argue that this skills deficit could be filled through better language learning in education and, crucially in the context of this study, by nurturing and fostering the heritage languages of bilingual citizens. However, this is in contrast to the experiences that participants recounted to me. Mother and EAL specialist teacher Rebecca Fernandez reflected not only on her own children but also the hundreds of bilingual pupils she worked with:

> There are so many kids who can speak at least two languages and no one seems to care [...] and that bugs the hell out of me.
>
> (Rebecca Fernandez)

Rebecca illustrated the point that there is a wealth of linguistic talent at native speaker level in Scotland which could potentially be nurtured for the individual, for society and for the future of the Scottish economy. This speaks to Sorace's (2017) argument on the wider benefits of bilingualism; the relationship between individual benefits for the bilingual child, and benefits for wider society is not one directional and is interconnected, emphasising reciprocity between systems and structures (Bronfenbrenner, 1994). Nevertheless, despite research evidence and policy statements to the contrary, bilingual children's heritage languages still appear to be undervalued in schools and Scottish society.

Turning to the intrinsic benefits of bilingualism, many of the adults in this study discussed evidence pointing to the cognitive and neurological benefits of bilingualism that they had heard about. Although the parents did not use the scientific terminology of 'executive function' or 'cognitive reserve', they were able to summarise information they had encountered in the media and could articulate the general cerebral health benefits as reviewed in Chapter 2, section 2.2.3. Research evidence indicated a discrete benefit they themselves could not qualify but being aware of the evidence reinforced their beliefs that bilingualism was an advantage.

My data shows that 13 out of 14 families used a 'Spanglish' amalgamation of Spanish and English (Olague, 2003; MacSwan, 2004). Families code-switched between Spanish and English, and sometimes other languages where the household used more, for a variety of reasons. These included being more

familiar with contextual vocabulary in one language over the other; to express emotion; forgetting a word; not knowing a word; the word does not exist in the other language; the word sounds better phonetically; to speak in secret; to play with words; or simply "just because we can" (seven-year-old Ana Rodriguez). These findings support much of what is already known on code switching (Dewaele & Wei, 2014; Harding-Esch & Riley, 2006) and it was clear that families felt this linguistic agility was a natural and valuable skill to possess even though monolinguals might consider it as "*muy* weird" (nine-year-old Juan García).

Participants gave numerous examples of children having high linguistic awareness, not only in Spanish and English but in the application of this to other languages too. Children frequently reported that they were able to independently transfer their literacy skills between their languages which enhanced language and literacy skills in all languages, supporting previous research evidence (e.g. Baker, 2011; Fielding & Harbon, 2020). Six-year-old Mateo Torres recognised that, "as long as they are the same letters as in English then I would be able to read and write in Spanish" and similarly, eight-year-old Enrique Alonso commented, "I can read a little bit and I can write [in Spanish] because I know the sounds in English", illustrating the application of phonics across languages.

Building on prior research by Hancock (2010), Ivashinenko (2018) and Kenner et al. (2008), parents emphasised that sharing texts allowed children to learn heritage culture in addition to language skills. Furthermore, the teenagers who participated in this study felt that their very high achievement in the school subjects of French and Italian was directly linked to the fact that they had an understanding of Spanish and that they were able to transfer knowledge and skills between languages.

> Last year I did Italian and the only reason I passed that was because I knew Spanish, it helped me so much.
>
> (16-year-old Paula Fernandez)

Almost all participants had very positive attitudes to learning other languages, which correlates with existing research from Sorace (2017) and Kao (2008). The exception was 11-year-old Alejo Torres who said that languages were "boring" in

school, perhaps this was because his teacher did not factor in Alejo's prior knowledge of Spanish and made him do the same work as his classmates. Rachel Gimenez reported that her daughter's (Scottish) teacher corrected Vicky's Mexican pronunciation during Spanish lessons. These examples suggest that where some teachers' pedagogy is not inclusive for bilingual learners' needs, it can cause negativity towards language learning (Sood & Mistry, 2011; Anderson et al., 2017).

In addition, families reported wider intrinsic benefits such as problem solving skills, being quick to adapt to change, and being empathetic, open-minded and tolerant of difference.

> I think having more than one language and culture opens doors and borders come down.
>
> (Jannika Rodriguez)

The bilingual families in this study reported that their lives were richer and more interesting as a result of having at least two different languages and cultures, resonating with Moskal and Sime's (2016) and Schwartz et al.'s (2019) explanation of cultures blending or hybridising. Data exemplified Bronfenbrenner's (1979) argument that experiencing two macrosystems enhances a child's development and gives them a more valid worldview (Shelton, 2019).

Bronfenbrenner's (1994) point that the relationship between an individual and their systems is bidirectional is borne out by the data; the intrinsic benefits of bilingualism and biculturalism impact directly upon the development of participants, while they contribute to the exosystem by promoting multicultural neighbourhoods and communities, and boosting Scottish industry and economy. Participants discussed future benefits, illustrating the role of the chronosystem (Bronfenbrenner, 1994).

Participants may also influence the wider attitudes, values and beliefs of the macrosystem by encouraging inclusion, tolerance and diversity. In summary, all participants reported advantages they felt they had gained from being bilingual and bicultural, emphasising perceived intrinsic benefits over extrinsic benefits.

However, participants gave examples to suggest that awareness needed to be raised in wider society surrounding these benefits, which links to Key Finding 5 where barriers to bilingualism will be discussed in greater depth.

8.6 Key Finding 5: The promotion of English monolingualism is the biggest obstacle to bilingualism

My data shows that participants felt bilingualism was being hindered by external obstacles, chiefly the promotion of English monolingualism, which resulted in them not being able to fully reap some of the benefits they had identified in Key Finding 4. In the context of Bronfenbrenner's (1994) Bioecological Model, these barriers existed in the microsystem of school (which will be discussed in-depth in section 8.7) and also within the exosytem and the overarching macrosystem. This section explores how these reported barriers and challenges impacted upon the extent to which families perceived that Spanish language and Hispanic culture were nurtured and, in turn, upon their quality of life.

The global dominance of the English language was reported as a tremendous barrier by participants in this study. There were strong views on this, especially from the adults.

> Everyone assumes that the whole world speaks English and has an attitude like 'why should we have to learn another language?' It's a real lack of value for languages I think.
>
> (Gemma Gomez)

Parents' experiences supported previous studies in the UK by Mehmedbegović (2014; 2018) and Phipps and Fassetta (2015), and in Australia by Jones-Diaz (2011) and Piller and Gerber (2018) illustrating that monolingual English-speaking has become a societal norm, despite evidence showing that monolingualism is in fact the exception. Adult participants all believed that the dominance of English, as discussed in Chapter 2 (2.2.4), had allowed it to become a dominant *lingua franca,* spoken globally and controlling the economy, creating an advantage for native English-speakers and causing greater inequalities for speakers of other languages (Cameron, 2012; Phillipson, 2013).

Dan Martin felt that the promotion of English monolingualism stemmed from a "post-imperial mindset" which supports literature in Chapter 2 discussing the invention of monolingualism as a means of maintaining status and political and economic power (Gramling, 2011; 2016). Chapter 2 introduced 'linguistic imperialism' as the imposition of a dominant language, and culture, onto other people as a demonstration of power (Phipps, 2014) whereas participant Rebecca Fernandez referred to this as a "predator language" - a much more hostile term than *lingua franca* which, could be argued, sugar-coats the divisive process of linguistic imperialism.

The global dominance of English affects the attitudes and values of not only anglophone countries but also persuades the rest of the world that English is <u>the</u> language to aspire to, as Alisaari (2020) reported in Finland. Similarly to some Polish parents in Scotland (Moskal and Sime, 2016), Andres Sacco, Gemma Gomez and Mariana Alonso all prioritised learning English over Spanish for their children on the advice of the child's teacher despite research evidence suggesting extrinsic and intrinsic benefits of bilingualism (see section 2.2.3). Gemma Gomez stated that she felt speaking Spanish in public with her sons was "a bit rude and disrespectful" therefore she preferred to use English when outside the home which echoed findings from parents in England (Deakin, 2016) and Canada (Ballinger et al., 2020).

Linguistic imperialism creates a hierarchy of languages by positioning English at the pinnacle and all others below. Parents discussed this perceived hierarchy and felt fortunate that, in their view, Spanish is perceived as a useful language in Scotland and the UK due to tourism in Spain, thus it typically had a positive response from monolingual Scots, which was identical to Jones-Díaz (2011) and Mejia's (2007; 2016) findings in Australia. The only negative example given was from Venezuelan mum Gimena Carreras who recalled not understanding a bus driver who then got angry and commented that she should not be living in Glasgow if she could not speak English.

Nevertheless, two other parents told me about friends who spoke languages which were perhaps perceived to be lower down in the hierarchy (Polish and

Arabic), resulting in derogatory remarks and unfair treatment from strangers and teachers. This concurs with previous research (Mehmedbegović, 2014; King & Carson, 2016; Ivashinenko, 2018) which showed that some languages suffer from a power imbalance where one is favoured over the other or perceived to be better/more useful. Fortunately, linguicism and racism were not issues that participants had really experienced directly themselves compared to many Central and Eastern Europeans in Scotland (Sime, 2020) or Hispanics in the USA (Portes & Rivas, 2011).

Concurring with previous studies in the UK (Sime, 2020; Tyrrell et al., 2019), three European families felt that Brexit was a substantial barrier to their future and their day-to-day wellbeing as it filled them with anxiety and uncertainty over employment and their potential rights to live and work in the UK. Like CEE teenagers (Tyrrell et al., ibid, p.2), Sofia Sanchez felt "very stressed wondering what is going to happen to us after Brexit" - it was clearly impacting negatively on her sense of belonging and 'deconstructing' her identity.

A global rise in right-wing politics and anti-immigration rhetoric (Uflewska, 2018) was a barrier to families' emotional wellbeing and the shaping of bicultural identity, albeit this was expressed mainly by adults rather than their children.

> One day in town there was a protest and someone had a card saying, "Stop Donald Trump, no wall!" and Ana asked what it meant so I explained to her. She entirely got the fact that there was a wall to be built to keep people like her and her dad out.
>
> (Jannika Rodriguez)

In addition to monopolising the linguistic profile of a country, Chapter 2 (2.3.2) discussed cultural assimilation (Berry, 2017; Cameron, 2012) as a means of homogenising cultures. This one-way transfer of the majority culture upon minority communities can have a detrimental impact on the development of bicultural identities (Sorrells, 2013; Cobb et al., 2016). Contrary to this, children and parents in this study gave examples of how they had absorbed elements of Scottish and British culture but they perceived this positively as it enriched their lives, exemplifying 'transculturation' observed in some Polish migrants (Moskal & Sime, 2016). For example, the Spanish and Italian Perez parents deliberately

chose to send their children to a Gaelic Medium school so that they would learn a language and culture that, as international parents, they themselves could not provide.

Although families sought to maintain their heritage culture and gave countless examples of this - mainly through food, festivals and celebrations - they overwhelmingly believed that they did not have to choose between cultures. My findings were consistent with previous studies that cultural transmission was easier than language maintenance because it involved simple day-to-day aspects such as food, music, traditions, parental expectations and the family unit (Deakin, 2016; Mejia, 2016; Ivashinenko, 2018; Ballinger et al., 2020).

Several parents firmly believed that their children were developing their own unique cultural identities formed from their Scottish and heritage cultural backgrounds. Speaking to Schwartz et al.'s (2019) findings on 'hybridisation' of identities in the USA, Jannika Rodriguez described this as a "fusion of the cultures that makes you who you are and gives you your own unique identity".

> They've got a new identity, it's not a Mexican culture or a British culture, it's a kind of new identity that they have constructed where they take aspects of both to find themselves.
>
> (Rebecca Gimenez)

My data supports Grosjean's (2015; 2019) argument that modern societies are in flux therefore cultural identity is constantly adapting and evolving too. Some families gave examples of sharing their cultures with Scottish family and friends, illustrating a two-way 'transculturation' process where cultures fuse and complement each other rather than clash (Rama, 2012).

Speaking to Bronfenbrenner's (1979) hypothesis of multiple macrosystems enhancing child development, participants strongly felt that their lives were richer from being bicultural, however there were some barriers to this. Firstly, an issue highlighted by De Houwer (2007), most parents discussed the challenge of being only one or two lone individuals trying to maintain the heritage culture in a Scottish context – they had no substantial community to teach, grow, share

and apply Hispanic culture (see Key Finding 1, section 8.2). Many stated that Club Estrella contributed to providing a community environment but for those who no longer attended, the onus was solely on the parent(s).

Secondly, a lack of opportunity to be immersed in the heritage culture was a barrier for families, especially those from Latin America due to the financial costs and time incurred to get there, as discussed in Key Finding 2 (section 8.3). Parents recognised that growing up immersed in the macrosysytem (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) of Spain, Latin America, or even in the USA as Mariana Alonso highlighted, would influence children's cultural identity to a much greater extent than living in Scotland. This is further evidenced by research on the vital role of the Latin American community in London in helping young people to shape a bicultural Hispanic identity (Granada, 2013; McIlwaine, 2012; McIlwaine & Bunge, 2016).

In summary, families recounted that in schools, Scottish society and the wider anglophone world there was a focus on (English) monolingualism fuelled by negative rhetoric on immigration, multiculturalism and multilingualism. These macrosystemic beliefs and values were the largest barrier for them. They described political challenges such as Brexit, right-wing ideologies and anti-immigration discourse which did not always impact upon them directly but as we have seen in Chapter 3, all of which filters through to educational policy (in the exosystem) and professional practice in Scotland (in the microsystem) as will be discussed next in Key Finding 6 (8.7).

Participants felt that it was somewhat easier to nurture their bicultural than bilingual identity, they gave many positive examples of how Scottish and Hispanic cultures combined and complement each other at home and in Scottish society. This, once again, reinforced the bidirectional nature of interaction between an individual and their wider exosystem and macrosystem because participants felt their culture could enrich and diversify Scottish society if given the opportunity.

8.7 Key Finding 6: There are inconsistencies between educational policy aims and professional practice

This section compares language and wider education policies in Scotland (discussed in Chapter 4) to data emerging from listening to participants' experiences of how these policies are implemented in practice. My data shows that participants typically felt unsupported and their experiences suggest discrepancies between educational policy and its implementation in schools. They reported that current Scottish policy for languages did little to support heritage languages in practice.

Data indicates that most participants felt school staff were generally uninformed regarding bilingualism and biculturalism, and lacked trained in strategies to support bilingual children. Participants reported what could be described as a subtractive model of bilingualism (Lambert, 1975) in schools which appeared to focus too heavily on developing English to the detriment of heritage languages. Later, this section considers these inconsistencies in the context of Bronfenbrenner's Bioecological Model (1994).

Linking to Key Finding 5 which discussed barriers to bilingualism and the dominance of English, teenager Paula Fernandez stated that her classmates' general outlook towards language learning was negative, "Oh, everyone can speak English so what's the point?" she mocked. Dan Martin also reflected on language education in Scotland's schools which confirmed McPake's (2006) argument of negative British attitudes and values towards languages in general:

> I think that language teaching in school isn't very good and doesn't have a lot of value attached to it. I think that the cultural mindset definitely needs to shift.
>
> (Dan Martin)

Like bilingual pupils in London (e.g. Wallace & Mallows, 2009; Mehmedbegović, 2014), participants reported that acquisition of English was prioritised to the detriment of Spanish bilingualism, which they felt was not valued nor viewed positively in Scottish education and wider society. This is an illustration of Lambert's (1975) and Cummins' (1991; 1994) concept of subtractive bilingualism compared to an ethos of additive bilingualism where both languages have equal worth and complement each other.

My data also supports with Phipps and Fassetta's (2015) argument that although Scotland positions itself as an open and welcoming society, policy affords little value to the languages and cultures that migrants bring with them. The two teacher participants in this study (Rebecca Fernandez and Rachel Giménez) felt most strongly about this as they could not only present their experiences and views as a bilingual parent themselves but also recount the experiences they have had from working with hundreds of bilingual pupils over the years.

> [English] is too much of a priority and is taking over to the expense of children's home languages [...] The notion that children have to learn English at the expense of their home language, like it's either one or the other and you can't have both, is simply crazy.
>
> (Rachel Giménez)

The experiences that participants and these two teachers described goes against the policy aims of 'Language Learning in Scotland: A 1+2 Approach' (Scottish Government, 2012c) whereby every child is currently entitled to learn two languages (L2 and L3) in addition to their own 'mother tongue' (L1). Policy makers and civil servants insist that L1 is the child's mother tongue (heritage language), however, in practice, children and parents in this study refute this stating that, in schools, their children's knowledge of Spanish "is ignored at best and stifled at worst" (Pedro Torres). This echoes Hancock's (2010) and Berwick's (2020) findings that in Scotland, teachers show little interest or awareness in pupils' heritage languages.

Moreover, policy makers originally stated that schools' L3 would encourage cultural and linguistic diversity whilst promoting multilingualism (Allan, 2011) but this ideology had not materialised as schools have defaulted towards the SQA suite of languages offered for their L3 provision rather than including heritage languages (Christie et al., 2016; Hancock, 2016; Glen, 2017). Controversially, updated guidance on L3 from Education Scotland contradicted original recommendations and policy aims (Scottish Government, 2012b) by advising:

> There is no expectation that the secondary school offer the same L3 as was studied at the primary stages, although this would be ideal. (Education Scotland, 2019, p2)

> Ideally, children would experience the same L3 from P5 to P7. (Education

Scotland, 2019, p4)

This updated guidance does not appear to be evidence based and it begs the question 'ideal' for who – secondary schools and the SQA who want to see improved attainment in exam results? Participants in this study felt that exposure to multiple languages would encourage positive attitudes towards languages, therefore a narrow approach was certainly not 'ideal' for creating a diverse, multicultural society. This is another example of a discrepancy between well-intended policy aims and implementation once it filtered through layers of Scottish Government agencies into practice.

Table 8.1 analyses the aims of a Curriculum for Excellence (CfE) (Education Scotland, 2011a; 2015) compared to participants' experiences, previous research evidence on bilingualism and biculturalism (Chapter 2) and the Scottish policy context (Chapter 4). Participants' stories highlight inconsistencies between policy aims and actual outcomes for bilingual participants. For example, research suggests that children benefit from literacy skills transfer across all languages and bilingualism could contribute to greater academic success (e.g. Baker, 2011; Sorace, 2017). Yet, Belén Sanchez reported that her children's knowledge of Spanish and Catalan was not capitalised upon by their teachers, and Andres Sacco said that his son's teachers questioned use of Spanish at home as the reason for Lucas' issues in English.

Moreover, a CfE aims for young people in Scotland to be 'confident individuals' but the linguistic skills of bilingual children are often not celebrated, or perhaps viewed negatively in schools, the media and wider society, as Teresa Lopez and Rebecca Fernandez outlined. This subtractive ethos towards bilingualism reflects findings by Mehmedbegović et al. (2018) and Sood and Mistry (2011) in England. Whereas, research shows that positively nurturing heritage languages and cultures is healthy for bilinguals' self-esteem and sense of identity (Edwards, 2009; Chow & Cummins, 2003); in fact it is their right to maintain and celebrate these (OHCHR, 1989). Table 8.1, on the following page, suggests areas for educational implications arising from this study that will be revisited in Chapter 9.

Table 8-1: Analysis of CfE aims against data and research evidence

The four capacities of a CfE	Participants' Experiences	Research Evidence	Analysis
A successful learner	"There was absolutely no interest shown in their abilities in Catalan or Spanish, and no effort made to help them maintain it at all." (Belén Sanchez) "The teacher said he was behind in his English and she didn't know if it was something to do with us speaking Spanish at home." (Andres Sacco)	Research suggests that there are many neurological benefits of bilingualism. (Bak, 2020) Literacy skills in one language transfer and enhance their skills in others. (Baker, 2011)	Participants could have better academic achievement and be more **successful learners** if they developed enhanced executive function from bilingualism and biliteracy.
A confident individual	"I think people look down their nose at you and think it's strange [to speak to your child in Spanish in public]." (Teresa Lopez) "I've got dozens of pupils who speak, read and write Arabic and no-one says 'WOW!' to them." (Rebecca Fernandez)	Language and culture are central to one's identity. (Chow and Cummins, 2003) Families should not need to cast off the language and culture of the home. (Little and Kirwan, 2019) A child has the right "to enjoy his or her own culture […] or to use his or her own language". (OHCHR,1989, article 30)	Participants could be more **confident individuals** and have a stronger sense of self if their linguistic and cultural identity were viewed positively and nurtured.
A responsible citizen	"I think having more than one language and culture opens doors and borders come down." (Jannika Rodriguez) "If someone else is bilingual or comes from another country, you have sympathy for them when they're new and you try to help them." (Sofia Sanchez)	Hybrid biculturalism allows greater empathy and understanding of different cultural perspectives out with their own. (Schwartz et al., 2019) Cultures can combine and enrich each other. (Rama, 2012).	Being able to function in an increasingly global world is easier for bilinguals. Participants could be even more **responsible citizens** if their linguistic and cultural skills were nurtured.
An effective contributor	"There is a lot of work to do in educating the Scottish people on the benefits of multilingualism and multiculturalism." (Teresa Lopez)	The UK economy loses out on approximately £48billion a year due to a lack of linguistic and intercultural talent (Foreman-Peck, 2014) An estimated loss of £500 million annually to the Scottish economy due to lack of language skills. (Grove, 2012)	Participants could be **effective contributors** by improving the Scottish economy and diversifying society.

In addition to a Curriculum for Excellence, schools are guided by the 'Getting it right for every child' (GIRFEC) policy (Scottish Government, 2012a) (see Chapter 4, section 4.2.6) which aims to improve overall outcomes for children and young people by supporting their wellbeing through joined-up provision across health,

education and social services. Findings indicate that there are discrepancies between some of the eight goals of the GIRFEC policy - namely Safe, Healthy, Nurtured, Respected and Included - compared to participants' experiences.

Reflecting on the indicator of 'safe', anti-immigration rhetoric, racism and Brexit made some participants feel vulnerable and unsafe. Sofia Sanchez discussed insecurity and feeling "very stressed wondering what is going to happen to us after Brexit". Research suggests that a strong sense of identity is good for mental health and wellbeing (Bak & Mehmedbegović, 2017) yet if schools and wider society do not acknowledge or celebrate children's linguistic and cultural identities then this can damage their self-esteem and confidence. An example of this was Paula Fernandez who was put in a low ability group and, as a result, it negatively affected her confidence and achievement.

The indicators of 'nurtured' and 'respected' are interconnected; Participants reported that Scottish education and wider society had a subtractive model of bilingualism and biculturalism which did not nurture their linguistic and cultural identities. Therefore, participants' felt that their heritage language and culture were not well respected. EAL Specialist teacher Rebecca Fernandez said that mainstream class teachers were often "apathetic" and "not interested" towards bilingual pupils' backgrounds. In a professional capacity, Susana Martin had visited 12 school in the West of Scotland and stated that "there was only one that actually seemed to be conscious about the children's cultural heritages and their home languages". Finally, subtractive models of bilingualism in participants' schools indicated that settings were not inclusive towards heritage languages and cultures, and wanted them to prioritise English – they appeared to view bilingualism as a deficiency rather than an asset. Belén Sanchez reflected, "The teachers put so much importance on learning English that it made my boys feel like failures".

Ultimately, participants' experiences indicated that the principle aims of a CfE and GIRFEC were not being fully met for this particular group of bilingual children, they had unleased potential, and responses highlighted a disparity between policy and how it was implemented in practice. Findings suggest that

outcomes could be improved if attitudes and values, manifested through policy and practice, were more positive towards bilingualism and biculturalism and fostered additive bilingualism as Lambert (1975) and Cummins (1991;1994) recommend.

As advocated by researchers such as Little and Kirwan (2019) and Lo Bianco, Nicolas and Hannan (2019), the Rodriguez, Martin, García and Perez families were encouraged to maintain Spanish at home. They felt this was primarily because the children attended very diverse and multicultural settings where respect for languages and cultures was perceived to be embedded in the school ethos, including Gaelic Medium Education (Perez and García families). Whereas, the other ten families felt that they were not encouraged by schools or nurseries to use and maintain Spanish. This is at odds with research by Skutnabb-Kangas (2000, p.501) who wrote that it is "the duty of the educational system to enable minority children to become bilingual". She argued that many language policy environments discriminate against minority speakers and contravene linguistic human rights.

Going further than a sense of 'duty' is the legally binding United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (OHCHR, 1989) in which Article 30 states that a child must be allowed "to enjoy his or her own culture, to profess and practice his or her own religion, or to use his or her own language". The experiences of most participants indicated that there was a discrepancy between the aims of the UNCRC treaty and its implementation at school level. An exception to this was where heritage languages were promoted by specialist EAL teachers in schools. They were reported to be knowledgeable and trained in the benefits of bilingualism and techniques compared to their mainstream colleagues.

> Every school needs a teacher like her [EAL specialist teacher]. A person who values languages and cultural difference.
>
> (Belén Sanchez)

10 out of 14 families felt that schools and class teachers placed little or no value on bilingualism and the children's heritage language(s). This correlated with previous research on teachers' negative attitudes towards bilingualism discussed in Chapter 2 (Sood & Mistry, 2011; Mehmedbegović, 2014; Anderson et al.,

2016). Some schools occasionally acknowledged children's Hispanic heritage and language but this was perceived by parents as tokenistic because it was only celebrated at certain events, for example European Day of Languages or during the World Cup, highlighting what Murray and O'Doherty (2001) refer to as 'touristic interculturalism'.

The Torres and Gimenez families reported that schools did not even identify their children as being from a mixed heritage and bilingual background because the mother was a native Scot and the children spoke fluent English. This resonates with Berg (2017) and McIlwaine and Bunge (2016) who reported that many Latin Americans felt 'invisible' as they were not identified as an ethnic group on government forms. Families reported that class teachers and schools did not recognise the linguistic and academic needs of advanced bilinguals who often had gaps in their learning and still needed support to develop their academic level of English and higher order language skills (Cummins, 2000; 2008).

Whilst it is understandable that support is most needed for newly arrived pupils, class teachers should plan appropriately challenging activities to meet the needs of all learners and provide the right level of support for all pupils to achieve (GTCS, 2012; Cummins, 2008). This reported lack of support for advanced bilinguals was perhaps fuelled by policy and reports which frequently placed emphasis on newly arrived children and young people. The policy documents 'Count Us In' (HMIE, 2009) and the first edition of 'Learning in 2+ Languages' (Learning and Teaching Scotland, 2005) focused mainly on newly-arrived families and offered little guidance on working with home-born or advanced bilinguals. These documents also used the term 'first language' which was often inaccurate for bilinguals with a British mother (the Sacco, Gimenez, Fernandez and Torres families), or in the case of the Sanchez family where Catalan was the family's first language. Both versions of the New Scots Strategies (Scottish Government, 2013a; 2018a) were aimed at supporting newly arrived refugees or asylum seekers and, again, offered little support for bilingual children, young people and adults who had lived in Scotland for a longer period of time.

Thirteen families, except Emilia Martin in her nursery context, disclosed that

they were not given the opportunity to use Spanish in school as a bilingual learning strategy. This correlates with previous research discussed in Chapter 2 which found limited use of students' first language in Scottish schools (Anderson et al., 2016; Foley, Sangster & Anderson, 2013; Hancock, 2012). Exemplifying recommended good practice of additive bilingualism (Lambert, 1975; Cummins, 1991; 1994), nursery staff actively encouraged Emilia to use Spanish with a classmate.

However, this is contrary to what teacher Rebecca Fernandez described as typical in the schools where she worked. She explained that, where pupils shared the same heritage language, teachers would normally discourage them from communicating with each other in that language because they thought it would hinder acquisition of English. Her experience speaks to previous research which indicates teachers' lack of knowledge on bilingual pedagogy (Sood & Mistry 2011; Mehmedbegović, 2014) and is contradictory to studies by Alisaari (2020) and Little and Kirwan (2019) which show schools supporting use of heritage languages and promoting a positive climate of multilingualism.

Overwhelmingly, participants identified professional practice that did not foster the principles of additive bilingualism and went against current inclusive, bilingual pedagogy, for example class teachers putting bilingual pupils in the lowest ability grouping. This correlated studies by Foley, Sangster and Anderson (2013) and Forbes and Sime (2016) in Scottish schools and also in England by Mehmedbegović et al. (2018). Parents felt that class teachers were uninformed on the benefits of bilingualism, and based their knowledge on misinformation around the topic rather than evidenced-based pedagogy, echoing previous studies by Mehmedbegović et al. (2015; 2018) and Sime (2018).

Data reaffirmed that negative public debate on multilingualism, multiculturalism and migration shapes negative attitudes not only in wider society but also informed the beliefs and practice of educators (Sunami, 2004; Mistry & Sood, 2012; Mehmedbegović (2014). Parents in this study did not believe that class teachers were inherently racist or xenophobic, but simply misguided by the media and negative rhetoric.

Further to this, parents felt that class teachers lacked training and pedagogic knowledge on bilingualism and biculturalism. This confirmed findings from a SCILT report (2017) and research from Anderson et al. (2016) on Initial Teacher Education (ITE) courses in Scottish universities which both indicated very low levels of input for student teachers on how to support bilingual learners. EAL input is not currently a formally required element of the ITE curriculum in Scotland which Foley, Sangster and Anderson (2013, p.193) describe as "striking current lacunae in policy guidelines".

Many parents felt that there was little guidance to support parents in raising their children bilingually so they had read books and online articles to develop their understanding of bilingual parenting and strategies, albeit with varying degrees of perceived success. Similar to parents in Piller and Gerber's Australian study (2018), they felt very much alone and left to their own devices in bilingual parenting. Mariana Alonso wished that "someone had pointed the myths, challenges, benefits and strategies [of bilingualism] out to us sooner because I've spent years feeling guilty!"

They would have welcomed support and guidance from teachers and other professionals, for example two mothers recalled that Health Visitors and Speech and Language Therapists highly promoted bilingualism and gave them useful advice, which contrasts with Moskal and Sime (2016) who found that speech and language therapists had been hired to 'improve' Polish pupils' English language skills. Some parents who had not been given guidance nor informed themselves independently looked to their children's class teachers for advice and guidance, which stresses the importance of teacher knowledge in bilingualism to be able to support pupils and parents (Alisaari, 2020).

Like migrant families from CEE (O'Toole, 2016; Moskal & Sime, 2016), families who did not have one UK born parent described settling in and the school admissions procedure as challenging, especially where they had migrated to Scotland with children versus their children being born and growing up there. Gemma Gomez and Belén Sanchez explained that they found it difficult to

understand and become accustomed to the rules, norms and expectations of the Scottish education system.

The Sanchez girls and Paula Fernandez also described confusion when they initially started school in Scotland which correlates with previous research by Cajkler and Hall (2009; 2012) who found that many teachers lacked confidence in integrating newly arrived bilinguals into standard classroom practice. Training in building positive relationships with newly arrived families was a recommendation of 'Count Us In' (HMIE, 2009) but families in this study reported a gap that still exists in the implementation of this, echoing findings from Robinson and Harris (2014) in the USA and Hayes, O'Toole and Halpenny (2017) in Ireland.

As Foley, Sangster and Anderson (2013) found, some children and the two teachers who participated in this research highlighted a lack of dialogue between EAL specialist teachers and class teachers as per policy recommendations from 'Learning in 2+ Languages' (Learning and Teaching Scotland, 2005). Similar to studies by Amniana and Gadour (2007) and Sunami (2004), often bilingual pupils, especially when newly arrived, were removed from class and/or given activities to complete which were set by an EAL specialist teacher. In many instances, this was not linked to the work of the mainstream class due to lack of communication and interaction between the two teachers, making the work less meaningful and irrelevant (Sood & Mistry, 2011; Anderson et al., 2016).

Children and parents who had received support from an EAL specialist teacher reported that this intervention had the most positive impact upon the child's learning and overall school experience. They described EAL specialist teachers as empathetic, skilled, excellent role models and highly knowledgeable. Unfortunately, there is disparity in EAL services across regions with bilingual pupils in rural or remote areas receiving little support (Murakami, 2008). Furthermore, Foley, Sangster and Anderson (2013, p.203) summarised that in Scotland's 32 Local Authorities, "provision is patchy at best and non-existent at worst".

In comparing participants' responses regarding educational policy and practice with Bronfenbrenner's Bioecolgical Model (1994) we can see that gaps exist within all systems relating the development of language and cultural identity. Within the microsystem, only one child was actively encouraged to use Spanish in an educational setting, none of the other children used Spanish in the classroom. Moreover, the perceived lack of teacher training and knowledge of bilingual pedagogy further emphasised that bilingual children's language and culture were not being nurtured in schools.

An ethos of subtractive bilingualism was generally reported across participants' schools despite current educational policy aims of fostering heritage languages and a multilingual outlook at exosystemic level. This could be attributed to teachers' values, attitudes and beliefs informed by wider macrosystemic topics such as immigration or monolingualism. Lack of communication and understanding between structures in the microsystem (for example, interaction between parents/ mainstream teachers/ EAL specialist teachers) showed that the mesosystem also had gaps for participants in this study. Some parents and children described the school entry and integration process as challenging but, as discussed in Key Findings 1 and 2, members of Club Estrella supported each other and helped newly arrived families to settle.

8.8 Key Finding 7: Existing ecological systems models have limited explanatory power

Chapter 3 discussed the evolution of Bronfenbrenner's Bioecological Model (1994) from his earlier Ecological Systems Model (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) to explore how environmental factors and social processes interact to influence child development. I focused, in particular, on how these systems and structures interacted to influence the construction of linguistic and cultural identities. I also discussed Johnson and Puplampu's (2008) and Martin's (2014) adapted models which began to account for the role that technology plays in the lives of children and young people. Key Finding 7 is a theoretical one that draws upon evidence presented in the first six Key Findings and suggests that the aforementioned existing ecological models have limited explanatory power in

understanding the context of my participants.

The first six Key Findings of this research have highlighted that Bronfenbrenner's Bioecological Model was limited in accounting for the development of linguistic and cultural identities of my participants. While Bronfenbrenner (1979) acknowledged that the absence of key structures (e.g. an absent parent or non-attendance at school) may cause a 'breakdown' across the layers of system, it did not account for multiple absences particularly in the formation of identity and language acquisition. Key Findings 1-6 highlighted that numerous gaps existed in the layers of participants' lives as they were missing some of the key structures across systems but that they had used Club Estrella and digital technology to compensate and find solutions to bridge the gaps, as summarised in Table 8.2.

The table shows that no participants had Spanish-speaking extended family in Scotland so they used digital apps such as WhatsApp, FaceTime and Skype to communicate with family overseas. Participants did not have regular first-hand experience of Hispanic culture so they used digital technology to engage with culture virtually (e.g. music on YouTube, programmes and movies on Netflix, live streaming of sports) and attended celebrations and events held by Club Estrella. There was a reported lack of information and communication between school and parents so members of Club Estrella relied on each other for support, like Latin American families in London (McIlwaine & Bunge, 2016) and Russian-speakers in Scotland (Ivashinenko, 2018).

Table 8-2: Limitations of Bronfenbrenner's Bioecological Model against participants' experiences

Bioecological System	Gaps and Challenges	Participants' Experiences
Microsystem	• Most children do not have Spanish-speaking friends. • Most families have only one Spanish-speaking parent. • Spanish only used in immediate family household. • Most children do not use Spanish at school (formal or informally). • Lack of teacher knowledge and skills in bilingual pedagogies.	• Using digital technology to maintain friendships. • Using digital technology to make new friendships. • Meeting friends and acquaintances at Estrella. • Using digital technology as an educational tool to learn Spanish. • Online support for bilingual parenting.
Mesosystem	• Interaction between parents and school - sometimes misinformation given. • More dialogue needed between teachers and EAL specialists. • Some parents described school admissions process as difficult. • Discrepancies between educational policy and how it is implemented by teachers in schools.	• Using Club Estrella as a support network for school admissions process. • Digital technology facilitating interaction between systems.
Exosystem	• No extended Spanish-speaking family in Scotland. • No substantial local Spanish-speaking neighbourhood or community. • Educational policy in schools is one of subtractive bilingualism. • Parent's job influenced how much time they spent interacting with child.	• Using digital technology to maintain and create family bonds online. • Using digital technology to belong to online communities. • Using Club Estrella to create a community.
Macrosystem	• Values, attitudes and beliefs of (English) monolingualism. • Dominance of English and 'linguistic imperialism' in wider society. • Most children do not have regular contact with Hispanic cultural attitudes, values and beliefs.	• Using digital technology to engage with elements of Hispanic culture. • Using Club Estrella to engage with elements of Hispanic culture. • Using Club Estrella as a 'safe space' to be bilingual and engage with like-minded others.
Chronosystem	• Migration and settling in period hard for some. • Differences in time zones.	• Using Club Estrella as a support network after migration to Scotland to help settle in and navigate processes and procedures. • Asynchronous communication via apps such as WhatsApp, Messenger.

This section focuses on the online, digital solutions that participants employed. It explores the heavy influence of technology in their lives and builds upon Johnson and Puplampu's (2008) and Martin's (2014) adjusted ecological models to offer a further adaptation called the 'digital trans-system'. Johnson and Puplampu (2008) altered Bronfenbrenner's model to include the role that technology played in children's lives in the modern day. They proposed that the 'techno-subsystem' was a dimension within the microsystem, however, my data shows that it plays a more substantial role across systems and was not confined to the microsystem.

This resonates with Martin's (2014) further adaptation of the Bioecological Model in which she devised the 'cybersystem' to examine the role that the internet played in the ecology of young victims of sexual abuse. Martin researched the negative impact of technology through the lens of child sexual abuse and exploitation, and her model considers the 'cybersystem' to have influence across the systems and sits around it as a sixth layer - cyberspace. She argued that 'distal' interactions or processes in cyberspace were more relevant now than had previously been considered.

I have conceptualised a further adaptation of these ecological systems models that focuses on the positive role that technology plays in my participants' lives. I have called this the 'digital trans-system' to emphasise the influence that digital technology has across and within each system. It does not incorporate cyberspace as a separate layer outside the control of actors but rather it focuses on digital technology permeating all systems to provide enhanced interconnection within and between them. Furthermore, digital technology, and the use of it, has advanced immensely since Johnson and Puplampu devised their model in 2008.

As such, I felt that their term 'subsystem' underplayed the crucial role that digital technology has in today's society. Like Martin (2014), my data shows that digital technology facilitates distal interaction between actors, structures and wider global society through both teleportation and telepresence (Shapira, 2013), as Key Finding 3 illustrated. My findings suggest that digital technology is

improving outcomes for participants by addressing gaps in their ecological systems, enabling positive interactions and facilitating relationships. A child's microsystem no longer needs to be the immediate, physical household environment as digital technology allows extended family and friends to have more contact and influence. This, in turn, impacts upon not only the development of linguistic and cultural identities but also on social and emotional wellbeing.

> It helps my dad and sister feel like they are a closer part of my children's lives even though they are thousands of kilometres away.
>
> (Pedro Torres)

My findings echo those of previous research in Scotland (Ulflewska, 2018; Ivashinenko, 2018; Kay & Trevena, 2018; Moskal & Sime, 2016) as they show that the internet has revolutionised how participants construct their linguistic and cultural identities. However, these prior studies were based on larger, more established communities while the Spanish-speaking one is much smaller, therefore they appeared to reply on technology even more.

Every family who participated in this study discussed how they relied heavily on digital technology and social media, such as Facebook, Skype and WhatsApp, to communicate and interact with extended family and friends abroad. Increased positive interactions and telepresence (Shapira, 2013) between a bilingual child and their extended family or friends through digital technologies enhances interaction between the structures and systems of Bronfenbrenner's model, and in turn supports the development of linguistic and cultural identities.

School and friends typically feature in a child's microsystem (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), and while they must have contributed to the overall ecology of the children in this study, these structures did not influence the development of Spanish language and heritage identity of the bilingual children in this study. Children did not have the opportunity to use Spanish as a heritage language in school, and unlike young people in Granada (2013) and McIlwaine's (2007; 2012) studies, only three children (Ana Rodriguez, Nicolas Perez and Emilia Martin) had Spanish-speaking friends.

However, similar to other languages in previous studies by Smith-Christmas (2016) and Hancock and Hancock (2018), bilingual families gave examples of using technology to substitute complementary or mainstream education and traditional classroom environments by learning Spanish (and sometimes other heritage languages) through online learning, such as Jannika Rodriguez's example of the distance learning school for German nationals living abroad. Digital technology brought informal, virtual education into the microsystem.

In addition, my data shows the 'digital trans-system' strengthens and facilitates interaction between distal structures and systems bringing them closer to the child at the centre. Digital technology had created opportunities for my bilingual participants to interact and connect with the wider Spanish-speaking world. Examples include Alejo Torres doing Xbox gaming with Spanish-speaking youngsters in the USA, and Paula Fernandez watching make up tutorials by Latin American YouTubers. Digital technology had allowed them to become part of a wider community of Spanish-speaking young people that they could not find in the West of Scotland, confirming Uflewska's concept of global, online community or hyperlocality (2018).

Through teleportation (Shapira, 2013) of information and services, participants accessed Spanish-speaking multimedia frequently which helped language development and prevented attrition, from children watching movies and cartoons to parents watching documentaries and the news which also kept them informed with current affairs in their native country. Digital technology provided indirect experience of cultural attitudes, values and beliefs that children in the West of Scotland would not naturally encounter; it allowed interaction with another macrosystem that they would not experience in their daily lives unlike Spanish-speaking families in London (Morales, 2020; Berg, 2017; McIlwaine & Bunge, 2016). Examples of this given by participants included watching the Three Kings and Carnaval processions live on the internet, watching football matches or listening to music from Spain or Latin America.

Here, a visual representation of my adapted model incorporating the 'digital trans-system' (Figure 8.1) is presented to demonstrate how digital technology has permeated all systems and helped to address structural absences, and

positively influenced the development of bilingual and bicultural identities in comparison with previous models (see Figures 3.2, 3.3 and 3.4).
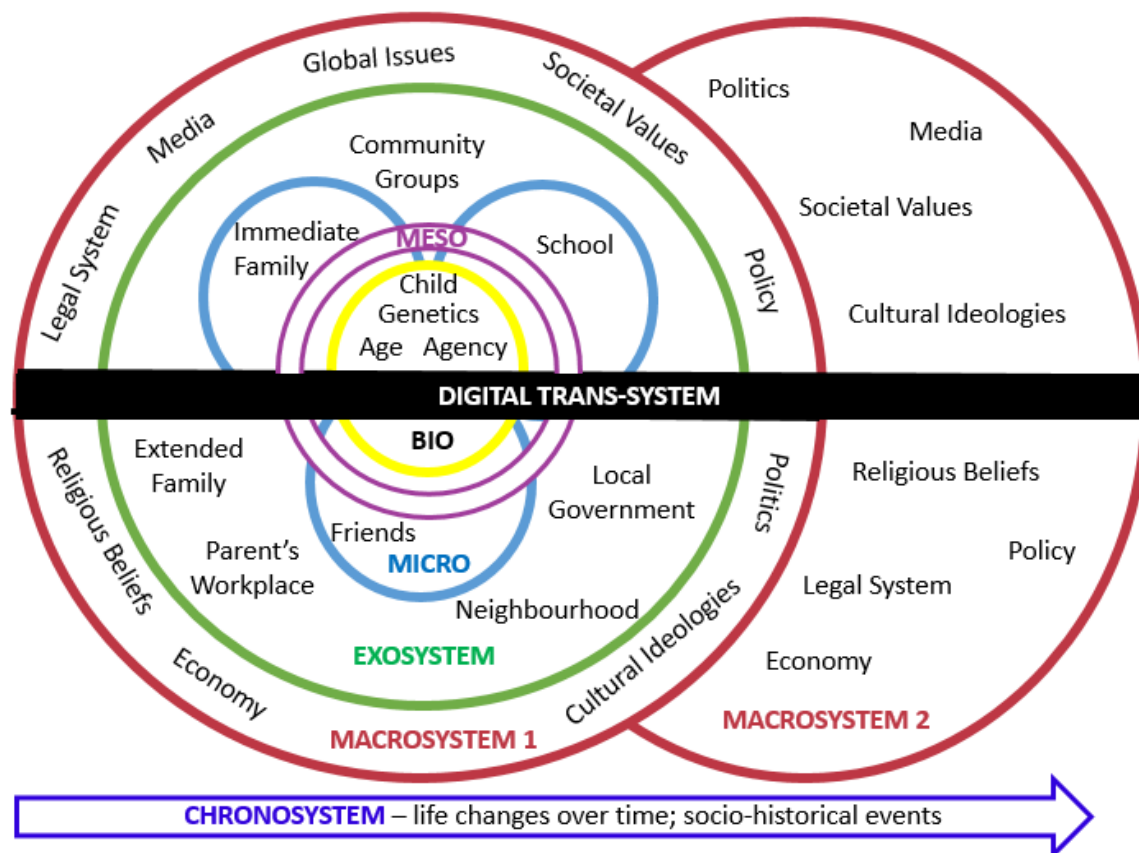
Figure 8.1: Visual representation of an ecological model incorporating the 'digital trans-system' dimension

It would be wise to note that depending on differing family contexts, such as digital literacy skills, local internet infrastructure and socio-economic status, that the dimension of the 'digital trans-system' may not be uniform or equal for every participant in this study. Further research into the use of digital technology within families would be an interesting avenue for future inquiry (see section 9.6).

This section has used Key Findings from my research to examine existing models of child ecology. It has highlighted how environmental factors and social processes interact to influence child development and particularly, in the context of this research, the construction of linguistic and cultural identities. However, gaps existed in the systems and structures of participants' lives but they had used digital technology and membership of Club Estrella to address these.

I built upon previous ecological systems models to present a contemporary conceptualisation - the 'digital trans-system'. My adaptation provides the added value of incorporating a new dimension reflecting the enhanced role of digital technology in bidirectional interactions across all systems and offers a visual representation of this model. It explains how digital technology has enhanced the interaction between the bilingual children who participated in this study and their structures, impacting positively on the development of their linguistic and cultural identities.

8.9 Summary

This chapter has presented the research findings from semi-structured interviews with 36 members from 14 families in the West of Scotland area, and reflected upon existing research and literature to discuss seven Key Findings that emerged.

Key Finding 1 demonstrated that family and community play a vital role in the development of bilingual children's linguistic and cultural identities, as well as contributing to the social and emotional wellbeing of a child. Key Finding 2 revealed that the aforementioned impact of not having extended family or a wider community in the West of Scotland had a greater negative effect on families from Latin America. Key Finding 3 built on previous Key Findings by exploring the crucial role that digital technology played in participants' lives to mitigate the lack of community and extended family.

Key Finding 4 concerned the benefits that participants felt that they gained from being bilingual and bicultural, placing more value on intrinsic than extrinsic benefits. However, Key Finding 5 showed that, amongst other challenges, that the promotion of English monolingualism was a substantial barrier to bilingualism. Key Finding 6 dealt with perceived inconsistencies between policy aims and their implementation in schools which meant that participants' needs were not being fully met.

Finally, Key Finding 7 reflected on the previous Key Findings and found that the explanatory power of existing conceptual models of ecological development was limited; they did not adequately account for the gaps that existed in children's

systems nor the heightened role of digital technology in their lives. Therefore, I presented an adapted model incorporating the 'digital trans-system' which illustrated how digital technology was being used to address the structural absences that existed. The digital trans-system allowed technology to positively influence the development of bilingual children's linguistic and cultural identities, and their social and emotional wellbeing.

The final chapter concludes this thesis by providing a summary of the research and its Key Findings which contribute to the existing body of knowledge. It also considers implications arising from this study, limitations, and possible avenues for further inquiry. It ends with some final reflections.

CHAPTER 9: CONCLUSIONS

9.1 Overview

The final chapter concludes this thesis by summarising the study and addressing its Research Questions through the seven Key Findings (9.2). It then presents a synopsis of the study's original contributions to knowledge to the fields of bilingualism and biculturalism, to the Scottish educational context and the wider theoretical field of child ecology (9.3). This chapter considers potential implications for educational policy, professional practice and theory (9.4). It also looks at some limitations of the research (9.5) and suggests directions for future inquiry (9.6). I end this thesis with personal reflections of my own journey through the research process (9.7).

9.2 Research Summary

This research aimed to investigate the extent to which Spanish-speaking children and their families in the West of Scotland nurtured their linguistic and cultural heritage; to discover why and how families were nurturing their language and culture; and to provide new evidence on how policy and professional practice could better support Spanish-speaking children in the West of Scotland.

The three Research Questions that guided this study were:

1. What role do family and community play in nurturing the linguistic and cultural identities of Spanish-speaking children in the West of Scotland?

2. What are the perceived benefits of bilingualism and biculturalism, and what are the main barriers to this as reported by participants in this study?

3. How do participants experience Scottish educational policy and professional practice in supporting the development of their linguistic and cultural identities?

In order to address these questions, data was gathered from semi-structured family interviews involving 36 individuals from 14 bilingual families in the West

of Scotland who were linked to the community group Club Estrella. As described in Chapter 5 Research Methodology, families comprised of at least one parent who was a native Spanish-speaker: one Spanish-speaking parent (*n*=12), both parents Spanish-speakers (*n*=2).

In devising the methodology for this qualitative case study, significant weight was attached to 'voice', therefore I conducted interviews in a combination of Spanish and English. Participants took the lead on which language they preferred to communicate in and I responded accordingly, ensuring that they were best able to convey their thoughts and fully express themselves in the language of their choice at any given moment. The bilingual children and adults frequently interchanged between both languages with me to share their lived experiences, feelings and opinions, thus exemplifying 'code switching' and Spanglish outlined in Chapter 2 (section 2.2.3) and Chapter 6 (section 6.2.2). This made the process of translation and transcription challenging but emphasised the importance of having a bilingual researcher when working with bilingual participants; it was not only crucial to be able to communicate and exchange between two languages but also to be able to understand two cultures (Hancock, 2010).

I conducted a thematic analysis of rich empirical data from these interviews which was presented in Chapters 6 and 7, with seven Key Findings emerging from the analysis of this data which were discussed in Chapter 8. I considered these findings in light of existing research and literature (revised in Chapter 2), ecological theories of child development (Chapter 3) and within the context of Scottish educational policy and demographics (Chapter 4).

In the following three subsections, the three research questions will be addressed in turn demonstrating how this thesis extends the existing body of knowledge on the development of bilingual and bicultural identities in the Scottish context. Previous research focused on migrant children, adults and larger minority communities in Scotland (Hancock, 2010; Fernandez, Casado & Osanz, 2014; Moskal & Sime, 2016; Uflewska, 2018; Hopkins, 2018; Sime, 2020) and there existed many studies of Latin American communities in the USA (Schwartz et al., 2019; Callahan & Gandara, 2014; Connor & Massey, 2010;

García, 2011) and London (McIlwaine, 2011; 2012; 2015; Granada, 2013) but, until now, no research had been conducted specifically with Spanish-speaking children and parents in Scotland, many of whom were home-born bilinguals.

My research listened to these bilingual families and offered a valuable insight into their perceptions around the extent to which they felt that their linguistic and cultural heritage were being nurtured. They shared their experiences of schooling and nursery to provide new evidence on how educational policy and professional practice could better support Spanish-speaking children in the West of Scotland.

After addressing the original Research Questions in the following three subsections, I consider the theoretical implications regarding an ecological model of child development appropriate for contemporary bilingual families.

9.2.1 Research Question 1: What role do family and community play in nurturing the linguistic and cultural identities of Spanish-speaking children in the West of Scotland?

Key Finding 1 '*Family and community are crucial for bilingual families*' illustrated the pivotal role that family and community typically play in supporting the development of linguistic and cultural identities. However, data showed that participants had no Spanish-speaking extended family nor substantial Spanish-speaking community in the West of Scotland; they felt that this absence had a negative effect on children's Spanish language skills and development of cultural identities. Stay at home mothers, those who were new to Scotland and those with little knowledge of English often felt isolated. A small, long-running Spanish-speaking community group – Club Estrella - met weekly and offered a sense of belonging and community where it did not occur organically in the West of Scotland. Because Club Estrella was used to source participants for this study, all interviewees were able to discuss the benefits they felt they had gained from attending the group, even if they no longer did so.

The Club allowed parents and children the opportunity to use Spanish language

and provided opportunities to engage with Hispanic culture; in addition to this, it offered friendship and a small community which enhanced social and emotional wellbeing. Challenges existed for the Club including lack of funding, resources and official support from governments or other agencies. Families also encountered barriers which lead to them no longer attending which mainly happened after children reached school age and there were a few reported concerns over languages/varieties of Spanish spoken and engagement with fathers.

Building on this, Key Finding 2 '*Latin American families find it challenging to nurture linguistic and cultural identities*' uncovered that geographical distance negatively affected the development of linguistic and cultural identities of children from Latin American heritage even more so than their European counterparts. Expensive airfares and very long travel times meant that most Latin American families rarely visited their heritage country, meaning that their children missed out on immersive opportunities to improve their language skills and absorb their cultural heritage. Moreover, these children rarely or had never met their extended family (grandparents, aunts/uncles and cousins) therefore relationships were harder to build and maintain compared to European families who were able to do so much more regularly. Figures showed that more families of Latin American heritage attended Club Estrella than those from Spain. My empirical data showed that Latin American participants were more attracted to the Club as it offered them a small community and sense of belonging that they lacked even more than the European families.

The findings of this research show that Spanish-speaking families in the West of Scotland relied heavily on digital technology in the absence of extended family, substantial physical community and language education from complementary schooling. Key Finding 3 '*Digital technology mitigates lack of wider community*' gave insights into how digital technology was being used to maintain and create communities and relationships, thereby facilitating Spanish-speaking children's linguistic and cultural development. Families used apps and social media, such as WhatsApp, Facebook and Skype, to communicate and share with extended family and friends abroad. Virtual, online relationships enhanced the social and emotional wellbeing of participants.

Digital technology was being used by children and parents alike to learn and maintain Spanish, overtly through educational websites and apps, and discretely through cartoons, movies and TV shows. Younger participants were part of Spanish-speaking YouTube, Instagram and Xbox communities, while adults gave examples of belonging to online communities which transcend geographical distance. Digital technology offered opportunities to engage with elements of culture such as sport, music, current affairs, politics albeit through a virtual experience.

9.2.2 Research Question 2: What are the perceived benefits of bilingualism and biculturalism, and what are the main barriers to this as reported by participants in this study?

Key Finding 4 '*Having more than one language and culture 'opens doors and borders come down'* outlined how participants believed that they gained numerous extrinsic and intrinsic benefits from being bilingual and bicultural in the West of Scotland context. Extrinsic benefits included bringing economic and career advantages for children in the future but participants also emphasised the two-way transfer of these benefits back into Scottish economy and society too. However, this research showed participants valued the intrinsic benefits over the aforementioned extrinsic ones.

They reported high levels of confidence, respect for difference and diversity, potential enhanced cognitive function, open-mindedness and enriched cultural identities as the main intrinsic benefits derived from having more than one language and heritage. Supporting findings from previous studies, participants from bilingual families had positive attitudes and values towards language learning in general, accompanied by high linguistic awareness and an aptitude for languages.

Nevertheless, Key Finding 5 '*The promotion of English monolingualism is the biggest obstacle to bilingualism*' revealed that participants reported numerous barriers to bilingualism that they encountered in wider society. Political challenges such as Brexit, right-wing ideologies and recent anti-immigration discourse in the media had made life as a bilingual family more challenging,

especially for the European participants. This study shows that participants strongly felt that the promotion of (English) monolingualism and negative attitudes towards other languages were the biggest obstacles to bilingualism, and that the stance of subtractive bilingualism filtered through to policy and professional practice in Scotland, which links to Research Question 3.

On the other hand, participants stated that it was relatively easy to nurture biculturalism and heritage identity which is contrary to much previous research concerning clashes of cultures and fears of assimilation. Families gave examples of how they tried to incorporate elements of their heritage culture into their home lives, and they felt that a fusion of Scottish and Hispanic cultures created rich new identities which could enhance Scottish society.

9.2.3 Research Question 3: How do participants experience Scottish educational policy and professional practice in supporting the development of their linguistic and cultural identities?

Participants' experiences in schools and nurseries highlighted that '*There are inconsistencies between educational policy aims and professional practice*' (Key Finding 6). Policy and policymakers since the turn of the century have aimed to cultivate an inclusive climate for linguistic and cultural diversity in Scotland's schools. Yet, the vast majority of participants' experiences indicated that in practice, this has not come to fruition. They frequently described what could be considered as an ethos of subtractive bilingualism and discussed how they would like schools to foster a more additive approach to bilingualism and biculturalism.

While merely four out of fourteen families reported that their schools encouraged bilingualism and heritage languages, only one child was actively encouraged to use Spanish in a nursery setting as a pedagogical strategy. Research suggests that allowing bilingual children to use and their languages in a classroom setting can have positive effects on not only the development of bilingual and bicultural identifies, but also cognitive, neurological, socio-emotional and economic benefits too. Participants could potentially have a stronger sense of self and confidence if their identities are celebrated, respected and promoted in schools.

Participants would like to see a focus on bilingualism as an asset rather than a deficiency, and ideally, teachers would be able to use bilingual pedagogy and strategies in the classroom to encourage development of heritage languages as well as English. However, this is currently restricted by a perceived lack of teacher training and pedagogical knowledge in mainstream classrooms which further emphasised that bilingual children's language and culture were not being nurtured in schools. Evidence indicated that this stemmed from a lacuna in input on supporting bilingual learners within Initial Teacher Education. Furthermore, school leaders' and teachers' own values, attitudes and beliefs towards the topics of language, immigration and multiculturalism may be influenced by negative discourse in the media and wider society.

Finally, for some immigrant families, the school admission and integration process were challenging due to a lack of information and understanding making it difficult for children and their families to settle in. A more holistic or nurturing approach to settling in would be beneficial alongside improved communication between adults involved in the child's education, e.g. parents/teacher, teacher/EAL specialist. However, members of Club Estrella supported each other and helped newly arrived families with the transition.

9.2.4 Theoretical implications for an ecological development model for contemporary bilingual families

In addition, this research offered a theoretical finding which reflected upon the first six Key Findings and interrogated existing models of ecological development. Key Finding 7 illustrated that existing models were limited in their explanatory power to account for the development of bilingual children's linguistic and cultural identities. This study presented a contemporary ecological model that built on existing theoretical frameworks; a new conceptualisation called the 'digital trans-system' explained how digital technology played a heightened role in the lives of the bilingual children and families who participated in this research. The added dimension of the 'digital trans-system' built upon previous theoretical frameworks.

Firstly, Bronfenbrenner's Bioecological Model (1994) demonstrated how environmental factors and social processes interact to influence the construction

of linguistic and cultural identities but the model did not take into account the role of digital technology which has evolved substantially since its conception. Analysis of Bronfenbrenner's model also highlighted gaps in the layers of systems for the Spanish-speaking bilingual children in my study. In terms of Spanish language and Hispanic cultural heritage, they were missing key structures of Bronfenbrenner's systems such as extended family, complementary language education in Spanish, neighbourhood, local community, friendship and exposure to a Hispanic cultural macrosystem.

The 'digital trans-system' conceptualisation illustrated how digital technology has enhanced the interaction between the bilingual children who participated in this study and their systems, resulting in a positive impact on the development of their linguistic and cultural identities - digital technology has helped to address the gaps.

Building on Bronfenbrenner's theory, updated models of child ecology from Johnson and Puplampu (2008) and Martin (2014) recognised the role that technology played in children's lives but these versions could not fully explain the findings from this piece of research. Neither study focused specifically on the development of linguistic and cultural identities of bilingual children. Johnson and Puplampu had situated technology within the microsystem, close to the child in a 'bottom up' model. Whereas, my data clearly showed their term 'subsystem' underplayed the heightened role of the internet in current times, and that technology enabled a two-way transfer of ecology in interactions between structures and systems.

On the other hand, Martin's 'cybersystem' model considered the internet to have a wider role in all systems but her research looked at technology and cyberspace from a negative stance through the lens of child sexual abuse. I also feel that my adaptation reflected the even greater influence that digital technology has played since Martin's research in 2014, and it emphasised the agency of the child more. The 'digital trans-system' model did not incorporate cyberspace as a separate layer outside the control of actors in a 'top down' model but, rather, it focused on digital technology permeating all systems and structures to provide enhanced positive interactions within and between them.

My adapted model outlines that digital technology had a positive impact on the development of participants' linguistic and cultural identities and facilitated bidirectional interaction; critically, it enabled participants to engage with a Hispanic macrosystem.

9.3 Original Contributions

The contribution of knowledge to the fields of bilingualism and biculturalism made by this study is two-fold as, firstly, it sheds new light on the experiences of bilingual Spanish-speaking families in the context of the West of Scotland. In addition, it also offers a wider theoretical contribution generated from analysis of existing ecological models of child development. In summary, the data suggested that for Spanish-speaking bilingual families in the West of Scotland:

- They highly valued the support and sense of belonging that the community group offered in the absence of naturally occurring local community and extended family.
- Latin American families found it more difficult than their European counterparts to nurture linguistic and cultural identities due to geographical distance.
- Families used digital technology to mitigate the lack of wider Spanish-speaking community and the absence of extended family and friends.
- There were numerous reported intrinsic and extrinsic benefits to being bilingual and bicultural, with participants emphasising the intrinsic advantages, such as empathy, confidence and open-mindedness.
- However, there were also many structural and attitudinal challenges to developing bilingual and bicultural identities. Promotion of English monolingualism was the biggest perceived barrier not only in schools but also in wider society.
- There were discrepancies between educational policy aims and how participants reported these were being implemented through professional practice in schools. Discrepancies focussed on lack of teacher training and pedagogical knowledge in supporting bilingual learners, a widespread ethos of subtractive bilingualism, and practitioners' perceptions being

negatively influenced by wider society.

- Existing ecological systems models were limited in their explanatory power - they did not accurately reflect participants' contemporary lives and did not fully account for the heightened, positive role of digital technology. My adapted model involving the 'digital trans-system' explained how digital technology transcends systems, settings and actors.

As highlighted in 'Chapter 2: Literature Review', prior research in the Scottish context has focused heavily on either the most prevalent communities (such as Central and Eastern European, Chinese, Asian) or more vulnerable migrant communities (for example, Syrian refugees or Roma families); thus, little is known about the Spanish-speaking community. At the time of writing (October 2020), no other empirical research has previously been conducted with Spanish-speaking children and their families in Scotland, therefore this thesis offers the first original insight into this community. It is the first time their voice has been heard and shared. Like the Latin American community in London, my research indicates that participants felt somewhat 'invisible' compared to other ethnic minority groups. Primarily, this was due to a lack of recognition of their linguistic and cultural identity but also linked to a lack of wider community support. Despite this, they had been proactive and independent in establishing their own community hub through Club Estrella.

My study aimed to advance the understanding of the importance of linguistic and cultural identity for Spanish-speaking bilingual children in Scotland, however, findings could be extended to other small, minority groups who also exist in the shadow of larger, more established communities. Of the 57,386 pupils who speak languages other than English, Scots or Gaelic, just under one third are Polish bilinguals (Scottish Government, 2019). Moreover, 57% of Scotland's bilingual pupils use one of the five most spoken languages while the rest are spread over 142 other languages (Scottish Government, ibid). It could be hypothesised that these smaller language communities face similar challenges to the Spanish-speaking participants of this study, and that findings and implications arising (see the following section 9.4) could also be applied to their contexts to support bilingual children across Scotland.

In addition, the majority of recent studies undertaken in Scotland have focused on immigrants (e.g. Kay & Trevena, 2018; Ufkewska, 2019; Sime, 2020) to better understand the barriers these particular groups face and to consider issues of social justice and equality. On the contrary, 10 out of 14 families who participated in my research had children who were home-born bilinguals, therefore this thesis provides an original insight into their contexts, looking at bilingualism and biculturalism from a non-migrant perspective.

Theoretical innovation contribution

As outlined in section 9.2.4, this thesis also offers a theoretical contribution which extends knowledge on child ecology with a specific focus on the development of bicultural and bilingual identities. Bronfenbrenner's Bioecological Model (1994) has, as he himself predicted, evolved over the years to encompass changes in society and acknowledge discoveries in research. Johnson and Puplampu (2008) and Martin (2014) recognised the growing role that technology played in children's lives and adapted Bronfenbrenner's model accordingly. However, their versions still did not fully explain the findings from this thesis as neither study focused specifically on the development of linguistic and cultural identities of bilingual children. In addition, both Johnson and Puplampu and Martin explored the negative effects of technology and the internet on child development.

In contrast, my data clearly showed that technology enabled positive interactions between structures and systems in participants' lives which had a constructive impact on the development of bilingual and bicultural identities. As such, this thesis has offered an original and contemporary ecological model that builds on and extends current theoretical frameworks. By incorporating a new conceptualisation - the 'digital trans-system' – my model illustrates how digital technology has played a heightened and positive role in the lives of the bilingual children and families who participated in this research.

9.4 Implications for Policy, Practice and Theory

This study yielded a number of findings that again are two dimensional as they might firstly contribute to educational policy and professional practice in Scotland, and secondly, they may also contribute to ecological theories of child

development relevant beyond Scotland.

Findings exposed inconsistencies between educational policy and how it was implemented through professional practice by schools which meant that bilingual children's heritage language(s) and culture(s) were not being nurtured. Class teachers were reported to lack the skills and knowledge required to support bilingual pupils effectively and an ethos of subtractive bilingualism was perceived to be prevalent in the education system across the state schools attended by 13 families (with the only exception of Emilia Martin's nursery school).

This thesis highlights the need for professional learning to upskill teachers in the areas of bilingual pedagogy and theory to enable them to support an increasingly diverse pupil population. This does not mean becoming fluent in Spanish or any other language but encouraging children to use their heritage languages in the classroom and at home with their families. There exists a wealth of research on bilingual theory and pedagogy that does not appear to have filtered through into mainstream classroom practice. It would also be appropriate that teacher professional learning includes input on supporting advanced bilinguals and not just those who are newly arrived as this will foster literacy skills across languages.

Data suggested that in Early Years and Gaelic Medium Education, practice was reported to be more inclusive by nurturing bilingualism and biculturalism to a greater extent. Perhaps further sharing of professional practice, with a specific focus on bilingualism, across the educational sectors would be advantageous. To further address teacher knowledge, it would be advisable that providers of Initial Teacher Education evaluate how they prepare student teachers to support bilingual pupils and course content. These measures could potentially contribute to better alignment between educational policy and practice in Scotland, putting into effect the Scottish Government's positive attitudes and values towards multilingualism, multiculturalism, diversity and internationalism.

Scotland could also look outwards at international examples of inclusive heritage language and cultural pedagogies. At a national level, curricular reform in Finland where every teacher is being trained to be able to support bilingual

children in a new "language-sensitive" curriculum (Alisaari, 2020, p.78). This could also be achieved at individual school level, if we look to the example of Scoil Bhríde (Cailíní) in Ireland, for example, where heritage languages and cultures are supported and encouraged by school staff (Little & Kirwan, 2018; 2019).

The Scottish Government could consider how to promote bilingualism and biculturalism so that the benefits are more widely known and encouraged in society. Ultimately, this research showed that a focus on monolingualism and subtractive bilingualism in both education and wider society was a major barrier. Policy makers might consider how to move away from this towards a more positive model of additive bilingualism. Initial steps towards this have already been taken; knowledge gained from this study contributed to a re-write of the national policy document 'Learning in 2+ Languages', which I co-authored for Education Scotland (Education Scotland, 2020). Aimed at teachers and practitioners across education sectors in Scotland, the updated online resource provides advice and guidance, offering models of good practice for the inclusion of bilingual pupils and their linguistic and cultural identities. In addition to support for practitioners, more could be done by Government to provide guidance, information and advice for bilingual families on how to help develop their children's linguistic skills and cultural identities.

Findings from this research show that parents valued the Spanish-speaking community group Club Estrella as it nurtured not only their language and culture, but also their social and emotional wellbeing. As this research shows, there was little funding or official support from Government or local authorities for community groups like Club Estrella. I would recommend that local and national government provide funding and/or support in kind (such as free premises) to enable community groups. This could potentially allow them to diversify the activities that they offer, reach a wider audience of more families and facilitate complementary education where it does not already exist.

Another option could be to explore a distance learning model of complementary education. Local authorities could also consider creating a central register of all community groups and complementary schools in order to be able to signpost

newly arrived migrants, and this could also provide a network of support and practice. To ensure safeguarding of children, local authorities may also consider making membership of the PVG scheme mandatory for adults working with children in these settings.

Finally, there are implications for theory as findings highlight that existing ecological models of child development do not fully reflect the contemporary experiences of the participants. In my adaptation of Bronfenbrenner's Bioecological Model, the 'digital trans-system' incorporated the increasingly important role that digital technology played in bilingual families' lives and accounted for the positive contribution it made to the development of linguistic and cultural identities.

9.5 Limitations

This study was carefully developed and has contributed to knowledge in the field, nevertheless, it is important to consider its limitations. The first concerns the research interviews which, of course adhered to ethical guidelines detailed in Chapter 6, but were perhaps restricted due to the sample. All participants had attended the community group Club Estrella so it could be argued that they shared common values, attitudes and beliefs. I also discovered that 15 out of the 17 adults interviewed were educated to degree level which could have affected their experiences and outlook.

Upon reflection, perhaps the sample was rather homogeneous and restricted the applicability of the findings to other cohorts of bilingual families. However, my case study approach never aimed to generalise and the depth of my fieldwork and analysis helped to mitigate limitations. The study involved 36 individuals which allowed for a depth of analysis at family level gaining insight into their lives that may have been missed if the number of families had been larger.

Also regarding the semi-structured family interviews, the pilot study demonstrated that a stranger attempting to interview children did not work well, especially with younger participants who were quite shy and reserved. Therefore, I amended the data collection process to conduct family interviews rather than individual ones as initially planned. Criticism of group interviews

generally includes concerns over one member domineering or other members being hesitant to share their true thoughts, but this method actually worked very well as family members shared experiences, jogged each other's memories and questioned each other. Set in the homes of each family, this was a very fluid process that provided rich data.

A limitation that was completely outside of my control was the winter weather conditions Scotland experienced during my data collection phase. I had arranged to interview all members of each family together but due heavy snow, I had to postpone many interviews to a later date and inevitably, not all members of each family were present, for example I interviewed twelve mothers and only four fathers. It would have been good to have input from all family members but as mothers were typically the main caregivers, they were well-placed to participate.

Despite these limitations, data gathered provided a clear and unique insight into the lives of participants.

9.6 Directions for Further Inquiry

This study allowed for additional interesting themes and topics to arise that would be worthy of further investigation. The following are suggestions for future research:

- Investigation into the use of digital technology in bilingual children's lives using the new ecological model incorporating the 'digital trans-system' to investigate this phenomenon further.

- Research into the wider Spanish-speaking population in the West of Scotland with a particular focus on the effects of socio-economic variation on the formation of linguistic and cultural identities.

- The methodology applied to this study, or elements thereof, could be applied to find out more on the educational experiences of other bilingual pupils in Scotland, for example with French-speakers from France, Canada, Africa and the French overseas territories.

- Ethnographic observations of linguistic practices at Club Estrella to explore the linguistic soundscape of their community, similar to Birnie's research into use of Gaelic language in the Western Isles (2018).

During this research project, I really enjoyed the interaction of the data collection phase and feel compelled to conduct more research on and with children.

> If you want to find out about childhood, why not go and ask the people who are living it. (Learning and Teaching Scotland, 2006, p.24)

9.7 Personal Reflections

I would like to offer my personal reflections as this thesis comes to an end and my journey as a researcher continues.

Before moving into academia, I was a primary teacher with plenty of practical experience and pedagogical tools of how to support bilingual pupils but I lacked the theoretical knowledge. I began the PhD process as a bilingual parent in a monolingual context. I had no personal experience of family bilingualism and no community to belong to, in fact my story resonates with many of the parents who participated in this study. As a mother and teacher of bilingual children, my curiosity increased and this seemed like the obvious theme for me to engage with. Nevertheless, I had to set aside my own views and opinions to see the world through the eyes of my participants. This challenged some of my own values and pre-intuitions, such as the importance of complementary education.

Returning to studenthood and negotiating my own multiple identities as a researcher, mother and, from August 2019, as full-time university teacher educator has been admittedly challenging. At times, I struggled to find the perfect balance and get these roles right but each identity has complimented the others and given me valuable insight that I would not otherwise have had.

Nearing the end of the PhD journey, I read back on the research journal that I kept. It documented not only the context of interviews and subtle nuances not captured on tape (participants' expressions, body language, interaction and so

on) but also my own thoughts and feelings during the process. As a researcher, I aimed to develop a more neutral position (compared to being a parent or teacher) so achieving this has contributed towards my own professional development and researcher identity. Pavlenko (2008, p.xi) states that "writing about human beings should weave together the person and the researcher, the subjective and the objective".

Over the course of this research, the part I enjoyed most was interviewing and engaging with my participants. For me, it has reinforced the importance of 'voice' and listening to people in the language of their choice. I would like to conduct research with children and young people as co-researchers to challenge myself and learn new approaches. Carrying out this study has strengthened my skills as a researcher and I have started using these to support my own undergraduate and postgraduate education students in their research projects.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Recommendations from 'Citizens of a Multilingual World' report

1. Up to date information on languages should be made available both in schools and in the wider society so that proficiency in languages is perceived as being achievable, relevant and useful.	2. All students should be entitled to experience of learning a modern language.	3. Modern languages should be declared a priority area for innovation and training
4. A special Languages and Innovation Training Funding (LITF) should be established, allowing local authorities and other organisations to bid for national funding in support of local innovation and specialised training for teachers.	5. At the national level, a variety of languages rather than French alone, and including heritage or community languages such as Scottish Gaelic and Urdu, should be taught as a first modern language.	6. Local authorities should generally be responsible for ensuring a diversified provision of first modern language within the authority if not the school.
7. Information and Communications Technology should have a central role in supporting language learning and use from P6 onwards.	8. Opportunities should be greatly increased for pupils to put their languages to real use in contact with native speakers, including foreign language assistants.	9. The place of languages should be made more central and secure in the curriculum and examinations arrangements for the upper secondary school.
10. All Initial Teacher Education courses for primary school teaching should include a core modern language component that is coherent, progressive and minimally equal to the current 27-day programme for teachers in post.	11. All Initial Teacher Education courses for languages for primary teachers and secondary teachers should provide students with knowledge of children's first and second language development, substantial training in ICT for languages and strategies for promoting the benefits of language learning.	12. In order to deliver the pupils' entitlement to languages through high quality courses, all those teaching languages in primary and secondary schools should in turn be entitled to receive substantial and continuing material and Continuing Professional Development support from national and other bodies.
13. Scottish Enterprise, Highlands and Islands Enterprise and local enterprise bodies should audit and publicise the country's needs and opportunities for languages in respect of employment, training and career.	14. There should be widespread promotion of lifelong language learning in formal and informal education, leisure and work, building on the full entitlement that will have been delivered during the compulsory period of education in school.	

Source: Ministerial Action Group for Languages (2000)

Appendix 2: Overview of the four CfE capacities

successful learners	confident individuals	responsible citizens	effective contributors
attributes	**attributes**	**attributes**	**attributes**
• enthusiasm and motivation for learning • determination to reach high standards of achievement • openness to new thinking and ideas	• self-respect • a sense of physical, mental and emotional well-being • secure values and beliefs • ambition	• respect for others • commitment to participate responsibly in political, economic, social and cultural life	• an enterprising attitude • resilience • self-reliance
capabilities	**capabilities**	**capabilities**	**capabilities**
• use literacy, communication and numeracy skills • use technology for learning • think creatively and independently • learn independently and as part of a group • make reasoned evaluations • link and apply different kinds of learning in new situations.	• relate to others and manage themselves • pursue a healthy and active lifestyle • be self-aware • develop and communicate their own beliefs and view of the world • live as independently as they can • assess risk and make informed decisions • achieve success in different areas of activity.	• develop knowledge and understanding of the world and Scotland's place in it • understand different beliefs and cultures • make informed choices and decisions • evaluate environmental, scientific and technological issues • develop informed, ethical views of complex issues.	• communicate in different ways and in different settings • work in partnership and in teams • take the initiative and lead • apply critical thinking in new contexts • create and develop • solve problems

Source: Education Scotland (2015) [online]

Appendix 3: Participant Information Sheet - Parents

Title of project and researcher details

The extent to which policy in Scotland nurtures the cultural and linguistic heritage of multilingual children: The voice of Spanish-speaking families

Researcher: Angela de Britos

Supervisors: Dr O Odena & Dr O Valiente

Course: PhD Education.

You and your child/children (between the ages of 3 -16 years old) are being invited to take part in a research project into bilingualism in Scotland. This is part of my work towards gaining a PhD Education degree at the University of Glasgow.

Before you decide if you and your family want to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the information on this page carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Please discuss it with your family too. Ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you and your family wish to take part.

What will happen during the project?

The purpose of this study is to investigate the extent to which bilingual children's heritage language and culture is nurtured and how? I hope to find out more about you and your family's attitude, opinions and views on bilingualism.

You and your family are being asked to take part because you are from a Spanish/English bilingual family. If you decide to take part, I will arrange to interview you at your home at a convenient time for *you all*. *During this interview we will talk informally about bilingualism, culture, attitudes/ values/ opinions towards using Spanish and English, and any other languages you use. It will take approximately 45 minutes and I* will record the conversation on voice recorder so that afterwards I can transcribe and refer to it. Neither you nor your family need to answer any questions that you do not wish to.

Taking part in this project is entirely voluntary. Should you decide to participate, you are still free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason. If your child is unable to read the Participant Information Sheet for Children, could you please read it to them and/or talk about what it will involve to ensure they are willing comfortable to take part. Your child/children do not have to take part in this study. It is fine if you decide that s/he should not take part, or if your child/children tells me that s/he does not want to take part. If, after you or your family have started to take part, anyone changes their mind, please let me know and I will not use any information you have given me.

Keeping information confidential

I will keep all the data I collect in a locked cabinet or in a locked file on my computer which is password protected. When I have finished writing my study I will destroy all the information.

When I write about what I have found, neither you nor your family's names will be mentioned. I will allocate pseudonyms to all participants. Only you, your family and I will know what has been said during the interview.

However, if during our conversation I hear anything which makes me worried that your child/children might be in danger of harm, I might have to inform relevant agencies of this.

The results of this study

I will present my findings in the thesis I am writing for the degree PhD Education. I may also present these at education conferences, and/or use the information to write journal articles. I am able to provide a written summary of my findings for all participants if requested and can discuss this with you further if you wish. You may request a copy of the thesis. Results may be shared with relevant bodies and organisations who work with children and families in Scotland so this can feed into their future work. Data will be destroyed five years after the study has finished.

Reviewed of the study

This study has been reviewed and agreed by the School of Education Ethics Forum, University of Glasgow.

Contact for further information

If you have any questions about this study, you can ask me, Angela de Britos or my principal supervisor, Oscar Odena (Oscar.Odena@glasgow.ac.uk) or the Ethics officer for the School of Education: Dr Margaret McCulloch: margaret.mcculloch@glasgow.ac.uk

Thank you for reading this.

Appendix 4: Participant Information Sheet - Children

University | School of
of Glasgow | Education

Title of project and researcher details
The extent to which policy in Scotland nurtures the cultural and linguistic heritage of multilingual children: The voice of Spanish-speaking families

Researcher: Ms Angela de Britos

Supervisors: Dr O Odena & Dr O Valiente

Course: PhD Education.

You are being invited to take part in a research project into bilingualism – this means speaking more than one language, in your case speaking English and Spanish (and maybe more languages too!). A research project is a way to learn more about something.

Before you decide if you want to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the information on this page carefully and discuss it with your parents/carers if you wish, especially if there are any words you do not understand. Please ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part.

I hope that this sheet will answer any questions you have about the study.

1. What is the purpose of the study?

The purpose of this study is to find out about children who speak Spanish and English.

2. Why have I been chosen?

You are being asked to take part because you and your family speak both Spanish and English.

3. Do I have to take part?

You do not have to take part in this study, and if you decide not to, then that is perfectly fine.

If, after you have started to take part, you change your mind, just let me know and I will not use any information you have given me in my writing.

4. What will happen to me if I take part?

If you decide to take part I will ask you and your family some questions on what you think about speaking English and Spanish. The interview will take place at your home with the rest of your family. You do not have to answer any questions that you don't want to. This will take about 45 minutes but we can stop at any time if you chose to. I will record everyone's answers on a voice recorder so that afterwards I can listen carefully to what you all said.

5. Will the information that I give you in this study be kept confidential (private)?

I will keep the information from our discussion and from my notes about your languages and learning in a locked file on my computer which also has a password. When I have finished writing my study I will keep the information for five years and then it will be destroyed.

When I write about what I have found, your name will not be mentioned. I will give you and your family a secret code name for me to use when I am writing about what you all said. No-one else will know which name you have been given. Only you, your family and I will know what you all said.

However, if during our conversation I hear anything which makes me worried that you might be in danger of harm, I might have to tell other people who need to know about this.

6. What will happen to the results of this study?

When I have gathered all of the information from everyone who is taking part I will write about what I have learned in a thesis, which is a long essay, which I have to complete for the course I am studying on. When I'm finished, you and your family can read this if you would like. The essay will be read and marked by my teachers at university. I will also tell people who make important decisions about children's lives and education what I have found out about what families think about bilingualism. I will destroy all of my notes and recordings after five years.

7. Who has reviewed the study?

This study has been reviewed and agreed by the School of Education Ethics Forum, University of Glasgow.

8. Contact for further information

If you have any questions about this study, you can ask me, Angela de Britos or my principal supervisor, Oscar Odena (Oscar.Odena@glasgow.ac.uk) or the Ethics officer for the School of Education: Dr Margaret McCulloch: margaret.mcculloch@glasgow.ac.uk

Thank you for reading this.

Appendix 5: Consent Form - Child

Title of Project: The extent to which policy in Scotland nurtures the cultural and linguistic heritage of multilingual children: The voice of Spanish-speaking families

Name of Researcher: Angela de Britos

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the Plain Language Statement for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason.

3. I consent to interviews being audio recorded.

4. I understand that my real name will not be used in any publication.

5. I agree / do not agree (please circle) to take part in the above study.

_____   _____   _____

Name of Participant   Date   Signature

_____   _____   _____

Researcher   Date   Signature

Appendix 6: Consent Form - Parent

University of Glasgow | School of Education

Title of Project: The extent to which policy in Scotland nurtures the cultural and linguistic heritage of multilingual children: The voice of Spanish-speaking families

Name of Researcher: Angela de Britos

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the Plain Language Statement for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason.

3. I consent to interviews being audio recorded.

4. I understand that my real name will not be used in any publication.

5. I also give permission for my child/children (as named below) to participate in the study.

6. I agree / do not agree (please circle) to take part in the above study.

_____   _____   _____
Name of Participant   Date   Signature

_____   _____   _____
Researcher   Date   Signature

Names of children: _____

                                      _____

                                      _____

                                      _____

                                      _____

Appendix 7: Ethical Approval

Muir Houston, Senior Lecturer
College of Social Sciences Ethics Officer
Social Justice, Place and Lifelong Education Research
University of Glasgow
School of Education, St Andrew's Building, 11 Eldon Street
Glasgow G3 6NH
0044+141-330-4699   Muir.Houston@glasgow.ac.uk
July 22nd 2017

Dear Ms de Britos

College of Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

Project Title: The extent to which policy in Scotland nurtures the cultural and linguistic heritage of multilingual children: The voice of Spanish-speaking families

Application No: 400160211

The College Research Ethics Committee has reviewed your application and has agreed that there is no objection on ethical grounds to the proposed study. It is happy therefore to approve the project, subject to the following conditions:

4. Start date of ethical approval: July 22nd 2017

5. Project end date: September 30th 2020

6. Any outstanding permissions needed from third parties in order to recruit research participants or to access facilities or venues for research purposes must be obtained in writing and submitted to the CoSS Research Ethics Administrator before research commences. Permissions you must provide are shown in the *College Ethics Review Feedback* document that has been sent to you.

7. The data should be held securely for a period of ten years after the completion of the research project, or for longer if specified by the research funder or sponsor, in accordance with the University's Code of Good Practice in Research:(http://www.gla.ac.uk/media/media_227599_en.pdf) (Unless there is an agreed exemption to this, noted here).

8. The research should be carried out only on the sites, and/or with the groups and using the methods defined in the application.

9. Any proposed changes in the protocol should be submitted for reassessment as an amendment to the original application. The *Request for Amendments to an Approved Application* form should be used:
   http://www.gla.ac.uk/colleges/socialsciences/students/ethics/forms/staffandpostgraduateresearchstudents/

Yours sincerely,

Dr Muir Houston
College Ethics Officer

Appendix 8: Semi-structured Interview – Child

Theme 1 - All about you

What is your name and what age are you? Where do you live? Who lives with you? Where are your parents from? *How long have you lived in Scotland*? What is your name and what age are you? Where do you live?

Theme 2 – Bilingualism and Spanish

Which languages do you use? Do you know what bilingual means? What do you think/feel about being bilingual? Tell me about using Spanish:

1. Who do you speak Spanish with?
2. When do you use Spanish? How do you feel about it?
3. Do you think it is good to know Spanish? Why?
      i.   (if yes) How do you think it helps you?
4. Do you think it might help you when you're older? How?
5. Do you have friends who are from Spanish speaking families too?
6. Can you also read and write in Spanish?
7. Would you like to learn more?
8. Would you like to have an actual Spanish teacher or are you happy learning from your family?
9. How would you feel if there were classes that you could go to learn Spanish with other Spanish speaking children? For example, after school or on Saturday mornings. Do you think you would like to go to a class like this if there was one available?
10. Do you ever use Spanish at your own school?
      i.   (if yes) Can you give me some examples of this?
           How do you feel about using Spanish in school? How do you think it helps you?
      ii. (if no) Would you like to? Why? How do you think it could help you?

Theme 3 – Bilingualism and English

1. Tell me about using English:
2. Who do you speak English with?
3. When do you use English? How do you feel about it?
4. Do you think it is good to know English? Why?
      i.   (if yes) How do you think it helps you?
5. Do you think it might help you when you're older? How?
6. Can you also read and write in English?
7. Would you like to learn more?
8. How do you feel about using English in school? Why?

(only if child has more than two languages) Bilingualism and (other language/s)

Tell me about using…………………..…..:

1. Who do you speak ………………… with?

2. When do you use ……………..………? Do you like it?

3. Do you think it is good to know ………………..……? Why?

      i. (if yes) How do you think it helps you?

4. Do you think it might help you when you're older? How?

5. Do you have friends who are from …………… speaking families too?

6. Can you also read and write in……………?

7. Would you like to learn more?

8. Would you like to have an actual …………… teacher or are you happy learning from your family?

9. How would you feel if there were classes that you could go to learn …………… with other …………… speaking children? For example, after school or on Saturday mornings. Do you think you would like to go to a class like this if there was one available?

10. Do you ever use …………… at your own school?

    i. (if yes) Can you give me some examples of this?
How do you feel about using …………… in school? How do you think it helps you?

    ii. (if no) Would you like to? Why? How do you think it could help you?

Theme 4 – Bilingualism and daily life

1. Do you learn any languages at school? Tell me about learning………………Do you think knowing Spanish helps you to learn…………………..in school?

2. Do you sometimes mix your languages – either by mistake or on purpose?

3. Do you think in different languages? Can you give me any examples?

4. What do you like about Spain (or other area/country)?

5. Do you ever share your Spanish (or other area/country) language or culture at school? How do you feel about this? (if yes) Can you give me any examples? (if not) Would you like to?

6. What do you like about Glasgow?

7. Is there anything else you'd like to tell me about using Spanish and/or Spanish culture?

Appendix 9: Semi-structured Interview – Adult

Theme 1 - All about you

Tell me about yourself – what is your name? Where are you from? Tell me about your family - where do you live? Who lives with you? *How long have you lived in Scotland?*

Theme 2 – Bilingualism and Spanish

Which languages do you use? What do you think/feel about being bilingual? Tell me about using Spanish, for example:

1. When do you use Spanish? How do you feel speaking Spanish here in Scotland?

2. Do you think it is good for your child to know Spanish? Why?
    i. (if yes) How do you think it helps?

3. Do you think it might help when they are older? How?

4. Do you have friends here who are from Spanish speaking families too? Adults and children? How important do you think this is for you and your child?

5. Can your child also read and write in Spanish?

6. Would you like him/her to learn more Spanish?

7. Would you like your child to have a Spanish teacher or are you happy that they are learning from your family?

8. How would you feel if there were classes that your child could go to learn Spanish with other Spanish speaking children? For example, after school or on Saturday mornings. Do you think you would like him/her to go to a class like this if there was one available?

9. Do you know if your child ever uses Spanish at school?
    i. (if yes) Can you give me some examples of this? How do you feel about him/her using Spanish in school?
    ii. (if no) Would you like him/her to? Why? How do you think it could help?

Theme 3 – Bilingualism and English

Tell me about using English:

1. When do you use English? With whom? How does it make you feel?

2. Do you think it is good for your child to know English? Why?
    i. (if yes) How do you think it helps?

3. Do you think it might help when they are older? How?

4. Can your child also read and write in English?

5. How do you feel in supporting him/her at school?

(only if parent has more than two languages) Bilingualism and (other language/s)

Tell me about using…………………..:

1. When do you use …………………? How do you feel speaking ………………. here in Scotland?

2. Do you think it is good for your child to know …………………? Why?
    i. (if yes) How do you think it helps?

3. Do you think it might help when they are older? How?

4. Do you have friends here who are from ………………………….. speaking families too? Adults and children? How important do you think this is for you and your child?

5. Can your child also read and write in ……………………………….?

6. Would you like him/her to learn more ………………………………?

7. Would you like your child to have a teacher or are you happy that they are learning …………………………………from your family?

8. How would you feel if there were classes that your child could go to learn ………………….. with other children? For example, after school or on Saturday mornings. Do you think you would like him/her to go to a class like this if there was one available?

9. Do you know if your child ever uses ……………………………… at school?
    i. (if yes) Can you give me some examples of this? How do you feel about him/her using this language in school?
    ii. (if no) Would you like him/her to? Why? How do you think it could help?

Theme 4 – Bilingualism, culture and daily life

1. Does your child learn any languages at school?

2. What do you think about learning other languages?

3. Do you and your child sometimes mix your languages – either by mistake or on purpose?

4. Do you and your child think in different languages? Can you give me any examples?

5. What do you like about Spain (or other area/country?).

6. Thinking about Spanish (or other area/country) culture, is it important for you to keep this culture alive in your family? Can you give examples?

7. Have you ever shared your Spanish (or other area/country) language or culture at your child's school? (if yes) Can you give me any examples? (if not) Would you like to?

8. What do you like about Glasgow/Scotland?

9. Thinking about Scottish/Glaswegian culture, how important is it for you and your family?

10. Is there anything else you'd like to tell me about using Spanish and/or Spanish culture?

Appendix 10: Group Interview Schedule

Theme 1 - About you

Tell me about yourselves – names? children's ages? where are you from? Tell me about your family -who lives with you? (*How long have you lived in Scotland? if appropriate*)

Theme 2 – Bilingualism and Spanish

Which languages do you all use? Individuals' repertoires?

What do you think/feel about being bilingual? Tell me about using Spanish, for example:

1. When do you use Spanish?

2. How do you feel speaking Spanish here in Scotland?

3. Do you think it is good for children to know Spanish? Why?

4. Do you think it might help when children are older? Why?

5. Do you have friends here who are from Spanish-speaking families too? Adults and children? How important do you think this is for your family?

6. Can children also read and write in Spanish?

7. Would they be interested in a complementary school (e.g. after school or on Saturday mornings) if there was one available?

8. Tell me about Club Estrella – likes/dislikes etc? Benefits? Challenges?

Theme 3 –English and other languages

Tell me about using English (*and any other languages if appropriate*):

1. When do the family use English (*or other langs)?* How does it make you feel?

2. Do you think it is good for children to know English? Why? (*or other langs*)

3. Do you think it might help when children are older? Why?

4. Can children also read and write in English?

5. Are parents able to support schooling?

Theme 4 – Daily life, culture

1. Do children learn any languages at school? Which?

2. What do you all think about learning other languages?

3. Do you and your child sometimes mix your languages – either by mistake or on purpose?

4. Do you and your child think in different languages? Can you give me any examples?

5. What do you like about Spain (or Latin American country)

6. Thinking about Spanish/Latin American culture, is it important for you to keep this culture alive in your family? Can you give examples?

7. Have you ever used/shared your language or culture at school? (if yes) Can you give me any examples? (if no) Would you like to? (if yes) Any examples?

8. What do you like about Glasgow/Scotland?

9. Thinking about Scottish/Glaswegian culture, how important is it for the family?

10. Is there anything else you'd like to tell me about using Spanish and/or Spanish culture?

Appendix 11: Sample from Interview Transcription – García Family

Sat 20th January 2018 2.30pm (*first three pages of transcription*)

1. Interviewer: What's your name?
2. Rafael: Rafa
3. I: And how old are you Rafa?
4. R: I'm nearly 6
5. Monica: In 2 days
6. I: That's exciting isn't it? My little boy is nearly six too. And what about you, what's your name and what age are you?
7. Juan: Juan. I'm 9.
8. I: And who else have we got with us today?
9. Maria: Maria
10. I: What age are you?
11. M: 8
12. I: So are you in Primary 4?
13. M: Yeah
14. J: My mum works at our school teaching Spanish
15. I: Do you go round all the classes teaching Spanish then?
16. Monica: Yes, I know all the children in the school!
17. I: What school do you go to?
18. J: The Gaelic School
19. I: Tell me about your family, who else lives with you?
20. R: Our dad
21. M: He's called Thomas
22. R: But we call him Daddy.
23. M: He's at work.
24. I: So what languages do you guys speak?
25. R: Three. Spanish, English and ……. Gaelic.
26. I: And what about your Daddy? Does he speak all three as well?
27. J: Yeah. Well, he's just learning Gaelic now.
28. Monica: But he also is trying to learn Spanish.
29. R: He learned Gaelic when he became friends with our mum.
30. Monica: No, he learned Spanish when he became friends with me.

31. M: And he started learning Gaelic when we started school.

32. I: That's a good idea isn't it? Then he can help you with homework and things like that. Are you better at Gaelic than your Daddy?

33. R & M: Yeah! (l*augh*)

34. I: I thought you might be! (*laughs*)

35. Being bilingual means speaking more than one language – like you guys do. Is that something you like?

36. ALL: Yeah.

37. I: Yeah? Why do you like that Juan?

38. J: Because you can speak to loads of people. Because if you can only know one language then you can't talk to as much people. Like if you know 100 languages then you could speak to one billion people.

39. M: No, more than one billion! Everyone!

40. I: Yeah if you knew that many you could probably speak to nearly everyone in the world. You know if you can speak Chinese then you can speak to nearly one and a half billion people.

41. J: Someone in my class speaks Chinese.

42. I: Is that a friend of yours?

43. Monica: Sometimes! (*laughs*)

44. R: Someone in my class speaks Chinese too.

45. I: What about you, Maria? Do you like using different languages?

46. M: Mmmhmm (*nods head*)

47. I: You do? Is there a reason?

48. M: (silence)

49. I: What about you Rafa?

50. R: Because I can talk to almost everyone

51. Monica: And what about when we go to Spain? If you didn't know Spanish then what would happen?

52. R: I couldn't talk to my family.

53. Monica: That's right.

54. I: Where are you from Monica?

55. Monica: I'm from Barcelona.

56. I: So do you speak Catalan as well?

57. Monica: Yes.

58. I: With the kids?

59. Monica: They do understand it but that's the language they speak the least.

60. I: Yeah, mmhmm.

61. I: So who do you speak Spanish with then?

62. M: Gran

63. R: Mum

64. J: Our granny from here is trying to learn Spanish too.

65. M: But our other gran, she speaks Spanish already.

66. I: Your abuela in Barcelona?

67. J: No, she's Yaya.

68. I: And do you have any cousins in Spain?

69. M: Three cousins.

70. Monica: No, four! And we're going to have two more.

71. M: So six.

72. I: Nice. So is it good to be able to speak to your cousins in Spanish?

73. All: Yeah

74. I: What about here in Scotland? When do you use Spanish – just with mum?

75. J: Some of our friends who speak Spanish live here, we can talk to them in Spanish. And also we can talk to our dad and he sometimes understands it.

76. I: Do you guys still go to Club Estrella?

77. Monica: No, not any more. We stopped.

78. R: We used to.

79. Monica: Yes, we used to.

80. I: Did you like going?

81. J: Yes but I was getting a bit grown up for it.

82. I: Yeah, so maybe more for younger kids?

83. Monica: Yes, the way it's set up it's more for younger kids and he was the oldest in the group anyway when we started going. It was a couple of years ago when I stopped because ….well, there was a lot of babies and toddlers, my kids were getting too old for the activities and the other kids.

84. J: We didn't fit in much.

85. I: So maybe some of the activities were a wee bit young for you? Do you think it's good to know Spanish though?

86. ALL: Yeah

87. I: Why do you think that then? Why is it good?

[…]

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