

“He thinks he is Polish, but the way he acts is Irish”: The Negotiation of Family Language Policy within Polish Migrant and Transnational Families in Ireland

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Declaration

I hereby certify that this material, which I now submit for assessment on the programme of study leading to the award Ph.D. is entirely my own work, that I have exercised reasonable care to ensure that the work is original, and does not to the best of my knowledge breach any law of copyright, and has not been taken from the work of others save and to the extent that such work has been cited and acknowledged within the text of my work.

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List of Acronyms

CSO	Central Statistics Office
DES	Department of Education and Skills
EAL	English as an additional language
EU	European Union
FLP	Family language policy
HLM	Home language maintenance
IILT	Integrate Ireland Language and Training
NCCA	National Council for Curriculum and Assessment
NCCRI	National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism
NMS	New Member States of the European Union, 2004
OECD	The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PDST	Professional Development Service for Teachers
RLS	Reversing language shift

Abstract

Lorraine Connaughton-Crean

‘He thinks he is Polish, but the way he acts is Irish’: The negotiation of Family Language Policy within Polish migrant and transnational families in Ireland

In an era of increased transnationalism, cultural and linguistic diversity has become a prominent feature of Irish society. Between the years of 1995 and 2008, Ireland experienced high rates of inward migration for the first time, which has subsequently led to an emerging second generation of migrants in Ireland (Röder, Ward, Frese, & Sánchez, 2014). While the Polish community is the largest non-Irish group in Ireland, little is known yet about the unique linguistic and cultural challenges faced by Polish migrant and transnational families in Ireland. Family language policy (FLP) research depicts “how languages are managed, learned and negotiated within families” (King, Fogle, & Logan-Terry, 2008, p. 907). FLP studies of migrant and transnational families in Ireland are limited and the current study aims to explore how individual members within Polish families in Ireland jointly construct and negotiate FLP in the home domain. The current study contributes to the field of FLP by being inclusive of the voices of children as active agents in their language use and learning.

An ethnographic approach employing qualitative methods within a constructivist paradigm was deemed the most appropriate way to investigate FLP formation and negotiation in the home domain. The theoretical framework adopted for the research sought to analyse how language socialisation processes and ethnolinguistic identity construction interact with the language ideologies, practices and management strategies of parents and children. The influence of multiple forces on FLP formation, both inside the home and at wider societal level (Curdt-Christiansen, 2014, 2018; Spolsky, 2004) were also considered in the research.

The study comprised two phases of research. During the first phase, a qualitative focus group interview and six individual interviews were conducted with Polish migrant and transnational parents (n=12). These findings informed the development of the second phase of the research, constituting ethnographic case studies of five families. Participant sampling reflected different family structures including two-parent families, a single-parent family and transnational families living between Poland and Ireland. Data collection methods included interviews, observations in the home, audio and video recordings and reflective language diaries. Thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006, 2012) was employed to analyse the data. The findings revealed the inextricable link between language and identity formation among family members. The findings also demonstrated how FLP is continuously being negotiated and reconstructed to suit the everchanging needs and circumstances of migrant and transnational families.

Chapter 1

Introduction and Research Background

Introduction

In an era of increasing globalisation, transnationalism and mobility, Ireland¹ is now a country where cultural and linguistic diversity has become a feature of society. According to the most recent census in 2016, 17.3% of the Irish population was born outside of Ireland, and the Polish community, as the largest migrant group in Ireland, represents 2.5% of the Irish population (CSO, 2017). This study focuses on the family language policy (FLP) of Polish families living in Ireland. The study has a specific focus on the joint role of parents and children in FLP construction in the family home. As a former primary school teacher with previous experience of conducting research with migrant children, I come to the research with a particular interest in the voice of the child and their perspectives on language use in the context of the family home. My previous MEd research on the attitudes of minority-language children to home language² maintenance (HLM) led to a growing interest in how language practices are negotiated among family members in homes where children are raised with more than one language. In my current role as a curriculum developer in the National Council for

¹ Reference to “Ireland” throughout the thesis refers specifically to the Republic of Ireland.

² The terms “home language”, “heritage language”, “first language” and “minority language” are used interchangeably throughout the thesis when referring to previous research. I predominantly adopt the term “home language” in the context of the current study.

Curriculum and Assessment (NCCA), I bring a particular knowledge of how minority languages are recognised within national language curricula for primary and post-primary schools. This chapter begins with a description of migratory trends in Ireland and a demographic overview of the Polish community in Ireland. A synopsis of language policy in the Irish context is provided and the chapter concludes with an outline of the thesis structure.

Globalisation, Migration and Transnational Families

Globalisation, which has led to increased transnational population flows (Martin-Jones & Martin, 2016) has become a topic for discussion since the early 1990s and has been defined as the “process by which immigrants forge and sustain multistranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement” (Basch, Schiller, & Szanton Blanc, 1994, p. 6). Duff (2015) stresses the importance of moving beyond this definition in order to reflect the more complex nature of migrants’ transnational experiences, such as the presence of multiple dwellings, subsequent mobility, the mobility of children and the role of virtual connectedness in a more modern society. While the existence of transnational families is not altogether a new phenomenon, the increased scale of worldwide migration and mobility as well as a revolution in travel has led to increased numbers of transnational families worldwide (Baldassar, Kilkey, Merla, & Wilding, 2017). Hirsch and Lee (2018) make a distinction between transnational and immigrant families, deducing that “transnational families are increasingly more common and their experiences rooted in more frequent or intended translocations are different than those of the immigrant populations” (p. 882). Such a distinction between immigrant and transnational families is important in the context of

Polish families in Ireland who can easily travel between Poland and Ireland as a result of the free movement of EU members. Vertovec (2004) describes how transnational movement or “migrant lives lived here and there” influence transnational family life and the forging of dual identities and “bi-focality of outlooks” among migrants (p. 970). Increased transnationalism worldwide has resulted in migrants forging identities and ties across borders in both the home country and the host country (Glick Schiller, Basch, & Blanc-Szanton, 1998).

The current study considers the interchangeable use of the terms “migration”, “immigration” and “transnationalism” due to the changing and evolving nature of migration and migratory trends. As reflected in other recent research, the researcher adopts the term “transnational” to describe some of the families participating in the current study “to stress the importance of the interconnectivities across and beyond national boundaries in the participants’ experiences” (Obojska, 2018, p. 249) and to reflect the reality that families “may be living in one country, but remained connected with relatives and friends in other countries” (Zhu Hua & Li Wei, 2016, p. 656) . Such maintained connections between host and home countries raise important questions about how families raise bi/multilingual children.

Migratory trends in Ireland

Ireland was known as a country of high outward migration until the onset of an economic boom which lasted between the years of 1995 and 2008. During this time, Ireland experienced considerable economic and social change and became one of the countries with the highest rates of inward migration in the EU (OECD, 2008). This resulted in a transformation in Ireland whereby the number of immigrants began to

rapidly outnumber the number of emigrants leaving Ireland (Quinn, 2008). Immigration to Ireland from diverse backgrounds was evident during this period, including a notable increase in the number of asylum applications, resulting in varying legal statuses, entry routes and socio-cultural backgrounds of immigrants. While some of this migration was temporary and some migrants subsequently left Ireland, many remained in Ireland despite the economic crisis that ensued from 2008 onwards (Röder et al., 2014).

EU enlargement in 2004 saw 10 new member states (NMS) joining the EU, and in May 2004, Ireland became one of three existing EU members, along with Sweden and the UK, to open its borders and welcome free labour movement of immigrants from the EU member states. As a result, significant numbers of EU nationals arrived in Ireland at this time and EU migrants generally had little bureaucratic difficulty in gaining employment and settling there. A study of migrants in Ireland from varying backgrounds found that many of them had previously been in skilled professions, indicating a “significant transfer of human capital resources to Ireland” (Feldman, Gilmartin, Loyal, & Migge, 2008, p. 171). The 2011 census showed that there were 544,357 non-Irish nationals living in Ireland, representing 12% of the total population in Ireland at the time (CSO, 2012). This figure had grown immensely from 224,261 persons in 2002. While the most recent census recorded that the proportion of the population who were non-Irish nationals had fallen slightly from 12.2% in 2011 to 11.6% in 2016, this apparent decline can in part be explained by the rise in the number of those with dual Irish nationality (CSO, 2017). 55,905 persons were recorded as having dual-nationality in April 2011 and 104,784 persons in April 2016 (CSO, 2017).

Two questions in the 2011 census based on linguistic diversity, which had never been included in the census before, indicated the heterogeneous nature of Ireland’s

linguistic landscape. One question referred to languages spoken at home, other than English or Irish, and the results of the census reported that about 11% of the population, or 514,068 people, spoke a language other than English or Irish at home (CSO, 2012). The 2016 census results showed that 612,018 Irish residents, or 13% of the population spoke a foreign language at home (CSO, 2017). Over a quarter of those speaking a foreign language at home were born in Ireland, highlighting a growing trend in Irish born multilingual citizens. Interestingly, 57.4% of all Irish-born speakers of foreign languages were collectively accounted for as preschool, primary school and post-primary school children (CSO, 2012).

While Ireland was initially an attractive destination for migrants due to an economic boom, chain migration and family reunification have also become common migratory traits in Ireland at present (Diskin, 2013). Extended family members have continued to migrate to Ireland both during the economic boom and in more recent years. In their study of EU migrants in Ireland, Gilmartin and Migge (2015) found that social and cultural factors had impacted on migrants' decisions to move to Ireland rather than economic factors. While Ireland may have been prepared in the availability of employment for arriving immigrants, it was less prepared for the social and educational consequences of this new wave of immigration (Little & Kirwan, 2019) .

Extremely high levels of migration during the last two decades have resulted in a changing composition of the Irish population. It has been highlighted in recent years that due to the relative newness of the immigration trend, there has not been a substantial cohort of second-generation migrant children or young people to include in research studies (White, Ní Laoire, Tyrrell, & Carpena-Méndez, 2013). Migrants in the younger age groups, and particularly the group between 25 and 44 years of age, as

recorded in the 2011 census were predominantly first-generation migrants (CSO, 2012). This has led to an emerging second generation of migrants in Ireland (Röder et al., 2014). In their study of “new families” in Ireland, Röder et al. (2014) take on the commonly-used description of “second generation” for native-born residents who have at least one foreign-born parent. The term *1.5 generation* has previously been used to refer to people who migrate to a new country before their early teens, bringing cultural and linguistic characteristics with them from their home country to the new country of residence (Asher, 2011).

According to Bezcioglu-Goktolga (2019), the second generation “play a critical role in FLP, since they are the transition generation that determine whether the family maintains or loses the bilingual orientations” (p. 2). Exploration of the linguistic experiences of migrant families including second-generation children born to first-generation migrant parents in Ireland is an area of research that merits investigation beyond the present time and into the coming years. Previous research in the Irish context has focused on “newcomer” children who were born in their home countries and entered the Irish education system at different ages (Mc Daid, 2007, 2011; Röder et al., 2014). There has been a growing body of research on child migration in Europe, focusing on children in various migratory situations, such as return migration and family migration (White et al., 2013). Very little however is yet known about children born in Ireland to migrant parents and the unique linguistic and cultural challenges that these families face (Röder et al., 2014). Transnational families in Ireland are faced with two challenges: developing the language of the host society in order to gain employment or access to the education system, and enabling their children to continue to maintain, or in some cases, develop the home language. Ireland is therefore an

important context within which to analyse the FLP of Polish migrant families in a country with relatively little experience of inward migration, and the current study addresses this gap in the literature.

Polish migration to Ireland: A demographic overview

A trend of Polish migration to Ireland became evident following Poland's EU membership in 2004, and the rapid growth of the economic boom in Ireland at that time. Polish migrants accounted for the highest number of migrants in Ireland out of the 10 new accession states to the EU. This trend of inward Polish migration was predominantly motivated by economic factors, with the prospect of readily available well-paid employment in Ireland. A survey carried out in Poland prior to their accession to the EU highlighted the willingness of Poles to migrate to Western European countries for work, but Ireland did not feature as a country of interest among Polish people at that particular time (Grabowska, 2003). Small-scale research carried out with Polish migrant workers in Ireland in 2006 highlighted the macro-economic and micro-economic factors that subsequently played a role in the decision of Polish migrants to come and live in Ireland (Kropiwek & King-O Riain, 2006). The unstable employment market in Poland at the time, with an average unemployment rate of 15%, coupled with the contrasting economic growth evident in Ireland and EU accession giving access to the Irish labour market all resulted in large numbers of Polish migrants arriving in Ireland from 2004 onwards (Kropiwek & King-O Riain, 2006).

The 2011 census gave insight into the arrival of Polish migrants in Ireland and the specific age profile of their children. Among the families that declared that Polish was the spoken language in the familial home, the vast majority of school-aged children

were born abroad, while a large proportion of those attending preschool were born in Ireland (CSO, 2012). A survey carried out among Poles in Ireland for the years 2009 to 2010 showed that 42.7% of respondents were between 25 and 29 years of age and 34% were between 30 and 35 years of age at the time of the survey (Mühlau, Kaliszewska, & Röder, 2010). The 2016 census saw an increase in the number of children from Polish families born in Ireland and the emergence of a second generation of Polish children and young people in Ireland (CSO, 2017).

Although Ireland had entered a deep economic recession by 2008 and a trend in Irish emigration had resurfaced, Polish migration to Ireland continued and was characterised by high levels of chain migration and family reunification from that time onwards. The Polish population in Ireland increased from 73,402 to 112,259 between the years of 2006 and 2012; the only immigrant group to increase in size during the post-2008 economic recession (CSO, 2012). According to the census in 2011, Poles made up 22.5% of the non-Irish population (CSO, 2012) and they continue to be the largest migrant group in Ireland today, making them an important group to consider in Irish society. Polish migrants today make up 2.5% of the Irish population with 122,515 Polish people living in Ireland (CSO, 2017). This figure may in fact be greater than stated, due to limitations in the way the national census records nationality and place of birth (O' Connell & McGinnity, 2008). Polish is the most popular language outside of English or Irish to be spoken in Ireland, with approximately 119,526 people speaking Polish at home in Irish households (CSO, 2012).

Increased use of social media and ease of access to the internet in recent years has had a great impact on the ability of Polish migrants to maintain contact with family and friends in Poland and to continue to communicate in the Polish language, while

living in Ireland (Diskin, 2020). A study of Polish nationals living in Ireland and their use of social media revealed the likelihood of Polish nationals continuing to maintain friendships with fellow Polish nationals, rather than developing friendships with Irish citizens (Komito & Bates, 2009). Participants in the Komito and Bates study (2009) overwhelmingly identified the vast majority of their friendships as being with other Polish nationals, whether in Ireland or elsewhere. The study highlighted the influence of social media on the development and maintenance of these friendships and the possible lessening of Polish migrants' motivation to integrate more into Irish society. Komito and Bates (2009) maintained that "with such minimal contact with Irish citizens, even when living in Ireland, it is clear that twenty-first century migration is mobility not assimilation, and new social networking technologies are facilitating this mobility" (p. 242). A more recent study of Polish nationals living in Ireland revealed the role of social media sites in enabling Polish migrants in Ireland to communicate through Polish and maintain a sense of community (Diskin, 2020).

Language Policy and Language Education Policy in Ireland

Ireland is officially a bilingual country, with the Constitution of Ireland identifying Irish as the first official national language, and English as the second official language of Ireland. Despite this, Ireland has been described as "almost universally English speaking" (Ó Laoire, 2007) and the most recent census showed a decline in the percentage of respondents who stated they could speak Irish (CSO, 2017). Irish is an obligatory curriculum subject throughout children's primary and post-primary education and therefore, the education system can be described as a principal means of promoting the widespread use of Irish in Irish society.

A new question in the 2011 census focusing on self-reported proficiency in English was demonstrative of a newly linguistically-diverse Ireland at that time (Röder et al., 2014). There was a significant number of migrant children, teenagers and young adults in Ireland being educated through a language other than their mother tongue. Twelve percent of primary students and 10% of post-primary students were from a migrant background in 2010 (DES, 2011). It is estimated that these migrant students came from over 160 countries and spoke up to 200 languages, and an estimated 70-75 % of these students did not speak English as a first language (DES, 2011). The 2016 census results showed that of those who spoke a foreign language at home, 19,743 were preschool children, 54,693 were attending primary school and 31,078 were attending post-primary school (CSO, 2017). The census also indicated that the ability to speak English improves rapidly once children start school (CSO, 2017).

The Irish government responded to the increasing diversity in Irish schools from 2004 onwards in a number of ways. Official policy circulars issued by the Department of Education and Science (DES)³ in 2007 and 2009 outlined specific directions for primary and post-primary schools in meeting the needs of pupils with English as an additional language (EAL). In 2000, Integrate Ireland Language and Training (IILT)⁴ began supporting primary and post-primary schools by developing teaching and

³ The Department of Education and Science was renamed as the Department of Education and Skills on 2 May 2010 due to a change in the functions of the department.

⁴ Integrate Ireland Language and Training (IILT) was a not-for-profit company of Trinity College Dublin and was fully funded by the Department of Education and Science from its establishment in 2000 until 2008, when funding was withdrawn.

learning materials and organising in-service days for English language support teachers. In 2006, the National Council for Curriculum and Assessment (NCCA)⁵ published *English as an Additional Language in Irish Primary Schools: Guidelines for Teachers* which recommended that the “teaching of English will build on the language and literacy skills which the child⁶ has attained in his/her home language to the greatest extent possible” (NCCA, 2006, p. 5). The NCCA *Intercultural Education in the Primary School: Guidelines for Schools* (2005) highlighted the importance of affirming and acknowledging pupils’ home languages in the school context for both ethical and educational reasons. Furthermore, the benefits of learning in a bilingual environment are affirmed in the guidelines (NCCA, 2005). This growing awareness of intercultural education and the provision of resources and training for schools all served to aid teachers in a rapidly-changing educational setting.

The approach initially taken by the Irish education system towards providing English language support for migrant children with EAL has been described as a monolingual English-only system of language support where there is no provision for the teaching of minority language children’s first language (Mc Daid, 2007). Nowlan (2008) described the then language policy for EAL pupils in the Irish education system as assimilationist, as the main focus was placed on the acquisition of the English

⁵ The National Council for Curriculum and Assessment (NCCA) is a statutory body of the Department of Education and Skills. The NCCA advises the Minister for Education and Skills on curriculum and assessment for early childhood education, primary and post-primary schools as well as assessment procedures used in schools and examinations on subjects which are part of the curriculum.

⁶ Within official curriculum and educational policy documents, *child* is used to denote learners in primary school.

language. English language support teachers primarily withdrew EAL children from class for a specified length of time, over a period of up to two years to focus on the teaching and learning of the English language. This model was subsequently altered in 2012 when the General Allocation Model of support to schools was introduced, allowing schools the autonomy to decide how best to support children with EAL (DES, 2012).

A growing body of literature highlighting the role of home language and the importance of recognising home languages in schools in the Irish context has emerged in recent years (see Bracken, Hagan, O'Toole, Quinn, & Ryan, 2009; Kirwan, 2013; D. Little & Kirwan, 2019; Mc Daid, 2011). Some studies have yielded negative findings and shown a lack of recognition of children's home languages (Devine, 2005; Mc Daid, 2011; Nowlan, 2008; Wallen & Kelly-Holmes, 2006) and evidence in schools of "deficit constructs" of children of migrant backgrounds (Devine & McGillicuddy, 2016). In a study of Polish- and Romanian-speaking children attending Irish primary schools, Mc Daid (2011) argued that the children "have been constructed as linguistic outsiders within their schools" (p. 25) and had their multilingual abilities unrecognised. Another study of a primary school in Ireland revealed contrasting findings, where pupils' diverse home languages were acknowledged, embraced and used in all classrooms and throughout the school community (Kirwan, 2013; D. Little & Kirwan, 2019). This particular study highlighted the possibilities for all schools to "convert linguistic diversity into educational capital" (D. Little & Kirwan, 2019, p. 173).

In their study of a group of first-generation minority language children in an Irish primary school, Connaughton-Crean and Ó Duibhir (2017) identified a lack of opportunity for migrant children in Ireland to develop their literacy skills in the home

language. They proposed that the provision of national government-funded minority language education in the future may serve the needs of the bilingual development of migrant children in Ireland. Similarly, Machowska-Kosciak (2017) asserted,

Polish children in Ireland should be supported on their way to bilingualism.

Polish language tuition (along with the choice of other minority languages) as one of the mainstream curricular subjects would enrich and benefit not only Polish students but also Irish society in general. (p. 101)

In the British context, Li Wei (2006) emphasises that:

Ideally, the needs of the immigrant and ethnic minority children and their communities can be accommodated within the mainstream school system, and there would be no need for separate or additional schooling for these children. (p. 79)

While there is no official provision at present for the teaching of migrant languages as curriculum subjects in primary or post-primary schools, there have been a number of recent developments evident in relation to language education policy for minority language pupils in Ireland. The new Primary Language Curriculum (2019) acknowledges that “the presence of a variety of languages in a classroom provides an opportunity for teachers to embrace the multilingual classroom” (p. 45). Reference to “other languages” within the learning outcomes of the curriculum “enables teachers to draw on and support the linguistic abilities of all children” (DES, 2019, p. 45). In 2017, the Minister for Education and Skills published *Languages Connect, Ireland’s Strategy for Foreign Languages in Education, 2017-2026* (DES, 2017) which conveyed the languages of the “new Irish” as a rich resource to be respected and actively supported in

our settings and schools. It set out a number of actions which included exploring how foreign languages might be integrated into the senior classes of the primary curriculum, and a commitment to begin development of Leaving Certificate specifications in Mandarin Chinese, Polish, Lithuanian and Portuguese, with a view to implementation from September 2020 and first examinations in June 2022. Machowska-Kosciak (2017) suggested that having Polish language tuition as a mainstream curricular subject would be beneficial for both Polish students and Irish society. At present, Leaving Certificate examinations are offered at the end of post-primary education in 15 languages, referred to as non-curricular EU languages. Students qualify to undertake this examination if they come from a member state of the European Union, speak the language in which they opt to be examined in as a mother tongue, have followed a programme of study leading to the Leaving Certificate and are also undertaking Leaving Certificate English.

Polish Complementary Language Schooling in Ireland

Complementary schools, also known as “community” or “supplementary” schools have been described as serving “specific linguistic or religious and cultural communities, particularly through mother-tongue classes” (Creese & Martin, 2006, p. 1). There are differing opportunities afforded to varying ethnic communities with regard to the provision of privately-run minority language classes. The Polish community is particularly well catered for as a result of the high number of Polish migrants in Ireland, the provision of private Polish schooling and the willingness of the Polish community to enrol their children in private Polish complementary schools. These schools, generally referred to as Polish weekend schools, or *Szkolny Punkt Konsultacyjny* in Polish, support the linguistic and cultural development of Polish children and are

supported by the Polish government (Machowska-Kosciak, 2017). They provide curriculum instruction in the Polish language and in other curricular areas such as maths, geography and history. The number of Polish complementary schools in Ireland has grown immensely (Pedrak, 2019). In 2012, there were 24 such schools in various locations in Ireland, with schools mainly catering for students on Saturdays and Sundays (Nestor, 2012). Recent research in Ireland has identified 52 Polish supplementary schools in the Republic of Ireland: 47 privately-run community schools and five School Consultation Points which are funded by the Polish government (Pedrak, 2019). It is asserted that Polish weekend schools in Ireland “connect a local Polish migrant community with the Polish education system back in Poland”, and such a cultural connection ensures that “children will have a greater possibility of finding their own place back in Polish society in the future as well as in the employment market” (Machowska-Kosciak, 2017, p. 90). Other recent research has identified Polish literacy, cultural aspects of instruction, and the prospect of return migration to Poland as main motivators for attending Polish weekend schools (Diskin, 2020).

Research Rationale and Questions

Ideology, identity and agency have been recently identified as areas for focus in the study of bi/multilingual transnational families (King & Lanza, 2017). In the Irish context, White et al. (2013) have recognised and drawn attention to child agency in the process of identity formation and interpretations of transnationalism, asserting that the voice of the child elucidates their experience and positioning. Darmody, Tyrrell, and Song (2011) have also focused on the voices, perspectives and experiences of migrant children and young people living in Ireland. A longitudinal study of four Polish migrant

post-primary students and their families in Ireland identified how adolescents engage with issues of conflicting identities and competing English language learning and Polish language maintenance (Machowska-Kosciak, 2013, 2017). While such studies add to an emerging literature in the Irish context, an insight into FLP in the home domain and the perspectives of individual family members within transnational families in Ireland merits attention.

In the context of an emerging second generation of Polish migrants in Ireland and a dearth of FLP research in the Irish context, the current study provides an original insight into the FLP of Polish migrant and transnational⁷ families in Ireland. The study focuses on language socialisation processes, ethnolinguistic identity construction and the role of child agency in FLP formation in the home. The study aims to examine the intergenerational aspect of FLP formation within Polish transnational families by including parents and children in the research. Choosing families with children of varying ages can help gain insight into how children's ages and stage of development can impact on FLP (He, 2016, p. 668). The current study can aid us in our understanding of why some Polish transnational children manage to develop and maintain their Polish language skills while others may not do so. The study can also help us to gain insight into the language management strategies and self-management strategies that family members put in place to bring about desired language practices

⁷ The current study recognises and refers to some families as “transnational” families rather than “immigrant” or “migrant” families to reflect their interconnected experiences between Poland and Ireland.

and conditions in the family domain. The study also aims to uncover how different family members negotiate language practices in the home and how factors outside of the family home impact on FLP formation and enactment in the home domain. Irish society reflects the changing nature of the “typical Irish family” or “nuclear family” structure, with a significant increase in one-parent households and a high non-marital birth rate alongside increased rates of cohabitation, divorce, same-sex families and reconstituted families (King-O’Riain, 2014). The current study reflects this change in family structure by including a variety of family types in the research, including two-parent families, one-parent families and transnational families with family members living between Poland and Ireland.

The following research questions are addressed in the study:

1. How is FLP jointly constructed among parents and children of Polish migrant and transnational families living in Ireland?
2. How do family members’ transnational connections with Poland impact on the family language policy and identities of Polish migrant and transnational families in Ireland?
3. How do educational institutions and children’s peers and educators impact on family language policy, as reported by parents and children?
4. How does English language dominance in society affect the family language policy of Polish migrant and transnational families in Ireland?

Thesis Outline

This introductory chapter has described the linguistic context within which the current research is located. An outline of the changing demographics and resulting linguistic diversity was provided, with a particular focus on the Polish community, the largest non-Irish group in Ireland. A description of the relevant educational language policies in Ireland was described, with reference to minority-language children in Irish schools.

Chapter 2 presents and describes the theoretical framework which informs the current research. A review of the pertinent literature relevant to the current research is also presented in the chapter.

Chapter 3 provides a rationale for the research design and outlines the methodological approaches to the research which fit within the constructivist paradigm. A rationale for undertaking a two-phased approach to the research is discussed. A profile of the participants and the recruitment process is outlined. Ethical considerations are described and data analysis procedures are discussed.

Chapter 4 presents the findings from the first phase of the study which consisted of a focus group interview with six parents and individual interviews with an additional six parents. The findings are discussed according to four themes generated during data analysis.

Chapter 5 presents the findings from the second phase of the study which constituted ethnographic case studies of five Polish transnational families in Ireland. These findings are discussed under four themes generated during data analysis.

In Chapter 6, the findings of the research are synthesised, the contribution of the research to existing knowledge is evaluated, the methodological implications of the research are outlined and directions for future research are presented and discussed.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

Introduction

As discussed in Chapter 1, the current study investigates the FLP of Polish migrant and transnational families in Ireland. FLP continues to evolve worldwide as a field of research with an increase in literature relating to FLP studies in more diverse contexts. Despite this growing body of research, there is a dearth of literature relating to FLP among transnational families in Ireland. Exploration of the available literature relating to FLP research among transnational families in a range of contexts is essential in understanding the theories, topics and methodological approaches relevant to FLP research in the home.

The complex and interdisciplinary nature of FLP is elucidated in this chapter through exploration of the relevant literature and theoretical concepts pertinent to the evolving field of FLP research. The chapter begins with a discussion of the concepts which provide the basis for the theoretical framework adopted for the current study. The researcher focuses specifically on two relevant theories: language socialisation and ethnolinguistic identity theory. Spolsky's (2004) model of language policy and Curdt-Christiansen's (2018) interdisciplinary framework of FLP, which inform the theoretical framework for the current study are also presented and discussed. In acknowledging how other fields of research inform FLP research, literature relating to relevant topics associated with the field of FLP research is presented. These topics include identity formation in transnational contexts, language ideology formation, agency and language use, HLM and language shift. Four stages of FLP research are outlined in the context of

an evolving and growing field of interdisciplinary research and this is followed by an identification of the gap in FLP studies which the current research seeks to address. Finally, the theoretical framework for the current study is presented and discussed.

Language Socialisation

Language socialisation and FLP are closely associated and interrelated (Bezcioglu-Goktolga, 2019; Fogle, 2012). Language acquisition research and socialisation research had been considered independent of each other until the advent of the language socialisation research paradigm. Language socialisation originally drew on anthropological linguistics (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986a) and the language socialisation research paradigm was originally formulated in the 1980s as a means of understanding children's first language acquisition and in response to the need to draw on connections and links between children's linguistic and social development (Moore, 2005; Ochs & Schieffelin, 2011). The language socialisation paradigm "addresses the lack of culture in language acquisition studies, and the absence of language in child socialization studies" (Kulick & Schieffelin, 2007, p. 350). Consequently, language socialisation can be considered multidisciplinary, bringing together two fields of inquiry; language acquisition and child socialisation.

Language socialisation has been described as both theoretical and methodological in nature (Duff, 2014; Kulick & Schieffelin, 2007) and has been defined as "the process by which novices or newcomers in a community or culture gain communicative competence, membership, and legitimacy in the group" (Duff, 2007, p. 310). Language socialisation research has traditionally focused on the process by which children are socialised through language as they are being socialised to use language

(Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986a, 1986b). Although language socialisation research was initially more typically focused on children acquiring their first language (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986), the field has expanded to focus on language socialisation studies in second language acquisition among children and other novices in transnational contexts (Fogle, 2012; Ochs & Schieffelin, 2011). In doing so, the ways in which families negotiate their memberships within multilingual and multicultural contexts are illuminated.

As a result of examining how children acquire language within various societies around the world, researchers in the area of language socialisation are enabled to identify how “children became particular types of speakers and members of communities” throughout their acquisition of a language (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2011, p. 2). Language socialisation considers the role of language as fundamental to the child socialisation process. Duff (2014) maintained that language “mediates the socialization process” (p. 15) while Kulick and Schieffelin (2005) concurred that language is “the most central and crucial dimension” of the socialisation process (p. 350). Previous language socialisation research elucidated the crucial role of language in enabling a novice to become a member of a particular cultural community (Kulick & Schieffelin, 2007; Moore, 2005).

It is asserted that through participation in recurrent and “routine interactions with more expert members of the community, novices are socialized through the use of language and socialized to use language” (Moore, 2005, p. 63). The current study examines how Polish transnational families manage the home language and the majority language in the context of their dual membership within the Irish and Polish communities. Exploration and examination of language socialisation processes among

Polish transnational families in Ireland can particularly aid our understanding of the crucial and central role that language socialisation plays in the home domain and in family members' participation in the wider community. According to Duff (2014), language socialisation analyses the means whereby novices are “apprenticed or mentored into the linguistic and nonlinguistic ideologies, values, practices and stances of particular sociocultural groups across a range of contexts” (p. 13). The current study seeks to illuminate and interpret the linguistic ideologies, values, practices and stances of Polish transnational families in Ireland through the lens of language socialisation processes.

Language socialisation is considered a lifespan process which occurs across multiple settings or communities, to include homes, schools, religious institutions, workplaces and many other environments (Ochs, 1999; Ochs & Schieffelin, 2011). Ochs (1999) conveyed the importance of examining “how language practices organize the life span process of becoming an active, competent participant in one or more communities” (p. 230). Considering families' participation in multiple settings and environments over an expanded period of time can build up a clearer picture of FLP. In the context of the current study, it is acknowledged that the research is undertaken within a designated and defined timeframe and language socialisation processes will continue to evolve over time for the participating families.

While language socialisation for “heritage language learners, like first language (L1) learners and young bilinguals worldwide” begins with everyday encounters at home, “their learning of and about language and culture may take place inside and outside the home” and is determined by an individual's access to and participation in activities supporting their heritage language (Duff, 2014, p. 14). There exists multiple

interpretations and descriptions of bilingualism in the literature, including broad and narrow definitions of the phenomenon (Valdés, Brookes, & Chavez, 2003) as a result of the “complex picture that emerges from any discussion of bilingualism, where individual language use is closely inter-related with social forces” (Beardsmore, 1986, p. 41). The current study draws specifically on bicultural and bilingual children who speak Polish as a heritage language, and English as the more dominant societal language in Ireland. The Polish families participating in the current study have spoken Polish to their children from birth, regardless of whether the children were born in Poland or Ireland. Children have typically only been exposed to English from the time they started to attend early childhood settings or primary school, and can therefore be described as sequential Polish-English bilingual speakers. Sequential childhood bilingualism typically involves a child learning one language in the home, before learning a second language in a childcare or educational setting (Baker, 2011).

Harris (1995) drew on group socialisation theory when describing bilingual children who use one language at home and another outside the home. This theory proposed that children favour the behavioural system of the peer group outside the home over the one they acquire at home (Harris, 1995). According to Harris (1995), “language is the most conspicuous marker of the bicultural child’s context-dependent socialization” (p. 462), maintaining that “what children learn in the context of their home may not, in fact, work in the world outside the home” (Harris, 1995, p. 462). Referring to context-specific socialisation in bicultural situations, he maintained that bilingual children’s peer groups have a significant impact on socialisation that occurs outside of the home, and significantly influence children’s increasing use of the majority language in place of the home language. As a result of bilingual children’s use

of the home language with parents and their use of the majority language with peers, Harris (1995) concluded that “the home language will be contextually linked to behavioural, cognitive, and emotional responses that occurred at home, the other language to those that occurred outside the home” (p. 462). The current study recognises the significance and impact of multiple settings outside of the home in language socialisation processes, especially in the context of children’s exposure to English in school and the wider community.

Traditional theories of language socialisation have perceived the transmissive, top-down process of language socialisation (Fogle, 2012) with the child being viewed “as something that needs to be moulded and guided by society in order to become a fully-fledged member” (Lanza, 2007, p. 47). More recent interpretations of children as active agents have given rise to newer conceptualisations of socialisation processes (Lanza, 2007). The concept of language socialisation as a co-constructed and collaborative process (Fogle, 2012; Kulick & Schieffelin, 2007) promoted the recognition of children’s agentic capabilities. The child’s active role in family language socialisation processes came to light in more recent studies of FLP (Fogle, 2012, 2013a; Fogle & King, 2013; Lanza, 2007; Luykx, 2005; Palviainen & Boyd, 2013). The literature highlighted that “while many socializing situations involve older persons as experts and younger persons as novices, the reverse is also commonplace” (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2011, p. 4). Previous studies drew attention to the important and supportive role that children and adolescents could play in helping their parents in a new language environment (Luykx, 2005). The capabilities of children to act as language brokers in migrant and transnational situations can be linked to language socialisation processes and will be discussed in a subsequent section of this chapter. The current study views

all participants as active agents in language socialisation processes and therefore considers the bidirectionality of children's and parents' active roles in these processes.

Ethnolinguistic Identity Theory

Ethnolinguistic identity theory (Giles & Johnson, 1981, 1987) closely links with and derives from social identity theory. Social identity theory considers individuals' categorisation of the social world and their perceptions of themselves as members of various social groups. According to Shaw (1976), a social group can be summarised as "two or more persons who are interacting with one another in such a manner that each person influences and is influenced by each other person" (p. 11). Giles and Johnson (1987) stressed the value of ethnolinguistic identity theory in aiding our "understanding of the variables and mechanisms involved in the maintenance of an ethnic language in different social settings" (p. 69). This theory was formulated to explain how, when and why different members of an ethnic group use different language strategies in interethnic situations (Giles & Johnson, 1987; Kulick & Schieffelin, 2007). The theory considers sociostructural influences and views language as a vital element of an ethnic group's identity (Giles & Johnson, 1981, p.70). According to Hamers and Blanc (2000), ethnolinguistic identity can be viewed "as a subjective feeling of belonging to a particular ethnolinguistic group for which the language spoken by the group is an important characteristic" (p. 202). In the context of the current study, participants' memberships within various social groups impact on identity construction and the constant negotiation and formation of FLP.

While ethnolinguistic identity theory deduces that an individual's membership within social groups is connected to his or her social identity, Giles and Johnson (1987)

maintained that these social groups may not be equally significant or “salient at any one time” (p. 71). Giles and Johnson (1987) described three relevant variables which can serve to either “increase or decrease the level of a person’s sense of ethnic belongingness” (p. 71) as outlined below. Firstly, Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977) proposed that status factors, demographic factors and institutional support all contribute to an ethnic group’s ethnolinguistic vitality. It is asserted that groups with high vitality are more likely to “thrive and remain distinct” (Giles & Johnson, 1987) and Giles and Johnson (1981) proposed that higher levels of perceived vitality are connected with the increased prominence of group identity for members. Vince and Henning-Lindblom (2015) referred to ethnolinguistic vitality as ‘the overall strength of a language compared to that of its rival language based on factors such as demography, status and institutional support’ (p. 2). Their study of “ethnolinguistic identity and its relationship to ethnolinguistic vitality among young Finns with a Swedish-Finnish, mixed language family background” highlighted the sheer complexity of ethnolinguistic identity theory. The study echoed Giles and Johnson (1987), who asserted that when individuals are members of multiple social groups, their social identity is made up of the parts of these social groups. More importantly, ethnolinguistic identity theory affirms that “the parts” of an individual’s social identity may not be equivalently prominent or “equally salient at any one time” (Giles and Johnson, 1987, p. 71). It also serves to accentuate the relationship between language and identity and stresses the possibility of multiple ethnolinguistic identities in individuals (Vincze & Henning-Lindblom, 2015).

According to Giles and Johnson (1987), previous sociological and anthropological scholars have emphasised the importance of social boundaries for ethnic groups as a means of clarifying “ethnic categorisation and norms for conducting

intergroup encounters” (p. 72). The current study seeks to understand families’ interpretations of their memberships within Polish and English-speaking communities and their identification with both groups. Giles and Johnson (1987) concluded that those who view themselves as belonging to various and different social groups “should possess a more diffuse social identity than persons who view themselves as members of only one or two groups” (p. 72). Of importance to the current study is individuals’ interpretations of themselves as members of the Polish and Irish communities, and the impact of these memberships on identity, language ideologies, language choice and everyday language practices.

Identity Formation in Transnational Contexts

Duff (2015) described identity as “how people see or imagine themselves, how they relate to the social world, and how they are seen or positioned by others in their various social, cultural, and linguistic settings, and thus their sense of belonging to and legitimacy within particular social groups near and far” (p. 61). Due to changing shifts in global migration, identity has become a more fluid concept, with migrants engaging in complex acts of identity formation based on the culture within which they find themselves (Farias & Asaba, 2013). Elements of social identity such as gender, ethnicity, age and social class affect language behaviour but in turn are constructed and negotiated through language (Gibbons & Ramirez, 2004). Nero (2005) deduced that social identity is the relationship between the individual and the larger social world, as mediated through institutions such as families, schools, workplaces, social services and law courts. Drawing on a corpus of bilingual conversations, including Rwandese immigrants in Belgium, Gafaranga (2005) explored language alternation, or code-

switching among bilingual speakers in an effort to investigate the relationship between the conversational structure and the social structure in bilingual conversations. According to Gafaranga (2005), “speakers draw on a variety of social structures as resources” in conversation, “one of which is language preference”. In this way, Gafaranga (2005) put forward the viewpoint that social structure and language are inextricably linked and that language itself is a social structure that has the potential to structure society itself. In concluding that “social structures and therefore social identities are not fixed” (Gafaranga, 2005, p. 291), it is important to consider FLP as an evolving construct in the context of negotiated and non-fixed identities.

In her study of intergenerational Chinese diasporic families in the UK, Zhu Hua (2008) demonstrated how conflicts in values and identities are negotiated, mediated and evaluated in families’ bilingual interactions through the strategic use of their linguistic resources, such as code-switching. Children’s ability to challenge their parents’ positions through strategic code-switching in “intergenerational conflict talk” is demonstrative of behaviour which contradicts the cultural norm and stereotype of the obedient Chinese child (Zhu Hua, 2008). She concludes from her study that bilingual speakers use codeswitching as a resource to construct “their own social roles and identities and those of others around them” (Zhu Hua, 2008, p. 1801). In their edited book, White et al. (2013) showcased emerging research in different jurisdictions which challenged the traditional “adult-centred nature of migration research” and demonstrated how children can share identity across two spaces, thus constructing their identities in different contexts. The current study explores children’s identity constructs in the context of their ongoing transnational connections and movement between Poland and Ireland.

According to Romaine (2011), “People hold strong beliefs and deeply felt emotions concerning their language, culture, and identity” (p. 9). Cultural identity can be described as the relationship between individuals and members of a group who share a common history, a common language, and similar ways of understanding the world (Norton, 1997, p. 420). Identity formation in migrant children and young people can be affected by social relations as well as institutions such as the family and school or other educational institutions. In this way, “migrant children’s lives and experiences must be understood in the context of their multiple and intersecting relations and identifications” (White et al., 2013, p. 8). According to Hall (1990):

Cultural identity ... is a matter of ‘becoming’ as well as of ‘being’. It belongs to the future as much as to the past. It is not something which already exists, transcending place, time, history and culture. Cultural identities come from somewhere, have histories. But, like everything which is historical, they undergo constant transformation. (p. 225)

The current study considers the ongoing transformation of participants’ cultural identities in the context of families’ everchanging, multiple and intersecting relations and identifications.

FLP studies cannot be separated from family members’ identities, and studies of transnational families highlight the complex relationship that exists between language and identity (Zhu Hua & Li Wei, 2016). In a study of Chinese youths in Britain, Li Wei (2011) demonstrated how identities can be accepted or rejected in everyday interactions. In their study of Chinese language learning by adolescents and young adults in the Chinese diaspora, Li and Duff (2014) found that language learning is

linked with learners' past, present and future identities and can be viewed as temporary and context specific, with differing learning experiences and trajectories featuring over the life span of a language learner. Li and Duff's (2014) ethnographic study examined older children's and young adults' experiences and their reasons for learning Chinese, and how these related to perceptions of their ethnicities and identities. Findings from Curdt-Christiansen's (2009) ethnographic inquiry of Chinese immigrant families in Quebec demonstrated parents' "strong belief that identity is enacted through language; and language with its attendant culture will simultaneously accompany the individual's development of identity" (p. 366). According to Machowska-Kosciak (2019), "unresolved conflicts of cultural allegiances and ambivalence about identity may shake one's sense of belonging ... It can impact on the later command of two languages and integration" (p. 172). Studies like these highlight the inextricable links between culture, language and identity.

HLM among children is closely related to identity formation and development (Zhang, 2004) and the complex and intertwined relationship between language, identity and HLM is clearly highlighted in the literature. A more in-depth analysis of HLM as a central aspect of FLP formation is discussed later in this chapter. Guardado (2002) found that parents' concerns for their children's identity, moral development and cognitive growth was the most significant factor in whether children remained bilingual or became English dominant. In their study of second-generation Turkish families in the Netherlands, Bezcioglu-Goktolga and Yagmur (2017) deduced that preserving the Turkish identity was the most frequently-mentioned reason given by parents for their use of Turkish in the home. While the linguistic identities of minority groups can sometimes be in conflict with identities ascribed to them by the society within which

they live, Fillmore (2000) urged families to foster a sense of belonging to their language, culture and ethnic identity.

Mu and Dooley (2015) highlighted the links between heritage language use and ethnic identity and proposed a Bourdieusian understanding described as “habitus realisation” to explain Chinese learners’ transition from resistance to commitment to the heritage language. The participants in their study described their resistance to Chinese heritage language learning during their school years and a subsequent gradual commitment to Chinese heritage language learning. According to Mu and Dooley (2015), habitus provides an understanding of the links between Chinese ethnic identity and Chinese heritage language learning. They described the conflict between the “culturally Chinese habitus of parents and the culturally hybrid habitus of Chinese children brought up in the West” (p. 510). Park and Sarkar (2007) highlighted Korean parents’ beliefs that supporting their children’s HLM could enable them to keep their cultural identity through the Korean language. Research also highlighted language as one of the most important factors for ethnic identity in multilingual settings. In a study which combined the opinions of mothers of Korean immigrants in the United States of America (USA) who did not plan on returning to Korea and the mothers of families using transnational migration for their children’s education with a view to moving back to Korea, Song (2010) found that the interconnections between language and identity were contextually specific. With regard to the mothers engaging in transnational migration, their views of English as an important asset did not preclude the importance of Korean as their first language and as a vital part of their ethnic and national identity. Some of the mothers of those immigrant families not planning a return to Korea challenged the language ideology of Korean as an essential element of Korean ethnic

identity as they viewed English as the majority language. These contrasting identifications were closely aligned to the mothers' long-term plans, with those planning a move home viewing the home language as a more essential part of their ethnic identity. The current study seeks to examine how family members' identity construction links to their long-term transnational plans and connections with Poland.

Previous studies revealed how home language proficiency positively impacts on child-parent relationships and on ethnic identification. In their study of adolescents in the USA from Latin American and Asian backgrounds, Oh and Fuligni (2010) found that those who spoke the home language with their parents displayed stronger ethnic identity than those who spoke English with their parents. Other studies have associated home language proficiency rather than language use patterns with the quality of adolescents' relationships with their parents (Arriagada, 2005; Luo & Wiseman, 2000; Portes & Hao, 2002). In their study of adolescents in the USA with East Asian, Filipino, and Latin American backgrounds, Tseng and Fuligni (2000) demonstrated a correlation between children's use of the native language with parents and greater cohesion between parents and adolescents.

The varying sociocultural experiences that different generations and individual members of the same family can experience are an important aspect to consider within the field of FLP (Zhu Hua & Li Wei, 2016). Previous studies have highlighted the differences in views expressed by different generations with regard to the links between language and identity. In their study of Chinese diasporas outside of Greater China, Li Wei and Zhu Hua (2010) highlighted the contrasting viewpoints between the monolingual ideologies of adults and the more flexible and fluid view of Chinese identity held among children. The current study seeks to investigate the possible

contrasting views that may exist between first-generation parents and first- and second-generation children within Polish transnational families in Ireland.

Language Policy

Language policy has been previously associated with solving “language problems” in former independent colonial nations (King, Fogle & Logan-Terry, 2008). Spolsky (2004) warned of the danger of viewing language policy as “language centred” or looking at language policy from the point of view of one language only, thus highlighting the importance of paying attention to languages rather than a single language. More recently, language policy has been described in broad terms as “decision-making about language”, and has also been closely linked with linguistic culture, which is defined as “the sum totality of ideas, values, beliefs, attitudes, prejudices, myths, religious structures, and all other cultural ‘baggage’ that speakers bring to their dealings with language from their culture” (Schiffman, 2009, p. 112). Language policy can be seen to exist within “a complex set of social, political, economic, religious, demographic, educational and cultural factors that make up the full ecology of human life” (Spolsky, 2004, p. ix). This complex set of factors is of importance to the current study as investigation of FLP necessitates a focus on such elements which have an impact on how FLP is shaped and determined within the familial setting.

Schiffman (2009) discussed the importance of not viewing language policy as only explicit and official, stressing the importance of considering the implicit factors which are “more embedded in the unconscious linguistic culture” and which “can influence the outcomes of policy-making” (p. 112). There are difficulties in making any

generalisations concerning macro-level language policies, as communities, countries and institutions differ in their approaches to recording language policy in constitutions or in law, with some choosing not to do so (Spolsky, 2004). As shown in Figure 2.1, Spolsky's (2004) model of language policy distinguished between three components of a speech community's language policy: its language practices, its language beliefs or ideologies, and its language intervention, planning and management.

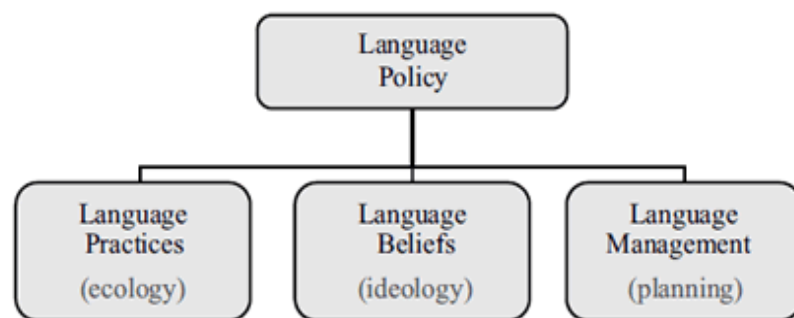


Figure 2.1. Spolsky's (2004) model of language policy.

Language practices can be simply viewed as what people do with language. Spolsky (2004) defined language practices as “the sum of the sound, word and grammatical choices that an individual speaker makes, sometimes consciously and sometimes less consciously, that makes up the conventional unmarked pattern of a variety of language” (p. 9). Language practice encompasses more than the spoken word among individual speakers and refers to choices people make with regard to language use, based on the conventional rules members of a speech community have learned, either from teaching or authority (Spolsky, 2004, p. 8). Van Mensel (2018) described language practices as “the linguistic features chosen, the variety of language used” (p. 2). In describing language beliefs and ideologies, Spolsky (2004) referred to the “general set of beliefs about appropriate language practices” held among members of a

speech community (p. 14). Simply phrased, language ideology refers to “what people think should be done” in relation to language use and practice (Spolsky, 2004, p. 14). Spolsky explained that in most cases there are many ideologies present in a speech community. Language management is described as the “direct efforts” made by individuals “to manipulate the language situation” and these efforts can range from national legislative level to a family member making efforts to ensure other family members are speaking a heritage language (Spolsky, 2004, p. 8).

In a recent paper proposing some amendments to the management component of his language policy framework, Spolsky (2019) suggested the need to further scope out the role of the individual themselves in self-managing their personal language repertoires. He maintained that it “seems now almost trivially obvious to include in language management theory the attempt of speakers to modify their own linguistic proficiency and repertoire” (Spolsky, 2019, p. 326), which can manifest itself in speakers deciding to learn a new language (p. 327). He described self-management as “an extremely important aspect of the development and modification of the language repertoire of individual speakers” (p. 326) and recommended researchers to “further explore speakers’ self-management attempts (p. 323). The process of self-modification can be interpreted as an aspect of self-management and described as “speakers modifying and developing their linguistic repertoire and proficiency according to their sociolinguistic environment” (Spolsky, 2019, p. 327). According to Spolsky (2019), as speakers move into different environments, “there continues to be pressure to increase and modify language” (p. 327). The ability of speakers to modify their language use as they enter new sociolinguistic environments has been elucidated in previous studies of language socialisation and FLP. For example, in her study of Russian speaking adoptees

in the United States, Fogle (2012) described the ability of children to engage in self-modification as speakers so they could negotiate language competency and participate within the sociolinguistic environment they found themselves in.

In cases where language policy has not been defined by authority, it is necessary to analyse language practices and beliefs in order to determine the language policy of a country, institution or social group. It must be acknowledged that language policy functions within speech communities of all sizes; from the family unit to a nation. While there may not always be explicit language management evident within social groups, there will generally be ideologies of appropriate language use and patterns of language practice. In this regard, Spolsky (2004) emphasised the importance of analysing the three aforementioned components when investigating language policy. This model of language policy has informed subsequent models and frameworks for examining FLP which will be discussed in a later section of the chapter.

Family Language Policy

While language policy has traditionally been examined and analysed in the context of institutions such as the state or the school (Ricento, 2009; Wiley & Wright, 2004), attention to language policy within the domain of the home has gained attention recently due to increased interest in the study of FLP worldwide (Schwartz, 2010). According to Leung and Uchikoshi (2012), “the nuanced dimensions of family language planning and policy are complex, involving multiple and competing home, school, political and socioeconomic forces” (p. 295). Piller and Gerber (2018) maintained that “language planning issues add yet another dimension to parental anxieties” (p. 3), and it is therefore important to conduct research around the challenges

and issues that arise for families in relation to FLP. Although FLP has only evolved into a distinct field of research in the last decade, language practices and planning in the home have previously been examined according to other associated fields of research, such as childhood bilingualism and child language acquisition (De Houwer, 1990), and language maintenance and shift (Fishman, 1964). FLP research has been identified as interdisciplinary, representing the bringing together of two previously separate disciplines; language policy and child language acquisition (King et al., 2008) , and drawing on theoretical frameworks of language policy, language socialisation, literacy studies and child language acquisition (Curdts-Christiansen, 2009).

According to Piller (2002a), family “is one of the few contexts where there really is an option for individual language choice, much more so than in public and institutional contexts” (p. 133). Spolsky (2004) described the family as an important domain in which to study language policy and argued that like any other social unit, language policy in the family can be analysed according to practice, ideology and management, and more recently, self-management (Spolsky, 2019). In instances where families do not consciously plan for language practices, it is asserted that a “de facto language policy” will nevertheless be carried out (Shohamy, 2006), assuming that “language policy exists even where it has not been made explicit, established or defined by authority” (Spolsky, 2004, p. 8). While there may not be explicit language management evident in a family setting (Spolsky, 2004), choices made surrounding language use result from language ideologies and beliefs held by family members.

FLP has been defined as explicit (Shohamy, 2006) and overt (Schiffman, 1996, 2009) planning with regard to the language use of family members within the home (King et al., 2008) . Studies of FLP have highlighted the more implicit and covert

nature of language planning in the home (Curd-Christiansen, 2009; Fogle, 2012). FLP is concerned with “what families actually do with language in day-to-day interactions; their beliefs and ideologies about language and language use; and their goals and efforts to shape language use and learning outcomes” (King et al., 2008, p. 909) . FLP is “shaped by what the family believes will strengthen the family’s social standing and best serve and support the family members’ goals in life” (Curd-Christiansen, 2009, p. 326). Studies in the field have focused on children’s language learning and use as functions of parental ideologies, decision making and strategies concerning languages (King and Fogle, 2013).

Although FLP is concerned with planning in relation to language use within the home and is distinct from language policies advocated by the state or other organisations, micro-level language practices within the family are embedded in and affected by macro-level processes (Curd-Christiansen & Lanza, 2018; Higgins, 2018). Canagarajah (2008) points out that “the family is not self-contained, closed off to other social institutions and economic conditions” (p. 173). The current study draws on Spolsky’s (2004) theoretical model of language policy (see Figure 2.1) and Curd-Christiansen’s (2018) interdisciplinary framework of FLP (see Figure 2.2) which has been adapted from Curd-Christiansen’s (2014) conceptualisation of FLP. The framework places the three interrelated language components of language ideology, language practice and language management at its centre (Curd-Christiansen, 2018). At micro level, the framework considers the influence of the home environment, parental background and economic resources on FLP. Curd-Christiansen (2018) alerts us to the fact that FLP decisions are influenced by parents’ educational background, their language-learning experiences, their migration experience and the economic resources

available to families which impact on their ability to provide linguistic resources for their children. At macro level, the impact of wider sociolinguistic, sociocultural, socioeconomic and sociopolitical contexts on FLP are considered. Spolsky (2004) referred to the linguistic and non-linguistic interrelated *forces*, which are external to the family but which nonetheless impact on FLP. Language socialisation processes at micro and macro level are central to the framework. The framework highlights the complexity of the FLP paradigm and is illustrative of the multitude of forces and factors at play both within and outside the home.

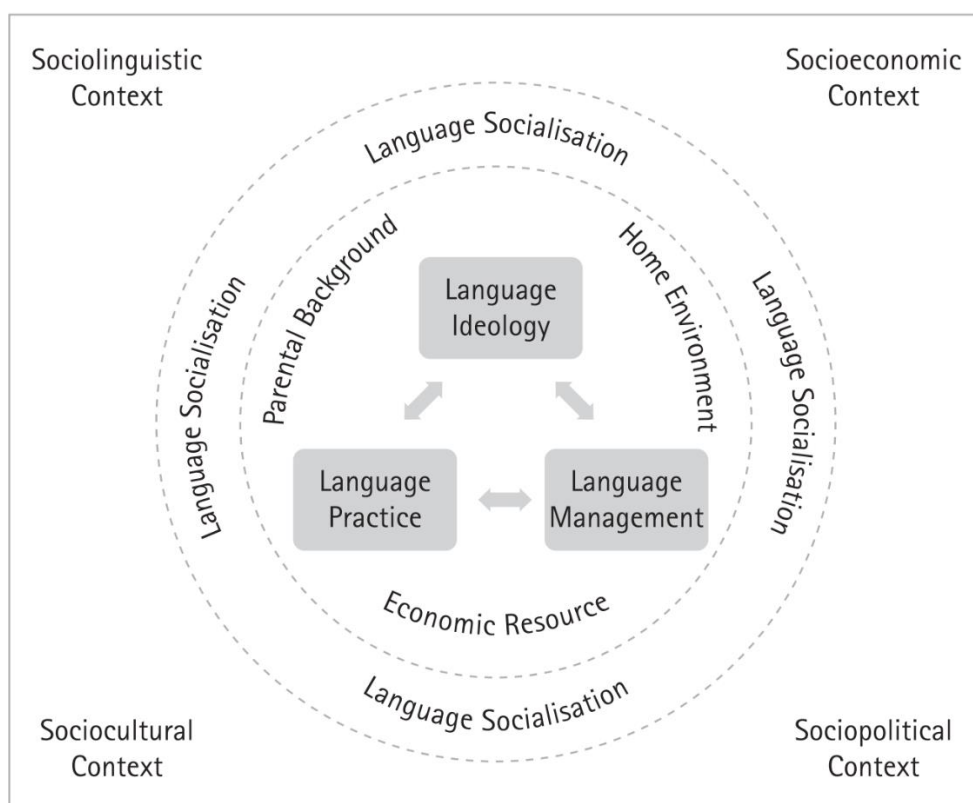


Figure 2.2. Curdt-Christiansen's (2018) interdisciplinary framework of family language policy (FLP).

In their studies of FLP, researchers highlighted the multitude of external influences on FLP, including the home, school and wider community, as well as other political and socioeconomic influences (King, Fogle & Logan-Terry, 2008; Pennycook,

2010; Spolsky, 2004, Seloni & Sarfarti, 2013). According to Lanza and Li Wei (2016), FLP is “formed and implemented in interaction with wider political, social and economic forces” (p. 1), reinforcing the assertion of Paulston and Heidiemann (2009) that “a language policy is never simply and only about language” (p. 305). These forces are relevant to the construction of language ideologies and will be discussed in more detail in a subsequent section which focuses on the formation of language ideology in FLP.

Family language policy as an evolving field of research

The field of FLP has been put forward as constituting four phases to date, and an examination of these four phases can lead to a greater understanding of the origin of FLP research and the future directions to be taken within the field. The first phase of FLP, although not explicitly named or defined as FLP, has been linked to studies in early child language learning and bilingualism as far back as a century ago (King, 2016). A classic diary which represents the study of Ronjat (1913) is over a century old and is considered one of the historical roots of FLP studies. Similarly, the diary of Leopold (1939-1949) is also considered an early study of FLP, despite the fact that the term FLP doesn't appear anywhere in either of these works. These classic studies describe the authors' own children's language development, with Ronjat's study tracing the simultaneous development of his son's language development in French and German and Leopold's work documenting his two daughters' German and English development. The diary of Ronjat (1913) gave rise to Grammont's *une personne une langue* concept, later known as the one-parent, one-language strategy (OPOL). This concept has now been researched and recommended for over 100 years and has also become one of the central frameworks for researching FLP (Smith-Christmas, 2017).

During its second phase, FLP research addressed psycholinguistic questions including “the differences between bi- and monolingual language development trajectories; the nature and role of linguistic transfer; and the relationship between bilingualism and specific cognitive traits and functions” (King, 2016, p. 726). Researchers such as Lanza (1997, 2004) closely examined parent-child interactions and conveyed that the strategies parents employed could influence young children’s bilingual outcomes.

The third phase of FLP research adds to our understanding of the link between FLP and child learning outcomes, with the research taking a more sociolinguistic approach and building on the second phase described above (King, 2016) . The actual term itself, FLP, first appeared in the work of Luykx (2003) when describing Spanish-Aymara families and their decisions about language use at family and community level. FLP has been described as a “semi-planned, dynamic and jointly constructed enterprise” (Palviainen & Boyd, 2013, p. 224), as well as implicit (Fogle, 2012) and spontaneous (Schwartz, 2010, p. 180). The word “planning” in relation to FLP has gained attention in recent times and studies have found that decisions or policies regarding language use are not always planned, overt or explicit (Palviainen & Boyd, 2013; Schwartz, 2010). A paper by King and Fogle (2006) entitled *Family Language Policy* was especially significant in scoping out the research remit associated with studies of FLP and in outlining the sociolinguistic nature of FLP research. This third phase of FLP has seen a growing range of methodologies employed to analyse and examine FLP, including parental interviews, qualitative observations, audio and video recordings of natural family occurrences both inside and outside the family home (King, 2016). This phase of FLP research

began to bring us a fuller understanding of the ways in which parental language ideologies inform the application, realization, and negotiation of family language policies over time, as well as the short- and long-term impact of such policies on child language development. (King, 2016, p. 727)

The advent of a fourth phase of FLP research came about to address particular gaps in the literature (King, 2016). Although FLP is considered a relatively new and underexplored area of research (Li Wei, 2012), notable shifts within this field of research have been apparent in recent times (King & Fogle, 2013). There have been calls for a wider variety of family types to be represented in FLP studies, outside of traditional two-parent immigrant families of bilingual children in western society (Lanza, 2017). The fact that FLP studies to date have generally been located in western, industrialised societies may be somewhat reflective of current global migration and colonisation patterns (Smith-Christmas, 2017). It is important to consider that the practices of child-rearing and the beliefs held about the role of children in the family may differ considerably between westernised and non-western societies (Smith-Christmas, 2017). Therefore, examining FLP outside of western society may provide an additional lens through which to view FLP, child agency and the role of children in the formation of FLP. Some recent studies of FLP have represented a move away from typical FLP studies in western society. A study by Curdt-Christiansen (2016) examined the language ideologies and language practices of three ethnic groups in Singapore: Chinese, Malay and Indian, and the findings from this study highlighted the influence of English as a global language on FLP in a non-western nation. The current study investigates Polish transnational families in Ireland.

The need to consider the family “as a dynamic system, including the importance of child agency, identity choices, and family (re)formation, all of which are enacted through language” has been identified (King, 2016, p. 727). Shifts within this field of research have become visible in recent times (King & Fogle, 2013), reflecting the intensity of transnational population flows globally over the past two decades and the resulting social, cultural, linguistic and demographic changes evident worldwide (Martin-Jones & Martin, 2016). Some recent studies of FLP refer to “transnational” families, rather than “immigrant” or “migrant” families due to the connectivity that families maintain with relatives and friends while living in other countries (Zhu Hua & Li Wei, 2016). The current study refers to Polish transnational families in light of family members’ maintained connectivity with Poland and movement between Poland and Ireland on an ongoing basis.

A notable gap in the FLP field includes a lack of FLP research with non-traditional families in transnational contexts. This current or fourth phase of research is addressing these gaps in the field and seeks to include a broader and more diverse range of family types, languages and contexts, including families outside of the traditional two-parent family, multilingual transnational families who must manage multiple languages in the home, and indeed monolingual homes that have refused to shift to the majority language (King, 2016; King & Fogle, 2013). One such study examined the FLP of transnational adoptive families who adopt children at older ages and of a different linguistic background to that of the adoptive parents (Fogle, 2012, 2013b). This is an original context within which to study FLP as the children’s heritage language is not associated with an ethnolinguistic family identity in the same way as typical bilingual families. It examined how FLP and language socialisation intersect,

with parents basing decisions regarding language policies on what they feel is best for the child and how they view their children as learners. In this way, ideologies extend beyond language and issues such as family, childhood and caregiving are given greater consideration (Fogle, 2012). Another study reflecting the diverse nature of “family” examined language socialisation practices around infants born to adolescent mothers in working-class Cape Town, South Africa (Coetzee, 2018). The current study includes a diversity of family types including a single-parent family and a family with one parent living in Poland and one parent living in Ireland.

Over the past decade, there has been a growing body of research on FLP which recognises bottom-up and top-down processes affecting FLP formation and views “the family as a dynamic system in a changing world” (Higgins, 2018). Although the field of FLP is now moving forward and examining “language as a means through which transnational adults and children define themselves and their families” (King, 2016, p. 731), King (2016) warns that “the field of family language policy risks splintering in such a way that there is diminished capacity for researchers to exchange findings, collaborate, or even make meaningful sense of others’ work” (p. 731). At a recent symposium *Family Language Policy: Local, National and Transnational Connections*, De Houwer (2019) put forward possible ways in which language input studies and FLP research could complement each other and be integrated rather than be investigated as separate areas of study.

Many of the past and original research questions addressed in FLP studies asked “what beliefs, practices, and conditions lead to what child language outcomes?” (King, 2016, p. 728). Recent research is demonstrative of shifts in FLP studies during its fourth phase, with studies focusing on “how families are constructed through multilingual

language practices, and how language functions as a resource for this process of family making and meaning making” (King, 2016, p. 728). In addition, there have been recent calls for research around FLP to be more inclusive of the voices of children as active agents in their choices of language use and identity formation. The literature highlights a gap in the research in relation to the impact of children on FLP. As this paradigm continues to evolve due to an increase in transnationalism and migration, a greater focus on the role of children in the study of FLP has been addressed in more recent research (King & Fogle, 2013). FLP can be understood as “emerging in interactions between and among caretakers and children” (Fogle & King, 2013, p. 20). King and Lanza (2017) outlined some of the recent shifts in FLP research, including the examination of language as a means through which multilingual adults and children define themselves and their families as well as a greater focus on transnational families beyond the traditional two-parent family.

Previous research carried out in Ireland on FLP investigated how the speakers of Irish, an autochthonous minority language, managed language use in the family home (Ó hIfearnáin, 2007, 2013). While research exists on the social and linguistic integration of Poles in Ireland (Nestor, 2010), second-language socialisation among Polish adolescents (Machowska-Kosciak, 2013) and identity formation among young Poles in Ireland (Machowska-Kosciak, 2013; Nestor and Regan, 2011), there is currently a dearth of research focusing on FLP within the home domain of non-Irish transnational families in Ireland. Ireland is a unique context within which to examine transnational families with an emerging second generation of migrants present in Ireland as a result of the sudden nature of inward migration to Ireland which commenced approximately fifteen years ago (CSO, 2012).

Language ideology formation in the family domain

An ideology has been described as “the shared framework of social beliefs that organize and coordinate the social interpretations and practices of groups and their members” (Van Dijk, 1998). Language ideology has been succinctly defined as “sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use” (Silverstein, 1979, p. 173). Language ideologies can be viewed as the bedrock of language policy as they are based on the perceived value, power and utility of various languages (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009, p. 354). The formation of language ideologies in FLP is consciously and subconsciously determined by a multitude of influences and micro factors, involving the home, school and wider community as well as other macro factors including political and socioeconomic influences (Leung & Uchikoshi, 2012). Parents, whether they are aware of it or not, are making decisions about language policy on the micro level and forming language ideologies for their children as a result of macro-level forces and decisions. Curdt-Christiansen (2009) highlighted language ideology as a central component of language policy and one which is interwoven with a myriad of economic, political, socio-cultural and linguistic factors and dependent on parental knowledge, experiences and education. These macro- and micro-factors underpinning the formation of parental language ideologies have been a central focus in the study of FLP to date. Less attention has focused on child agency and the formation of children’s language ideologies. Children are forming their own language ideologies and as a result, both parents and children can be seen to be involved in the “joint social action” or the “co-construction of FLP” (Palviainen & Boyd, 2013, p. 228). King et al., (2008) described this interplay between parents and children:

The family unit, therefore, can be seen as a site in which language ideologies are both formed and enacted through caregiver-child interactions. It is within the family unit, and particularly bi- or multilingual families, that macro- and micro-processes can be examined as dominant ideologies intersect and compete with local or individual views on language and parenting. (King et al., 2008, p. 914)

Schwartz and Verschik (2013a) viewed the more recent acknowledgement of children's perspectives as "another important methodological innovation in FLP research" (p. 7).

Numerous studies of FLP have highlighted the effects of the environment in which the family is situated as well as the non-linguistic and macro forces on the development of parental ideologies with regard to their children's language learning and development (Curd-Christiansen, 2009, 2014, 2016, 2018; Palviainen & Boyd, 2013). The *sociolinguistic* force is responsible for people's beliefs around what is an acceptable and non-acceptable use of language. The *sociocultural* force is associated with the symbolic values concurrent with different languages. The *socioeconomic* force refers to the economic advantages that may or may not be associated with a particular language. Finally, the *sociopolitical* force is one which can have a profound effect on people's language choice, use and behaviours. Previous studies carried out among migrant and transnational families highlighted the implications of political, cultural and economic factors in the formation of parental ideologies. Political decisions at macro level regarding language policy, and especially decisions regarding in-education policy can have a profound impact on the ideologies formed and decisions made by family members regarding their everyday language choices and practice. The family unit has been described as "porous, open to influences and interests from other broader social forces and institutions" (Canagarajah, 2008, p. 171). As previously discussed, micro

forces at family level and macro forces outside of the family contribute to the formation of language ideologies and the roles played out by different family members in FLP formation.

Kopeliovich (2010) highlighted the need to further explore how FLP is closely linked with existing language policy at national level. In an ethnographic study into 10 Chinese families living in Montreal, parental language ideologies were grounded in their own language experiences as minority language speakers, where they viewed themselves as immigrants with limited opportunities due to the socio-political power attached to the English language (Curd-Christiansen, 2009). Furthermore, this particular study is illustrative of parents' ideologies of language as a form of Bourdieu's (1991) *linguistic capital*, with parents emphasising the benefits that having English as a language and being multilingual can provide with regard to financial opportunities and economic advantages. The findings of other studies were similar in their demonstration of the desire of parents for their children to grow up as bilingual or multilingual due to the perceived value of multilingualism for socio-economic advancement (Curd-Christiansen, 2009, 2014; Kang, 2013; Leung & Uchikoshi, 2012).

A number of studies on FLP highlighted the impact of societal language ideologies on the formation of parental language ideologies. A strong desire to fit in with mainstream society where the broader societal language ideology is one of monolingualism has previously resulted in the diminished use of the heritage language among immigrant families (Canagarajah, 2008; Seloni & Sarfati, 2013). These studies which highlighted heritage language loss are demonstrative of how macro-level ideologies can be reproduced within the family domain. They also showed the need to situate the family within the macro-society in order to understand the impact of macro-

level language ideologies on the formation of language ideologies within the family domain. Curdt-Christiansen (2016) highlighted the need to conduct more studies which illustrate how linguistic and non-linguistic forces which account for language choice in home domains “come into play and relate to each other” (p. 697).

Bourdieu’s (1977a) conceptualisation of linguistic capital depicted the potential value that language can have for individuals and posited that individuals are more willing to learn languages which are ascribed higher values. This form of capital may place people in a more globally-central position due to the opportunities particular languages and dialects can provide. English is viewed as cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1977b). Bourdieu (1977a) maintained that languages operate in a market and proposed that languages have different economic and instrumental values.

Micro factors or factors directly related to the family background, such as home literacy environments, parents’ expectations, parents’ education and language experience and parental knowledge of bilingualism are all central to the formation of language ideologies in the family (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009). Parental expectations and aspirations with regard to their children’s educational development are seen as contributing factors in the formation of ideologies surrounding multilingual development. A number of studies on FLP among immigrant Chinese families highlighted parents’ positive attitudes towards heritage language maintenance and conveyed their ideologies in relation to the importance of developing the Chinese language (Curdt-Christiansen, 2014; Leung & Uchikoshi, 2012). Reasons for these ideologies ranged from their own lack of ability to use English to a belief in the benefit of multilingualism for their children’s knowledge and development. Previous research on the high educational achievements of immigrant Asian students in North America

linked these achievements to parents' high expectations for their children's educational development (Li, 2006). In a study of the parental ideologies underpinning FLP, Curdt-Christiansen (2009) emphasised the link between parents' high level of expectation and their own culturally-shaped beliefs and values and experiences as immigrants.

The discrepancies between parents' language ideologies and the actual language practices in the family have been referred to in the literature and it is evident from previous studies that language ideologies and practices do not always coincide (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009; De Houwer, 1999; King, 2000; Kopeliovich, 2010; Soler & Zabrodska, 2017). Kopeliovich's (2010, 2013) longitudinal research within her own family home after the family moved from Russia to Israel clearly demonstrated parental ideologies of maintaining the Russian language and preserving Russian culture. Despite clear evidence of parents' attempts to translate these ideologies into everyday language practices through language management strategies, there also existed the "ideology-practice discrepancy" whereby parental language ideologies and the children's actual social and linguistic practices were in conflict with one another (Kopeliovich, 2010, p. 176). Kopeliovich (2010) highlighted how this "painful discrepancy" (p. 175) manifested itself in a clash between parents' reversing language shift ideology and a growing evidence of majority language practices in the family home. This in turn eventually led to parents reviewing language management strategies, and Kopeliovich's (2013) study demonstrated a delicate balance between parents' efforts to maintain and promote the home language and culture, while at the same time, enabling children's spontaneous language choices in an effort to avoid "futile fights" that might "drive the children towards the stronger language" (p. 273).

Other studies have illuminated the dissatisfaction that can occur on the part of parents when trying to ensure management of the home language. In a study of second-generation Russian-Jewish immigrant children in Israel, Schwartz (2008) found that parents' ideologies didn't affect their children's Russian language skills. Rather, parents communicated a deep dissatisfaction "with the decline in heritage language management at home" despite their positive attitudes towards maintenance of the home language which they ascribed to the "hardships of immigration and time pressures" (Schwartz, 2008, p. 414). She concluded that children's positioning towards the language maintenance influenced their actual language learning successes, in their first and second languages. Discrepancies between self-reported language choice and actual language practices have been previously noted and can occur as a result of self-reported language choices being representative of idealisation and attitudes rather than actual practice (Hakuta & D'Andrea, 1992). These noted discrepancies are important in the context of the current study as adopting an ethnographic approach to the research will provide for the observation of language practices in the home setting and avoid a sole reliance on self-reported data from participants.

It has more recently been asserted that the family is no longer a private domain with the rising use of technology, social media and presence of online discussion fora leading to transnational families publicly sharing language ideologies (Lanza, 2019). In their study of how parents discuss their desires for their children's bilingualism and the challenges they experience to their bilingual parenting in an Australian online parenting forum, Piller and Gerber (2018) highlighted how parents' language ideologies are presented in this public space.

Agency and language practices

Agency has been described as the “socioculturally mediated capacity to act”, either through compliance or opposition (Ahearn, 2001, p. 112) and such a sociocultural approach to agency is grounded in sociocultural theory as espoused by Vygotsky (1978). Agency has also been described as “considering individuals as actors with the ability to make sense of the environment, initiate change, and make choices” (Kuczynski, 2003, p. 9). According to Van Lier (2010), autonomy, motivation and investment can be seen as products or manifestations of a person’s agency. Ahearn (2001) queried the extent to which agency must be “conscious, intentional, or effective” (p. 113) and Bourdieu (1991) maintained that while agents focus on or work towards specific goals or interests, they rarely do so in a conscious or deliberate way.

Much research in the field of children’s bilingual development has focused on parenting practices in bilingual homes (De Houwer, 1999; King & Fogle, 2006; Lanza, 1997, 2004) and their pivotal role in influencing children’s language acquisition. In a study involving eight families in China, Curdt-Christiansen and Wang (2018), investigated the agentive roles of parents in creating the linguistic environments necessary to promote their children’s multilingual development. Considering that Putonghua (as the national language of China) has gained wider use than fangyans (dialects or subdialects) in public and private domains in China, their study investigated how Putonghua, fangyans, and English are perceived by a group of Chinese middle-class parents. The results of the study elucidated parents’ cultural and emotional detachment to the minority language, fangyan and the influence of linguistic hierarchy in determining parents’ stronger promotion of Putonghua as the language of national identity and English as the language for future opportunities and travel. In doing so,

parents' acts of language management can be seen as "an act of agency in facilitating or constraining children's development in multiple languages through parents' conscious choices in input provision" (p. 251). The impact of parental language ideologies and language practices on children's home language literacy development and FLP formation in the home has been a focus of attention in previous studies on FLP (Curd-Christiansen, 2009, 2013c; Curdt-Christiansen & La Morgia, 2018; De Houwer & Bornstein, 2016). Such studies put parents at the centre of child language development and in control of the transmission of language and ideologies.

Recent research has demonstrated the joint role played by all family members in the formation of FLP and the agency exercised by both children and parents (Curd-Christiansen & Lanza, 2018; King, 2013; King & Lanza, 2017; Wilson, 2020). According to Motaghi-Tabari (2016), contemporary research acknowledges all family members as active agents who influence each other, in contrast to traditional family studies where children were not viewed as being influential in family practices. FLP can be described as "interactionally negotiated by all family members" (Van Mensel, 2018), and both parents and children have been identified as active agents in FLP formation by researchers in the field (Fogle & King, 2013; Gafaranga, 2010; He, 2016; King & Lanza, 2017; Lanza, 2007; Luykx, 2003, 2005; Smith-Christmas, 2015, 2017). In their study of eight families in China which focused on the agentive role parents play in creating linguistic environments for children's multilingual development, Curdt-Christiansen and Wang (2018) defined parental agency as "the capacity of parents to make decisions about what measures should be implemented to promote or discourage the use and practice of particular languages based on their understanding of the functions and perceived values of the languages" (p. 236).

A theoretical framework put forward by Schwartz (2018) in the context of bilingual preschool education in multilingual European jurisdictions proposes that children's, parents' and teachers' agencies in interaction all collectively contribute to young children's bilingual development. Partnership between school, family and the surrounding community empowers children's positive attitudes towards bilingualism and language learning (Schwartz, 2018). Her particular model views the child's agency as enacted through a willingness to perceive and use a novel language for communication, with the child as a language expert and model (Schwartz, 2018). The process of language socialisation can be viewed as co-constructive and dialectic (Duranti, Ochs, & Schieffelin, 2011), with adults socialising children and children socialising adults. Children are both objects of socialisation and agents of socialisation in their family's life (Ochs, 1996). The influence of children as active agents in the language socialisation of parents has previously been highlighted, with children's language choices and practices impacting on parental language behaviour (Gafaranga, 2010; Luykx, 2003, 2005). In the context of play situations, children can be observed socialising each other, and examining such situations can provide an insight into their linguistic agency (Paugh, 2005).

According to White et al. (2013), "there are growing calls for research which reveals migrant children's agency and subjectivity" (p. 17). The notion of child agency, while previously underrepresented in the literature, is becoming increasingly prominent in recent FLP research, where the voice of the child and their agentic capabilities are considered in studies (King & Fogle, 2013; Palviainen & Boyd, 2013; Revis, 2019). Furthermore, there has been a recent shift in the research to focus more on how children as active agents in the shaping of FLP can, in turn, influence the choices parents make

about language use in the home (Palviainen & Boyd, 2013). This shift in focus considers the role of children in the formation of their own language ideologies and perceptions about language use. In their study of Iranian families in Sweden, Kheirkhah and Cekaite (2018) found that siblings “acted as agents of language socialization by displaying preferences for a particular language [Swedish] and by engaging in informal teaching/learning sequences” (p. 15). Curdt-Christiansen’s (2013) study of Chinese families in Singapore described parent–child language negotiations whereby the child switched to English on an ongoing basis when discussing school assignments. While a limited number of earlier studies highlighted the power of children in deciding what the language of use in the home is (e.g. Tuominen, 1999), Schwartz and Palviainen (2016) proposed the need for additional research to focus on child agency among young children in early bilingual development and education.

Analysing and observing agency within varying sociocultural contexts yields diverse findings and observations. Previous research of child language socialisation in different contexts conveyed contrasting beliefs about the role of children in the family (Duranti et al., 2011; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986a). These belief sets impact on child agency and the child’s capacity to direct language choice and use in the family. Agency is context-dependent and related to social interactions and other environmental factors (Kalaja, Barcelos, Aro, & Ruohotie-Lyhty, 2015; Van Lier, 2010) and as a result, the extent to which child agency plays out in the formation of FLP varies considerably in differing contexts (Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984). Children are pivotal in their impact on the formation of FLP and can be described as “active and creative social agents who produce their own unique children’s cultures, all the while contributing to the production of adult society” (Lanza, 2007, p. 47).

Instances where children shape and influence the language ideologies of other children and adults have also been described by researchers (De la Piedra & Romo, 2003; Orellana, 2009; Paugh, 2012). In their study of a Mexican migrant family in the United States, De la Piedra and Romo (2003) depicted how older siblings acted as ‘literacy mediators’ by influencing and helping their younger siblings to engage in English and Spanish literacy practices in the home (p. 46). In her study of heritage language families in the United Kingdom, S. Little (2017) similarly identified older siblings’ use of both English and the heritage language with younger siblings. Children can be viewed as active agents in both the playing out and in the adaptation or altering of particular language ideologies and practices through the simultaneous processes of sociocultural and linguistic learning (Ochs, 2001). Recent research in language socialisation has focused on how children influence or socialise parents into majority language use (Fogle, 2012). In his analysis of conversation patterns between parents and children from the Rwandan community in Belgium, Gafaranga (2010) demonstrated how children displayed a preference to speak French, one of the mainstream societal languages in place of the heritage language, Kinyarwanda, spoken to them by their parents in the home. Gafaranga (2010) used the term ‘medium request’ to elucidate the active role of children older than five years old in language negotiation processes, whereby they insisted on using French until parents themselves gave in and also switched to using French. Gafaranga (2010) study depicted how children’s interactional strategies and language requests can result in language shift within particular language communities. In this way, family members “talked language shift into being” (Gafaranga, 2010, p. 266). In her study of eighteen multilingual families in the United States, Tuominen (1999) maintained that in many instances, it was the

children who decided what the FLP would be despite the deliberate strategies parents chose to enable and encourage children to use the home language. Her study revealed children's tendency to shift towards using the majority mainstream language of society rather than the minority home language. Such studies highlight parents' children's agentic capabilities and capacity to become actors in FLP enactment.

Children make the choice to switch to the dominant language for many reasons (Fogle, 2013a), including the influence of peers and the high status afforded to the dominant language in the local and school communities (Curd-Christiansen, 2009; Schwartz & Verschik, 2013a; Spolsky, 2012). In their study of nine young bilingual children in Swedish-medium preschools in Finland, Bergroth and Palviainen (2017) considered the children to be active policy agents. In examining children's communicative actions, Bergroth and Palviainen (2017) identified children's agency in "constructing and enacting bilingual and/or monolingual language policies" (p. 375). They concluded that it is a challenge to examine or determine intentionality in relation to child agency, making it difficult to interpret children's language-related agency. Young language learners' appreciation of their mother tongue may impact on the extent to which their language agency is intentional and previous studies concluded that not all young heritage language learners initially value or appreciate the heritage language when learning it (Mu & Dooley, 2015).

Language socialisation can be considered a "dynamic network of mutual family influences" (Luykx, 2003, p. 40). In her research of 18 multilingual families, Tuominen (1999) found that children often influenced the choice of language used in the family home, resulting in children socialising parents rather than being socialised by them. Previous studies examining how children affect adults' language socialisation have

uncovered the fact that children can influence and impact on the language development of adult family members (Luykx, 2005). In the migrant context where families must adjust to a new dominant language in the host society, Luykx (2005) emphasised the role of children when they surpass adults' mastery of the dominant language. Children contribute to the formation of language policy through their enacted linguistic practices which may not always be in line with what adults expect (Kheirkhah & Cekaite, 2015; Paugh, 2005). Gafaranga's (2010) study of bilingual French-Kinyarwanda families demonstrated how younger members of a community can show preference for use of the majority language and enact this through their interactions with adult members, and in this sense could be described as "talking language shift into being". In their study of a Persian-Kurdish family residing in Sweden, Kheirkhah and Cekaite (2015) revealed the importance of focusing on children's contributions to FLP formation as their study elucidated how children's refusals and resistance to parents' preferred language practices could be a response to wider societal ideologies and a preference for the majority language.

Previous studies have highlighted the agentic role of the child in helping their families interact and communicate in the host country when children demonstrate a greater command of the dominant language compared to their parents (Revis, 2019; Valdés, Chavez, & Angelelli, 2003), and in such instances, children influence adults' language socialisation. Child language brokering is a concept that is receiving more attention in recent years and has been defined as the "interpreting and translation activities carried out by bilingual children who mediate linguistically and culturally in formal and informal contexts and domains for their family, friends as well as members of the linguistic community to which they belong" (Antonini, 2015, p. 48). Child

language brokering “can manifest itself as the practice of children acting as translators and interpreters for parents and grandparents who have more limited access to and knowledge of the mainstream language (He, 2016). In their study of Latino immigrant families in the United States, Valdés, Chavez, et al. (2003) described how many children frequently volunteered to act as language brokers and “to interpret even for individuals that they do not know” (p. 190). Antonini (2016) examined the unrecognised language service that children provide in the form of language brokers, with his study giving voice to a group of children and conveying the difficult situations and experiences that immigrant children can sometimes be asked to deal with. Language brokering “has implications for emotional, linguistic, cognitive, and sociocultural processes for the broker and the broker’s family” (López, 2020, p. 1). In a study of Chinese immigrants in the United States, He (2016) found that the children of these first-generation migrants played an important role in the shaping of their parents’ discourse and they had the capacity to act as language and cultural brokers for their parents. As a cultural broker, the child helps others to cross from one culture to another by “bridging, linking, or mediating between groups or persons of differing cultural backgrounds” (He, 2016, p. 675).

Although parents can dictate language use in the home and manage the language practices of their children until they are a certain age, research has found that children tend to bring the mainstream language of the community home when they begin to socialise (Spolsky & Shohamy, 2000). Previous studies have revealed decreased parental influence on language practices in the home as adolescence progresses, with language preferences being shaped by peers. A study by Caldas and Caron-Caldas (2002) concluded that children tend to favour the language of the mainstream society as

they grow older, regardless of parental efforts to maintain a bilingual home. In a study of the linguistic development of her own four children, bilingual in Russian and Hebrew, Kopeliovich (2013) adopts the term *happylingual* to describe creating a balance between a parent's desire to promote and develop the minority language while also "avoiding futile fights against natural sociolinguistic forces that drive the children towards the stronger language" (p. 273). Parents shifted attention from their plans and embraced literacy activities linked to children's spontaneous choices and initiatives in both the home language and the majority language. This is demonstrative of a more flexible FLP, whereby the language choices of children are taken into account. As previously described, this study exemplified parental acknowledgement of their children's agency whereby parents sacrifice desired FLP measures by listening to their children and observing and following their natural language practices and behaviours to an extent (Kopeliovich, 2013). In their study of bilingual families, Palviainen and Boyd (2013) identified how parents and very young children were mutually involved in constructing and negotiating interactions. In fact, a child as young as 3 years acted as the "language police" when her father spoke in the "wrong" language (Palviainen & Boyd, 2013, p. 245). The findings of their study echo those of Tuominen (1999) who found that children can often decide what the home language will be.

In her study of third-generation British-born Bangladeshi children in London, Ruby (2017b) recognised the ability of children to "emerge as key players in coping with the linguistic and cultural demands imposed on them" and their ability to find ways "to mediate and take ownership of their own learning" (p. 124). In a study examining FLP from adult children's points of view (ages 18-26), Fogle (2013a) explored how adult children reflect on FLP in their bilingual homes and construct

themselves as active agents in the FLP process. This is a significant study as it provided insight into “the family external processes that influence children’s agency” (p. 196) and presented the reality of influences such as community language ideologies and racial identities on the construction of participants’ own bilingualism. The “role of place” was significant in this study as moves to different countries and geographical locations impacted on participants’ construction of FLPs and bilingual competence due to the influence of societal norms. Furthermore, the study exposed the need to take “a long term perspective” in order to investigate children’s linguistic trajectories and development over the course of childhood (Fogle, 2013a). The current study seeks to investigate child agency in the formation of FLP among children at different stages of childhood, adolescence and young adulthood. In order to achieve this, child participants in this study vary in age from 3 to 17 years of age.

Continued calls for studies to be more inclusive of the role of children as active agents in the formation of FLP are evident in the research, suggesting that this is still an underexplored area of research in the field of FLP (Fogle & King, 2013; Lanza, 2017; Schwartz & Verschik, 2013b). Previous research highlighted the fact that young children’s perceptions of heritage language learning remains a gap in the literature (S. Little, 2017). Furthermore, there has been a call for future research to explore how young children who have been ascribed a bilingual identity will identify themselves as adults (Palviainen & Bergroth, 2018). The current study seeks to address some of these gaps in the literature in the Irish context by specifically examining the role of the child in the co-construction of FLP in Polish migrant homes. The study is inclusive of the voices of first- and second-generation migrant children as young as three years old and seeks to examine the degree to which their agency, intentional or not, impacts on the

formation of FLP in the home. It is through exploration of language practices across multiple settings, both inside and outside the familial home, that “patterns of language choice and preference within the family and in different contexts” can be analysed (Schwartz, 2010, p. 172). Previous studies have examined this negotiation of FLP (Curd-Christiansen, 2013b; Gafaranga, 2010; Kopeliovich, 2013), which the current study builds upon in the Irish context.

Home Language Maintenance and Development as Language Management

King et al. (2008) highlighted the importance of examining FLP in the context of maintenance of minority languages. Language maintenance has been defined as “the continuing use of a language in the face of competition from a regionally and socially powerful or numerically stronger language” (Mesthrie, 1999, p. 42). The terms *home language*, *first language*, *heritage language* and *minority language* are used interchangeably in the literature with regard to the topic of language maintenance. The topic of home language maintenance (HLM) is generally examined in the context of migrant families where families must manage the use of more than one language. The literature highlights the many factors contributing to loyalty towards the home language (HL) and home language maintenance (HLM). These include a high percentage of speakers born in the home country, positive attitudes to the HL, a continuing influx of new immigrants with the same language and a pride in the cultural heritage (M. E. Garcia, 2003; Urzúa & Gómez, 2008). An investigation of HLM necessitates consideration and discussion of the topic of language shift, which is often referred to as language loss and is the reverse of language maintenance. The topic of bilingualism is particularly relevant in the discussion of HLM for second-generation migrants, and

indeed beyond second generation, where proficiency in the majority language is usually necessary for assimilation into mainstream society, making bilingualism more likely.

De Houwer (1999) introduced the term “impact belief” to describe parents’ belief in their ability to “exercise some sort of control over their children’s linguistic functioning” (p. 83). Impact belief can range from a weak impact belief to a strong impact belief (e.g. Maseko & Mutasa, 2019), where parents feel that they can directly influence their children’s language use through their language management strategies and language input. In describing parental practices, Lanza (2007) provided the example of parents with strong impact beliefs giving “negative sanctioning to certain linguistic practices” and those with weak impact beliefs having the attitude of “anything goes” (p. 52). This has been previously described as a *laissez-faire* policy in the home (Caldas, 2012; Curdt-Christiansen, 2013b).

Ethnolinguistic vitality, or a group’s ability to maintain and protect its existence with a distinctive identity and language, is especially relevant in the study of HLM and in the context of the current study of FLP. As previously mentioned, factors such as education, status demographics and institutional support contribute to an ethnic group’s low, medium or high vitality, with ethnic groups of high vitality being more likely to survive and remain distinct (Giles, Bourhis, & Taylor, 1977). Furthermore, Bourhis and Sachdev (1984) highlighted the significance of people’s faith in the survival of their language and community, and suggested that people’s own belief in the survival of a language and its community often contributed to its survival. In this way, belief itself in the vitality of language is seen to be a factor in the survival of a language. In their study of Hispanic teenagers living in Australia, Gibbons and Ramirez (2004) identified a

strong correlation between a belief in language maintenance and resistance to the hegemony of English.

Existing research recognises the importance of analysing language maintenance and language shift in the context of “linguistic domains” (Urzúa & Gómez, 2008). Fishman (1970) successfully introduced, tested and confirmed the concept of “domain” in examining language loss. Domains refer to the “major institutions of society” where language use in specific situations can be contextualised. Examples of domains include the family, education, religion, employment and friendship (Fishman, 1991). The family has been identified by Fishman (1970) among others as a private domain and a hugely influential site for language use and maintenance (Fishman, 1972). The central role of the family in HLM necessitates further discussion in the context of the current study on FLP. HLM is an important aspect of the current study of FLP, with language ideologies, beliefs and practices directly impacting on the degree to which the home language is maintained, developed and transmitted.

The literature clearly reveals the role of the family in fostering HLM among minority language children. The underlying factors impacting on familial attitudes to HLM include identity, pride in one’s culture and the effects of the majority language in the dominant society. Attitudes to bilingualism and language use greatly impact on maintenance of the home language, with positive attitudes having a beneficial impact on HLM as children learn languages additional to the mother tongue (X. Li, 1999; Park & Sarkar, 2007). Furthermore, positive attitudes towards the home language and home culture and a resistance to the hegemonic use of the dominant language lead to an eagerness to improve skills in the home language (Gibbons & Ramirez, 2004; Young & Gardner, 1990). In uncovering the attitudes and beliefs of immigrant family members

towards HLM, it is necessary to examine the effects of their backgrounds and experiences on the construction of attitudes and beliefs, and how these can alter or develop over time.

Scholars over the last three decades, however, have alerted us to the problematic nature of analysing and defining attitudes, indicating that attitudes and beliefs are constructed through interaction, and are therefore not stable (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). Interaction can be viewed as a “site for the manifestation, negotiation, development and sometimes conflict of *existing* belief structures” (Gibbons & Ramirez, 2004). In this way, it is important to be mindful of the fluid nature of existing attitudes and beliefs, which are constantly being renegotiated and adjusted according to interactions and experiences. This will be of particular importance to the current research in FLP, where attitudes, ideologies and beliefs are central in its study.

Home language use in the home environment is considered one of the crucial factors in determining maintenance of the heritage language over the generations, with the literature emphasising the role of the family in passing on the heritage language (Lao, 2004; X. Li, 1999; Luo & L Wiseman, 2000; Mu & Dooley, 2015; Pauwels, 2005; Zhang, 2004). Some recent research in this area, for example, has focused on efforts among parents of second-generation immigrant children, and beyond, to promote Chinese as a heritage language (Lao, 2004; G. Li, 2006; Mu & Dooley, 2015; Yu, 2010). The importance of parents having a strong commitment towards the maintenance and development of their children’s home language is clearly highlighted in the research (Arriagada, 2005; Lao, 2004; Romero, Robinson, Haydel, Mendoza, & Killen, 2004). The beliefs, attitudes and interactions of parents with their children are particularly important in aiding children to become bilingual and in making HLM more

likely (De Houwer, 1999; King & Fogle, 2006; Lanza, 1997). Supportive interactions in the home language between parents and children as well as close and cohesive family relations are considered positively influential in maintaining the home language over generations (King & Fogle, 2006; X. Li, 1999; Park & Sarkar, 2007; Tannenbaum & Howie, 2002). Tse (2001) has strongly defended the pivotal role of the parents in HLM. Bezcioglu-Goktolga (2019) has pointed out that “mothers and fathers might have different roles, attitudes and practices for language maintenance” (p. 20). In previous research, the mother in particular has been identified as the key player in promoting children’s HLM (X. Li, 1999; Tuominen, 1999).

Parents are in many ways gatekeepers to the heritage language: whether parents speak to their children in the native language; the attitudes parents hold about maintenance of the language; whether opportunities are sought out for the child to be exposed to or to formally study the language, and whether parents provide reading materials in the home or model uses of literacy (Tse, 2001, p. 37). The practical efforts made by parents in promoting maintenance and development of the home language in a society where the majority of the population use an alternative language are explored in the literature. One of the crucial factors in promoting development of home language literacy is the provision of a literacy-rich environment in the familial home, with adequate exposure to resources and materials in the home language. According to Vaccarino and Walker (2008), “by being actively involved, parents can help enhance the language and literacy development of their children” (p. 90). Previous studies have elucidated the positive impact of exposing home language learners to literacy resources in L1, with positive literacy practices in the home language being more likely to occur as a result (Gibbons & Ramirez, 2004; Kim & Pyun, 2014). Tse (2001) found that the

most important factor for slowing down the rate of language loss was having home language print in the home, thus fostering an interest in reading in the home language. Other studies, however, have highlighted the challenges of maintaining successful home language literacy when limited literacy resources and materials are available (Hashimoto & Lee, 2011). The provision of such a literacy-rich environment may involve efforts on the part of parents, educators and indeed the wider home language community. In a recent study of Poles and Chinese migrants in Ireland, participants report using the heritage language on a daily basis, and place strong emphasis on maintaining literacy, through print and digital media (Diskin, 2020). It is also important to consider that parental influence and significant use of the home language in the familial context do not ensure continued progress or higher levels of literacy development in L1 (Alba, Logan, Lutz, & Stults, 2002), with individual effort and practice on the part of language learner being considered essential in the process (Kim & Pyun, 2014).

In order for migrants to succeed in the mainstream society and to maintain the home language, a positive attitude towards bilingualism is essential (Dornyei & Ushioda, 2009). Gardner and Lambert (1972) have discussed the integrative and instrumental reasons for becoming bilingual, which parents may identify with. Previous studies among migrant families and their children have highlighted the view that the home language should be maintained for international use or for future employment opportunities (King & Fogle, 2006; Urzúa & Gómez, 2008).

While many studies investigating HLM have focused primarily on the role of parents in home language acquisition, maintenance and loss, less research has focused on the influence of siblings, extended family members and grandparents on HLM

(Kibler, Palacios, & Simpson Baird, 2014; Melo-Pfeifer, 2015). Although parents are indeed the vital family component in maintaining the home language, it is necessary to consider the role and influence of grandparents and extended family members, including uncles, aunts and cousins on language development and HLM. Braun (2012) asserted that “the affective factors of grandparents on language maintenance” or the role of extended family members in HL use have received little attention (p. 423). The presence of grandparents in the household is associated with slowing down the rate of language shift to English (Ishizawa, 2004; Kondo–Brown, 2005; Verdon, McLeod, & Winsler, 2014). Previous studies have outlined the concerns of parents for their children to maintain the home language for family unity, values and knowledge and communication where grandparents and other non-English speaking family members exist (Fillmore, 2000; Ro & Cheatham, 2009; Zhang, 2004). Children are more likely to maintain and use the home language when they are in contact with extended family members (Ruby, 2017b; Smith-Christmas, 2018).

Factors found to be influencing intergenerational transmission of the heritage language include the family structure, and in particular the presence of older siblings in the home (Baker, 2011; Fillmore, 1991; Fishman, 1991; Harris, 1995). A knowledge of language socialisation theory is instrumental in our understanding of the means whereby older siblings can play an essential role in the language socialisation of younger siblings (Fillmore, 1991; Spolsky, 2007), whether this involves use of the home language or use of the majority language. The influential role of older siblings in the language socialisation of younger siblings has been alluded to (Spolsky, 2007), but Schwartz (2010) has pointed out that a lack of detailed studies outlining the interactions between siblings at home inhibits understanding of their actual impact. Existing

research does, however, recognise the important influence that older siblings can have on the language use of younger siblings. It is asserted that first-born children are most likely to speak the home language in the home with parents (Shin, 2002; Shorrab, 1986; Stevens & Ishizawa, 2007). However, first-born children are then likely to introduce the majority or dominant language into the home on commencement of childcare or formal education in the form of homework, friendships and television (Niño-Murcia & Rothman, 2008). It is in this way that younger siblings may be influenced by their older siblings' language practices in the majority language, through more exposure to the dominant language and imitation of it, and less exposure to the home language (Döpke, 1992; Stevens & Ishizawa, 2007). A recent study of the influence of older siblings on language use among second-generation Latino preschoolers deduced that children with older siblings were less likely to talk to their mothers and other siblings in the home language only (Kibler et al., 2014). This study conflicted with previous studies which concluded that sibling interactions were likely to be in the dominant or majority language (E. E. Garcia, 1983; Stevens & Ishizawa, 2007). This is perhaps an area that merits more investigation in the future.

Oriyama (2016) found that home language communities of practice positively shaped home language practice and proficiency, with “community bilinguals” differing to “individual bilinguals” in their appreciation of the home language as linguistic capital and in the value of home language literacy development.

Language Shift and the Dominant Language

Language shift involves a shift in use of language from the home language to the more dominant language due to pressures of assimilation from the dominant group

(Caldas, 2006; Fishman, 1966; Hornberger, 2002; Rumbaut, 2009; Zhang, 2004).

Fishman (1970) set out a three-generation theory in his model of immigrant language shift. He maintained that the first generation of immigrants bring the new language to the home, the second generation grow up bilingual and the third generation commonly become monolingual in the dominant local language and have little or no knowledge of the heritage language. García (2009) also supported the theory that language shift among immigrant populations occurs over three generations, due to the intense pressure minority groups face from dominant groups to “linguistically assimilate” or conform linguistically (p. 80). Others however have strongly claimed that heritage languages can be completely lost over two generations (Brown, 2011; Fillmore, 2000). There are examples in the research where language shift has occurred earlier than the second generation, in particular in diaspora communities, with one such example being San Lucas families in Los Angeles (Pérez Báez, 2013). Zhu Hua and Li Wei (2016) have described a recurrent pattern whereby first-generation migrants have the challenge of learning the language of the new resident country, while their children in turn face the challenge of maintaining the home language. There are examples in the research which demonstrate differences in language preferences and language practices between younger and older generations (Ferguson, 2012) which might go some way in explaining the process of language shift. Schwartz (2008) asserted that that acquisition of the native language is unstable and incomplete among children born in the host country. She also highlighted the fact that the components of the FLP which affect HLM tend to vary from one language community to another, and as a result, it is important to examine each ethnolinguistic group individually (Schwartz, 2008).

In a society where it is essential to become proficient in the majority language in order to be educated or to function in society, the issue of choice arises: whether to become monolingual in the dominant language or become bilingual. While minority language children may be introduced to or exposed to the heritage language in the home, their exposure to the majority language through education and the wider community leads to possible dominance of the majority language. Numerous studies of immigrants in English-speaking communities have demonstrated a preference for English language use over the heritage language (Portes & Hao, 1998; Portes & Schauffler, 1994; Rumbaut, 2007, 2009). It is asserted that “language shift has been going on for as long as languages have competed, which is surely as long as the phenomenon of language has existed” (Tonkin, 2003, p. 324). Generally, the minority language lacks national status and tends to be used solely in the home or in the minority language community, and “shift towards the language of the dominant powerful group” can occur due to the “status, prestige and social success” associated with the dominant language (Holmes, 2001, p. 56) and the need to feel accepted in mainstream society (Baker, 2011; Nero, 2005).

In communities where English is the dominant language, research has shown that many minority-language children can eventually become monolingual in English, as a result of its high status and the limited number of opportunities available to children to learn languages other than English (Baker, 2011; King & Fogle, 2006). There is immense pressure put on minority-language students to acquire English at a very young age (Fillmore, 1991; Hakuta & D'Andrea, 1992) and preschool minority-language children are particularly vulnerable to the status of English, sometimes losing their first language after spending just a short time in school (Baker & Jones, 1998;

Fillmore, 2000; Verdon et al., 2014). There are a number of reasons for this. Firstly, the home language may be “insufficiently stable and developed” and easily replaced by the majority language (Baker, 2001, p. 93). Furthermore, the impact of early childhood education in a monolingual environment may provide little opportunity for children’s development of the home language (Verdon et al., 2014). Tabors (2008) has alerted us to the fact that “young children are highly susceptible to losing their first language if the first language is not strongly maintained during the preschool years” (p. 4).

Interestingly, in their study of language maintenance and loss among young Australian children, Verdon et al., (2014) concluded that patterns of language use, maintenance and shift differed between individual linguistic groups, with Italian-speaking children being more susceptible to language loss than Arabic-speaking children in this particular study. Other research has concurred with these findings and has depicted the variations in levels of language loss across different language groups both in Australia and in the United States (Portes & Hao, 1998; Verdon et al., 2014).

Previous research ascertained that a shift to the English language can occur despite a willingness to maintain the home language (Lee, 2002). Lee found that the participants in his study, Korean-American university students, wanted to develop their home language literacy skills but had received inadequate instruction in school.

Maintaining the home language can be a challenging task for bilingual and multilingual families and it is important to see HLM as a societal process which demands the contribution of home, school and community together in order to address the global power of English (Fillmore, 2000; Lee & Oxelson, 2006; Zhang, 2004). The research suggests that schools and society at large can play a negative role in this regard when English continues to be regarded as the important and dominant language.

An examination of Fishman's reversing language shift (RLS) model serves to highlight the role of the family in terms of intergenerational transmission of the heritage language (Fishman, 1991), and can therefore inform FLP studies (Schwartz & Verschik, 2013). According to King and Fogle (2013), RLS "conveys the importance of FLP and intergenerational transmission for language survival" (p. 173). Fishman's model for RLS referred to, described and analysed efforts and attempts to support and retain ethnic languages which are deemed "threatened" due to a lack of 'intergenerational continuity' (Fishman, 1991, p. 1). Intergenerational transmission of the Polish language among Polish transnational families in Ireland is of interest to the current study.

Fishman (1991) clarified the indispensable and critical role of the family in RLS both within the family and within the community. The family is described as "the most common and inescapable basis of mother tongue transmission" (Fishman, 1991, p. 94) and use of the ethnic language between the mother and child is seen as critical to HLM. Fishman (1991) emphasised that the family, or indeed the immediate community may not always be sufficient for RLS to be achieved and referred to the impactful societal influences stemming from outside "macro-forces" (p. 95). These assertions have particular relevance for the current research as the focus of the study is not merely on the influence of the family and immediate community on FLP, but also on any other factors contributing to the FLP. Both micro and macro forces are considered in this study of FLP.

Theoretical Framework

The current research draws upon Curdt-Christiansen's (2018, p. 422) interdisciplinary framework of FLP (see Figure 2.2) by considering theories of language

policy and language socialisation. The three interrelated components of language policy (language ideologies, language practices and language management) were investigated in the family home and the researcher acknowledged that participants' language ideologies, management strategies and practices can be best understood in the context of internal forces such as the home environment and the family's migration experience, and external factors and forces at societal level. The current research acknowledges that families interact with others in the wider external sociolinguistic environment, and "such interaction takes place through the mediational means of language in the process of language socialisation" (Curdt-Christiansen, 2018, p. 422). In this way, the current study draws links between private and public domains in the context of FLP and "the dynamic relationship between FLP and its wider sociolinguistic and sociocultural contexts" (Curdt-Christiansen, 2018, p. 421).

The research considers the central role that language socialisation processes play in the home domain, in family members' participation in the wider community and in their ongoing transnational connections with Poland. Parents' and children's joint role in language socialisation processes and the ability of children to act as socialising agents merits their inclusion in the current study. The researcher applied ethnolinguistic identity theory to Curdt-Christiansen's (2018) interdisciplinary framework by investigating family members' identity construction in a context where the language of society differs to the language of the family home. This facilitated the researcher's understanding of family members' sense of attachment to various ethnolinguistic groups and the significance of their ethnolinguistic identities on FLP.

Summary

In this chapter, the theoretical concepts and literature relevant to the evolving field of FLP research have been discussed. Theories of language socialisation and ethnolinguistic identity were explored in the context of FLP research. The literature review provided an insight into the origins of FLP research, previous FLP studies and recent shifts and gaps in the field. HLM in the family domain, English language dominance and language shift also emerged as important topics for consideration in the literature review. It was concluded from the literature that children and parents jointly shape FLP and that children play a crucial role in shaping the language environment in the home, in mediating language and in supporting their parents' linguistic development in migrant contexts. Child agency in FLP has been highlighted as an area of research needing further investigation. Therefore, the influence of all family members on the formation of FLP was considered within the theoretical framework adopted for the current study. Previous research has illustrated that family language management is affected by external factors including the language or languages of instruction of the school (Curdt-Christiansen & La Morgia, 2018; Schwartz, 2010). These, among other external forces and factors at societal level and their impact on FLP formation are considered in the current study.

Due to a dearth of research examining FLP in migrant and transnational homes in Ireland, this study seeks to investigate the FLP of Polish migrant and transnational families in Ireland. Currently, there is little knowledge available surrounding the FLP of migrant and transnational families in Ireland today, or indeed the everyday language practices of these families. As the Polish community is now the largest non-Irish group in Ireland with an emerging population of second-generation Polish children now

present, this is a particularly important juncture at which to examine the FLP of Polish migrant families in Ireland. Furthermore, there is currently a lack of understanding around how educational language policy and advice from educators impact on FLP formation in the Irish context. The research seeks to address this gap in knowledge by analysing how children and parents interpret educational language policy and how educational institutions and other external factors impact on the choices that parents and children make with regard to language learning and use. The study is inclusive of the voice of the child; thus addressing a gap in relation to child agency and its impact on shaping FLP. The next chapter describes the research methodology adopted for the current study.

Chapter 3

Research Methodology

Introduction

The chapter begins with an outline of the aims of the research and a restatement of the research questions addressed during the study. An overview of the paradigmatic stance taken, namely a constructivist one, is outlined. The two-phased qualitative research design, methodology framework and the methods undertaken are discussed. The steps taken to recruit research participants and the pertinent ethical considerations for working closely with families are detailed. The data collection processes undertaken for both phases of the study are discussed. The role of the researcher is outlined and finally, the procedures used to analyse both phases of the data collection are described.

Aims of the Study and Research Questions

As discussed, the research centres on the negotiation of FLP within Polish migrant and transnational families in Ireland. The study draws on Curdt-Christiansen's (2018) interdisciplinary framework of FLP and considers how language socialisation processes and ethnolinguistic identity construction influence the language ideologies, language practices and language management strategies of parents and children. The influence of internal forces such as the home environment and family members' attitudes to language learning, and external factors and forces at societal level, such as the dominance of English in society and participants' self-reported experiences of the education system are also considered. The study specifically investigates participants' agency in their language choices and practices. The research questions address a recent

call for studies to be more cognisant of issues relating to ideology, identity and agency within transnational families (King & Lanza, 2017). Furthermore, the research attempts to gain insight into what exactly is going on in the homes of transnational families with regard to FLP, as recently advocated by other researchers (King, 2016; Zhu Hua & Li Wei, 2016). The following research questions are addressed in the study:

1. How is family language policy jointly constructed among parents and children of Polish migrant and transnational families living in Ireland?
2. How do family members' transnational connections with Poland impact on the family language policy and identities of Polish migrant and transnational families in Ireland?
3. How do educational institutions and children's peers and educators impact on family language policy, as reported by parents and children?
4. How does English language dominance in society affect the family language policy of Polish migrant and transnational families in Ireland?

Research Design Overview

Research design has been described as the “logical sequence that connects the empirical data to a study's initial research questions and, ultimately, to its conclusions” (Yin, 2014, p. 28). For the current study, the research design was informed by the research questions, the data-gathering procedures best suited to address these questions and the most appropriate way to analyse the data collected. It has been noted that earlier FLP research tended to focus on the distribution of sociolinguistic questionnaires or the carrying out of qualitative interviews, with participants self-reporting on their language attitudes, language use and language management strategies (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009;

Fogle, 2013a; King, 2000; Park & Sarkar, 2007). The current study sought to move beyond this so that the researcher could gain insight into the lived experiences of participants in the family setting. A combination of a qualitative focus group interview and individual interviews, followed by in-depth ethnographic case studies of families was the two-phased methodology adopted to examine the FLP of Polish transnational families in Ireland (see Figure 3.1).

During the first phase of the research, a qualitative focus group interview was conducted with six Polish migrant parents and individual interviews were conducted with a further six parents. In total, 12 parents participated in the first phase of the research. The purpose of this first phase of the study was to gain initial insight into the language experiences of Polish migrant families in Ireland. Participants included mothers and fathers who had children of varying ages. Themes generated during the first phase of the study were further explored during the second phase of the study, which comprised ethnographic case studies with five families, for the duration of a period of 14 months. For the second phase of the study, the researcher was eager to identify parents with children who would reflect a diversity of age ranges and who would represent a combination of both first- and second-generation Polish migrants in Ireland. It was deemed important that the research would reflect different family structures and settings. Therefore, two-parent families, single-parent families and transnational families living between Poland and Ireland are represented in the study. Furthermore, families living in both urban and rural settings in different locations in Ireland were chosen to participate.

The methods employed for the ethnographic case studies included an individual semi-structured interview with parents, an individual semi-structured interview with

children over the age of seven, six participant observations in the natural settings of the home and informal conversations during observation visits with parents and children. In addition to this, children over the age of 12 kept a record of their language use and attitudes and feelings around language use through the use of a reflective language diary. In addition, I had additional contact with families and family members who contacted me from time to time if they had recorded or noted interesting interactions in the home. The current research acknowledges that including family members of different generations helps to examine contrasting opinions and experiences among individual family members. The methods employed during both phases of the research are described in more detail in subsequent sections of this chapter. Figure 3.1 illustrates an overview of the two phased approach adopted during the research.

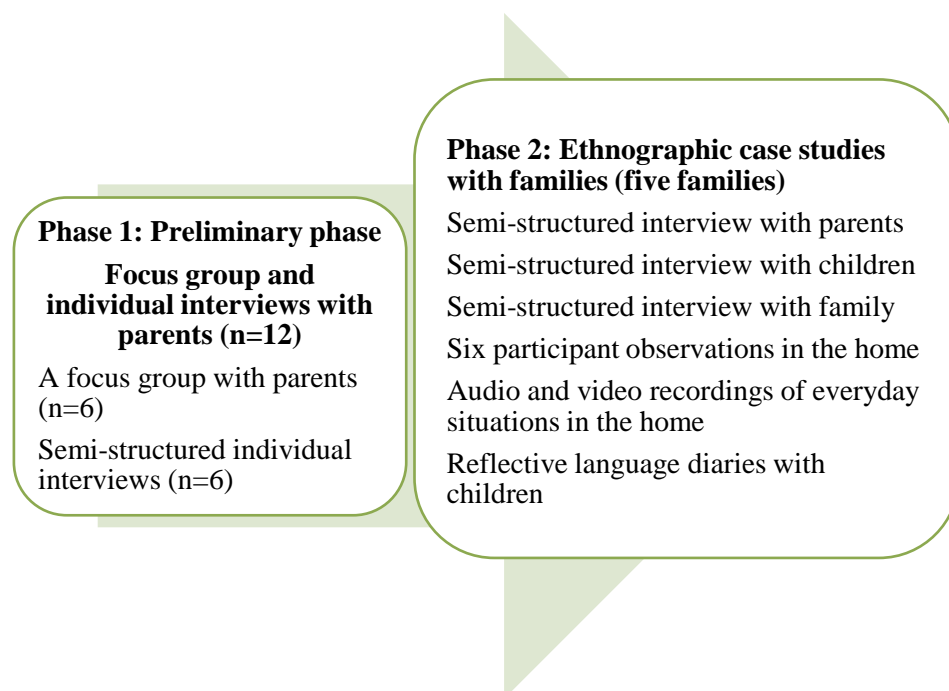


Figure 3.1. Outline of the two-phased research approach.

Ethical Considerations and Research with Children

Prior to the commencement of each phase of the study, participants were informed in writing of the aims and procedures involved in the research: this was provided in the form of a Plain Language Statement. Separate Plain Language Statements were provided to parents and children participating in both phases of the research (see Appendix A). Two separate applications were submitted to seek ethical approval from the Research Ethics Committee at Dublin City University, in advance of phases 1 and 2 of the study, and both were approved (see Appendix B). Ethical considerations were at the forefront of the research and throughout the research process, establishing “a relationship with participants that respects human dignity and integrity and in which people can trust” (Simons, 2009, p. 96) was prioritised. Throughout both phases of the research, every effort was made to ensure that the ethical principles outlined were adhered to.

It was acknowledged from the outset that the research would involve family members discussing their beliefs, opinions and current practices with regard to their choices and use of languages in the home. As a result, the researcher was aware of the fact that it was possible that participants may find themselves talking about emotional issues surrounding their experiences of migration. In order to protect all participants, informed consent or assent was sought (see Appendix C), confidentiality for all participants within the limitations of the law was assured and the right to withdraw from the study at any time was provided to all participants. These ethical requirements were also included in the applications made to the Research Ethics Committee at Dublin City University. A focus group schedule, various interview schedules and participant observation schedules were examined as part of the ethics approval process.

Participants were assured of confidentiality in both the Plain Language Statement and the Informed Consent/Assent Forms, and it was explained that pseudonyms would be used for all participants mentioned in the thesis and in any publications resulting from the research. Participants were also informed of the appropriate handling, storage and disposal of research data to ensure confidentiality and privacy. The wording used in these documents was clear, concise and easy to comprehend, reflecting the linguistic backgrounds of participants who had English as an additional language.

There were specific ethical considerations due to the fact that children of varying ages were involved in the research. It has previously been highlighted that attaining true informed consent from children can prove problematic, especially from young children (Arksey, Knight, & Knight, 1999; Dillon, 2011; Felzmann, Sixsmith, O'Higgins, Ni Chonnachtaigh, & Nic Gabhainn, 2010). The Plain Language Statement specifically written for children was read to and given to child participants, and the researcher explained in simple terms the aims of the research and the procedures involved. This was in an effort to help children to better understand their involvement in the research and my role as researcher. For the very young children involved, assent from parents was requested and the Informed Consent Form given to parents clearly outlined how their children would participate in the research. Conversations and interviews between the researcher and child participants took place in the family home and in the presence of parents at all times. While it is probable that children are more willing to share information when their parents are not present (Mauthner, 1997), parents explained to the children that it was important to be honest and to engage in the discussions as much as possible. I made parents aware of the importance of hearing the voice of the child during the research process. At many times, children seemed unaware

of the presence of their parents and there were many instances where conversations with children during interviews led naturally to extended conversations with parents, adding to the richness of the data collected.

Participant Recruitment and Profiles

The participant profile included Polish transnational families in Ireland, with children of varying ages, including very young children, teenagers and adult children, children born in Ireland and children born in Poland. Prior to my engagement in the research study, I was already acquainted with some members of the Polish community living in my local town. This was due to the fact that I had previously worked as a teacher in a local primary school and had also undertaken research with Polish children for my MEd studies. This facilitated access to the particular community I was interested in doing research with (Rampton, 1995). Initially, I approached a number of people from the local Polish community who were known to me and informed them of the first phase of the research, inviting them to participate in the research study.

I also approached local childcare facilities, preschool providers, primary schools and post-primary schools and got permission to distribute a recruitment flyer to parents which informed them of my research topic and provided my contact details for those interested in participating in a focus group or individual interview (see Appendix D). Twenty people expressed their willingness to participate in the research and did so by email or telephone contact. Some displayed a preference for participating in a focus group interview with friends, while others expressed a preference for participating in an individual interview. Six people participated in a semi-structured focus group interview and six parents participated in individual semi-structured interviews.

All participants chosen to participate in the first phase of the study were first-generation Polish migrants living in Ireland for a period of between 1–17 years. Their children ranged in age from 1–18 years and included a combination of first-generation children born in Poland; 1.5 generation Polish children, who I define as children who moved from Poland to Ireland before their mid-teens; and second-generation children born in Ireland to Polish migrant parents. As a result of the wide range of children's ages, the families involved had either current or past links with the Irish education system at preschool level, primary school, post-primary school and third level education. Twelve participants participated in the first phase of the research. Tables 3.1 and 3.2 below presents information on these participants including age, occupation, and length of time in Ireland. The names in the following tables are pseudonyms chosen to represent research participants.

Table 3.1

Focus Group Participants from Phase 1

Name	Mother or father	Years in Ireland	Current occupation	No. of children	Transcript reference
Gracja	Mother	9 years	Fitness instructor	2 (Ages 4 and 6)	FG
Marcel	Father	7 years	Mechanic	2 (Ages 2 and 5)	FG
Daria	Mother	11 years	Stay-at-home mother	2 (Ages 4 and 8)	FG
Natalia	Mother	1 year	Hairdresser	2 (Ages 6 and 12)	FG
Patrycja	Mother	2005-2008 (3 years) 2013-present (4 years)	Stay-at-home mother	2 (Ages 6 and 12)	FG

Karina	Mother	10 years	Chef	2 (Ages 1 and 7)	FG
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Table 3.2

Individual Interview Participants from Phase 1

Name	Mother or father	Years in Ireland	Current occupation	No. of children	Transcript reference
Lidia	Mother	17 years	Shop assistant	2 (Ages 11 and 17)	II1
Wioletta	Mother	10 years	Childcare worker	2 (Ages 5 and 18)	II2
Dawid	Father	11 years	Hotel waiter	2 (Ages 13 and 16)	II3
Judyta	Mother	12 years	School secretary	1 (Age 9)	II4
Martyna	Mother	10 years	Part-time shop assistant and part-time student	2 (Ages 1 and 4)	II5
Ewa	Mother	11 years	Kitchen worker in childcare facility	2 (Ages 4 and 7)	II6

An additional recruitment process involved choosing five families to participate in the second phase of the research. The families chosen had different educational and socioeconomic backgrounds and represented different family structures, including single-parent families, two-parent families and transnational families living between Poland and Ireland. The families chosen had children who ranged in age from 2–29 years and who represented a range of first-generation, 1.5-generation and second-generation migrants. This wide age range of children included those in varying school settings, from preschool to third-level. Some families had grandparents living with them and the families lived in rural and urban locations in Ireland. One set of grandparents

(Lewandowski family) were willing to participate in a family interview. The families had different migration experiences and thus faced different linguistic and cultural issues. Families were representative of the diverse experiences of Polish transnational families in Ireland. Table 3.3 below provides a description of the families and individual members of the families participating in phase 2 of the research. The family names and names in the following tables are pseudonyms chosen to represent research participants.

Table 3.3

Families Participating in Ethnographic Case Studies in Phase 2

	Parent/s				Children			
Family name	Name	Education/ Qualifications	Current occupation	Years in Ireland	Name and age	Current education	Languages spoken in the home	Grandparents in the family home?
Kowalski (Family A)	Matyas (Father)	Qualified carpenter	Self- employed builder and carpenter	13 years	Zofia Age 16	Transition Year (Post- primary school)	Polish English	No
	Sonia (Mother)	Qualified child psychologist University degree from Poland	Restaurant cook and kitchen manager	11 years	Agata Age 13	Second year (Post- primary school)		
Lewandowski (Family B)	Hanna (Mother)	Diploma in IT Master's degree in linguistics	Polish teacher and language consultant	3 years	Ola Age 3	Preschool	Polish	Tomasz (Grandfather/ Hanna's father) Gosia (Grandmother/ Hanna's mother)

Kropkowska (Family C)	Oskar (Father)	Qualified plumber	Hotel porter	13 years	Henryk Age 17	Fifth year (Post-primary school)	Polish English	Cecylia (Grandmother/ Malgorzata's mother)
	Malgorzata (Mother)	Master's degree in Education and a qualified teacher	Polish teacher in a Polish weekend school	12 years				
Mazur (Family D)	Jakub (Father)	Qualified electrician	Employed as an electrician	10 years	Zuzanna Age 7 (born in Ireland)	First class (Primary school)	Polish English	N/A
	Aneta (Mother)	Qualified social worker.	Childcare worker and room manager in an early childhood setting	10 years	Maja Age 5 (born in Ireland)	Junior infants (Primary school)		

Nowak (Family E)	Bozena (Mother)	Qualified social worker	Teacher in a special school catering for primary and post- primary students	13 years	Kacper Age 16	Transition Year (Post- primary school)	Polish English	Martyna (Grandmother/Bozena's mother)
					Filip Age 14	Second year (Post- primary school)		
	Bartek (Father)	Post-primary level education	Sales person	12 years	Szymon Age 11	Fourth class (Primary school)		
					Antoni Age 5	Junior infants (Primary school)		

Qualitative Approach and Constructivist Research Paradigm

Qualitative research has been described as “a field of inquiry in its own right” and one which “crosscuts disciplines, fields and subject matters” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008, p. 3). A qualitative approach was considered the most suitable in the context of this study as the research aimed to “empower individuals to share their stories, hear their voices, and minimize the power relationships that often exist between a researcher and the participants in a study” (Creswell, 2013, p. 48). In the context of the current study, FLP is interpreted as a socially-constructed process and the research reflects the fact that individuals continue to interpret and reinterpret their lived social worlds. Upon consideration of the varying realities, subjective experiences and truths experienced by family members, a constructivist perspective was chosen as best placed to fit the current study.

Constructivism is concerned with the ways in which people construct their worlds and lived realities (Williamson, 2006), and throughout the research process, I wanted to make sense of “the complex world of lived experience from the point of view” of participants (Mertens, 2014, p. 16). The realities faced by transnational families as they construct their FLP can be varied for many reasons, including their differing experiences of the migration process and their differing belief systems influenced by the local community, wider society, the education system and other macro-level systems (Curdtt-Christiansen, 2018; Spolsky, 2004). As a researcher I wanted to “understand and interpret the world in terms of its actors” (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2013, p. 31). The influential roles of parents and children in each family were central to the study. Self-reflection and reflexivity on the part of participants enabled them to make sense of their own reality, position and experiences.

The ontological stance of the research from a constructivist point of view reflected participants' multiple and socially-constructed realities and the fact that their "perceptions of reality may change throughout the process of the research" (Mertens, 2014, p. 8). The researcher acknowledged that participants' involvement in the research may lead to altering beliefs or realities among them. From an epistemological perspective, interpretation of the data from the current study occurred through an interactive process involving the participants and the researcher, brought about through "a more personal, interactive mode of data collection" (Mertens, 2014, p. 19) with the researcher being present for six observations in the home, informal conversations with family members and semi-structured interviews during the second phase of the research. The epistemological nature of the current research meant that reality needed to be interpreted in order to discover the underlying meaning of events and activities.

The current study seeks to understand and interpret the FLP of Polish transnational families from a social constructivist theory which sees reality as socially constructed, with multiple realities existing and which are time and context dependent (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Mertens, 2014). The study seeks to uncover the multiple realities and multiple viewpoints evident among individual members within families and across families, echoing the fact "that human reality is reproduced and created in the socially and historically specific activities of everyday life" (Tusting & Maybin, 2007, p. 581).

Ethnography and the Current Study

A sociolinguistic ethnographic approach was adopted for the current study in order to understand and make sense of the FLP of Polish transnational families in

Ireland. Ethnography is a complex practice (Madden, 2010), and is established within a range of disciplines and has its origins and roots in anthropology. As a result of these roots in anthropology, “ontologies, methodologies, and epistemologies” already exist in ethnography central to anthropology (Blommaert, 2009, p. 262). Anthropologists argue that it is essential to engage in an “extended period of observation” in order to truly understand a group of people (Silverman & Marvasti, 2008, p. 70). In considering the roots of ethnography in anthropology, Blommaert and Jie (2010) asserted that ethnography situates language in social life. This necessitates consideration of the point of view of the participant and the understanding of language as context specific (Blommaert, 2009, p. 260). It was therefore appropriate that data collection for the current study would occur in the homes of participants and that the viewpoints of both parents and children would be reflected in order to investigate how all family members contribute to the co-construction of FLP. In adopting a constructivist approach to the research, the researcher as ethnographer believed that “the multiple perspectives, which are the outcome of constructivist ethnography, are seen as relativist, or not providing an absolute truth” (Williamson, 2013, p. 291). Furthermore, it is acknowledged that the current study is only representative of five families.

While ethnography can be simply described as “writing about people” (Burns, 2000, p. 393), many definitions and descriptions of the practice of ethnography are in existence. Ethnography is a way of seeing and looking (Wolcott, 2008) and a way of understanding social phenomena (Willis & Trondman, 2000). Willis and Trondman (2000) described ethnography as “a family of methods involving direct and sustained social contact with agents, and of richly writing up the encounter, respecting, recording, representing at least partly in its own terms, the irreducibility of human experience” (p.

5). The current study incorporated a broad range of qualitative data collection methods in order to reflect an ethnographically-oriented approach and to build up a rich picture of FLP. The understanding and representation of experience can be considered central to ethnography (Willis & Trondman, 2000). As a researcher, I was cognisant of the importance of being aware of one's location and relatedness to the world (Willis & Trondman, 2000). Of central importance to the ethnographic process is cultural interpretation, characterised as "the researcher's ability to describe what he or she has heard and seen within the framework of the social group's view of reality" (Fetterman, 2010, p. 17). Through interviewing, informal conversations and being present during participant observation sessions in the family home over a period of 14 months, I felt I was able to present "an insider account of what is going on in a particular society or group" (Piller, 2002b, p. 184).

Ethnography is deemed to be an appropriate way of critically analysing the processes of language policy at all levels, explicit and implicit, from the macro to the micro levels of society (McCarty, 2011). Because "studying language means studying society" (Blommaert & Jie, 2010, p. 8), the different truths and realities of families were recognised. An ethnographic approach was deemed an effective way of getting to know the families involved in the research in an in-depth and meaningful way, and to build a trusting relationship between the participants and the researcher over time. The researcher sought to investigate participants' experiences of language as members of a Polish migrant family living in Ireland, thus "appreciating what it means to be human in particular social and cultural contexts" (Madden, 2010, p. 17). Two of the main methods adopted in ethnography are participant observation and in-depth interviews (McCarty, 2011). In addition to these methods, this particular ethnographic study

included semi-structured interviews with parents and older children, during which specific information was gathered on families' sociolinguistic experiences and practices. Informal conversations were held with younger children and reflective language diaries were completed by older children in order to include the voice of the child and to build up a rich picture of children's reflections, thoughts and feelings about their language practices.

It was important to be flexible and cognisant of the needs of family members throughout the research process. I needed to be particularly aware of the needs of families with young children, and to co-construct a plan for carrying out the research in a way suitable for the individual families involved. Spending time in the same social space as the participants enabled me to experience their lived world and to understand it. Previous research has highlighted the discrepancies between reported language ideologies and actual language practices (Hakuta & D'Andrea, 1992; Kopeliovich, 2010). The chosen methods allowed me to gain greater insight into any evident discrepancies. Furthermore, I was particularly interested in observing interactions between parents, between parents and children, and between siblings in order to build up a picture of language practice in the home. In-depth semi-structured interviews allowed me to gain insight into participants' declared ideologies and self-reported language practices. Participant observation in the home enabled me to observe naturally-occurring language practices among parents and children as well as family members' interactions with each other in their typical everyday situations. Adopting a range of methods, which are described in detail in a subsequent section, helped to build up a clear picture of the FLP of Polish migrant families in Ireland.

Blommaert and Jie (2010) refer to an “object” as a situated event or point in time and space which “can only gain relevance when it is adequately contextualised in micro- and macro-contexts” (p. 18). They outline the main task during fieldwork preparation as being “to understand and study the possible contexts in which your object will occur, micro as well as macro” (Blommaert & Jie, 2010, p. 19). As described in Chapter 2, the current research acknowledges that families interact with and are influenced by others in the wider external sociolinguistic environment. Furthermore, internal forces within the home and external forces at societal level are also considered influential on FLP formation. In other words, FLP is not considered in isolation from micro and macro contexts.

Challenges of ethnographic approaches to research

Concerns, challenges and possible drawbacks have previously been raised regarding the use of ethnography as a research methodology. Hammersley (2006) outlined a range of issues that ethnographers face including how to define the boundaries of what they study and how to determine the context suitable for understanding it. Williamson (2013) deduced that the multiple perspectives which result from constructive ethnography can be “seen as relativist, or not providing an absolute truth” (p. 291). Dong Jie’s fieldwork on identity construction among rural migrants in Beijing depicted the trials and errors of ethnographic fieldwork (Blommaert & Jie, 2010). Critics’ concerns of researchers becoming over-involved with participants being studied, due to the fact that ethnography takes place over an extended period of time, have also been brought to the fore (Robson & McCartan, 2016). It has been suggested that the presence of the researcher in the social action under study may alter the language practices being researched (Tusting & Maybin, 2007). In addressing this, I felt

it was important for participants to be aware that a critical perspective was not taken during the research and that there are no “right” or “wrong” ideologies, practices or management strategies for language use in the home. Participants were assured of this outlook in the Plain Language Statement and in the Informed Consent Form.

The challenges of recognising the differences that exist between participants’ and researchers’ understandings of the practices under study in ethnography have previously been emphasised (Hammersley, 2006; Tusting & Maybin, 2007). While the researcher draws conclusions from the findings and outlines implications of the research, the research process was focused on the perspectives of parents and children, which are clearly presented in the findings. Furthermore, the ethnographic case studies from the current study sought to build up a picture of the FLP of families in a non-judgemental and non-critical manner and participants were made aware of this stance taken by the researcher from the outset.

Role of the Researcher

The importance of research reflexivity was key to understanding my role as ethnographer. Taking into consideration that there are different varieties of reflexivity (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) and different ways of considering reflexivity (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2000), my role as researcher was one to be clearly examined and defined. The importance of being a reflexive researcher before, during and after the data-gathering process was acknowledged. As the research is constructivist in nature, it was important for me to be aware of the fact that as a researcher, I would also construct my own meanings throughout the research process and this was likely to have an influence on interpretations made in my ethnographies (Williamson, 2013). I needed to

acknowledge my own world view, subjective realities and how interactions between the participants and the researcher could bring meaning to the meaning-making process. With the constructivist paradigm emphasising that “research is a product of the values of researchers and cannot be independent of them” (Mertens, 2014, p. 17), I believed that I couldn’t be completely objective as a researcher. Similarly, Bourdieu considered the researcher as being placed in a social field with a particular “habitus”, described as a way of being or set of dispositions, necessitating the need for research reflexivity (Bourdieu, 2004). Considering the consequential importance of research reflexivity when engaging in research within the constructivist paradigm (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2000), it was important to reflect on my own background and reasons for entering into this particular research field. In doing so, I considered my previous experiences, assumptions and beliefs about language learning, language maintenance and the family language policy of migrant families in particular. As a primary school teacher and curriculum developer, I believe in the importance and value of promoting home language maintenance among migrant children. Reflecting on my previous findings from my master’s research on home language maintenance and my ongoing work in curriculum development, I became more conscious of my own beliefs about the value and benefits of linguistic and cultural diversity in Ireland.

It has been asserted that the ethnographic researcher as participant-observer is part of the research process (Tusting & Maybin, 2007), with the “inquirer and the inquired-into interlocked in an interactive process”, each influencing each other from an epistemological stance (Mertens, 2014, p. 19). Certain decisions were subsequently made in my role as ethnographer as I wanted to manage the research study with an approach that centred on the participants’ construction of their own beliefs and

experiences. I consequently used semi-structured interviews and had subsequent informal conversations with participants to enable them to tell their stories and to listen to their experiences. I felt it was important not to “push” my viewpoints with regard to my own beliefs about language learning and home language maintenance. It was important for me to develop a rapport with participants and establish trustworthiness and authenticity (Mertens, 2014) as well as reflexivity and reciprocity (Lincoln, 2009). In this way I was aware that I was part of the research and as a result, may shape the research being produced. I was aware of the fact that throughout interviews and conversations, the researcher and the participants are in “partnership and dialogue as they construct memory, meaning, and experience together” (Madison, 2012, p. 28). Other data collection methods were also put in place, independent of my presence, in an effort to lessen the impact of researcher presence. By asking families to record meal times in the home without me being present, I hoped to analyse data produced on language practices which were less likely to be influenced by the researcher. Despite this, I acknowledge that the act of recording events in the home may feel unnatural for families and may have influenced their behaviour to some degree. Similarly, the gathering of reflective language diaries among teenagers and older adult children was a means of gaining data which was generated through participant reflection.

Before beginning research with families during the second phase of the research, I felt it important to provide participants with an account of my interest in studying FLP. As an Irish person, I initially asserted myself as an outsider in the Polish community who didn’t speak Polish. In some ways, it was an advantage coming from a different background as I soon realised that participants were very eager to share specific Polish cultural knowledge with me that they assumed I wasn’t familiar with.

Such information centred on the education system in Poland and trends and reasons for Polish migration to Ireland. This additional information was very useful in building up a picture of the FLP of families and other factors impacting on the formation of FLP. Although I did not share the same cultural background as the participants, as a mother of two young children, I could identify with the experiences of parents of school-going children in Ireland and I could empathise with parents who wanted the best for their children. Relationship building with family members was extremely important to the process. The importance of building “researcher-researched relations” in multilingual contexts such as the family home has previously been recognised and acknowledged (Martin-Jones, Andrews, & Martin, 2016). As the research progressed, I began to feel less like a complete outsider. Similarly, Grey (2017) asserted herself to be “neither an insider nor a complete outsider” as a foreign researcher when carrying out her research in China (p. 126). Clifford and Marcus (1986) highlighted the fact that “the ethnographer’s personal experiences, especially those of participation and empathy, are recognized as central to the research process” (p. 13). Although I believed that I brought my own ideological and cultural influences to the research process (Holliday, 2016), I tried at all times to be present in the neutral role of researcher and ethnographer, enabling participants to tell their own personal stories and narratives.

Data Collection Methods Phase 1: Focus Group and Individual Interviews

Semi-structured focus group interview with parents

During the first phase of the study, a focus group was conducted with six parent participants, including five mothers and one father. Focus groups have been described as a “small gathering of individuals who have a common interest or characteristic,

assembled by a moderator, who uses the group and its interactions as a way to gain information about a particular issue” (Williams & Katz, 2001, p. 2). The focus group interview was an effective means of gathering preliminary data and generating themes relevant to the study of FLP among Polish migrant and transnational families in Ireland. These themes were then further probed during subsequent individual interviews with individual participants. A semi-structured focus group schedule (see Appendix E) was prepared in advance of the focus group interview and the questions posed to participants were open ended to allow for a group conversation and discussion surrounding the attitudes, beliefs and practices around language use in the homes of Polish immigrant families. The focus group interview lasted approximately 60 minutes, and all six participants were happy for it to be conducted in English. During the focus group interview, parents were asked to discuss and describe their beliefs, choices and practices with regard to their children’s language use in the home and in the wider community. They were also given the opportunity to discuss how they manage language use in the home and to describe the challenges they face in raising bilingual children. During the focus group interview, interaction between the participants was encouraged to increase participation and to allow for rich discussions and conversations. Some of these discussions and conversations are illustrated in Chapter 4.

Semi-structured individual interviews with parents

Semi-structured individual interviews were conducted with six parent participants, including five mothers and one father. As mentioned, the themes identified in the focus group interview were probed in more detail during the semi-structured interviews. A semi-structured individual interview schedule (see Appendix F) was prepared in advance of the interviews and due to the individual nature of the interviews,

it was possible to examine themes in more detail and to hear the personal stories of participants. The semi-structured nature of the interview allowed for discussions to expand beyond the scope of the interview schedule. It was also felt that this was an opportunity for individual participants to feel safe opening up to talk about their feelings, beliefs and personal experiences of the migrant process. All six participants were happy to be interviewed in English and felt comfortable expressing themselves in English. Even though there were themes and questions outlined, the interviews were conducted in a way that allowed participants to discuss particular experiences and topics of interest to them. This has been referred to as “responsive” interviewing (Rubin & Rubin, 2005), with the researcher adapting to emerging data during interviewing. Each individual interview lasted 60 minutes. Interviews were recorded on a digital recorder and were transcribed in advance of data analysis.

Data Collection Methods Phase 2: Ethnographic Case Studies

The use and definition of the case study as a formal research method has evolved over time. While there have been various definitions of a case study, the studying of a situation in its “real life” context has been a commonality across all definitions (Simons, 2009). In the context of the current study, understanding the real-world reality of Polish families through their lived experiences in the home environment was the driving force for the research. The essence of FLP is the playing out of everyday events that take place in the family home and I felt that a case study approach was suitable in acknowledging, observing and understanding the multiple realities of Polish migrant and transnational families. This interpretivist perspective

informed the design of the case study approach undertaken and allowed for the capturing of varying perspectives from individual participants.

The second phase of the study centred around five Polish transnational families. Multiple ethnographic case studies were deemed most appropriate to examine the FLP of five Polish families and to draw comparisons between the participating families (Yin, 2014). The ethnographic case study originates from anthropological and sociological traditions, with participant observation and interviewing being used as methods to understand the case in relation to its socio-cultural context (Simons, 2009). Stake (2005) describes the *intrinsic case study* as the study undertaken because “in all its particularity and ordinariness, the case itself is of interest” and because the stories of those “living the case” will be “teased out” (p. 445). This particular type of case study resonated with me as I wanted to gain insight into the lived experience of all family members in their particular contexts. I was particularly interested in FLP construction in the individual homes of Polish families with children of varying ages. Data collection took place over a period of fourteen months, with the researcher visiting the homes of the families for an agreed number of visits and for an agreed period of time during each visit. In “attempting to give a space to the voices of migrant children”, White et al. (2013) proposed “using methodological approaches such as ethnographic observation and interviews with young people” (p. 17). From January 2018 to March 2019, a variety of data collection methods were employed with individual families. These are outlined in Table 3.4.

Table 3.4

Data Collection Methods for Ethnographic Case Studies in Phase 2

Data collection method	Description	Quantity/Duration
Semi-structured interview with parents	Individual interview with each parent present in the family home.	1 interview with each individual parent. Duration approximately 60 minutes.
Semi-structured interview with the family	Interview with all members of the family present in the family home.	1 interview with each family unit. Duration approximately 60 minutes.
Semi-structured interview with individual children	Individual interview with each child over the age of seven years present in the family home.	1 interview with each individual child over 7 years of age. Duration approximately 45 minutes.
Participant observations in the family home	Scheduled observations in each family home. Visits took place over a period of fourteen months.	6 scheduled observations in each family home. Each scheduled observations lasted approximately three hours.
Audio/video recordings of selected naturally-occurring events in the home	Additional audio and video recordings of family interactions in the home (e.g. mealtime, homework, playtime). Researcher not present in the home. Each family submitted 1-3 audio/video recordings of various durations.	490 minutes (total for all family recordings combined). See Appendix L for number and duration of individual recordings for each family.

Children's reflective language diary	Kept by children over the age of 12. A record of children's momentary thoughts, feelings and beliefs about language use.	Each child over the age of 12 years old submitted 6 reflective language diaries. Reflective language diary entries were gathered during each researcher observation. Diary entries were compiled into one unit for each individual child.
Fieldnotes and researcher's reflections	Researcher reflections and fieldnotes recorded in a diary throughout the data collection process. These included hunches, thoughts, questions and ideas for future data collection.	Fieldnotes were recorded before/during/after each participant observation in the home and after any additional contact with participants.

Each of these data collection methods will now be described in more detail.

Semi-structured interviews with parents

A semi-structured interview with individual parents from each of the five families was conducted in the family home. Each interview lasted approximately 60 minutes. Both parents, where present in the family home and willing to participate, took part in the interview separately. While an interview schedule was prepared (see Appendix G) to ensure that the relevant topics were discussed during the interview, the questions were open-ended to allow parents to describe their experiences, thoughts and opinions. I was interested in hearing about the participants' experiences of the migrant process, their language ideologies, their attitudes towards their children's maintenance or development of the home language and their everyday language practices and

language management strategies. I also opened a discussion around the challenges that parents face in continuing to maintain home language use in the family setting and the opportunities they have to use Polish in the community. Conversations focused on the individual experiences and stories of participants. These participant-led conversations were an essential aspect of the interview process and “the most engaging stage” of the interview (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p. 123). A key topic discussed during the interview was participants’ experiences of the education system in Ireland and the advice given to them by educators in relation to their children’s language learning and language practices. These perspectives were especially important as one of the research questions sought to address the links between participants’ experiences of the education system and FLP. I wanted to focus specifically on participants’ understanding and interpretation of the value schools placed on children’s home languages, as well as the advice given to them by educators and caregivers. Additional time was allocated to allow participants to make any further comments or to ask questions.

Semi-structured interviews with children

All children over the age of seven years participated in a semi-structured interview in the family home. Each interview lasted approximately 45 minutes. Central to the current study was the child’s voice, the investigation of child agency and the child’s role in shaping FLP formation. I was eager to listen to the voices of the children and to hear their perspectives. Greene and Hill (2005) pointed out that “studying children as persons implies a view of children as sentient beings who can act with intention and as agents in their own lives” (p. 3). The current study recognised children as active agents in FLP formation and in their own identity formation. The researcher valued children’s perspectives and wanted to better understand their lived experiences

and learn more about how they interpret, negotiate and feel about their individual language repertoires.

An interview schedule with a broad outline of topics and themes to be addressed and a series of possible questions was used during the interview (see Appendix H). I adapted questioning during the interview to ensure it was age and language. Parents were present while interviews were carried out with the children. Parents were happy not to intervene during the interview and their presence did not seem to impact on the responses of children or indeed the participation of children during the interview. Parents were made aware of the emphasis being placed on hearing the voice of the child in an effort to explore child agency in the research.

From the outset, it was important to inform the children about the purpose of the research and I prepared a Plain Language Statement for the children which was discussed with them in advance of the interview. I began our discussion by describing the research and my interest in learning more about the languages they spoke, their thoughts and feelings about languages and to hear their stories and experiences of learning languages. It was essential to gain the trust of the participants and to explain that their contributions would be confidential, and that the use of pseudonyms would ensure their anonymity. Arksey et al. (1999) effectively outlined how differences in cognitive development, language development, attention span, life experiences, meaning making and status between children and adults impact on the interview process, both ethically and methodologically. The explanations I provided to children about the research were therefore adjusted according to the age group of the children being interviewed.

It was important from the outset to “set the child at ease and in control of the situation” (Arksey et al., 1999, p. 116). The interview therefore began by allowing the children time and space to talk about themselves, their school and the languages they can speak. The themes and topics discussed during the interview included language practices in the home, school and community, maintenance and development of the Polish language and attitudes towards English as a language. Conversations occurring during the interviews also led to other issues of interest and importance to the research, such as personal stories about maintaining contact with family members in Poland.

Semi-structured interviews with families

Each family participated in a family interview during which all members of the family home were invited to be present. Each family interview lasted approximately 60 minutes and took place in the family home. In some cases, a number of family members did not participate as they were in Poland at the time. This reflected the transnational nature of some families’ experiences. A semi-structured interview schedule with open-ended questions was used during the interviews (see Appendix I). Questions focused specifically on the everyday language practices in the home and language use choices and preferences among individual family members. The purpose of this interview was to facilitate a joint conversation between family members and to examine both similar and contrasting viewpoints held among individual family members. Furthermore, an interview conducted with all family members enabled me to gain further insight into the negotiation and co-construction of FLP. I also hoped that this interview would provide family members with the opportunity to gain insight into and reflect on the opinions and attitudes of other family members.

Participant observations in the family home

Bow (2002) succinctly described the flexibility of undertaking ethnographic research, and participant observation in particular:

Participant observation is one of the most flexible techniques or set of techniques for doing research . . . [It] not only potentially combines a number of techniques, such as interviewing, focus groups, observation, and questionnaires, but also has the flexibility to emphasise some techniques over others. (Bow, 2002, p. 267)

Participant observations provided me with an insight into family members' actual language practices and negotiation of FLP. These observations were conducted in the family home, during which families engaged in their regular day-to-day activities. In advance of commencing participant observations, I explained to family members that I was interested in observing naturally-occurring events in the home such as mealtimes, playtime between siblings, conversations between family members, or children's homework time. These observations allowed me to gain insight into the language practices and language management strategies evident in the family home. Six scheduled observations took place in each family home over a period of 14 months. Each visit lasted approximately three hours. In some cases, families invited me to stay for longer and were interested in engaging in lengthy discussions about their FLPs. During visits, I also had informal conversations with parents and children and interesting data were recorded in my fieldnotes.

An observation template (see Appendix J) was used to record the dates and times of observations, the setting, the activities occurring, and the family members

involved in interactions. For children under the age of seven years, play sessions between parents and children or between siblings were observed. Observations in the home were particularly useful in identifying everyday language practices and the role of siblings in shaping each other's language practices and in shaping the language environment at home.

In advance of observations being carried out in the family homes, it was essential that trustworthiness and rapport had been built up between the researcher and the participants. These ethical considerations have been described in a previous section of this chapter. During observation visits, I also engaged in informal conversations with all family members about their daily language practices and attitudes to language use in the home. A sample of a completed observation template is located in Appendix K.

Audio and video recordings of family interactions

Additional audio and video recordings of family interactions in the home were carried out by participants without the presence of the researcher. Participants were instructed to consider typical situations in the home which might give additional insights into their family language practices. I had conversations with family members about the types of everyday family interactions that they were willing to share with me. Examples of these included family conversations during mealtimes and children engaging in homework tasks with parents. Families were not asked to submit a specific number of audio and video recordings and I explained the benefits of these additional insights into everyday family interactions, for me as the researcher. Original participants' quotes in Polish were translated into English by a Polish-English bilingual speaker from each family home in the presence of the researcher. This ensured that I

understood the context of each interaction and the language practices of individual family members. Through questioning and discussion with family members, I was able to make sense of specific language practices and language management strategies exhibited in the recordings. These interactions provided insightful information around language use and the negotiation of family language practices within individual families. A list of the audio and video recordings provided by individual families and their duration is located in Appendix L.

Reflective language diaries

As mentioned, the role of the child in the co-construction of FLP was central to the study. I was interested in investigating children's beliefs about language use and language learning from their own individual perspectives. I therefore asked children over the age of 12 to keep a reflective language diary in order to record their transient thoughts, language practices, feelings and beliefs about language use. Children were provided with a number of reflective questions, guiding statements and reflective phrases to help them complete their reflective language diaries (see Appendix M). Participants were instructed to add to the reflective language diary as often as they wanted to over the course of a year. I gathered completed diary entries participant during observation visits in each family home. Samples of completed reflective language diary entries are located in Appendix M.

Fieldnotes and researcher reflections

Fieldnotes were an important aspect of making sense of the data collection process. After interviews, observations and conversations with participants, I prepared fieldnotes which helped me to reflect on the data collected, hunches, thoughts,

questions and ideas for future data collection. I kept a notebook which contained all the fieldnotes compiled, with each set dated and labelled with the names of relevant participants and additional contextual details (see Appendix N). I attempted to make this “a disciplined habit” (Blommaert & Jie, 2010) as much as possible as I considered the process a useful means of reflecting on the data-collecting process. At times, research participants made informal contact with me and I recorded details of our conversations in the form of fieldnotes.

Fieldnotes help “to make new information understandable for ourselves, using our own interpretive frames, concepts and categories” (Blommaert & Jie, 2010, p. 37). At times, fieldnotes were elaborate and detailed and at other times, they were not. The level of detail included in fieldnotes depended on a number of circumstances, including the need to extend a description or the opportunity to capture and further convey an event. Compiling fieldnotes was not an exercise involving the mere recording of facts about what happened, but rather represented processes of sense-making and interpretation on the part of the researcher (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011). A number of phrases such as *I was surprised; I wonder if; I cannot figure out why* regularly appeared in my field notes and these demonstrate the processes of reflection and interpretation that were involved.

Data Analysis

As discussed, data were gathered during two separate phases of the research. The first phase of the research involved conducting qualitative focus group interviews and individual interviews. The second phase of the research comprised ethnographic case studies and data collection methods included semi-structured interviews,

participant observations in the home, audio and video recordings of everyday events in the home, reflective language diaries and researcher fieldnotes. The depth and breadth of data gathered demanded “meaningful relations to be interpreted” during the data analysis process (Kvale, 1996). In the context of the current study, data analysis is understood as “a formal inductive process of breaking down data into segments or data sets which can then be categorized, ordered and examined for connections, patterns and propositions that seek to explain the data” (Simons, 2009, p. 117). The analytic tool used to engage in data analysis for both phases of the study was thematic analysis, and the process involved is outlined in the following section.

Thematic analysis

Braun and Clarke (2006) defined thematic analysis as “a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data” (p. 79) . As the current study generated multiple and varying types of data sets across two phases, thematic analysis was identified as the most appropriate means of providing a detailed and rich report of the findings due to its suitability in analysing different types of data (Clarke & Braun, 2013). The active role of the researcher in generating themes during reflexive data analysis for both phases of the research was informed by the framework of Braun and Clarke (2006), which consists of a six-phase process of thematic analysis (see Figure 3.2 below). I worked separately with the data sets from phase 1 and phase 2 of the study, working through the six phases of thematic analysis for each phase of the study and generating separate themes for each phase. In considering Braun and Clarke’s (2006, 2013) approach to thematic analysis, I wanted to ensure that themes were authentically developed from the codes generated during data analysis. In order to do so, the data analysis process was iterative and involved several sweeps of the data sets

to ensure that the coding process reflected my developing and deepening understanding of the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006, 2013).

Phase	Description of the process
1. Familiarizing yourself with your data:	Transcribing data (if necessary), reading and re-reading the data, noting down initial ideas.
2. Generating initial codes:	Coding interesting features of the data in a systematic fashion across the entire data set, collating data relevant to each code.
3. Searching for themes:	Collating codes into potential themes, gathering all data relevant to each potential theme.
4. Reviewing themes:	Checking if the themes work in relation to the coded extracts (Level 1) and the entire data set (Level 2), generating a thematic 'map' of the analysis.
5. Defining and naming themes:	Ongoing analysis to refine the specifics of each theme, and the overall story the analysis tells, generating clear definitions and names for each theme.
6. Producing the report:	The final opportunity for analysis. Selection of vivid, compelling extract examples, final analysis of selected extracts, relating back of the analysis to the research question and literature, producing a scholarly report of the analysis.

Figure 3.2. Phases of thematic analysis from Braun & Clarke (2006).

Following the six phases of thematic analysis enabled me to experience “the creative, exploratory character of the process” (Boulton & Hammersley, 2006, p. 252). The exploratory nature of coding, searching for themes, reviewing of themes and defining and naming of themes during the process of thematic analysis enabled me to see different aspects of the data, adding understanding, reflexivity and insight as I moved through the process. In light of the themes generated, it was important to interpret and attach significance to what was found throughout the process of data analysis. As I will now describe and demonstrate, this was a reflexive process that demanded the demonstration of a sound and logical interpretation as well as the search for alternative understandings (Rossman & Rallis, 2011).

For the first phase of thematic analysis, I needed to become familiar with the depth and breadth of the various data sets through reading, re-reading and transcribing data where necessary. The recordings of focus group interviews and interviews conducted with families, parents and children were listened to and transcribed. Children’s language diary excerpts were collated and read many times. Video

recordings of observations in the home were watched and transcribed, and audio recordings were listened to and transcribed by the researcher. While transcribing, I noted the non-verbal cues evident from the recordings, including pauses, laughter, intonation and tone in order to uncover any hidden meanings of non-verbal aspects of interaction and to avoid transcriptions being somewhat “partial” (Mason, 2002, p. 77). All transcripts were named, labelled and stored within named folders. Samples of the transcriptions linked to the various data sets from both phases of the study are located in Appendix O. Repeated viewings of the video recordings and listening to the audio recordings allowed me to make notes about participants, their language choices, language use and to further analyse interaction between participants. Reading and reflecting on my researcher fieldnotes also provided me with the opportunity to deepen and develop my growing understanding of the data. During this phase, it was also important to reflect on the assumptions and experiences that I brought to the data analysis process. This helped me to unpack the data and become more familiar with the multiple data sets before I started to code the data.

During the second phase, all data were coded. My interpretation of a code was “a feature of the data that appears interesting” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 88) and I ensured that codes were clear and not vague. Coding the interesting features of the data was carried out in systematic and consistent fashion across the entire data sets, resulting in a collation of data relevant to each code (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In the context of data analysis for the current study, a code can be described as “a word or short phrase that captures and signals what is going on in a piece of data in a way that links it to some more general analysis issue” (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw, 1995, p. 146). The coding process was both inductive and deductive. The data was inductively coded using

a combination of semantic codes with obvious or surface meanings, and latent codes which included codes that captured implicit or underlying meanings. This resulted in a combination of descriptive codes and interpretative codes derived by the researcher. Coding was also deductively guided by the theoretical framework as I searched for codes related to the three components of language policy-ideology, practice and management. From a constructivist standpoint, I wanted to interpret the data and look beyond the surface level meaning. The generation of latent codes involved reflecting on the assumptions and prior knowledge I brought to the research as well as my knowledge of the components of the FLP theoretical framework and theories drawn upon for the current study. Examples of latent codes included codes relating to participants' identity construction and evidence of language socialisation processes occurring within the family. At times, I needed to read beyond the actual data by considering contextual factors and my own perceptions and world view of FLP co-construction.

Coding the data was an iterative process that involved much time, reflection and interpretation as I continued to generate codes based on the multiple meanings and interpretations inherent in the data. Insofar as possible, I attempted to code all data gathered by engaging in line by line coding and some pieces of data received multiple codes due to their richness. Each transcript was assigned a particular colour and I initially examined datasets for children and parents separately. I clearly labelled the relevant data with their associated codes within the transcripts so that I could continuously return to and reflect on codes. All the codes were then inserted into excel spreadsheets. Separate excel spreadsheets were used for each phase of the study. Codes originating from each transcript were inserted into the spreadsheets using the specific colour codes assigned to transcripts.

Within a spreadsheet titled *Phase 2 Generating Initial Codes*, each of the data sets was given a title within a column and codes were entered into the relevant columns. Upon re-examination and re-reading of transcripts, additional codes were assigned to data sets. Field notes taken during both phases of the study, noting hunches, thoughts and ideas relevant to the research (Rossman & Rallis, 2011) were also analysed and coded as part of the data set. This phase of data analysis resulted in hundreds of codes being produced. During this phase, I continued to look back and reflect on all codes to ensure that they adequately evoked relevant features of the data so that themes could be derived from codes. A sample of the codes derived during this phase of data analysis is located in Appendix P.

The next phase of data analysis *Phase 3 Searching for Themes* involved “sorting the different codes into potential themes, and collating all the relevant coded data extracts within the identified themes” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 89) . This initially necessitated careful examination of all codes across all data sets before collating codes into potential themes. I printed out the individual codes from the *Phase 2* spreadsheet which were colour-coded according to various transcripts across data sets. Each code was represented on a colour-coded piece of paper which could easily be traced back to original transcripts and raw data. I then began to organise the codes into potential “theme-piles” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 89). This phase was an iterative process as I organised and reorganised codes within piles, and combined piles. At times, I needed to review codes and re-establish my own understanding of particular codes by revisiting the original data extracts linked to codes. In this way, I continued to consider the relationships between codes, themes and levels of themes. From moving codes between

different piles, I discovered that some codes related to main themes and others were less relevant miscellaneous codes that would eventually be discarded.

The potential themes generated during this phase of analysis were not dependent on quantifiable measures, but more on the meaning or importance captured in relation to the research questions (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Some potential themes were derived from a small pile of codes, while other themes were derived from a more significant number of codes. An excel spreadsheet entitled *Phase 3 Searching for Themes* was used to record the potential themes identified and the associated code piles. This phase ended with a collection of potential themes derived exclusively from codes. Fifteen potential themes and sub-themes were identified from codes derived from the first phase of the study. Twenty-six potential themes and sub-themes were derived from sorting codes relevant to the data gathered from children who participated in the second phase of the research. A further twenty-five potential themes and sub-themes were identified from codes derived from the codes relating to the data gathered from parents during the second phase of the research. A sample of potential themes generated during this phase of data analysis and their associated codes are located in Appendix Q.

The fourth phase of thematic analysis involved reviewing the themes identified in Phase 3 and refining them. In order to do so, I re-examined all the themes and sub-themes, merged themes, broke down some themes into separate themes and discarded some sub-themes. This was an iterative process, that involved much reflection and re-consideration of the codes derived from the original data. During this phase, I used excel spreadsheets and the mind-mapping software programme *MindManager* to collapse themes, and to break down themes into additional separate themes. In reviewing and refining themes, I wanted to ensure that all coded extracts for each theme

formed a coherent pattern. Firstly, it was important to review themes by revisiting the associated coded data extracts to ensure that the original data was true to the themes generated and that there were coherent patterns evident. In some instances, codes were re-assigned to alternative themes. Secondly, I needed to consider the validity of individual themes in relation to the entire data set (Braun & Clarke, 2006) which only became possible when all the coded data had been sorted into themes. Working within the *MindManager* programme allowed me to easily manoeuvre, rearrange and rename themes and subthemes as necessary and when I noticed there was too much overlap between themes. This resulted in a refining of potential themes. Some of the renamed themes and sub-themes can be viewed within the mind map segment located in Appendix R.

Phase 5 involved defining and further refining themes by examining the thematic map I had composed during the previous phase of thematic analysis. Defining and refining the themes entailed “identifying the ‘essence’ of what each theme is about and determining what aspect of the data each them captures” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 92). In order to do so, I revisited data extracts, collated data extracts for each theme and ensured that the titles assigned to each theme and sub-theme adequately captured the ‘story’ being told (Braun & Clarke, 2006). At this point, I considered how each theme related to the research questions posed and the theoretical framework drawn upon in the study and recorded analytical memos in doing so. This reflection and reflexivity enabled me to consider how I intended to tell the story of FLP within Polish migrant and transnational homes using clearly defined themes and sub-themes. A sample of one theme and the associated sub-themes defined and named for Phase 2 of the study is located in Appendix S.

Finally, Phase 6, producing the report (Braun & Clarke, 2006), involved writing two Findings and Discussion chapters by drawing on analytical memos and selecting sufficient and appropriate data extracts and examples to “demonstrate the prevalence” of each of the named themes. Each theme captures a central concept or idea and does not attempt to provide topic-summary themes (Braun and Clarke, 2012; 2016; 2019). The themes generated from the data are interpretive, creative and attempt to capture the explicit and implicit stories of FLP in a way which reflects the researcher’s interpretive lens. The findings resulting from the analysis of data are presented in Chapters 4 and 5. Parent participants’ accounts of family language ideologies, practices and management strategies, as gathered during the first phase of the study are outlined in Chapter 4. Chapter 5 presents the ethnographic stories of five Polish families living in Ireland. Figure 3.3 illustrates how the stages of thematic analysis were implemented on a practical level in the context of the current study.

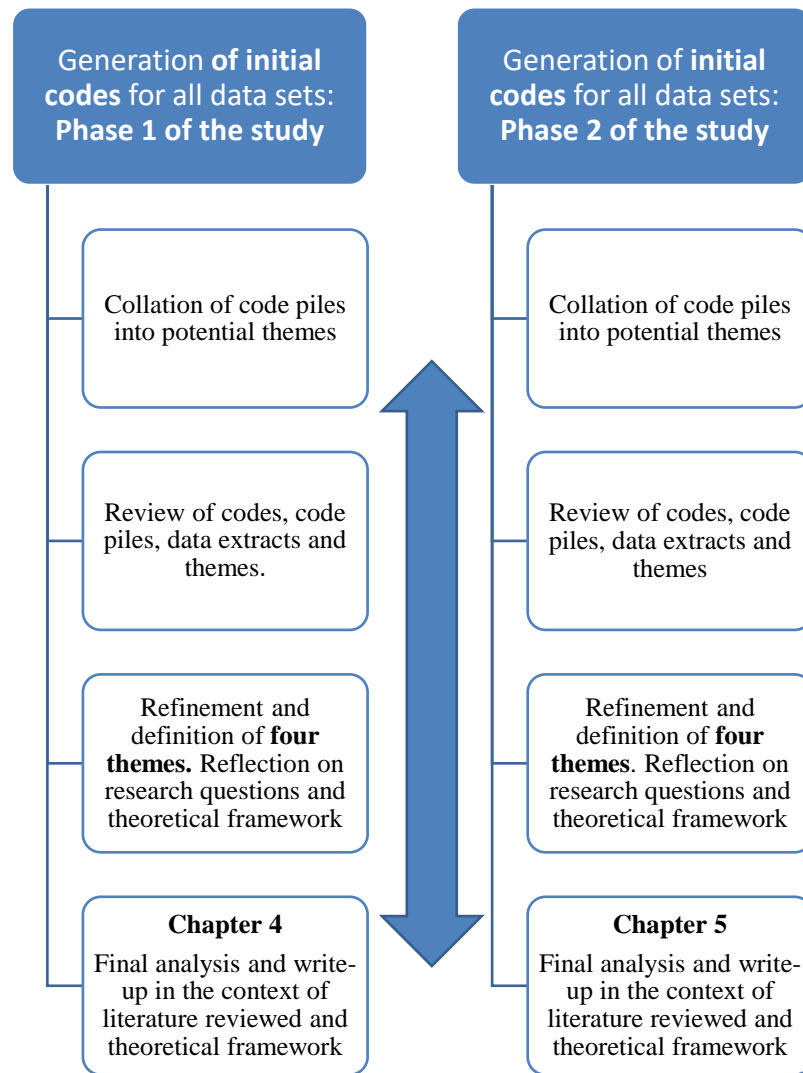


Figure 3.3. Process of thematic analysis engaged with for the current study

Summary

This chapter provided an overview of the methodological design and approach for the current study. An overview of the constructivist paradigmatic stance taken was outlined. The two-phased qualitative research design, methodology framework and the methods undertaken were discussed. The steps taken to recruit research participants and the pertinent ethical considerations for working closely with families were described in detail. The data collection processes undertaken for both phases of the study and the

role of the researcher were discussed. The chapter concluded with a discussion of the procedures used to analyse both phases of the data collection using thematic analysis. The next two chapters present the findings of the study according to the themes generated during data analysis.

Chapter 4

Findings and Discussion: Phase 1

Introduction

The current study adds to the limited FLP literature available in the Irish context by investigating the FLP of Polish transnational families living in Ireland. The primary research question investigated was: *How is FLP jointly constructed among parents and children of Polish migrant and transnational families living in Ireland?* In order to gain an in-depth understanding of the FLP of Polish families in Ireland and reflect a multidimensional view of FLP research, a number of additional research questions were investigated:

- How do family members' transnational connections with Poland impact on the family language policy and identities of Polish migrant and transnational families in Ireland?
- How do educational institutions and children's peers and educators impact on family language policy, as reported by parents and children?
- How does English language dominance in society affect the family language policy of Polish migrant and transnational families in Ireland?

As described in Chapter 3, the study comprised two phases of research, and each phase addressed the aforementioned research questions. This chapter reports on the findings from the first phase of the study which consisted of a focus group interview with six parents and individual interviews with an additional six parents. While both phases of the research addressed common research questions, the purpose of this phase

of the research was to enable the researcher as an “outsider” to gain initial insights from parents into the topics relating to FLP formation and enactment among Polish transnational families living in Ireland. Furthermore, this first phase of the research was seen as a means of scoping out topics to be more fully explored and investigated during the second phase of the research. The researcher deemed it important to reflect on the themes generated during the first phase of the data before engaging in fieldwork in the homes of Polish families. Reflecting on the themes enabled the researcher to decide on the most appropriate data collection methods to further investigate FLP during the second phase of the research, which constituted ethnographic case studies with five families. In this way the findings from the first phase informed the development of the methodological framework for the second phase of the study.

Four themes were actively generated by the researcher as a result of engaging in reflexive thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006, 2012, 2019) with the qualitative data gathered during the first phase of the study. These are outlined below:

Theme	Sub-themes
1. Joint role of children and parents in FLP formation and enactment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Children exercising agency in their language use • Parents’ language management strategies • “Polish and English is used in our house “
2. Polish language as important for children’s learning and connectedness with Poland	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Importance of Polish for transnational movements • Polish as important for family cohesion and connections with extended family • Formal Polish language learning as challenging for parents and children

- Impact of educators' advice on parental attitudes to children's language learning
3. English language dominance alters and shapes FLP formation and enactment
- Children's engagement with school and society and increased English language use
 - English as a global language and linguistic capital
 - Conflicting language practices in the home
4. Identity as a fluid construct within Polish transnational families
- Identity as fluid and contradictory
 - Cultural identity and the local Polish community

Joint Role of Children and Parents in FLP Construction

As explored in Chapter 2, language socialisation, in the context of FLP studies, has more recently been viewed as a jointly-constructed process with parents and children playing an active role (Fogle, 2012; Revis, 2019). Drawing on the theoretical framework adopted for the current study, the researcher understood the importance of exploring parents' and children's joint role in the language socialisation process. Therefore, conversations were facilitated with parents during the focus group and interviews around their perceptions of all family members' roles in FLP construction. This theme captures the centrality of the Polish language in the family home as well as the joint role of parents and children in FLP formation and enactment. The theme is subdivided as follows:

- Children exercising agency in their language use
- Parents' language management strategies

- “Polish and English is used in our house”.

Children exercising agency in their language use

All 12 parents who participated in the first phase of the research referred to the agency exercised by children in their everyday language use and choices in the family home. Conversations with parents during individual interviews highlighted how this sense of agency had gradually led to increased English language use in family homes. Talking about her 4 year old, Martyna explained that “sometimes I talk in Polish in the home and she replies to me in English ... it’s like she will naturally switch back to English and she is only 4 years old” (II5). Lidia described how her son and daughter displayed strong preferences for English language use, as evident in their everyday language practices. Referring to her teenage daughter’s language use, Lidia explained, “When I text her in Polish, she texts me back in English” (II1). Wioletta also described how her son Kamil displayed a preference for English language in the home:

I know he will prefer to speak to me in English most of the time now. But when he speaks English to me, I get annoyed and frustrated, because Polish is much better for me ... but I also understand him and it’s OK that he wants to speak English. (II2)

While the excerpt above highlights a conflict in language ideology between Wioletta and Kamil, Wioletta’s acceptance of Kamil’s preference to use English also demonstrates FLP negotiation in the home.

During the focus group interview, parents jointly expressed the viewpoint that their children often chose to use English with siblings, both inside and outside the family home in educational and play settings. A group conversation which took place

among parents facilitated rich discussion around the agentic capabilities of their young children with regard to language choice and use. In particular, parents exchanged many similar examples of younger siblings using English with each other during playtime in their homes, as illustrated in the following discussion between participants:

Gracja: For the dinner, talking at home, it will be Polish and for talking about the family, also Polish. But really, for my children, maybe it's different. My children play together and talk together in English. Not all of the time but a lot of the time.

Karina: Yes, yes, it's just like this. The girls speak English to each other, especially for the playtime. I think especially for the playtime that is about the school or art or something ...

Patrycja: In my house, the children are using mix of Polish English, but outside, it's all English I think

Similar to the descriptions provided by parents in the current study, many previous studies of migrant and transnational families in different sociolinguistic contexts have also exhibited the agency of siblings to demonstrate preferences for the majority language with each other, despite being immersed in the heritage language in the family home. In their study of first-generation migrant children in Ireland, Connaughton-Crean and Ó Duibhir (2017) remarked on children's preferences to speak English with younger siblings in particular. In their analysis of variation among siblings in the use of a non-English language in the United States, Stevens and Ishizawa (2007) found that it was more likely for the eldest child to speak a minority language compared to later-born children were more likely to use English. In their study of second-generation Iranian

families in Sweden, Kheirkhah and Cekaite (2018), found Swedish to be the predominant language of siblings' talk. Researchers have alluded to the importance of examining how siblings affect family language practices and HLM (Baker, 2011; Schwartz, 2010), and parents' descriptions of siblings' agency in language use qualified the need to further explore this concept during the second phase of the study which was undertaken in family homes.

Parents provided examples of how children's preferences for English language use extended beyond the family home and they described their children's English language use during interactions with other members of the Polish community. According to Lidia, her daughter displayed a clear preference for speaking English with her Polish friends and cousins:

When she goes somewhere with her Polish cousins, she prefers not to speak Polish ... I remember when Jagoda was 10 and there were four Polish girls in my house and they were speaking English and I was amazed to see this ... I don't understand why they would not speak Polish together. It's just like they abandon or something. (II1)

The excerpt above demonstrates Lidia's frustration around her daughter's non-use of Polish and concern that her daughter may have been rejecting the Polish language. During the focus group interview, all six parents described their children's preferences for speaking English with Polish friends in Ireland. According to Patrycja, "When the neighbours' children come to our house, they always speak English to each other. Even the local Polish children" (FG). In describing her children's interactions with each other in the home, Patrycja also explained that "they speak English naturally ... sometimes

it's Polish and sometimes it's English" (FG). including the local community, schools and other environments where peer groups participate. As espoused in the literature, children make the choice to switch to the dominant language for many reasons (Fogle, 2013a), and findings from first phase of the current study clearly highlighted children's preference for English language use among siblings and peers. Drawing on theories of language socialisation, it is likely that children's use of English with Polish friends in Ireland resulted from language socialisation processes occurring across multiple settings at macro and micro levels (Ochs, 1999; Ochs & Schieffelin, 2011), The descriptions provided by parents elucidated that it was simply more natural for children to use English as a result of their ongoing exposure to English in school and society. The researcher deemed it important to further investigate children's agency in their language use by exploring children's language ideologies and English language use further during the second phase of the research.

Parents' language management strategies

During the focus group interview and individual interviews, it became evident that all 12 parents adopted similar approaches to language management in the home. All parents provided examples of how they allowed their children to make choices around language use in the home to some degree. Although parents clearly expressed a preference for their children to speak Polish in the family home, the data revealed that parents didn't enforce specific or defined rules around children's language practices. Karina accepted the inevitability of English language use in the home as "Yes. They can watch the TV in Polish or English. They have the language for both now and I am OK with this. Well my bigger child does. They youngest is listening to everything" (FG). Discussing her children's language practices in the home, Patrycja described that

“they speak English naturally. But I don’t have rules either. I let them speak naturally. Sometimes Polish, sometimes English” (FG). Klaudia agreed with the assertion of Patrycja, stating “it’s just natural. If they want to watch Polish movie, that’s fine. If they want to watch English movie, that’s fine too. There is no pressure now” (FG).

Despite an apparent lack of formal language management strategies, all parents discussed the importance of their children having knowledge of the Polish language. Martyna expressed the sentiment that she “will continue to encourage them to always speak Polish at home even though I wouldn’t have strict Polish only rules” (II5). Dawid described how his sons were fluent in both English and Polish and as a result, he was happy for them to use both languages at home:

Now the boys switch between English and Polish TV and switch between talking Polish and English to each other. We don’t put pressure on them to speak a language but we naturally speak Polish as a family in the house. (II3)

Similarly, Ewa expressed that “we have Polish and Irish TV because we like the children to watch both English and Polish cartoons and TV programmes” (II6).

Wioletta clearly communicated the fact that she didn’t enforce Polish language use at home and explained that “when we are speaking Polish at home, we are still using lots of English words” (II2). She clarified this lack of enforcement further:

There are no rules. This is just the way it is. Sometimes the children speak Polish of course, because it is my language but I let them express themselves in whatever language they want ... I never put any pressure on them or myself. (II2)

Such instances are demonstrative of parent-child negotiations and a laissez-faire approach to language policy (Caldas, 2012) which have previously been identified in FLP studies (Curd-Christiansen, 2013b). The desire of parents to raise their children bilingually without exerting pressure on their children or enforcing specific rules was clear during the focus group and individual interviews.

“Polish and English is used in our house”

Eleven out of 12 parents described Polish as the language of the family home and expressed their preference for Polish language use in the home. Despite these declared language ideologies, the data revealed that Polish was not exclusively spoken by parents and children in the family home, and parents also provided many examples of children and siblings using English in the home, as previously discussed. Such discrepancies between declared language ideologies and actual language practices have been highlighted in previous research (Hakuta & D'Andrea, 1992; Kopeliovich, 2010). Daria explained that “it’s natural to just always use Polish with my family” (FG). According to Martyna, “my husband and I speak Polish all the time together and to the children but my daughter Dominika has more English” (II5). Martyna explained that while Dominika spoke English in the childcare setting during the day, “she will know to naturally switch back to Polish when she comes home” (II5).

According to Judyta, “Polish is the language always spoken in our home. We naturally speak Polish all of the time. There is just us and Amelia and there is nobody else in the house who she can speak English with” (II4). Despite this, “if her Polish friends come to our house, they are just speaking English ... so Polish and English is used in our house” (II4). In terms of language socialisation processes, Judyta’s narrative

highlighted the significance of children's interactions with peers and exposure to English in the school and the wider community. Dawid explained that "at home we always use mother tongue and watch Polish TV. From the beginning it was like that. It was very important for me to always use Polish with the children" (II3). When asked to discuss the languages spoken in the family home, Ewa referred to "a mix but naturally more Polish ... So at home for meals and everything, we talk Polish ... the children hear Polish all the time in our home" (II6).

Wioletta differed to all other parents in her perceptions of Polish as the language in her home. She described "lots of English and some Polish" (II2) as the languages spoken in the family home. When describing communication with her youngest son Michael, Wioletta explained:

I might start talking in English. Then Polish. Or I might mix Polish and English.

I will talk in English and he will get it. He takes me more serious when I speak in English. So I need to speak in English so he knows I am serious. (II2)

The family has been described as indispensable and critical when it comes to mother tongue transmission (Fishman, 1991). Wioletta's acceptance of English as her son's preferred language is evidence of her implicit acceptance of English as the more dominant language in the home and the language with which her son identifies. As previously described in Chapter Two, the notion of 'impact belief' refers to parents' conviction of being able to "exercise some sort of control over their children's linguistic functioning" (De Houwer, 1999, p. 83). Wioletta's conviction is perhaps demonstrative of a weak impact belief (De Houwer, 1999), whereby she feels her son takes her "more serious" in English, rather than Polish and in this way it can be assumed that does not feel she has the ability to directly influence her son's language practices through

language management strategies. It can be assumed that this mother's weak impact belief was also shaped by the higher societal status ascribed to English (Bourdieu, 1991).

Summary

The findings clearly revealed parents' declared ideological stance in favour of Polish as the everyday language of the family home. Parents provided examples of socialising their children to use Polish from birth and they also reported the consistent use of Polish in the family home. While parents viewed Polish as their children's first language, regardless of whether their children were born in Poland or Ireland, a lack of formal enforcement of Polish language use in the home was evident. Evidence provided by parents of their children choosing to speak English was demonstrative of the agency that children exercised in relation to language use inside and outside the family home (Fogle & King, 2013; Palviainen & Boyd, 2013). Consequently, the researcher deemed it essential to include children in the second phase of the research by examining their agentic capabilities in terms of language policy in the home.

Polish Language as Important for Children's Learning and Connectedness with Poland

Previous research recognises the importance of analysing language maintenance in the context of *linguistic domains* (Urzúa & Gómez, 2008), with the family being identified as a hugely influential domain for language use and maintenance (Fishman, 1991). As discussed in Chapter 2, the importance of parents having a strong commitment towards the maintenance and development of their children's home language is clearly highlighted in previous research (Arriagada, 2005; Lao, 2004), with

parents being described as the gatekeepers to the home language (Tse, 2001). The findings relating to this theme explore parents' attitudes to their children's Polish language learning in an era of transnationalism and globalisation. This theme will be presented within the following subsections:

- Importance of Polish for transnational movements
- Polish as important for family cohesion and connections with extended family
- Formal Polish language learning as challenging for parents and children
- Impact of educators' advice on parental attitudes to children's language learning

Importance of Polish for transnational movements

The majority of parents felt it was important for their children to learn and maintain the Polish language, and this sentiment was closely aligned with parents' desire to prepare their children for a possible return to Poland in the future. The data revealed that for parents who planned a definite return to Poland in the future, their children's Polish language learning was essential. In this way, parents' views of the instrumental value (Cabau, 2014) of Polish language learning in terms of children's future living in Poland was clear. Ewa, for example, highlighted that "Polish is important because we know that one day we will pack the bags and go home to Poland and there is more pressure in Poland in the education system" (II6). For Gracja, "I definitely want to go back to Poland and I know it will be very difficult for the children even though they already speak Polish ... so we have to keep up the Polish" (FG). Similarly, Karina expressed that "We could go back to Poland so I think Polish school will be very good idea for us" (FG). According to Marcel, "if my children decide to

move back and work in Poland they will need Polish. That is the story” (FG). Previous studies among migrant families have similarly highlighted the view that the home language should be maintained for international use and future employment opportunities (King & Fogle, 2006; Urzúa & Gómez, 2008). Dawid’s cognisance of the benefits of his children having more than one language in an era of transnationalism was clearly evident:

I think it’s great my children are bilingual for their future ... Europe is open now and it’s great you can move easily around and live in different places.

There are so many places where you can have a good life now. (II3)

Patrycja also expressed the feeling that she wanted her sons to continue with their Polish language learning in preparation for a possible future return to Poland:

I don’t know will we go back to Poland but maybe after my sons finish school, they can go to university there ... That’s why I want to keep Polish language and that’s why he does Polish internet school now. (FG)

On the other hand, Daria did not share the opinion of other parents in the focus group, and in response to others describing the importance of formal Polish language learning in preparation for a possible return to Poland, she responded, “No interest in this. I don’t want them getting mixed up with English and I know we will not go back to Poland so I wouldn’t send my children to Polish school here” (FG). This was despite the fact that Daria saw Polish as the language of the family home and as an important aspect of her identity. While the majority of parents who participated in the focus group interview and individual interviews envisaged themselves remaining in Ireland for the foreseeable future, they were also mindful of the possibility of their children returning

to Poland in the future to attend university. Talking about her son's Polish language learning, Natalia referred to her plans to send her son to Polish school:

I'm going to send him to Polish school ... In September he's going to be seven so he will do Polish class because maybe in the future he would also like to go to Poland to study and live ... so it's important. (FG)

Some parents expressed concern that their children would find it too difficult to live in Poland and go to school there if the family returned to Poland. According to Judyta:

I couldn't go back to Poland. You see this is why I am relaxed a little about Amelia learning Polish, but then sometimes I get worried and think 'oh what if she decides to move to Poland in the future?' She wouldn't be able to write or read properly at all. (II4)

Lidia expressed similar concerns that her daughter Jagoda "could not study in Poland. She would not have the language" (II1). Ewa expressed the opinion that all Polish migrant parents should promote their children's Polish language learning due to the possibility of evolving or changing family circumstances:

I know that some people think they will stay here forever but I think it is very important for the children to have Polish as a language in case of a change of family plan or something like that. (II6)

Overall, the findings revealed the transnational nature of families' experiences as espoused by Hirsch and Lee (2018), who deduced that transnational families "have their experiences rooted in more frequent or intended translocations" (p. 882).

Polish as important for family cohesion and connections with extended family

The data clearly revealed the importance that the majority of parents placed on the Polish language for ongoing and maintained contact with extended family members in Poland. Parents described the contact they maintained with extended family members in Poland, by referring to regular visits to family members in Poland. Martyna, for example, described the importance of the Polish language in maintaining family cohesion:

We just speak to them [the children] in Polish all the time. Especially for my family in Poland. They are all there. They don't speak English so my children need to communicate with the family in Polish ... I want them to be able to communicate with their cousins. Especially for Dominika because they are similar age ... Them speaking to my family and communicating is most important for me. (II5)

Martyna and Lidia told stories of Polish relations who migrated to Germany from Poland and their children failed to develop or maintain the Polish language. Both parents described the negative effects of home language loss on family cohesion. According to Martyna, "My cousin moved to Germany years ago and she is now 19 and she has absolutely no Polish and it's so sad for my auntie. She came to visit and couldn't talk to us" (II5). Lidia explained that "my sister lives in Germany but her children are near adults now with no Polish. This is difficult for us and especially when we are trying to talk together" (II1). The literature has considered the positive influence of close and cohesive family relations on HLM over the generations (King & Fogle, 2006; X. Li, 1999; Park & Sarkar, 2007; Tannenbaum & Howie, 2002).

Ewa expressed satisfaction that her children communicated with grandparents and “it’s no problem because they hear Polish all the time. The children have no problems speaking Polish to the family in Poland” (II6). The majority of parents referred to their children spending extended periods of time in Poland over the summer months. For Martyna, “their grandparents are in Poland and they will always be able to go there. My mum is in Ireland at the moment and Dominika is speaking so much Polish at the moment, it’s fantastic” (II5). Lidia also described how her children have spent summers in Poland since they were young:

Jagoda has always loved going to Poland and went to her grandparents every year for maybe two months since we moved here. To be there with grandparents is important for me because they are Irish really. This is the best way for them to keep up their Polish. (II1)

Increased transnational population flows (Martin-Jones & Martin, 2016) and the feasibility of ongoing transnational movement between Poland and Ireland were evident from the findings. This movement was bi-directional, with family members travelling to Poland from Ireland and to Ireland from Poland on a regular basis.

Formal Polish language learning as challenging for parents and children

As highlighted in Chapter 1, children in Irish primary and post-primary schools do not have formal access to Polish language education during the official school day. Polish language learning generally occurs in Polish weekend schools or through Polish government funded online language learning programmes. The data revealed that parents had different viewpoints regarding the necessity and importance of formal Polish language learning. While the majority of parents regarded formal Polish

language learning as important, the data clearly revealed the challenges involved for both parents and children in ensuring this happened. The benefits of supplementary schools for HLM and the preservation of identities have previously been identified in the literature (Creese, Bhatt, Bhojani, & Martin, 2006). The decision of parents not to send their children to Polish weekend school did not equate to a lack of perceived importance or value, and some parents questioned their decision not to send their children to Polish weekend school. According to Judyta, for example:

I was thinking about the weekend schools for learning Polish but I just gave up ... It's very hard with all the hours I work and by the time she does her homework and everything ... There is lots of pressure because there would be extra homework with this too. I wonder if there is any sense in sending her to Polish school. Would this be too much pressure and then she would have no free time at all? (II4)

Concerns around the practicalities of their children attending Polish school were voiced by other parents. According to Ewa:

There is no Polish weekend school here in town. There is one a half hour away but at the weekend, I am working and I don't want to ask my husband to go there on his day off and you have to pay for it and it's another day for children where they have to go to school and learn and it's too much pressure. Also, I know my children would say 'oh no I don't want to go'. (II6)

For parents who sent their children to Polish weekend school in the past, they described the benefits and challenges associated with Polish language learning. According to Dawid:

Every Saturday he went to Polish school for four years. It was every Saturday for four years and it really helped his reading and writing. Nothing in Polish is a problem for him now. But Piotr didn't always want to go. He couldn't understand why he had to go and couldn't play football or just watch TV on Saturday. (II3)

Similar to Dawid's experience of his son not wanting to attend Polish weekend school any longer, Lidia described her daughter's lack of interest in attending Polish weekend school:

Jagoda went to weekend Polish school for one year. It was a lot of extra work and was very expensive to go and to buy all the books. She is not too interested in learning Polish anymore now that she's 17. I think she doesn't want to do the Polish Leaving Certificate because it would be too difficult for her. Polish is a very difficult language to learn especially the grammar and it is so different to learning English also. (II1)

In summary, parents found it difficult to make decisions around their children's attendance at Polish weekend schools. In cases where parents decided not to enrol their children in these schools, it was borne out of a concern around the additional pressures that Polish language learning exerted on both parents and children.

Impact of educators' advice on parental attitudes to children's language learning

The data revealed the conflicting advice given by educators and caregivers to parents regarding their children's language learning. While some parents didn't recall any specific advice given to them, other parents were advised by caregivers in childcare

settings, preschool educators and primary school teachers in relation to language practices in the home. During the focus group interview, a conversation between parents elucidated the contrasting advice given to them regarding children's language use in the home. Gracja described the advice given to her from her child's preschool educator to continue speaking Polish at home:

One day they asked me 'so which language do you speak in the home?' and I said 'Polish'. And I said I try to teach English sometimes. And they said to me to speak Polish. They said 'You are Polish. Your husband is Polish. This is your language at home'. And I thought my grammar is not too good and I don't want to teach them wrong. So now I relax and only say things in English I am fully sure it's ok to say and correct. (FG)

Following Gracja's input in the discussion, Marcel described contrasting advice he was given by educators, but chose not to follow:

I was told it would be good to speak English with children in the home and I really did not like this idea and thought it was not the best for us. So we didn't use English in the home really. (FG)

Similar to Gracja, Dawid was given advice from a primary school teacher to continue Polish language use in the home when his son Piotr started school:

At first when we came here I was just worrying about English and thinking because we are using Polish at home, will this be worse for their English? My English was not good and I was worrying about not speaking English at home. But Piotr's teacher at the time gave me advice. I still remember her sentence. The teacher said 'Piotr has to continue his mother language and learn it and

watch TV and hear stories in Polish. I will always remember this advice. I thought ‘yes, of course. He is growing and he needs to learn his mother language’. We decided to use Polish at home all of the time after this. (II3)

Feeling concerned that her daughter’s language development was less-developed in Polish than in English, Judyta described how she asked her daughter’s primary school teacher for advice:

I spoke to her teacher two years ago because I was worried about this and I asked her what should I do? I was wondering should I teach her the Polish language and her teacher said ‘No. English is her first language, so stay with that first and then worry about the Polish language.’ So I go with that and I just think about the English for now. (II4)

The contrasting advice given to parents in relation to Polish language use in the home highlights the challenges faced by parents in raising bilingual children. While some parents held deep rooted knowledge about the importance and benefits of home language maintenance and use in the home, Judyta chose to follow the advice of her daughter’s primary school teacher who recognised Judyta’s daughter’s first language as English. Despite official educational language policy and curricula at early childhood and primary school level reflecting the importance and benefits of affirming and acknowledging pupils’ home languages (DES, 2019; NCCA, 2015), the findings from the current study revealed that this does not always translate into practice in the classroom. In a study of second-generation Turkish parents in the Netherlands, Bezicioğlu-Göktolga similarly asserted how primary school teachers demonstrate conflicting opinions and beliefs regarding the role and importance of children’s home language. Previous literature in the Irish context similarly reveal the contrasting

attitudes towards home language use held among educators, with some studies revealing positive attitudes (e.g. Kirwan, 2013) and others revealing negative attitudes (e.g. Devine & McGillicuddy, 2016). Parents' narratives in the current study illustrate how educators' differing beliefs and knowledge about home language maintenance and use translates into the everyday advice they give to parents. In this way, the advice given is varied and contrasting. The researcher was eager to further explore the impact of such advice on FLP during the second phase of the research by eliciting parents' and children's views and experiences.

Summary

The importance parents placed on their children maintaining and learning Polish in preparation for a possible return to Poland in the future highlights the transnational nature of participants' migrant experiences. Parents' perceptions of Polish as significant for maintaining transnational connections with Poland, and for fostering family cohesion and connections with extended family members in Poland was also evident. Despite parents' interest in and willingness to provide for formal Polish language learning opportunities for their children, parents also revealed the challenges associated with doing so for both parents and children. In relation to the impact of educators' advice on parents' attitudes to their children's language learning and practices, conflicting discourses occurred among participants regarding the types of advice given to them by educators and the willingness of parents to take educators' advice on board.

English Language Dominance Alters and Shapes FLP Formation and Enactment

Considering that previous studies of migrant families have highlighted a preference for dominant language use over the heritage language over time (Gafaranga, 2010; Portes & Hao, 1998; Portes & Schauffler, 1994; Rumbaut, 2007, 2009), an important focal point of discussion with parents was the role and positioning of English in FLP. The fact that parents participating in the first phase of the research had children ranging in age from 1–18 years ensured that the differing opinions and experiences of parents were mirrored in the findings. The researcher was cognisant that in communities where English is the dominant language, children are at risk of becoming monolingual in English as a result of its high status and limited opportunities to learn their heritage languages (Baker, 2011; King & Fogle, 2006). It was therefore important to get a sense of parents' attitudes and ideologies around the English language. The findings relating to this theme are presented under the following three subsections:

- Children's engagement with school and society and increased English language use
- English as a global language and linguistic capital
- Conflicting language practices in the home.

Children's engagement with school and society and increased English language use

There was clear evidence of language socialisation processes occurring across multiple settings (Ochs, 1999; Ochs & Schieffelin, 2011), which contributed to children's increased use of English. All parents stated that children's exposure to

English in childcare settings, school and the local community had resulted in their children speaking more English inside and outside the home. As previously described, parents expressed the agency which their children demonstrated in relation to their language use in the home and this could be attributed to language socialisation processes which extended beyond the home and to children's participation in school and the community (Duff, 2014). Parents with young children described their children's gradual increased use of English over time. According to Ewa, "they mix Polish and English now because they use English at school and preschool". Since her daughter started primary school, Ewa noticed "if the children are outside playing in the estate with children, they are speaking in English" (II6). Martyna observed that when she dropped her daughter to the childcare setting, "everything is in English because she has arrived [at the childcare setting] and everything is in English after this. And she's surrounded by Irish kids" (II5). Pauwels (2008) asserted that school-age children are particularly prone to language shift if the school prohibits home language use.

A conversation between parents who participated in the focus group interviewed clearly illuminated a joint consensus that English language use in the home increased over time among their children.

Patrycja: He was in playschool here and when he started junior infants he had some problems to speak English for maybe four months. We speak Polish at home most of the time but now when he is playing *Playstation* or with friends he uses English all the time ... And when the neighbours' children come to our house, they always speak English to each other.

Gracja: Well, my children play together and talk in English. It really is lots of English, even Polish friends coming to our house. The children all speak English together now. It's just like that for them now.

Marcel: I did see that children were speaking more English in the home because of playschool. All the time, it's more and more English now.

Similar sentiments were also expressed during individual interviews with parents. Similarly, Dawid noticed the impact of primary school on his two sons' increased use of English. While Dawid described the language of the home as Polish,

what I find is that when Kuba is with Polish friends, they speak English. This is common I think for kids from Poland who are living here a long time, maybe ten years because of the school, and they are walking around the house speaking English. (II3)

Parents with teenage children described their children's particular preference for English language use in the family home. In many cases, parents felt that their children found it easier to speak and express themselves in English. According to Wioletta:

Kamil, because he is here more years than he was in Poland he prefers to communicate in English ... In English he can speak better. He says 'I use English in school so I am more familiar with it' ... You see I know everything he does is in English now. He goes to the movies. They are in English. He goes to school. Everything is in English. He speaks English with many of his friends. He was eight when he left Poland and he is now 18 years old. English is his language I know. (II2)

Wioletta demonstrated an acute awareness of how her son had been socialised into English language use. Furthermore, it can be asserted that there is a high risk of language shift occurring due to the pressures of assimilation from the English-dominant peer group exerted on Kamil (Caldas, 2006; Rumbaut, 2009). Lidia also expressed a similar feeling that her teenage daughter Jagoda “thinks in English first” and did not display an interest in speaking or using Polish (II1). Similarly, Lidia’s son Kuba wants “English all the time” (II2). While Lidia described how her children watched Polish television and spoke Polish with their parents in the family home, they both displayed a preference for English language use outside of their communication with parents. Previous research has similarly highlighted a shift from the home language to the more dominant language due to pressures of assimilation from the dominant group (Caldas, 2006; Fishman, 1966; Hornberger, 2002; Rumbaut, 2009; Zhang, 2004).

English as a global language and linguistic capital

The data clearly revealed the value that parents ascribed to English as a global language and all parents referred to the potential benefits of English for their children’s futures. According to Patrycja, “Everybody speaks English in the whole world so it is important for them to have English” (FG). According to Judyta, “It’s a great benefit to Amelia to have English” (II4). Judyta discussed the benefit of her daughter having English if she returned to Poland because “it’s so great to have English, even in Poland. English is the most important thing if you want to get a good job” (II4). Dawid expressed similar opinions, stating “I also think English is very very important, especially for travelling to other countries, so I am very happy we all have English as a language” (II3). Marcel expressed the feeling that “the fact my girls will have fluent English is like a great reason to be in Ireland” (FG). It was evident that all parents

viewed English as *linguistic capital* (Bourdieu, 1991) for their children and that English language acquisition has been a positive outcome of the family's migration experience.

While the majority of parents emphasised the benefits of their children having English as part of their linguistic repertoire, Wioletta expressed the opinion that English was a more important language than Polish for herself and her family. Talking about her youngest son Michael who was born in Ireland: "He needs English from the beginning for everything ... Can you imagine him without English?" (II2). Despite Wioletta's preference to express herself in Polish, her language ideologies around the importance of English may be linked to the economic value and sociopolitical power attached to the English language (Curd-Christiansen, 2009).

Conflicting language practices in the home

Some parents described the contrasting language practices between parents and children in the home. As described, parents reported how their children preferred to speak and use English and parents demonstrated a preference for speaking and using Polish in the home. Parents provided examples of how such contrasting ideologies led to conflict in the family home. Wioletta described the struggles between her and her son Kamil with regard to languages spoken in the home: "He wants to speak English and I want to speak Polish because sometimes for me it is easier to express myself in Polish and not in English you know" (II2). Lidia also described contrasting language practices between herself and her daughter Jagoda:

When Jagoda texts me on the phone, she texts me in English and I text her back in Polish ... she can read Polish books but she prefers to read in English. You

see it's the opposite for me. Jagoda thinks in English first and I think first in Polish. (II1)

Lidia described similar occurrences for her son Kuba: "I encourage him to speak Polish to us. But when he's angry, it's only English he will use ... His thinking is in English. English all the time" (II1). Referring to his children's insistence on speaking English to each other, Marcel explained that "it is like there is the English/Polish conflict in the house. Me and my wife want Polish. The girls want English" (FG). Parents' descriptions of these conflicting language practices convey the interplay between parents and children and the joint construction of FLP (King et al., 2008; Palviainen & Boyd, 2013).

Summary

It was apparent from the data that parents recognised their children's gradual increase in English language use resulted from numerous influences at play that were external to the family home, such as the school and peer group. Children's increased English language use over time can be attributed to the wider sociolinguistic, sociocultural, socioeconomic and sociopolitical contexts which impact and shape FLP formation and enactment in the home (Curd-Christiansen, 2018). Parents' descriptions of their children's preferences for English language use in the home with siblings and resulting conflicting language practices of parents and children illuminate the interconnected relationship between family and society in FLP formation and enactment. Nonetheless, all parents agreed on the value and benefits of the English language for their children's education and future prospects, seeing it as *linguistic capital* (Bourdieu, 1991).

Identity as a Fluid Construct Within Polish Transnational Families

As discussed in Chapter 2, language and identity are inextricably linked, with language playing a central role in defining one's cultural identity and social identity within a social group. Hall (1990) referred to the fact that cultural identities are open to constant change and transformation. The findings relating to this theme are presented under the following subsections:

- Identity as fluid and contradictory
- Cultural identity and the local Polish community.

Identity as fluid and contradictory

Globalisation and increased transnationalism have led to identity becoming a more fluid and complex concept (Farias & Asaba, 2013). All the parents in the study were first-generation migrants but many of their children lived in Ireland for significant lengths of time, or were born in Ireland. All parents referred to themselves as Polish, and this identification was linked to the Polish culture and language. According to Ewa, "I like to have my own Polish things that make me think about my country" (II6). Similarly, Judyta referred to her sense of Polish identity and how she fostered this:

We have the Polish TV at home and this makes me feel I'm in Poland. My house is more Polish. If you look in my estate, you can see all the white curtains and you will know we are from Eastern Europe and I have the flowers in the window like in Poland so I still feel Polish and my house looks Polish. (II4)

Maintaining a sense of Polish identity was important for the majority of parents. Daria explained that “I talk Polish. I have Polish stuff in my home and I cook the Polish meals. Even my house looks Polish so I guess I feel very Polish” (FG).

While all parents themselves identified as Polish, they expressed different opinions regarding their children’s cultural identifications. Some parents described their children as “completely Polish” (Marcel, FG), while other parents referred to their children as Irish. Lidia, for example, explained “They are Irish really ... Kuba was born here so he is even more Irish ... I would say his language is English and not Polish” (II1). Lidia’s belief that her son’s identity was enacted through language has been mirrored in previous FLP studies (e.g. Curdt-Christiansen, 2009) . Other parents described their children as Irish and Polish, reflecting a hybrid identification. According to Martyna, “I suppose I see Ireland as my children’s home now because I was only 18 when I moved here and they were born here and everything ... but their grandparents are in Poland and Poland will always be home too ... I suppose they are Irish and Polish really” (II5). Talking about her youngest son Michael, Wioletta said “He is Irish. This [Ireland] is his country now” (II2). Parents’ and children’s contrasting identities can be ascribed to the varying sociocultural experiences that different generations and individual members of the same family can experience, and these are important aspects to consider within the field of FLP (Zhu Hua & Li Wei, 2016).

Cultural identity and the local Polish community

As described in Chapter 2, social identity theory considers individuals’ categorisation of the social world and their perceptions of themselves as members of various social groups. There was a large Polish community present in the local area and

the majority of study participants described their close connections with the local Polish community. Ewa referred to the importance and benefits of feeling part of the Polish community:

Every second house in this estate has a Polish family living there. You know this makes me feel happier and I can be more myself with these people. Eleven years ago when I moved here, I knew nobody. I worked and stayed in my house alone. Now it's so different and I love having my Polish friends. (II6)

Ewa described how “for me now, I forget that I am not in Poland ... We cook Polish food and invite Polish friends to our houses and we go to their houses ... and so it is very easy to feel home here now” (II6). Martyna also described her everyday contact with people in the local community:

I have about ten very good Polish friends in the town and we go out together and do things together in our houses and for special Polish occasions. And it's funny, I am always meeting loads of people in the Polish grocery shop and it's so lovely to see them. (II5)

Judyta held similar views about being a part of the local Polish community and described how “I love to go to the local Polish mass on Sundays and meet with other Polish families because we all have the similar experience to move to Ireland” (II4). Lidia recalled arriving in Ireland and “I had no friends. I was the only Polish woman here at the time. It was very hard. And then when Jagoda started school, I met another Polish woman” (II1). Through her regular work in a local shopping centre, Lidia reported her everyday encounters with other Polish people:

I don't really speak English because there are four Polish together and we are a group. 17 years ago when I came here was so different because there were not many Polish people here. I was so lonely. For me it's like I like Polish people but sometimes if I'm out I prefer not to be with them now because it's good to be with other people also. (II1)

Lidia's identification with both the Polish and Irish communities in her local area revealed her membership within two social groups, conveying "a more diffuse social identity" (Giles & Johnson, 1987).

This sense of involvement in and identification with the local Polish community was not shared by all participants, however. According to Wioletta, "if I am honest with you I can tell you that I avoid it" (II2). Dawid also described his lack of participation within the local Polish community:

I find the Polish community here a little strange. I feel separate from them. They don't really help each other ... We are alone and have no Polish family or friends here. But I am happy with my life here. We are from the centre of Poland and there is nobody here from that place so we don't feel any comradeship between Polish people here. (II3)

The experiences of Dawid and Wioletta did not reflect the experiences of other participants in the current study, or indeed the experiences of Polish migrants in Komito and Bates' (2009) study who overwhelmingly identified the vast majority of their friendships as being with other Polish nationals in Ireland. As the findings from the first phase of the study clearly highlighted the majority of parents' participation within the Polish community in Ireland, it can be asserted that these families are more likely to

have high levels of ethnolinguistic vitality (Giles & Johnson, 1987). Despite the presence of a significant Polish community and apparently high levels of ethnolinguistic vitality, parents' reports of children's increased preference for English language use and declined use of Polish over time implies that language socialisation processes and children's interaction with others in the wider sociolinguistic environment (Curd-Christiansen, 2018) has continued to influence children's evolving language practices. The second phase of the study will examine these language socialisation process and their impact on language practices in the home.

Summary

The data highlighted the inextricable link between language and identity. Parents revealed the fluid and complex nature of identity construction within the family by drawing individual family members' cultural and linguistic identifications. Some parents highlighted how parents' and children's identities could be in conflict with each other. While the majority of parents saw involvement in the local Polish community as an important aspect of their cultural lives, this was not a universal feeling among all parents. It can be concluded that identity formation among Polish families in Ireland is fluid and complex.

Conclusion

In this chapter, the findings from the first phase of the study were presented according to four themes generated during data analysis. The findings articulated the joint role that children and parents played in FLP formation and enactment, with clear evidence provided by parents of how their children demonstrated agency in their language use and how this influenced FLP. The significance of children's Polish

language learning and a continued connectivity with Poland was articulated by parents. The impact of English language dominance in the wider community on children's increased use of English and resulting conflicting language practices across generations in the home was evident from the data. Notwithstanding this, it was clear that parents considered English as valuable linguistic capital for their children and they viewed English as a global language with status. Finally, the findings revealed the fluid and contradictory nature of identity construction within Polish transnational families.

Reflection on the findings from the first phase of the study and the themes generated during data analysis enabled me to plan accordingly for the second phase of the research. In view of parents' descriptions of the pivotal role played by children, I planned to gain further insight into how child agency impacted on language practices within the homes of the five families participating in the second phase of the research. I decided that the voice of the child needed to be central to the second phase of the research, and that the inclusion of children as participants in the second phase of the study was essential.

Taking into account parents' depictions of children and parents jointly contributing to FLP construction, it was decided that individual interviews with parents and children as well as family interviews would also be undertaken to triangulate the evidence and gain insight into how all members of the family contributed to FLP formation and enactment. It became clear from the first phase of the research that researcher visits to family homes and sustained contact with family members over 14 months during the second phase of the study would yield important information about how all family members contribute to FLP construction, and that it was important to examine how parents and children view the role of the Polish language and how they

manage Polish language learning and maintenance. Finally, the findings from the first phase of the research clearly highlighted the fact that English language dominance in the home increased as a result of children's engagement with the education system and wider society. It was therefore deemed important to explore how the possible dominance of the English language in family homes impacted on FLP. It can be concluded that the ability of parents and children to negotiate FLP was apparent, and this negotiation of FLP was more fully explored during the second phase of the research.

As described in Chapter 3, ethnography was deemed the most appropriate methodology to investigate the enactment of FLP and a case study approach was employed to investigate FLP within individual homes during the second phase of the research. Doing so enabled the researcher to generate themes common across the cases and to make comparisons across families. Five families were chosen to participate in the second phase of the research and researcher visits to each home were planned over a period of 14 months. Chapter 5 presents the findings and discussion from the second phase of the study.

Chapter 5

Findings and Discussion: Phase 2

Introduction

The second phase of the research entailed ethnographic case studies of five Polish migrant and transnational families. As previously mentioned, the data gathered during the first phase of the research served as a departure point for the design of the methodological framework and choice of data collection methods for this phase of the study. As discussed in Chapter 3, it was important to examine the ideologies, practices and management strategies of “different family members at different times” (Kayam & Hirsch, 2013), and therefore data collection took place over a period of 14 months. The data collection methods chosen for the second phase of the study are outlined below:

- A semi-structured interview with individual parents
- A semi-structured interview with the family
- A semi-structured interview with individual children over the age of seven years.
- Six participant observations of naturally-occurring events in the home: mealtimes and playtime/interactions between siblings
- Audio and video recordings of selected natural-occurring events in the home (researcher not present)
- Reflective language diary for children and young adults over 12 years of age.

The findings are a triangulation of all data sets from each of the individual five case studies which went through rigorous thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). A constructivist stance was taken to investigate the research questions and the reflexivity of

the researcher was crucial as she continuously reflected on what she herself brought to the research process. These reflections were recorded in a fieldnotes diary and are drawn upon and referenced throughout the discussion of findings. Using the data sets from all five families, four themes were generated, defined and named, and each theme was divided into a number of sub-themes, as outlined below:

Theme	Sub-themes
1. Children's Perspectives of Language Learning and Development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Polish language learning as beneficial and challenging • Self-evaluation of Polish language knowledge and competence • Visiting Poland and Polish language learning • Parents' pivotal role in children's Polish language learning and use • English dominance, English language competence and linguistic capital • Irish language learning • Influence of school, peers and friendships on language practices • Bilingualism and multilingualism as resources
2. Parents' Perspectives of Children's Language Learning and Development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Polish language learning and language management strategies • English as linguistic capital • Bilingualism and multilingualism as resources • Influence of school and educators on language practices • Irish language as "another language" • Children as language brokers and parents as inferior English language learners
3. Language Practices in the Family Home	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • English as the language that "crept in" • "Sometimes it's Polish and sometimes it's English": Parents' perspectives of language practices • "I guess it's Polish with parents and then English after that": Children's perspectives of language practices • Family language practices as a cause for conflict

4. Identity, Language and Transnationalism as Inextricably Linked

- Polish language as important for family cohesion
- Social media and digital technology for maintaining connections with Poland
- Polish language as important for cultural identity
- Polish language as important for transnational connections with Poland

Each theme and sub-theme generated from the data will be discussed with appropriate reference to the literature and the theoretical framework adopted for the study as explored in Chapter 2. Findings from the first phase of the study highlighted the importance of reflecting the perspectives of children and parents during the second phase of the research. Table 5.1 below is a reminder of the participants from the second phase of the study.

Table 5.1

Families Participating in Phase 2

Family	Parents	Children	Transcript reference codes
Family A: Kowalski	Matyas (Father) Sonia (Mother)	Zofia (16 years) Agata (13 years)	Individual interview with Sonia (A1) Individual interview with Zofia (A2) Individual interview with Agata (A3) <i>Kowalski</i> family interview (A4) Reflective language diary for Zofia (A5) Reflective language diary for Agata (A6) Individual interview with Matyas (A7)
Family B: Lewandowski	Hanna (Mother)	Ola (3 years)	Individual interview with Hanna (B1) <i>Lewandowski</i> family interview (B2)
Family C: Kropkowska	Oskar (Father) Malgorzata (Mother)	Henryk (17 years)	<i>Kropkowska</i> family interview (C1) Individual interview 1 with Henryk (C2) Individual interview 2 with Henryk (C3) Reflective language diary for Henryk (C4) Individual interview with Oskar (C5)

Family D: Mazur	Jakub (Father) Aneta (Mother)	Zuzanna (7 years) Maja (5 years)	Individual interview 1 with Aneta (D1) Individual interview 2 with Aneta (D2) <i>Mazur</i> family interview (D3) Individual interview with Zuzanna (D4) Individual interview with Jakub (D5)
Family E: Nowak	Bartek (Father) Bozena (Mother)	Kacper (16 years) Filip (14 years) Szymon (11 years) Antoni (5 years)	<i>Nowak</i> family interview (E1) Reflective language diary for Szymon (E2) Reflective language diary for Filip (E3) Reflective language diary for Kacper (E4) Individual interview with Bozena (E5) Individual interview with Bartek (E6) Individual interview with Szymon (E7) Individual interview with Filip (E8) Individual interview with Kacper (E9)

The first theme focuses on children's perspectives of language learning and development. The findings encapsulated in this theme elucidate children's voices and depict their agentic capabilities and self-management in terms of language learning and use.

Children's Perspectives of Language Learning and Development

While parental influence positively shapes children's continued use and development of the home language, this alone does not ensure continued progress, success or higher levels of literacy development in the home language (Alba et al., 2002). Individual effort on the part of the learner is also essential in this regard (Kim & Pyun, 2014) and a number of previous studies concluded that a decision to maintain the home language is ultimately made by the child (McKay & Wong, 1996; Schechter & Bayley, 1997). I therefore felt that children's perspectives of language use in the family were central to the research. This first theme focuses on children's agency and self-management of languages, including Polish, English, Irish and other languages. Ten children from five families, ranging in age from 3–17 years participated in the research. Four of these children were born in Ireland and were second-generation migrants. Six of the children were first-generation migrants born in Poland and their ages on arrival in Ireland ranged from 2 months to 5 years. While younger children expressed views around their knowledge of languages, greater amounts of data were yielded with children over the age of 12. The voices and agency of younger children were considered through my observations of participants in the home, analysis of video and audio recordings from the home and data gathered from parents. The researcher used a combination of data sets to build up an accurate picture of children's contributions to FLP. Data collection methods were differentiated for suitability across three different age groups as outlined below:

- Group 1: Under the age of 7 (Ola, Maja, Antoni)
- Group 2: Ages 7–12 (Zuzanna, Szymon)
- Group 3: Ages 13–17 (Agata, Zofia, Kacper, Filip, Henryk)

The table below groups children according to individual families and provides an overview of information relating to the children's birthplaces, age on arrival in Ireland (if applicable), details on their education and language learning and the data sets drawn upon for individual children.

Table 5.2

Children Participating in Phase 2

Family name*	Child name*	Age (in years)	Age arriving in Ireland (if applicable)	Current education	Polish language learning	Other language learning	Data sets
Kowalski	Zofia	16	3	Transition Year (Post-primary school)	<p>Attended Polish weekend school for three years.</p> <p>Was attending Polish school in preparation for Polish Leaving Certificate at the time of the study.</p>	<p>Irish</p> <p>German</p>	<p>Family interview.</p> <p>Semi-structured interview.</p> <p>Researcher observations and fieldnotes.</p> <p>Reflective language diaries.</p> <p>Additional language artefacts.</p>
	Agata	13	2	Second year (Post-primary school)	Attended Polish weekend school for three years.	<p>Irish</p> <p>German</p>	<p>Family interview.</p> <p>Semi-structured interview.</p> <p>Researcher observations and fieldnotes.</p> <p>Reflective language diaries.</p> <p>Additional language artefacts.</p>
Lewandowski	Ola	3	2 months old	Preschool	Was attending Polish-medium preschool two days per week at the time of the study.	N/A	<p>Family interview.</p> <p>Researcher observations and fieldnotes.</p> <p>Video recordings of family and play interactions in the home.</p>

Kropkowska	Henryk	17	5	Fifth year (Post- primary school)	Consistently attended Polish school from age 7. Was attending Polish school in preparation for Polish Leaving Certificate at the time of the study.	Irish French	Family interview. Semi-structured interviews. Researcher observations and fieldnotes. Reflective language diaries. Additional language artefacts.
Mazur	Zuzanna	7	Born in Ireland	First class (Primary school)	Consistently attended online Polish school from age 5.	Irish	Family interview. Researcher observations and fieldnotes. Semi-structured interview and conversations. Video recordings of family and play interactions in the home.
	Maja	5	Born in Ireland	Preschool	Has recently enrolled in online Polish school.	Irish	Family interview. Researcher observations and fieldnotes. Video recordings of family and play interactions in the home.
Nowak	Kacper	16	4	Transition Year (Post- primary school)	Attended Polish weekend school for two years.	Irish German	Family interview. Semi-structured interview. Researcher observations and fieldnotes. Reflective language diaries. Additional language artefacts.
	Filip	14	2	Second year	Attended Polish weekend school for two years.	Irish	Family interview. Semi-structured interviews.

				(Post- primary school)		German	Researcher observations and fieldnotes. Reflective language diaries. Additional language artefacts.
	Szymon	11	Born in Ireland	Fourth class (Primary school)	No formal Polish language learning.	Irish	Family interview. Semi-structured individual interview. Researcher observations and fieldnotes. Reflective language diaries. Additional language artefacts.
	Antoni	5	Born in Ireland	Junior infants (Primary school)	No formal Polish language learning	Irish	Family interview. Researcher observations and fieldnotes. Video recordings of family and play interactions in the home.

*Pseudonyms have been chosen to represent family names and individual children's names.

According to Wilson (2020), “little attention has been paid to the variety of children’s perspective and bilingual experiences” in previous research (p. 1). The current study draws on the concept of child agency within language socialisation research (Fogle, 2012; Revis, 2019), and examines children’s individual perspectives of their own language ideologies, language management strategies and language practices. The voices and perspectives of children are central to the current study, with the research focusing specifically on the joint construction of FLP. This theme is now discussed under a number of sub-themes.

Polish language learning as beneficial and challenging

Children described the key role that Polish language learning has played, and in many cases continues to play, in their lives. Across age groups, the data revealed children’s diverse experiences of Polish language learning and varying levels of effort made by children to maintain and develop the Polish language. Overall, there was a high level of commitment evident among children towards Polish language learning. In the context of the current study, formal Polish language learning refers to children’s attendance at Polish weekend schools or participation in online Polish school (see Chapter 1 for a description of these). Nine children (n=10) had previously engaged in or were engaging in formal Polish language learning at the time the research took place. While Antoni—who was 5 years old and was born in Ireland—was the only exception to this, his parents ensured he engaged in informal and incidental Polish language learning in the home. His mother Bozena discussed her plans to enrol him in Polish weekend school in the future: “We will need to send Antoni to the Polish school because he will need this” (E5).

As discussed in Chapter 1, children do not have the opportunity to study Polish as part of the official school day in Ireland. Polish classes within privately-run and Polish

government funded Polish language schools, also known as weekend schools, take place outside of the regular school day and during weekends. More recently, the availability of online language schools set up by the Polish government has meant that Polish migrant and transnational families can access Polish language learning from their homes. As espoused by Creese et al. (2006), these complementary schools “represent individual and community attempts to organise themselves voluntarily to privilege other histories, languages and cultures not easily available to them in the mainstream education” (p. 25). The length of time that children spent engaging in formal Polish language learning varied considerably across families. While some children had attended Polish weekend schools on an ongoing basis from a young age, others had attended for limited periods of time and were no longer attending at the time the research took place (see Table 5.2 for a record of children’s engagement with formal language learning).

Henryk attended Polish weekend school since the age of five and had continued to do so. Henryk reported that his sister Gertruda also consistently attended Polish weekend school for the whole duration of her primary and post-primary education. Filip, Szymon, Agata and Zofia had previously attended Polish weekend school for a number of years, ranging for periods of two to four years. While Agata and Zofia were not attending Polish school at the time of the study, they discussed their intentions to return to a Polish weekend school in preparation for the Leaving Certificate Polish examination (see Chapter 1 for a description of this examination). Similarly, Filip and his brother Kacper suggested the possibility of returning to a Polish weekend school in preparation for the Leaving Certificate Polish examination. At the time of research, Maja and Zuzanna were enrolled in a Polish online school run by the Polish government in Polish-based language schools: this language learning involved online participation at Polish language classes from the family

home during the weekend period. It also necessitated travelling to Poland to sit state examinations in a designated school in the family's home town in Poland each summer.

The data revealed that children's access to Polish language learning varied across families and was context dependent. Henryk's consistent attendance at Polish weekend school from the age of 5 was feasible for him as his mother Malgorzata was a teacher in the local Polish weekend school in their hometown. For the other four families, however, attending Polish school required significant effort and travel during weekend periods. As highlighted in Chapter 1, Polish weekend schools are privately run for the most part, are not currently located in all towns and areas of Ireland and their provision is very much dependent on those who decide to establish the schools and where they decide to do so. The children themselves were cognisant of the effort involved in travelling to Polish weekend school. Zofia, for example, recalled "there was a two-hour return journey every weekend when my parents signed me up to a Polish school and I went there every Saturday" (A2).

The benefits of attending Polish weekend school were identified by the majority of children over the age of 7 who had attended a weekend school. These included the development of Polish literacy skills, increased knowledge about Polish history and culture, and interactions with other Polish children. Overall, it became clear from the data that children perceived attendance at Polish school as a valuable and positive investment in their language learning. Zofia's acknowledgement that "that's where I learned to read and write and learn all about Polish grammar and stuff" and her perception that "this is the benefit of the Polish school. I can speak Polish, I can write fluently, and I can read everything in Polish no problem either" (A2) highlights the success of Polish weekend schools in fostering children's Polish language learning. In addition to developing her

Polish language skills, Zofia maintained that “I did enjoy going there. We made lots of contacts from Poland there too” (A2). Similarly, Zofia’s sister Agata spoke of the enjoyment associated with, and the benefits of attending Polish school at weekends:

Every Saturday we went and it was fun. We learned lots of grammar and we also had tests in grammar but we also learned Polish history and learned all about what happened in our past which is good. All the teachers were Polish and the library had all the Polish books and it was so different to school. I am so glad I can read and write in Polish. (A3)

Kacper also highlighted the benefits of meeting other Polish children his age as “you know you have lots in common with them if they’re also learning Polish” (E9).

Some children demonstrated an acute understanding of how non-attendance at Polish weekend schools could have had negative consequences for their language learning, including not being literate in Polish or not being able to communicate with family members in Poland. Szymon expressed the feeling that “I don’t really get the opportunity to read and write at home because I’m always out or in school” (E2). This conveys the limited opportunities many of the children received during the day to use Polish and the significance of the family home for Polish language use. Agata claimed that “my reading and writing in Polish wouldn’t be that good if I didn’t go to Polish school” (A6). Similarly, her sister Zofia was aware that “If I couldn’t write Polish then I wouldn’t be able to communicate with my family in Poland” (A2). Even though Agata was not attending Polish school at the time of the research, “I still like keep my Polish books for checking grammar” (A3). As a result of his own positive experiences of attending Polish school, Szymon maintained the viewpoint that his younger brother Antoni, who was 5 years old, should also attend Polish weekend school in the future:

I think Antoni should go at least for a bit because it really did help us, even like for history, and in Polish school, it's not just like world history. It's specific Polish history, like everything to do with Poland. (E7)

Agata and Szymon's interest in learning about Polish history revealed a strong sense of cultural identity (Norton, 1997) and is demonstrative of how Polish complementary schools can support the cultural development of Polish children in Ireland and subsequently influence identity formation in Polish migrant children (Creese et al., 2006; Machowska-Kosciak, 2017; Pedrak, 2019). It can also be asserted that older children displayed an awareness of how attending Polish weekend schools contributed to their personal and language development.

Despite children's positive attitudes towards attending Polish school, a number of key challenges associated with attendance at Polish schools were highlighted by the majority of children. Children as young as 7 years old articulated these challenges. Discussing her online Polish classes, Zuzanna expressed that "I don't really like it anymore. There is all this work to do and my mommy makes me do all the homework and then I have my other homework to do too" (D4). Many of the challenges centred around a lack of free time for other interests and hobbies due to attendance at weekend school, additional workload and technical difficulties with learning the language. The level of effort and investment involved in engaging in formal Polish language learning was clearly articulated by the majority of children over the age of 12. Henryk described the initial challenges he faced with learning Polish:

It was hard for me because I had never gone to school in Poland. It was a totally new thing for me. I wasn't that good at reading. For the first three years in Polish school, I didn't feel confident. (C1)

As Henryk moved to Ireland at the age of 5, his first schooling experience was through the medium of English. It is clear from the above excerpt that his initial fears around learning Polish and attending Polish weekend school were linked to his self-confidence and perceptions of his language learning and development. The high level of commitment and diligence involved in attending Polish weekend school was described by Henryk:

I go to Polish school every Friday. I finish school at 1pm and I just want to go home and relax but I have to go to Polish school at 4pm. I am happy that I am doing it but it does not stop the fact that it's still hard for me to go to Polish school.
(C1)

Henryk's assertion highlights the conflict that can exist between a desire to engage in Polish language learning and the sacrifices children need to make in order to do so. The following extract from my reflective fieldnotes further exemplifies children's dedication to and self-management of their language learning:

I was really struck today by Henryk's dedication to Polish language learning and consistent attendance at Polish weekend school. He talked about the fact that most Polish children take some breaks from going to the weekend school for a few years. He explained that this was never an option for him because learning Polish didn't always come that easy to him. He is constantly thinking about the future and he can see the long term benefits of the effort he is putting in now. (Researcher reflective fieldnotes)

Zofia emphasised the growing demands that Polish weekend school places on learners as they get older: "When I was young I didn't mind it, but as I got older, like fifth and sixth class, and the work piled up because there was a lot more homework" (A2). Filip, who previously attended Polish school for a number of years explained that "It was lots of

extra stress, we had lots of essays and it was a trek to get to the school and I was like ‘how about no?’” (E8). Talking about himself and his brother, Filip described Polish school as “annoying for Kacper and I”, maintaining that “I struggled in Polish school and was put a year lower than what I am in back at usual school” (E8). Despite this, Filip expressed the feeling that “the first couple of years are important” (E1) when describing children’s Polish language learning and development. His brother Szymon expressed conflicting feelings about Polish school:

It was cool but kind of annoying ... you know the way normally on Friday and Saturday, you are relaxing and having fun, but with Polish school, you have only practically one day of peace. (E1)

Overall, it is clear from the data that HLM and development became more challenging for children as they moved through mainstream education and had increasing school workloads. The children themselves were very aware of the fact that attending Polish schools equated to less free time for other interests and hobbies. Previous research has suggested that access to minority-language education as part of mainstream education would avoid the need for separate schooling for children like those from the current study (Connaughton-Crean & Ó Duibhir, 2017; Li Wei, 2006). As discussed in Chapter 1, Ireland is gradually moving forward in this regard, with current curriculum developments showing a greater recognition of children’s home languages. In Ireland, it is possible for children of Polish origin to undertake Polish as a non-curricular EU language subject for the Leaving Certificate examination (see Chapter 1 for a detailed discussion). The children from the current study were eligible for examination in the non-curricular Polish Leaving Certificate examination as they all met the official specified criteria. As discussed in Chapter 1, this is set to change with the planned implementation of a Leaving Certificate

specification in Polish to replace the existing non-curricular provisions (Department of Education and Skills, 2017). Current curriculum reform which will result in Polish becoming a recognised curricular subject from September 2020 in Irish post-primary schools will mean that many of the children who participated in the current study are likely to benefit from second-level Polish language mainstream education.

All six children over the age of 11 participating in the study discussed their intentions, willingness and commitment to undertake Polish as a Leaving Certificate subject for a number of reasons, including the availability of Polish language lessons to help them in preparation for the examination. According to Agata:

You know you can pick Polish as a subject for Leaving Certificate now and I keep all my books from Polish school and you can study yourself if you need. I think it would be great for me to do Polish Leaving Certificate. (A4)

She explained that “there are grinds in Polish school so we would definitely be sent back to Polish school to learn if we were doing the Polish Leaving Certificate. The Polish schools do good preparation for it” (Agata, A4). The important role of Polish weekend schools in helping students to prepare for the Polish Leaving Certificate examination was discussed by older children. Zofia also recalled that “when we went to Polish school, the teachers were telling us that they were helping students prepare for the Polish Leaving Certificate” (A4). It was apparent from the data that children had various reasons for wanting to study Polish as a Leaving Certificate subject. In some cases, children viewed it as a sensible and “easier” choice to undertake an examination in a language subject which was their home language. Agata, for example, felt that “it won’t be too hard, especially the oral, because we speak it every day like and that is a part of the exam” (A4). Furthermore, she expressed that “even the listening will be easy. The writing, the grammar and the spelling is a little

harder for me but otherwise, it's ok" (A4). According to Henryk, "Oh yeah I wanna do the Leaving Certificate in Polish" (C1). Despite their interest in undertaking this examination, children also conveyed the difficulties in preparing for it. At the time of the research, Henryk was preparing for the Polish Leaving Certificate examination at a Polish weekend school as "there is no Polish taught in my school during the day" (C1). He described the challenges he faced in remaining focused:

We're doing exam papers from the Polish Leaving Certificate every Friday to get a sense of what's in the exam. But I'm not ready for this year yet. My head is still in Poland to be honest after the summer holidays. (C2)

The excerpt from Henryk above clarifies the current lack of formal provision to heritage language education in Irish post-primary schools. According to Machowska-Kosciak (2017), "Migrant children have to balance competing realities, often, without much support from their schools" (p. 100). Despite this, it became apparent that Henryk felt considerably confident about studying Polish as a Leaving Certificate subject as "we had mock papers for the Polish Leaving Certificate last year and this year in Polish school. They're actually not that bad. I usually get around a grade C" (C2).

Even in the case of children no longer attending Polish weekend school, a desire to undertake Polish as a subject for the Leaving Certificate was evident among the six older children who participated in the study. The children in the Nowak family planned on undertaking Polish as a Leaving Certificate subject. According to Kacper, "Yes I will do Polish as a Leaving Certificate subject" (E1) and Filip hoped "to get better as time goes by and maybe try Leaving Certificate in three years" (E1). In many cases, it became apparent to me that the children had an inherent desire to undertake Polish as a Leaving Certificate examination because Polish is their home language and because they had invested heavily

in their Polish language learning and development from a young age. According to Zofia, “I definitely want to do Leaving Cert Polish because I have done the primary school in Polish here” (A4). It also became apparent that knowing or speaking to others who had already completed the examination was an influencing factor for children. Zofia’s “friend is doing Polish as a Leaving Certificate subject and I really want to do it” (A4). Zofia explained that:

My parents’ friends’ son did Polish Leaving Cert last year. I was talking to him and asking him questions about it. It’s an extra subject that you can do yourself and it’s not hard to learn the grammar yourself. So I have been really thinking about it as an extra subject for the Leaving Certificate. (A4)

The data also revealed that it was not always feasible for children to attend Polish school, even in cases where they wanted to. Children in the Nowak family no longer attended Polish school because the older children attended STEM classes in Trinity College Dublin on a Saturday. According to Kacper:

So we went to Trinity on Saturdays and Polish school on Sundays and we were OK with not having a weekend. I mean that was fine because we enjoyed both Polish school and Trinity. They cut the Sunday class in Polish school and we did not want to give up Trinity. (E1)

Children highlighted the choices families must make in choosing between heritage language education and other interests and hobbies. Children’s narratives about attending Polish weekend school also reinforced the practical considerations and high levels of commitment associated with accessing heritage language learning outside of the formal school curriculum. Children’s engagement with Polish language learning and willingness to commit to this learning can also be linked to the positive influence of a home

environment, parental support and provision of economic resources at the micro level of the home (Curdt-Christiansen, 2018). The availability of Polish weekend schools and widespread support for Polish language learning within the Polish community in Ireland also contributed to this engagement in learning.

Self-evaluation of Polish language knowledge and competence

All the children over the age of 11 clearly articulated their knowledge of and competence in the Polish language. Children discussed their abilities around reading, writing and speaking Polish and it was evident that children varied considerably in their confidence around their Polish language knowledge and competence. Overall, the data made it apparent that children saw room for improvement with regard to their Polish language development. According to Zofia, “Writing in Polish is easy. Reading is very easy. Sometimes when I am speaking Polish to my family I forget some Polish words as I don’t use them often” (A5). Zofia also stated that “sometimes autocorrect helps me” (A5) when making errors in Polish phrasing or spelling. Overall, she asserted that “Polish I can speak fluently” (A2). Variations in perceived levels of competence across reading, writing and speaking Polish were described by the children, especially children over the age of 11. According to Agata, “Reading in Polish is easy for me but writing in Polish is more trouble because of grammar and the spelling” (A3).

In many cases, children described their dependency on parents to aid them with Polish language accuracy. According to Agata, “My mother still has to check my spelling and writing in Polish before I send the letter but it’s ok” (A3). Children also attributed their Polish language competence to ongoing communication with extended family members in Poland. Agata acknowledged that her “reading and writing in Polish would not be as good if I didn’t have such close contact with family in Poland” (A6). Researchers have referred

to the need to further consider the vital role of extended family members on children's home language maintenance and development (Kibler et al., 2014; Melo-Pfeifer, 2015). Participants' accounts of contact and language use with extended family members helped to build up a clearer picture of how family members outside of the immediate family contribute to HLM (Ruby, 2017b).

In describing gaps in their Polish language knowledge, some of the children ascribed these to a lack of adequate opportunities to use the Polish language on an ongoing basis. According to Zofia, "Maybe sometimes I make grammatical mistakes because I don't write every single day" (A4). Henryk also saw gaps in his Polish language knowledge as a result of not having the opportunity to use Polish on a daily basis. He explained that he used English every day in school and in the local community, "whereas for Polish, I only have it once a week and my family is the only people I communicate with" (C1). As Polish language use was generally limited to the familial context, there were resulting effects on the breadth of children's exposure to Polish vocabulary. Kacper was particularly aware of this:

Even though I speak Polish fluently and I read and write fluently in Polish, my vocabulary is contained within, like, cooking and cleaning the house because they're the ... mmm ... I mean that's all we can ever really discuss at home. (E9)

Szymon also described the difficulties he experienced with reading and writing due to the fact that he doesn't use the Polish language every day and because "Polish is very difficult to write and speak" (E2). Szymon explained that

reading and writing in Polish is very difficult to me because I don't do it on a daily basis. When I start reading I get confused and discouraged really quickly. I find it

difficult because of my lack of practice. I feel like if I was to read and write in Polish more often I would get better and better. (E2)

Some children were critical of their Polish language knowledge and competence, and they equated the need to use English with a lack of Polish language knowledge. According to Szymon, “My Polish is really bad. I just put English words between all Polish words” (E7). While this may be considered evidence of the effective use of codeswitching, Szymon interpreted this particular language practice as negative. Zofia also described gaps in her knowledge of particular Polish vocabulary:

We were making dinner in Poland and I was thinking back to the recipe in English ... I was trying to describe the thing in Polish ... I wouldn't know the Polish word for it ... Like every recipe I have is in English so I wouldn't be using these words like *parsley*, *oregano* or *basil* in Polish every day and I'm not used to seeing these types of words in Polish at all. (A4)

According to Filip, “I really like the Polish language although I was never really too good at it. My grammar in Polish is near to awful and it takes me ages to read anything” (E3). Filip described his particular difficulties and frustrations around Polish language learning:

When I have to read a book in Polish, I get very discouraged because of how slow I read and because sometimes I have to read a passage multiple times to understand what they actually mean by saying that. This is a huge issue for me and I must work on it quite a bit. My writing when it comes to essays or passages is bad ... it just becomes quite aggravating. (E3)

Children's high levels of self-awareness with regard to their Polish language knowledge and their reflections on incomplete Polish language acquisition reflect the perspective of

Schwartz (2008) that the acquisition of the native language is unstable and incomplete among children born in the host country.

The ways in which the majority of older children described their hopes for future Polish language learning demonstrated the high level of importance they placed on Polish language learning and development. Filip discussed the “need to improve my vocabulary, reading, writing and grammar which takes lots of time, but I’ll be trying” (E3). Such statements highlight children’s cognisance of the ongoing effort needed to develop and maintain the home language. According to Filip, “I really hope I can motivate myself and try practising my Polish in all ways” (E3). He discussed plans to attend lessons in Poland with a “Polish teacher to greatly improve my Polish. I hope I’ll be able to go and fulfil that” (E3). Children displayed an awareness of the level of motivation and commitment required for participants to continue to maintain and develop the Polish language. Szymon also described his hopes for improving his Polish in the future:

I hope I can improve on my Polish vocabulary and use of words. My Polish language has improved over the past couple of years but it’s still not perfect. I would also want to improve on my pronunciations in Polish. (E2)

Moving back and forth between positive and negative interpretations of their own Polish language proficiency was common in participants’ accounts of Polish language competence. During one interview, Henryk expressed concern that “if I ever went back to study in Poland, I don’t think I would be able to do it in Polish” (C1). During a subsequent conversation around the benefits of having Polish, he expressed that “If I want to go to college in Poland, I literally have no problem in Polish” (C2). This is illustrative of the fluid and changing nature of existing attitudes and beliefs and the notion of attitudes and beliefs being unstable and constructed through interaction (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). It

also reinforces the importance of data collection over an extended period of time to reflect children's evolving thoughts, beliefs and attitudes. Throughout the discussion, Henryk continued to adjust and renegotiate his attitudes and beliefs which at times, appeared to be conflicting (Gibbons & Ramirez, 2004). It was nonetheless clear that Henryk had a clear sense of his ongoing Polish language learning trajectory:

I'm still not the perfect reader yet but I am better. I am definitely better at writing but that was only a few years ago I noticed the changes in my Polish writing. It took a very long time to see the changes in my Polish language. (C1)

The data frequently reveals particular challenges around reading and writing in Polish were described by participants. Similar to other participants, Henryk maintained that when reading and writing in Polish "it definitely takes a longer time. Even if it's just the seconds, the milliseconds" (C1). In fact, Henryk revealed that "it feels different when I read Polish" (C1), suggesting that reading in English was more natural for him. Additional insight into the struggles encountered as a result of thinking in English when reading and writing in Polish was provided by Henryk:

I'd like to read faster ... I need to improve writing, definitely. I know the language but I just need to read it in my head in Polish and not phrase it in English and then switch it in Polish, which I notice some people do, but it's just completely harder for me which is why I need to think in Polish when I'm writing in Polish. It's really something I know I need to do. (C4).

Henryk's thought processes reflect the impact of English language dominance and the need to acquire English at a very young age (Fillmore, 1991; Hakuta & D'Andrea, 1992).

Visiting Poland and Polish language learning

The data revealed that all the children spent extended periods of time during school holidays in Poland and the resulting opportunities for children to use, learn and further develop the Polish language were discussed by the majority of child participants. In describing their experiences of spending time in Poland, the children demonstrated a clear understanding and cognisance of the cultural and linguistic benefits associated with these extended visits, as explained by Agata:

When we are in Poland every summer from young age, we would watch Polish TV shows. We hang out with our cousins, aunts, uncles, grandparents and that's what we do when we go to Poland. We go to the library and get Polish books so that when we're over there we can remind ourselves about Polish reading and different words and stuff. I think it has helped me become fluent in Polish. (A4)

According to Filip, "[My grandmother] and my grandad can help me when it comes to Polish grammar and vocabulary" (E1). In describing the time he spent during the summer holidays in Poland, "it was Polish in Poland for the entire summer and that was great really" (C3). It was clear that Henryk appreciated the opportunity he got to use and speak Polish, stating that "I can form sentences a bit quicker now after spending the summer in Poland" and "it definitely helped to be immersed in Polish all summer" (C3). According to Henryk:

When I come back from Poland, my Polish is a bit better because I literally only speak Polish when I am there. The first few weeks of my Polish school that I go to in Ireland after summer, the teachers notice an increase in my reading and my writing. (C3)

Another similar example came from Zofia, who explained that “I notice sometimes when I am writing something after I come home, I’m writing words in Polish” (A4). In the case of Zofia and her sister, “During the summer, we speak Polish in our grandparents’ house in Poland” (A2). Furthermore, she discussed the opportunities that she and her sister had to read in Polish while they were in Poland:

Every summer we read so so many Polish books when we stay over there with my grandmother and we come out of the library with a pile of Polish books. My cousins are always like ‘read this, read this’ when we go to Poland and we go to the library with my grandparents and come out with a massive pile of Polish books to read during the summer. (A2)

In describing her access to Polish reading materials when in Poland, Zofia highlighted the positive impact of her cousins and grandparents in this regard. Such positive influences of extended family members on migrant children’s heritage language learning and maintenance have previously been referred to in the literature (Kibler et al., 2014; Melo-Pfeifer, 2015; Ruby, 2017b).

Many children made reference to difficulties and challenges associated with using and speaking formal Polish when visiting Poland. Children who were born in Ireland or who moved at a very young age displayed particular difficulties with this aspect of the Polish language. The intricacies and nuances of using formal Polish when in Poland were described by Henryk:

There is of course a formal way of greeting people in Poland and thanking and talking to people, even if you don’t know them. Saying ‘you’ to people is very rude, especially to people you don’t know ... I am careful to do this properly when I am in Poland. I know this doesn’t really exist in English. (C3)

Similarly, Kacper also described the need to use formal Polish when he is in Poland:

The thing is, some people are particular about it. I didn't have much of a problem but Filip did. He got in trouble a couple of times. What the old fellas thought was that he was disrespecting them but he was just talking. (E1)

It was apparent from the data that children were aware of potential errors in their spoken Polish while staying in Poland and the effect of these on communication with others.

Szymon, for example, described this:

When I'm in Poland I try my hardest to speak in Polish correctly and fluently so I could communicate better with Polish people. When I'm with family in Poland I usually say a few things wrong, but they don't mind because they know it's not my strongest point. (E2)

A sense of fear and anxiety around communication with people in Poland manifested itself in some of the conversations with children. In describing attendance at a Polish summer camp while staying in Poland during the summer, Kacper described the camp as "a bit traumatic because of my bad Polish" (E4). His mother, Bozena further described the stress and anxiety faced by her children when visiting Poland:

When we were going to Poland, we went to a wedding two weeks ago and Filip was like 'oh my God do we have to go? Oh my God will we be able for that?' And he was well able. But the stress around it. He was worried about communicating with the family ... They're always afraid that people will think they're not good enough or think 'why do they not speak Polish properly?' (E1)

According to Bartek, the children were “also very afraid that they won’t understand the slang” (E1). While spending time in Poland was seen as a crucial aspect of their Polish language learning, it can be concluded that some children considered themselves as linguistic outsiders while there.

Parents’ pivotal role in children’s Polish language learning and use

The data revealed that all children felt encouraged and supported by their parents to learn Polish. The importance and significance of parents’ strong commitment towards their children’s maintenance and development of the home language has previously been espoused in the literature (Arriagada, 2005; Lao, 2004; Romero et al., 2004; Yu, 2010; Zhang, 2010). Children referred to the significant influence of their parents on the development, maintenance and learning of Polish and the long-term efforts of parents were acknowledged by children. According to Zofia, “I feel very lucky my parents sent me now even though sometimes I complained that I was too tired to go on a Saturday morning” (A2). The long-term language learning investment associated with attending Polish school was described by a number of older children, and the consequences for children who did not have a similar opportunity to go to Polish school were alluded to by some children. Agata, for example, described that “loads of my Polish friends don’t know how to read or write because they never really went to Polish school but my parents did send me” (A3). Implicit in Agata’s narrative was the awareness that her parents took responsibility for her Polish language knowledge and literacy skills. The data revealed children’s striking awareness of other children in the local Polish community who had not become literate in Polish. According to Agata:

Like I know some Polish girls in my year, in second year, and they just know how to speak Polish. Like sometimes if I have some Polish text or something, they can’t

read it. They're just not able to understand it. They just can speak it. Like, in my year, there are three girls that are Polish and I know that definitely one of them cannot read or write in Polish. (A4)

While all five families involved in the current study were highly motivated to maintain the Polish language, examples provided by the children suggest that this may not be the case for all Polish families in Ireland.

Being motivated and guided by parents in relation to Polish language learning was discussed by a number of children. In fact, mothers were perceived to be most influential in relation to children's perceptions of their Polish language development. Henryk, for instance, considers his mother's positive attitude towards bilingualism and Polish language development as influential on his Polish language knowledge and competence:

I started Polish school when I was in first class because my mam knew that, of course her being a Polish language teacher, she knew that I would lose the Polish language if I didn't keep it going, if I didn't learn. So I went to Polish school and I am still going because of her. (C1)

The impact of positive parental attitudes to bilingualism on HLM have been well represented in the literature (X. Li, 1999; Park & Sarkar, 2007). The need for parents to be actively involved in the language and literacy development of their children (Vaccarino & Walker, 2008) was clearly articulated by Henryk:

And it's important for parents to say 'you must do this'. Even if the children don't want to go to Polish school. A parent should still strive for their children to learn Polish. Some children scream and cry and say they don't want to go and the parents listen and say 'poor baby'. This is not good. A parent should know what's good for

their children and not the children saying what's good for them. Parents know more. Our neighbours are like this. They say 'what's the point in the children learning Polish if we are never going back to Poland?' They can't read in Polish. The eldest child is 18 years old. (C1)

The presence of grandparents in the household has previously been associated with slowing down the rate of language shift to English in the literature (Ishizawa, 2004; Kondo–Brown, 2005; Ruby, 2017b; Verdon et al., 2014) and the impact of grandparents on children's language practices will be discussed in a subsequent section. Although Henryk viewed Polish language maintenance as important for communicating with his grandmother, he concluded that his positive attitude to learning Polish is “mostly influenced by my mom”:

I mean I don't think my granny has that much of an influence on my Polish. I do believe that it's very important [Polish] but that's from my mum's encouragement. She did set up a Polish school and she knows how important it is for children to keep their national language. (C2)

The particular role of mothers in making choices around language use and children's HLM has been explored in numerous studies (Kirsch, 2012; Nakamura, 2016; Romero et al., 2004; Yates & Terraschke, 2013). Overall, it became very clear from the data that mothers played a predominant role in promoting Polish language literacy and language development among children. Szymon, for example, described a situation where his mother encouraged him to read Polish books:

I really wanted this book and my mum was like ... she hands me this Polish book and says 'if you read this and you can tell me what it's about, I'll buy you the

book'. So I had to read the book, the whole Polish book so that I could get the English book that I wanted. (E1)

Children were cognisant of the choices and challenges parents face with regard to making decisions about their children's language learning and development (Altman, Burstein Feldman, Yitzhaki, Armon Lotem, & Walters, 2014; Smith-Christmas, Bergroth, & Bezicioğlu-Göktolga, 2019). Henryk, for example, described the difficulties faced by parents when deciding what languages to speak with their children, asserting that "parents don't really know what to do. I do feel parents don't really know what to speak to their children, especially if they are born in Ireland" (C2). Implicit in Henryk's narratives was his cognisance of the family as a hugely influential domain or site for language use and maintenance (Fishman, 1970).

English dominance, English language competence and linguistic capital

As a result of the global value placed on the English language and its high status worldwide (Baker, 2011; Crystal, 2003; Fillmore, 2000), it was not surprising that an acute awareness of the dominance of the English language in the local community and in Irish society was displayed by all children over the age of 11 years. Children's interpretations of English as linguistic capital were evidenced in their descriptions of English as the language they are surrounded by on a daily basis. In conveying the dominance of English around him, Henryk explained that "I have English five days a week and then I'm surrounded with English-speaking people" (C1). Henryk referred to the positive impact of spending time in Poland on his Polish language learning and he described the counter-effects of returning to Ireland: "it [Polish] goes a little down because I'm speaking English all the time" (C2). Henryk's narrative resonated with other children who depicted the dominance of English in their everyday lives. Kacper pointed out that "when we learn anything, we learn it in

English. Everything I learned and that I would like to discuss, I learned it in English” (E1). Kacper’s narrative illustrates the impact of English being the dominant language in education. His view of English as the dominant language in his life is highlighted further in the excerpt below:

The majority of my life is now in English. Like, the majority of people I talk to, I talk to in English. Therefore, it just becomes the default. Like, it becomes the language I turn to. I know more words in English and I can express myself better in English. I’ve just been here so much longer. So it’s Polish for the home stuff and English for everything else. (E1)

Kacper’s viewpoint reflects the assertion of Harris (1995) who drew on group socialisation theory to explain the home language being contextually linked to behavioural, cognitive and emotional responses occurring in the home and the societal language— in this case, English—being linked to those occurring outside of the home. Filip similarly asserted that “I speak English most of the day ... I speak mostly in English to my friends. None of my friends that I hang around with daily speak Polish so there’s not much opportunity there” (E3). In the context of the current study, children’s language preferences and practices can be interpreted as a marker of children’s context-dependent socialisation (Machowska-Kosciak, 2013, 2017). It has previously been argued that over time, children favour the behavioural system of the peer group outside the home over the one they acquire in the home (Harris, 1995). Szymon’s portrayal of the dominance of English in his everyday life is illustrative of the influence of the peer group on children’s language practices:

I don’t really get the opportunity to speak Polish very often since I’m always out with my friends or in school. I honestly find it easier to speak English since my English is more developed than my Polish. (E2)

As many of the children either arrived in Ireland at a very young age or were born in Ireland, learning and being exposed to English was natural for them. Agata, for example, moved to Ireland when she was 2 years old, so “I guess English was kind of my first language to speak in a way because I am here since I was 2 years old” (A3). This was not the case for other children who moved to Ireland at an older age and, as previously described by children and parents, faced the challenge of acquiring the English language. Despite this, the majority of the children perceived English to be the dominant and most important language in their lives at the time of the study. Although Zofia recalled the initial difficulties she faced in learning English on her arrival in Ireland, she expressed that “I’ll probably use English as an adult” (A2) and “I speak English in school with my friends, classmates and teachers. I choose to watch TV shows in English online” (A5).

A number of children linked their thought processes to the English language. As highlighted in the literature, speakers’ inner thoughts can occur in one of the languages spoken by the speaker and this is dependent on the situation or domain (Kayam & Hirsch, 2013; Pavlenko, 2011; Slobin, 1996). This has been described as “silent self-talk” (Pavlenko, 2011) and “thinking for speaking” (Slobin, 1996). Discussions and conversations around the topic of thinking in particular languages during family interviews raised interesting debates between parents and children. The following excerpt is a conversation that took place between Henryk and his mother Malgorzata, which provided a clear insight into the contrasting linguistic profiles and repertoires of parents and children:

Henryk: I think through English.

Malgorzata: And in Polish...no?

Henryk: When I think in my head, I always picture in English. I never think through Polish. I don’t think I’ll ever think through Polish.

Malgorzata: And of course I think through Polish.

Henryk: I don't know where it comes from. I don't know why I think in English and not Polish. But it doesn't bother me at all. (C1)

English as the lingua franca in the children's surroundings and in particular, within the education system, resulted in participants linking particular knowledge and learning to the English language. For instance, Agata describes that "things about subjects like Chemistry, I don't really understand these words in Polish, but in English I would definitely understand them" (A4). Lee (2002) discovered that a shift to the English language can occur despite a willingness to maintain the home language and found that the participants in his study wanted to develop their home language literacy skills but had received inadequate instruction in school. Many of the children described the ease with which English comes to them, as a result of being educated through English. As described by Zofia, "English just comes to me" but in relation to Polish, "sometimes it's like phrasing that gets me. I think like how do I phrase this?" (A4). Henryk explained "I definitely read English way faster than Polish. I write in English faster than in Polish ... When I think of a sentence I'm going to say to my parents in Polish, it takes me a longer time to say in Polish than it would in English" (C1).

While all of the children described themselves as fluent speakers of Polish and English, a clear preference for English language use was expressed by the majority of the children. In his reflective language diary, Filip explained that "I like the English language because it's easier than Polish" (C3). Other children expressed a preference for English over Polish for similar reasons. According to Agata:

It's easier for me to read and write in English. I would choose to read English books quicker. I read to expand my vocabulary and English I use more often in school, so picking English books is more useful to me for vocabulary. (C3)

As for the participants from this study, numerous studies of immigrants have demonstrated a preference for English language use over the heritage language (Portes & Hao, 1998; Portes & Schauffler, 1994; Rumbaut, 2007, 2009).

While many of the children considered returning to Poland to attend university, they displayed a clear preference for studying through English in university in Poland. According to Henryk, "If I ever went back to study in Poland I would prefer an English course. I wouldn't be able to do any course in university in the Polish language. It would have to be in English, yeah" (C1). Kacper seemed unsure about the prospect of studying through Polish, stating, "Ehh ... I'd rather English but I could manage Polish perhaps" (E1). According to Filip, if he decided to attend university in Poland, "My preference would definitely be English. I have tried Polish but I really prefer to read in English. Online, I'll sometimes read Polish, but I prefer to read English books" (E1). This possibility of studying in Polish universities through the medium of English demonstrates how much English is "valued, desired, and widely learned and used" (Kayam & Hirsch, 2012).

Previous research has highlighted the influence of family structure, especially the presence of older siblings, on language practices in the home (Baker, 2011; Fillmore, 1991; Fishman, 1991; Harris, 1995). Overall, a preference amongst school- and college-going siblings to speak English to each other was evident in the findings. According to Henryk, "I prefer speaking English with my sister as well" (C1). Filip described how he found it easier to speak English with his siblings:

When it comes to my brothers, I don't really use too much Polish. Me and Kacper speak about school, friends, games all the time so it's very difficult to translate all the words in our heads and talk about the things in Polish when we could just go to the easier alternative and speak English. (E3)

In his reflective language diary, Szymon noted how "I speak English with my brothers because we talk about different topics that we find easier to talk about in English" (E2). The data revealed that older children in particular demonstrated a preference to discuss topics in English. Schwartz (2010) alluded to the lack of detailed studies outlining interactions between siblings at home and their impact. Through carrying out observations in family homes, it became evident that many interactions between siblings entailed English language use, while interactions between children and their parents generally entailed Polish language use. Such family language practices will be discussed in more detail in a subsequent section of the findings.

Children's ideologies of English as a form of linguistic and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1991) were clear from the findings. The multiple benefits of English for future employment, travel and global communication were discussed by the children. In his reflective language diary, Szymon recorded:

I have travelled around most of Europe and being able to speak English has been an advantage. I believe that English is a very handy and smart language. It is a very useful language and I think it will really help me in the future. (E2)

According to Agata, "My thoughts on the English language are that I can almost speak to everyone whether we are abroad and asking for directions or meeting new people" (A6). Furthermore, Agata considered that "my cousins get so nervous about using English and

this makes me feel good about my English” (A3). The long-term benefits of speaking English were summed up by Zofia as follows:

I think English will be great for me in the future if I want to work abroad or travel. My cousins in Poland learn English but they are not so fluent and it would be harder for them to communicate with people like in a work space if they ever work abroad but it’ll be easier for me because loads of people speak English around the world. (A2)

In summary, children were highly cognisant of the dominance of English around them and they displayed an understanding of the vital role that English played in their everyday lives, language practices and preferences. These viewpoints are significant in understanding the reasons why children have preferences to communicate in English and how English language dominance impacts on their future plans. It can be concluded that children considered English as linguistic capital and as a vital asset for their futures. This is further evidenced in children’s language practices which will be discussed in a subsequent section of the findings, *Language Practices in the Family Home*.

Irish language learning

All children of school-going age and older were attending or had attended English-medium schools in Ireland, despite the availability of Irish-medium immersion education at primary and post-primary level education. All children of school-going age were learning Irish as part of compulsory primary and post-primary curricula. It became clear from the findings that there were mixed feelings among the children with regard to the learning of Irish in school and at times, children’s comments were contradictory. Many of the children revealed that they found Irish difficult. According to Agata, “I find Irish very tricky since we don’t speak it every day. I only use it in school during Irish class” (A6). It is

noteworthy that Agata associated her difficulties in the language with the lack of opportunity she had to use Irish outside of the formal Irish class. In the *Chief Inspector's Report: January 2013- July 2016*, it was reported that “there was a need to provide increased opportunities for pupils to use the language they have been taught” in relation to the teaching of Irish at primary and post-primary level (DES, 2018, p. 9). In a subsequent conversation with Agata, however, she maintained that “at the start I found Irish so so hard. Now it’s fine really” (A3). According to Zofia, “In school, I also learn Irish and I have been learning this since primary school. I find Irish harder to learn but I don’t know the reason for this” (A5). When asked to discuss the languages she could speak, Zofia replied that she was fluent in Polish and English, but “Irish, not like fluently, but I can say a few sentences” (A2).

Some children displayed negative attitudes towards their Irish language competence. These attitudes were not always unique to learning Irish and as previously described, some children also expressed similar negative attitudes to the learning of Polish. According to Kacper, “I struggle with Irish” (E1). According to Henryk, Irish is “taking up so much of my time because it’s really hard. Irish is just so hard. I’m afraid that studying for Higher level Irish will take up too much time” (C1). Filip recorded some of his thoughts on Irish language teaching in his reflective language diary:

I am very bad at the Irish language. The teaching system in primary school is very bad when it comes to Irish. I started getting better and I started liking it lots more since I started secondary school because it makes sense to me, at least a bit. The language definitely strains my mind because it takes a lot to learn it and there is a lot of information which also makes it fun to study and learn. (E3).

In relation to the value of Irish as a language, Szymon was negative in his thoughts, as the following excerpt shows:

Irish is not a very useful language. I believe learning Irish in school is useless. It is irrelevant and it is no longer used in most parts of Ireland. I don't think it would help me in the future. It's not needed around the world. I don't like Irish. (E2)

Henryk expressed the belief that "Irish people should encourage Irish people to speak Irish more because it's one of the country's official languages" (C3). Henryk's opinion reflects the reality that Irish language use among non-native speakers of Irish in Ireland is generally limited to educational settings (Ó Laoire, 2007). Overall, children displayed an awareness of the minority-language status of some languages and the power associated with English (Baker, 2011; Holmes, 2001).

Influence of school, peers and friendships on language practices

The importance of affirming, acknowledging and promoting children's home languages in schools is addressed in official curriculum documents (NCCA, 2005; 2006), and the recently published *Primary Language Curriculum* calls for partnerships between home and school to support children's home language maintenance and learning (DES, 2019). However, such national-level policies do not always transfer to micro-level school practices, and children described numerous instances in school when they were prevented from using or speaking Polish with other Polish children in their classrooms. Zofia, for example, described examples of teachers in primary school preventing her and other Polish children in the school from using Polish in class and in the school yard when she was in primary school:

There were other kids from Poland in my class and we used to talk Polish together during the break but teachers told us to stop speaking Polish and to use English in the class ... It felt so weird because I knew what I wanted to say to them in Polish but to try and say the same in English was tricky. The teachers knew I knew Polish but they probably wanted me to learn English since I was living in Ireland and English is the main language here. (A2)

In this instance, Zofia's suggestion that teachers prevented her from using Polish in an effort to support her English language learning is demonstrative of the trust she placed in teachers with regard to her language learning. Zofia's acceptance of learning English as "the main language here" (A2) is symbolic of the cultural and linguistic capital associated with the English language (Bourdieu, 1991) and the expectation for migrant children to fit in with mainstream society (Baker, 2011; Nero, 2005). Agata described the implicit rules that were enforced around Polish language use when she was in primary school: "It always had to be English in the classroom but we did speak Polish on the yard" (A3). This could be described as an example of the restrictions placed on children's use of their home language in school, as previous research has recognised. In this case, the teacher permitted children to speak Polish outside of the classroom only. Agata's narrative exhibits the monolingual approach evident in classrooms as described by participants. According to Antoni, "I'm not allowed speak Polish in school because all my friends are English. I mean Irish. And the teacher doesn't allow it" (E1). The non-recognition of migrant children's home languages in Irish schools has previously been referred to in the literature (Devine, 2005; Mc Daid, 2011; Nowlan, 2008; Wallen & Kelly-Holmes, 2006). This could be described as a situation where "school policy dictates that students leave their language and culture at the schoolhouse door" (Cummins et al., 2005, p. 42). Henryk revealed the

limited opportunities his teacher gave him to use and speak Polish in school and recalled that in junior infants in primary school “I used to show off some of the Polish words on the blackboard and the children would be like ‘whoa what’s that word?’ but I didn’t speak it that often in school” (C1). The new *Primary Language Curriculum* (DES, 2019) promotes the use of and exposure to “a variety of languages in a classroom” in order to embrace the multilingual classroom, and will hopefully result in greater opportunities for children to use and appreciate home languages.

Some children described the ways in which their knowledge of the Polish language was helpful for the school community. These related to welcoming and helping newly-arrived Polish children who were not yet competent in English. Zofia recalled that “whenever there was a new person from Poland with no English, I helped the parents translate stuff with the principal ... I was like a translator” (A2). Such assistance provided by children in the role of language brokers has previously been described as unrecognised language services (Antonini, 2016). Zofia demonstrated an awareness that her use of Polish in school was “just for helping the teachers or principal translate really ... the kids in my class didn’t really see me getting to use Polish at all” (A2). Filip also discussed similar involvement in translating and interpreting in his school:

I had to do lots of translation for the teachers when a new Polish child came or when they needed me to help a younger child. If there was a Polish child crying, they came to me and asked me to talk to the young child in Polish to try help them.
(E1)

Filip’s narrative highlights the significant and possibly difficult situations that migrant children are sometimes tasked to deal with (Antonini, 2016). In the case of the current research, the data clearly highlights the fact that children perceived the use of Polish in

school as a tool for helping others or for translating for teachers or the school principal. It could be interpreted that children's home language was limited to situations where children were acting as language brokers. Other opportunities to use Polish or share their knowledge of Polish with school peers were not widely reported by the children.

The data clearly revealed the impact of peer groups and friendships on children's use and non-use of Polish in school and in the community. Many of the children described their friends as English-speaking friends and this resulted in non-use of Polish in their peer groups, although Zofia explained that "I do talk in Polish to other Polish girls in school. We do speak Polish together" (A2). While some children described speaking Polish with other Polish friends, the data clearly revealed that Polish children did not always speak Polish together. Henryk had a number of Polish friends that he met through attending Polish school, and had other Polish friends he met in his local area. Henryk discussed how his language practice differs with various groups of Polish friends:

I've a few Polish friends because I went to Polish school and made friends there. Surprisingly, we speak all Polish because if I spoke English, it would be really awkward to hear us speaking English because we are just used to Polish in Polish school ... Another Polish friend I have ... I speak to him in English because I know him very well since second class of primary school. (C1)

The excerpt above shows Henryk's differentiated language norms for communicating with different groups of Polish friends. An understanding of ethnolinguistic identity theory can aid in understanding the varieties of language practice within the Polish community, by exploring how, when and why different members of the Polish community in Ireland use different language strategies (Giles & Johnson, 1987; Kulick & Schieffelin, 2007). Henryk's use of English among some Polish friends and Polish among other friends

suggests that he viewed himself as belonging to different social groups within the Polish community. He could therefore be described as having a more diffuse social identity as a result (Giles & Johnson, 1987).

Bilingualism and multilingualism as resources

Fishman (1970) recognises second-generation migrants as the bilingual generation. All 10 children from the current study were bilingual in Polish and English. Furthermore, children attending primary school were learning Irish and children attending post-primary school were learning Irish and other foreign languages. Older children demonstrated a heightened awareness and cognisance of the social and educational benefits of bilingualism and multilingualism. According to Szymon, “most languages are useful and I believe it is good to be able to expand your vocabulary and language” (E2). He expressed the feeling that “having two languages in your head at once sounds confusing but I’m getting used to it by now” (E2). In his reflective language diary, Filip described the many cultural benefits associated with learning languages as well as the potential to help others:

I feel like learning languages is a good opportunity to learn more about the world.

Learning another language allows you to then travel to that country and discover new things alongside enjoying yourself and visiting the world bit by bit. (E3)

Similarly, Zofia expressed positive attitudes towards future language learning and said, “I want to at least learn one new language before I leave college” (A5). When asked to describe how she felt about being bilingual, Zofia replied that “I never really thought about how it makes me feel being able to speak two languages like Polish and English. It’s just a part of me. Maybe it’s good for college and the future” (A2). Zofia’s description of bilingualism as “just a part of me” suggests that she considered bilingualism as a central

aspect of her identity. She went on to further discuss her perceptions of the benefits of bilingualism:

I think it's great to have more than one language because you can communicate with a lot more people, like when you're in a work space or travelling. I think it's good to be bilingual ... I think I'll be happy to have more than just Polish when I'm looking for a job in the future. (A2)

The above excerpt demonstrates Zofia's understanding of the benefits of multilingualism for employment, travelling and communication with others. Similarly, Agata revealed her positive attitudes to language learning: "I want to learn more languages in the future ... I think it's good to know a lot of languages since they really open up the world of opportunities to you" (A6). Henryk also displayed positive attitudes to bilingualism and learning languages:

Bilingualism is a great thing. If you can speak your own language, some Irish and then with English, you're saved basically. It'll help you in the future. I know it will help me in the future. It's good to learn languages. The more languages you have, the better your mind works. (C2)

The above narrative demonstrates that Henryk had an advanced awareness and knowledge of the benefits associated with bilingualism and multilingualism. Furthermore, the way he described the importance of Polish migrant children's maintenance of the Polish language also depicted an in-depth knowledge of language learning and associated benefits:

My mam was telling me this. She tries to teach people that speaking Polish to your child if both parents are Polish is very important because if you can develop bilingual connections with the child that can impact on the child's development

dramatically, in a good way. A bilingual mind thinks different, better in a way, that's why Irish people encourage Irish people to speak Irish. Firstly, because it's one of the country's official languages and secondly, it's good to learn languages. (C3)

Henryk's advanced knowledge of bilingualism mirrors his mother's positive attitudes to bilingualism and HLM. Furthermore, his positive attitude towards the Irish language and proposed reasons as to why Irish people should speak Irish is demonstrative of his positive attitudes to languages and language learning in general.

Zhu Hua and Li Wei (2016) describe patterns whereby first-generation migrants have the challenge of learning the language of the new resident country, while their children face the challenge of maintaining the home language. Older children demonstrated an awareness of their parents' English language learning and the obstacles and challenges faced by their parents in learning English as first-generation Polish migrants. They were cognisant of the greater potential they had as children in becoming bilingual, due to the exposure that the children had to the English language, in comparison to adults. Some children described specific challenges their parents encountered in acquiring and using English. Henryk, for example, was especially aware of the importance of his mother continuing to develop her English language knowledge:

My mother's English is good but she, well it'll always be better if she learns more I mean, without English, she wouldn't have been able to set up her Polish school. She did a lot of work. I don't want her to lose, I know she won't lose her English because she's literally surrounded by English-speaking people here, but it's better to, like, develop that language better so she can do more with it and have an easier time communicating with other people and organising stuff. (C2)

The excerpt above demonstrates Henryk's interest in and hopes for his mother's future English language development. It was apparent that he wanted her to have an adequate level of English which could serve as linguistic and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1991). There were other examples of children's awareness of their parents' incomplete English language acquisition and difficulties with the English language. During an interview with the Nowak family, Kacper made fun of the way his mother pronounced an English word saying to her "Mum. Ireland. It's Ireland with an 'r'. She says 'island'. The country is pronounced 'Ireland'" (E1). Zofia described how she and her sister had a greater competence in English compared to their parents, explaining that "we talk so fast in English, they [our parents] find it difficult to understand us. We have a bigger vocabulary range in English than they do so we speak to them in Polish" (A2). While it is essential for children to fully develop both their social and academic language for their participation in the education system, parents may not need such a level to perform in the workplace or function in society. Previous studies have also highlighted the agentic role of the child in helping their families interact and communicate in the host country when they have a greater command of the dominant language compared to their parents (Revis, 2019).

Summary

Children's high levels of self-awareness and self-management with regard to their language competence, knowledge and learning were particularly salient. Children demonstrated a clear understanding of the challenges they faced with regard to language learning and they highlighted specific areas for improvement with regard to their Polish language learning. The majority of children described engaging in either previous or ongoing formal Polish language learning, including attendance at Polish weekend schools and participation in Polish language learning at home with parents. While older children

were undoubtedly cognisant of the benefits of attending Polish weekend schools for the development of their Polish literacy skills, they also articulated the challenges and extra workload associated with this. All children described spending extended periods of time in Poland during the summer months and while they identified the benefits of this for their Polish language learning, some older children described the struggles they encountered using formal Polish when in Poland.

Children had varied experiences of Polish language use in school. While some children recalled previous restrictions or bans on their use of Polish in school, others described acting as translators in the school for newly-arrived Polish children. The dominance of English in the school and local community, and the vital role of English in children's everyday lives was clearly articulated by older children. The majority of children expressed a preference for using English in particular situations, for example with friends and siblings. It was clear from the findings that children found it easier to discuss certain topics in English, especially those related to school. Children's impression of English as important linguistic capital and a valuable asset for future work and travel emanated from the data. In contrast, mixed views were expressed by children with regard to the value of learning Irish in school and the majority of older children expressed feelings of dissatisfaction with their level of Irish language competence.

The children exhibited a heightened sense of awareness regarding the benefits of bilingualism and the positive impact that multiple language learning can have on one's future. Older children were cognisant of the positive influence that their parents had on their language learning and development and they described their parents' efforts in providing for their children's Polish language learning. In conclusion, the findings confirm that children are active agents in both the playing out and in the adaptation or altering of

particular language ideologies and practices through the simultaneous processes of sociocultural and linguistic learning (Ochs, 2001). In order to understand the joint role of children and parents in FLP formation, it is important to also consider parents' attitudes to language learning and use and their language management strategies. Thus, the following theme *Parents' Perspectives of Children's Language Learning and Development* provides an insight into the perspectives of parents.

Parents' Perspectives of Children's Language Learning and Development

As explored in Chapter 2, recent interpretations of language socialisation as a co-constructed and collaborative process (Fogle, 2012; Ochs & Schieffelin, 2011; Palviainen & Boyd, 2013) have shown the dual role of parents and children in FLP formation and enactment. The previous theme highlighted children's agentic capabilities and self-management in terms of their language learning. This theme focuses on parents as agents of FLP (Curd-Christiansen & Wang, 2018) and draws on parents' crucial role in influencing children's language use through the language management strategies they put in place (Curd-Christiansen, 2013b; Spolsky, 2009). With regard to parents' perspectives of their children's language learning, the findings reveal that parents considered "what will strengthen their family's social standing and best serve and support the family members' goal in life" (Curd-Christiansen 2009, p. 326).

In total, nine parents participated in the second phase of the research, including four married couples, and a single mother, as outlined in Table 5.3 below. It was evident from the data that children's Polish language learning and development was of extreme importance to parents. Recent studies of first-generation migrant families yield similar results, with maintenance of the home language being viewed as something of great importance within families (Motaghi-Tabari, 2016; Obojska & Purkarthofer, 2018). The emphasis parents placed on their children's Polish language learning was attributed to reasons such as the importance of the Polish language for identity, the perceived benefits of being bilingual and the central role of the Polish language for communicating with immediate and extended family members. According to Curd-Christiansen and Wang (2018), "By actively investing in children's language development, parents not only provide explicit planned activities but also engage in implicit socialisation" (p. 237). The

efforts parents went to, and the investments they made to support their children's language development, will be discussed in this section of the findings.

Table 5.3

Parents Participating in Phase 2

Family name	Parents' names and ages	Years in Ireland	Children's names and ages	Children's current education
Kowalski (Family A)	Matyas (Father)	13 years	Zofia Age 16	Transition Year (Post-primary school)
	Sonia (Mother)	11 years	Agata Age 13	Second year (Post-primary school)
Lewandowski (Family B)	Hanna (Mother)	3 years	Ola Age 3	Preschool
Kropkowska (Family C)	Oskar (Father)	13 years	Henryk Age 17	Fifth year (Post-primary school)
	Malgorzata (Mother)	12 years		
Mazur (Family D)	Jakub (Father)	10 years	Zuzanna Age 7 (born in Ireland)	First class (Primary school)
	Aneta (Mother)	10 years	Maja Age 5 (born in Ireland)	Junior infants
Nowak (Family E)	Bozena (Mother)	13 years	Kacper Age 16	Transition Year (Post-primary school)
			Filip Age 14	Second year (Post-primary school)
	Bartek (Father)	12 years	Szymon Age 11	Fourth class (Primary school)
			Antoni Age 5	Junior infants (Primary school)

Polish language learning and language management strategies

It has been asserted that “becoming literate in any given language entails a socialization process” (Curdts-Christiansen, 2014, p. 49), and data from the current study

revealed that children's Polish language learning was a direct consequence of parents' investment in their children's language learning. Previous FLP research focused on the decisions parents make around language management in the home (King & Logan-Terry, 2008; Schwartz, 2010; Schwartz & Verschik, 2013b). The current study revealed that parents encouraged and promoted Polish language learning among their children, and it was strikingly evident from the data that parents reflected on effective language management strategies to foster successful Polish language learning in the family home. The data revealed that parents' ideologies about their children's language learning and development had a profound impact on the level of investment they put into their children's Polish language learning. The majority of parents described their children's Polish language learning and development as essential, and this resulted in them making efforts to ensure that their children became competent in the Polish language. Hanna explained the emphasis she placed on Polish language learning in the family home:

When I introduce Polish words to my daughter, sometimes she knows and understands the word, but in English from the nursery. So I say first in English. For example, the other day, she said 'shoes' and I say it first in English 'shoes' and then I say it in Polish. 'Shoes is *buty*'. So then we are using both languages together. (B2)

Parents described the importance of Polish weekend schools for their children's language learning, and the role of these schools will now be discussed.

Polish weekend schools

As previously highlighted, the number of Polish Weekend Schools/*Szkolny Punkt Konsultacyjny* operating in Ireland has grown immensely since 2004 (Machowska-Kosciak, 2017; Pedrak, 2019). Children from all five families previously attended or were

attending Polish weekend school or online Polish language school at the time of the study. Parents provided many reasons for sending their children to Polish weekend school. These included opportunities to meet other Polish children, to learn more about Polish culture and history and in some cases, to sit formal examinations that yielded certification of Polish language learning. For example, Aneta's daughter Zuzanna "is doing the Polish online courses and will get a certificate for every year she completes" (D1).

Malgorzata described how she insisted on her son Henryk's ongoing attendance at Polish weekend school since the family's arrival in Ireland in 2007. She stated "I don't listen. There is no choice. He must go to Polish school" (C1). Malgorzata's insistence on Henryk's attendance at Polish school conveyed the importance she placed on her son's Polish language learning and is an example of explicit language management (Shohamy, 2006; Spolsky, 2009). As a teacher in a Polish weekend school in Ireland, Malgorzata was completely invested in her children's Polish language learning. From having informal conversations with Malgorzata in the family home and observing family language practices, I noted the importance she placed on intergenerational language transmission, as the following researcher fieldnotes show:

While talking to Malgorzata today, it was very clear to me that she would be very upset if her son Henryk refused to go to Polish school or if he refused to continue with his Polish language learning. She also kept referring to the fact that she and her husband have limited English and that her mother, Henryk's grandmother lives with them and has absolutely no English. I think that Malgorzata feels it's so important for Henryk to continue his Polish language learning so he can communicate properly with his family. I also think that she's hoping he will go to

university in Poland and as a result, wants Henryk to continue with his Polish language learning for this reason also. (Researcher reflective fieldnotes)

Aneta made particular efforts to ensure that her children developed their Polish literacy skills and she encouraged them to read, write and speak Polish. Aneta described the continuous efforts she made to ensure her Irish-born children continued to learn and develop the Polish language. Her daughter Zuzanna was engaging in online Polish language learning funded by the Polish government at the time of the study. Aneta explained that this involved Zuzanna participating in online classes every Sunday morning for one hour and completing many activities, tasks and homework during the week. The classes involved “learning letters, shapes, colours and numbers in Polish. And learning about Polish culture too” (D1). In addition to this, Zuzanna travelled to Poland every summer to sit examinations based on the learning that took place during the academic year. Talking about her younger daughter Maja, Aneta explained that “suddenly, I feel the pressure to teach her Polish now” (D1). Aneta expressed a preference for her children to attend a weekend Polish school in Ireland, but described the practical issues that made this challenging:

I have been thinking about the Saturday school because I’m doing everything myself now and it might be easier for me, but they have to be at school for 9.30 am on Saturdays and they finish at 4pm. It is much more time compared to online class. It would be nice because they would see other Polish children doing the same and there’s a teacher and it would seem more like a school than my house does. What we are doing now is online Polish class on Sunday morning and Polish at home in the evenings during the week. It’s so busy ... I teach Polish to the children and we start Polish lessons in the home most evenings about 7pm. (D2)

The above excerpt highlights the effort and investment involved for Aneta in providing for her children's Polish language learning. Such efforts of parents are examples of language management strategies (Spolsky, 2004) and explicit planning of language use within the home (Shohamy, 2006). Furthermore, this form of online learning is an example of how the internet and multimedia technology can support home language maintenance and development in transnational contexts. In their study of families promoting the Ojibwe language in American homes, Hermes and King (2013) provided insight into how the families used software and technology to commit to daily language learning. Aneta described a structured approach to Polish language learning in her family home:

Three evenings around from 7pm to 9pm I did Polish exercises with Zuzanna. Then Saturday again for an hour or two and on Sunday she has the teacher for the online lesson for an hour. I have written exercises from the lessons every week Zuzanna needs to do. So I have to be organised to do this. If you are not doing this every week you will be lost. You have to do it to have any progress. (D2)

The excerpt above highlights the high level of commitment and motivation evident among Aneta and her children (Curd-Christiansen & Wang, 2018).

Sonia described her daughters' attendance at Polish weekend schools in the past, as well as the challenges they faced around long-term attendance at the weekend school:

When they were 6 years old, we sent them to weekend Polish school on Saturdays or Sundays. They communicate very good in Polish because they went to the Polish school. But they grow up and my husband's job changed and it was not possible to bring them anymore. It was a big effort when we did this for a few years. (A1)

According to Sonia, “The Polish school had a superb library with all the Polish books and this made me so happy to see my girls in the Polish library” (A1).

Previous research has highlighted the challenges faced by second-generation children in maintaining the home language (Zhu Hua & Li Wei, 2016) . Parents moved back and forth between the benefits and challenges of Polish language learning when evaluating their children’s attendance at weekend Polish schools. They often juxtaposed positive outcomes of their children’s Polish language learning alongside the practical difficulties of putting this learning in place. Aneta described some of the challenges of supporting her 7-year-old daughter Zuzanna with her online language learning:

I’m afraid that she can lose something in Polish because maybe we are not practising enough. I’m trying and I focus a lot on reading, that she’s reading and that I’m asking her a lot of questions to see that she understands what she’s reading because ... she needs to answer questions and understand. You know, comprehension. (D2)

Aneta also described some of the tasks involved for Zuzanna in preparing for Polish exams and “the last few weeks we spent going through sample exams and I was asking her to try to read instructions and do herself. Sometimes the instructions are tricky” (D3). Aneta’s high level of parental input and effort were indicative of her efforts to prevent potential Polish language loss in her children.

While Sonia’s husband Matyas expressed the feeling that Polish weekend school “was good for them” (A7), he also described the high level of effort involved for him at the time they attended:

I'm so happy we did this. Don't get me wrong, it was a lot of time and work for me each weekend. I drove the girls over one hour each week and I waited for them to bring them home after. But you know it was worth it now because they picked up the Polish language there and the Polish writing and Polish history as well. (A7)

These accounts from parents are illustrative of the investments they made in terms of time and effort in order to ensure that their children learned and became literate in the Polish language. Recognising such efforts, Tse (2001) asserted that "parents are in many ways gatekeepers to the heritage language" (p. 37). Due to the location of Polish weekend schools in Ireland, it is common for families to have to travel considerable distances to the nearest Polish language school. As highlighted by Matyas, the location of the nearest Polish weekend school meant that a commitment and a willingness to give up time over the weekend period were required on the part of family members. Sonia and Matyas's positive references to the learning that their daughters engaged in at the Polish weekend school reflects how the linguistic and cultural development of Polish children are supported by Polish weekend schools in Ireland (Machowska-Kosciak, 2017). Enrolling in and sending their children to Polish weekend schools are examples of "direct efforts" made by parents "to manipulate the language situation" so that children are enabled to speak and use the heritage language (Spolsky, 2004, p. 8).

Bozena expressed similar sentiments to Sonia around the benefits of Polish school and explained how her children attended a weekend Polish school for two years when they lived in Dublin. The school was one of the School Consultation Points "connected to the Polish embassy" (E5). According to Bozena, "the best thing about the Polish school was to have Polish company and the boys meeting other Polish people" (E5). Bozena concluded that "they don't have this now they're not in the Polish school" (E5). It was clear that

Bozena valued the fact that her children had an opportunity to meet other Polish children through attendance at Polish school. Despite the benefits of children attending Polish weekend schools, the long-term sustainability of them doing so and the capacity of parents and children to travel and commit to weekend school was called into question by a number of parents, who saw Polish school as “an additional layer to the mainstream curriculum” in Ireland (Pedrak, 2019). Bozena expressed regret that her children no longer attended Polish school, due to their pursuit of other interests and hobbies. The narratives from Sonia and Bozena highlight the fact that family language management techniques and strategies were open to continuous changes in direction due to the evolving nature of family life and the agency of children in the choices they make. Previous research has highlighted the fact that children of school-going age are influenced by their peers and surroundings and use their agency to make choices about language learning and use (Kheirkhah & Cekaite, King & Fogle, 2013). In the case of the Nowak family, Bozena demonstrated awareness of socialisation processes outside of the home: “The boys got hobbies and made friends so they want to be with their friends and do what they are doing at the weekend and enjoy following other hobbies like the STEM club” (E5). This was in contrast to Malgorzata who did not give her son Henryk the choice to give up attending Polish weekend school. In general, parents demonstrated a strong impact belief (De Houwer, 1999), believing that they had the ability to positively promote and influence their children’s Polish language learning.

For those who didn’t attend Polish weekend schools any longer, parents revealed their children’s positive reactions to the resulting decreased workload and additional free time for other hobbies. However, parents also revealed that their children missed meeting Polish friends. According to Sonia:

Now they do miss it but also, they were very tired at the time they were going to the Polish school. But now we work sometimes at the weekend and it's not possible. When they first finished the Polish school, they were excited about having free weekend but then they start to say they miss the people they meet from Poland there. They really liked learning all about the culture and the Polish activities. (A1)

The above excerpt demonstrates parents' conflicting feelings towards their children's non-attendance at Polish weekend schools. While her three older children previously attended Polish school, Bozena's youngest child Antoni had not yet attended Polish school when the research took place. Bozena explained that "we've actually given up on this for now but I think he needs to go to Polish school" (E1). Bozena also discussed the challenges associated with promoting children's Polish language learning in the home:

You know what I find really hard; teaching them to read and write in Polish because we did try and we couldn't move forward, so when they went to Polish school, after a year they were actually reading and writing. So that's with all the exercises in the books, it really helps. It's just the effort to go over there to the school every weekend but I think it's worth it even for three or four years in the beginning. (E5)

It is clear from the excerpt above that Bozena found it difficult to teach Polish to her children and as a result, Polish school was seen as a better option. Other studies have also highlighted parents' preferences to send their children to language schools and "outsource" home language learning (Curd-Christiansen, 2012, 2014).

While evidence of the positive impact of Polish school on her children's levels of Polish literacy was provided by Aneta, she also described some of the challenges and conflicts that arose in the home around Polish language learning:

I found Zuzanna is sometimes not happy to do Polish work. A few times, I was really really angry with her because she was not doing these things during Polish class online ... she was frustrated that she wasn't doing the exercises as quick as other children online. Sometimes this is making frustration for me a parent and for the child. She is thinking 'I'm not good enough'. (E2)

The above excerpt highlights the challenges experienced by Aneta in committing to her children's Polish language learning and development. Aneta also identified the difficulty in juggling everyday tasks and focusing on her two daughters' Polish language learning:

This is going to be so much work for me. I don't know how I will teach Polish to the two girls because it's hard for me. In three years' time, geography, history and biology will be added to the Polish school lessons and will be even harder. (D2)

With regard to parenting, and mothering in particular, Piller and Gerber (2018) assert that for bilingual and multilingual families, "language planning issues add yet another dimension to parental anxieties" (p. 3).

The importance of focusing on the beneficial long-term goals of Polish language learning was highlighted by a number of parents. In the case of the Mazur family for example, evident conflict between parents themselves, and between parents and children was noteworthy. The data also revealed a tension between parents' wishes for their children to develop their Polish language skills and children's feelings of being stressed and overworked as a result of learning Polish in addition to their everyday mainstream schooling. Aneta summed this up as follows:

It's great but she is always complaining that I am putting the pressure on her. She will thank me when she is older but she doesn't understand right now why I am doing this and why I am demanding all this extra work. It can be difficult for her to concentrate I know, but it will be worth it in the future. (D2)

Aneta also described the conflict that existed between her and her husband Jakub with regard to their attitudes to their children's Polish language learning:

In the middle of the year, I was like 'should I really do this?' I was so tired and she was so tired. It's good when two parents are helping each other but here this is only me and Jakub is not caring about this too much. Sometimes he is saying 'This is too much. She shouldn't be doing all that' instead to tell her 'Keep going. It's great'. He is saying 'Oh Mummy is too hard on you. You need to finish now. You are too tired.' And this is not helping. (D2)

The above excerpt demonstrated that Aneta was more invested than Jakub in their children's Polish language learning. During observations in the family home, the researcher was aware and cognisant of these conflicting views through informal conversations with Aneta and Jakub. It was clear that Jakub felt concerned about the pressures placed on his daughter Zuzanna as a result of learning Polish and engaging with the online Polish school. The following researcher fieldnotes highlighted this tension:

While talking to Jakub today, I could tell that he thinks there is far too much pressure being put on the girls. He said that all of this extra Polish is making them tired and frustrated and he doesn't agree with it. It's obvious that Aneta feels it is more important than he does and she is cognisant that the family are building a house in Poland and may move back there. She wants the girls to be ready to enter back into the Polish education system if that happens. She definitely feels she is

doing all the work and Jakub doesn't believe that all of this effort is worth it.

(Researcher reflective fieldnotes)

Previous research determined that bilingual parenting is predominantly viewed as a mother's role (Okita, 2002; Piller & Gerber, 2018). In their study of two multilingual families in Sweden, Soler and Roberts (2019) concluded that the women "situate themselves as more knowledgeable about language issues at home" (p. 18) and advised that a gender prominence needs greater emphasis in the literature. In the context of the current study, it was clear that Aneta felt that she was carrying the responsibility for the children's Polish language learning and she expressed that she wanted greater support from her husband around this. Based on interactions with the family and observations carried out in the home, it was clear that Aneta took full responsibility for her children's Polish language learning. This was not the case, however, with other families participating in the research. As previously highlighted, Matyas took responsibility for taking his daughters to weekend Polish school and this was an example of a family within which both parents were heavily invested in their daughter's Polish language learning.

Polish literacy resources in the home

The data revealed "the agentive role parents play in creating linguistic environments for children's multilingual development" (Curd-Christiansen & Wang, 2018, p. 236). All parents made reference to the importance of having Polish reading materials and Polish literacy resources in the home. The benefits of children having access to literacy resources in the home language has previously been highlighted in the literature, with positive literacy practices in the home language being linked to children's exposure to literacy resources in the home language (Curd-Christiansen & La Morgia, 2018; Gibbons & Ramirez, 2004; Kim & Pyun, 2014). Tse (2001) found that the most important factor for

slowing down the rate of language loss was having home language print in the home, thus fostering an interest in reading in the home language. The challenges of maintaining successful home language literacy when limited literacy resources and materials are available have been highlighted (Hashimoto & Lee, 2011). During observations in the home, it was clear that all children had access to literacy resources in the Polish language. These were in the form of books, online resources and materials from Polish weekend schools. Sonia explained that “we have a mix of books at home and they have all the books from the weekend Polish school because some of the books are about Polish history and culture and they keep them” (A1). During home observation visits to the Lewandowski house, Hanna showed me her daughter’s collection of storybooks in Polish and I observed her reading stories in Polish to her daughter Ola. Similarly, there were many Polish storybooks, text books and reading materials in the Mazur household and Aneta discussed reading Polish stories to her two girls on a regular basis. Henryk had many reading materials in Polish as a result of studying in Polish weekend school and preparing for Polish as a Leaving Certificate subject.

While there was an abundance of Polish literacy resources present in the Nowak home, parents Bozena and Bartek explained that the four boys demonstrated a preference for English reading material and texts. During a visit to the home, Bozena described how she had given up trying to convince her sons to read in Polish. This highlights that an availability of literacy materials in Polish doesn’t ensure that they will be utilised or enjoyed by children.

Awareness of children's Polish language competence

Parents demonstrated a clear understanding of their children's Polish language competence and an awareness of their particular strengths and areas for improvement.

Sonia explained:

I am happy enough. Zofia, who is nearly 15 years old and Agata who is in sixth class have fluency in reading and fluency in writing. They are very good for speaking and listening also. Maybe they need more exercises for Polish grammar but they have learned lots during two months holidays in Poland every summer because they talk, read and write with their cousins there. They actually go to the library in Poland with their grandmother and they take out lots of Polish books so I am happy enough. (A1)

Aneta clearly described Zuzanna's level of Polish language:

If I ask her to write sentences in Polish, she will write. She might make some mistakes but she will write Polish and what she's hearing and about familiar things. It's the same as the level she had in English in the junior infant class. So she has a similar level in Polish now as English last year. (D2)

As expected, the findings revealed that it was easier for children who previously learned Polish in Poland to maintain and develop the Polish language after moving to Ireland. It was more difficult for Irish-born children and children who moved to Ireland at a very young age to develop their Polish language learning. This can be attributed to English language dominance and a lack of exposure and access to formal Polish language learning in Ireland. For example, Bozena explained the differences between her two sons' experiences of learning Polish. According to Bozena:

Because Kacper had Polish already, he was quite confident in Polish. He was learning a second language by the time we arrived to Ireland. But Filip had very little Polish and he also needed to start speaking English at the same time so that was really hard. (E1)

Similarly, Malgorzata discussed the initial difficulties faced by her son Henryk in learning Polish when he arrived in Ireland at 5 years old. She was aware that his Polish was less-developed than his older siblings who had lived in Poland for longer lengths of time before moving to Ireland:

The worst is Henryk. It's because he's the youngest and he spent the most time in Ireland. The pressure was to learn English. My son is 29 and came here when he was 16 years old. [Henryk] got a problem. He learned Polish very very slowly. Every process is very very slowly. (C1)

It is clear from the above excerpt that Malgorzata attributed Henryk's difficulty with Polish language learning to the fact that he spent more of his younger years in Ireland compared to his older siblings who lived in Poland until a later age. Malgorzata's narrative concurs with previous research which concluded that immense pressure can be placed on minority-language children to acquire English at a very young age when living in an English-dominant country (Fillmore, 1991; Hakuta & D'Andrea, 1992). Parents gave examples of their children lacking in specific Polish vocabulary and as a result, needing to draw on both English and Polish. Matyas provided a clear example of an instance when his daughter needed to mix the English and Polish languages in order to communicate a message in the home:

For example, with Agata, when the tap was leaking and Agata was telling me this in Polish first. ‘Daddy, will you change?’ That bit was in Polish and then she said ‘the tap’ in English as she didn’t know what the Polish word for ‘tap’ was. So using the mix of two languages was so funny. (A4)

Aneta described similar occurrences with her daughter Maja who, according to Aneta, used English when she lacked knowledge of specific Polish vocabulary:

Maja will put some English words in her speech. Words that she doesn’t know in English. If she’s talking to me and asking for something and using the English word, I’m explaining the Polish words and telling her the Polish for these words. You see all the words in playschool and connected with playschool, she knows in English. Things like art materials. She never used these words in Polish. (D3)

The above excerpt highlights the fact that children had knowledge of particular banks of vocabulary in English only, which can be attributed to the fact that they were being educated through English.

As previously outlined, students can undertake Polish as a Leaving Certificate subject examination in Ireland, and many of the parents felt that their children had the Polish language competency to do so in the future. Parents expressed a desire for their children to prepare for this examination and they displayed positive attitudes towards their children preparing for this examination. Sonia’s response to her children sitting the examination was “most definitely and especially if they are thinking about going to Poland for college. This would be so great for them” (A4). The importance of learning and developing Polish in preparation for a possible return home was highlighted by a number of parents. According to Aneta:

I think we might think about returning to Poland. We don't know yet but that's ok. But I think we might go back to Poland so I would like her to keep up the Polish language before this. (B1)

Polish language loss as possible but avoidable

Language shift involving a shift in the use of the home language to the more dominant language has been well-documented in the literature (Caldas, 2006; Canagarajah, 2008; Fishman, 1966). Parents demonstrated an acute awareness of the possibility of Polish language loss occurrence among Polish migrant children, and they provided many examples of this, referring to other Polish migrant families and observations they made while spending time in Poland. Hanna recounted one particular experience that resonated with her:

I heard about a boy who is now in his 20s and he was born in America and he grew up there but he was born to Polish parents ... he refused to speak in Polish. He said 'I don't want to speak Polish' and he stopped going to the Polish supplementary school and he said he was 100% American and 'I don't want to learn this language anymore' ... But then after a few years he said he went to Poland and then he did some studies there and he said 'I have found my identity again'. (B1)

According to Hanna:

I think parents should be responsible and they should say 'OK you're 10 years old and maybe you're just bored and you don't want to speak Polish or you don't want to read in Polish and you might not think it's useful. Not when you will be 16 years old or 17 or 18, you may need that and then maybe it will be much more difficult for you if you don't do this now.' So parents should say that. (B1)

Hanna's comment above suggests that it is the parents' responsibility to promote HLM and development among their children, as the children themselves may not be motivated to do so at a young age. Hanna was perhaps suggesting that children may decide to take on Polish language learning at an older age, but by then it is more difficult to learn the language. Matyas also demonstrated an awareness of the consequences of Polish children losing or not developing their Polish language skills:

But you know, some Polish kids living in Ireland, they go home to Poland for the summer and you know they arrive at the airport and they see the different signs and they can't read them. Yes they can speak Polish but they don't know how to read or write it. (A4)

Hanna referred to the fact that some parents don't feel strongly about their children's development of reading and writing in Polish:

It's the parents' decision. I've met parents who said 'OK, I'm not interested in my child's reading or writing in Polish. I just want them to be able to speak Polish and to understand me and not so much interested in reading or writing.' (B1)

According to Bartek, "we see many situations in Poland, actually Polish children who migrate and lose the language" (E1). Bartek's wife Bozena agreed with this assertion and gave another example to back up Bartek's viewpoint:

This little fella was in the playground with his grandfather and the poor little boy had no Polish at all and you could see from top to toe that he was Polish but he had no Polish. So the grandfather was just struggling and so my boys realised that this little boy could speak English and they were like 'oh this is great he can speak English'. And when the grandparents realised that my boys could speak both Polish

and English they became translators. This boy was maybe 7 years old with no Polish and he was living in the United States. We have seen many similar situations like that, but maybe not that extreme. My boys have met so many Polish kids in Poland and living in Ireland or England but only speaking English. (E1)

Bartek gave another example of this:

Two months ago at the wedding in Poland there was a Polish family living in Australia with two boys and they had no Polish at all. They were actually able to listen to Polish conversations but they didn't feel confident to say a word. They didn't speak at all. (E1)

The above excerpts are demonstrative of parents' awareness of language shift and language loss among Polish migrant children. Drawing on a three-generation theory in his model of language shift, Fishman (1970) maintained that the first generation of immigrants bring the new language to the home, the second generation grow up bilingual and the third generation commonly become monolingual in the dominant local language and have little or no knowledge of the heritage language. Similarly, García (2009) asserted that language shift among immigrant populations occurs over three generations, due to the intense pressure minority groups face from dominant groups to "linguistically assimilate" or conform linguistically (p. 80). Aligning more closely with the anecdotes told by parents in this study, other researchers claimed that heritage languages can be completely lost over two generations (Brown, 2011; Fillmore, 2000).

Hanna and her daughter Ola lived in Hanna's parents' house at the time the research took place. It was very clear from observational and interview data that Hanna's parents felt that Ola's maintenance and development of the Polish language was extremely

important. When discussing Polish children who lose or fail to develop the Polish language, Ola's grandmother Gosia responded to this with clear emotion:

Can you imagine? The family where the children have no Polish and they are from Poland. This is a real and a big big problem. The disappointment of this. Awful situation I think. (B2)

Ola's grandfather Tomasz expressed the feeling that parents are ultimately responsible for ensuring that their children develop and maintain the Polish language and that when this doesn't happen "this is a big big mistake", concluding, "I don't know. I don't know" (B2).

The presence of grandparents in the household is associated with slowing down the rate of language shift to English (Ishizawa, 2004; Kondo–Brown, 2005; Verdon et al., 2014).

Braun (2012) asserted that "the affective factors of grandparents on language maintenance" in home language use have received little attention (p. 423). In a study of third-generation British-Bangladeshi children, "the grandmothers all demonstrated the importance of the heritage language" (Ruby, 2017a, p. 119).

Hanna demonstrated an awareness of the reasons for Polish language loss among Polish migrant children:

It can happen for various reasons that people don't teach Polish to their kids.

Sometimes they think English will be good for now because they are afraid that they won't have English or that it won't be good enough or whatever. But then it's too late to think about Polish. I think it must be a habit with your kids to speak the language to them because when you introduce English first, then it becomes a habit that you speak English. And then whenever your kid wants to open up to you, they do it through English and the Polish is lost and you can't just decide to switch to Polish one day, because that is unnatural. (B2)

The above excerpt highlights Hanna's awareness of the impact of English language use and dominance on children's Polish language practices and it also reinforces the importance of parents speaking Polish with their children as a "habit". Hanna was cognisant of the fact that English can take over if it becomes the preferred language among children and young people. Previous research shows that where English is the dominant language of the local community, minority language children can become monolingual in English as a result of the high status of English and a limited number of opportunities available to learn other languages (Baker, 2011; King & Fogle, 2006).

It was apparent from the data that all parents displayed strong feelings around the negative impact of Polish language loss among Polish migrant children. It was clear that all parents wanted to avoid this happening to their children and the high level of investment and effort that parents put into their children's Polish language learning demonstrated this commitment. Parents demonstrated an awareness that FLP is "fluid, alive, and malleable" over time (Kayam & Hirsch, 2012, p. 623). Curdt-Christiansen and Wang (2018) defined parental agency as "the capacity of parents to make decisions about what measures should be implemented to promote or discourage the use and practice of particular languages based on their understanding of the functions and perceived values of the languages" (p. 236). The findings revealed that while parents implemented particular measures around language use and learning, they also displayed an understanding of the agency of children with regard to the choices they make about languages. In this way, parents' and children's joint role in the FLP construction was evident.

English as linguistic capital

All parents conveyed the importance of their children's English language learning and development, seeing it as valuable linguistic capital for their children's future. They

described English as a language necessary for successful participation in Irish society and the education system. All parents described their children as having fluent English and they were positive about children's English language competence and development. Nine out of ten children were either born in Ireland or had been living in Ireland for at least 10 years at the time the research took place. The only exception to this was Ola who moved to Ireland when she was 2 months old.

Aneta's two daughters were born in Ireland and in describing her oldest daughter Zuzanna's level of English, she explained, "She is flying. She loves to read and to go to the library now and she's reading to her teddy bears in English and not in Polish" (D2). Aneta was also happy with her younger daughter's level of English and described improvements in her English: "Maja was using single words and now she is in junior infants she is using small sentences now and it's great" (D2). Aneta made continuous efforts to ensure that her children were also exposed to English when staying in Poland during the summer months: "I went over after three weeks. I brought some English books from the library and they were reading them in the evening while they were in Poland" (D3). Similar feelings resonated with other parents. According to Malgorzata, her three grown-up children "have great English now because they are in Ireland so long now" (C1). According to Tomasz, "Hanna our daughter has excellent English because she speaks so much. It's that simple. You need to speak. Practice, practice, practice. That's number one thing" (B2).

None of the parents expressed any concerns around their children's English language learning or competence and this was not surprising considering the length of time children had been living in Ireland at the time the research was conducted. Bartek expressed the opinion that his children acquired English before starting school because of its dominance in the community: "You see what happened with Antoni and Szymon, they

started to pick up English months before they started school because they were outside playing with the neighbours” (E6). Bozena described her younger children as “Polish children born in Ireland and all the words around them was English” (E1). These descriptions highlight the dominance of English in the local community. Despite the fact that Hanna spoke Polish with her 3-year-old daughter Ola at home, she was aware that Ola sometimes learned words for the first time in English rather than Polish as a result of attending crèche part-time. Previous research has alerted us to the fact that “young children are highly susceptible to losing their first language if the first language is not strongly maintained during the preschool years” (Tabors (2008, p. 4). Hanna demonstrated an awareness of the dominance and value of English both in Ireland and worldwide:

It’s like in English-speaking countries, English is dominant and all the other languages, even the native languages don’t matter so much. I think it’s because English is the language people speak and you don’t have to learn another language to do well because everybody in the world is learning English. (B1)

As a global language, English can be described as “valued, desired, and widely learned and used” (Kayam & Hirsch, 2012, p. 625). All parents described positive attitudes towards their children having English language competence and saw the value of English. Aneta expressed the view that “because they study English, they will have a better chance in the future” (D1). According to Sonia “I think it’s really great they have English. I never imagined that my children would be able to speak English like this. It’s unreal really” (A1). The sociopolitical power attached to the English language and its impact on FLP has been referred to in previous studies (Curdtt-Christiansen, 2009). Findings from the current study are illustrative of parents’ ideologies of language as a form of Bourdieu’s (1991)

linguistic capital, as parents emphasised the benefits of their children having English as a language for future opportunities.

Bilingualism and multilingualism as resources

All parents described their children as bilingual and they articulated the benefits they perceived to be associated with bilingualism. Aneta displayed a clear knowledge of the benefits of bilingualism as a result of her own reading and from studying early childhood education:

When you are a speaker of a different native language, you should give your children the opportunity to learn your native language. Then if they properly learn the grammar and skills in one language, it will be easier for them to learn this in another language. (D1)

Furthermore, Aneta expressed that:

There's this philosophy that they're catching the language better before they're age five. Ok, like Maja started learning English from crèche when she was 2 years old and it's like she started to learn and speak two languages at the same time and she doesn't care what language her friends speak now. (B2)

Parents recognised the opportunities afforded to their children as a result of multiple languages. Bozena described the importance of her family maintaining the Polish language to promote multilingualism:

It's so important for us Polish to keep the language ... It's a ready-to-go opportunity to give our children ... I know maybe Polish language won't be that popular in maybe Europe or around the world, but it's an extra skill and you never

know when you need it and also it helps children have a flexible mind and it also helps you to learn another language in the future. (E1)

The excerpt above depicts how Bozena felt her children could benefit from being bilingual or multilingual. Similarly, Hanna expressed that “for my daughter, I want her to speak two, maybe three, maybe more languages if she will be interested” (B1). Previous studies have demonstrated the desire of parents for their children to grow up bilingual or multilingual due to their perceived value of multilingualism for cognitive and socio-economic benefits (Curd-Christiansen, 2009, 2014, 2016; Kang, 2013; Leung & Uchikoshi, 2012). Hanna described the efforts she made to promote her daughter’s bilingualism:

So I will send her for two days to Polish crèche so she will get the Polish and three days to English-speaking crèche to get some English and so that she will have bilingual education from the start. (B2)

She expressed the opinion that attendance at both an English-speaking and Polish-speaking crèche ensured that she was exposed to both English and Polish, thus enhancing her daughter’s bilingual development. The home has been identified as a key site and domain for the promotion of bilingualism and it has been asserted that parental ideologies and parent-child relationships ultimately determine the potential realisation of family bilingualism (Nyikos, 2014).

Influence of school and educators on language practices

Drawing on the theoretical framework for the current study, micro forces at family level and macro forces outside of the family (Curd-Christiansen, 2018) impacted on the FLP within families. It was clear from parents’ narratives how educational language policy and advice given by educators, teachers and caregivers influenced FLP and the choices

parents made with regard to their children's Polish language maintenance and development.

Aneta described Polish as the dominant language that had been used in the family home until the children started primary school, and expressed that "it's very funny to see how school changes the language they speak in home" (D3). While language socialisation for children begins with everyday encounters within the family home, their learning of language extends beyond the home and is determined by an individual's access to and participation in activities supporting their heritage language (Duff, 2014). Parents did not report any opportunities afforded to their children to use or learn Polish during the school day. There was clear evidence to highlight the fact that parents received different and sometimes conflicting forms of advice from educators in relation to their children's language practices. According to Sonia, "I never met any teacher who said to give up Polish or speak more English" (A1). Contrary to this, Aneta reported that

I was told in playschool here in Ireland 'Oh you should give her more words in English and speak more English at home' and I was very sad really. I said, 'No. We speak Polish at home.' Then they came back to me before she started school and had a meeting and they said 'Sorry. Actually, you were right. Now she begins to speak English good.' I knew she needed to learn Polish good first. (D1)

During a subsequent interview, Aneta explained that

I got advice from preschool for Zuzanna that I should teach her a little bit of English but I refused. I don't want to teach incorrect English. I see lots of parents doing this and it's not good. If they would like their children to have some English words, the children will get them themselves because they have to. (D2)

In relation to this particular advice given by the preschool educator, Aneta chose to discount the advice, expressing the feeling that it was preferable for children to learn English in school and in the community, and to use Polish in the home. Similarly, Matyas was also advised to speak English at home by his child's teacher. He expressed similar feelings to Aneta:

You know Zofia's teacher in junior infants said to me 'Can you speak English at home so she will learn it more quickly?' and my answer was 'No, we will never do this. Polish is our language and they will need the language for when they are with Polish family.' Also I was thinking our English is not too good for speaking at home. (A4)

The narrative from Matyas is indicative of some parents' willingness to make their own decisions and do what they feel is best for their children's language learning, despite the advice given by educators. Findings from a study examining the impact of Dutch mainstream teachers on the family language policy of Turkish immigrant parents in the Netherlands also found that parents and primary school teachers had conflicting beliefs and opinions regarding use of the home language in family situation (Bezcioğlu-Göktolga & Yagmur, 2018).

Irish language as “another language”

As previously highlighted, English language competence was viewed by parents as linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1991). Similar to the views of the children, there were mixed views held among parents regarding their children's learning of Irish in school. Among parents, languages were not viewed as being of equal importance. Hanna displayed an understanding of the different contexts within which children learn and speak Irish:

I think for teaching the Irish language, it depends on the context ... a few children really do speak Irish at home and this is good, but for most of them, they speak English. It's like in English-speaking countries, English is dominant and all the other languages, even the native languages don't matter so much. (B1)

The above narrative highlights a parent's impression of the impact of English language dominance on minority language learning. Her understanding of Irish as a minority language that is not spoken in the majority of households in Ireland can be linked to her perception of it as a language that doesn't "matter so much". Hanna described her opinion of the various languages her daughter may have future opportunities to learn:

I have been thinking about my daughter learning the Irish language actually. And I think I would prefer her to learn German or French. I have nothing bad to say about the Irish language but even people from Ireland don't seem to speak it. I am a very practical person you know so if it would be that the Irish language was spoken in Ireland, I would say 'go for it. Learn Irish.' But that's not the way it is ... I think it's just because it is English and it's so dominant. (B1)

Hanna's ideology of language as a form of linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1991) that can lead to future opportunities and advantages was evident in her justification of holding more widely used languages in higher esteem. In considering the impact of the wider sociocultural context (Curdt-Christiansen, 2018), Hanna was clearly aware of the symbolic values attached to various languages. Implicit in her description of the Irish language was the viewpoint that Irish is not a widely valued language in Ireland, even by "people from Ireland". This is an example of how outside forces in society can strongly impact on ideology language formation at family level, as espoused in the theoretical framework drawn upon in the current study.

In contrast, Bozena, had more positive attitudes towards her children's Irish language learning, revealing that "the boys never struggled with Irish in school" (E1) and she viewed Irish as an important aspect of her children's linguistic repertoire: "Irish is another language for my children to learn and they can benefit from learning every language because of the skills they will learn" (E1). It can be deduced that Bozena focused less on the status the Irish language and viewed all languages as beneficial for the development of language skills. As previously discussed within the theme *Children's Perspectives of Language Learning and Development*, Bozena's opinion of the Irish language was in contrast to her children's, who clearly conveyed their impressions of Irish as a language possessing less status to that of the English language.

Children as language brokers and parents as inferior English language learners

Parents themselves had varying experiences of learning English in Ireland, and they also had contrasting levels of competency in the English language. As the following excerpt demonstrates, Sonia found learning English difficult as she had arrived in Ireland with limited English:

And I was going to class for English and this was very stressful time for us all because language was so difficult. So I didn't use the English language in any way for 15 years before this and so that was difficult. But every day there was a new lesson to learn and I met new people and step by step I used new words and new sentences and you start to enjoy conversations and then you can make new friends because of this. (A1)

As a teacher in a Polish language school, Malgorzata felt that "I must learn English for my job" even though "I don't feel I need to be bilingual". Malgorzata expressed that "for my

children, I want this” (C1). It was clear that Malgorzata viewed bilingualism as a greater asset for herself. Bartek expressed the feeling that he had reached his capacity for English language learning “and now I feel I can’t learn more English. I reach my, you know, my level and that’s probably it” (E6). Furthermore, with regard to his spoken English in the community and workplace, he expressed a belief that “Irish people are so patient with the language” (E6) and also described the empathy shown towards him as somebody with restricted English. Tomasz expressed similar feelings with regard to his level of English:

This English I have I don’t speak very well I know ... I know people find my English very very hard to understand but I understand them. My friends know very good English so one of my friends, eh, first of all he try translate for me and then I try to get better and better. (B2)

Bozena highlighted how much easier it is for children to acquire and develop the English language in comparison to parents and adults:

It’s so different for the boys because they go to school and if we can do any college in the afternoon, like the English language college, that would do great things for us, but we can’t. We are working. We don’t have the time. I’m reading a book in English at the moment but it’s very hard for me. (E1)

Luykx (2005) emphasised the role of children when they surpass adults’ mastery of the dominant language, describing “ways in which children act as *language socializers* of parents” (p. 1410). Findings from the study illuminated the agentic capacity of children to act as language socialisers. Aneta explained that her children sometimes correct her Polish: “And if I am playing with Zuzanna and I answer a question and she says ‘No Mommy you pronounce that wrong!’” (D3). Children’s capacity to act as language brokers (Antonini, 2016) and translators was apparent during observations in the home, informal

conversations with families and during family interviews. It was common for children to step in and express their parents' viewpoints and thoughts in more detail during the family interview. This sometimes occurred at the request of parents and at other times, children recognised opportunities to do so. Translating for his mother during the family interview, Henryk explained that "my mother just said if she had another reason apart from economic, she would say they knew a family in Dublin at the time who moved from Poland before them" (C1). The literature highlights that "while many socializing situations involve older persons as experts and younger persons as novices, the reverse is also commonplace" (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2011, p. 4), and this was evident in the current study.

Summary

The data revealed parents as agents of language policy who can facilitate their children's home language development and learning (Curdt-Christiansen & Wang, 2018). All parents from the five families placed importance on their children's language learning in both English and Polish. The efforts and investment of parents in this regard were clear from the data and it should be emphasised that the parents involved in the current study were particularly invested in their children's Polish language learning and development. It is not intended to make generalisations and it is not suggested that participants in this study are representative of all Polish migrant parents in Ireland. All parents reported family involvement in Polish weekend or online schools and a number of parents described spending time in the home teaching Polish to their children. Such efforts can be interpreted as parents' language management strategies. Parents were mindful of the challenges and difficulties associated with this level of investment in language learning. They also displayed conflicting thoughts between their hopes for their children to develop their

Polish language skills and concerns that the children's workload could become overstretched as a result of this additional learning.

Previous research suggested that the task of children's HLM was one that generally rests with mothers. While this was clearly the case with two of the families involved in the study, it was not a universal finding across the five families and there was evidence of fathers showing interest in and taking responsibility for their children's Polish language learning. Across all five families, parents demonstrated an awareness of their children's strengths and challenges with regard to their Polish language learning and development. There was a universal awareness evident among all parents regarding the negative impact of Polish language loss for children. They ascribed the possibility of Polish language loss to English language dominance, children's attendance at English-medium schools and a lack of effort on the part of parents in ensuring that their children engage in formal Polish language learning.

In addition to articulating the benefits of Polish language learning and maintenance for their children, there was a common belief among all parents that English was a valuable asset for their children's future. Generally, parents articulated the benefits of bilingualism and multilingualism and the associated opportunities afforded to their children. In this way, parents' language ideologies associated with multiple language learning were evident. Despite this, some parents expressed uncertainty around the benefits of their children learning Irish in school due to their personal perception that it was not a significant or useful worldwide language.

While parents described varied advice given to them by educators with regard to language use in the home, parents made their own decisions despite some ill-informed advice from educators and caregivers as they were well informed of the benefits of

multiple language learning and HLM. Concurrent with the theoretical framework put forward for the study, parents recognised the agentic capabilities of their children with regard to language learning and language use and it can be concluded that they perceived their children as “language socializers of parents” to some degree (Luykx, 2005, p. 1410). The findings described within the following theme, *Language Practices in the Family Home* examine parents’ and children’s everyday language practices and focus on what actually happens within the family home.

Language Practices in the Family Home

This theme focuses on patterns of language use within family homes and draws on everyday family language practices as described by participants and observed by the researcher in the family homes. As described in Chapter 2, language practices have been defined as “what people do with language” and the choices they make in relation to language use (Spolsky, 2004, p. 2). In the context of the current study, the researcher considers language practices as “the variety of language used” (Van Mensel, 2018, p. 2) and distinct from participants’ attitudes and beliefs about language. Triangulation of evidence was deemed important in analysing family language practices, as self-reported language practices can differ from actual language practices. As a result, interview transcripts, researcher fieldnotes, transcripts of audio and video recordings of family interactions were analysed to build up a picture of family language practices and language use patterns in the family home.

Schwartz (2010) posited that through the examination of language practices, “patterns of language choice and preference within the family and in different contexts” could be analysed (p. 172). As a result, the researcher deemed it important to draw on participants’ perceptions of their language practices inside and outside of the family home. While researcher observations of family language practices predominantly took place inside the family home, participants were asked to discuss and describe their language practices in contexts outside of the home. Across all five families, it became clear during the fieldwork that family language practices were not static, as participants described how they have evolved and changed over time. As a result, I do not intend to make generalisations about language practices in the homes of Polish transnational families in

Ireland. The following sections outline the recurring themes evident across the five families.

English as the language that “crept in”

Despite the fact that all nine parents referred to Polish as the language of the family home, the data revealed that Polish was not used exclusively in any of the homes at the time of the study, as a combination of Polish and English was used in all family homes. Parents depicted how the first site of language socialisation for children was the family home (Spolsky, 2004) by describing Polish as the sole language used by children and parents in the home before children’s engagement with formal early childhood education and schooling in Ireland. The data clearly highlighted the influence of external forces and factors on language practices inside the family home (Curd-Christiansen, 2014; Spolsky, 2012), especially the school and local community. Parents described how children began to use increased amounts of English in the home after they entered English-medium childcare settings, preschools and primary school. Bozena expressed, “We only spoke Polish at home when they were young, and they were at home with me so they were only speaking Polish, so when I sent them to crèche and preschool they had no English really” (E1). Similarly, Aneta recalled that there “was no English in the house until the girls went to the preschool and then they brought the English home” (D1). Sonia felt that “English just crept in after the girls started school” (A1). These descriptions from parents are illustrative of “FLP being shaped by the external environments through language socialisation” (Curd-Christiansen, 2018, p. 421).

Children’s increased use of English over time as they participated more fully in school and society portrays language socialisation as a lifespan process occurring across

multiple sites (Ochs, 1999; Ochs & Schieffelin, 2011), including home and school. Parents such as Bozena described this language socialisation process:

When they start the primary school and when they make the Irish friends, this is when they speak so much English and then they get used to this more and more and they spend more time with their friends outside the house. (E1)

Similarly, Matyas described the impact of children's engagement with school on family language practices: "I couldn't believe how suddenly there was so much English in the house after Zofia was in the primary school" (A4).

Children themselves recognised the significance of school, the local community and peer groups for their English language use and language preferences. According to Agata, "All of my friends are Irish so I'm speaking English with them" (A3). She also explained that there were not many opportunities to use Polish in the local community. For example "in swimming, one of my coaches is Polish and sometimes we talk in Polish but our main coach goes 'stop talking Polish, we don't know what you're talking about'" (A3). According to Kacper, "I mean it has to be English all day for us learning through English in school and hanging out with friends who are not Polish" (E1). Through their participation and interactions in the school and community, it can be asserted that children were socialised into English language use (Moore, 2005) within the local community.

Parents demonstrated the understanding that although children grew up with Polish as the language of the family home, their participation in education and society necessitated their use of English. Parents situated Polish in the home and English in the local community, and this concurs with the assertion of Harris (1995, 2009) that socialisation is context-specific and that peer groups are responsible for outside the home socialisation and behaviours. Parents such as Jakub were cognisant that their children used

English for the majority of the day: “I mean they need English for school and to do well in Ireland, and they have to speak English in school all day” (D5). Similar to other parents, Matyas described how his children moved fluidly between Polish and English in their daily lives: “For the kids, they speak English all day in the school. Then we speak Polish while we are having dinner ... then it’s back to them speaking English again for the kids with each other” (A4). Matyas’s description of his children’s language use patterns illuminates how children adapted their language practices to suit particular contexts and this family language practice “could reflect sociocultural changes in intergenerational interaction” (Schwartz, 2010, p. 178).

“Sometimes it’s Polish and sometimes it’s English”: Parents’ perspectives of language practices

Parents described how children differentiated their language practices with different members of the family by naturally switching between Polish and English. There was clear evidence provided by parents and children in all homes of how children predominantly spoke Polish with their parents and English with siblings, where siblings were present. According to Sonia, “they always speak Polish to us, their parents, but the funny thing is when the girls play together or talk about school, they always speak in English to each other” (A1). Parents described how English language use among siblings in the home increased as children grew older. Some parents described how older children influenced younger siblings to speak English in the family home. According to Aneta, her daughter Zuzanna began to speak English in the family home after she started preschool and this use of English increased further after she started primary school: “Zuzanna is 5 years old and will sing English songs to her younger sister Maja and tries to play with her in English all the time” (D2). Previous research has found that children tend to bring the

mainstream language of the community home when they begin to socialise (Spolsky & Shohamy, 2000). Furthermore, the important influence of older siblings on younger siblings' language practices has been recognised, and it is asserted that first-born children are likely to introduce the majority or dominant language into the home on commencement of childcare or formal education in the form of homework, friendships and television (Niño-Murcia & Rothman, 2008). The current study revealed how younger siblings like Maja may be influenced by their older siblings' language practices in the majority language through more exposure to the dominant language and imitation of it, and less exposure to the home language (Döpke, 1992; Stevens & Ishizawa, 2007).

Parents revealed that children's preferences for English language use in the home was often necessary and warranted as children found it easier to express themselves or to communicate in English. When describing her two teenage daughters' language practices, Sonia explained that "sometimes they use Polish and English and sometimes they find it easier to say something in English" (A1). According to Bartek, his children predominantly used English with each other and he provided the example of his children using English when playing computer games: "It was about a year ago the boys started to play computer games ... And everything with this is in English, like all descriptions and instructions. So all of their talking and discussing has to be English" (E1). Parents discussed how children's English language use in the home has gradually led to an increased use of English among parents also. Aneta, for example, described how "sometimes they are talking to and asking me questions in English and I am answering in English and then I remember we are not talking in Polish" (D2). Such examples of increased use of English in the family home highlight the active role that children have played in family language socialisation and formation, as depicted in other studies (Fogle, 2012, 2013a; Fogle & King, 2013; Lanza, 2007; Luykx, 2005; Palviainen & Boyd, 2013).

Parents recognised and accepted that children associated certain topics of conversation with the English language. While Aneta initially described her daughters' language practices as "mostly Polish" (D2), she revealed that they also used English when speaking about certain topics:

They are mixing languages when playing all the time. It depends on the theme. If it is school or playschool they are playing, that will be straight English. If it's mummy and baby, it depends. Maybe Polish, but a little English also. It depends what they are doing or talking about. The same when we are reading bedtime stories. They will use English sometimes. (D2)

Describing her children's language practices during playtime at home, Aneta explained, "So for example they pretend to be the teacher and they speak English like her saying 'OK everybody. Open your books now' so our children speak English at home this way" (D3). The following excerpt is taken from a transcript of a video-recorded interaction between Aneta and her daughter Maja that took place before a bedtime story in the Mazur household:

Transcript 1: Bedtime story

Speaker	Original transcript	English translation
Aneta:	<i>Dobra, gdzie masz książkę?</i>	Alright, where is your book?
Maja:	<i>Tu.</i> One, two, three, four (counting pictures of animals on the cover of the book)	Here.
Aneta:	<i>Okej. Którą stronę? Którą stronę?</i>	OK, which page? Which page?
	<i>Tą?</i>	This one?
Maja:	Can we have two books?	
Aneta:	<i>Zaraz zobaczymy.</i>	We will see in a moment.
Aneta:	<i>OK, to powiedz mi, co to jest?</i>	OK so tell me what is this?

Maja: In English? It's a roof.

The excerpt above highlights that while Aneta was using Polish during the conversation, Maja interjected with English throughout. When probed to further discuss Maja's use of English, Aneta put forward the idea that "if the children are learning or hearing about something in English, then they will want to talk about this and remember about it in English" (D1). It is clear from the excerpt above that Maja associated English with counting numbers and the vocabulary related to the pictures in the book. Aneta further explained the importance of the play context for her daughter's choice of language: "When Zuzanna is writing in her diary or writing on pieces of paper pretending to be a receptionist in the hairdressers, she will usually write in Polish ... because we talk with our hairdresser in Polish because she is from Poland" (D3). After her daughters commenced primary school, Aneta described how it was natural for them to use a combination of English and Polish at home. According to Aneta, "It's just natural. If they want to watch Polish movies, that's fine. If they want to watch English movies, then that's fine too. There is no pressure now ... but they will still have the Polish class" (D1). It was clear that Aneta was content with the children using a combination of Polish and English in the home, but only on the basis that it didn't interfere with their Polish language learning.

Hanna stated that Polish was the language spoken among all family members in the family home where Hanna, her parents and her daughter Ola lived: "Actually I always speak Polish at home because there is no other context. We are all Polish in my house. All three generations. Me, my parents and my daughter" (B1). Hanna's mother Gosia also asserted that "it's so normal for us to speak Polish when we are together" (B1). Discussing the home and community contexts, Gosia described that "here between us in the family

home it's Polish. Outside, if necessary it's English" (B1). Hanna explained that her daughter Ola recently started attending a crèche and as a result "Ola is now mixing languages. She will put English nouns in Polish sentences and especially nouns for her favourite things like cake, play doh, slides" (B2). Hanna explained that as a result, she is beginning to introduce Ola to more English vocabulary at home. During observations in the home, it was clear that Hanna used a combination of Polish and English when singing songs and reciting nursery rhymes with Ola, as the excerpt below shows:

Transcript 2: Rhymes and songs

Speaker	Original transcript	English translation
Hanna:	Johnny, Johnny!	
Ola:	Yes, Papa!	
Hanna:	Eating sugar?	
Ola:	No, Papa!	
Hanna:	Telling lies?	
Ola:	No, Papa!	
Hanna:	Open your mouth!	
Ola:	Ha! Ha! Ha!	
Hanna:	<i>Super! Piątka! Co to jest?</i>	Super! High five! What is that?
Ola:	<i>Koła autobusu kręcą się, kręcą się, kręcą się,</i> <i>Koła autobusu kręcą się, kręcą się, kręcą się, przez cały dzień</i>	The wheels on the bus go round and round, round and round, round and round. The wheels on the bus go round and round, round and round, round and round, all day long.

Parents and children generally described mealtime as a time when all members of the family spoke Polish. It became clear from researcher observations and video recordings of mealtimes that Polish was not exclusively spoken during mealtimes. Transcripts from family mealtimes highlighted how children alternated between speaking Polish with

parents and speaking English with siblings during mealtimes. Sometimes, children reverted to speaking English with parents and there were examples of children using a combination of Polish and English words in the same sentence. The transcript below is an excerpt of a conversation recorded during dinnertime in the Mazur family. Aneta and her daughters Zuzanna and Maja feature in the conversation which begins with Aneta explaining to Maja that she is not allowed to eat crisps until she has eaten her dinner.

Transcript 3: Dinnertime

Speaker	Original transcript	English translation
Aneta:	<i>Jak zjesz spaghetti, jak zjesz spaghetti.</i>	Only when you eat your spaghetti.
Maja:	<i>Zjem spaghetti.</i>	I will eat the spaghetti.
Aneta:	<i>Nie tutaj masz jedzenie.</i>	No, here have your food.
Zuzanna:	<i>Ale tam mam cos.</i>	There is something in it.
Aneta:	<i>To nic ja to wezme, proszę bardzo. Proszę jesc ladnie.</i>	This is nothing, I will take it out. Here you are. Please eat nicely.
Maja: [starts reciting a Polish rhyme]	<i>Abecadlo z pieca spadlo. O ziemie się huklo Rozsypalo się po kotach</i> [trying to correct the last word] <i>Strasznie się potluklo.</i>	
Zuzanna:	This was a really easy poem to say.	
Maja:	Ya.	
Zuzanna:	No, it's not easy for you.	
Maja:	Yes, I can say it.	
Zuzanna:	Come on then.	
Maja:	I can say it. I just needed a bit of help.	
Zuzanna:	<i>Nie!</i>	No!
Maja:	<i>Tak!</i>	Yes!
Maja:	[Starts saying rhyme again]	

	<i>Abecadlo z pieca spadło O ziemie się hukło</i>	
Zuzanna:	<i>Zrobiłaś już to.</i>	You already said that part.
Maja:	Why didn't they pick you for the part for the play?	
Zuzanna:	Because they just didn't.	
Aneta:	<i>Jedz spaghetti.</i>	Eat your spaghetti.
Zuzanna:	<i>Mamo taka byłam chora ze ten. Poszłam na pole ale wtedy, mówiłam Ci że nie poszłam na jungle gym jak byłam na polu.</i>	Mommy I was so sick. I went outside but then, I told you I didn't go on the jungle gym when I was outside.
Aneta:	<i>No wiem siedziałas na lawce.</i>	I know, you sat on the bench.
Zuzanna:	<i>Nie siedziałam na lawce. Szłam za Miss B*.</i>	I didn't sit on the bench. I followed Miss B*.
Zuzanna:	And Mommy, I think Miss B* looks like Miss Honey. But she does, doesn't she Mommy?	
Aneta:	<i>No troche wygląda.</i>	Well she does a little.

The conversation above clearly begins in Polish with Aneta and the two children discussing dinnertime. It is clear from the excerpt above that Zuzanna suddenly switches to English language use when complementing her sister's recitation of a Polish rhyme. The two children continue to speak English as the conversation evolves about the rhyme. While they interject with some Polish words and their mother Aneta redirects the conversation in Polish, the excerpt above clearly highlights children's agency in their choice of language use in the home. As previously discussed, agency is not always conscious or intentional (Ahearn, 2001; Bourdieu, 1991) and it can be asserted from the extract above that the children displayed the ability to switch to English when discussing topics they associated with English. This was particularly clear when Zuzanna suddenly switched to English

when talking about her teacher in school, Miss B. Furthermore, the excerpt demonstrates siblings' predominant use of English together when engaging in conversation.

Observations and video recordings of children doing homework showed parents and children using a combination of Polish and English. Even though homework tasks were predominantly English based, it was common for parents to help children and give instructions to them in Polish, as the following excerpt shows from Bozena and her son Antoni during homework.

Transcript 4: Homework

Speaker	Original transcript	English translation
Bozena:	<i>Okej, co dzisiaj robimy?</i>	OK, what are we doing today?
Antoni:	Monday.	
Bozena:	<i>Okej, poniedziałek dawaj.</i>	OK, Monday, come on.
Antoni:	Five plus five equals ten	
Bozena:	<i>Super.</i>	Super.
Antoni:	Which is heavier? 'A' I think.	
Bozena:	<i>Czekaj, jesteś pewny? Okej. A czemu jest cięższe?</i>	Wait, are you sure? OK, why is it heavier?
Antoni:	<i>Bo jest na dole.</i>	Because it is at the bottom.
Bozena:	<i>Brawo.</i>	Well done.
Antoni:	How much money is in the box? <i>Czyli jeden, trzy...</i>	So one, two, three...
Bozena:	<i>No to osiem, a potem co tu masz jeszcze?</i>	So eight, and then what do you have here?
Antoni:	<i>Dziesięć.</i>	Ten.
Bozena:	<i>To jeśli masz osiem i dodasz dziesięć to co Ci powstaje?</i>	If you have eight and add ten, what do you get?
Antoni:	Eighteen.	
Bozena:	<i>No to super.</i>	So, super.
Antoni:	Draw a shelf under this teddy bear. <i>Ja nie wiem, co to jest 'shelf'.</i>	I don't know what a 'shelf' is.

Bozena:	<i>Nie wiesz, co to jest 'shelf'? To szafka.</i>	You don't know what a 'shelf' is? It's like a cupboard.
Antoni:	<i>A czyli?</i>	Oh so?

The excerpt above shows how Bozena helped Antoni through Polish, even though the homework task was in English. Interestingly, Antoni didn't understand the English word "shelf" and Bozena had to describe the meaning of the word in Polish. Antoni related to the Polish word 'szafka' rather than the English word 'shelf'. This made me reflect on a previous conversation with Antoni's brother Kacper who discussed his academic knowledge and vocabulary as linked to English only, and vocabulary related to the home and family as linked to Polish only. These explanations from children can help us to further understand how both Polish and English contribute to children's linguistic repertoires in the context of the current study (see Little & Kirwan, 2019). As a result of language socialisation processes inside and outside the family home (Curd-Christiansen, 2018), children will be exposed to different concepts in different languages. As previously described by other children within the theme *Children's Perspectives of Language Learning and Development*, children associate their academic learning with English as a result of attending English-medium schools. Knowledge and learning relating to home and family life is associated with the Polish language as a result of home language use within the family home. Language socialisation within the family context occurs predominantly through Polish and language socialisation processes outside of the home domain occur through English.

“I guess it’s Polish with parents and then English after that”: Children’s perspectives of language practices

Similar to parents, children recognised Polish as the official language spoken in the home. Despite this, they also reported using English in the family home on a regular basis. Children’s combined use of Polish and English in the family home was apparent across all data sets as they generally communicated with parents in Polish, and siblings in English or using a combination of Polish and English. Discussing language use in the family home, Henryk explained that it’s “Polish all the time because this is what my parents definitely prefer. And my granny doesn’t speak English at all. Not even one word like” (C2). In this way, Henryk displayed an awareness that it was necessary for him to speak Polish in the family home. Henryk described using different languages with his siblings who lived outside of the family home at the time the study took place: “It’s Polish with my older brother and English with my sister. My sister is in college in Poland and I usually speak English with her” (C2). Henryk’s sister lived in Poland for the academic year as she was attending college in Poland at the time the research took place. Describing language practices between him and his sister, he explained that “it’s usually in English we communicate. Of course if my mom is around we will talk in Polish” (C2). This highlights his understanding of appropriate language use in particular home contexts and an ability to adapt language practices with individual members of his family. It was clear that Polish was the language he used with parents and English was the language used among siblings. In describing his sister’s recent trip home to Ireland to the family home, Henryk explained that “we were speaking full on English” (C2). Henryk also expressed that he regularly communicated with his sister on social media in English:

I would text her using Messenger and WhatsApp in English yes. Like I am here checking the messages now and I mean most of it is in English. OK 90% English and 10% Polish maybe. I mean yeah, English mostly. (C2)

Henryk reported that as a result of his sister living in Poland for a year

she has got used to speaking Polish again so if I rang her right now she would probably speak Polish to me, but when she was living here, we were speaking English all the time. Even in school and at home. (C1)

In further describing the practice of constantly switching between English and Polish with his older sister, Henryk explained, “It’s just this language switch that you’re used to with some people and not others. Like, I’m used to it with my sister because we speak English and Polish to each other basically” (C2). Henryk’s description of language practices with his sister is illustrative of how family language practices are situated in time and open to constant change.

Other children described similar patterns of language use: Polish with parents and English with siblings. According to Agata, “I get to speak Polish every day in my house with my parents and English with Zofia” (A5). Zofia described using Polish with her parents because “they find it easier to talk to us in Polish” (A2). She explained how she differentiated her language practices depending on who she was speaking to and what the topic of discussion was: “We use Polish all the time at home with my parents. Sometimes my sister and I talk Polish but we also use English lots” (A2). Zofia explained how “I use Polish for texting my parents and usually English for texting Agata” (A6). Figure 5.1 shows a screenshot of a Viber conversation between Zofia and Agata demonstrates this use of English between siblings:

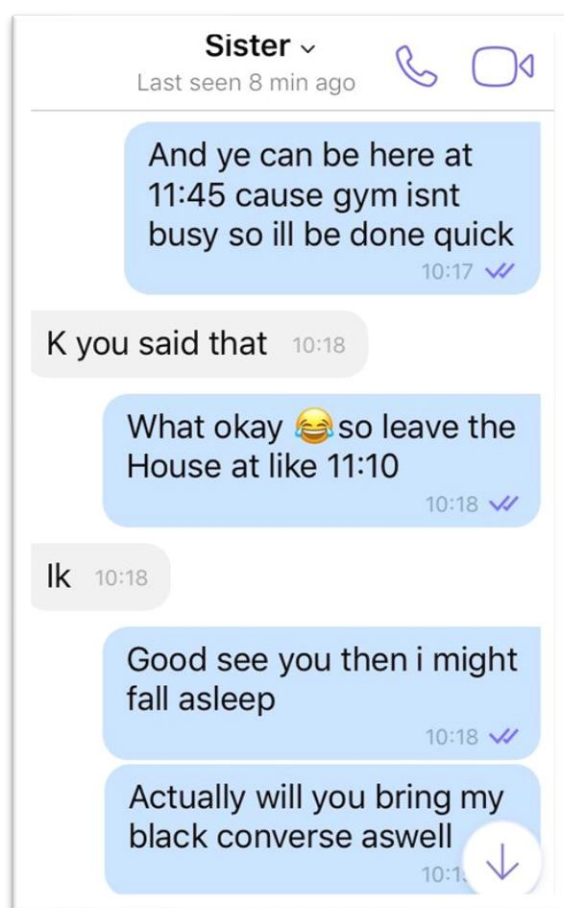


Figure 5.1. Screenshot of a Viber conversation between Zofia and Agata.

Zofia also described subconsciously switching between Polish and English when conversing with her sister Agata:

I really don't know how this happens. It's weird because we could be starting a topic in Polish and then somehow through that conversation, we have changed to English and then we keep going and then we might change to Polish again and so it's like two languages on the go. (A4)

The children in the Nowak family similarly reported speaking Polish with parents and English with their siblings. According to Kacper, "With parents, it would generally always be Polish. It's pretty much natural for me. With my brothers I'm more inclined to speak English" (E1). For Filip, "I speak Polish when it comes to my family at home" (E1).

Kacper explained “I usually text in English but to Mum and Dad I text good Polish” (E1).

Filip expressed similar practices regarding social media use, explaining “I text my mum and dad in Polish all the time” (E8). Figure 5.2 shows a screenshot of a conversation between Szymon and Bozena demonstrates this use of Polish between parents and children when communicating by text message:



Figure 5.2. Screenshot of a text message conversation between Szymon and Bozena.

While the message is predominantly in Polish, Szymon used the words “please” and “I love you” in English. When asked to discuss this with the researcher, Szymon explained that “there are just these words I say that are like English only. I don’t know why” (E2).

The choice of Polish or English for discussing specific topics of conversation was a practice described by children older than 12 in all the families. Within the home

environment, it was common for children to switch between English and Polish on an ongoing basis. During interviews and informal conversations, the children provided very clear examples of switching between languages, both consciously and sometimes without noticing. This practice was also apparent during researcher observations in the home and from audio and video recordings gathered from participants. Zofia described how the topic of conversation impacted on whether she chose to speak in Polish or English:

It depends on what we are talking about. So like when we are talking about like school or about our swimming club then we usually talk in English. Then when we talk about family or anything we did as a family, it's always in Polish. Usually between our parents we talk in Polish because they find it easier to talk to us in Polish. (A2)

Zofia's description of discussing certain topics in English and other topics in Polish is similar to the descriptions given by other parents, as previously discussed. Similar to other participants, the Nowak children discussed how they used Polish and English in different circumstances and for different topics of conversation. According to Kacper, "We will discuss school, knowledge and games in English. Like some words that we miss, we will say in Polish. Giving out about anything or anyone, we will be mumbling in English" (E1). Filip described instances of switching to English in the home because "anything to do with knowledge will be in English" (E1).

Children often switched from Polish to English when they were unsure about how to say something in Polish and they provided examples of how language switching was used when they had limited vocabulary around particular topics in either Polish and English. For example, Zofia explained that "sometimes I'm like 'oh how do you say this in Polish?' but that's only because there are maybe some words I haven't used on a daily

basis and that's the only reason" (A4). According to Filip, "I miss many words when I speak Polish and usually revert to using an English word to fill in the gap" (E3). Kacper provided an example of this: "I didn't know what a duvet was called in English until last year because there was no situation where I heard this word in English" (E1). This switching between two languages has been similarly observed within migrant families of Persian background in Australia (Motaghi-Tabari, 2016).

A number of participants, parents and children, referred to a language mixing practice called *Ponglish*. Henryk described his use of Ponglish as

a Polish slant on English words. I do this. I do this with my granny. I do it with my sister all the time and actually sometimes with my mother also. Yes, the English words with a strong Polish accent. (C3)

Referring to her parents' use of Ponglish, Hanna described these as follows:

Because sometimes they were mixing languages. My mum was speaking Polish but she was borrowing English words. It is interesting and lots of Polish people do this and it is called Ponglish, like a mixed language. So for many Polish people, we use the English words but they have some Polish flavour. We add some beginnings or some endings to the words, so in a sentence you wouldn't recognise that it was the English based at the beginning. (B1)

Szymon explained that "I use Ponglish all the time. I just put English words between all Polish words" (E1). In response to Szymon's comment, the following conversation around the family's use of Ponglish ensued between the brothers:

Filip: That's basically our family language.

Szymon: So true, it's our language.

Kacper: You can just apply the processes where you add Polish words to English words. (E1)

With regard to language practices in the home, the findings clearly reveal the ability of children to steer language choice and use, and generally concur with the findings of Tuominen (1999) who maintained that in many instances, it was the children who decided what the FLP would be.

Family language practices as a cause for conflict

As previously described, the data revealed evidence of conflicting and contrasting language practices between parents and children. More recent FLP research has considered the voice of the child and their agentic capabilities and highlighted the key role that children play in the negotiation of language practices in the family home (King & Fogle, 2013; Palviainen & Boyd, 2013). As a parent, Bozena described the situation whereby her children were educated through English and therefore wanted to share this learning at home through English:

For example, when Kacper will be coming back from Trinity and he will want to share the knowledge from the quantum physics, but his language will be English there because that's how he learns about it and he will be reading the books in English and then when he's talking to me about it, I'll be like 'eeehhh emmmm ...I've no idea what you're talking about.' Like my English won't be that advanced ever. (E1)

In response to this, Kacper responded “And vice versa, our Polish isn’t that advanced either” (E1). The above excerpt highlights conflicting language preferences between parents and children. It also reinforces the impact of English-medium education on children’s language choices and language practices within the family home. It is noteworthy that as a parent, Bozena revealed the feeling that her level of English was not at the same level as Kacper, and Kacper felt that his level of Polish wasn’t at the same level as his mother.

There was clear evidence of how some children’s English language practices in the home conflicted with parents’ language ideologies of Polish language use in the home. Bozena described this situation in her family home: “When they speak English to each other in front of us we will be like ‘Speak normally.’ [laughs] And they will be like ‘What is normal?’ [laughs]” (E1). The discrepancies between parents’ language ideologies and the actual language practices in the family have been referred to in the literature and it is evident from previous studies that language ideologies and practices do not always coincide (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009; De Houwer, 1999; King, 2000; Kopeliovich, 2010; Soler & Zabrodska, 2017). Kopeliovich (2010) refers to the “ideology-practice discrepancy” (p. 176) whereby parental language ideologies and the actual social and linguistic practices are in conflict with one another.

There was evidence from the data whereby parents made demands for their children to use Polish and reported using bargaining tactics in doing so. According to Bartek, “I have said when they have their kids, we will only take care of them if they speak in Polish” (E1). While Bartek told the story in a joking manner, he revealed that “I worry sometimes that they will stop using Polish” (E1). According to Bozena, “If they want something from me, they have to text in Polish” and “we’re expecting them to text us in Polish so if they do

mistakes I will be very like ‘oh my God, write it again’” (E1). In describing her daughters’ language practices with friends, Aneta said that “With Polish children, I would prefer if it will be Polish” (D2). Aneta also described her friend’s situation:

I have a friend and she is very annoyed with her girl. She is 8 I think. When the girl’s Polish friend calls over, they are speaking English and she is so upset about this. But I said to her, ‘this is nature’. They are living through English now. (D1)

Sonia explained that when her daughters switch from Polish to English, “I say ‘stop’ because I want them to say something in one language” (A1). There was clear evidence of parents consistently making efforts to continue speaking Polish in the family home, despite children displaying a preference to speak English. According to Sonia, “Well we never gave up using the Polish language in the home. We still speak Polish at home” (A1). Henryk described instances of English language dominance in Polish homes in Ireland. In referring to his Polish friend’s family home where English had become the dominant and sole language used, Henryk provided an explanation for this:

I would say the children made this happen. The children were the first ones to catch on to English and I’d say it was them who started speaking English at home. Me and my sister spoke English to each other when we were younger but we did try and be respectful of our parents who of course wanted us all to speak Polish. (C2)

This concurs with Tuominen’s (1999) assertion that children have the capability to decide on the home language and the findings from other studies which have elucidated the capacity of children to influence language policy within the home (Kheirkhah & Cekaite, 2018; King & Fogle, 2013; Palviainen & Boyd, 2013; Revis, 2019).

Summary

This theme depicted participants' everyday language practices within the family home. The findings presented in this section provide an important insight into how larger societal forces and the education system impact on family language practices, as described in the theoretical framework in Chapter 2. While all parents stated that Polish was the language of the home, they clearly recognised the impact of school and other outside forces on children's increased use of English over time in the family home. Parents equated an increase in English language use in the home with increased years spent in school. As depicted by Curdt-Christiansen (2018), "however tightly knit, families do not live in a vacuum, isolated from the larger sociocultural environment" (p. 422).

In general, parents described their children using a combination of Polish and English in the home. Parents of school-going children revealed children's preferences for using English in certain situations, including communication with siblings and friends and there was a cognisance among parents around children's preferences to discuss certain topics in English and others in Polish as a result of particular knowledge and experiences built through either language. Generally, children had more capacity to speak about issues related to education and school life in English, and issues related to the home and family in Polish. Parents provided examples of how their children, regardless of age, adapted their language practices in different situations, such as speaking Polish with parents and speaking English, or a combination of Polish and English with siblings and friends.

Older children also described their differentiated language practices with individual family members. Children referred to a combined use of Polish and English in the home, and they described the ease with which they moved between Polish language use and English language use in the home. It was common for children to communicate with

parents in Polish and to communicate with siblings in Polish and English or at times, solely English. This was also observed to be the case during researcher observations in the home. A combined use of Polish and English in the home was natural for children and they were sometimes unaware of their combined use of languages.

The data revealed conflicting language preferences and practices between parents and children. Parents' preference for Polish language use and children's preference for English language use was clearly depicted from participants' descriptions of language practices, audio and video recordings and researcher observational data. This can ultimately be linked to the interplay between two habitus (Motaghi-Tabari, 2016); one shaped by the outside forces within the local community and Irish society, and the other shaped by parents within the family.

Identity, Language and Transnationalism as Inextricably Linked

As explored earlier, increased transnational flows (Martin-Jones & Martin, 2016) bring up important questions about how families raise bi/multilingual families. Identity has become a more fluid and complex construct as ease of international movement and digital technologies enable migrant families to maintain connectedness with their countries of origin, thus situating families within two spaces: their country of origin and the host society. Guided by the theoretical framework outlined in Chapter 2, the researcher sought to examine the role of transnational movement between Poland and Ireland in participants' identity construction and FLP formation. This enabled the researcher to explore the interconnected relationship between transnational movement, identity construction and language policy.

Polish language as important for family cohesion

It has been highlighted that “the affective factors of grandparents on language maintenance” and the role of extended family members in HL merit more attention in the research (Braun, 2012, p. 423). The researcher considered the significance of investigating the role of grandparents and extended family members in families' FLP. The importance of children being able to use Polish to communicate with extended family members, and grandparents in particular, was expressed by all parents and children. Parents were especially cognisant of the negative effects of Polish language loss on family relationships among Polish migrant families, and they shared personal opinions about this. Three out of five families had at least one grandparent living in the family home at the time the research took place. Malgorzata explained that her mother came to Ireland from Poland each year and lived in the family home in Ireland for nine months of each year. She expressed the belief that her children needed to be able to speak Polish to their grandmother as she didn't

speaking English. During observations in the family home and interviews, Malgorzata's son Henryk demonstrated Polish language use at all times when communicating with his grandmother and he stated that he needed to constantly use Polish when speaking to his grandmother as she "can't understand a word of English really" (C1). Bozena also referred to the fact that "my mother stays with us and she has no English at all ... so it has to be Polish with her always" (E1).

The significance of the Polish language for family cohesion was expressed by parents and older children. Oskar questioned "Imagine not being able to communicate with your own son?" (C5). Aneta said "It's so important for family that the children speak Polish" (D1) and described her feelings around the negative impact of Polish language loss on familial relationships:

I heard few times in airport and saw Polish families where the child was only speaking in English and there was mummy and granny and the child could not speak with their granny. It's stupid what parents are doing. I always learned from courses and reading that if you are native speaker of different language, give this language to your children. Even where the parents, one is Polish and one is Irish, they should really talk to children in their own language. It's OK if together as a family they talk English because the family needs to speak one language together, but the Polish parent should speak Polish to the children. (D1)

The above excerpt highlights the strong feelings that Aneta displayed around parents' pivotal role in ensuring that their children continued to use their home language in the interest of family cohesion. Previous research has emphasised the role of the family in passing on the heritage language and shown that heritage language use in the home environment is one of the crucial factors in determining maintenance of the heritage

language over the generations (Lao, 2004; X. Li, 1999; Luo & L Wiseman, 2000; Mu & Dooley, 2015; Pauwels, 2005; Zhang, 2004).

As previously discussed, all children spent extended periods of time with family members in Poland throughout the year. This meant that children needed to be able to communicate in Polish with extended family members and it also provided them with the opportunity to develop their Polish language skills. Parents recognised the importance of children being able to speak and communicate in Polish while they were in Poland. Sonia referred to the fact that her children “always travel every summer to Poland to spend time with cousins and grandparents and to speak Polish with the family” (A1). Furthermore, “the family send us messages in Polish often and they communicate with their cousins often in Polish which is so important. So they communicate very very good in Polish” (A1). During one observation in the home, Matyas’ father (the children’s grandfather) had travelled from Poland and was staying in the family home. The researcher noted that all family members spoke only Polish with him and the children were cognisant of the fact that he didn’t understand English. According to Zofia, “we are careful to only speak Polish when Grandad is staying here” (A2). Sonia’s children Zofia and Agata discussed their contentment at being able to converse and communicate with their grandparents in Polish. According to Agata, “I’m so happy that I can send a letter to my grandparents in Poland and imagine if I didn’t go to Polish school, I couldn’t do this. I am happy I can write to them” (A3). Furthermore, Agata expressed the opinion that “I am very happy that I know how to speak Polish because I have a better connection with my family” (A6). Her sister Zofia expressed similar feelings:

It's important for me to be able to speak Polish because all of my family is Polish and I need to be able to communicate with them and talk to them about anything and I can do that by learning Polish and being able to talk in Polish. (A2)

Previous research has indicated that cohesive family relations and supportive interactions in the home language between parents and children, as described by Zofia, are positively influential in maintaining the home language over generations (King & Fogle, 2006; X. Li, 1999; Park & Sarkar, 2007; Tannenbaum & Howie, 2002). The findings from the current study reveal the positive impact of children's Polish language use on family cohesion. It can also be asserted that family cohesion positively influences intergenerational HLM.

Children displayed an awareness that communication with family members in Poland would not be possible without a knowledge of the Polish language. According to Zofia "I can contact my family in Poland in Polish only as their English isn't as fluent as mine" (A5). She also aspired towards maintenance of the Polish language in future generations of the family:

I'll try to use Polish as an adult and if I ever have children, I want them to speak Polish to speak to my family and I'd try to get them to use Polish so that they could communicate with the rest of the family ... That's important to me so we can all talk together in Polish. I would say that my first language is Polish because I spoke Polish until I was 5 and then I only started learning English. (A2)

The importance Zofia placed on the Polish language for family cohesion and connectivity with extended family members was visible. It was clear from the data that all members of the Kowalski family viewed maintenance and development of Polish as an important aspect of family life. According to Zofia, "We have a really good bond and then we go

over to Poland in the summer. We always connect through Polish and we stay in touch” (A2). Similarly, Henryk discussed the importance of Polish language maintenance for family cohesion and described examples of Polish language loss in Polish migrant homes:

I mean it is important to speak Polish when it comes to communicating with your grandparents. I mean I did notice that. I have a few Polish friends that prefer speaking English and they have a hard time communicating with their parents. Maybe not their parents, but older generations like their grandparents or great grandparents. I did see two cases where basically grandparents were trying to speak a bit of English to their Polish children and that really makes no sense. (C2)

The excerpt above shows how Henryk recognised the importance of maintaining the Polish language for continued communication with family members and he drew on examples of friends who struggled to communicate with grandparents. As a mother, Bozena also referred to the importance of children being able to communicate in Polish with grandparents. According to Bozena, “If our kids go to Poland to visit their grandparents, their grandparents don’t speak English at all, so they need to be able to express themselves in Polish” (E1). Bozena’s opinions concur with previous research which highlighted the concerns of parents for their children to maintain the home language for family unity, values and knowledge and communication where grandparents and other non-English speaking family members existed (Fillmore, 2000; Ro & Cheatham, 2009; Zhang, 2004). Bozena’s son Filip reinforced this opinion further by explaining that “when I talk to my nan I can only use Polish because her English isn’t really the best. Her and my grandad can help me when it comes to Polish grammar and vocabulary” (E3).

Social media and digital technology for maintaining connections with Poland

The findings from the study highlighted that intergenerational communication and contact between family members in Ireland and Poland mainly occurred through social media and various modes of online technology. All parents and children over the age of 13 years reported using social media, Skype and other technology to maintain contact with family members and friends in Poland. Madianou (2016) referred to “a new type of connected family at a distance” (p. 184) when looking at the use of these technologies for transnational families’ communication practices. Participants from the current study described such connections with family members in Poland. According to Sonia “the family send us messages in Polish often and the girls communicate with their cousins often in Polish which is so important. So they communicate very very good in Polish” (A1). Sonia viewed her daughters’ use of social media with extended family members in Poland as positively impacting family relationships and communication skills in Polish. Zofia and Agata both spoke about the family WhatsApp group for communicating with family members living in Ireland and Poland, including grandparents, parents, aunts, uncles and cousins. According to Agata, “We text the family in Poland often. We have the family WhatsApp group also” (A4). She recorded in her reflective language diary that “communicating with family in Poland is very easy since we have technology” (A6). Agata’s sister Zofia described the way in which WhatsApp is used in the family:

We have the WhatsApp group for my family and we talk on it all the time. There is always pictures and conversations going up if there is anything interesting going on or something coming up. Sometimes we just have conversations or joke around. Every week we say ‘Oh this happened’ or ‘Happy Birthday’. I love talking to my cousins in Poland this way. (A2).

Henryk also discussed how he communicated via social media with Polish family and friends on a regular basis. This included communication with relations living in various countries and his 18-year-old sister who was living in Poland at the time of the study: “I use Messenger all the time in Polish. Even with my Polish auntie in America” (C1). Henryk also used social media to maintain contact with his sister in Poland: “My sister calls me and texts me all the time” (C2). According to Henryk, “My sister and I send messages to each other in Polish and English. Mostly in English” (C3). Szymon described renewed contact with cousins in Poland through the use of WhatsApp: “I’m in a WhatsApp group with my cousins in Poland. At a wedding two weeks ago in Poland, we reunited and we were like ‘oh we need to keep in touch’” (E1). In his reflective language diary, Filip described his use of social media and Skype to maintain contact with friends and family in Poland:

I call my granny and grandad through Skype or Messenger some evenings ... There will be a couple of texts sometimes too. I talk to my cousin in Poland a bit on Skype when he is free. I rarely message my friends from Poland because we don’t really meet up at all so the friendship kinda died in every way but they’re all still available on social media. (E3)

Szymon’s practice of Skyping extended family members in Poland shows the use of Skype among transnational families as “an important tool ... for displays of intergenerational solidarity” (Share, Williams, & Kerrins, 2017). In a study of transnational families living in Ireland, King-O Riain (2015) highlighted how Skype enabled families to create a connectedness with family members across geographical space and distance. In her study of Polish migrants in Ireland, Diskin (2020) similarly highlighted the important role of

social media in enabling family members to maintain connections with family members in Poland.

Some children drew links between Polish literacy development and the use of social media with family and friends in Poland. The usefulness of the autocorrect function when communicating through social media was discussed by Zofia: “Writing in Polish is easy, especially if I’m writing on social media because I have autocorrect” (A5). Agata commented on the benefits of social media for their Polish language learning and development:

I would say the texting helps my Polish a lot. I text my auntie and my cousins a lot and I do think it helps me. It really does help because you use your phone every single day and it’s written so I do go back and check it before I press send. Like it has improved my Polish writing. (A4)

Some children described how they experienced difficulty in using and understanding “texting language” (E1) when communicating with family members in Poland. This was especially linked to the use of abbreviated language, slang and colloquial phrases in Polish, as described by Szymon:

Oh that is very annoying because there’s these shortened sentences like ‘GTG’ or ‘BRB’ and all that, right. Well there’s these ones in Polish as well and I have no idea what they are yet and my cousins are texting these to each other and I’m going ‘what does this mean?’ I have to try to figure it out. (E1)

Many participants kept up-to-date with news and current affairs in Poland through television, social media and various online platforms. Tomasz used online news to keep up-to-date with current affairs and news events in Poland:

Actually, I am interested in what is going on there [in Poland], but I'm not too sure as I don't check it every day. From time to time I use online news on my phone to check what's happening in Poland. (B2)

According to Hanna, "We always check out Polish news on the internet" (B1). Henryk explained how "my mam actually gets newspapers delivered from Poland every week" (C2). As a result of his parents being interested in Polish politics and Polish news at home, Henryk was also exposed to Polish news: "I hear all this news through my kitchen in Ireland" (C2). According to Zofia:

Sometimes I sit down in the evening and I see what's going on in Poland and I like to know that. I sometimes see the ads for the programmes and I say 'oh that's interesting and that's what's going on in Poland' so I'll watch that. (A2)

In their study of Polish migrants living in Ireland, Komito and Bates (2009) revealed the influence of social media on the maintenance of connectivity with Polish friends and family. The current study demonstrates participants' ability to maintain transnational connections with Poland through the use of social media and digital technology. This in turn has facilitated their continued exposure to and use of the Polish language. The following sub-theme describes how participants considered the Polish language as an important aspect of their cultural identity formation.

Polish language as important for cultural identity

Overall, findings across the five case studies revealed a strong sense of cultural identity, which has been described as the relationship between individuals and members of a group who share a common history, language and similar ways of understanding the world (Norton, 1997, p. 420). Participants' sense of Polish cultural identity was fostered

and strengthened by their maintained connections with family members in Poland. All parents, as first-generation migrants, viewed their links with Poland as a central aspect of their identity. According to Sonia:

Poland is such an important piece of our identity. We talk about Poland all the time and we miss Poland so much. The girls always want to go to Poland for holidays or always want to talk about the Polish traditions. They like to join with family as much as possible ... There are different traditions and they often ask 'when are we going to spend Christmas in Poland again?' (A1)

The excerpt above highlights the deep emotions held by Sonia and her family concerning Polish culture (Romaine, 2011). Aneta discussed her daughter's tendency to choose Polish friends to play with at school and attributed this to Zuzanna's connection with the Polish language and her identification as a Polish child. According to Aneta, "It's interesting that at school, Zuzanna is looking for more Polish friends ... It's the language. It's like she knows they are also Polish and then she's like them also" (D1).

Children and parents viewed the Polish language as a central aspect of their cultural identity and all parents and the majority of children over the age of 12 expressed the opinion that they would continue to speak and use the Polish language in their everyday lives in the future. Hanna described the Polish language as a vital aspect of her Polish identity, stating that "when it comes to my real identity, who I am is Polish and I am only fully me through the Polish language" (B1). According to Oskar, "They need to keep the language so they could pass it on later. I guess you can say we're very patriotic about our language, but it would be sad to lose it" (C5). Sonia conveyed the feeling that "that is what makes us Polish, our language, so we would never give this up wherever we live" (A1). According to Agata, "I will always speak Polish I think because it's part of who I am"

(A3). Henryk stated that “I never refuse to speak Polish, ever. That’s like saying I don’t communicate” (C1). Similar to the parents in Curdt-Christiansen’s (2009) study, participants in the current study demonstrated a belief that identity is enacted through language. The excerpts from Agatha and Henryk above show that children demonstrated a willingness to maintain and use the Polish language because they viewed the language as a core aspect of their cultural identity. Speaking about other Polish families who lose the Polish language, Malgorzata stated that “This is a big problem ... Do they forget their identity? I don’t know” (C1). According to Zofia, “I still see myself as Polish. I would say that my first language is Polish because I lived in Poland and I spoke Polish until I was 5 and then I only started learning English” (A2). It was evident that Zofia remembered living in Poland and speaking Polish there, which may have contributed to her identification as Polish.

In sharing stories about their time spent visiting and travelling in Poland, children over the age of 12 provided examples of how they felt they spoke differently to Polish people living in Poland. Henryk described how his pronunciation of Polish was “a bit different” to native Polish people living in Poland (C3). According to Agata, “Well I was talking to my cousin and she said you can slightly hear it, that I speak a bit different to everyone else ... when we go over to Poland” (A4). Agata’s perception of feeling different to other Polish people raises important issues relating to identity formation in children who spend extended periods of time in their country of origin, but officially live in another country. Although Agata had previously described herself as “definitely Polish”, she referred to herself in the above excerpt as “different to Polish people” when spending time in Poland. These assertions demonstrate the ambivalence and complexity associated with identity formation (Machowska-Kosciak, 2019). Some parents also described differences between their children’s accents and the accents of children living in Poland, and they

ascribed this to the fact that their children lived in Ireland for a long period of time.

According to Sonia, “I would say Agata has more an accent from here than the Polish one.

Polish people listen to Agata and they would quickly hear that she is not from Poland”

(A4). This assertion was similar to Agata’s own perception as described above. Bozena

explained how her children sometimes worry that they don’t fit in when they are in Poland

due to their Polish language practices. Bartek provided an example of this, explaining,

“Their young Polish cousins actually use slang and they’re afraid they won’t fit in with

them, be able to understand or talk with them in Polish. Just as they use slang here in

English” (E1).

Bozena described the identity issues faced by the family when staying in Poland due to

their combined use of Polish and English words and Ponglish:

That’s why it’s hard when you’re going to Poland because when we speak Ponglish

like that between ourselves, or with other Polish people in Ireland, then we have to

be very careful with family or friends because they can think ‘what are they like?

Like are they American?’ (E1)

The common use of Ponglish among the Polish community in Ireland was highlighted by

participants and described in a previous section. Klee (2011) notes similar complexities

among Latino youth as they construct ethnolinguistic identity within an English-speaking

society and refers to the creation of new ways of speaking within Latino populations in

English-speaking societies, including Spanglish “that become markers of in-group identity

and solidarity” (p. 364). Aneta, however, expressed the view that her children’s Polish did

not differ to Polish children living in Poland as “you can’t hear a difference between

Maria’s Polish and her cousins and family. She has perfect Polish. There is no accent.

Nobody would be able to recognise a difference” (A3).

There was evidence provided by participants of their families' involvement in the local Polish community and in this way, it was clear that participants saw themselves as part of a "social group" (Shaw, 1976; Sherif, 1967). Although all five families lived in areas where there was the presence of a local Polish community, families' involvement in the local Polish community varied considerably. The Mazur family described their connectivity with local Polish families in the area and it was common for local Polish families to visit each other and dine in other Polish family homes. Aneta also described neighbours cooking for each other and coming together for dinner. The researcher was invited to the Mazur home for one such gathering, and the following researcher fieldnotes provide information about this:

There were children and parents from about five different families. Everyone brought some Polish food with them and while all of the parents were talking in Polish to each other, it was clear that the children were moving between Polish and English with each other and with their parents. (Researcher reflective fieldnotes)

The Kropkowska family also described close connections with the Polish community. Malgorzata was a teacher in a local Polish weekend school and many local Polish children attended. There was a Polish Catholic priest present in local city which was located in the South-East of Ireland, and according to Malgorzata, "we have lots of Polish friends and neighbours. We go to Polish mass. This is very important for us" (C1). Similarly, the Kowalski family also described attending Polish mass in the local Catholic church. According to Zofia, "The Polish priest says mass in Polish so we go to that every second week and my parents love this" (A2). Attendance at this Polish mass was an important aspect of families' participation in the local Polish communities. Hanna described her close connections with other Polish families through her work as a Polish teacher in a Polish

weekend school and she also referred to the fact that “my parents have some Polish friends here from the previous town in Ireland they lived in” (B1). Henryk provided information on his family’s involvement in a nationwide Polish-Irish festival that takes place in different towns in Ireland on a yearly basis:

This Sunday we’re having a PolskaÉire festival ... We’re going to have a barbeque and some Polish and Irish dances. There’s going to be a soccer tournament as well between the Irish and the Polish. We’re kind of sharing the same sport between the two countries really. (C2)

The Nowak family didn’t share the same connections with their local Polish community and Bartek ascribed this to the fact that “we are very busy during the week and the boys mostly have Irish friends now also” (E1).

The data also revealed participants’ identification with Irish culture, thus highlighting dual connections with Polish and Irish cultures. Children older than 12 described how they identified with both Polish and Irish cultures and provided examples of what this meant for them in their everyday lives. According to Zofia, “I definitely think we are more Polish, like the way we eat and do stuff. But ... some Irish culture has crept into the family” (A4). Agata and Zofia went on to describe the ways in which Irish culture was reflected in the family home. Agata explained “Like now we have turkey for Christmas dinner which is so Irish” (A4) and according to Zofia “Irish culture has snuck in to our lives as well” (A4). Henryk also saw himself as being a part of both Polish and Irish cultures, as the following excerpt shows:

Being both in Ireland and then part of the Polish culture and being Polish, it is really good for me. Like especially during the summer because I’ve loads of free

time and I can be a part of Polish culture again ... I honestly love it. So I mean Poland, like going to Poland during the summer is probably the best thing in my life basically. I really love it. (C2)

Overall, children demonstrated an awareness of how their identifications linked to both Poland and Ireland simultaneously. Zofia's descriptions of identifying with both cultures show how children can share identity across two spaces (White et al., 2013) as a result of constructing their identities within and across two different contexts. Hanna described the notion of Polish migrant children feeling that they have two homes and two identities:

I understand children living in Ireland who feel they come from two places or who feel they are in-between two places. I feel this. I cannot just say I am from this place or that place. I say I am from both. There are children who feel they are just in-between because they love both countries. (B1)

Hanna's assertion captures the dual Polish-Irish identity of children from transnational families. This dual identity was summed up well by Szymon: "Anytime we are in Poland we are like 'the Irish ones'. But it's not like a bad thing" (E1). Hanna's mother Gosia displayed an interest in Irish culture and current affairs, and expressed the desire to feel part of Irish society as residents in Ireland:

My husband Tomasz said to me 'we live here'. This is our home now. We need to watch Irish TV and news you know. We know everything going on. The president of Ireland is Michael D. The Taoiseach is Leo Varadkar. For us this word *Taoiseach* is funny because it's an Irish word ... stories, news, politics from Ireland. We are interested in this. We want to know. (B2)

Gosia elaborated on the family's dual Irish Polish identity:

We are Polish. My husband is now of course Irish-Polish man because he has the Irish passport now. He has the double nationality now since three years ago. Obviously, we need to remember about our country and language. (B2)

The influence of both the Irish and Polish cultures on their family life was highlighted by Tomasz: “We celebrate Christmas Eve like in Poland. On Christmas Day we also have the Christmas dinner like Irish tradition. Even the turkey” (B2). It can be deduced from the findings that identity is a fluid concept and that participants engaged in complex acts of identity formation.

Children provided many examples of being very familiar with Irish culture and seeing it as an important part of their identity. Reflecting on this, Henryk stated “I think I know more about Irish culture. I’ve seen it more and I’m more used to Irish culture too, for example with St Patrick’s Day” (C1). Hanna discussed the importance of Polish migrants becoming part of Irish culture:

They say when you make the decision to stay in the country you cannot just live here and don’t know what is going on around you. You have to know what is going on around you because you live here. You have to feel part of the country and know what is going on around you. How can you get involved in the society if you don’t know what is going on around you. You will always feel the other person, the immigrant you know. (B1)

There was evidence of conflicting cultural identification between individual family members in two families in particular: the Kropkowska and Nowak families. When asked which culture they associated themselves most with, Malgorzata and Henryk had different opinions. While Malgorzata replied “Polish culture of course” (C1), Henryk described the complexity associated with his cultural identification:

That's a good question because [hesitates] I felt like a Polish tourist when I arrived ... I was speaking Polish so I also felt Polish at the same time. But then again, I live in Ireland so it is a bit tricky to answer this. A few people did ask 'are you from another country other than Poland?' when I was in Poland, but that was only maybe twice. Most people in Ireland ask 'are you from Ireland?' I'm like 'no I'm from Poland'. I'm happy I don't have a heavy Polish accent. I live in Ireland way too long to have a strong accent. I mean my parents do have a strong accent. That way I sometimes would feel more Irish than Polish sometimes. (C1)

The excerpt above clearly demonstrates the differences that existed between parents and children with regard to their cultural identifications. Henryk's description of his cultural identification concurs with the assertion of Klee (2011) that "the connection between language and identity can be complex" (p. 364). Henryk also contrasted his understanding of humour within Irish culture compared to his parents:

The Irish sense of humour is so so different. You know *Young Offenders*. I think it's funny but my parents don't think so. If I was to show Polish comedy to my Irish friends, they would be like 'what is this?' We have a totally different sense of humour in Poland. I am even sometimes confused when my parents laugh their head off at Polish comedy. It's so different. I understand Irish humour better than my parents. (C1)

The excerpt above is illustrative of how cultural identity can differ across the generations within the same family. While all members of the Nowak family identified as Polish, Bartek discussed his son's identification as Polish during the family interview:

Well I asked the question of Kacper, 'If in future you will be receiving a Nobel award and you will prepare your speech, you will speak in English of course and you will be identified as who? As Irish or Polish?' and he said 'Irish.' (E1)

Kacper responded with "You know why I said Irish? Because if I study here and I learn everything I do here it's technically Ireland that offered me the opportunity to get where I am" (E1). This conversation is illustrative of how Bartek and Kacper negotiated conflicting identities, with Kacper displaying "strong beliefs and deeply felt emotions" (Romaine, 2011) concerning his identification as Irish. Bartek described the struggles he had around leaving Poland and staying in Ireland permanently:

And every single time I am back from holidays in Poland, I have a week of trauma. Really, really, I miss everything from Poland. But after a week back I am usually ok. It's lack of language. Emmm. I can't express myself, really [stressed] as I like, you know. (E1)

Bozena agreed with him, saying "I think that's the biggest frustration, that you cannot express some things, you know" (E1). In contrast, children did not express such feelings and in many cases, it was apparent that children found it easier to express themselves in English. Hanna also made reference to the ways in which she expressed emotions differently in Polish and English. According to Hanna:

When I'm angry I express myself differently in Polish. There are some phrases we have in Polish that there is no exact same meaning in English and this can cause confusion for parents and children in migrant contexts. (B1)

Hanna expressed that she wanted her daughter to make her own choices around her identity in the future:

I would like Ola to be bilingual and to respect both languages so then she will have the opportunity to, you know, choose about her identity and choose where she will live. It's my job to offer her this opportunity I think, and to have this Polish environment at home as much as I can so she can know it, explore it and ask me about it. (B1)

The excerpt from Hanna above highlights the importance of considering and understanding children's "multiple and intersecting relations and identifications" (White et al., 2013, p. 8). Cultural identities are not fixed and undergo constant change based on families' evolving and changing circumstances and multiple identifications (Hall, 1990). It can be concluded that participants identified with both Polish and Irish cultures and a central aspect of Polish identity was linked to the Polish language. Polish language use among families was in turn fostered by transnational connections with Poland. The following section draws on the importance of the Polish language for maintained transnational connections with Poland as highlighted by participants.

Polish language as important for transnational connections with Poland

The families in this study are referred to as "migrant" and "transnational" families due to some participants' frequent travel between Poland and Ireland and their maintained connections with Poland. Curdt-Christiansen (2018) highlighted recent studies of FLP focusing on transnational families that "travel back and forth between country of residence and home country" (p. 426). As previously discussed, many members of the participating families split their time living between Poland and Ireland and some family members spent extended periods of the year living in Poland for employment and study. In their ethnographic study of Chinese families in Britain, Zhu Hua and Li Wei (2016) chose to refer to the families as "transnational" as they "consider the interconnectivity across and

beyond national boundaries an important dimension of their experience” (p. 656). Findings from the current study highlight the significance of participants’ transnational experiences for FLP formation and enactment in family homes.

The data revealed that it was common for family members to travel back and forth between Ireland and Poland on a regular basis and for many different reasons. The only exception to this was Hanna’s parents Gosia and Tomasz, who do not travel often to Poland. These transnational connections resulted in families maintaining a closeness and connectivity with Poland, and also provided opportunities for Polish language use among participants. Jakub travelled regularly between Poland and Ireland and spent significant amounts of time working in Poland throughout the year. He expressed the view that he wanted to continue working in Poland so that he could maintain connections with Poland in preparation for a possible permanent return to Poland in the future: “I had my business in Poland and when there was small work in Ireland during recession, I went back to Poland lots to work and build our house in Poland for future” (D5). Jakub was not present for any of the observations carried out in the home during the data gathering fieldwork as a result of him spending a significant amount of time in Poland. Aneta described how “Jakub has lots of contact in Poland because he had his own business in Poland before we moved to Ireland. He has many work contracts in Poland and goes to Poland a lot now for work” (D2). Furthermore, Aneta described regular family trips to Poland to attend medical appointments and to purchase goods such as school and household supplies. The Mazur family’s experiences of transnationalism concur with Share et al. (2017) who described transnationalism as a process whereby families “sustain ties across borders through visits, remittance, communication and the transnational consumption of goods and services” (p. 3012).

Participants described how they regularly travelled to Poland to spend time with family or go on holidays. Hanna, since moving to Ireland in 2015 described how “I go [to Poland] more often now. A few times a year. Because I love Warsaw and I miss Warsaw” (B1). It was common for all families to travel to Poland during the summer months and spend lengthy periods of time there. Some children spent the entire summer in Poland, sometimes with one or both parents and in many other cases with grandparents and extended family members. Aneta and Jakub’s daughters Zuzanna and Maja travelled to Poland each summer, spending two months there. Aneta described how the children “went to Poland at the beginning of summer with their father. I did not see them for three weeks because I had to stay home and work, but I followed them over when I got my work holiday” (D3). According to Aneta, when her children stayed in Poland, “They will just talk Polish all the time and there will be no problems” (D2) and “there was only Polish being spoken there, no English” (D3). While in Poland in the summer, Aneta’s eldest girl “will do an exam each year in Poland” (D3). Such examples of ongoing movement between the two countries demonstrates the transnational and fluid nature of migration as experienced by some participants. The Nowak family also reported spending much of the summer in Poland, with Bozena travelling to Poland every summer for two months with her four children. During this time, the boys attended Polish summer camp “to speak more Polish” and spent time with extended family members (E1).

The data revealed inextricable links between strong family cohesion and time spent by participants in Poland. Sonia described strong connections with family in Poland and referred to the fact that her children “always travel every summer to Poland to spend time with cousins and grandparents and to speak Polish with the family” (A1). She also described the benefits of her children travelling to Poland for their Polish language development and practice: “It’s so great that they get to speak Polish naturally there and

hear it” (A1). While Zofia and Agata spent the summer in Poland each year, their parents remained in Ireland working. According to Zofia, “We spent about five weeks there. We stayed with my grandparents and sometimes we were at both our aunties’ houses, so it depended on what our plans were and what we were doing” (A4). Agata described how “we usually go to Poland once a year for many weeks and there we get to speak Polish” (A6) and “before we went to Poland, our cousins came here” (A4). Furthermore, Zofia explained that “our grandad was over here for six months helping Daddy get ready to move into our new house” (A4). According to Agata, their cousin “is turning 18 and she’s thinking she wants to come here [Ireland] for a summer” (A4). The experiences of the Kowalski family, and others, demonstrated the ongoing opportunities for family members to move back and forth between Poland and Ireland. More significantly, it highlights the transnational nature of families’ migration experience.

The transnational nature of the Kropkowska family’s experience was clearly evident from the data. One of the children spent the academic year living in Poland while attending university there. A grandmother, Malgorzata’s mother, lived with the family in Ireland all year apart from the summer months which she spent in Poland. Henryk described how he travelled to Poland each summer with his grandmother and spent the summer months there also:

She will come back to Ireland because she doesn’t want to be lonely. Then she’ll stay with us for the rest of the year and then we do the same thing each summer. It’s kind of like a cycle because she needs to go to the doctor in Poland every summer. So, we go back to Poland for the summer and get her medical check-ups done and it’s what we will do every year. (C2)

Henryk's sister Gertruda was attending university in Poland at the time the research took place. She lived in Poland from September until June and "she's hoping to come to Ireland next month and make some money during the summer as it's easier to get a job here" (C3). These dual living arrangements further highlight the ease of movement between Ireland and Poland for the participants who lived between the two spaces. Henryk, "didn't meet her while in Poland because she came to Ireland when I went to Poland but I did see her when I came back to Ireland because she had another week left in Ireland" (C3). Henryk's father Oskar also described the family's transnational movement between Ireland and Poland: "My kids still go back and forth every summer. My daughter is studying in Poland in Wroclaw right now ... My youngest travels with his granny to and from Poland" (C5). The experience of the Kropkowska family show how the make-up and living arrangements of transnational families can be complex (Curd-Christiansen, 2014). On his return from Poland after the summer months, Henryk described the difficulty he faced in settling back in Ireland, as "coming back to Ireland was not easy. Especially when you're in Poland for three months and you just leave suddenly" (C3).

In general, there was evidence of family members being open to future travel and international movement as a result of their experience of migrating to Ireland. Sonia described how the experience of living in Ireland had strengthened the family and made them open to future migration as "We are now not afraid for anything or to move to any country after this. The hardest thing was the decision to move all the family here and now nothing is scary anymore" (A1). There was also evidence of transnationalism among extended family members. Sonia explained how her Polish sister-in-law lived in Ireland for a period of time but has since relocated to Holland: "Before the girls have Polish auntie and cousins here but now this auntie moved to Holland. So, we miss this family so much

now” (A1). Henryk also referred to Polish family members living in different parts of the world. His aunt lived in America while his cousin lived in Malta. He described maintaining contact with his aunt in America and he also recently visited his cousin in Malta: “I went to Malta on my way home to visit my cousin” (C3). The examples above illuminate “intensified transnational migration and global flow of people” (Curd-Christiansen, 2018, p. 436) and the resulting impact on families multiple language use.

While some families purchased homes in Ireland and envisaged themselves remaining permanently in Ireland, other families had not yet decided on future migratory plans. The data revealed that many parents considered the possibility of their children attending university in Poland in the future. Reasons for this generally related to the fact that there would be higher costs associated with attending university in Ireland. Henryk’s sister Gertruda moved back to Poland at the age of 18 after completing one year in Trinity College in Dublin. Henryk explained the reasons for his sister moving back to Poland to start a university course there:

So in Poland, there are lots of university courses that are free there. When my sister did her Leaving Certificate, she went to Trinity College for a year. She had to pay €10,000, like €4,000 for fees and medical analysis and another €6,000 for accommodation in Dublin. It was crazy. We are still paying that off. So then she went to Poland and her study is free there. My mam knew a friend who has an apartment for students and she made a deal with her for the equivalent of one hundred euro per month. So the price is so good there compared to Dublin. (C1)

Henryk explained that he would consider studying in Polish university in the future as he didn’t feel studying medicine in an Irish university was affordable for his family:

My dream is to study medicine but I don't think that will happen in Ireland. It's too expensive here. I would prefer to study it in Ireland if I had an option but I do think I will need to go back to Poland to go to university. (C1)

Similarly, Kacper "would consider it perhaps" (E1). Sonia had heard of others travelling from Ireland to Poland to attend university there and she also explained the economic benefits of her children going to a Polish university:

We spoke last night with swimming coach and he told us about somebody he knows who went to college to Poland to study medicine because it was cheaper and he probably will be allowed to bring a grant he gets here in Ireland to Poland. And also, they have the choice in Poland to study through English or Polish. (A4)

Similarly, Aneta envisaged her children going to university in Poland in the future as the family had discussed the possibility of eventually moving back to Poland when the children finish their secondary school education in Ireland. While the family were not yet certain about moving back to Poland in the future, it remained a possibility: "You know we might go back to Poland, but for their lives and education now, it's easier here" (D1).

Aneta was also aware that some Irish-born children were attending university in Poland:

University in Poland, I think yes because I know lots of Irish people are even going to university in Poland and doing their study through English because it's cheaper and I know the educational level in Poland is higher. (D2)

The data also highlighted the fact that families' plans to move back to Poland had evolved and changed over time based on the needs of individual families. The Kowalski family had initially planned on staying in Ireland for a number of years but felt it was easier to remain in Ireland for the foreseeable future due to their children's educational needs and to avoid a change in the language of instruction at school. According to Sonia:

It's strange because in the beginning here, we thought we will go back to Poland after five years. Then the girls were in primary school and then they start secondary school and we decide we can't change everything during the secondary school, and the change in language in school would not be good right now when they are studying for exams. So, we miss Poland but here we are lucky with nice rented house and even though I can't get work in my job as qualified psychologist, I am happy person for my good family life. So, I don't know when there will be good time to move home to Poland because in September Agata will start secondary school. (A4)

It is clear from the excerpt above that Sonia's concern for her children's language learning and development impacted on the decisions made by the family in relation to migration. During the course of the research, the family subsequently purchased a house in Ireland and the family came to a decision to live permanently in Ireland.

It was apparent from the data that all children over the age of 12 expressed a desire to permanently remain living in Ireland. Reasons for this generally centred around the formation of friendships and the perception that it would be more difficult to learn through Polish if the family decided to move back to Poland. There were examples whereby parents and children in the same family demonstrated conflicting feelings and opinions about a future return to Poland. This was particularly evident within the Kropkowska family. When asked if they had a preference around staying in Ireland or returning to Poland, the mother and son had the following responses during the conversation:

Malgorzata: Of course return to my home country.

Henryk: Me, I think otherwise. I would rather stay here. I would not be able to get used to school in Poland and doing everything through Polish.

Malgorzata: Me, I am old so it's different I know. (C1)

Henryk also expressed the opinion that Ireland was a better place to live in for employment opportunities. While his sister lived in Poland and attended Polish university there, he stated,

So, I don't know what her plan is after she finishes college. I don't know if she will stay in Poland or come back to Ireland. I think it would be better for her to live and work in Ireland because there are more job opportunities and better pay as well.

(C2)

The Nowak family purchased a home in Ireland and Bozena expressed the feeling that her family would permanently remain in Ireland despite her husband missing Poland so much: "When we arrived here, I knew it was the place for me. I loved it. I loved it from the beginning. I think we are here to stay. But, like, Bartek is missing Poland so so much" (E1). When their children, Kacper and Filip reflected on the possibility of moving back to Poland, it was clear that they displayed a strong preference to remain in Ireland. According to Kacper, "We'd live but it would be a pain" (E1). For Filip "[school is] harder there. Way harder. Well that's what I heard. Sorry Dad but none of us would like to go back to Poland" (E1). Filip's apology to his father highlighted his awareness that his father would prefer to live in Poland. It further highlighted the discrepancies in feelings towards migration across generations within the same family. Kacper justified a desire to remain in Ireland further by explaining that "I have 13 out of 17 years of my life spent here. In Poland, I have two friends and a couple of cousins and that covers it" (E1).

Hanna Lewandowski's parents bought an apartment in Ireland and planned to remain in Ireland permanently. According to Hanna, "My parents love Ireland. They even bought the apartment here because they are not moving back. You know they had some

bad experiences in Poland” (B1). Hanna’s mother Gosia expressed that “for me now at the moment, my head is here in Ireland and I think, well I hope we stay here forever” (B2). Her husband Tomasz strengthened this notion further: “We had this conversation. Will we stay here or will we not and we decide to buy this apartment because we don’t plan to go back to Poland?” (B2). According to Hanna, “Poland is getting better but for people the same age of my parents, I think they are happier to stay here” (B1). Hanna described how “I miss Warsaw so much. I love big cities. I would love to go back to Warsaw but my parents are here and I know we can have good life here” (B1).

Summary

Concurring with the literature explored in Chapter 2, the findings revealed the close links that exist between the home language and identity construction. It can be asserted from the findings that the majority of parents and children drew links between the Polish language and their Polish identity. All families displayed positive attitudes towards Polish language maintenance and use for maintaining family connections. All parents viewed the Polish language as essential for cultural identity, family cohesion and for their children’s ongoing contact with extended family members in Poland, and grandparents in particular. The sense of Polish cultural identity fostered across all five families was particularly salient and the majority of families were part of a local Polish community. Among parents and older children, there was an awareness of the negative effects of children’s Polish language loss on the children’s connectedness with Polish family members in Poland. While this was not an issue for the five families involved in the study, participants provided many examples of the consequences of Polish language loss evident among other transnational families they had observed or knew. Parents and older children questioned families that had lost the Polish language.

Although parents viewed the Polish language as an important part of their children's Polish identities, there was an appreciation and acceptance among parents that their children also had Irish identities, due to the fact that they had lived in Ireland for extensive lengths of time. While all parents themselves identified as being Polish, older children identified as both Polish and Irish. Previous research recognised the notion of a hybrid identity among transnational children. This was a critical finding of the study and reflects the contrasting viewpoints of identity that existed across the different generations within discrete migrant families, as highlighted in previous studies (Zhu Hua & Li Wei, 2010). While this generally didn't create conflict within the family homes, there were a number of examples whereby parents described finding it easier to express themselves in Polish and children described finding it easier to express themselves in English.

The importance of the Polish language for continued transnational links with Poland was very apparent, and continued travel to and from Poland and ongoing use of social media and technology facilitated these transnational connections. The interest expressed by parents and children in the possibility of families returning to Poland or children attending university in Poland in the future further reinforced the importance of the Polish language. Ultimately, the findings revealed the inextricable links between identity, language and transnational connections.

Conclusion

The study set out to examine the FLP of Polish transnational families in Ireland, including parents and children. The second phase of the study comprised ethnographic case studies of five Polish transnational families with children of varying ages located in different parts of Ireland. The findings from the second phase of the research yielded important information about the joint role of family members in the formation and

enactment of FLP. The data shows the role of children in FLP formation and enactment, and it seems that children had an increased impact on FLP as they got older. Overall, it was clearly evident that children had a strong sense of self-awareness when it came to their language learning and development and an awareness of how language can act as linguistic and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1991). Particularly evident was the high level of investment of parents in their children's language learning and development. Parents were committed to ensuring that their children maintained and developed the Polish language despite the evident challenges they faced in raising bilingual children. The study enhances our understanding of the impact of societal forces external to the family home on FLP formation and enactment, with educational language policy playing a key role. This, coupled with evidence of conflicting language practices among parents and children in the family home highlights the challenges faced by Polish transnational families in Ireland in safeguarding successful FLP enactment. It can be concluded that ongoing and possible future transnational links with Poland necessitate a FLP that supports Polish language maintenance and use. The final chapter draws and reflects on the conclusions from the study and makes recommendations for policy, practice and future research opportunities.

Chapter 6

Conclusion and Implications of the Research

Introduction

The aim of the current research was to explore how FLP is jointly constructed by parents and children within Polish migrant and transnational families living in Ireland. In doing so, the study considered and investigated the role of child agency and children's self-management of languages. Reflecting a global increase in transnational flows, the impact of family members' continued transnational connections with Poland on the enactment of FLP was also investigated. Finally, the influence of forces outside of the family domain including children's peer groups, language education policy and the societal dominance of English on families' FLP was explored. This study adds to the limited research available on the FLP of migrant and transnational families in the Irish context. The current study contributes to the field of FLP by extending our knowledge of how increased transnational flows and ease of mobility between Poland and Ireland impact on the FLP of Polish families in Ireland.

Adopting Spolsky's (2004) theoretical model of language policy and Curdt-Christiansen's (2018) interdisciplinary framework of FLP, the current study set out to determine how language socialisation processes were jointly constructed among individual family members, and how these processes impacted on the language ideologies, language practices and language management strategies of parents and children. Drawing on ethnolinguistic identity theory, the researcher sought to investigate how participants' memberships within Irish and Polish social groups linked to their multiple identities and

the various language strategies they used in their everyday encounters inside and outside the family home.

As described in Chapter 3, the study comprised two phases of research. For the first phase, a qualitative approach to the research was taken, adopting a constructivist stance. Data gathered during a focus group interview and individual interviews with parents during this phase provided important insights into the varying viewpoints and experiences of Polish parents in Ireland. This phase of the study elucidated the transnational nature of the families' migrant experiences. Parents' reports of ongoing contact and travel between Poland and Ireland raised important questions about the role of transnational connections with Poland on FLP formation in the family domain. Furthermore, parents' accounts of their children's agentic capabilities in terms of language learning and use were prominent in the data. Reflecting on themes generated during this initial phase of the study enabled the researcher to identify topics and issues to be further explored during the second phase of the study, and to choose the most suitable data collection methods to employ. Consequently, findings from the first phase informed the design of the second phase of the study.

An ethnographic case study approach employing qualitative methods within a constructivist paradigm was employed for the second phase of the research. Five Polish families participated in the research. Rich ethnographic data were obtained over a period of fourteen months through interviews, multiple observations in each family home, reflective language diaries and recordings of family interactions in the home. Although data were collected within the family domain, the research considered the social nature of families' experiences and the role of outside forces and factors at wider societal and global level in shaping the FLP of Polish migrant and transnational families in Ireland.

In this concluding chapter, the findings of the research are synthesised, the contribution of the research to existing knowledge is evaluated and the methodological implications of the research are outlined. Finally, directions for future research are presented and discussed.

Research Questions Revisited

This section recapitulates the findings brought about through triangulation of evidence across multiple data sets. These findings are now presented according to the research questions addressed during both phases of the research.

Research question 1: How is family language policy jointly constructed among parents and children of Polish migrant and transnational families living in Ireland?

The first research question explored the joint construction of FLP among parents and children by examining the language ideologies, language management strategies and language practices of parents and children. In general, the findings revealed that parents' language ideologies underpinned many of the decisions that they made regarding language management and language practices in the home. Most parents from both phases of the research initially described Polish as the language spoken in the family home on a daily basis. Despite this, parents and children provided many examples of children's intermittent English language use in the home, and children discussed the dominance of English language use amongst siblings in family homes. During observations in the home, parents predominantly conversed in Polish with other family members. Children, however, continuously moved between Polish and English, and parents described the agency exercised by children in their everyday language practices. Evidence provided by parents suggested that this sense of agency increased as children grew older and their increased use

of English was influenced by outside forces such as the education system, peers and friendships. Some parents also described the agentic efforts of children to act as language brokers as well as “language socializers of parents” (Luykx, 2005, p. 1410) by correcting parents’ incorrect use of English.

In describing their own language practices in the home, children expressed their capacity to alternate between languages with individual members of the family, switching between Polish and English as they felt necessary. This was also observed by the researcher during observations carried out in the family homes. Children displayed the capacity to engage in the self-management of languages, described by Spolsky (2019) as “the attempt of speakers to modify their own linguistic proficiency and repertoire” (p. 326). In doing so, they demonstrated the ability to choose which language to use in particular circumstances. During observations, I observed children’s predominant use of Polish with parents and their use of English with siblings. This was particularly evident during mealtimes when children switched between Polish language use with parents and English language use with siblings. Furthermore, they displayed the ability to choose the language they deemed most appropriate to the topic under discussion. In general, topics related to school and learning were discussed in English by the children, and topics relating to family life were linked to the Polish language.

Notwithstanding parents’ evident preference for their children to speak Polish and their promotion of Polish language use in the family home, parents generally described a lack of formal enforcement or language management strategies with regard to the languages children spoke at home. Although tolerant of English language use among their children, parents implicitly conveyed that Polish was the language of the family home. Naturally switching between Polish and English in the home was accepted by parents who

demonstrated an understanding that children felt the need to revert to English due to their lack of knowledge of specific Polish vocabulary related to particular topics of conversation. In this way, it can be assumed that parents were pragmatic in their language management and accepted that children used English when discussing certain topics that pertained to that language. Children's need or preference to switch to English can be attributed to children's language socialisation in English-medium schools, among peers and in the wider community.

All parents from the second phase of the study expressed the sentiment that they wanted Polish to remain the language of the family home and Polish language maintenance in the family was a prominent aspect of their language ideologies. Parents and children clearly demonstrated an awareness of how Polish language loss occurs in other Polish transnational families when parents fail to enact language management strategies in the home. Parents and children provided anecdotes of such occurrences of language loss among other Polish families and they discussed how such a loss would impact negatively on family life. As a result of this, parents were cognisant of the importance of implementing language management strategies to avoid such occurrences of language loss. Specific language management strategies were evident with regard to children's Polish language learning and development. These language management strategies adopted by parents, whether planned or unplanned, included children's attendance at Polish weekend school/*Szkolny Punkt Konsultacyjny*, spending school holidays in Poland with grandparents and encouraging spoken Polish in the family home insofar as possible.

Children described the positive influence of their parents in fostering Polish language learning, maintenance and use in the family. This included the availability of reading materials in the Polish language at home, promoting Polish as the language spoken

in the family home and investing time in Polish language learning at home and at weekend schools. Long-term plans for children's Polish language learning were particularly evident among parents and older children involved in the second phase of the study. While most parents expressed a desire for their children to formally learn Polish, the reality of doing so was much more difficult. Some parents and children provided examples of having to cease attendance at Polish weekend schools due to parents' work commitments and children's developing interests in other areas. In this way, it was clear that language management strategies were constantly altered and adapted on an ongoing basis, depending on the needs of individual family members. Furthermore, language learning choices were dependent on available resources at particular points in time as well as the future plans of individual family members.

The majority of children who participated in the second phase of the study had previously attended or were currently attending Polish weekend schools at the time of the study. Generally speaking, older children considered Polish language learning as extremely important for future travel and employment. They demonstrated a clear awareness of the negative impact that Polish language loss and a lack of Polish literacy would have for them. They also described the challenges and the efforts involved in their Polish language learning endeavours, such as sacrificing their free time at the weekend and taking on additional learning. In this way, the juxtaposition of the benefits and challenges of Polish language learning were evident among children. The desire to have high levels of Polish literacy was also evident among children, especially older children. Furthermore, older children's willingness to complete the Polish Leaving Certificate examination also demonstrated their self-management of Polish language learning and maintenance.

Children demonstrated cognisance of their Polish language competence and literacy levels. The majority of children expressed the opinion that they saw room for improvement in their Polish language learning and they described the gaps evident in their learning. They were aware of the reasons for these gaps in learning, including a lack of time to converse in Polish during the school day and a lack of opportunity to read and write in Polish. They also demonstrated awareness of the ways in which they could work towards improvement in the Polish language, including continued attendance at Polish weekend school. High levels of commitment and motivation were generally evident among children, despite the fact that they moved back and forth between positive and negative interpretations of their Polish language competence and the benefits and challenges of learning Polish. Similarly, parents juxtaposed the positive outcomes of formal Polish language learning and the practical challenges of implementing it. Parents demonstrated a clear awareness of their children's Polish language competence, describing the strengths and challenges their children faced with regard to Polish language learning. Concern for children's wellbeing was also raised by most parents in light of the additional workload placed on their children as a result of Polish language learning.

The vast majority of parents and children described the benefits of bilingualism, multilingualism and learning languages. In some cases, there was an advanced knowledge of these benefits evident among participants, and all languages did not hold equal importance for all participants. Some parents and children did not express positivity towards the learning of the Irish language, seeing some languages as possessing greater linguistic capital compared to others.

Conflicting attitudes between two parents within one family regarding the importance of children's Polish language learning are demonstrative of how FLP can result

in conflict and tension between individual family members. The findings also reveal how parents within the same family can have different levels of investment in their children's home language learning and development. Some parents provided examples of conflict between parents and children that resulted from children's reluctance to converse and communicate in Polish in particular circumstances. These instances provided evidence of children's agency in their language practices, contributing to conflicts in the home such as "ideology-practice" discrepancies (Kopeliovich, 2010, p. 176). Despite such conflicts, all older children portrayed an awareness of their parents' preference to use and speak Polish and as a result, they conformed to Polish language use with parents. This demonstrated children's ability to identify parents' language preferences and make appropriate linguistic choices based on this knowledge (Said & Zhu Hua, 2019) .

In summary, parents and children jointly constructed and negotiated FLP through their individual and shared language ideologies. While parents put language management strategies in place for their children's language learning and development, children were not passive. The capacity of children to act as policy makers within the family home was evident from the study, and within all families, children's agentic capabilities had led to a combination of Polish and English being used in all family homes. They demonstrated the ability to self-manage their language learning and displayed agentic capabilities in terms of language choice, language preferences and language practices.

Research question 2: How do family members' transnational connections with Poland impact on the family language policy and identities of Polish migrant and transnational families in Ireland?

Against the backdrop of increased transnational flows and the close geographical positionings of Poland and Ireland, the second research question explored Polish families'

transnational connections with Poland and their influence on FLP. There was clear evidence of continued transnational movement of family members between Poland and Ireland, with all children spending lengthy periods of time in Poland during school holidays. Furthermore, within one family, one parent maintained employment in Poland and lived between Poland and Ireland on an ongoing basis and within another family, an older child attended university in Poland and lived in Poland during the academic year.

The crucial role of social media and technology in helping these families to maintain contact with immediate and extended family members was clearly evident in all families. Under these circumstances, it can be asserted that the transnational connections and ongoing movement between Poland and Ireland created opportunities for children's exposure to Polish culture and use of the Polish language. The importance of Polish language learning and maintenance for family cohesion and maintaining transnational connections with extended family members in Poland was clearly evident among parents and older children. Younger children also demonstrated an understanding of the need to have Polish to communicate with Polish family members in Ireland and Poland, especially grandparents. Such emphasis on HLM for family cohesion among transnational families has repeatedly been referred to in previous research (Fillmore, 2000; Ro & Cheatham, 2009; Zhang, 2004) and parents and older children from the current study demonstrated an awareness of the negative impact of Polish language loss on maintaining connections with extended family members in Poland. This maintaining of closeness and connectivity with Poland provided family members with access to employment, education and other services in their home country.

The importance of maintaining the Polish language as a way of being prepared for a possible permanent return home to Poland was expressed by parents and children alike.

Despite the majority of children expressing a desire to remain permanently in Ireland, an openness to future transnational movement, especially attendance at a Polish university was expressed by both parents and older children alike. All parents, with the exception of one parent who participated in the first phase of the study, agreed that a return to Poland in the future was possible. Parents and children's desire to maintain and develop the Polish language was linked to the possibility of children entering the Polish education system in the future.

With regard to identity construction, a number of parents involved in the first phase of the study referred to their Irish-born children as Irish rather than Polish. This differed in the second phase of the study, with all parents clearly recognising their children, whether Irish or Polish born, as Polish. The role of the Polish language in maintaining cultural identity was clearly evident. All parents and children recognised the Polish language as a central aspect of their cultural identity. Despite this, some parents described the complex nature of identity, recognising that their children's identities continued to evolve and change over time as they grew older and became more socialised into English language use through their contact with school and peers. Many children also recognised the complex nature of identity construction, describing themselves as partly Irish and partly Polish. These complex acts of identity construction and children's perceptions of belonging to different social groups (Irish and Polish) demonstrate the fluid nature of identity and children's capacity to have multiple ethnolinguistic identities (Vincze & Henning-Lindblom, 2015). In some instances, there were conflicting cultural identifications evident among parents and children within individual families, resulting in complex family discussions observed by the researcher. Despite an overall strong sense of Polish cultural identity, a small number of older children referred to the fact that they felt like outsiders

when in Poland as a result of differences in their spoken Polish compared to Polish people living in Poland.

Family involvement in the local Polish community varied, with some parents involved in the first phase of the study expressing that they did not maintain strong connections with the Polish community in Ireland. All five families involved in the second phase of the study demonstrated connections with Polish communities in Ireland and saw these connections as an important aspect of maintaining Polish culture and traditions while living in Ireland. In general, the five families who participated in the case studies demonstrated high ethnolinguistic vitality (Giles & Johnson, 1987).

Research question 3: How do educational institutions and children's peers and educators impact on family language policy, as reported by parents and children?

The third research question explored the impact of educational institutions and children's engagement with peers on FLP. All parents described Polish as the sole language of use in the family home prior to children starting school. Children and parents described an increase in children's English language use after starting school. The impact of friendships on the use and non-use of Polish during the school day was very apparent from the data, and there was evidence of children speaking English with other Polish peers and friends. Parents and children provided insights into children's English language practices with peers and children described the predominance of English language practices with peers in their reflective language diaries. The process of socialisation outside the home was very clear in this regard. Parents and children also described a lack of opportunities to speak Polish during the school day. In this way, the findings illuminated the linguistic conflicts that can arise between the home, as the private domain and the school, as the public domain (Curd-Christiansen, 2013a).

The advice educators provided to parents regarding children's Polish language maintenance, use and development varied. Some parents had been advised by teachers to prioritise English language learning over Polish language learning and development. One parent who participated in the first phase of the research accepted this advice from the teacher and decided to prioritise English literacy skills over Polish literacy skills in the home. Other parents questioned what they perceived as ill-informed advice given to them and made their own informed decisions about their children's language learning and language practices in the home. This generally meant that parents continued to promote Polish language use and learning in the home, even when educators advised them not to do so. Overall, most parents reported that teachers had advised them to promote the use and learning of Polish in the family home.

With regard to children's experiences of Polish language recognition in their schools, some children shared experiences of being forbidden to use or speak Polish at school, while others had positive experiences of sharing the Polish language in school. A number of older children shared their experiences of acting as language brokers in their schools by helping teachers to relay messages in Polish to Polish parents in the school or helping newcomer Polish pupils to settle in the school.

Overall, the study shows that maintenance of the Polish language was the responsibility of parents and children, with little or no opportunities available for children to foster Polish language use in school.

Research question 4: How does English language dominance in society affect the family language policy of Polish migrant and transnational families in Ireland?

The final research question examined how the dominance of English in society affected the FLP of families. As described for research question 3, parents expressed the

belief that children's engagement with the education system led to an increased use of English both inside and outside the home, with parents depicting children's gradual preference for English language use as they grew older and developed friendships. In this way, the impact of English as the lingua franca in the children's surroundings impacted on and shaped FLP.

Parents' and children's ideologies of English as a form of linguistic and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1991) were clear from the findings. The value ascribed to the English language as beneficial for employment and travel opportunities was depicted by parents and older children. A clear understanding of the global dominance of English and the long-term benefits of English language competence were highlighted by all participants.

A clear preference for English language use was expressed by children. They ascribed this to their exposure to English during the school day and outside of the family home. The majority of children felt more competent in their literacy skills in English than in Polish. Children over the age of 12 described the ease with which they can read, write and speak English, conveying their preference for English over Polish. This was not a surprising finding considering they were being educated in English-medium schools, with limited opportunities to foster Polish language use during the school day. Furthermore, the influence of peer groups and friendships on children's exposure to and use of English was highlighted by parents and children alike, depicting language socialisation outside of the family. This preference for English language use was also visible in children's communication with siblings, with the majority of children of all ages displaying a preference to communicate with siblings in English. The concept of language socialisation was useful in understanding children's preference for English language use as a result of

them spending much of the day socialising with English-speaking teachers and peers in the school domain.

Limitations of the Study

Despite the rich data yielded from the current study, some important limitations have been considered by the researcher which may inform future FLP studies. While the sample for the current study was not purposefully chosen to represent families who were highly motivated in their Polish language maintenance and development, the findings from the second phase of the research clearly elucidated that all five families were particularly invested in the Polish culture and language. Family members told anecdotes of other Polish migrant families and Polish friends who had not demonstrated such successful FLPs and adopted laissez-faire approaches to language policy in the home (Caldas, 2012; Curdt-Christiansen, 2013b), where the language practices of children were “unmanaged” (Spolsky, 2004, p. 8). This underlines the importance of not making generalisations about the FLP of Polish migrant and transnational families in Ireland based on the findings of a study such as this.

While the theoretical framework adopted for the current study draws on language socialisation as a lifespan process, data collection for the ethnographic case studies occurred over a 14-month period. In this way, the research captures language socialisation processes and FLP formation and enactment within a defined period of time. The researcher acknowledges that families are on lifelong language learning trajectories and data collection over a longer period of time would provide greater insights into more longitudinal language socialisation processes. In order to minimise this limitation, the researcher sought to gain long-term insights into such processes by adopting a variety of

data collection methods to draw on family members' FLP and language-learning journeys to date, as well as their planned future language maintenance and FLP.

Twelve Polish parents participated in the first phase of the research and five families participated in the second phase. The researcher is cognisant of the fact that this was a particularly small sample to draw conclusions from. However, as the sole investigator engaging in ethnographic research in family homes in different regions in Ireland, it was not feasible to increase the sample size. In order to lessen this limitation, the researcher purposely used certain criteria in choosing the families that participated in the case studies. This included choosing families located in different geographic regions and settings, families with children of varying ages, two-parent and one-parent families, and families with varied transnational links with Poland. This ensured that the sample was nationally representative and that a range of family types with differing experiences and perspectives were chosen. Furthermore, choosing ethnography as the methodology enabled the researcher to engage in an extended period of observation and data collection which resulted in the researcher gaining insights into the lived experiences of family members in the home setting.

As previously highlighted, only parents participated in the first phase of the study. As the purpose of this phase of the study was to gain initial insights into the language experiences of Polish families in Ireland, an additional focus group interview with participating children may have provided important insights into the perspectives and attitudes of children. As the findings from the first phase of the study clearly illuminated parents' impressions and experiences of child agency with regard to language use in the home, I carefully planned for the inclusion of children of varying ages in the second phase of the study.

Despite my previous engagement with the Polish community in Ireland through research and EAL teaching experience, I self-identified as an outsider from the outset as somebody who wasn't a member of the Polish community and who didn't speak the Polish language. This may be interpreted by some as a limitation to the study since I did not self-identify with family members' lived experiences. However, this became a positive aspect of the research process as some family members described cultural nuances and aspects of the Polish language that they knew I would not be cognisant of. These unplanned positive outcomes of the research process have been described in Chapter 5.

Engaging in ethnographic research resulted in my presence in the homes of participating families as participant-observer. I was aware that a potential limitation to the research may have been that my presence in the home was unnatural for family members and may have influenced their language behaviours. Participating families were asked to audio- or video-record specific family interactions without my presence. The unnatural act of families recording interactions may also have influenced their language behaviours and practices. Being aware of these possible limitations in advance of the study commencing, I visited family homes on several occasions prior to data collection in order to build up a relationship with the families and to assure them that I was not making judgements on their language practices. This was also highlighted in the Plain Language Statement distributed to participants. The researcher maintains that family members were aware of the significance of their personal FLP and were comfortable to "be themselves" throughout the research.

Significance and Implications

The study was a response to the dearth of FLP research within migrant and transnational families in Ireland. The research investigated the FLP of Polish migrant and

transnational families in Ireland, including first-generation migrant parents and their children. The rationale for choosing Polish families' for the research lies in the fact that Polish is the second most commonly spoken language in Ireland, and citizens of Polish origin account for 2.5% of the Irish population. The study contributes to the growing field of FLP research (King, 2016; King & Lanza, 2017) by demonstrating the complexity of FLP in families where parents are first-generation migrant adults and their children are either first- or second-generation migrants growing up in an English-dominant society. In this section, the significance and implications of the study, the contribution of the research to knowledge and suggestions for future research in the field of FLP will be discussed.

Methodological implications

The inclusion of parents and children in this ethnographic study enabled the researcher to investigate and depict the co-construction of FLP within the homes of Polish migrant and transnational families in Ireland. The participation of children in the study ensured that their pivotal role in FLP was recognised. I ensured that children of varying ages were represented in the sample, and data collection methods for younger and older children were differentiated in order to elicit appropriately their language ideologies, language practices and self-management of languages. Engaging children in the research through a wide variety of data collection methods allowed me to more fully understand children's views of languages and their central role in FLP, and supported the children in self-reflecting on their language learning and use.

Adopting ethnographic methodologies enabled me to build up an in-depth understanding of FLP in the homes of participating families and to identify possible discrepancies between participants' declared language ideologies and their actual language management strategies and language practices. The importance of considering such

discrepancies has been highlighted in previous studies of FLP (Curd-Christiansen, 2016; Kopeliovich, 2010; Schwartz, 2008). Visiting family homes and conducting observations in the homes repeatedly for significant lengths of time was a key strength of the study and provided me with the opportunity to build rapport with family members, reflect on the data emerging, investigate family dynamics in the negotiation of FLP. Sustained contact with family members enabled me to identify contradictions and complexities in the data, ask questions and make necessary clarifications during subsequent visits to the family homes. Furthermore, audio and video recordings were carried out in my absence to allow me to observe “how people talk when they are not being systematically observed” (Labov, 1972, p. 209). Most significantly, video recordings of family interactions provided me with the opportunity to analyse how family members negotiated language practices and co-constructed FLP in the home.

In the role of researcher as outsider, I discovered that participants were willing and eager to share details of their FLP and experiences of migration. As an Irish person with no experience of migration, I felt that I came to the research with a sense of curiosity and openness to learn more about the Polish community. One participant expressed the viewpoint that because I was so interested in the Polish culture and language practices of the family, he was more encouraged to contact me with interesting anecdotes relating to language learning and language practices within his family. As a primary school teacher and curriculum developer, I brought a deep understanding of the education system within which children were situated. Over time, the feeling of being an outsider diminished and, in many cases, I was invited by families to attend important cultural and family events.

Theoretical implications

The current study set out to explore the co-construction of FLP within Polish migrant and transnational families in Ireland by drawing on Spolsky's model of language policy and Curdt-Christiansen's (2018) interdisciplinary framework of FLP. I applied an extended version of Curdt-Christiansen's (2018) framework to the research by drawing additionally on ethnolinguistic identity theory as a means of further understanding family members' sense of attachment to the Polish language and culture. This enabled me to understand how participants' identity formation and construction impacted on the decisions they made with regard to FLP. Parents' high levels of attachment to the Polish language and culture was a display of high levels of ethnolinguistic vitality within the families that participated in the research (Giles & Johnson, 1987). However, children displayed a more diffuse linguistic identity as a result of their dual identification with both the English and Polish languages, and hybrid Irish-Polish identities. Drawing on ethnolinguistic identity theory enabled me to understand why Polish children preferred to express themselves in English in particular circumstances, and why parents displayed a preference to express themselves in Polish. In this way, ethnolinguistic identity theory was an important aspect of the theoretical framework and added to Spolsky's (2004) model of language policy and Curdt-Christiansen's (2018) interdisciplinary framework of FLP within the context of the current study.

As espoused in Curdt-Christiansen's (2018) framework, families interact with the wider sociolinguistic environment through the process of language socialisation, and the findings clearly elucidated the impact of wider society on children's gradual and increased use of English inside and outside the family home. The current study further explored language socialisation processes inside the family home by examining parents' and

children's joint roles in language socialisation processes within the family domain. In this way, the current study further analyses the language socialisation concept within Curdt-Christiansen's framework. The findings clearly revealed the dual capacity of parents and children to socialise each other with regard to language use in the family home. The findings from this study challenge traditional views of language socialisation as a top-down process (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986) and concur with more recent studies of FLP which identify children as socialising agents (Luykx, 2005; Revis, 2019).

The current study revealed the capacity of all family members to exercise agency in their expression of language ideologies, language practices and language management strategies, including self-management of languages, which resulted in the co-construction and negotiation of FLP. Children's ability to exercise agency in their choice of language use within the home resulted in parents' acceptance of "English as the language that crept in". Such negotiation between parents and children adds to our understanding of a co-constructed FLP in the context of Curdt-Christiansen's (2018) framework of FLP and Spolsky's (2004) model of language policy.

The current study provides a deeper understanding of the management component of Spolsky's (2004) model of language policy and Curdt-Christiansen's (2018) interdisciplinary framework of FLP. In light of Spolsky's (2019) suggestion for the need to further scope out the role of the individual in self-managing their personal linguistic repertoires, the findings from the current study highlight the ability of individual family members to modify and extend their language learning and development within the sociolinguistic contexts they find themselves in. In the context of the current research, this self-management manifested itself in the willingness of individual children to take on Polish as a Leaving Certificate subject and the willingness of some parents to learn English

in order to function in Irish society. There is great scope to further investigate this new concept of self-management in future studies of FLP.

Finally, the findings from the current study have provided evidence for the importance of exploring the impact of the transnational aspect of family members' migration experience on FLP construction and enactment. Within her framework, Curdt-Christiansen (2018) alerts us to the fact that the family's migration experience impact on FLP. The current study has highlighted the fact that maintained and planned transnational links and movement between Poland and Ireland provide families with a reason to promote their children's ongoing maintenance and development of the Polish language. This transnational movement also enables and facilitates families' continued use and development of the Polish language as they spend extended periods of time in Poland. This study shows how families construct, adapt and enact FLP in a way that reflects their circumstances and family needs.

Contribution to knowledge

This research study adds to a growing body of international FLP literature. Drawing on the transnational nature of participating families' migrant experiences and the apparent ease with which Polish families move back and forth between Poland and Ireland on a regular basis, the findings reveal the significant impact of this transnational movement on children's HLM and cultural identities. Spending time in Poland with grandparents and extended family members during school holidays increased children's exposure to and use of the Polish language. The capabilities of teenage children to travel to Poland alone during school holidays, and their future plans to attend university in Poland assists in our understanding of how practical it can be for family members to engage with the language, culture and education system of both their host and home societies. The expression of one

teenager that “I feel I live in both Poland and in Ireland” clarifies how transnational families can live between two spaces. Furthermore, it depicts how children form dual identities as a result of their links with both the home and host countries. The findings also add to our understanding of the power of social media and digital practices in aiding families to maintain regular transnational connections with family members in Poland. Taken together, these findings suggest that FLP is highly influenced by children’s ongoing exposure to the Polish language and culture through maintained transnational connections with Poland.

Evidence of family conflict and disagreement provides us with an insight into the negotiation and co-constructed nature of FLP. The findings add to our understanding of how individual language ideologies can differ between parents within a family, which in turn can lead to one parent taking greater responsibility for promoting children’s home language learning and development. Such instances of conflict between parents raises the question: *Who is responsible for children’s home language learning and development?* The findings identify how disagreements between parents and children regarding language practices in the home can potentially lead to family conflict. This raises additional questions about the wellbeing of family members as they negotiate and co-construct their language policy in the home. Although the current study is based on a relatively small sample of Polish families, the central role of children of all ages in FLP matters was evident across the participant families. The current study therefore alerts us to the importance of considering the agentic roles of all family members’ in FLP formation and enactment in the home.

This study enhances our understanding of the high levels of effort and motivation required by families in raising bilingual or multilingual children as well as the difficult

decisions parents must make regarding transmission of the home language. The current study confirms previous findings that educational institutions do not always acknowledge or welcome children's home languages (Bezioglu-Göktolga & Yagmur, 2018; Mc Daid, 2011; Nowlan, 2008), and children's Polish language maintenance and development is dependent on the linguistic resources available to individual families. Notwithstanding the high levels of motivation and effort of families to maintain and promote Polish language use in the family home, this study confirms the influence of the dominant language where children and siblings use English among themselves in the home. Parents' pragmatic approaches to accepting English language use in the home while also promoting Polish as the language of the family home further extends our knowledge of the difficult choices they face with regard to FLP on a daily basis.

Finally, the current study makes a noteworthy contribution to our understanding of the particular challenges faced by transnational families where parents are first-generation migrants who moved to the host country as adults, and their children are either first-generation migrants who moved to the host country as children or second-generation migrants who were born in the host country. The findings enhance our understanding of parents' high levels of attachment to the Polish culture and language, and their children's hybrid Polish-Irish identities and dual identification with Polish and English languages. This study has therefore identified an important point in time to investigate FLP in transnational families as individual family members negotiate their linguistic repertoires and adapt them to changing needs and circumstances.

Implications and recommendations for policy and practice

This study has shown how school, society and language socialisation processes outside the home have led to greater English language use among children in the home.

The findings reveal that parents alone cannot ensure that their children become bilingual, as family members are influenced by the wider environment, including the school and local community (Fishman, 1991). As discussed in Chapter 1, current language policy developments at national level indicate an increased support for heritage languages in Ireland and an awareness of young people's plurilingual repertoires as beneficial for Irish society. The Irish government's publication of *Languages Connect, Ireland's Strategy for Foreign Languages in Education, 2017-2026* (DES, 2017) sets out a number of important actions to ensure that all languages are respected and actively supported in educational settings and schools. Many of these actions have 2019/2020 implementation dates, and if successfully implemented, have the potential to positively impact FLP and HLM. The researcher asserts that teachers will require continued professional development (CPD) within their unique sociocultural contexts in order to support the implementation of these new policies and curricula at school level. The researcher envisages that an openness to multiculturalism in the education system can positively impact on societal attitudes to heritage languages, and this in turn can benefit families' FLP as a result of a greater recognition of languages present in Irish society.

Outside of language brokering activities, the findings of this study highlight the general non-recognition of the Polish language in the schools attended by children. Positive attitudes towards linguistic diversity in educational settings can aid in migrant children's HLM (DES, 2019; NCCA, 2006). As outlined in Chapter 1, the importance of affirming children's home languages in primary and post-primary school settings is highlighted in official curriculum documents (DES, 2019; NCCA, 2005, 2006, 2019). Notwithstanding this recognition of children's home languages in official policy and curriculum documents, previous research in the Irish context mirrors the findings of this study and suggests that recognition and acknowledgement of children's home languages

are not always commonplace in Irish educational settings (Connaughton-Crean & Ó Duibhir, 2017; Devine, 2005; Mc Daid, 2011; Nowlan, 2008; Wallen & Kelly-Holmes, 2006). As described in Chapter 1, the recent publication of the *Primary Language Curriculum* (DES, 2019) recognises linguistic diversity as a resource for all children and draws on children's home languages and linguistic repertoires to foster increased language awareness for all children. It is crucial that the enacted curriculum in classroom contexts reflects the key messages surrounding linguistic diversity as espoused in the curriculum documents. The researcher posits that this necessitates teachers being fully informed of the value of linguistic diversity through ongoing provision of CPD. A willingness of teachers to embrace the multilingual classroom and children's plurilingual repertoires is essential in fostering positive attitudes to linguistic diversity. It is asserted that children will be more likely to value and use the home language inside and outside the school setting if they receive positive messages in school towards their home languages.

An important finding of the current study was the challenges that family members encountered as a result of children attending Polish weekend schools. As previously discussed, children's attendance at these schools resulted in substantial travel and effort on the part of family members. While there is currently no provision for the formal teaching of minority languages in primary schools in Ireland, the impending introduction of Polish as an official Leaving Certificate curriculum⁸ subject in post-primary schools means that all students⁹, including those from Polish and non-Polish backgrounds will have the

⁸ The Draft Leaving Certificate Polish Specification for Consultation is currently available (at the time of the research) at <https://www.ncca.ie/media/4147/draft-polish-specification.pdf>.

⁹ Within official curriculum documents, *student* is used to denote learners in post-primary school.

opportunity to undertake Polish as a subject in post-primary schools from September 2020 (DES, 2017). The introduction of Polish as a curricular subject within the mainstream post-primary school setting has the potential to positively affect FLP for a number of reasons. Firstly, Polish children will have access to Polish language learning as part of the official school day and this may eliminate the need for children to travel to Polish weekend schools during their free time. Secondly, the availability of Polish as a curriculum subject may result in children having greater exposure to the Polish language and culture in the school environment, thus normalising the Polish language in domains outside of the home. Finally, the introduction of Polish as a curricular subject in post-primary schools and recognition of the language in the school setting is likely to positively impact children's Polish language maintenance and sense of Polish identity.

The importance of the ongoing promotion of multilingualism and cultural diversity in Irish society, and the provision of support for heritage language learners and multilingual families in Ireland can serve to alert us all to the importance of promoting HLM in the family domain. This necessitates government-funded support for migrant and transnational families raising bilingual and multilingual children. In light of the findings from the current study which highlighted the occasionally misinformed advice given to parents by educators, the researcher suggests that initial teacher education should continue to ensure that student teachers be “provided with more than a basic introduction to the knowledge and skills which inform good practice in contexts of linguistic diversity” (Bracken et al., 2009, p. 36). Parents need to be provided with appropriate and informed advice on the value and benefits of bilingualism and multilingualism for families and society at large. Groups such as *Mother Tongues*, a not-for-profit organisation aimed at promoting multilingualism in Ireland work with schools, families and community groups to support bilingual and multilingual families. A greater presence of such groups

nationwide can serve to alert parents to the instrumental value of HLM and affirm their efforts in creating successful FLPs in the family home.

Finally, the importance of families having a clear and well-planned FLP needs to be considered by families. Through undertaking family interviews with family members, a clear insight was gained into family members' conflicting and contrasting language ideologies. The researcher posits that family members benefitted from coming together, acknowledging individual viewpoints and conversing on these family matters. Each family is unique in terms of their language ideologies and expectations, and so, individual families need to consider the FLP that best serves the needs of their own family.

Future directions for research

This research has raised many issues in need of further investigation within the field of FLP, and possible future directions for research as outlined by the researcher in this section can be applied to Irish and international contexts.

As previously discussed, the families who participated in the current study were particularly motivated and invested in their children's Polish language learning and development. While it was not my intention to purposely choose such families, I feel that families' willingness to engage in the research may be as a result of the high levels of interest they demonstrated in their FLP. It was also evident that participating families had a strong sense of Polish identity and were particularly motivated to maintain transnational connections with Poland and extended family members. Future research with Polish migrant families who do not exhibit the same level of investment in Polish language maintenance and culture, or who simply choose not to focus on the Polish language in the home would yield important data around the reasons why some Polish migrant families choose not to maintain the home language or indeed struggle to do so. It is known that such

families exist, based on the anecdotes of participants from the current study. Furthermore, all families involved in the current study had access to Polish linguistic resources and economic resources, which facilitated children's Polish language learning. An additional focus on how the availability and non-availability of such resources impact on children's Polish language learning could produce interesting findings in terms of children's Polish language learning and maintenance.

The current study included a variety of family types, including traditional two-parent families, two-parent families residing with a grandparent, and a single-parent family residing with grandparents. Furthermore, a parent from one family was permanently living between Poland and Ireland for employment reasons. Subsequent studies in the field could include additional family types such as families of mixed nationalities, foster-parent families and same-sex families. Families might include mixed families with one parent of Polish origin and the other parent from a different background. FLP and language socialisation studies of transnational adoptive families have previously been carried out in the USA (Fogle, 2013b). A future study investigating FLP among transnational adoptive families in Ireland where the children's heritage language is different to that of the adoptive parents would identify important issues around the FLP of families with adopted children.

This research has investigated FLP among first-generation Polish migrant parents and their first- and second-generation migrant children. Due to current demographics as a result of recent migration trends in Ireland, there doesn't yet exist a large cohort of second-generation Polish migrant parents. Future FLP research among second-generation Polish migrant families and their second- and third-generation migrant children can determine the extent to which the Polish language is maintained in these family homes. Taking into

account previous research which indicates occurrences of language shift among third-generation immigrant populations (Fishman, 1970) and in some cases, second-generation immigrants (Brown, 2011; Fillmore, 2000), it would be important to examine language shift trends in these families at that particular point in time.

The current study makes reference to current developments in language education policy and curriculum. With the recent introduction of the *Primary Language Curriculum* (DES, 2019) and the forthcoming introduction of Polish and other heritage languages as curriculum subjects in post-primary schools (DES, 2017), the researcher recommends future research to investigate the impact of these important advancements on children's home language learning and development, and family members' language attitudes and ideologies. Future research into the specific role of Polish weekend schools in Polish families' Polish language learning journeys would be important in light of the introduction of Polish as a curricular subject in post-primary schools.

The focus on mothers, fathers and children in the current study was warranted as the research set out to investigate how FLP is jointly constructed in the family home. However, the research clearly highlighted the influence of English language dominance in school on children's language use in the home. The findings also revealed conflicting advice provided by caregivers and educators to parents in relation to language use in the home. Further research might include educators in studies of FLP in the Irish context, similar to that carried out by Bezcioglu-Göktolga and Yagmur (2018), who found that teachers emerged as key actors in shaping FLP among second-generation Turkish families in the Netherlands. Further investigation in the Irish context could explore teacher attitudes towards children's Polish language learning and bilingual development. Additional information on how and why teacher attitudes vary in this regard may help us to

understand how language education policy is understood and enacted. Further research that focuses on parents' language ideologies and expectations from educators, and educators' language ideologies and expectations from parents would help to identify potential conflicting standpoints that negatively impact FLP.

Findings from the current study indicate the relevance of social media and digital technologies for participants' transnational connections and ongoing contact with extended family members in Poland. A future study further investigating the impact of family members' use of social media and digital technologies on their language practices would inform us more about the role of technology and social media in FLP formation and enactment.

Finally, the researcher acknowledges the importance and significance of language input for children's language acquisition and development of the home language (De Houwer, 1999). De Houwer (2019) asserts the importance of integrating language input studies and FLP research, as they often share a similar focus and can complement each other. Further studies of FLP in Polish migrant homes in Ireland which include documentation of actual language input can yield important information about the amount of Polish language input evident in the home and its impact on children's Polish language acquisition and maintenance, and home language practices. This might entail completing language input diaries in real time, carrying out analysis of interactions between parents and children and carrying out large-scale surveys of language choices and practices.

Closing Remarks

This study has elucidated the complex nature of FLP within Polish migrant and transnational families in Ireland, and has considered the wider societal context within which the families are situated. The participation of parents and children in the study

enabled the researcher to depict the co-constructed nature of FLP, and the findings reveal how the families in this study manage and negotiate their FLP within the home domain. All family members have agentic capabilities and exercise their agency with regard to language practices in the home, whether they are cognisant of it or not. The researcher also stresses the importance of considering the role of extended family members on FLP. The findings from this study clearly reveal the affective factors associated with families' ongoing connectedness with grandparents and other family members in Poland, and the necessity of Polish language competence on the part of children to maintain such connections. The transnational nature of Polish families' migrant experiences in contemporary society has been foregrounded in this study. The researcher posits that consistent transnational connections have led to a more hybrid habitation for families who spend extended periods of time in Poland each year. Furthermore, the researcher suggests that children's dual identification with Poland and Ireland can be linked to families' transnational movements between both countries. Finally, this study demonstrates how FLP is in a constant state of flux and is continuously being negotiated and reconstructed to suit the everchanging needs and circumstances of individual families.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Participant Information Letters and Plain Language Statements

Plain Language Statement for Parents participating in Focus Group Interviews Family Language Policy of Polish migrant and transnational families in Ireland

Dear Parent,

My name is Lorraine Connaughton-Crean and I am a primary school teacher. I am currently undertaking self-funded PhD research in DCU Institute of Education, St. Patrick's Campus, Dublin City University. I am planning a research project that focuses on Polish migrant families in Ireland. The aim of this phase of the project is to look at how Polish parents feel about the spoken languages in their home and how they manage the use of these languages with their children. This phase of the study also aims to examine how Polish parents feel about their children's language learning. The study aims to look at the value parents place on both Polish and English. I would like to speak to parents about how they help their children to continue to learn Polish, if they do, and what languages are spoken in the family home daily. This research is important as it gives an insight into how parents feel about languages and everyday language practices in the home.

I would like to invite you to take part in this study by participating in a focus group interview which will last 60 minutes and will take place in the evening time at a time convenient to all participants. Participating in the focus group interview will involve a discussion with a small number of other Polish parents who are also living in Ireland. You will be asked to talk about the languages spoken in your family home, your attitudes towards the use of English in the home and your feelings towards your children continuing to use Polish. Participants may find themselves talking about the immigration process or family members residing in Poland. I want to assure you that you will not be forced to participate in the discussion if you do not wish to or if you feel uncomfortable. Your opinions or comments will be very valuable. I feel that the focus group interview may benefit parents as this will be a nice opportunity for parents with similar experiences to come together and share thoughts, opinions and feelings around language use in the home. At any point during the focus group interview, you can withdraw from participating and your decision will be respected without question. The confidentiality of information provided will be kept within limitations of the law. Of course, any disclosures of cases of abuse or harm to children will have to be reported to the relevant authorities. It is hoped that you will enjoy participating in this study and meeting other Polish parents from the locality. We hope that you will find listening to other parents' experiences insightful and beneficial.

You are welcome to receive feedback on the project throughout the process and upon its completion. In any reports on the project, individual participants' names will be replaced by pseudonyms to ensure anonymity. All recordings on the researcher's Dictaphone will be kept in a secure location in her office filing cabinet. All electronic data will be stored on a password encrypted laptop. These data will be appropriately disposed of within five years, in accordance with DCU Data Protection Policy.

I would be grateful if you could contact me by phone or email before 15th January 2017 and inform me if you wish to participate in the research. If you have any questions or concerns, please do not hesitate to contact me at any stage. Alternatively, you may wish to contact my Supervisor and/or an independent person, if so, please contact the administration's office using the details below. Sincere thanks for reading this information letter and for considering your participation in this proposed study.

Yours sincerely,

Lorraine Connaughton-Crean
lorraine.connaughtoncrean5@mail.dcu.ie
Tel: 08XXXXXXX
REC Administration,
Research Office,
Dublin City University,
Glasnevin
Dublin 9.
Tel: (01) 7007816

Plain Language Statement for Parents participating in Individual Interviews
Family Language Policy of Polish migrant and transnational families in Ireland

Dear Parent,

My name is Lorraine Connaughton-Crean and I am a primary school teacher. I am currently undertaking self-funded PhD research in DCU Institute of Education, St. Patrick's Campus, Dublin City University. I am planning a research project that focuses on Polish migrant families in Ireland. The aim of this phase of the project is to look at how Polish parents feel about the spoken languages in their home and how they manage the use of these languages with their children. This phase of the study also aims to examine how Polish parents feel about their children's language learning. The study aims to look at the value parents place on both Polish and English. I would like to speak to parents about how they help their children to continue to learn Polish, if they do, and what languages are spoken in the family home daily. This research is important as it gives an insight into how parents feel about languages and everyday language practices in the home.

I would like to invite you to take part in this study by participating in an interview with me which will last 60 minutes and will take place in the evening time at a time convenient to you. Participating in the interview will involve a discussion about the languages spoken in your family home, your attitudes towards the use of English in the home and your feelings towards your children continuing to use Polish. You may find yourself talking about the immigration process or family members residing in Poland. I want to assure you that you will not be forced to participate in the discussion if you do not wish to or if you feel uncomfortable. Your opinions or comments will be very valuable. I feel that the interview may benefit you as this will be a nice opportunity for you to reflect on your thoughts, opinions and feelings around language use in the home. At any point during the interview, you can withdraw from participating and your decision will be respected without question. The confidentiality of information provided will be kept within limitations of the law. Of course, any disclosures of cases of abuse or harm to children will have to be reported to the relevant authorities.

You are welcome to receive feedback on the project throughout the process and upon its completion. In any reports on the project, individual participants' names will be replaced by pseudonyms to ensure anonymity. All recordings on the researcher's Dictaphone will be kept in a secure location in her office filing cabinet. All electronic data will be stored on a password encrypted laptop. These data will be appropriately disposed of within five years, in accordance with DCU Data Protection Policy.

I would be grateful if you could contact me by phone or email before 31st January and inform me if you wish to participate in the research. If you have any questions or concerns, please do not hesitate to contact me at any stage. Alternatively, you may wish to contact my Supervisor and/or an independent person, if so, please contact the administration's office using the details below. Sincere thanks for reading this information letter and for considering your participation in this proposed study.

Yours sincerely,

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Plain Language Statement for Individual Interviews (Polish version)

Polityka językowa rodzina

Rodzin polskich imigrantów w Irlandii

Droży Rodzice,

Nazywam się Lorraine Connaughton-Crean i jestem nauczycielem w Szkole Podstawowej. Obecnie rozpoczynam samodzielne przedsięwzięcie badań doktorskich w DCU Institute of Education, St.Patrick's Campus, Dublin City University. Planuje realizację projektu badawczego, który skupia się na rodzinach polskich imigrantów w Irlandii. Celem tej fazy projektu jest zapoznanie się jak polscy rodzice odbierają używanie języków w ich domu i jak udaje im się korzystać z tych języków w relacjach z ich dziećmi. Ta faza badania ma również na celu zbadanie jak polscy rodzice odbierają naukę języka swoich dzieci. Badanie ma na celu ocenić na miejscu rodziców w posługiwaniu się językiem polskim i angielskim. Chciałabym rozmawiać z rodzicami o tym jak pomóc swoim dzieciom w kontynuowaniu nauki języka polskiego, a jeśli tak się stanie, w jakim języku rozmawiacie w swoim domu na co dzień. Badania te są ważne, ponieważ dają wgląd w to jak rodzice posługują się językami w codziennym życiu.

Chciałabym zaprosić Was do wzięcia udziału w tym badaniu, które odbywać się będzie w czasie dogodnym dla Was - pora wieczorowa - i trwać będzie ok. 60 minut. Uczestnictwo w rozmowach obejmuje dyskusję na temat języków używanych w rodzinnym domu, swoich postaw wobec używania języka angielskiego i polskiego i swoich odczuć wobec dzieci w dalszym posługiwaniu się językiem polskim. Może się zdarzyć że mówimy o procesie migracyjnym lub członków rodzin mieszkających w Polsce. Chce Was zapewnić, że nikt nie będzie zmuszany do uczestnictwa w dyskusji jeśli nie będzie sam tego chciał. Wasze opinie i uwagi będą bardzo cenne. Uważam że rozmowa może być korzystna dla Was i będzie to dobra okazja aby zastanowić się nad swoimi opiniami i refleksjami odnośnie używania języków w domu. W dowolnym momencie rozmowy można zrezygnować z dalszego udziału i Wasza decyzja będzie uszanowana bez zadawania pytań o przyczynę. Poufność dostarczanych informacji zostanie utrzymana w granicach ograniczeń prawa. Oczywiście, wszelkie ujawnianie przypadków nadużyć lub szkody dla dzieci będą musiały być zgłaszane do odpowiednich władz

Zapraszam do otrzymywania zwrotnych informacji na temat projektu w czasie jego trwania i po zakończeniu. Wszystkie raporty dotyczące projektu, imiona poszczególnych uczestników zostaną zastąpione pseudonimami aby zapewnić anonimowość. Wszystkie nagrania na dyktofon naukowca będą przechowywane w bezpiecznym miejscu w moim biurze w biurku razem z dokumentami. Wszystkie dane elektroniczne będą przechowywane na laptopie i zabezpieczone hasłem. Dane te będą utylizowane odpowiednio w ciągu pięciu lat, zgodnie z DCU Polityka Ochrony Danych.

Będę wdzięczna gdybyście mogli skontaktować się ze mną telefonicznie lub e-mailem przed 31-tym stycznia 2017 roku i poinformować mnie czy chcecie wziąć udział w badaniu. Jeśli macie jakieś pytania i wątpliwości, proszę o kontakt ze mną w każdej chwili. Alternatywnie, możecie skontaktować się z moim przełożonym i/lub osoba niezależną w biurze

administracji za pomocą poniższego formularza. Serdecznie dziękuję za przeczytanie tego listu oraz o rozważenie swojego udziału w proponowanym badaniu.

Z poważaniem,

Lorraine Connaughton-Crean

Email: lorraine.connaughtoncrean5@mail.dcu.ie

Tel: 08XXXXXX

REC Administration,
Research Office,
Dublin City University,
Glasnevin
Dublin 9.
Tel: (01) 7007816

Information Sheet for Families

Family Language Policy

Family Language Policy (FLP) is a relatively new field of research and is concerned with family settings where more than one language is in use. These families include immigrant families, refugee families residing in a host country, families of adopted children coming from another country and families with parents of different nationalities who speak two different languages. FLP is concerned with “what families actually do with language in day-to-day interactions; their beliefs and ideologies about language and language use; and their goals and efforts to shape language use” (K. A. King, L. Fogle, & A. Logan-Terry, 2008, p. 909).

FLP is frequently analysed according to Spolsky’s (2004) model of language policy, encompassing analysis of *practice*, *ideology* and *management* in the homes of these families. These three components can be described as follows: language practice as language use; language ideology as the beliefs held about the value of specific languages and language management as the behaviours undertaken to mould or influence language practices in the home (Curd-Christiansen, 2014). Recent studies in the emerging field of FLP focus on the impact of parental language beliefs and decision making on their children’s language learning and use (King & Fogle, 2013).

Analysis of participants’ lived experiences highlights the complexity of bilingualism for immigrant and transnational families. Issues such as language loss, identity and cultural integration are very relevant concerns for these immigrant parents. The challenges and difficulties parents sometimes face in the management of more than one language in the home are highlighted. Studies of FLP can contribute to our understanding of the choices and investments families make regarding language use. It is also important to consider external

macro-level influences on FLP, including the school and wider community, as well as other political and socioeconomic influences.

Plain Language Statement for Parents (Phase 2)
Family Language Policy of Polish migrant and transnational families in Ireland

Dear Parent,

My name is Lorraine Connaughton-Crean and I am a primary school teacher. I am currently undertaking self-funded PhD research in DCU Institute of Education, St. Patrick's Campus, Dublin City University. I am doing a research project that focuses on Polish migrant families in Ireland. The aim of this phase of the project is to look at the languages spoken in the family home on a daily basis and the attitudes of both parents and children to Polish and English. This research is important as it shows how parents and children feel about languages and how they manage more than one language in the home.

Participation in the study involves informal conversations, interviews and observations of family interactions in the family home. If you agree to participate in the study, I will visit your home on a number of occasions at a time convenient to you. I will talk to all members of the family about the languages spoken in your family home, your feelings about the use of English in the home and your feelings about using Polish. You or your children may find yourselves talking about moving to Ireland, your experiences of living in Ireland or family members residing in Poland. I will also ask families if I can observe some everyday events in the home such as meal times and children playing together. This will only happen during an agreed number of days and at times suitable for your family. During these observations, I will observe your spoken languages. I would also like to ask children older than 12 years old to write some thoughts they have on language use. I have attached a copy of a template outlining what this involves for the children. There is no 'right' or 'wrong' way to use different languages in the home and so this research is non-judgemental and non-critical. I want to assure you that you or your children will not be forced to participate in the research study if you do not wish to or if you feel uncomfortable. Your participation will be very valuable and may benefit you as this will be an opportunity for you and your children to reflect on your thoughts, opinions and feelings around language use in the home. At any point during the research, you and/or your children can withdraw from participating and your decision will be respected without question. The confidentiality of information provided will be kept within limitations of the law. Of course, any disclosures of cases of abuse or harm to children will have to be reported to the relevant authorities.

You are welcome to receive feedback on the project throughout the process and after it is finished. In any reports on the project, individual participants' names will be replaced by pseudonyms to ensure anonymity. All recordings on the researcher's Dictaphone will be kept in a secure location in her office filing cabinet. All electronic data will be stored on a password encrypted laptop. These data will be appropriately disposed of within five years, in accordance with DCU Data Protection Policy.

I would be grateful if you could contact me by phone or email before 20th February and inform me if you wish to participate in the research. If you have any questions or concerns, please do not hesitate to contact me at any stage. Alternatively, you may wish to contact my Supervisor and/or an independent person, if so, please contact the administration's office using the details below. Sincere thanks for reading this information letter and for considering your participation in this proposed study.

Yours sincerely,

Lorraine Connaughton-Crean
lorraine.connaughtoncrean5@mail.dcu.ie
Tel: 08XXXXXX

REC Administration,
Research Office,
Dublin City University,
Glasnevin
Dublin 9.
Tel: (01) 7007816

Plain Language Statement for Children (Phase 2)

Family Language Policy of Polish migrant and transnational families in Ireland



My name is Lorraine and I want to learn more about the languages that people speak. I would like to learn more about Polish families living in Ireland and I am interested in hearing about the languages that you and your family speak and use every day. I am also very interested in hearing about the languages you prefer to speak.

I would like to visit you in your home and to talk to you and your parents about what you think about the different languages you speak. I would like to find out what you think about the Polish language and I am interested in hearing if you like reading and writing in Polish. I would also like to talk to you about learning English and Irish in school. I would like to visit your family sometimes. During these visits I may ask you some simple questions about the languages you speak and I may watch you playing with your siblings or having dinner with your family. This will help me to learn more about the languages you speak at home.

I would like to tell you, your family and other people about my study when it is finished. I will not use your name or your family's name. You do not have to take part unless you want to and you may decide not to be involved in the study at any time.

If you have any questions about my study, I would be happy to answer them or to talk to you and your parents more about the study. Thank you so much for thinking about taking part in this study.

Best wishes,
Lorraine

Appendix B: Ethical Approval

Ollscoil Chathair Bhaile Átha Cliath
Dublin City University



Ms Lorraine Connaughton-Crean
School of Language, Literacy and Early Childhood Education

12 January 2017

REC Reference: DCUREC/2016/195

Proposal Title: The Family Language Policy of Polish Immigrant Families
in Ireland-Issues of Ideology, Practice and Management

Applicant(s): Ms Lorraine Connaughton-Crean & Dr Pádraig O Duibhir

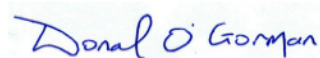
Dear Lorraine,

Further to expedited review, the DCU Research Ethics Committee approves this research proposal.

Materials used to recruit participants should note that ethical approval for this project has been obtained from the Dublin City University Research Ethics Committee.

Should substantial modifications to the research protocol be required at a later stage, a further amendment submission should be made to the REC.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads 'Dónal O'Gorman'.

Dr Dónal O'Gorman
Chairperson
DCU Research Ethics Committee



Taighde & Nuálaíocht Tacaíocht
Ollscoil Chathair Bhaile Átha Cliath,
Baile Átha Cliath, Éire

Research & Innovation Support
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Dublin 9, Ireland

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www.dcu.ie

Ms Lorraine Connaughton-Crean
School of Language, Literacy and Early Childhood Education

3 January 2017

REC Reference: DCUREC/2017/219

Proposal Title: The Family Language Policy of Polish Immigrant Families in Ireland-Issues of Ideology, Practice and Management

Applicant(s): Ms Lorraine Connaughton-Crean, Professor Pádraig Ó Duibhir

Dear Lorraine,

Further to expedited review, the DCU Research Ethics Committee approves this research proposal.

Materials used to recruit participants should note that ethical approval for this project has been obtained from the Dublin City University Research Ethics Committee.

Should substantial modifications to the research protocol be required at a later stage, a further amendment submission should be made to the REC.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads 'Dónal O'Gorman'.

Dr Dónal O'Gorman
Chairperson
DCU Research Ethics Committee



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Appendix C: Informed Consent Forms

Informed Consent Form for Parents participating in Focus Group (Phase 1)

Family Language Policy of Polish migrant and transnational families in Ireland

Purpose of the Research

The aim of this phase of the project is to look at how Polish parents feel about the spoken languages in their home and how they manage the use of these languages with their children. This phase of the study also aims to examine how Polish parents feel about their children's language learning.

Requirements of participation in this research study

You will be required to attend a focus group interview if you choose to participate in the study. This will involve an open discussion among a group of six Polish parents with regard to language use in the family home and thoughts about the importance of languages. You will only be asked questions relating to your experiences of language use in the context of immigration and your child's language learning. You will be free to refuse engagement in the discussion at any point during the session if you do not wish to speak or if you feel uncomfortable discussing your opinions or experiences. You will be free to leave the focus group during the session if you so wish. The focus group discussion will last approximately 60 minutes. There are no right or wrong answers to the focus group questions. I would like to hear many different viewpoints and would like to hear from everyone. I hope you can be honest even when your responses may not be in agreement with the rest of the group. In respect for each other, I would ask that only one individual speak at a time

Every effort will be made to protect the anonymity of all participants. Although the session will be audio-recorded, the names of participants will not be used in any written report. However, due to the nature of focus groups, you may be already known to each other within the group. You are asked not to discuss the participation of anybody else outside of the focus group in order to protect participants' anonymity. This guarantee of anonymity is promised within the legal limits to data anonymity.

Confirmation that involvement in the research study is voluntary

I am aware that if I agree to take part in this study that I can withdraw from participation at any stage. There will be no penalty for withdrawing before all stages of the Research Study have been completed.

Parent– Please complete the following (Circle Yes or No for each question).

I have read (or had read to me) the Plain Language Statement
Yes/No

I understand the information provided in the Plain Language Statement

Yes/No

I have had an opportunity to ask questions and discuss this study

Yes/No

I have received satisfactory answers to all of my questions

Yes/No

I understand that I will attend a focus group session

Yes/No

I understand that the focus group discussion will be audio-recorded

Yes/No

I have read and understood the information in this form. The researcher has answered my questions and concerns, and I have a copy of this consent form. Therefore, I give my consent to take part in this research project.

Participant's Signature: _____

Name in Block Capitals: _____

Date: _____

Informed Consent Form for Parents participating in Individual Interviews (Phase 1)

Family Language Policy of Polish migrant and transnational families in Ireland

Purpose of the Research

The aim of this phase of the project is to look at how Polish parents feel about the spoken languages in their home and how they manage the use of these languages with their children. This phase of the study also aims to examine how Polish parents feel about their children's language learning.

Requirements of participation in this research study

You will be required to attend an individual interview with the researcher if you choose to participate in the study. This will involve an open discussion with regard to language use in your family home and your thoughts about the importance of languages. You will only be asked questions relating to your experiences of language use in the context of immigration and your child's language learning. You will be free to refuse engagement in the discussion at any point during the interview if you do not wish to speak or if you feel uncomfortable discussing your opinions or experiences. You will be free to leave the interview at any stage if you so wish. The interview will last approximately 60 minutes and will take place at a time suitable for you.

Every effort will be made to protect the anonymity of all participants. The names of participants will not be used in any written report. This guarantee of anonymity is promised within the legal limits to data anonymity.

Confirmation that involvement in the research study is voluntary

I am aware that if I agree to take part in this study that I can withdraw from participation at any stage. There will be no penalty for withdrawing before all stages of the Research Study have been completed.

Parent– Please complete the following (Circle Yes or No for each question).

I have read (or had read to me) the Plain Language Statement

Yes/No

I understand the information provided in the Plain Language Statement

Yes/No

I have had an opportunity to ask questions and discuss this study

Yes/No

I have received satisfactory answers to all of my questions

Yes/No

I understand that I will be required to attend an interview

Yes/No

I understand that the interview will be audio-recorded

Yes/No

I have read and understood the information in this form. The researcher has answered my questions and concerns, and I have a copy of this consent form. Therefore, I give my consent to take part in this research project.

Participant's Signature: _____

Name in Block Capitals: _____

Date: _____

**Informed Consent and Assent Form for Parents and Children participating in Case
Studies (Phase 2)**

Family Language Policy of Polish migrant and transnational families in Ireland

Purpose of the Research

The aim of this phase of the project is to look at the languages spoken in the family home on a daily basis and the attitudes of both parents and children to Polish, English and other languages spoken by family members. This research is important as it gives an insight into how parents and children feel about languages and how they manage everyday language practices in the home.

Requirements of participation in this research study

If you agree to participate in the research study, I will visit your family home on a number of occasions at a time convenient to you and your family. During these visits you will be required to engage in individual and family interviews, talk about the languages spoken among family members in your home and your feelings about the use of English and Polish in the home. I will also speak with your children about the languages they speak and how they feel about these languages. I will ask children older than 12 years old to keep a written record of their thoughts about these languages and attitudes to language use. A number of agreed observations of everyday episodes in the home such as meal times and children playing together will take place. These observations will only happen during an agreed number of days and at times suitable for your family. During these observations, I will only observe your spoken languages. The visits to your home will take place over a year. Each visit will last approximately three hours. There is no 'right' or 'wrong' way to use different languages in the home and so this research is non-judgemental and non-critical. You will be free to refuse engagement in all or parts of the research study at any time.

Every effort will be made to protect the anonymity of all participants. Although conversations and observations may be audio-recorded or video recorded, footage from these will not be shared with anybody and the names of participants will not be used in any written report. This guarantee of anonymity is promised within the legal limits to data anonymity.

Confirmation that involvement in the research study is voluntary,

I am aware that if I agree to take part in this study that my family members and/or I can withdraw from participation at any stage. There will be no penalty for withdrawing before all stages of the Research Study have been completed.

Please complete the following (Circle Yes or No for each question)

I have read (or had read to me) the Plain Language Statement
Yes/No

I understand the information provided in the Plain Language Statement

Yes/No

I have had an opportunity to ask questions and discuss this study

Yes/No

I have received satisfactory answers to all of my questions

Yes/No

I understand that I will be interviewed at home

Yes/No

I understand that these interviews will be audio-recorded

Yes/No

I understand that my children will be interviewed, with my supervision

Yes/No

I understand that the interviews will be audio-recorded

Yes/No

I understand that observations of family interactions in the home will occur

Yes/No

I understand that observations of family interactions will be video recorded

Yes/No

*I understand that my child/children (older than 12 years old) will be asked to keep
written records of their thoughts about language use and language learning*

Yes/No

I have read and understood the information in this form. The researcher has answered my questions and concerns, and I have a copy of this consent form. Therefore, I give my consent to take part in this research project.

Participant's Signature: _____

Name in Block Capitals: _____

Date: _____

Appendix D: Recruitment Flyer

Family Language Policy of Polish migrant and transnational families in Ireland



Dear Parent,

My name is Lorraine Connaughton-Crean and I am a primary school teacher. I am currently undertaking PhD research in DCU Institute of Education, St. Patrick's Campus, Dublin City University and my research project focuses on Polish migrant families in Ireland. I am inviting **Polish parents with children of all ages** to become involved in this research by initially participating in a focus group interview with other Polish parents.

During this focus group interview, a small group of parents will discuss the spoken languages in their home, how they manage the use of these languages with their children and how they feel about their children's language learning. I will also conduct individual interviews with a number of parents. This research is important as it gives an insight into how parents feel about language learning, everyday language practices and management of language use in the home.

If you are interested in participating and are willing to attend a focus group or an individual interview lasting approximately 60 minutes, please contact me by e mail or phone as outlined below to get more information on the research project.

I very much look forward to engaging in the research project.

Yours sincerely,

Lorraine Connaughton-Crean

E mail: lorraine.connaughtoncrean5@mail.dcu.ie

Phone: 08XXXXXX

Appendix E: Focus Group Schedule (Phase 1)

Focus Group Interview Schedule for Polish Parents

This is a semi-structured focus group schedule. Questions will not necessarily be asked in the order that they are presented. It is envisaged that participants may steer the conversation at times and many of the proposed items for discussion may be indirectly approached in this way. Furthermore, interaction between participants or their questioning of each other may also provide additional. The researcher will adapt the interview schedule to reflect this.

Introduction of Researcher

As you are aware, my name is Lorraine and I am currently engaging in PhD study based on the experiences of Polish families in Ireland with regard to their beliefs about languages and their everyday language practices in the family home. Today, I would like to talk about the experiences of Polish families living in Ireland and would welcome contributions from anybody willing to speak. At the end of this discussion, you will have an opportunity to ask any questions and/or add to this conversation. As you are aware from the initial consent form, with the exception of my Supervisor, no one will have access to this information and when reporting findings, a pseudonym or a fictional name will be used to protect your identity and to ensure confidentiality at all times.

Background Information of participants

I would like if we could start by allowing each person to a) introduce themselves b) tell us all how long you have been living in Ireland and c) tell us the ages of your children and where they were born .

1. What are your thoughts on the use of English and Polish in the family home?

Prompts (if needed)

- *How important do you think it is for Polish children to speak Polish in the family home?*
- *How do parents influence which language is spoken?*

2. Do you see Polish as an important aspect of cultural identity for families? Why?
3. Is it important for Polish children to develop the skills of speaking, reading and writing in Polish? Why?

Prompts (if needed)

- *Are any skills more important than others do you think?*

- *Do you think Polish parents have concerns about their children's language loss; when children switch to using English rather than use their home language?*
- *Do you think parents want their children to be predominantly Polish speakers, English speakers or bilingual learners? Why?*

4. How important do you think it is for Polish parents that their children become proficient in English? Why?

Prompts (if needed)

- *What are the benefits of being an English speaker do you think?*
- *Are you aware of any benefits of being able to speak two languages? Can you talk about these?*

5. What are the challenges Polish parents face in helping their children to be bilingual?

Prompts (if needed)

- *Are there any particular challenges parents face in helping their children to develop their Polish language skills?*
- *Do Polish children face any challenges in learning to read or write in Polish?*
- *Is there support in the local community for Polish language learning? Do Polish children have access to Polish school?*

6. Do you think institutions, such as schools, influence how parents feel about their children's language development and home language maintenance?

Prompts (if needed)

How do you think teachers and childcare workers in Ireland feel about immigrant children using their home language?

Have you heard of parents being instructed or advised by a childcare facility, preschool or school to use a particular language at home?

Do you think their beliefs impact on the choices parents make around language use in the family home?

Appendix F: Individual Interview with Parents Schedule (Phase 1)

Individual Interview Schedule for Polish Parents

This is a semi-structured interview schedule. Questions will not necessarily be asked in the order that they are presented. It is envisaged that participants may steer the conversation at times and many of the proposed items on the schedule for discussion may be indirectly approached in this way.

Introduction of Researcher

As you are aware, my name is Lorraine and I am currently engaging in PhD study based on the experiences of Polish families in Ireland with regard to their beliefs about languages and their everyday language practices in the family home. Today, I would like to talk to you today about your own lived experience. I will ask questions but you are not obliged to answer questions. As you are aware from the initial consent form, with the exception of my Supervisor, no one will have access to this information and when reporting findings, a pseudonym or a fictional name will be used to protect your identity and to ensure confidentiality at all times.

Background information and experience of emigration

1. Can you tell me about your family?

Prompts (if needed)

- *Were your children born in Poland or in Ireland?*
- *What ages were your children at the time of your moving here?*

2. Can you talk to me about moving to Ireland?

Prompts (if needed)

- *How did you initially find the language change?*
- *As a family, how did you all cope with the change in culture and language? Did you know any other Polish people living in Ireland before you arrived here?*
- *How was the language change for the children and what were the challenges you faced as a family?*

Language ideologies

3. What are your hopes for your children's language learning?

Prompts (if needed)

- *How can you help them reach these goals?*
- *How do you feel about your child's development in English and Polish?*

4. What are your thoughts on your children's development or maintenance of Polish?

Prompts (if needed)

- *Are you making efforts to ensure that your child continues to develop their Polish language skills and how do you do this? How do your children react to this?*
- *Is it important for you that your children develop the skills of speaking, reading and writing in Polish? Why is it important to you?*
- *Have you ever been encouraged to help your child maintain or develop their Polish and by who?*
- *Have you any concerns with regard to language loss of the home language; when children switch to English rather than use their home language? Could this be an issue for your family?*
- *Do you want your children to be predominantly Polish speakers, English speakers or bilingual? Why*

5. Do you see Polish as an important aspect of your cultural identity, and why?

6. How do you feel about your child's/children's development and proficiency in English?

Prompts (if needed)

- *Is it important for you that your children develop the skills of speaking, reading and writing in English? Why is it important to you?*
- *Are you aware of any benefits to being able to speak two languages? Can you talk about these?*

Language practice and language management in the home

7. Can you talk about the languages that are spoken in your family home on a daily basis?

Prompts (if needed)

- *How do you feel about this?*
- *What language do your children speak to each other at home?*
- *Which language do your children prefer to speak at home?*
- *Do your children ever resist or refuse to speak Polish? When?*

8. Do you make any specific demands about language use in the home or do you tell your children which language to speak at home?

Prompts (if needed)

- *Which language do you prefer your children to speak with family members at home and why?*
- *How do you feel about the use of English in the family home?*
- *What language does your child communicate in with friends outside of school?*

Challenges

9. What are the challenges you face as a bilingual family?

Prompts (if needed)

- *Do your children face any challenges in learning to read or write in Polish?*
- *Do they try to resist reading or writing in Polish and if so, why?*
- *Have your children experienced any difficulties or challenges in learning English? Can you talk about these?*

Language use in the social context and local Polish community

10. Is there support in the local community for Polish language learning?

Prompts (if needed)

- *Do your children have access to Polish school?*
- *Has your child experience of attending Polish school in Ireland? Can you tell me about it?*

11. Can you talk about your family's communication with family members or friends living in Poland?

Prompts (if needed)

- *How do you/they communicate with them? Via e mail, phone, social media?*
- *Do your children communicate with family members or friends in Poland? How do they communicate with them?*
- *How important is it to you that your child/children continue to communicate with family members in Poland?*

12. Can you talk about your family's involvement in the local Polish community?

Prompts (if needed)

- *Is there a Polish community in Roscommon?*
- *Do you have a circle of Polish friends in Roscommon?*
- *Do you belong to any Polish groups or organisations here? Can you talk a little about this?*

13. Could you talk about the languages you use as a family on a daily basis outside of the home

Prompt (if needed)

- *This may involve while at work, when socialising, when shopping etc*

Impact of educational institutions on language use

14. Have educational institutions such as the school or pre-school in Ireland, influenced how you feel about your child's language development and home language maintenance?

Prompts (if needed)

- *Have you received any advice about raising bilingual children from anyone in an educational setting?*
- *Do you think the school/crèche/childcare facility supports your child's/children's home language in any way?*

15. Have you been encouraged by any educational institution in Ireland to continue speaking your home language at home with your child/children?

Prompts (if needed)

- *Have you been instructed or advised by a childcare facility, preschool or school to use a particular language at home?*
- *How do you think your child's/children's teacher feels about their use of the home language in school and outside of school?*
- *Does this impact on the choices you make around language use in the family home?*

Closing

- *Would you like to say anything more?*
- *Do you have any questions?*

Thank participant and invite him/her to contact researcher if he/she have any queries.

Appendix G: Interview with Parents Schedule (Phase 2)

Interview Schedule for Polish Parents

This is a semi-structured interview schedule and both parents (when both parents are present in the family) will engage in the interview on an individual basis. Questions will not necessarily be asked in the order that they are presented. It is envisaged that participants may steer the conversation at times and many of the proposed items on the schedule for discussion may be indirectly approached in this way.

Introduction of Researcher

I am currently engaging in PhD study based on the experiences of Polish families in Ireland, their beliefs about languages and their everyday language practices in the family home. Today, I would like to talk to you again about your own experiences. I will ask questions but you are not obliged to answer all questions. As you are aware from the initial consent form, with the exception of my Supervisor, no one will have access to this information and when reporting findings, a pseudonym or a fictional name will be used to protect your identity and to ensure confidentiality at all times.

Background information and experience of emigration

1. Can you tell me about your family and about your children's names and ages?

Prompts (if needed)

- *Were your children born in Poland or in Ireland?*
- *What ages were your children at the time of your moving here?*

2. Can you talk to me briefly about moving to Ireland?

Prompts (if needed)

- *How did you initially find the language change?*
- *As a family, how did you all cope with the change in culture and language? Did you know any other Polish people living in Ireland before you arrived here?*
- *How was the language change for the children and what were the challenges you faced as a family?*

Language ideologies

3. What do you see as important goals for your children's language learning throughout their childhood and adult lives?

Prompts (if needed)

- *How can you help them reach these goals?*
- *How do you feel about your child's development in English and Polish?*

4. What are your thoughts on your children's development or maintenance of Polish?

Prompts (if needed)

- *Are you making efforts to ensure that your child continues to develop their Polish language skills and how do you do this? How do your children react to this?*
- *Is it important for you that your children develop the skills of speaking, reading and writing in Polish? Why is it important to you?*
- *Have you ever been encouraged to help your child maintain or develop their Polish and by who?*
- *Have you any concerns with regard to language loss of the home language; when children switch to English rather than use their home language? Could this be an issue for your family?*
- *Do you want your children to be predominantly Polish speakers, English speakers or bilingual? Why*

5. Do you see Polish as an important aspect of your cultural identity, and why?

6. How do you feel about your child's/children's development and proficiency in English?

Prompts (if needed)

- *Is it important for you that your children develop the skills of speaking, reading and writing in English? Why is it important to you?*
- *Are you aware of any benefits to being able to speak two languages? Can you talk about these?*

Language practice and language management in the home

7. Can you talk about the languages that are spoken in your family home on a daily basis?

Prompts (if needed)

- *How do you feel about this?*
- *What languages do your children speak to each other at home?*
- *Which language do your children prefer to speak at home?*
- *Do your children ever resist or refuse to speak Polish? When?*

8. Do you make any specific demands about language use in the home or do you tell your children which language to speak at home or in the local community?

Prompts (if needed)

- *Which language do you prefer your children to speak with family members at home and why?*
- *How do you feel about the use of English in the family home?*
- *What language does your child communicate in with friends outside of school?*

Challenges

9. What are the challenges you face as a family with regard to language use and language learning?

Prompts (if needed)

- *Do your children face any challenges in learning to read or write in Polish?*
- *Do they try to resist reading or writing in Polish and if so, why?*
- *Have your children experienced any difficulties or challenges in learning English? Can you talk about these?*

Language use in the social context and local Polish community

10. Is there support in the local community for Polish language learning?

Prompts (if needed)

- *Do your children have access to Polish school?*
- *Has your child experience of attending Polish school in Ireland? Can you tell me about it?*

11. Can you talk about your family's communication with family members or friends living in Poland?

Prompts (if needed)

- *How do you/they communicate with them? Via e mail, phone, social media?*
- *Do your children communicate with family members or friends in Poland? How do they communicate with them?*
- *How important is it to you that your child/children continue to communicate with family members in Poland?*

12. Can you talk about your family's involvement in the local Polish community?

Prompts (if needed)

- *Is there a Polish community in Roscommon?*
- *Do you have a circle of Polish friends in Roscommon?*
- *Do you belong to any Polish groups or organisations here? Can you talk a little about this?*

13. Could you talk about the languages you use as a family on a daily basis outside of the home

Prompt (if needed)

- *This may involve while at work, when socialising, when shopping etc*

Impact of educational institutions on language use

14. Have educational institutions such as the school or pre-school in Ireland, influenced how you feel about your child's language development and home language maintenance?

Prompts (if needed)

- *Have you received any advice about raising bilingual children from anyone in an educational setting?*
- *Do you think the school/crèche/childcare facility supports your child's/children's home language in any way?*

15. Have you been encouraged by any educational institution in Ireland to continue speaking your home language at home with your child/children?

Prompts (if needed)

- *Have you been instructed or advised by a childcare facility, preschool or school to use a particular language at home?*
- *How do you think your child's/children's teacher feels about their use of the home language in school and outside of school?*
- *Does this impact on the choices you make around language use in the family home?*

Closing

- *Would you like to say anything more?*
- *Do you have any questions?*

Thank participant.

Appendix H: Interview with Children Schedule (ages 7 and older)

Individual Interview Schedule for use with older children/young adults (age 7 and older)

This is a semi-structured interview schedule for use with older children and young adults (age 7 and older). Questions will not necessarily be asked in the order that they are presented. It is envisaged that participants may steer the conversation at times and many of the proposed items on the schedule for discussion may be indirectly approached in this way.

Introduction of Researcher

My name is Lorraine and I want to learn more about the languages that people speak. I would like to learn more about Polish families living in Ireland and I am interested in hearing about the languages that you and your family speak and use every day. I am also very interested in hearing about the languages you prefer to speak. Today, I would like to talk to you again about your own experiences. I will ask questions but you don't have to answer all questions. I won't be telling anybody else except for my supervisor about what you talk about and when I am writing about this, I will use other names so that others do not know who I am writing about.

Background information and language ideologies

Where were you born?

What age are you?

What class/year in school are you?

Can you tell me about your brothers and/or sisters?

Can you tell me about the languages that you can speak?

How do you feel about knowing more than one language? Do you think it is a good thing? Why?

What is important for you with regard to the languages you speak and learn?

What languages would you like to see yourself speaking and using as you get older?

Language practices at home

Can you talk to me about the languages that you speak at home?

Which languages do you speak with your mother/father/parents?

Which languages do your parents/does your mother/father speak to you in?

Which language do you prefer to speak to your parents/mother/father?

Do you ever change between English and Polish when you speak with your parents?

Which language do you think your parents prefer you to use at home?

Do they encourage you to use Polish?

Which language do you feel most comfortable using at home?

Do your parents say anything about your reading/writing in Polish?

Do you have Polish books at home? Do you like to read in Polish?

Do you watch Polish TV or movies in Polish?

Can you talk about the languages you speak with your brother(s)/sister(s)?

Which languages do you speak together when your parents are not with you?

Which languages do you prefer to use with your brother(s)/sister(s)?

When texting your parents, which language do you text?
If your parents text you, which language do they text you in?
Have you any other thoughts or feelings about the languages spoken in your home?

Language practices at school

What languages do you learn at school?
Which languages do you enjoy learning?
What opportunities do you get to share knowledge of your home language in school?
Do you get the opportunity to speak Polish at school? Tell me about this.
How do you think your teachers feel about you speaking or using Polish in school?
Do you talk to them about your knowledge of Polish?
How do you think your Irish classmates feel about your knowledge of Polish? Do they ask you any questions?
Do you get the opportunity to talk to your classmates about the Polish language?
Have you any stories about using Polish in school?
Have you ever been given advice by anybody in school regarding the language you should speak? Tell me about it.

Language practices in the community

Outside of school/college and home, can you talk to me about the languages you speak and when you speak them?
Can you talk to me about the languages you speak with friends?
Which language do you prefer to use when with friends?
Do you have Polish friends? Can you tell me about which language you speak together?

Polish language maintenance and development

How do you feel about speaking Polish?
Are you happy with your level of spoken Polish?
Can you tell me about the times you get to use or speak Polish?
Do you read and write in Polish? Tell me about this.
How happy are you with your reading and writing in Polish? Tell me about this.
Do you write or read in Polish
Have you ever attended Polish school or do you currently attend Polish school? Can you tell me about this?
How do you feel about learning Polish in secondary school? Would you study Polish for the Leaving Certificate if this was on offer in your school?
How important is it for you to be able to read and write in Polish? Why?
Can you tell me about your experiences of learning to read and write in Polish?
Do you communicate with family members or friends in Poland? Can you tell me about this?
Do you think the Polish language will always be important for you?
Is Polish an important part of who you are?

Feelings about English

How do you feel about your knowledge of English in reading, writing and speaking?
How do you feel about having English as one of your languages? Why do you feel that way?
What do you see as the benefits of having English as a language?

Appendix I: Interview Schedule with the Family Schedule

This is a semi-structured interview schedule and all family members are invited to participate in the conversation. It is envisaged that a conversation among all family members will highlight the daily language practices in the home and how all family members contribute to FLP through their language choices, language preferences and language preferences. It is envisaged that participants will steer the conversation and highlight issues of importance to them.

1. Can you tell me about the daily language practices in the home?

Prompts

- *How do you feel about this?*
- *What languages do you individually speak to each other at home?*
- *Which language do you prefer to speak at home?*
- *Do you ever resist or refuse to speak Polish/English? When?*

2. Are there any specific rules about language use in the home?

Prompts

- *How does this make you feel?*
- *Do you think about this much?*
- *Presence of grandparents (if applicable)*

3. Do you face any challenges as a family with regard to language use and language learning?

Prompts

- *Challenges in English for parents.*
- *Challenges in Polish for children.*
- *Challenges around language when in Poland.*

4. What are the languages used by family members on a daily basis outside of the home

Prompts

- *Work, friends, shopping etc*

Appendix J: Participant Observation Recording Template

Family:

Family members present:

Date:

Times/ Duration	Setting	Details of Event/Activity	Family members involved in interaction
Notes and reflections on language use/interactions			

Appendix K: Sample Participant Observation Template Completed

Family: Mazur

Family members present: Maja, Zuzanna,

Date: 27th April 2018

Times/ Duration	Setting	Details of Event/Activity	Family members involved in interaction
45 minutes	Family home- sitting room	Playtime	Maja and Zuzanna
<p>Notes and reflections on language use/interactions</p> <p>Aneta had previously explained that the girls move between Polish and English when they play together. For this part of the observation, Maja and Zuzanna were playing alone while Aneta and I sat elsewhere in the room looking at some resources from the Polish online school.</p> <p>The room was set up with an array of toys, including dolls, classroom and school items. The girls spoke English for the duration of the playtime and only reverted to Polish when they wanted to speak to Aneta or ask for a drink. Aneta also explained that the girls' choice of language depends on the theme of the play. She said that if the play theme relates to school or learning, the language of choice will be English. She linked this to the fact that they have learned this language in school and they therefore associate this type of play with English. It was clear that the children were playing in the roles of teacher and child and they were using the instructional language of the classroom e.g. <i>Put up your hand, That is great work, well done!</i></p> <p>At times, they spoke English to Aneta also. Aneta explained to me that sometimes the girls speak Polish to her when she is in the presence of an English-speaking person. She said they do this so they are not appearing rude to others.</p>			

Appendix L: List of Audio/Video Recordings from Family Homes

Family	Recordings submitted	Total duration
Family A: <i>Kowalski</i>	Family dinnertime (audio recording)	70 minutes
Family B: <i>Lewandowski</i>	Stories and rhymes (video recording) Conversation going to playschool (video recording) Playtime between mother and daughter (video recording)	55 minutes
Family C: <i>Kropkowska</i>	Family dinnertime (audio recording)	45 minutes
Family D: <i>Mazur</i>	Bedtime stories (audio recording) Playtime between siblings (video recording) Family dinnertime (audio recording)	200 minutes
Family E: <i>Nowak</i>	Homework between mother and son (video recording) Family dinnertime (video recording) Conversation between siblings (video recording)	120 minutes
		490 minutes

Appendix M: Guiding Statements for Children's Reflective Language Diary and Samples of Entries

Guiding statements for language diary entry

The following statements and reflective questions about language use and feelings towards language use may be useful when writing in your reflective language diary. You can write in the language diary as often as you like. Feel free to write anything related to languages and your daily lives. I will collect your excerpts and entries each time I call to visit the family home.

Languages I speak everyday....

My feelings towards the Polish language....

Opportunities to speak Polish today...

My thoughts on the English language....

My thoughts on the Irish language.....

My thoughts on reading and writing in Polish.....

Communicating with family and friends in Poland.....

My hopes for my language learning.....

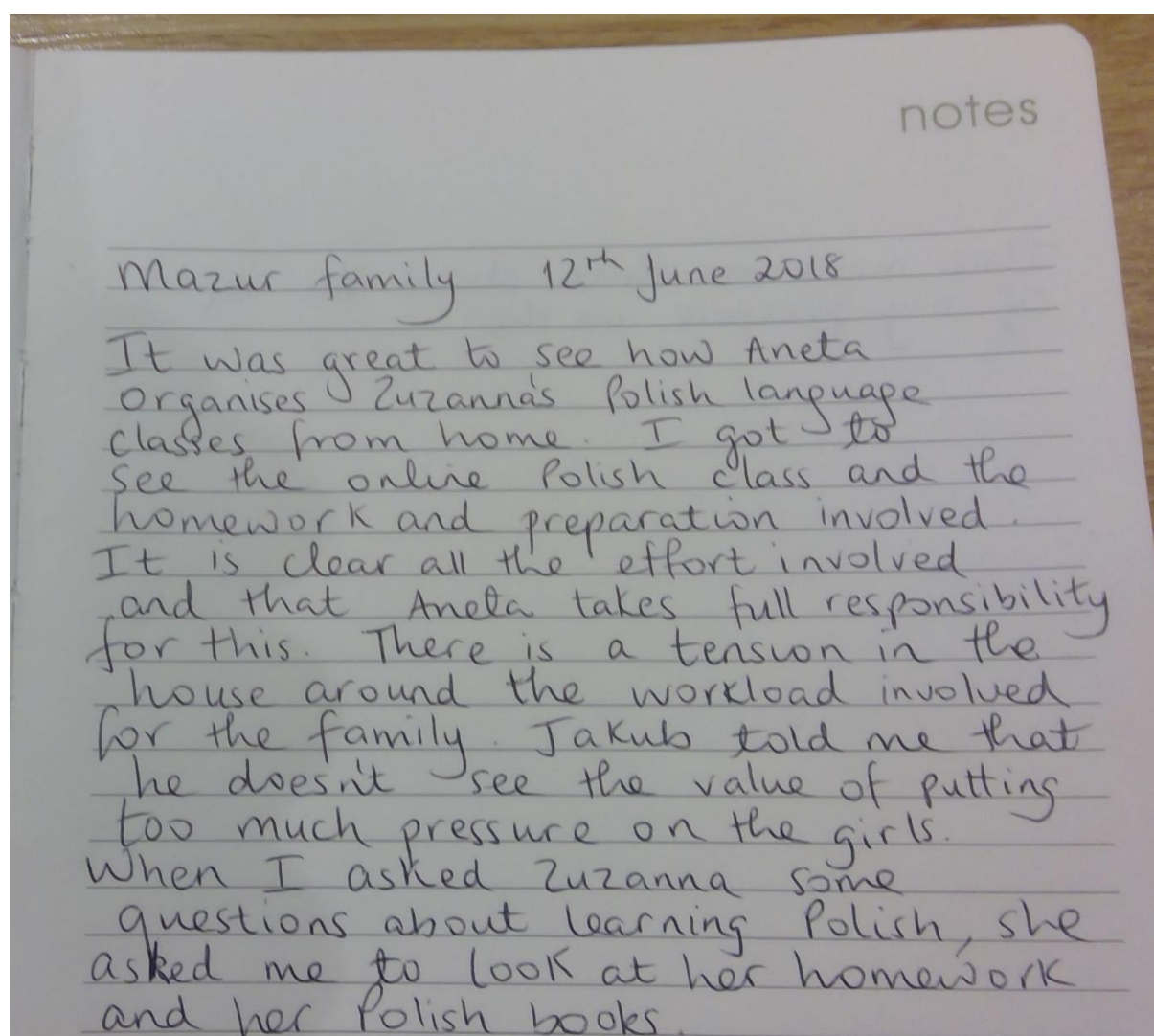
How I feel about my knowledge of languages.....

Sample of Reflective Language Diary Entry

Excerpt from Agata's reflective language diary

Every day I use mostly two languages; Polish and English. My feelings towards Polish language are that I am very happy that I know how to speak Polish because I have better connection with my family. I get to speak Polish every day in my house with my parents and English with Zofia. I use Polish for texting my parents and usually English for texting Zofia. My thoughts on the English language are that I can almost speak to everyone whether we are abroad and asking for directions or meeting new people. I also get to help my cousins in their English. I find Irish very tricky since we don't speak it every day. I only use it in school when I have Irish class. My reading and writing in Polish wouldn't be that good if I didn't go to Polish school when I was younger and if I didn't have such close contact with family. Communicating with family in Poland is very easy since we have technology and we usually go to Poland once a year. I want to learn more languages in the future maybe not the grammar or writing but just to know how to speak it. I think it's good to know a lot of languages since they really open up the world of opportunities to you.

Appendix N: Sample of extracts from Researcher Fieldnotes



Mazur family 12th June 2018

It was great to see how Aneta organises Zuzanna's Polish language classes from home. I got to see the online Polish class and the homework and preparation involved. It is clear all the effort involved and that Aneta takes full responsibility for this. There is a tension in the house around the workload involved for the family. Jakub told me that he doesn't see the value of putting too much pressure on the girls. When I asked Zuzanna some questions about learning Polish, she asked me to look at her homework and her Polish books.

Fieldnotes 26th March '18
Visit to Kropkawska family home

I felt that Henryk and his mum Malgorzata have a real sense of how important the Polish language is for the family. Henryk can see the long-term benefits of investing in his Polish language learning. He seems to enjoy being "bicultural" as he really enjoys Irish cultural events like St. Patrick's Day, but also loves spending time in Poland. For a young person, he has a sense of how good choices about language learning will have long-term benefits.

It was clear that Polish is exclusively used in the family home between Henryk, his parents and his grandmother. Henryk explained that this was ~~not~~ the case when his sister lived in the family home. I think that Henryk recognises the influence of his mother in particular on his Polish language learning. He knows how important it is to her that he continues to use Polish in the home and that he continues to attend Polish weekend school.

Appendix O: Samples of Interview Transcripts

The following appendix contains transcripts of the focus group that took place during the first phase of the research as well as four interviews with parents and children; two interviews from the first phase of the study and two interviews from the second phase of the study.

Focus Group Transcript (Phase 1)

Researcher: R

Daria: (Mother 1)

Gracja: (Mother 2)

Karina: (Mother 3)

Natalia: (Mother 4)

Patrycja: (Mother 5)

Marcel: (Father 1)

R: Thank you all so much for agreeing to participate in the discussion this evening. As many of you know, I used to teach in XXX¹⁰ school and I am now doing some study and research about Polish families in Ireland. I would love to hear about your experiences of living in Ireland, about using Polish and English at home and about how your children use English, Polish and, how they feel about learning the Polish language.

¹⁰ XXX is used throughout the transcripts to protect the identity and anonymity of names/specific locations revealed during the focus group discussion

So, maybe I could start by asking each of you to introduce yourself, tell us all how long you have been living in Ireland and also tell us what ages your children are and where they were born. Maybe we can just go around the circle this was?

Daria: Sure. Hi. I'm XXX and we have been living in Ireland for 11 years now. Well actually my husband was here a little before this time and then I came and the children were born in Ireland. So now they are 4 years and 8, nearly 9 years old. One boy and one girl. The boy is in the primary and the girl is in pre-school now.

R: Thanks so much.

Gracja: My name is XXX. My children are two girls, age 4 and 6 now. I live in Ireland for, mmm, maybe 9 years I think now, since 2008.

R: The children are in school?

Gracja: Yes, well pre-school, one is and the other is senior infants.

R: OK, great thanks.

Marcel: Hi I'm X and I live in X since 2010 but before this I was in UK with my wife and we buy house here now so we stay here. My sister was here first... XXX... I think you know this family from school?

R: Yes, of course! I taught XXX when she was younger! And can you tell me about your children, so their ages and if they are in school?

Marcel: Yes, they are now 5 and, mmmm, 2 and bit. The older girl X is in junior infants now and the other is only baby and in creche during day.

R: Great, so they have their older cousins living nearby. That's really nice to have family here also?

Marcel: Oh yes, we are busy and don't see them too much but it's good and I also have brother living in Germany and sometimes I talk more to him than my sister.

R: Yeah, that is just how it can be I know. When you are near someone, you can see them less I think.

Marcel: Yes I think maybe yes!

R: Hi XXX, I'll let you introduce yourself. I know you already know each other and some of your children are similar ages also.

Karina: Yeah, well me and Gracja are friends for long time now because we came to Ireland in same time and our girls are friends too in the school.

R: Oh great. And what ages are your children?

Karina: I have one girl 7 and the other is a baby, 1 years.

R: Super. XXX, I know that your family moved to Ireland a very short time ago. How are you finding it?

Natalia: Yes, it's OK. I have job now but I need, the, more English but, mmm, yes it's OK. XXX (Natalia's husband) sister, my sister in law is here before and we live in same...mmm....

R: Yes, in the same housing estate. The XXX

Natalia: Yes

R: What ages are your children?

Natalia: XXX 6. XXX sixth class in XXX school, 12 years.

R: OK, so your children are both in primary school?

Natalia: Yes.

R: And are they settling OK here? Mmm do you like living in X?

Natalia: Yes, it's OK. My older son has some problems for this but XXX is 6 and he is OK.

R: Great. And finally?

Patrycja: Yes, I am Patrycja. So our story is maybe different to the other stories. We were living here first in 2005 and then my boy was I think, nearly 2 years. Then when he was four and half we went back to Poland again and then we returned to Ireland again in 2013 to stay again and I had another boy then in Poland. He was nearly 3 when we came back and the older boy was starting in the third class then.

R: Wow, I'm looking forward to hearing more about this and what it meant for languages in your home.

Patrycja: Yes, yes, it has been tricky you know!

R: Well thanks again everyone for talking to me. So I am hoping that this can be like a group conversation, and feel free to comment or ask me questions or say what you think about something.

So maybe we could start by talking about the languages spoken in your homes on a daily basis. I mean, how do you all feel about using Polish or English, or both languages at home? Which language do you prefer to speak? Maybe which language do your children prefer to speak? Which languages do you all speak at home? Would anybody like to start?

Gracja: So me and my husband always, always speak Polish at home and with the children, but we need English for work. Maybe not so much English in the home, but in work, yes. For the dinner, talking at home, it will be Polish and for talking about the family, also Polish. But really, for my children, maybe it's different. My children play together and talk together in English. Not all of the time but a lot of the time. Sometimes they will talk Polish but XXX is in the school now and she likes, she talks to XXX in English more and more and then they are using the two languages really.

R: Does anybody else want to talk about their house and what happens?

Karina: Yes, yes it's just like this. The girls speak English to each other, especially for the playtime. I think especially for the playtime that is about the school or art or something that X is learning in school. And she is talking to the baby in English and she is hearing this English.

Patrycja: In my house, the children are using mix of Polish English but outside it's all English I think. When the neighbours' children come to our house, they always speak English to each other. Even the local Polish children.

R: Can you remind me what ages your children are again?

Patrycja: They are 6 and 12 now. But I can say they speak English naturally because it's the language they most hear in school, but they do speak Polish to us and the family in Poland so really, sometimes it's Polish and sometimes it's English. They have both languages and they have no problem to use both.

Karina: Yes, yes I feel the same and I think it is natural that the girls will sometimes speak English at home as they are living in Ireland now. The baby is not saying too much but some English and some Polish because she is hearing XXX talking English to her and seeing the English TV, like Baby TV.

R: Can I ask how you feel about this? About the children speaking some English and some Polish?

Patrycja: Mmmmm, I'm happy with it because they live in Ireland and they speak English naturally. But I don't have rules either. I let them speak naturally. Sometimes Polish, sometimes English. They can choose.

Karina: I am thinking the same. Yes. They can watch the TV in Polish or English. They have the language for both now and I am OK with this. Well my bigger child does. The youngest is listening to everything"

Daria: Mmmm it's like 'more Polish in my house please' and it's natural to just always use Polish with my family. With my children and husband and the

family in Poland. The children are using English for the school work but not really together. I would not like too much English in the home.

R: You are not living here too long yet Natalia, so what language are you speaking at home?

Natalia: Children are always speaking Polish. Language [English] is difficult for the, because they are learning. But they are very happy. School is nice. They like this.

Patrycja: Yes, yes. When I came first my boy went to playschool here and I found he had no problems to understand but he couldn't speak English. He couldn't find the words to say things. It was difficult for him but then he start to catch up and he could speak. But then when he was 4 and a half I decided to go back to Poland again and then he went to playschool in Poland and then to school. They had English in playschool in Poland also like basic English like numbers, colours, alphabet and rhymes. Then when I came back to Ireland to stay again the other boy was nearly 3. The older boy then had to start in 3rd Class but they gave him 2nd Class work because he had forgotten all of the language and it was so difficult for him. And I sat with him every afternoon teaching him English. He didn't know the sounds of the alphabet in English. He had to learn everything from the start but he had extra English. And the other boy is in Senior Infants now and no problem at all. He was in playschool here and when he started junior infants he had some problems to speak English for maybe four months. We speak Polish at home most of the time but now when he is playing play station or with friends he uses English all the time. Maybe after watching cartoons, he will speak English because the cartoon is in English. And when the neighbours' children come to our house they always speak English to each other.

R: Anybody else?

Gracja: Well, my children play together and talk in English. It really is lots of English, even Polish friends coming to our house. The children all speak English together now. It's just like that for them now.

- Marcel: I did see that children were speaking more English in the home because of playschool. All the time, it's more and more English now.
- R: So maybe then, I can ask about how you all feel about keeping the Polish language, about the importance of Polish for the family, for your identity?
- Gracja: Well Polish is my language, my family's language. I definitely want to go back to Poland and I know it will be very difficult for the children even though they already speak Polish, like when we are back there and they have Polish friends and they go to school, so we have to keep up the Polish.
- R: Wow, so you know you want to go back to Poland for sure?
- Gracja: Yes, yes. We build the house there. But my children think and speak in English you know. My friend XXX who was in XXX for 10 years went home to Poland and she came here for a visit last month, I think, and she says she will never come back here to stay. She says it's difficult for her children right now because they are only back in Poland five months now but her older daughter starts to read in Polish now. It's exactly the same going back to Poland as moving here first. Hear the language first, then speak. So for my children when we go back it will be exactly the same as when they learn English first. They understand first and then they speak.
- R: Anybody else feel they may return to Poland? And if so, does this mean you want your children to learn how to read and write in Polish, or do you want them to go to weekend Polish school in case you decide to move home?
- Karina: We could go back to Poland so I think Polish school will be very good idea for us. Especially for the older girl now so I think we will go. My sister will move back to Poland so it's possible for us also.
- Marcel: I don't think I will be living in Poland but if my children decide to move back and work in Poland they will need Polish. That is the story.
- R: And what about learning Polish or going to Polish school?

- Marcel: Not now because they are too young but I think yes, sometime, yes. But we will speak Polish now and they will learn it like this.
- Gracja: Yes, same. We speak English at home and this is OK for now. Children are young.
- Patrycja: Mmmm, I don't know will we go back to Poland but maybe after my sons finish school, they can go to university there. This is happening lots now. Going to university in Poland. It's better, it's cheaper. That's why I want to keep Polish language and that's why he does Polish internet school now.
- R: That's interesting to hear this. Does anybody else have plans to send their children to Polish weekend school?
- Daria: No interest in this. I don't want them getting mixed up with English and I know we will not go back to Poland so I wouldn't send my children to Polish school here.
- Natalia: My boy, yes. I'm going to send him to Polish school. It is important. In September he's going to be seven so he will do Polish class because maybe in the future he would also like to go to Poland to study and live there again, so it's important
- R: I wonder could you think about pre-school or school or your child's creche and remember any advice you have been given about which language to speak at home? Whether to speak Polish at home, or English or both? I'd love to hear about any advice you've been given.
- Gracja: In the pre-school, yes. We did. One day they asked me 'so which language do you speak in the home?' and I said 'Polish'. And I said I try to teach English sometimes. And they said to me to speak Polish. They said 'You are Polish. Your husband is Polish. This is your language at home'. And I thought my grammar is not too good and I don't want to teach them wrong. So now I relax and only say things in English I am fully sure it's ok to say and correct.

- Marcel: Me, it was opposite really. I was told it would be good to speak English with children in the home and I really did not like this idea and thought it was not the best for us. So we didn't use English in the home really.
- R: Very interesting. Can I ask why you didn't like the idea of using English?
- Marcel: I don't know why we would speak English. We are Polish and my English is not too good and I use mistakes always and children would not understand me too good. And we want to speak Polish.
- R: Can I ask you all how you feel about your children using Polish in school or pre-school during the day? Do they get an opportunity to do so? Would you like if they could?
- Patrycja: They can speak Polish in playground. But I think it's English for everything in class. There is Polish class after school but not in school.
- R: Mmmm yes, ok.
- Patrycja: Everybody speaks English in the whole world so it is important for them to have English. I think it's good really they have English.
- R: That was actually going to be my next thing to talk about. How important and how valuable do you think it is that your children will be fluent in English in the future?
- Marcel: It's really great. I think the fact my girls will have fluent English is like a great reason to be in Ireland. We are happy for this really. But it's still tricky for the family too.
- R: Oh, ok. Maybe tell me a little more about that?
- Marcel: Well it is like there is the English/Polish conflict in the house. Me and my wife want Polish. The girls want English. It's like they are using more English for things they like. You know, playing and TV.
- R: Does anybody else feel this way?

Patrycja: Oh yes it has to be the way. My children are getting older now and all the things like football and games are in English. Everybody speaks English now and they will have this. For example, when we came here first my son was so upset and worried he couldn't speak English and would say 'Why do I have to speak English?' I explained to him Irish people don't speak Polish but when tourists are in Poland they don't understand Polish and we have to speak English to them. So my son was like 'We're going somewhere and I have to speak their language [English]. They're coming to Poland and again we have to speak their language again [English]. So yes it's English everywhere now.

Daria: English will be great for them. My sister tells me we are lucky for this and for extra English language for the children. For the job, the travel and, you know the study.

R: And just going back to what I mentioned earlier, having Polish and seeing it as an important part of your identities. Can I ask, do you all feel like you are Polish, as in do you feel a strong sense of Polish identity within your family homes?

Daria: For me, yes. I talk Polish. I have Polish stuff in my home and I cook the Polish meals. Even my house looks Polish so I guess I feel very Polish.

Marcel: Yes I think we are still like Polish family living in Poland. My children are completely Polish. We go to Poland lots for holidays and talk to grandparents.

Gracja: My husband is actually in Poland at the moment because we are building a new house in Poland and he is there for the work for the house. We go with children in summer and can come back to Ireland for work when children are with my parents.

R: Actually, this is something I wanted to ask about a little more. Do you all travel to Poland regularly? Like, for holidays or trips?

- Karina: Oh yes, always. Sometimes for one week but when the holidays are on it is the expensive time. My older girl went for the summer holidays and I will stay for maybe two weeks and then come back and collect her after the summer holiday.
- Natalia: We will go to Poland in summertime. Christmas is too expensive and too crazy for my job.
- R: So just to think about one final thing. Well we've already talked about this a bit. I know your children are mostly young, some in pre-school and some in primary school. But when you think about the future and about the challenges you might have in helping your children to continue to develop Polish. You know, like reading and writing. How do you feel about this and how do you think you can be supported?
- Patrycja: Well I think going to Poland and talking to the family will be the best thing for us. We have the internet school and the other schools but it is lots of work. I think the children will want to learn the language if they want to go to university in Poland. Well my older boy will I think.
- R: Anybody else see any challenges with their children learning Polish as they get older?
- Gracja: Yes yes, this is why I want to move to Poland in maybe 1 year or 2 because then they will be too old. Like my friend, She had hair salon here and now she is in Poland again and the children forget the Polish. The Polish writing. Maybe not the speaking too much.
- Marcel: We will always go to Poland for the holidays and try to keep the Polish this way.
- R: Great. Thank you all so so much for meeting me and for talking to me...

Individual Interview with Parent (Phase 1)

Researcher: R

Lidia: L

R: Thanks so much for taking part in this interview. Could we maybe start by you telling me a little about your family?

L: No problem. So we are living in XXX¹¹ and there is me, my husband and my son and daughter. My son Kuba is 11 years old and in primary school and my daughter Jagoda is now 17 years old and doing her Leaving Certificate this year. My husband is working as mechanic and I am working in local Dunnes Stores at deli counter.

R: Can you talk to me about moving to Ireland and how you decided to move here?

L: So it was London I went to first in 1996. And first I went to England to stay with my friend with no English and no job. Nothing. So I just took a room to let and for one month maybe I had no job. So I just lived from the money that I brought with me. And then she helped me find a job in a hotel. And two months later my husband came to London and we were living there together for four years. And then I was pregnant and we decided to go back to Poland. Because I had problems with my pregnancy. It was 2000 then and then she was born in Poland in March and when she was 6 months old we came to XXX because my husband was

¹¹ XXX is used in interview transcriptions to maintain the anonymity of participants

working for an Irish company in London. While I was in Poland he was living in London and he met a guy in London from XXX so my husband came here in 2000 when Jagoda was 2 months and then we followed him 4 months later when Jagoda was 6 months old. So we went to XXX then and we had to get a work permit every year for 4 years and a type of visa. My first job was *Centra* in XXX. While I was in London I was in school for 3 hours every day learning English. I found in England I was around Polish people so much and I was not speaking English outside of the English class. The same as now working in Dunnes Stores. I don't really speak English because there are four Polish together and we are a group. 17 years ago when I came here was so different because there were not many Polish people here. I was so lonely. For me it's like I like Polish people but sometimes if I'm out I prefer not to be with them now because it's good to be with other people also. I am in a shop and I meet other Polish people, I don't like speaking Polish especially if there are Irish people around or other people not Polish because it is like insulting. You know we don't talk about other people so I don't want it to look like we do. Everyone knows I am Polish from my accent but I don't want to speak Polish around other people.

R: So Jagoda was a little baby when you moved here?

L: Yes that is right. I had no friends. I was the only Polish woman here at the time. It was very hard. And then when Jagoda started school I met another Polish woman called Aga and she was the only other Polish woman at the time here. I think she is also here a long time now. She is still here. She is working in XXX. Her daughters are so grown up now.

R: Could you talk about your hopes for your children's language learning as they grew up and for the future also?

L: So yes Jagoda went to preschool here and I started her very young there because at first I really wanted her to start speaking and learn English young. We could have spoken to her in English but somebody told us, mmm, I don't know who said it was better for us to speak Polish to her and then she would get good English from other Irish people. When our Irish landlord who lived next door would speak to us when Jagoda was very young Jagoda would speak to me in Polish and then turn around and speak in English to the landlord no problem. I didn't know she spoke such good English and the first time this happened I was so surprised. I think it was a Polish girl told me this about the importance of speaking Polish to children at home. My sister lives in Germany but her children are near adults now with no Polish. This is difficult for us and especially when we are trying to talk together. Her husband did not want the children to speak Polish to them and they are over 20 now but they don't speak it too good or write it. They can maybe just understand everything. Jagoda has always loved going to Poland and went to her grandparents every year for maybe two months since we moved here. To be there with grandparents is important for me because they are Irish really. This is the best way for them to keep up their Polish. That was always important for me. Kuba was born here so he is even more Irish. That means it was hard for him to learn Polish like I wanted him to. Jagoda went to weekend Polish school for one year. It was a lot of extra work and was very expensive to go and to buy all the books. She is not too interested in learning Polish anymore now that she is 17. I think she doesn't want to do the Polish Leaving Certificate because it would be too difficult for her. Polish is a very difficult language to learn, especially the grammar and it is so different to learning English also.

R: What are your thoughts on your children's Polish language development and maintenance at the moment?

L: Writing is very bad I think. When Jagoda texts me on the phone, she texts me in English and I text her back in Polish. When I text her in Polish, she texts me back in English and I text her back in Polish. Sometimes she texts me in Polish which is so funny because her grammar is very bad. Kuba is even worse but at least he wants to learn Polish. I would say his language is English and not Polish. He is interested. Jagoda never really wanted to learn it. I had to push he to learn it from the beginning. Yes she can read Polish books but she prefers to read in English. You see it's the opposite for me. I read an English book but I have to think first in Polish when I am reading it. Jagoda thinks in English first and I think first in Polish. She sometimes asks me about complicated words in Polish, asking 'what does this mean?' For example last week she asked me 'what does this word mean?' and it was the word 'sophisticated' in Polish. She wouldn't understand words like that in Polish. The same can happen for me in English.

R: Do you see Polish as an important aspect of your cultural identity, and why?

L: Yes I actually do. As I was saying about my sister in Germany and her children. I think it is sad to lose the language for the family and the culture. Even to just speak it for this is very important for me. For Jagoda, the funny thing is her accent. When she goes to Poland nobody can understand her! They speak fast but Jagoda speaks very fast and this accent is difficult to understand. It's a pure Irish accent. She is pure Irish! But I still want her to be Polish.

R: Have you any thoughts on your children having English as a language?

L: Yes I guess it's a good thing for them and for their future. You know I have had to work hard to learn some English and I struggle and it's not always easy. I'm

studying now and it's difficult for me compared to them. For Kuba and Jagoda, they will never have this problem and they can travel and study in English no problem. If there will be any problem, it will be with Polish and not English, you know. But yes I am happy they have the English for good jobs and for travel maybe.

R: Can you talk about your family's communication with family members or friends living in Poland?

L: Very good. She talks to my mum all the time on the phone. The children went last summer to her house for two months but it was too long for Jagoda especially. I really wanted this for her to see how it was for me growing up. But she says she has no friends there and it was too long for her. She was sitting around the house. Kuba loved it and he will go again for two months this summer and I think Jagoda will come with me for maybe 2 weeks. I think it would be better if she brings an Irish friend for 2 weeks and they can explore together.

R: Do you ever see you moving back to Poland?

L: No definitely not. In the first few years I thought we would but now no way Not with the house we bought. My husband has the garage. Yes I would like to go back to live in Poland but the older I am the more I want to be here. Now I have more friends here than I do there. More of my friends are from Germany, Australia, England and everywhere. Here I have my sister and my first cousin. They came here when they saw us here and doing very good here for our family. That's good for me. My mum lives in Poland and my dad and it's just them there now. She's still young but if I went back to Poland I wouldn't have anybody else there only them. What would I do in 20 years when she is gone. I would be on my own. I

know Jagoda will never want to live there. So this is why I wouldn't go back there now.

R: Do you know any Polish families here that feel differently?

L: Some families yes! Completely different. I have a friend who owns a house here but they are both going home because they now have jobs at home and their children did not start school here yet. I also have another friend who went home last year but they are from a big town and I am from a smaller town so there is less to go home to there. When I went to London first or when I came here and for the first ten years I was always going to go back to Poland. I would go back to Poland. When I was 30 I thought I would. But then we bought the house in 2006 and everything changed then. Sometimes I am thinking I would love to go back only because of the weather but you know I think I can go back every summer if I want so the weather is not a good reason to return to Poland. But I do know people who move because of the bad weather. And yes it is tough here and the work is tough but it's still a better life. I have a degree from Poland and I am working at the deli of Dunnes Stores so now I go to college in Athlone because I am interested in nutrition and now I have the English to study so maybe I can get a better job here in the future. My mother in law was here 14 years and she went home last year because of the pension. But she only went back because she had to go home because she could only keep one pension. 14 years is a long time. She would prefer to stay here. For me I'm 21 years gone now and I only left for a year and look at me. I know I am probably here forever now!

When I came here first I didn't know a word. Not even 'see ya'. I had no idea what people were saying. At first when we came here I was just renting a small room and most people were like this. This small room in a house and when we got our own

house I was like ‘wow’. London was so hard first. When my husband came to Ireland from London first and I was back in Poland with Jagoda as a baby, it was so hard. He started smoking and he came home to visit very depressed. There was nothing here for him except work and the weather was so bad. He also lost weight. So I decided we are going back to Ireland with him and I couldn’t believe it. Everyone had so much money. We had so much money. I remember it was 2003 and the first week of January there were so many brand new cars and the houses. Wow they were huge and people had so much money. We bought this house and at the end it was so so expensive. The interest rate was so high and now it’s 1200 a month. We have to work so hard for this house. My husband does extra work and has a garage at the house to make extra money to pay for it. But I know we would never have this kind of house in Poland. If I decided to stay in Poland after London I could have worked for my dad in his company in the office. But I know I still would not have a house like this with this job. Here I have so money and I can go places. I can go wherever I want. In my country it is very different.

R: Can you tell me about the languages that the children speak on a daily basis?

L: Jagoda speaks English all the time. She has no Polish friends. One is Brazilian and then she has Irish friends and a friend from Portugal. So they speak English all the time. So when she goes somewhere with her Polish cousins, she prefers not to speak Polish in the company of people not from Poland. I remember when Jagoda was 10 and there were four Polish girls in my house and they were speaking English and I was amazed to see this. If there was an Irish girl with them then it’s ok that they would speak English but just them I don’t understand why they would not speak Polish together. It’s just like they abandon or something. If I was in this café with Jagoda now I would speak Polish but if we were with you or if somebody

came along and was asking us a question or something, Jagoda and I would speak English to each other around this person.

R: And what about Kuba?

L: Well Kuba is nearly 12 and was born here but I encourage him to speak Polish to us. But when he is angry it's only English he will use. For example yesterday, he was playing *Xbox* and he wouldn't stop shouting and this was all in English. Even when his lips are moving I can see it is English. His thinking is in English. English all the time. When he is in Poland and when he is hanging out with them he will speak in English by accident and he will say 'Oh sorry'. I think in English. He still thinks he is Polish but the way he acts is Irish. He does watch TV in Polish and he does talk to us in Polish but when he was a kid all of our neighbours were Irish and spoke English and their kids were playing with Kuba and they always spoke English together. Jagoda was playing with her cousin here from Poland and they were speaking Polish. But now Dominika is worse than Jagoda. She's always watching English TV and won't watch Polish TV. She will not read Polish books. Jagoda would like to study business in college and would love to go to London or Poland to do this. She was even thinking of other countries where she could study. But she will only study through English. She could not study in Poland. She would not have the language. It would be so strange for her studying through English in Poland and not through Polish but this is possible. But in Poland everything is more difficult to study here

R: So do you make any specific demands about language use in the home or do you tell your children which language to speak at home?

L: Well I don't think about it too much. They know I will prefer to speak Polish but it doesn't always happen that way. So they will prefer English books, English TV and

English together. But when I speak Polish to them, they will speak it with me and my husband. I guess I understand how much easier English is for them. Of course when we are in Poland, they will always speak Polish there.

R: What are the challenges you face as a bilingual family?

L: I suppose like I said before, the children don't really like to learn Polish. So what can I do about this really? I can't force it. Also, it's like they think in English and I think in Polish and my husband too. Sometimes that can be difficult for us. But really it's ok because me and my husband can understand everything in English and children can understand everything in Polish too.

R: Thinking about the children's teachers in pre-schools and schools throughout the years, have you ever been given advice about their Polish language maintenance or learning?

L: I can't remember too good who told us...mmm... maybe it was in the primary school. But we were told to use the Polish in the home and just keep English for the school. But I wanted them to learn English very quickly so I sent them to the playschool young to hear English. It's funny because they had no problem with the English at all. I'm happy we always spoke Polish in the home.

R: We are getting to the end now. Is there anything else you would like to add? Any questions at all?

L: Thanks for asking me. It's nice to talk about this. It's interesting to think about it.

Individual Interview with Parent (Phase 1)

Researcher: R

Judyta: J

R: Could you tell me about your family and about moving to Ireland.

J: So I moved here 12 years ago with my husband. We came here for better money and for jobs and we loved Ireland from beginning. My daughter was born here 9 years ago. She is now in 4th class and she is only child in the family.

R: So what decisions did you make around language use in the home when Amelia was born?

J: I didn't have to wonder at all. We naturally spoke Polish all of the time. There was no English really at all because it was just us and her. After she was 3 years old and when she started playschool, it was difficult because she didn't have any English. It was really difficult for her and for me because I was thinking she will never be able for this English. But then after about six months she could speak the English language and what was great was that she started to play with these girls when she was about 4 years old and she could speak English to them.

R: At the moment, what are your hopes for Amelia's language learning?

J: Well I guess I don't think too much about this. I am happy about her English. It's a great benefit to Amelia to have English. It is so great to have English, even in Poland. English is the most important thing if you want to get a good job. In Poland, if you have no English it's not good. It's bad if you want to get a good job in Poland. If she goes back to Poland, this will be a great start. It's much easier even for us now. My parents moved here and have English too and it's great for going on holidays or travelling. English is the universe language. English is

everywhere. When I came here I had no English and working in the shop here was so great for this. I got to practise every day. So I am so happy that I am so good now. I would like her to read and write Polish, but it is a problem for her. It would be great if she was good in Polish reading and writing like in English, but she is not.

R: Could you talk to me some more about this? What are your thoughts on her Polish language learning and maintenance?

J: It's not great I have to say and I was even talking to my husband about that last week. Her Polish writing is so bad compared to English writing. Her reading is not too bad but still not as good as English. She is improving because we got her lots of Polish books when we were in Poland. I was thinking if I should teach her but to be honest it's very hard with all the hours that I work. By the time she does her homework and everything. I was thinking about the weekend schools for learning Polish but I just gave up. My aunt is a teacher in Poland and she said it's too early to be thinking about that. But there is a Polish school in XXX that we could go to. It's very hard with all the hours I work and by the time she does her homework and everything. There is lots of pressure because there would be extra homework with this too. I wonder if there is any sense in sending her Polish school. Would this be too much pressure and then she would not have any free time at all? I also heard about internet school. So maybe this is something we can think about.

R: Can you talk about the languages that are spoken in your family home on a daily basis?

J: Polish is the language always spoken in our home. We naturally speak Polish all of the time. There is just us and Amelia and there is nobody else in the house who she can speak English with really, but she does use English words. I speak to her in

Polish language at home but she speaks Polish to me but with lots of English words. She knows some words better in English so if she's talking to me about her day or something she will use Polish sentences but there is always some English words in it.

R: Do you have any rules or specific demands in the home around which language should be spoken?

J: Not at all. But I just naturally am using Polish all the time. I tell Amelia that if she likes we can speak English at home but she says "No because it's my native language" but if her Polish friends come to our house they are just speaking English. I think it's because they don't know some of the Polish phrases and words but this is what she does with her Polish friends. So Polish and English is used in our house really I suppose.

R: Do you ever see yourself returning to Poland?

J: No not at all. I couldn't go back to Poland. You see this is why I am relaxed a little about Amelia learning Polish, but then sometimes I get worried and think 'oh what if she decides to move to Poland?' She wouldn't be able to write or read properly at all. But we do have a lot of places and universities you can study through English in Poland so this is very good. But I'm not sure even Amelia would want to go to university in Poland. She seems Irish really.

R: Could you tell me a little bit more about that? You think she seems more Irish than Polish?

J: I know she feels Irish. There were moments when she said she wanted to move to Poland but this was only after holidays when she spent time with my family. She is spoiled by the family when she is in Poland so she thinks it would be like this all

the time if she lived there. But really, she is happy in Ireland and is like Irish child in the school I think.

R: What about you? Thinking about cultural identity, do you see Poland and the Polish language as important aspects of your cultural identity?

J: Yes for sure. We are very Polish but living in Ireland. We have the Polish TV at home and this makes me feel I'm in Poland. My house is more Polish. If you look in my estate, you can see all the white curtains and you will know we are from Eastern Europe and I have the flowers in the window like in Poland so I still feel Polish and my house looks Polish. I love to go to the local Polish mass on Sundays and meet with other Polish families because we all have the similar experience to move to Ireland. All this is important for me.

R: So you are part of a local Polish community here?

J: I suppose yes. Especially because my parents are here, we get to do the Polish traditional stuff together now. And yes I meet Polish people every day. I work with them. My hairdresser is Polish too. There are lots of Polish shops. Yes there is the community here.

R: You said that your parents now live in Ireland also? Do you still maintain contact with friends and relatives in Poland?

J: In the beginning I was in touch with all my friends in Poland. After a while I notice they don't bother to contact me first. My best friend is Irish and my other friend is a refugee from Chechnya. I have another good friend here who is Polish. I feel we have to be open. If we are coming here we can't stay in our own bubble you know. I think we have to move forward. Even if I am Polish, I am not in Poland so it's ok to move forward. English really becomes the language when we are not at home.

R: Could you talk to me more about that? About English being the language outside the home?

J: Well I mean that is what happens when you move somewhere with another language. For example, my husband has a cousin in Holland and because his son was born there, his Dutch is much better than his Polish. I can tell about my neighbours who came here 12 years ago from Chechnya and now they are speaking completely English. If she speaks her language to the children, they answer in English. And I see the same with Amelia. Her English is better than Polish. So she has these English words and she cannot say them in Polish. She can't name things in Polish, words like 'hairdresser'. But this is normal because she is learning these words in English in school.

R: Have you asked for or received any advice from teachers about Amelia's language learning or language use at home?

J: Well actually, yes. I spoke to her teacher two years ago because I was worried and I asked her what should I do? I was wondering should I teach her the Polish language and her teacher said 'No. English is her first language so stay with that first and then worry about the Polish language'. So I go with that and I just think about the English for now. Lots of people say she has a XXX (local town) accent, even her teacher.

R: How do you feel about this type of advice?

J: To be honest, I don't know. She likes Polish but we have no energy for learning the reading and writing. So I will have to think more about this. Some families I see and they are going to Polish school and everything. We need to think more. She is happy to use the two languages. When she sleeps at night time and she is sleep

talking, it is in English. Maybe she thinks in English! But she loves Irish and she is very good at it.

Individual Interview with Parent (Phase 2)

Researcher: R

Sonia: S

R: Could you start by telling me about yourself, your family and your children's ages?

S: So we are four altogether. My daughters are now in secondary school and are 13 and 16 years old. We are living in XXX Town and renting house there. My husband is carpenter and works for company and for himself also. I am working in XXX Café where I cook and manage in the kitchen there.

R: Could you talk to me about your move to Ireland and why you moved?

S: So that decision was a very hard decision because the first time we made the decision was for my husband to move here first. So that was nearly twelve years ago when he moved here to get a job and set up here. 2005 that was. My daughter she was only 4 months old and so you have children and you try to make money. You need money and so you have to make decision to build up yourself you know for family and everything. And my husband decided to come to Ireland because he got a good job here and I stayed in Poland for two years with two small children and at the time the first daughter was three years old and the second daughter was three months old so I was alone and then I felt lonely lonely lonely. All that was there was my mother in law and father in law. It wasn't the same without Marcin there. It was not nice without him. So we moved into a better house and in the beginning there was no internet connection and one day and my oldest daughter said 'Daddy doesn't love us anymore because he didn't call us today and he's not

living here with us. And she was nearly 5 then. I was so so sad. Marcin was nearly 2 years working in Ireland this time. So I was crying that evening. I had moved into that new house and I tried to put everything together myself and make lovely and try to start a new life in that house but there was a big and strong question mark [starts to cry] and actually my husband was coming home to visit us every 4 or 5 months and he was calling us every eve for chatting us and then we got the new house and he was chatting us every evening. But Zofia was thinking he didn't love us anymore. And we said we had to change the life because we needed to be together like a family and the children needed to see their daddy every day and the small daughter was very afraid of men and always had big panic attack even if she saw her uncle. So then we made the decision to move to Ireland. We came first for two weeks holiday with children and finally after 4 months I came to Ireland. Zofia was 5 and started Junior Infants straight away. So she had just a few words in English from the playschool and she was very stressed and afraid in the school because of English. She was very ambitious and the language was a big problem for her because she want everything perfect. And I was going to class for English and this was very stressful time for us all because language was so difficult. So I didn't use the English language in any way for 15 years before this and so that was difficult. But every day there was a new lesson to learn and I met new people and step by step I used new words and new sentences and you start to enjoy conversations and then you can make new friends because of this.

R: So can I ask about your goals for you children's learning and maintenance of the Polish language?

S: Well we never gave up using the Polish language in the home. We still speak Polish at home. They always travel every summer to Poland and they spend time with cousins and grandparents and to speak Polish with the family. And the family send us messages in Polish often and they communicate with their cousins often in Polish which is so important. So they communicate very very good in Polish. It's so great that they get to speak Polish naturally there and hear it. But when they were six years old we sent them to weekend Polish school on Saturdays or Sundays. But they grow up and my husband's job changed and it was not possible to bring them anymore. It was big effort when we did this for a few years. One year we were attending XXX. Now they do miss it but also, they were very tired at time they were going to the Polish school. But now we work sometimes weekend and it's not possible. When they first finished the Polish school they were excited about having free weekend but then they start to say they miss the people they meet from Poland there and they say they really liked learning all about the culture and the Polish activities. The Polish school had a superb Polish library with all the Polish books and this made me so happy to see my girls in the Polish library.

R: How do you feel about your children's reading and writing in Polish?

S: I am happy enough. Zofia who is nearly fifteen years old and Agata who is in sixth class have fluency in reading and fluency in writing. They are very good for speaking and listening also. Maybe they need more exercise for Polish grammar but they have learned lots during two months holidays in Poland every summer because they talk, read and write with cousins there. They actually go to the library in Poland with their grandmother and they take out lots of Polish books so I am happy enough. And we have a mix of books at home and they have all the books from the

weekend Polish school because some of the books are about history and culture and they keep them. Maybe they can use again. They don't throw out their Polish books.

R: So do your children see Poland and the Polish language as an important aspects of their identity?

S: Poland is such an important piece of our identity. We talk about Poland all the time and we miss Poland so much. The girls always want to go to Poland for holidays or always want to talk about the Polish traditions. They like to join with family as much as possible. They miss so much. Before, the girls have Polish auntie and cousins here but now this aunty moved to Holland. So we miss this family so much now. They miss Christmas time in Poland because it's so different there. There are different traditions and they often ask 'when are we going to spend Christmas in Poland again?' It's very expensive time for tickets, for flights and for ferries or travel and we always give up and stay in Ireland but I think in 2 years we will spend Christmas in Poland because the grandparents will be 45 years married then and there will be big family celebration then. And Marcin's younger sister will be 30 that Christmas so all the family will be together then that Christmas.

R: Were you ever given advice about which languages to use by the school or childcare facilities?

S: Honestly, I never met any teacher who said to give up Polish or speak more English. That is what makes us Polish, our language, so we would never give this up wherever we live.

R: How do you feel about your children's knowledge of English and how this might impact on their future?

S: I think it's really great they have English but sometimes they use Polish and English and sometimes they find it easier to say something in English and when this happens I say 'stop' because I want them to say something in one language. English just crept in after the girls started school.

R: Could you tell me a little more about this? About their use of English and how this impacts on the languages used at home?

S: Ok so they always speak Polish to us, their parents, but the funny thing is when the girls play together or talk about school, they always speak in English to each other. But when they play with cousins they always play in Polish but with cousins they always play like teacher and teach English to their cousins and then they mix the languages.

R: So how do you feel about them knowing English and having English as a language?

S: That's good I think. I think it's really great they have English. I never imagined that my children would be able to speak English like this. It's unreal. I mean they can work and travel where they want now. It makes them braver to travel. We are now not afraid for anything or to move to any country after this. The hardest thing was the decision to move all the family here and now nothing is scary anymore. It's not easy to move. The worst thing about moving to Ireland was some people thought we were stupid. The worst thing was one lady said was 'the people who moved here are people with low education' and I was so sad and so angry and I thought if

you can move to another country with a new language and do the same job. That was the worst opinion I ever heard.

R: So do you have any thoughts about moving back to Poland?

S: It's strange because in the beginning here we thought we will go back to Poland after 5 years. Then the girls were in primary school and then they start secondary school and we decide we can't change everything during the secondary school and the change in language in school would not be good right now when they are studying for exams. So we miss Poland but here we are lucky with nice rented house an even though I can't work in my qualified job as education psychologist I am happy person for my good family life. So I don't know when there will be good time to move home because in September Agata will start secondary school.

Individual Interview with Child (Phase 2)

Researcher: R

Zofia: Z

R: Thanks for agreeing to talking to me. I'm trying to learn more about Polish families living in Ireland and I am interested in hearing about the languages that you and your family speak and use every day. I am also very interested in hearing about the languages you prefer to speak. Today, I would like to talk to you about your own experiences. I will ask some questions but might not feel you can answer all of the questions, and that is fine. I won't be sharing what you tell me with others and I will be using fake names when I'm writing about what you tell me.

So we might start with you telling me a bit about yourself; like your age, where you were born, when you moved to Ireland?

Z: Sure, so I am sixteen years old and I am in third year in secondary school now. I have one sister Agata and she's thirteen years old. We live in XXX Town. We moved here when I was nearly five years old and before I started primary school. I remember going to buy all the stuff for school in Ireland and at first I was so excited. But then I was crying because I was like I'm not going to understand anything they are saying in the classroom and I was so nervous about this. The first day everybody talking was like a buzz because I didn't understand a word but I was happy because it was like a new experience. It was nice but I was nervous because I didn't know what they were saying but it got easier as time went on. And I was figuring out what they were saying. We all kind of like learned from each other.

R: Could you talk to me about the languages that you learn and speak?

Z: Polish I can speak fluently. English I can speak fluently. I can read and write perfectly in English. It was never a problem for me. I can also speak it perfectly too, I think. Irish not like fluently but I can say a few sentences. German I can say a few sentences as well.

R: Could you tell me how you feel about knowing all these languages, or how important languages are to you?

Z: I never really thought about how it makes me feel being able to speak two languages like Polish and English. It's just part of me. Maybe it's good for college and the future. It's important for me to be able to speak Polish because all of my family is Polish and I need to be able to communicate with them and talk to them about anything and I can do that by learning Polish and being able to talk in Polish.

R: Could you talk to me more about the languages you speak at home?

Z: We use Polish all the time at home with my parents. Sometimes my sister and I talk Polish but we also use English lots. It depends on what we are talking about. So like when we are talking about like school or about our swimming club then we usually talk in English. Then when we talk about family or anything we did as a family, it's always in Polish. Usually between our parents we talk in Polish because they find it easier to talk to us in Polish because we talk so fast in English they find it difficult to understand us. We have a bigger vocabulary range in English than they do so we speak to them in Polish. The Polish priest says mass in Polish so we go to that every second week and my parents love this. During the summer, we speak Polish in our grandparent's house in Poland. And we are careful to only speak Polish when Grandad is staying here.

R: Could you talk to me a little more about that? Only speaking Polish with grandparents?

Z: They don't have English and I try to remember this when we are with them. It's different with my parents because they understand English. My granny has a few words so she can understand her grandchildren who are living abroad but she doesn't speak English.

R: Have you any thoughts about your daily language use? Or which languages you would like to see yourself speaking in the future?

Z: I'll probably use English as an adult but I'll try to use Polish as an adult and if I ever have children I want them to speak Polish to speak to my family and I'd try to get them to use Polish so that they could communicate with the rest of the family.

R: Do you see Polish as an important part of who you are, like your identity?

Z: Oh yes, for sure. I still see myself as Polish. That's important to me so we can all talk together in Polish. I would say that my first language is Polish because I spoke Polish until I was 5 and then I only started learning English.

R: Thinking about school, did you or do you get any opportunity to speak or use Polish?

Z: My best friends are Irish but I do talk in Polish to other Polish girls in school. There are two Polish girls in my year but they are closer to each other. We do speak Polish together. They have never said anything to us in the school about speaking Polish. So I guess, yes, we are allowed to speak it if we like.

R: And have you any memories of speaking or using Polish in primary school?

Z: I remember there was this older girl minding our class during the break and there were other kids from Poland in my class and we used to talk Polish together during the breaks but the teachers told us to stop speaking Polish and to use English in the class. I was only about six in Senior Infants I remember. It felt so weird because I knew what I wanted to say to them in Polish but to try and say the same in English was tricky. The teachers knew I knew Polish but they probably wanted me to learn English since I was living in Ireland and English is the main language here. They probably wanted me to be able to communicate with everyone in school and the rest of the people around me. I remember in fourth class or that, whenever there was new person from Poland with no English and I helped the parents translate stuff with the principal and that...and that was helpful. I remember I was in 5th class and I was like a translator. But the kids in my class didn't really see me getting to use Polish at all. It was just for helping the teachers or principal translate really.

R: And how did you feel about going to Polish weekend school? Could you talk to me a little about that?

Z: When we came to Ireland and when I was in first class in primary school, my parents signed me up to a Polish school in XXX and I went there every Saturday and that's where I learned to read and write and learn all about Polish grammar and stuff. When I was young I didn't mind it but as I got older, like fifth and sixth class, and the work piled up because there was a lot more homework and there was a two-hour return journey every weekend when my parents signed me up to a Polish school and I went there every Saturday. But then we moved Polish school and

started in Galway and that was bigger and there were more people and the atmosphere was better and I liked that school more. I did enjoy going there. We made lots of contacts from Poland there too. Sometimes it was very busy especially if we had important tests in Polish schools. It wasn't that bad in the younger years because there was less work but in 4th 5th 6th class it was very very busy.

R: Are you happy you went to Polish school?

Z: I feel very lucky my parents sent me now even though sometimes I complained that I was too tired to go on a Saturday morning. But this is the benefit of the Polish school. I can speak Polish, I can write fluently, and I can read everything in Polish no problem either. If I couldn't write in Polish then I wouldn't be able to communicate with my family in Poland, because we have a family wats app group and we are always writing to each other through that. Every week we say 'Oh this happened' or 'Happy Birthday'. I love talking to my cousins in Poland this way. And about books that we read because we all love reading so much.

R: Could you tell me more about reading Polish books?

Z: Every summer we read so so many Polish books when we stay over there with my grandmother and we come out of the library with a pile of Polish books. My cousins are always like 'read this, read this' when we go to Poland and we go to the library with my grandparents and come out with a massive pile of Polish books to read during the summer.

R: Have you a preference for reading in Polish or English?

Z: I'm happy to read in English or Polish.

R: How do you feel about learning Polish in post-primary school? Would you study Polish for the Leaving Certificate if this was on offer in your school?

Z: It's funny. We have been talking lots about this. My friend is doing Polish as a Leaving Cert subject and I really want to do it. When we went to Polish school, the teachers were telling us that they were helping students prepare for Polish Leaving Certificate. I think it would be great to do this. I need to find out more about it.

R: So, just going back to the everyday language practices in your home. Maybe thinking about TV also and social media on your phone? Which languages are you using?

Z: Well it's always Polish with my parents. We have Polish TV here so my parents say that's what we have to watch so I don't have a choice and I have to watch it. And when my friends used to 'Did you see the Late Late Toy Show?'...I was like 'Emmm no, we just have Polish TV!'. But that can be good. Sometimes I sit down in the evening and I see what's going on in Poland and I like to know that. I sometimes see the ads for the programmes and I say 'oh that's interesting and that's what's going on in Poland so I'll watch that'. When I'm texting my family in Poland or my mother or sister, I usually text in Polish even though my keyboard is set in English but it's easy change it and text in Polish. We have the *WhatsApp* group for my family and we talk on it all the time. There is always pictures and conversations going up if there is anything interesting going on or something coming up. Sometimes we just have conversations or joke around. We have a really good bond and then we go over to Poland in the summer. Nobody has any grudges or anything. We always connect through Polish and we stay in touch.

R: So, thinking about being bilingual. How do you feel about this? About being fluent in both Polish and English?

Z: I think it's great to have more than one language because you can communicate with a lot more people, like when you're in a work space or travelling. I think it's good to be bilingual. I also think it has been easier for me to learn German in secondary school as some German words are similar to Polish. I think I'll be happy to have more than just Polish when I'm looking for a job in the future. I think English will be great for me in the future if I want to work abroad or travel. My cousins in Poland learn English but they are not so fluent and it would be harder for them to communicate with people like in a work space if they ever work abroad but it'll be easier for me because loads of people speak English around the world.

Appendix P: Sample of Generating initial codes

This appendix presents sample codes assigned to four interview transcripts from the first and second phases of the study. As described in Chapter Three, data from each phase of the study were analysed separately. Separate themes were generated for each phase of the study. Each interview transcript was assigned a colour so that codes could be traced back to the original transcript/participants throughout all phases of thematic analysis.

Braun and Clarke Thematic Analysis Phase Two: Generating initial codes

1	Interview with Lidia (I11)
2	Lived in London first
3	husband moved first to Ireland
4	followed husband to Ireland
5	doesn't get opportunity to speak too much English as working with Polish people everyday
6	children aged 11 to 17
7	no plans to move home as bought house in Ireland
8	Parents' lack of connection with Poland as left in 1996
9	oldest daughter will learn through English in college
10	really wanted her daughter to start speaking English from a young age so started her in pre-school young
11	was surprised how quick her daughter learned English
12	was amazed at how her daughter could switch between Polish and English from a young age
13	has a brother in Germany and the children don't speak or read or write in Polish
14	children have gone to Poland for two months every summer since they were young
15	feels her children are Irish
16	feels it's important for her children to spend time in Poland
17	her daughter has always loved going to Poland
18	going to Poland is the best way to keep up their Polish
19	Son was born in Ireland so he is even more Irish
20	Daughter went to Polish weekend school and this was expensive
21	Polish weekend school was lots of extra work
22	Daughter now aged 17 and not too interested to learn Polish anymore
23	Daughter doesn't want to do Polish Leaving Certificate as it may be too difficult
24	Polish as a difficult language to learn
25	Children text mother in English and she replies in Polish
26	Children's Polish grammar is very bad
27	Son is interested in learning Polish but daughter is not
28	had to push her daughter to learn Polish from the beginning
29	daughter can read Polish books but doesn't want to
30	feels her preferences are the opposite to her daughter as she prefers to read Polish book
31	daughter thinks in English first and mother thinks in Polish first
32	daughter has to ask the meaning of complicated Polish words
33	mother has to ask the meaning of complicated words in English
34	opposite issues for parents and children when it comes to language
35	When daughter goes to Poland, nobody can understand her
36	she has an Irish accent and is pure Irish

Phase 1

Phase 2

D

Interview with Judyta (II4)
moved to Ireland 12 years ago
daughter was born in Ireland 9 years ago
after spending time in Poland, daughter misses Poland
Polish was always naturally spoken in the family home
daughter found preschool difficult initially as she had no English
learned English quickly
daughter mixes Polish and English words a lot when talking to parents
daughter knows some things better in English when describing her day
daughter refers to Polish as her native language and wants to use it at home
daughter speaks English with Polish friends as they don't have the Polish to describe some everyday topics they
reading and writing in Polish is not good
discusses this with her husband regularly
parents make efforts to have Polish books at home
too hard to find time to teach Polish as parents work long hours
difficult for daughter to have extra time to learn Polish after all the everyday school work
considered Polish weekend school but decided it was too much pressure
extra homework from Polish weekend school would be too much pressure
wonders if there is a sense in sending daughter to Polish weekend school
thought daughter would have no free time if she went to Polish weekend school
considering Polish internet school
doesn't see the family returning to Poland
gets relaxed about daughter's Polish language learning because they plan on staying in Ireland
sometimes gets worried that if they decide to move back to Poland, her daughter won't have the Polish language
is cognisant that you can study through university in Poland
great benefit for daughter to have English
it is also a benefit to have English if living in Poland
it would be good for daughter to have English if living in Poland in the future
grandparents have just moved to Ireland permanently and live nearby
English is the universe language
happy that she gets to practise English through work everyday
feels in their own bubble in Ireland now
kept contact with friends in Poland at first but they lost contact with her
Has friends from other nationalities
feels they have to be open to meeting other people
has Polish TV at home

Zofia Kowalski Individual Interview with child (A2)

fluent spoken Polish

fluent English

can say a few sentences in Irish

having two languages is good for college and the future

importance of speaking Polish for communicating with Polish family

Polish used at home all the time with family

parents find it easier to talk in Polish

uses English and Polish with sister and language used depends on the topic of conversation

speaks Polish in grandparents' house in Poland

feels they have a bigger vocabulary range in English compared to parents

children talk too fast in English for their parents to fully understand what they're saying sometimes

grandmother has a few words in English for understanding children living abroad

still sees herself and her identity as Polish

will want her own children to speak Polish for family communication purposes

importance of Polish across all generations for family cohesion

sees Polish as her first language as she only started speaking English aged 5

exciting memories of starting school in Ireland and hearing the English language

got easier to use English as time went on

was asked to stop speaking Polish in school and to use English instead

knew what she wanted to say in Polish but to say it in English in school was difficult

sees why teachers wanted Polish children to use English-to be able to communicate with people around them

Polish school and the high volume of work involved

level of work got more intense as the children got older, especially from 5th/6th classes

AutoSave Off Phase 2 Generating initial codes - Excel Search

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A1 1. KOWALSKI FAMILY

1. KOWALSKI FAMILY

PARENT INTERVIEW

Interview with Sonia (A1)

husband moved to Ireland first

husband moved to Ireland for economic reasons

husband came to Ireland for work

wife was lonely and sad living in Poland with children alone

children missed their dad and felt unloved because he was in Ireland

difficult being alone in Poland as a mother

family kept in touch with dad by phone everyday while he was in Ireland

belief in the importance of being together as a single family unit

big question mark over the family life with the dad living in Ireland and rest of family in Poland

belief that children need to see their dad everyday

family decided to follow dad to Ireland

difficulties around moving to Ireland because of visa issues as a Ukranian national

mother came initially to Ireland with children for a holiday

mother moved to Ireland with children to be with father

eldest child started junior infants in primary school

stress for child in school at first because of language barrier

mother went to English classes

stress for family due to language barriers/difficulties

mother's progress with learning English over time

language classes as an opportunity for mother to meet new people/friends

parent's enjoyment of learning English and seeing the benefits of learning the language

never gave up on Polish language at home

Phase 1 Phase 2

Appendix Q: Sample of Searching for Themes

Braun and Clarke Thematic Analysis Phase Three: Searching for themes

This appendix presents samples of the third phase of thematic analysis; Searching for themes. Samples of searching for themes for the first and second phases of the study are included. Sample codes assigned to potential themes are colour coded and can therefore be traced back to the original data source. A sample of potential themes are presented below with sample associated codes.

Phase 3-Searching for themes - Excel

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Alignment: Left, Center, Right, Justify, Indent, Decrease Indent, Increase Indent

Number: General, Text, Percentage, Fraction, Decimals, Scientific, Currency, Accounting, Date, Time, Custom

Styles: Conditional Formatting, Format as Table, Cell Styles

Cells: Insert, Delete, Format

Editing: Sort & Filter, Find & Select, Ideas

Formula Bar: Individual Interview with Wioletta

Focus Group

Individual Interview with Martyna

Individual Interview with Lidia

Individual Interview with Judyta

Individual Interview with Dawid

Individual Interview with Wioletta

Interview with Ewa

Potential themes

Evidence of transnationalism, connectedness with Poland and the importance of Polish for possible return to Poland

Family moved back to Poland and returned to Ireland again

Plans on moving back to Poland

Doesn't know if family will return to Poland

Considers possibility of children retrning to Poland to go to universiy

Doing online Polish school in preparation for a possible return to Poland to attend university

Plans on sending child to Polish school when they are 7 years old

Followed boyfriend to Ireland

Daughter stays in Poland with grandparents during holidays

doesn't see family ever returning to Poland

Lived in London first

Phase 1 parents Phase 2 Parents Phase 2 Children

AutoSave Off Phase 3-Searching for themes - Excel Search Lorraine Crean LC

Home Insert Draw Page Layout Formulas Data Review View Help

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B

Polish as the language of the family home

Polish is the language spoken at home

Polish spoken in the home and parents always use Polish
child understands that it's Polish in the home and English at creche

Polish was always naturally spoken in the family home
daughter refers to Polish as her native language and wants to use it at home

always use Polish at home and watch Polish TV

felt it very important to use Polish at home with the children

parents feel they can't put pressure on children to speak a particular language but Polish is the language of

all family members use a mix of Polish and English at home

speaking English in a Polish way (Ponglish)

Polish always the language in the family home

mix of languages at home, but naturally more Polish

always Polish spoken over meal times

Phase 1 parents Phase 2 Parents Phase 2 Children

A	B
1. Initial move to Ireland and settling in husband moved to Ireland first husband moved to Ireland for economic reasons husband came to Ireland for work wife was lonely and sad living in Poland with children alone children missed their dad and felt unloved because he was in Ireland difficult being alone in Poland as a mother family kept in touch with dad by phone everyday while he was in Ireland belief in the importance of being together as a single family unit big question mark over the family life with the dad living in Ireland and rest of family in Poland belief that children need to see their dad everyday family decided to follow dad to Ireland it was difficult to move to Ireland mother came initially to Ireland with children for a holiday mother moved to Ireland with children to be with father	2. Parents' English language learning and development mother went to English classes stress for family due to language barriers/difficulties mother's progress with learning English over time language classes as an opportunity for mother to meet new people/friends parent's enjoyment of learning English and seeing the benefits of learning relied on friends to translate at first when he arrived in Ireland completed a diploma since arriving in Ireland and studied through English was difficult studying through English and demanded perseverance
came to Ireland for economic reasons they knew a family living in Ireland and getting on well-this was an incentive to move to Ireland lived in a number of locations in Ireland before settling in Kildare had a variety of jobs in Ireland in the early years of moving to Ireland parents came to Ireland first father arrived before his wife she didn't want to move to Ireland with parents initially as a teenager	dad still has issues with the English language both parents feel the frustration of not being full able to express themselves feels Irish people are very patient with migrant people speaking English dad feels he cannot learn English to a better level at this stage lack of time for adults to improve or learn English as they are working very different for children learning English compared to adults as children difficulties for parents in understanding higher order English vocabulary knows parents' level of language will never be as advanced as their children
Dad came to Ireland first	dad finds it difficult to express himself properly in English

1. Contact with Polish family and friends

Polish cousins visited the family in Ireland

Polish cousins visited library in Ireland while visiting and loved it

Polish cousins enjoyed learning English while visiting in Ireland

Polish cousin intends on coming to Ireland to work for a summer to learn English

used vlog on snapchat during summer to document language use and to communicate with cousins and friends back in Ireland

use of social media during summer helped Polish cousin to learn and use English

children surprised that grandparents and aunts have acquired more English

grandmother makes effort to learn English to use with grandchildren

grandmother learned English from listening to grandchildren mixing languages

grandfather moved to Ireland for six months to help family renovate new home

grandfather used colloquial phrases that made children laugh ('shockin')

helping grandfather to learn and use English in everyday situations while staying in Ireland

difficulty understanding some academic language used by cousins in Polish that she would understand in English

there can be language barriers when talking about particular or specific topics with cousins in Poland

discusses TV series with cousin in Poland. TV show watched in Polish by cousin.

met Polish teenagers who come to Ireland to stay with Polish relatives to learn English

Polish teenage cousins come to Ireland to stay with the family and learn English

aware that they need to talk more slowly in English around Polish cousins

texting family in Poland (aunt and cousins) is good for learning Polish

maintains regular contact with Polish family in Poland

good bond with Polish family in Poland and stay in touch lots

texts family in Polish through wats app group

all contact with Polish family in Poland is through Polish

contact with Polish family in Poland is on a regular basis

benefits of technology for communicating with family in Poland

4. Polish school	5. Experiences of using Polish in school and teachers' attitudes
went to Polish school when young	was asked to stop speaking Polish in school and to use English instead
Polish schools do good preparation for LC Polish	knew what she wanted to say in Polish but to say it in English in school was difficult
children see the benefits of Polish school for their Polish language learning	sees why teachers wanted Polish children to use English-to be able to communicate with
Polish school and the high volume of work involved	other children didn't get to see Polish children using their Polish in primary school
level of work got more intense as the children got older, especially from 5th/6th classes	not prevented from speaking Polish in secondary school
enjoyed Polish school	talked Polish on the school yard
made lots of Polish connections/contacts in Polish school	got the opportunity to share knowledge of Polish in primary school
Polish school was busy when preparing for Polish exams/tests	teachers in school were curious about child's Polish
feels lucky she was sent to Polish school	not allowed speak Polish at school because all friends are Irish
Polish school was fun	had to be a translator of Polish in school when new children arrived from Poland or to
learned grammar in Polish school	
learned Polish history in Polish school	
library in Polish school	
will need to return to Polish school if doing Polish Leaving Cert	
started weekend Polish school in first class to keep up the Polish language	
going to Polish school at the weekends was difficult as it was such a new experience	
Polish school on a Friday afternoon is difficult	
less relaxation because of going to Polish school at the weekend	
made Polish friends in Polish school in Ireland	
doesn't feel ready to return to Polish classes yet in weekend Polish school	
Polish school in the past was lots of extra work and pressure and not always easy	
Polish school was cool but annoying	
Polish school meant losing out on the weekend	
difficulty in following other interests or hobbies when going to Polish school at the weekend	
had to chose one interest over another-chose STEM classes instead of Polish school at weekend	
Phase 1 parents	
Phase 2 Parents	
Phase 2 Children	

AutoSave Off Phase 3-Searching for themes - Excel Search

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1	13. Attitudes to bilingualism and multilingualism
2	having two languages is good for college and the future
3	sees benefits of learning languages for communication, travel, work
4	good to be bilingual
5	would like to learn another new language before leaving college
6	interest in learning to speak other languages in the future
7	sees the benefits of learning languages for future opportunities
8	benefits of bilinualism for the future
9	only French and Spanish available as languages to study for leaving certificate
10	positive impact of bilingual connections between parents and children
11	benefits of a bilingual mind
12	good to learn languages and the more languages you speak the better
13	having languages is useful
14	good to expand vocabulary and language
15	can be a disadvantage having two languages in your head
16	confident regarding his knowledge of languages but sees room for improvement
17	positive about all of the language spoken in Ireland today
18	learning languages provides opportunities to learn more about the world
19	learning languages allows you to travel more
20	knowledge of languages enables you to help people more
21	feels confident about language learning in general
22	fluent speaking, reading and writing in Polish and English
23	interested in learning additional languages in the future
24	
25	
26	

Phase 1 parents Phase 2 Parents **Phase 2 Children**

Appendix R: Sample of Reviewing Themes

Braun and Clarke Thematic Analysis Phase Four: Reviewing Themes

This appendix presents samples of the fourth phase of thematic analysis; Reviewing themes. Samples of reviewed themes for the first and second phases of the study are included. *Excel* sheets were initially used during this phase to present reviewed themes and associated codes. *MindManager* was then used to rearrange, manoeuvre and present reviewed themes.

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Styles:Conditional Formatting Format as Table Cell Styles

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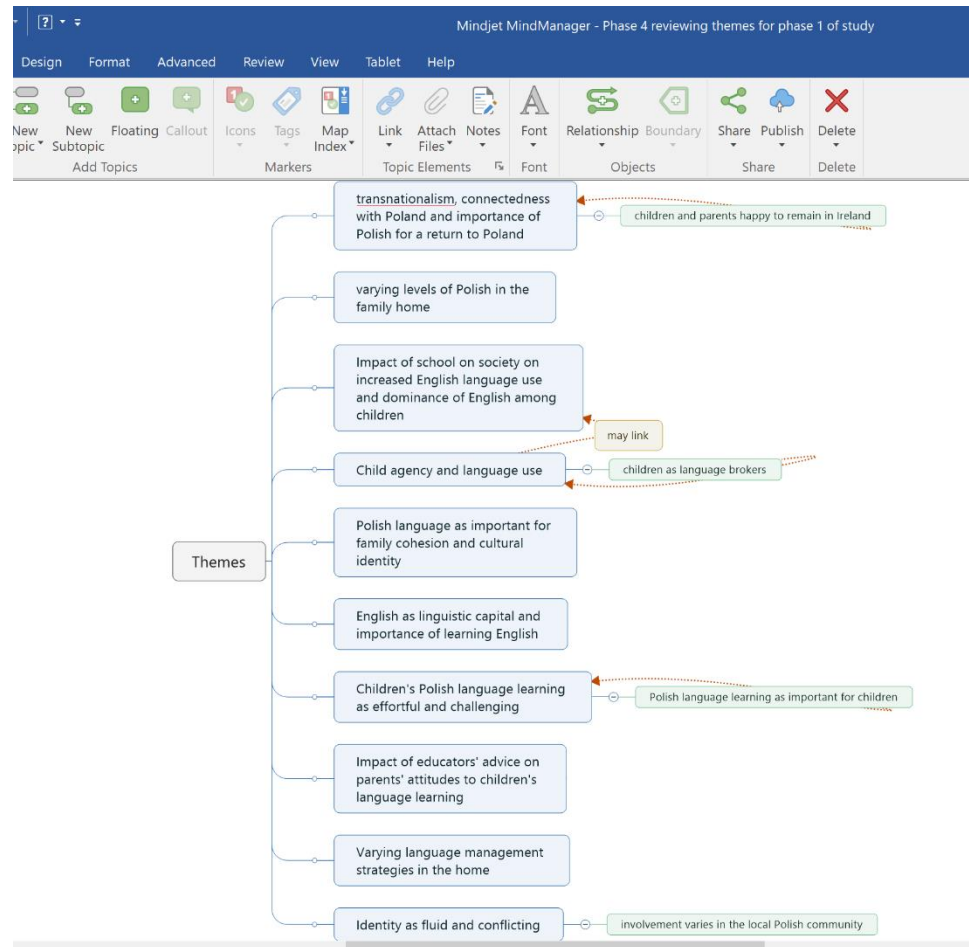
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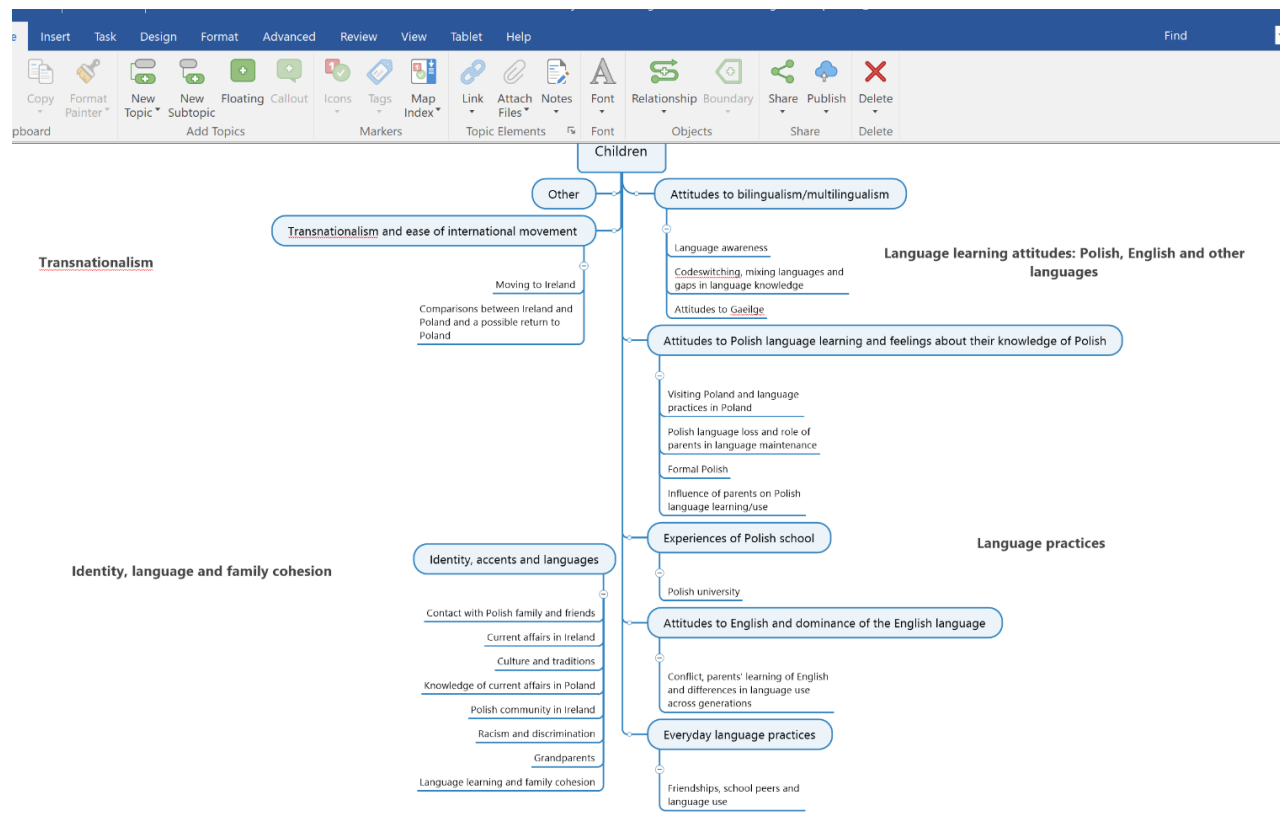
Send to MindManager

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	H
7. Parents' attitudes to Poland and travelling to Poland	8. Role of parents in maintaining and developing
family talk about Poland all the time	knows Polish kids living in Ireland who haven't learn
miss Poland so much	refers to Polish kids who arrive at airport in Poland a
miss family in Poland so much	knows some Polish kids who can speak Polish but a
children like going to Poland for holidays	lack of commitment to Polish among Polish migrant
children want to talk about Polish traditions	questions why Polish families would lose the Polish
children ask about spending Christmas in Poland and would love to spend Christmas in Poland	complex factors and reasons for families losing the P
difficulty travelling to Poland for Christmas due to high costs	rationale for why Polish children lose their language
plan to travel to Poland for big family celebrations and be with family for these celebrations	parents sometimes think they should focus on English
preference would be to return to Poland and live there	difficult for children to revert to Polish after they get
acknowledges that conflicting feelings with her son around returning to Poland is down to age-she feels she is old	second generation Polish children in Britain better th
grandmother visits Poland less often now-last visit three years ago	some Polish parents not so interested in their childre
grandfather visited Poland one year ago	some attempt Polish Leaving Certificate without hav
visits Poland often	parents should be responsible for their children's Poli
misses the city of Warsaw	parents are the influencers and should encourage the
misses Warsaw and all the activities there	even if children don't show interest in Polish languag
dad misses Poland lots	most effective time for children to learn Polish is fro
when the dad returns to Ireland from a holiday in Poland, it's like a week of trauma	can sometimes be too late when teenagers decide the
girls will spend summer in Poland	knows examples of Polish migrant children refusing
children went to Poland with father initially for three weeks while mother remained in Ireland working	example of a Polish family that reverted to using Eng
mother followed family to Poland later in summer	example of Polish migrants wishing to take up Polish
children only spoke Polish while in Poland	anecdotes-impact of negative experiences in Poland
	anecdotes-some Polish migrant parents don't push Po
	big mistake if families don't make the effort for their
	negative impact of Polish language loss on family lif
	examples of where Polish children emigrate and lose

Phase 1 Phase 2 Parents Phase 2 Children



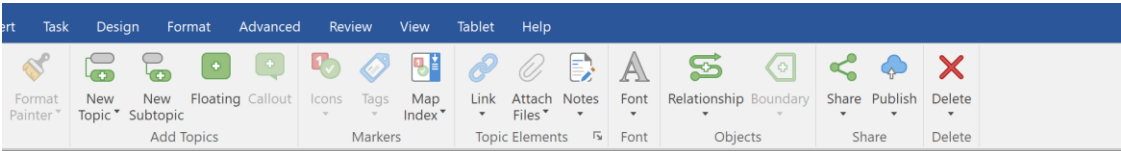


Appendix S: Sample of Defining and Naming Themes

Braun and Clarke Thematic Analysis Phase Five: Defining and naming themes

This appendix presents a sample of one theme defined and named for Phase 2 of the study. These samples depict how I continued to further refine themes before assigning clear names to each theme and sub-theme using *MindManager*.

Theme 1 sample



Theme headings

Sub-theme headings

Content for sub-headings



