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**Language and culture maintenance among Bangladeshi migrants in
Southeast Queensland, Australia**

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Abstract

Australia's linguistic and cultural diversity has provided scope for the study of language and culture maintenance among its immigrant communities since the late 1970s (Clyne, 1979, 1982, 1991, 2003; Clyne & Kipp, 1999, 2006; Hatoss, 2013; Smolicz, 1991; Pauwels, 2016; Rubino, 2010). Among the immigrant groups in Australia, Bangladeshi-born migrants are a relatively new but fast-growing community who have come from a recently formed nation in which Bangla, the national language, is very strongly associated with national identity. This community has, however, attracted comparatively little research to date.

This study is the first in-depth exploration of language and culture maintenance among Bangladeshi migrants in Australia. It examines the extent of the practice of Bangla language and Bangladeshi culture in South-East Queensland and focuses on the attitudes of this group of immigrants towards language and culture maintenance. Two rounds of individual semi-structured interviews were conducted with 20 Bangladeshi-born migrants who had lived in Australia for at least five years. Participants were asked to describe their language use and cultural practices and their strategies for their children's language use, proficiency in Bangla and cultural affiliation in Australia. They were also asked about their views on intergenerational ethnic language and culture transmission and their identity in the host society.

Thematic analysis of the interview data was framed by three approaches: *domains* (Fishman, 1965; Clyne, 1991; Pauwels, 2016) and *core values* (Smolicz, 1981, 1999) in the field of sociolinguistics; and *dimensionality* (Berry, 1974, 2005, 2010) in the fields of sociolinguistic and cross-cultural studies.

The interviews show that this group of Bangladeshi migrants maintain their ethnic language and culture to a great extent and adopt some Australian behaviours that do not contradict their core values. Bangla-based nationalistic sentiment, the determination of parents and the wider Bangladeshi community, along with the socio-political atmosphere of multicultural Australia are found to be the most significant factors contributing to their language and culture maintenance.

The interviewees demonstrated strong positive attitudes towards maintenance of Bangla language, extended family relationships, and cultural practices associated with religion and food. They showed awareness of the need to make deliberate efforts to maintain their language and culture in

their host society. This suggests that Bangla language and Bangladeshi culture will continue to thrive in this community because its participants consider them integral parts of their social and cultural identity.

Of the four acculturation strategies identified by Berry (1974, 2005, 2010), integration best describes the views expressed by the interviewees. They believe that they are well integrated in Australia due to their English proficiency and employment, while they have limited contact with Australians outside work, and do not encourage close friendships between their children and their mainstream peers. Although their social bonds are largely confined to the Bangladeshi community, the participants expressed respect towards Australians and Australian institutions and a sense of gratitude for being able to be a member of Australian society without feeling pressured to exchange their ethnic language for English or to discard their ethnic identity. This suggests a complex cultural identity and an “ideological dilemma” (Billig et al., 1988) whereby the participants feel a sense of belonging and happiness in Australia, but such feelings do not lead them to discard their ethnic identity and exchange it for mainstream identity.

A significant implication of this study is that multicultural policies are effective to help migrants develop a sense of belonging, loyalty and feelings of attachment to Australia, not because they advocate integration (maintaining both ethnic and host cultural practices and identifying with both cultures) or assimilation (identifying with the host culture discarding ethnic cultural practices), but because they advocate respect for migrants who maintain their ethnic languages and cultural practices and values in the host society.

The study contributes to building a more complete picture of language and culture maintenance among immigrant communities in Australia, pointing to the similarities and differences between the Bangladeshi community, post-war migrants from Europe, and more recently arrived immigrant and refugee migrant communities from Asia, Latin America and Africa. This comparison reveals distinctive characteristics of this ethnolinguistic community, including the strength of their emotional attachment to Bangla language and Bangladeshi culture. Their desire to sustain these is facilitated by the multicultural policies of the host society, and realised through strong family language policies, culturally vibrant ethnic community associations, and the determination of the community to transmit their language and culture to the next generation.

Declaration by author

This thesis is composed of my original work, and contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference has been made in the text. I have clearly stated the contribution by others to jointly-authored works that I have included in my thesis.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

The world is shaped by human migration. In 2017, 258 million people lived outside their country of origin pursuing greater economic and social opportunities or fleeing war, famine or other catastrophes (UN DESA, 2017). The linguistic and cultural practices of migrants change with their change of residence, while the influence of the ethnic culture remains a powerful factor in their sense of identity and self (Ward, 2001), leading migrants to negotiate their sense of identity, cultural values and attitudes in their new environment. An important question for many is whether they maintain their ethnic language and culture and/or integrate into the mainstream culture. There is variation in the extent to which they want to interact with other members of their ethnic community and/or the host nationals on a daily basis (Berry, 1997). The linguistic and socio-cultural adjustment of the migrants mainly depends on socio-historical factors, including the political situation of the host society (Clyne, 1991; Clyne & Kipp, 1999). For example, assimilationist policies encourage migrants to assimilate into the ways of the host society while multicultural policies encourage them to practise their ethnic language and culture.

As a multicultural country, Australia offers official support for maintaining migrant languages and cultures. Since the adoption of multicultural policies in the early 1970s, there has been increasing research on the language and culture maintenance of different migrant communities in Australia. Michael Clyne and his associates (Clyne, 1982; Clyne, 1991; Clyne & Kipp, 1997; 2006; Kipp, Clyne & Pauwels, 1995) are the pioneers of language maintenance research in Australia. In recent years there has been increasing interest in using Berry's acculturation theory (1990, 1997, 2005, and 2010) in order to explore how the cultural identity of different migrant communities has been constructed, based on the extent and patterns of their language and culture maintenance in multicultural Australia. While most of the research has investigated language and culture maintenance separately (Clyne, 1988; Fernandez & Clyne, 2007; Hatoss, 2013; Hatoss & Sheely, 2009; Malik, 2009; Ndhlovu, 2010, 2013; Perera, 2015, 2016; Putz, 1991; Yagmur, 2004), several studies have been conducted into both language and culture maintenance of the migrants in Australia (Hatoss, 2006a; Jamarani, 2012; Lakha & Stevenson, 2001; Mejia, 2016; Naidoo, 2007).

Among the diverse immigrant groups in Australia, Bangladeshi-born migrants comprise a small and relatively new community. They are characterised by a common language (Bangla) and a common cultural heritage. While several studies have been conducted on post-war European

migrant communities and recently arrived Asian, Middle Eastern and African migrants in Australia, Bangladeshi migrants have received much less scholarly attention (see section 2.4.).

This study is a qualitative in-depth inquiry into the language and culture maintenance experiences of Bangladeshi migrants in Queensland, Australia. It sits within the field of sociolinguistics and aims to identify the extent to which the informants maintain their language and culture in their adopted society and the factors which influence this. It also explores their attitudes towards their language and culture maintenance in Australia, before comparing this group with research on other migrant communities in Australia. Using qualitative methods, this study emphasises the voices of migrants in expressing their individual attitudes, perceptions and experiences of ethnic language and culture maintenance. It also acknowledges their efforts and strategies used for intergenerational transmission of their language and culture. The research question guiding the exploration of the language and culture maintenance experiences of Bangladeshi migrants in Queensland, Australia are as follows:

1. How and to what extent do Bangladeshi migrants maintain their language in Queensland, Australia?
2. How and to what extent do Bangladeshi migrants maintain their culture in Queensland, Australia?
3. What are the factors influencing the language and culture maintenance of Bangladeshi migrants in Queensland, Australia?

1.1 Context

The People's Republic of Bangladesh is a South Asian country that emerged as an independent nation in 1971 after a nine-month civil war with Pakistan. Bangladesh is the fourth largest Muslim country in the world. About 89% of the population is Muslim, and nearly 9% is Hindu, while Buddhists and Christians along with some small tribal communities form the other minority groups.

After the partition of British India, Bangladesh was a part of Pakistan where Urdu was imposed as the only state language in 1948, although 54% of the Pakistani citizens were Bangla-speaking people. In 1952, there was a political struggle for the recognition of Bangla as an official language, and a number of students died which created civil unrest across the country for the next few years. Finally, Bangla was declared as one of the state languages of Pakistan in 1956 (Language Movement, 2015). The language movement consolidated the status of Bangla as a significant

marker of Bangladeshi ethnicity, creating a close connection between language and nationalistic feelings among the Bangla-speaking community. Bangla-based nationalistic sentiment along with socio-economic deprivation and the Pakistani government's and the consistent interference in Bangla centred cultural heritage made the East Pakistanis fight for an independent country (Mohsin, 2003; Thompson, 2007). Finally, Bangladesh was born as a new nation in 1971.

Since 1952, 21 February has been celebrated as "Language Martyrs' Day" every year to commemorate the martyrs of the Language Movement. In 1999, UNESCO declared 21 February as International Mother Language Day, as a tribute to the Bangladeshi Language Movement and the ethno-linguistic rights of people around the world. The Language Movement of Bangladesh was formally recognised by the international community to promote the awareness of linguistic and cultural diversity, multilingualism and multiculturalism with an aim to preserve mother tongues throughout the world.

The word "Bangladesh" derives from two Bangla words: "*Bangla*" which refers to Bangla language, and "*desh*", which means country or land. Bangladesh therefore means the country of Bangla language. Bangla, an Indo-European language, is the first and official language of Bangladesh. It is also known as Bengali by most of the people in the world. Thompson (2007) identified a sense of language pride among the Bangladeshis who have held Bangla in an undisputed position for more than thirty years of independence.

Given the importance which Bangladeshi-born people place on historicity, nationalism and linguistic sentiment, it is significant to conduct research on how and to what extent they maintain their language and culture after their migration to Australia, an English-speaking country, which is the context of this study.

The number of Bangladeshi-born migrants in Australia is growing fast. The number of Bangladeshi-born migrants in Australia increased at the 5th highest rate over 2006 to 2016. Table 1-1 shows that of the total number of Bangladeshi-born migrants in Australia, more than half arrived between 2006 and 2016. In the 2016 Australian Census, 41,233 Australians reported having Bangladeshi ancestry. Most of them are Muslim. The 2016 distribution by state and territory showed New South Wales had the most significant number, followed by Victoria, Queensland, Western Australia and South Australia.

Table 1-1 Bangladeshi migrants in Australia

Year of arrival	Born in Bangladesh	% of total arrival
1971 - 1980	445	1.1
1981 - 1990	1,336	3.2
1991 - 2000	5,707	13.8
2001 - 2005	7,722	18.7
2006 - 2010	11,243	27.3
2011 - 2016	13,929	33.8

Source: ABS (Australian Bureau of Statistics) (2016). Census of Population and Housing. Accessible at (<http://www.abs.gov.au/census>)

The majority of Bangladeshi migrants are educated professionals and arrived in Australia under the “skilled migration” program (Khan, & Richardson, 2013). They contribute to the Australian economy through their active participation in the labour force (84.8% employed; 10.9% unemployed). The most common language spoken by the Bangladeshi-born population in Australia is Bangla, however, most of them are also proficient in English. English is a foreign language in Bangladesh. It is taught as a compulsory subject in Bangladesh from the primary to the higher secondary level while Bangla is used as a medium of instruction for all other subjects (Hamid & Erling, 2016). English is also used as a medium of instruction to a great extent at the tertiary level. According to the 2016 census, of the 36,541 Bangladesh-born who speak a language other than English at home, 87.2% speak English very well or well, and only 6.2 % speak English not well or not at all.

1.2 Significance of the study

This study aims to gain a better understanding of the language and culture maintenance issues in the Bangladeshi community of Queensland. This is much needed research, as there have been no studies which addressed these questions in a holistic way, encapsulating not only issues of language use, but also cultural practices.

The study contributes to the fields of sociolinguistics and culture maintenance studies providing multiple insights into linguistic and cultural practices among an emerging migrant community in multicultural Australia. Hatoss (2013) argued that small ethnic communities in Australia are given limited attention in language maintenance studies while much research has been conducted on well-established language communities. Fishman (1991) also encouraged language maintenance research to be conducted in small communities in order to promote their linguistic rights in their host society. Our understanding of language and culture maintenance in Australia is incomplete if research has not been conducted on emerging communities.

Furthermore, compared to statistical studies using large scale surveys and census data, this thesis has the potential to make an impact on sociolinguistic and cultural studies because it explores the participants' linguistic and cultural practices based on the micro context of their everyday lives, using in-depth qualitative research methods. It is necessary for policymakers to have an overall idea about each of the migrant communities who play a significant role in the socio-economic development of the society. This study, therefore, aims to provide comprehensive information about the language and culture maintenance of a particular group of migrants in multi-cultural Australia. These findings will provide a resource for the public and private sectors, including government and multi-cultural organisations in Australia, to develop their public policy.

1.3 Overview of chapters

This thesis is organised into seven chapters, including this introduction, which has set the background to the study.

Chapter 2 provides a review of the literature and methodological and theoretical approaches to language and culture maintenance studies in three main parts. After discussing Australia and migration in brief, the second part focuses on the approaches commonly used in language and culture maintenance research. The final part reviews the existing studies on language and culture maintenance of migrants to provide a justification for the current study and its research questions. In reflecting on the findings of previous studies, this review highlights the factors which facilitate or impede language and culture maintenance of different migrant communities in Australia and presents the trends in the current research and the relative paucity of research including justification for the current study and its research questions.

Chapter 3 presents the research design and methodological approaches of this study. It describes the context, participants and instruments of the research and elaborates on issues surrounding the choice of participants and the establishment of rapport with those participants. It also explains how the data was collected and analysed to answer the research questions.

Chapter 4 analyses data on Bangla language use and maintenance of the participants of this study in terms of their self-reported language proficiency and domains for language use including family, social, community groups and media. This analysis also determines the factors associated with their language maintenance in Australia. Most importantly, it explores the strategies, efforts and perception of the parents and the community members for the successful transmission of their ethnic language to the second generation. Finally this chapter discusses the attitudes of the participants towards their language maintenance.

Chapter 5 analyses the interview data of this study on how and to what extent Bangladeshi-born migrants maintain their culture of origin and manage their acculturation when they come into contact with host nationals and the people of other ethnic communities in Australia. This chapter first identifies different aspects of Bangladeshi culture which the participants of this study see as significant for their identity, and how they are transmitted to the second generation. It also investigates the efforts and attitude of the informants of this study towards their children's culture maintenance. The second part of this chapter focuses on the attitudes of this group of Bangladeshi migrants towards Australian people. Finally this chapter discusses their attitudes towards cultural identity and culture maintenance.

Chapter 6 is designed to discuss and integrate the findings of this study in relation to language and culture maintenance, and the factors that influence them, and compare them with other migrant communities in Australia and with other Bangladeshi migrant communities throughout the world.

Chapter 7 synthesises the findings and discusses the implications and limitations of this study as well as future research avenues.

Chapter 2 Literature review

In order to study the language and culture maintenance of Bangladeshi migrants in Australia, it is necessary to situate the present study in the broader research field. After introducing Australia and migration, the chapter discusses research approaches to language and culture maintenance and acculturation. The final part of this chapter reviews the existing studies on language and culture maintenance and demonstrates the variation in the extent of language and culture maintenance among a wide range of migrant communities in Australia. In reflecting on the findings of previous studies, this review highlights the factors which facilitate or impede language and culture maintenance and the relative paucity of research on Bangladeshi migrants in Australia.

2.1 Australia and migration

Australia is known as a nation of immigrants from diverse parts of the world (Burns & Joyce, 2007). The 2016 Census shows that two thirds (67 %) of the Australian population were born in Australia and nearly half (49 %) were either born overseas (first generation Australian) or one or both of their parents were born overseas (second generation Australian) (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2016). Although initially migrants were expected to assimilate into mainstream society, from 1973, a policy of “multiculturalism” was introduced with two aims: “the recognition of the rights, cultures and languages of all groups within Australian society, and the acknowledgement of the various cultures as being part of the shared heritage of all Australians” (Clyne, 1991, p.19).

In multicultural Australia, English is the national language and functions as a significant mechanism for migrant integration (Department of Home Affairs, 2017). Rubino (2010) stated that “Australia remains a strongly Anglocentric country, where the dominance of English is largely unchallenged”, despite the fact that Australia has been promoting linguistic and cultural diversity since the implementation of the multicultural policies (p.17.1). The 2016 census revealed that over 300 languages are spoken in Australian households and that 21% of Australians spoke a language other than English at home (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2016). The very presence of these languages, many of which have large communities, helps to promote the maintenance of ethnic languages in Australia (Clyne, 2011). Due to the linguistic and cultural diversity of Australia, a large amount of research in the field of language contact study has been conducted on the language and culture maintenance among its different immigrant communities.

2.2 Language maintenance

The term “language maintenance” is closely intertwined with the term “language shift” in the field of language contact research. The latter refers to the change of ethnic language use by migrants due to the influence of the mainstream language while the term “language maintenance” means the use of ethnic language in some or all aspects of life in the host society in spite of the influence of mainstream language (Pauwels, 2005, p.1). Patterns of language maintenance and language shift around the world vary: research shows that some migrants shift their language very rapidly while others are determined to maintain it using different strategies and resources. In order to explore the language maintenance of Bangladeshi migrants in Queensland, this study not only focuses on the extent of language use in different domains, but also explores the factors linked to the past, the present and the future, that collectively inform the overall understanding of their language maintenance in giving meaning to their everyday lives.

Hatoss (2013) mentioned two main types of language shift: intra-generational shift which shows “the structural attrition or functional reduction” in the use of ethnic language by the first generation migrants; and intergenerational shift which states the “structural or functional reduction” in the use of ethnic language by the second or third generation migrants (p.23). Although the term “Language shift” might be synonymous with terms “language loss” or “language attrition”, Hatoss (2013) described “language attrition” as intra-generational language shift and the “language loss” as intergenerational language shift. This study mainly focuses on the intragenerational language maintenance, and then explores the perception and the efforts of the participants who have children regarding their intergenerational language maintenance.

McNamara (2001) described the research on migrants’ ethnic languages as a significant founding area of Australian applied linguistics. According to Rubino (2010), research into immigrant languages in Australia was pioneered with the work of Michael Clyne, whose early work (1967; 1972) focused on the various aspects of language shift among the German-speaking community in Australia.

Since the rise of multiculturalism in Australia, research on language maintenance has flourished, adopting a range of approaches in the field of sociolinguistic studies. Various factors influencing the extent of language maintenance and shift among different migrant groups have been identified. Bourhis, Barrette and Keith (2006) argue that studying a combination of both objective and

subjective factors provides clearer patterns of language maintenance than research focusing on only one of these categories. Within language maintenance and shift studies, the sociology of language approach (including the social network approach) has been used to analyse the trends and patterns of language use in various domains (Fishman, 1964) while census-based research and the social psychological approach identified the reasons for the trends and patterns of language maintenance among migrant communities based on objective and subjective factors respectively. The following sections demonstrate the widely used approaches in the field of sociolinguistics

2.2.1 Census data analysis approach

Since the mid-1970s, a number of researchers have used the language questions in the national census to identify the extent of language shift firstly within each migrant group, looking at different age groups and generations, and finally across migrant communities focusing on associated socio-demographic factors (Clyne, 1982, 1991, 2005; Clyne & Kipp, 1997, 2002; Kipp & Clyne, 2003; Kipp, Clyne, & Pauwels, 1995). Kipp, Clyne and Pauwels (1995) stated that the census data analysis approach tended to study group factors and individual level factors separately. The corresponding demographic factors at the group level refer to the language community's absolute size and the number of community members across the urban, regional, or national territory to gauge the concentration of speakers, while the factors at the individual level encompass the birth and mortality rates, age, endogamy/exogamy, and patterns of immigration. The cross-comparison within and across migrant communities using a wide range of demographic variables has provided a broad overview of language maintenance and shift in Australia.

The census-based studies demonstrate that it is not simply numerical strength that determines language maintenance: the Greek community, for example, had higher language maintenance than larger communities in each state and territory (Clyne, 1982). Rather, higher rates of language maintenance occurred (i) in those states where a group was numerically strongest but also there was less dispersion; (ii) in urban rather than rural settings; and (iii) in local areas with high concentrations of speakers (Kipp & Clyne, 2003). A high concentration of speakers provides additional opportunities for using the language.

Analyses of census data have highlighted that age at migration affects language maintenance as younger migrants have a high propensity for language shift to the host society language while the older migrants tend to maintain their ethnic language (Clyne, 1982, 1991, 2005; Kipp, Clyne, &

Pauwels, 1995). Gender is also found to be a significant factor, in some cases. Clyne (1991) suggested that women tend to maintain ethnic language more than men in some cultures due to their role in maintaining family values and cultural practices in the home rather than pursuing employment. However, based on the census data, Clyne (2011) reported that among the “migrants from Europe, Latin America, the Middle East and the Horn of Africa, Japan, Korea and the Philippines, and to some extent those from Cambodia, India, Singapore, Sri Lanka and Taiwan, the language shift is greater among women” (p.63). Clyne (2005) also argued that intercultural marriage often leads to language shift among both genders. Exogamous families have a high propensity to shift to the language of the host society, as it is often the only common language of the partners, especially if one is from the mainstream society and the other from an ethnolinguistic minority (Pauwels, 2016).

Education plays an ambivalent role in language maintenance (Kloss, 1966). A higher level of education often increases awareness of the possibilities for promoting the ethnic language and developing resources such as associations and schools in the host society (Leuner 2008). In contrast, Kipp, Clyne, and Pauwels (1995) explained that a higher level of education often means higher proficiency in the mainstream language leading to greater language shift. Clyne (1991, 2005), and Kipp, Clyne and Pauwels (1995) have found that people with a lower level of education have a propensity to maintain their ethnic language and culture strongly due to their lack of mainstream language proficiency.

Clyne (1991, 2005) also found that length of residence has an impact on migrants’ language shift to the mainstream language due to the consistent use of the language in different levels of social interaction outside the family domain. The socio-political policies of the host society exert a great influence on language maintenance of the migrants. The post-war migrants in Australia had higher levels of language shift to English while after the 1970s the multicultural policies encouraged migrants to maintain their ethnic language in the host society (Clyne, 1991). Other factors influencing language maintenance included the reasons for migration, settlement of the ethnic group (Clyne, 1982, 1991, 2005; Kipp, Clyne, & Pauwels, 1995).

This paradigm of language maintenance studies is primarily quantitative in its methods using only the language questions of the national census. The main contribution of this approach is to provide a broader patterns of language shift employing cross-comparison within and across migrant groups

in terms of the extent of their language shift and the associated factors. Although researchers of this approach found a number of objective factors affecting language shift, they tell us little about dimensions within the community. This is because the survey data or census data is limited in capturing the variations of language use in different contexts outside home by community members of different age groups and generations (Pauwels, 2004).

2.2.2 Domain approach

In the 1980s, language maintenance research started to use Fishman's (1965) sociology of language approach in exploring the patterns of language use in various domains. This approach asks, "*who speaks what language to whom and when?*" with the aim of constructing an overall picture of language use in a community (Fishman, 1965, p. 67). Quantitative methods such as questionnaires were initially mostly used, with more recent studies using mixed methods including in-depth qualitative inquiry (Rubino, 2007).

Fishman (1996, 2008) believed that attachment to ethnic language in a multiple languages' context is reflected in its use in distinct domains. "Domain" is an abstract concept that not only refers to "places" or "locations" but also socio-cultural contexts. Fishman (1965) argued that "every domain does not show the same rate of language maintenance" (p.82–83). If a majority of the community members use a language in a particular domain, the language can then be considered as the dominant language of the domain.

The number of domains used to identify the patterns of language use varies. For example, Pauwels (2016) identified five domains: family/home, friendship, worship, education and work, as did Pütz (1999, family, friendship, church, clubs, and work), whereas Clyne (1982; 1991) studied eleven domains: home/family, friends and neighbours, education, religion, secular community groups, work, transactional domain, ethnic press, radio, television and video, libraries. All of them found that some domains promoted language maintenance better than others.

This study examines the extent of language use in Bangladeshi community at the Southeast Queensland, Australia in terms of "domains" of use. The interview data demonstrate that participants of this study use their ethnic language mostly in four domains. They are: "family", "social", "ethnic community groups/clubs/associations" and "media". The following sections will review the literature on these domains in detail.

2.2.2.1 Family domain

This domain includes members of a household as well as members of the extended family. Many studies have demonstrated that the family domain has a higher rate of ethnic language use than the other domains (Bettoni, 1981; Clyne, 1967; Clyne & Kipp, 1999; Gal, 1979; Pauwels, 1986, 2016; Pütz 1999). The family domain is considered to be the key component in language maintenance: as Clyne and Kipp (1999) stated, “if a language is not maintained in the home domain, it cannot be maintained elsewhere”, in other words, the home is the “last fortress” of language maintenance (p.47). Pauwels (2005) gave much importance to the family for successful intergenerational ethnic language transmission. Fishman (1991) also argued that favourable socio-political and language policies, as well as educational support, will not be effective in language transmission unless the family plays a significant role in regular language use and practice.

Research on migrant communities demonstrates the role of the extended family for language maintenance. Pauwels (2016) showed that the main interlocutors for children’s use of ethnic language in the family domain are often the older generation, particularly if they have limited proficiency in the dominant language. Regular contact with extended family abroad also facilitates the ethnic language use of the younger generation (Barron-Hauwaert, 2004; Clyne, 1991, 2005; Clyne & Kipp, 1999; Pauwels, 1986, 2016). The family domain thus not only provides opportunities for ethnic language use to first generation migrants but also promotes intergenerational language transmission in the host society.

The family domain provides migrants with the greatest opportunities for ethnic language transmission. Research on bilingualism in family settings (Arnberg, 1987; Baker, 2000; Döpke, 1992; 1998; Hamers & Blanc, 2000; Romaine, 1995; Saunders, 1982, 1988) has suggested that parents employ a variety of strategies and consistent efforts in the family domain to ensure their children are bilingual. The strategies proposed by Pauwels (2016) included (i) use of ethnic language as the main means of communication at home; (ii) consistency in language use in children’s early years; (iii) demonstrating positive attitudes towards ethnic language; (iv) providing positive corrective feedback; (v) positive reinforcement of language choices; (vi) community schools for language learning.

2.2.2.2 *Social domain*

Regular use of the ethnic language can also occur in the social domain, with friends and neighbours from the same ethnic background. However, research shows that second-generation migrants in English-speaking countries tend to use English in this domain because it is their first language and so they feel comfortable using it (Clyne & Kipp 1999; Pütz, 1991). Nonetheless, some migrant communities (Latvian, Greek and Turkish) were reported to take initiatives to build up the social network of their children within their ethnic community to give them greater heritage language input outside the family domain (Clyne, 1991).

A growing body of language maintenance research has investigated the extent of language choice and maintenance of migrants outside their family domain using the “social network approach” (Hvenekilde & Lanza 2000; Lanza & Svendsen, 2007; Wei, 1994), and the number of such studies is increasing in the Australian context (Pauwels, 1995; Winter & Pauwels, 2005, 2006). A social network is perceived as a group of people who have a particular relationship with one another: role-based such as friends, workmate and relatives; activity-based such as “work with” and “talking to”; affective or cognitive such as “like” “knows” and “dislikes” (Milroy, 1987). Following the social network approach of Milroy and Wei (1995) this study uses “exchange network” and “interactive network” in analysing the interview data on language use in the social domain of this group of Bangladeshi migrants in Australia.

Exchange network denotes social ties that include regular interaction, exchanges of direct help and support such as the relationships with family and close friends. *Interactive network* includes those people with whom the individual interacts on a frequent or regular basis but having no exchange of direct help and support in time of need, for example, “the relationships with colleagues, neighbours, shop owners, and parents of children’s friends” (Milroy & Wei 1995, p.138). *Exchange network* ties have been identified as “strong ties” while the *interactive network* consists of “weak ties” (Milroy & Wei, 1995, p.138). The strong ties in the exchange network have a dual function: to ensure the maintenance of the ethnic language and to resist language shift. On the other hand, the weaker ties of the interactive network play a bridging role producing mixed language behaviour (Milroy, 1987).

2.2.2.3 *Ethnic community groups/clubs/associations*

Migrant communities establish ethnic organisations to strengthen their social networks and promote their languages, cultural festivals and practices in their host society (Clyne, 1991; Pauwels, 2016; Pütz, 1991). Such organisations might be formed based on the country or region of origin or language background (Lakha & Stevenson, 2001; Musgrave & Hajek, 2013). Clyne (1991) described the significant role of the ethnic community in organising a wide range of “social and cultural activities such as social gatherings, welfare, folk-singing, dancing, sport and other recreation in the language in which the migrants are proficient and with which they identify” (p.137). He also argued that the involvement of the younger generations in such organisations should be encouraged for their continuation after the ageing of first-generation migrants. Efforts and strategies of parents for language transmission in family domain are enhanced by those in the social domain (Pauwels, 2004, 2016). For example, ethnic community-based childcare and the neighbourhood often give children greater exposure to the heritage language if the neighbourhood has a significant concentration of community members. Pauwels (2016) also argued that ethnic community clubs and societies provide opportunities to maintain ethno-cultural traditions and practices including performing arts. For this study, the domain of ethnic community associations has been explored in order to investigate the role of Bangladeshi associations in promoting Bangla language maintenance among the members of this community in Queensland.

2.2.2.4 *Media Domain*

Media is another significant domain which provides migrants with institutional support for their language maintenance and transmission to their children (Clyne & Kipp 1999; Cormack; 2007; Gibbons & Ramirez, 2004; Pauwels, 2005). According to Cormack (2007), media provides “a large amount of language use in the public domain, whether in print, video and audio recordings, or multimedia formats” (p.55). Exploring the media consumption of Chinese migrants in Melbourne, Clyne and Kipp (1999) found that the consumption of audio-visual media, such as videos and music, has an impact on the oral proficiency of both first and second-generation migrants in their ethnic language. Research in Australia also demonstrated that the use of print media is popular among first-generation migrants, but low among second-generation speakers (Clyne & Kipp 1999, Gibbons & Ramirez 2004).

Migrants have embraced changes in communications technology and now sustain their relationships with family and friends in the country of their origin through the internet (Clyne & Kipp, 2006; Lambert, 2008; Rubino, 2009). Websites and social media have become important in maintaining ethnic languages (Amant & Kelsey 2012; Sheyholislami, 2011; Tagg, 2015). The potential of communications technologies in language maintenance is an emerging area of research.

In the domain approach, quantitative or statistical studies of language maintenance generally asked people to report on their language practices with questions such as “what language do you speak at home?”, “what languages do speak most with the following people?” or “how do you rate your ability to speak (read/write/understand) language X and Y?” (Willoughby, 2018, p.6). While quantitative researchers were able to make generalisations about language maintenance using macro-perspectives, more recent qualitative studies have explored broad patterns of language use among migrants based on the micro context of participants’ everyday lives in order to provide an insight into how they make sense of these practices and the ways that factors interact in the lives of individuals. Willoughby (2018) argued that the potential value of qualitative research methods in language maintenance lies in asking informants to describe their actual language in different contexts, and how such practices are influenced by their attitudes and sense of identity. Although quantitative approaches to domains identify trends and patterns of language use, they tell us little about the variability across the domains in terms of situational, attitudinal and motivational factors. Bourhis, Barrette and Keith (2006) argue that studying a combination of both objective and subjective factors provides clearer patterns of language maintenance than research focusing on only one of these categories. Within language maintenance studies researchers have therefore started to use a social-psychology approach in exploring the subjective factors affecting the language use in different domains by different migrant groups in Australia.

2.2.3 Social-psychological approach

In identifying the reasons for language maintenance and shift, some scholars have used a social-psychological perspective, focusing on core values, language attitudes and ethnolinguistic vitality, to identify the extent of attachment of migrants to their ethnic language. This approach complements the domain approach by indicating the reasons why migrants maintain or shift their language in certain domains.

In the 1980s, Smolicz and his associates (1984, 1992, 1999, and 2001) discussed the “core values” approach within the sociological perspective developed by Smolicz (1981). Core values are described as “values that are regarded as forming the most fundamental components or heartland of a group’s culture, and act as identifying values which are symbolic of the group and its membership” (Smolicz, 1999, p.105). Smolicz argued that each migrant community holds culture specific values that make the group distinct from other communities: for example, “some ethnic groups are very strongly language-centred, so that their existence as distinct cultural and social entities depends on the maintenance and development of their ethno-specific tongues” (Smolicz, 1999, p.78). Core value theory suggests that the extent of language partly depends on whether the ethnic language holds the status of a core value. This paradigm has been widely adopted in studies of language and culture maintenance, and mostly complemented with a social psychology of language approach because the core values of ethnic culture are closely connected to the attitudes, feelings and attachment of the migrants with their language maintenance.

Studies of language attitudes are concerned with “how much importance speakers attach to their language and the maintenance of their language” (Pauwels, 1986, p.14). This approach focuses on the attachment of migrants to their ethnic language at the individual level while the core value approach analyses such attachment at the community level. According to Bradley and Bradley (2013), “the crucial factor in language maintenance is the attitudes of the speech community concerning their language” (p.1). Positive language attitudes foster language maintenance while a negative attitude facilitates rapid language shift. Language attitude studies are closely linked to a social psychology of language approach because attitude is significant dominant theme in the field of social psychology (Edward, 1999). Language attitude research in migration contexts focuses on attitudes or perceptions of migrants towards their mother tongue or the host language. Language attitudes have been studied from a social-psychological perspective by examining their cognitive, affective or behavioural components (Fazio & Olson, 2003). Among them, cognitive and affective components encompass an individual’s ‘beliefs’ and ‘love’ for the language respectively while the behavioural element refers to his/her actual language use in a particular situation. Most of the language attitude studies provide a broader picture of the beliefs and preferences of the community members which impact on language maintenance (Gibbons & Ramirez, 2004; Hatoss, 2013; Hu, Tor, & Whiteman, 2014; Lammervo, 2005; Ndhlovu, 2010). Attitudes towards ethnic language

can be influenced by factors including age, gender, cultural background, and language proficiency (Baker, 1992; Johnston, 1967).

Using a social-psychological approach, research has also been conducted on language maintenance as part of culture maintenance and cultural identity (Giles, 1979; Giles & Johnson, 1987; Giles, Bourhis, & Taylor, 1977; Edwards, 1984, 1988; Breitborde, 1998; Carbaugh, 1996; Hatoss, 2003; Mejía, 2016). Language maintenance research focusing on the relationship between language and identity, has mainly used Ethnolinguistic Vitality theory (Giles & Johnson, 1987; Giles, Bourhis, & Taylor, 1977) which emphasises migrants' perceptions of the vitality of their own language as a factor in their language maintenance. Vitality "makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and collective entity within the intergroup setting" (Giles et al., 1977, p. 308)". According to this paradigm, migrants with perceptions of high ethnolinguistic vitality have a higher propensity to maintain their ethnic language than those with perceptions of lower vitality. Such perceptions are usually influenced by the "core values" of the respective culture and their own language attitudes.

2.2.4 Summary of language maintenance approaches

Studies of language maintenance in Australia have grown steadily since the advent of multiculturalism, using a variety of complementary approaches, and contributing to the development of this field of applied linguistics internationally (Rubino, 2010). For example, the existing research shows that researchers use the sociology of language approach in exploring the trends and patterns of language maintenance among different migrant communities. However their language use in different domains varies in terms of their situational, attitudinal and motivational factors leading sociolinguistics to use a social psychological approach in language maintenance studies (Hatoss, 2013). The complementary approaches have further contributed to theoretical understanding of language contact in migration settings, and practical understanding of the diversity of migrant communities. Although Pauwels (2016) claimed that Australian language maintenance research has not yet developed "a convincing model or theory that can predict, reliably, which factors or combination of factors lead to a specific outcome across diverse settings and communities" (p.98), it has contributed significantly to the theoretical understanding of language contact in migration settings and deepened our practical understanding of the diversity of linguistic practices among migrant communities.

2.3 Culture maintenance

Culture is a “set of shared beliefs, attitudes and practices that gives meaning to particular group of people in the world” (Bates & Plog, 1990, p.6). When migrants with different cultural backgrounds come into contact with each other, they may be influenced by the each other’s cultures, which tends to bring about a change in their behaviours and attitudes. Culture is in a state of constant flux particularly in the settlement process of migrants in a new context (Hall, 2014).

Culture maintenance refers to the extent to which the individuals value and desire to maintain various forms of their ethnic culture (Marlowe, 2011), while culture shift means the change of behaviours in one’s ethnic cultural practices due to the influence of mainstream culture (Withers, 2004). The parallels with language maintenance and shift are unsurprising, since culture is closely intertwined with language, and language may be considered an important part of culture. Kim, for example, argued that “without culture, language cannot exist” and it is language that is used to maintain culture (Kim, 2003, p.1). Language maintenance and culture maintenance, however, do not necessarily occur together. A migrant community may maintain strong cultural traditions and values in the host society but not its language, or indeed may maintain its ethnic language but abandon cultural practices and norms. On the other hand, some migrant communities maintain both language and cultural practices. This study aims to gain a better understanding of the language and culture maintenance issues in the Bangladeshi community of Queensland in a more holistic way encapsulating not only issues of language use, but also cultural practices that give meaning to their everyday lives.

As part of exploring such maintenance, this study looks at the extent and means of their language use and cultural practices in different contexts and the associated factors linked to their past, present and future, that collectively inform the overall understanding of their language and culture maintenance. In its investigation, it mainly focuses on intragenerational language and culture maintenance, and then explores the perception and the efforts of the participants with children regarding their intergenerational language and culture maintenance (see section 2.2). Culture maintenance among migrants has been investigated through the lens of acculturation theories which focus on the extent of adaptation of migrant community members to their new environment. Berry (1990, 1997, and 2005) stated that acculturation is a continuing cross-cultural process that involves not only cultural change but also behavioural and psychological changes in an individual

after their migration. With reference to the psychological changes which focuses on the changes in norms and values during acculturation, Ward (2001) described “affective”, “behavioural”, and “cognitive” aspects of the acculturation process. *Affective* acculturation refers to emotional aspects such as well-being, life satisfaction, anxiety and stress. Migration often creates stress and anxiety that need to be managed for psychological and sociocultural adaptation (Berry, 1997). Changes in behaviours and acquisition of skills to negotiate the new cultural context indicate *behavioural* acculturation while *cognitive* acculturation shows how migrants perceive their identity in relation to their own ethnic groups and to their host society (Ward, 2001). For some migrants, the process of acculturation continues until they achieve long term adaptation, while others avoid such changes in their new life in the adopted society.

Research on culture maintenance and acculturation in migrant communities in Australia has used a variety of approaches.

2.3.1 Dimensionality approach

Acculturation was initially conceptualised as *unidimensional* process in which migrants were expected to discard their culture of origin as they acquired the practices of their host culture (Gordon, 1964). In the early 1980s, scholars started to reject this model as they believed that culture maintenance and intercultural contact may coexist in the acculturation process (Berry, 1990, 1997). Intercultural contact refers to the extent to which individuals value and maintain contact with people outside their ethnic group and seek to participate in mainstream society (Marlowe, 2011). Berry (1974) developed a bi-dimensional model with four acculturation strategies: assimilation (discarding ethnic cultural practices and identifying with the host culture only), integration (maintaining both ethnic and host cultural practices and identifying with both cultures), separation (maintaining mostly ethnic cultural practices and identifying with the ethnic culture only), and marginalisation (little interest in maintaining ethnic or host cultural practices and identification with neither).

In exploring the predictors of these strategies, Berry (1997) divided the factors influencing culture maintenance into two categories: factors prior to migration (age; gender; education; reasons for migration; cultural distance including language, religion; personality including locus of control, flexibility; places of origin including economic, social and political situation) and factors after

migration (attitudes of host society including discrimination, social support, multicultural policies; length of residence; attitudes towards culture maintenance; coping strategies and resources) (p.15).

Of Berry's four strategies, integration, whereby individuals retain their ethnic culture and interact with people from different backgrounds simultaneously, is considered the most beneficial (e.g., Berry, Kim, Power, Young, & Bujaki, 1989; Lasry & Sayegh, 1992; Van Oudenhoven, Prins, & Buunk, 1998). Sam and Berry (2006) mentioned two studies in which participants namely Turks in Germany (Piontkowski, Florack, Hoelker & Obdrzalek, 2000) and lower socioeconomic status Turks in Canada (Ataca & Berry, 2002) prefer separation over integration. In general, marginalization is considered the least desirable of the acculturation strategies (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006; Rudmin, 2003).

2.3.2 Domain specificity approach

Paralleling research on language maintenance, some acculturation studies focus on culture maintenance in different cultural domains. Domains of culture maintenance are important because each domain represents a particular function/purpose related to the ethnic or mainstream culture. They are mainly divided into private (family domain) and public (outside family) domains. Berry (1990) stated that the acculturation strategy differs according to the context and domain, length of residence and generational status. For example, migrants might choose the assimilation strategy at work (economic assimilation) and integration in using languages in the private and public domain (linguistic integration by way of bilingualism), while maintaining cultural values and practices with family members and friends (separation in private domain). Private and public domains in culture maintenance studies can be compared to the home and social domains in language maintenance studies discussed in section 2.2.2. The current study explores the extent of culture maintenance of Bangladeshi migrants focusing on the domains that are mentioned by the informants in their interviews as significant aspects of their culture maintenance.

2.3.3 Identity approach

Some studies analyse culture maintenance through exploring migrants' perceptions of cultural identity, that is, their sense of belonging to a particular group based on core cultural values and various identification markers (Bradley, 2015; White & Burke, 1987). An identity conceived by the individual is necessary for understanding their "self-identification, feelings of belongingness

and commitment to a group, a sense of shared values, and attitudes toward one's own ethnic group" (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind & Vedder, 2001, p.496).

In the early stages of migration, ethnic identity seems to be strong for migrants and they perceive some aspects of the host culture challenging due to the differences of values and practices compared to the culture of their country of origin. Later, migrants tend to learn and/or accept some aspects of the host culture in response to various socio-cultural and psychological factors in the new society. Triandis, Kashima, Shimada, and Villareal (1986) argued that it is often difficult for the migrants to change their core values and beliefs despite showing eagerness to develop new behaviours and skills. In negotiating new beliefs and practices, migrants sometimes develop a hybrid identity, which results from a "process of translating and transvaluing cultural differences" (Bhabha, 1994, p. 252). It occurs when migrants incorporate new cultural values and practices with their ethnic identity in order to manage the differences between cultures as a strategy to cope in the newly adopted society. Identity refers to a "set of dynamic, complex processes by which individuals define, redefine, and construct their own and others' ethnicity or culture" (Ward, 2001, p.418). The ambivalence and tension inherent in the theoretical approaches of identities are major area of theoretical debate in current sociolinguistic research. According to Edwards (2010), ethnic identity seems to be given and fixed when it is constructed based on objective factors namely linguistic, racial, religious, geographical, ancestral characteristics. In contrast, ethnic identity is fluid when it is constituted subjectively as a "socially constructed belief in common heritage" (Edwards, 1994, p. 127). Hatoss (2013) compares this distinction with that of primordial and situational definitions of ethnicity. Primordial, identity is seen as determined by cultural characteristics or values including language. Situational identity, on the other hand, is "relational, processual and negotiated, giving much more agency to the individual" (May, 2001, p. 31). May further states, "language can be a salient marker of ethnic identity in one instance, but not in another" (May, 2001, p. 129). The relationship between language maintenance and identity might not therefore be straightforward, although language is the most "ubiquitous human behaviour and the primary index or symbol of our identity" (Crystal, 2000, p. 39). On the other hand, according to acculturation theory, learning the host language is the main tool for migrants' successful integration into the mainstream society because language use enables them to be a part of the broader social community (Berry, 1974, 2005, 2010).

Although traditional acculturation models of immigrants' adjustment have largely ignored identity questions (Hatoss,2013), Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind and Vedder (2001) discussed identity as a significant aspect of the acculturation process in which migrants tend either to maintain their ethnic identity (identity they hold based on their ethnocultural group) or adopt the national identity of the new society. They further categorised the concepts of identity based on Berry's (1974) bi-dimensional model of acculturation strategies in four names: integrated or bicultural identity (identification with both ethnic and national identity); separated identity (strong ethnic identity); assimilated identity (identification with only new national identity) and marginalised identity (identification with no particular identity). Of these, bi-cultural or integrated identity is perceived as the middle ground between ethnic and national identity.

This study investigates how the informants think of their identities in relation to their linguistic and cultural practices in different domains of their everyday lives using the theoretical approach of Berry's (1974) bi-dimensional model, focusing on their core values (Smolicz, 1981; 1991) and underlying tensions in negotiating between two cultures. Core value theory helps to identify how and to what extent this group of migrants practise their core values and manage their acculturation when they come into contact with host nationals and people from other ethnic communities in Australia. However there is a disadvantage of using Smolicz's theory because it determines the identity of a group of migrants based on specific core values of their culture, while identity has been discussed above as dynamic, constructed and situational. In dealing with the disadvantages, I have avoided essentialist approaches to core values by analysing them in terms of what the participants of this study say about them, bearing in mind that these perceptions are not fixed, and vary across time and according to situation.

2.3.4 Summary of culture maintenance approaches

Approaches to the study of culture maintenance and language maintenance are complementary, and often parallel each other. Both areas of research use the *domain approach* to investigate patterns of migrants' use of language and cultural practices in the host society, and both study attitudes and seek to identify *core values* in order to understand behaviour and/or identity.

While the *dimensionality approach* has emerged from acculturation studies, there are clear parallels with language maintenance studies: bilingualism can be likened to integration (maintaining both ethnic and host languages); language shift to assimilation (maintaining only host

language discarding ethnic language); while language maintenance at the expense of learning the language of the host culture can be likened to separation (maintaining only ethnic language avoiding interaction with others). On the other hand, there is no clear correspondence in language use to the strategy of marginalisation (lack of interest in maintaining either ethnic or host culture) due to the predominant role of language in the socialisation processes. Although the strategies are not usually theorised in this way in studies of bilingualism or of language maintenance and shift, it is useful to consider the similarities in the scenarios when studying both language and culture maintenance in a migrant community. The approaches to language and culture maintenance outlined above inform the methodology of this project. The advantage of using such complementary approaches is to make the analysis of interview data theoretically eclectic providing insights from a range of methodologies and approaches.

2.4 Language and culture maintenance in migrant communities

This section provides an overview of language and culture maintenance among migrant communities in Australia, emphasising the factors which facilitate it. It then reviews the research on Bangladeshi migrant communities around the world and identifies the gaps in such research in the Australian context.

2.4.1 Post-war migrant communities in Australia

After the Second World War, Australia started to receive migrants from diverse parts of Europe to increase the population and workforce. In addition to British migrants (including Maltese and Greek Cypriots), a wide range of migrants were accepted from non-English speaking countries particularly from northern Europe for example the Netherlands and Germany. These were followed by Italians (1950s), Greeks and Macedonians (1950s and especially 1960s) and then Yugoslavs (late 1960s and early 1970s) (Clyne, 1991; Clyne & Kipp, 2006).

Studies of language and culture maintenance among these communities indicate that some migrant communities assimilated to the Anglo Australian society very rapidly while others attempted to retain their ethnic language and culture in spite of the assimilationist policy, which continued in Australia until the 1970s. During this period, there were “strict limitations” on the use of foreign languages in broadcasting media (Clyne & Kipp, 2006, p.9), school children tended not to want to practice their ethnic language in order to avoid discrimination, and it was considered “un-

Australian” to use languages other than English in public (Clyne, 1991, p.16). Willoughby (2018) called the trend of early studies on language maintenance the ‘old unproblematised dichotomies’ because they found that “migrants would either integrate into or stand apart from the mainstream language and culture” (p.2). They mainly compared migrant communities in terms of the rate of their language shift within and/or across generations. The field was primarily quantitative in its methods using census data and looked at objective factors namely demographic features of migrants such as birth and mortality rates, age, gender, endogamy/exogamy, education, length of residence and their patterns of migration in identifying the reasons for the trends of language maintenance and shift among different migrant communities in Australia.

The 1976 census was the first census to collect data on language use in Australia (Clyne, 1982; 1991). Analysing the data from this census, Clyne (1982) identified seven language maintenance patterns among the major post-war migrant communities. The Greek community showed the smallest language shift in the first generation in all states and territories, followed by the Italians and Macedonians, and then the Polish and Germans, while the greatest language shift was found among the Dutch and Maltese communities (p.32). Among the reasons for language shift during this period, De Bot and Clyne (1994) and Pauwels (2010) showed that the Dutch adopted English and accepted Australian culture very rapidly with the aim of proving themselves as model immigrants. On the other hand, ethnic language and family cohesion were strong cultural values in some post-war migrant communities. The Greeks, Italians and Macedonians, for example, were able to start community language teaching in a few mainstream schools and established a few Saturday schools in order to promote the study of their ethnic language and culture among their children (Čašule, 1998; Ozolins, 1993; Tsounis, 1975). Nonetheless, the negative attitude of mainstream Australians to migrant languages often contributed to language shift (Bettoni & Gibbons, 1988; Hogg, D'Agata, & Abrams, 1989).

Kipp, Clyne and Pauwels (1995) found that the proximity or distance between the ethnic language and culture and English language and Australian culture was also a significant factor: a small cultural and linguistic distance led to language shift while a larger distance led to less shift. Thus the lack of any significant difference from Anglo-Australian culture led to rapid language shift among the Dutch (De Bot & Clyne, 1994; Pauwels, 2010) and also among the Maltese (Clyne & Kipp, 2006), whose culture had been heavily influenced by the British and Italians through

colonisation and Catholicism. The French had a higher language shift to English than the Italians although both languages are related to English, possibly due to relatively low English proficiency among the Italian post-war migrants (Clyne, 2003). Greek and Macedonian, on the other hand, were maintained to a greater extent as they were more distant from English and speakers of those languages tended to lack confidence in their English proficiency (Clyne, 1991).

Clyne (1988) mentioned a high level of education and English proficiency as significant factors for the shift from German to English. Rubino (2002) also found this propensity among the first-generation Italo-Australians with a higher educational level who tended to adopt the mainstream language and culture. Harres (1989) added two more factors for the shift from German to English—school aged children, and occupational demand for English—but highlighted the role of women in German language maintenance as they initially played the traditional role of housewives and mother in their families and therefore had less contact with English.

According to Smolicz (1981), the core cultural values of each migrant group determine the extent of their language and culture maintenance in their host society. Dutch language is neither considered as a core value to maintain Dutch identity in Australia nor essential to maintain family cohesion which led to a greater language shift among Dutch migrants (Clyne, 2005; Pauwels, 2010). In contrast, Greek, Hungarian, Polish, and Macedonian migrants belonged to language centred cultures which led to positive attitudes towards language maintenance.

Language and culture maintenance research on post-war migrants in Australia demonstrated that Greek migrants maintained their ethnic culture strongly due to the status of family as core cultural value. Traditionally, there was an emphasis on family unity in Greek society. Family ties fostered language skills and conversely language interaction kept the family bonds strong. The Greek language was seen as “a social symbol which is inseparable from ethnicity” (Tamis, 2009, p.6). The Greeks considered themselves and others to have lost their ethnicity if they stopped using their language (Clyne, 2003). Furthermore, Greek was valued as “the language of the New Testament as well as of antiquity” (Clyne & Kipp, 2006, p.18). The fusion of the core values of religion, language and family relationships in Greek culture increased Greek language maintenance.

Similarly, Macedonians maintained close family and community ties. Their family structure was the “nuclear-extended family” and most of the marriages were endogamous (Čašule, 1998, p. 111). Non-Macedonian spouses were required to learn Macedonian to communicate with other members

of the family and community. Likewise, in the early years, the first generation of Italian immigrants maintained relationships with their extended family (Baldassar, 2011; Vasta, 1995) with regular visits to Italy which reinforced ties to their country of origin. For Italian post-war migrants, although family cohesion is mostly maintained by Italian dialects or language related activities, the primacy of family cohesion over language often led them to language shift to some extent (Smolicz, 1981). Italian, Greek, and Macedonian post-war migrants prioritized endogamous marriage which maintained the ethnic language and culture in the home. In contrast, the high rate of intermarriage among the Dutch, German and Maltese migrants (Clyne, 1982; 1991) led to greater language shift, as English was usually the only common language between the spouses.

However it is interesting to see that with the advent of multicultural policies in Australia German (Clyne, 1988; Hatoss, 2006a; Putz, 1991), Italian (Rubino, 2002), Hungarian (Hatoss, 2006b; 2004), Maltese (Borland, 2006) and Polish (Leuner, 2010) speaking migrants revived their ethnic languages and culture while they had previously shifted to English under the pressure of the assimilationist policy. After the 1970s they started to build ethnic organisations and clubs for socialisation with their compatriots and to promote their respective ethnic cultural identity and culture among the second and third generation migrants. Within the field of language and culture maintenance studies the ‘old unproblematised dichotomies’ were problematised when migrants started to change their attitudes towards language maintenance (Willoughby, 2018). Researchers were correspondingly interested in exploring broad patterns of language and culture maintenance based on the micro context of migrants’ everyday lives using in-depth qualitative inquiry.

2.4.2 Asian migrant communities in Australia

After the implementation of a non-racial Australian immigrant selection policy in the early 1970s, migrants and refugees started arriving in Australia from Asia, Latin America, Middle East and Africa, and the linguistic demography changed (Clyne & Kipp, 2006). Ndhlovu and Willoughby (2017) further added that research on new waves of migrants might enrich the paradigms of multilingualism and multiculturalism as they belong to “complex linguistic repertoires and cultural profiles” (p.28).

This section highlights the high maintenance of Mandarin, Cantonese, Vietnamese and Khmer among migrants in Australia and the associated culture maintenance. Language maintenance research in Australia shows that many Asian migrants, namely Vietnamese, Chinese (Clyne &

Kipp, 1999; Wei, 1994), Cambodians (Carruthers & Tuy, 2009), and Taiwanese (Khawaja, Yang, & Cockshaw, 2016), maintain their ethnic language strongly in their family and social domain. Linguistic distance acts here as a facilitating factor for language maintenance

Language maintenance among the migrants in Australia varied in terms of their reasons for migration, and political and historical factors of the country of origin, with differences, for example, between refugees and migrants from the same country arriving in skilled migration programs. The Vietnamese (Ben-Moshe, Pyke, & Kirpitchenkoa, 2016; Baldassara, Pyke, & Ben-Moshe, 2017) and Cambodian (Carruthers & Tuy, 2009) refugee migrants suffered from the traumatic experiences of war and tended to cut ties with their country of origin as a strategy to forget the past painful experiences. Despite their negative perception about the country of origin, this group of refugee migrants sustained their language and cultural practices through maintaining strong family and community ties in their adopted society. They did not attempt to assimilate to the Anglo Australian society in order to forget the past like the German speaking post-war refugees from different parts of Europe (Clyne, 1988).

In contrast, recently arrived Vietnamese and Cambodians skilled migrants in Australia have maintained family, business and professional links with their country of origin and visit regularly (Ben-Moshe, Pyke, & Kirpitchenko, 2016; Carruthers & Tuy, 2009). They further play a significant role in eliminating the negative perceptions about Vietnam and Cambodia among the offspring of the refugee generation.

The cultural identity of Vietnamese, Chinese, Cambodians and Taiwanese migrants in Australia is reflected in their maintenance not only of language, but also of family and food traditions and religious festivals (Baldassara, Pyke, & Ben-Moshe, 2017; Carruthers & Tuy, 2009; Clyne & Kipp, 1999; Khawaja, Yang, & Cockshaw, 2016; Moshe, Pyke, & Kirpitchenkoa, 2016; Wei, 1994). These communities have tended to encourage their children to be bilingual to integrate into the host society while simultaneously maintaining communication with their extended family members.

However, some Chinese migrants were found to make their children shift to English due to their concerns about academic achievement in the Australian context (Au-Yeung, 2011). Hu, Torr and Whitman (2014) found some parents supported bilingualism for their children due to extended family relations and for the prospective career success of their children but frequently used English

in their daily interactions because of their fear that their children's heritage language development might impede their English development.

The recently arrived Chinese, Vietnamese and Taiwanese communities belong to collectivistic societies which increases the connectedness of the members of the family and community group (Au-Yeung, 2011; Moshe, Pyke, & Kirpitchenkoa, 2016; Khawaja, Yang, & Cockshaw, 2016). For this reason, they were found to establish various associations related to their ethnic language and culture in Australia in order to celebrate festivals and cultural events.

2.4.3 Latin American migrants in Australia

This section highlights language and culture maintenance of Spanish-speaking people from Latin American countries in Australia. The first wave of Latin American migrants started to arrive in Australia from Chile, Uruguay and Argentina in the late 1960s while the second wave began from El Salvador and other Central American countries in the 1980s due to financial and political crisis (Mejía, 2016, p.26).

Language maintenance research on Spanish speaking Latin American migrants in Australia has found that Spanish was maintained well among this group (Mejía, 2016; Sanchez-Castro & Gil, 2008). Mejía (2016) found that Spanish speaking mothers in intercultural marriages transmitted Spanish language successfully to sustain extended family relationships especially with grandparents. Educational and job opportunities for their children were also considered to be significant factors for maintaining Spanish language in their host society. Mejía (2016) also mentioned the availability of various media resources in Spanish language namely newspaper, television and radio which have a significant impact on Spanish language maintenance in Australia.

Comparing language maintenance of the newly arrived Salvadorian community in Queensland with South Australia's more established Spanish-speaking community, Sanchez-Castro and Gil (2008) found a high level of language maintenance among Salvadorian migrants due to "reasons for migrating, recency of arrival, trips to home El Salvador (sic.), ongoing contact with friends and relatives in El Salvador and concentration of Salvadorians in their host society" (p.88). On the other hand, they found a large language shift (18 out of 20 participants) among second-generation Spanish migrants in Australia due to "lack of communicative and symbolic value of the language"

(p.88) and “high rates of exogamy and the absence of extant ties with the Spanish community” (p.89). Spanish appears to be well maintained among recently arrived Latin American migrants in Australia due to strong family efforts and multicultural policy in Australia (Sanchez-Castro & Gil, 2008).

Culture maintenance was simultaneously important to Latin American migrants in Australia, involving elements such as food, music, traditions and family unity. Latin American migrants in Australia have a large number of associations and groups who organise a wide range of social, educational, cultural and sporting events throughout the year in order to promote Spanish language and culture in Australia (Mejía, 2016).

2.4.4 Middle Eastern and African migrant communities in Australia

Arabic language is the second most commonly used community language in Australia (2016 census) and is used by migrants from the Middle East and North Africa (Abdelhadi, 2016; Suleiman, 2003).

Religion and Arabic language are considered to be core values for Arabic speaking migrants. The Arabic language has a strong relationship with religion due to its use in the Qur’an (Clyne & Kipp, 1999) and in prayers (Rouchdy, 2013). Clyne and Kipp (1999) found that Egyptians maintain Arabic language as their cultural identity and religion while the second generation Lebanese migrants value Arabic for communication with family and friends.

African migrants in Australia are a diverse group in terms of their languages and dialects, culture and identity, religions, places of origin, migration history and trajectories (Ndhlovu, 2013). They belong to language centred cultures in which individual and group identity are closely identified with the languages and dialects of the place of their origin (Ndhlovu, 2009) and tend to go to the ethnic language-based mosques and churches (e.g. Hatoss & Sheely, 2009; Musgrave & Hajek, 2013, 2014). For example, the South Sudanese maintain a wide range of ethnic languages and dialects in social groups and associations of varying sizes, formed on the basis of both regional identity and national identity, and use English, Arabic, Kiswahili and Dinka as a lingua franca when communicating across different linguistic backgrounds (Hatoss & Sheely, 2009). Socio-cultural unity due to shared linguistic and regional backgrounds was the facilitating factor for developing positive attitudes among second generations towards ethnic languages and cultures in

these communities (Ndhlovu, 2010). Ethnic language schools have been established by African migrant communities in some cities of Australia in order to promote the intergenerational transmission of their ethnic language (e.g. Hatoss & Sheely, 2009; Musgrave & Hajek, 2013, 2014).

Iranian born migrants in Australia often preferred to identify with Persian rather than Iranian language and culture after the 1978 Islamic revolution in Iran (Jamarani, 2012). Many of those who were Muslim ceased to maintain religious practices after migration although they maintained their cultural heritage. Persian language was maintained well by Iranian women migrants in Australia as a core cultural value and also for securing parent-child relationships and accessing Persian literature (Jamarani, 2012).

Research demonstrates generally positive attitudes among Middle Eastern and African migrants towards bilingualism for their children so that they maintain their cultural identity but also adopt Australian national identity (Abdelhadi, 2016). They employ a large number of strategies to transmit their ethnic language and culture to their children, for example, opening Islamic schools and conducting weekly Arabic language courses in the mosque or after-hour schools (Abdelhadi, 2016; Rubino, 2010). Arabic is among the top ten community languages that are taught in Australian schools (Clyne, 2005).

Middle Eastern migrants in Australia maintain cultural identity not only through their language but also through a wide range of cultural activities such as celebrations (Ramadan Feasts; Eid), traditional dress, music, food, family ties and attachment to relatives and their country of origin (Abdelhadi, 2016). They maintain extended family relationships through regular visits to their country of origin (Abdelhadi, 2016). Due to the collectivistic family traditions, Middle Eastern migrants in Australia are mostly endogamous leading to high language maintenance in the family domain.

Ndhlovu (2010) found that African refugees felt exclusion in their new life in Australia due to the negative attitude of the wider society towards them because of their visibility, accent and poor education level. Their experiences of racism in the mainstream society often made them wish to return their country of origin despite their past painful experiences in homeland, which forced them for migration (Ndhlovu, 2013). Nonetheless, Ndhlovu (2010) reported that recently arrived African skilled migrants tended to hold constructive opinions towards the host society and did not

attempt to return to their country of origin. The reason for migration thus plays a significant role in developing perceptions about the host society (Ndhlovu, 2010). Ager (2001) argued that refugees experience inequality in their new society due to lower socio-economic status. Feelings of discrimination can often prompt refugees to assimilate into their host society and cease to maintain their language and culture. The opposite trend may occur if refugees retain a strong ethnic identity (Colic-Peisker & Tilbury, 2003) and stick to their traditions and values. It is therefore evident that reasons for migration do not always confirm language and culture maintenance in a straightforward way.

2.4.5 South Asian migrant communities in Australia

While migrants from South Asia (Afghanistan, Bhutan, Bangladesh, India, the Maldives, Pakistan, Nepal, and Sri Lanka) started to arrive in Australia in the late 1960s following the relaxing of the immigration policy, more have arrived since the 1970s under the skilled migration program. Among the languages used in these communities, Hindi and Punjabi language are among the top ten community languages used in Australia (ABS, 2016).

This section discusses the Indian, Pakistani and Sri Lankan migrant communities as they have received greater scholarly attention. Historical and cultural ties make them particularly relevant to study of the Bangladeshi community in Australia.

Migrants from South Asian countries in Australia differ according to their core cultural identity. Indian migrants perceived their individual identity in terms of a particular ethnic language, religion, or place of origin despite their national identity as Indian (Naidoo, 2007). Malik (2009) found that Pakistani identity was constructed on the basis of three components: religion; patriarchal family traditions and gender role in a family. Sri Lankans constructed their ethnic identity in terms of language and religion: Sinhalese Buddhist and Tamil Hindu (Perera, 2015).

Of the 22 official languages used in India, Hindi, Punjabi, Gujrati and Nepalese are the most commonly used languages in Indian migrant communities in Australia (Bissoonauth, 2018). Hindi is mostly maintained as a mark of cultural and national identity and for economic prospects due to the emergence of India as a superpower in world economy (Bissoonauth, 2018). Language is a strong core value for Tamils and Sikhs. Punjabi was maintained strongly by the Sikh community while Tamil was maintained by devout Hindu Tamils (Clyne, 2003). All of them established

language specific religious institutions, cultural organisations; and weekend language schools in many cities of Australia to develop a language-based social network, showing the significant role of language in representing ethnic identity (Lakha & Stevenson, 2001).

Urdu and English are commonly used in the Pakistani community in Australia in spite of having 32 ethnic languages in different areas of Pakistan (Malik, 2009). Among the Sri Lankan Australians, Sinhalese and Tamil are maintained due to their ethnic identity. Gamage (2002) found that Sinhala-Buddhist organisations in Australia promoted language maintenance and Sinhalese culture identity by forming Buddhist temples in which they organised religious programs and festivals. Similarly, the Saturday community school and religious practices have had a significant impact on the maintenance of Tamil in Sri Lankan and Indian families of Tamil ancestry (Perera, 2015; 2016). Language shift to English is also found among Sri Lankan migrants because a substantial number of Tamil speaking Sri Lankans shifted to English before their migration to Australia political reasons (Fernandez & Clyne, 2007).

Studies on Indian and Sri Lankan migrants in Australia demonstrated that although most tried to transmit their language to their children, some found monolingual pressure in their children's schools as an obstacle (Bilimoria & Ganguly-Scrase, 1988; Perera, 2016) while others perceived English as the mark of academic achievement and social status for Indian students (Smolicz, Murugaian & Secombe, 1990, p. 236).

The majority of Indian, Pakistani and Sri Lankan migrants in Australia strongly maintained their cultural practices in spite of some language shifts to English among second generations (Bissoonaath, 2018; Iqbal, 2014; Lakha & Stevenson, 2001; Athukorala, 2014; Malik, 2009). These communities shared collectivist traditions of family relationships following the customs of their respective religions and the values of obedience, parental guidance and moral obligations to the members of their extended family. Many sustained the tradition of their extended family through daily contact with family members in their country of origin and regular visits to them (Iqbal, 2014; Naidoo, 2007; Malik, 2009; Perera, 2015, 2016).

Migrants from these three countries also tended to maintain their identity in culture-specific food, prepared with the traditions of their respective ethnic culture (Athukorala, 2014; Lindridge, Hogg, & Shah, 2004; Naidoo, 2007). A large number of restaurants and grocery shops also demonstrate

the presence of these cultures in multicultural Australia (Athukorala, 2014; Iqbal, 2014; Lakha & Stevenson, 2001).

Cultural associations and clubs also sustain cultural identity of migrants from these three countries through socio-cultural events to celebrate their national days and religious festivals, and Pakistani organisations, for example, often hire singers, musicians and popular actors to perform in such cultural events in Australia (Iqbal, 2014). The Bollywood movie industry has also played a significant role as a powerful cultural form reflecting the Indian cultural and religious practices and values (Naidoo, 2007), but Pakistani and Sri Lankan movies are not mentioned in the research. Children of Indian migrants were found to learn cultural music and dance in order to perform in the community based cultural programs and sustain their cultural identity (Naidoo, 2007).

Sport (especially cricket) and dress were also found to play an important role in the negotiation of cultural identity among Indian, Pakistani and Sri Lankan migrants in Australia (Athukorala, 2014; Malik, 2009; Naidoo, 2007).

2.4.6 Bangladeshi migrants in different countries

Since 1971 Bangladesh has been characterised by migration, both internal and international (Gardner, 2009). According to the world migration report 2018, Bangladesh is in 5th position as a migrant-supplying country (IOM, 2018). There are two types of migrants from Bangladesh: temporary and permanent migrants. Temporary migrants usually migrate to earn money due to their lower socioeconomic situation (Joarder & Hasanuzzaman, 2008). Their primary destinations at first were in the Middle East, particularly the Gulf States and then some South-East Asian countries. In contrast, permanent migrants migrate to the USA, UK, Australia and Europe for a higher standard of living (education, job opportunities, health care) and to escape political disorder, lack of security and persistent corruption in Bangladesh (Shafiq, 2016). As this research focuses on permanent migrants from Bangladesh to Australia, this section discusses language and culture maintenance among the most studied Bangladeshi permanent migrant communities in the UK, Canada, the USA and Australia.

Bangladeshi migrants in Australia are recent migrants, whereas Bangladeshi migration to Britain can be divided into two distinct phases. Migrants of the first phase (before the independence of Bangladesh) were predominantly male labourers from the rural district of Sylhet in the north-east

of Bangladesh while the second phase mainly migrated for permanent settlement and family reunification (Rasinger, 2013).

The first wave tended to live in ethnic enclaves and maintained Bangla through strong transnational ties by regular contact and visits to Bangladesh, community media, Bangladeshi associations and language schools (Al-Azami, 2014). In contrast the second wave lived in different parts of the UK and there was evidence of language shift to English among the younger generations due to their parents' ability to use English in the home domain, an English-language neighbourhood and media (Al-Azami, 2014).

First-generation Bangladeshi migrants in the UK were generally not strongly motivated to transmit their language to their children although they were keen to maintain family and social relationships with Bangladeshis in the host society (Al-Azami, 2005; Rasinger, 2013). Some shifted language deliberately seeing English as prestigious and Bangla as an obstacle to the academic and professional career of their children, while others shifted indifferently due to their proficiency of English and Bangla (Al-Azami, 2005; Subhan, 2007).

Bangladeshi migrants in Canada were generally endogamous, often bringing their spouses from Bangladesh, and maintained their identity by speaking Bangla at home, teaching their children to read the Quran, exposing them to Bangladeshi culture, socialising with other Bangladeshi families, and organising cultural activities through Bangladeshi associations (Nazneen, 2005; Rahim, 1991). Some, however, identified more strongly with religion than culture, resisting the possible assimilation of their children into the Canadian way of life (Subhan, 2007; Rahim, 1991; Ahmed, 2006). Bangladeshi associations in Canada were therefore divided into two groups: Muslim-based and Bangladeshi nationalist-based (Ahmed, 2006). While parents in the latter group valued Bangla language and cultural practices (Ghosh, 2006), parents in the former prioritized religious beliefs and practices, and the academic and professional achievement of their children rather than transmitting positive attitudes towards their ethnic language (Subhan, 2007). In both the UK and Canada, identification of Bangladeshi migrants with Muslim communities increased after the 9/11 terrorist attacks which led to discrimination and negative attitudes towards Muslims throughout the world (Nazneen, 2005).

Bangladeshi migrants in the UK and the USA often perceived negative mainstream attitudes due to an international image of Bangladesh dominated by poverty, corruption and natural disaster

(Kibria, 2008). Racism in Britain encouraged some Bangladeshi migrants to sustain their ethnic ties strongly through regular communication and financial investment in Bangladesh with a hope to return there in their old age (Khanum, 2001).

Bangladeshi migrants in the UK, Canada, and the USA tended to maintain ties to Bangladesh while simultaneously maintaining a strong social network in their host society with their compatriots (Al-Azami, 2014; Carey & Shukur, 1986; Ghosh, 2006; Khanum, 2001; Rasinger, 2013; Subhan, 2007). Their language and culture maintenance extended from the home domain to the community level as they established Bangladeshi associations in the cities where they lived (Ahmed, 2006; Rahim, 1991), creating a mini Bangladesh in their adopted society (Ahmed, 2006), and organising cultural events throughout the year, often involving food which, along with distinct cooking styles and ingredients, represented a strong attachment to community (Subhan, 2007).

2.4.7 Bangladeshi migrants in Australia

Few studies have been conducted on Bangladeshi migrants in Australia compared to other migrant communities. Khan and Richardson (2013) investigated the health and quality of life of Bangladeshi migrants living in Melbourne through a questionnaire. Roshid and Chowdhury (2013) demonstrated how the non-native English proficiency of seven Bangladeshi graduates in Melbourne affected their employment and career success in Australia. Analysing stories of three single female Bangladeshi migrants, Rozario (2007) described their struggle with their families and the wider community both in Bangladesh and in Australia during their settlement. Similarly, Chowdhury and Hamid (2016) focused on the life stories of three migrant workers to explore their settlement in Australia with their low English proficiency. These last two studies both highlight the agency and determination of the participants for their settlement in Australia. Focusing on the settlement experience of Bangladeshi migrants in New South Wales, Victoria and Queensland, Shafiq (2016) found that political instability in Bangladesh and a better education and future for their children motivated their migration, as they left behind a higher socio-economic status in their homeland. Shafiq (2016) also stated that language is not a major barrier to acculturation for Bangladeshi migrants as they tend to be highly educated and skilled. However Chowdhury and Hamid (2016) found that language proficiency is an obstacle for the acculturation of migrant workers. Iqbal (2014) conducted research on the settlement's patterns and transnational activities of Bangladeshi and Pakistani migrants in Australia and found that Bangladeshi migrants in

Melbourne sustain their language and culture maintenance through their transnational ties with Bangladesh through regular contact and visits, and sending gifts and remittances

Conclusion

Extensive research has been conducted on language and culture maintenance among a wide range of migrant communities in Australia using different methodologies. In addition to the quantitative methods initially adopted to analyse survey data and the language questions of the national census, qualitative methods are now increasingly used, providing in-depth inquiry into the patterns of language use and cultural practices of migrants in various domains and the reasons for them.

The existing language and culture maintenance research in Australia (see section 2.2 and 2.3) has used different but complementary approaches. Most studies have investigated maintenance of ethnic language or cultural practices and values or cultural identity independently while relatively few have focused on both language and culture maintenance of migrants in Australia. As language maintenance and culture maintenance research are parallel to one another and their approaches tend to overlap in focusing on what migrants do and the factors influencing their behaviours, in-depth inquiry focusing on language and culture maintenance with equal attention promises rewards in both areas. Further research should therefore be conducted on both language maintenance and culture maintenance as a dynamic interconnected paradigm.

While considerable research has been conducted on a range of migrant groups in Australia arriving in different periods, there is no study that focuses comprehensively and in detail on the language and culture maintenance of Bangladeshi migrants. Although the studies discussed in section 2.4.7 investigated the settlement process and strategies of Bangladeshi migrants in specific areas (employment, English proficiency, gender, reasons for migration, transnational activities), no in-depth inquiry has yet been conducted on how, to what extent and why this group of migrants maintain Bangla language and various traditions and norms of Bangladeshi culture in their daily lives. Although Shafiq (2016) and Iqbal (2014) discussed some aspects of language and culture maintenance while exploring the settlement patterns of Bangladeshi migrants in Australia, little detail is available about the behaviours, factors and attitudes which influence such maintenance among the members of this community. However findings of the studies on Bangladeshi migrants and South Asians have provided this study with useful background information demonstrating

broader patterns of language and culture maintenance studies, and in particular, identifying the research problem or gap and its significance with reference to the existing literature.

Considering the growing number of migrants from Bangladesh in Australia and inspired by existing research on language and culture maintenance among different migrant communities, this study explores the experiences, beliefs and attitudes of Bangladeshi migrants to identify their linguistic and cultural practices based on the micro context of their everyday lives using in-depth qualitative inquiry. It further focuses on their individual decisions regarding their linguistic and cultural behaviour since their migration, and investigates factors linked to the past, the present and the future that together inform the overall understanding of language and culture maintenance of this group. Most importantly it looks at intragenerational language maintenance, and then explores perceptions and the efforts of the participants who have children for their intergenerational language maintenance.

Chapter 3 Research Design and Methodology

3.1 Research Design and Methods

This study is the first in-depth exploration of language and culture maintenance of Bangladeshi migrants in Queensland, Australia. The objective of this research is to investigate how and to what extent Bangladeshi language and culture are maintained in this community. Two rounds of individual semi-structured interviews were conducted with 20 adult Bangladeshi-born first-generation migrants who had lived in Australia for at least five years (see section 3.2.2). In this investigation, the individual thoughts, feelings and perceptions of this group of migrants in their own words are of primary interest. A qualitative methodology has been adopted as qualitative data provide in-depth insights and detailed perspectives into subjectivities (Silverman, 2016) that might not be achieved through quantitative research.

The study investigates the individual perceptions and experiences of the informants about the interplay between language and culture maintenance in their host society. The decision to adopt a qualitative approach to this study is therefore influenced by three factors: the exploratory nature of the task; the need to attend to differences (individual perception); and the desire to construct new insights on language and culture maintenance grounded in subjective experience (Silverman, 2016).

3.1.1 The Interview

The interview is the most frequently used method of qualitative research (Mason, 2010; Silverman, 2016) and has the capacity to “yield rich insights into people’s biographies, experiences, opinions, values, aspirations, attitudes and feelings” (May, 2001, p. 120). For research on migrant studies, Sánchez-Ayala (2012) recommended using in-depth interviewing to achieve insightful data on life experiences and perspectives of migrants based on their social and psychological issues. Taylor and Bogdan (1998) defined in-depth interviewing as “repeated face-to-face encounters between the researcher and the research participants with an aim to understand and interpret the participants’ experiences of social reality through their own words” (p.88).

There are three main types of interview: the structured interview, the unstructured or loosely-structured open interview and the semi-structured interview (Kvale, 1996; Minichiello, Aroni &

Hays, 2008). Structured interviews seek specific and exact information using a standardized list of questions in a controlled order. This type of interview is also known in social science research as a standardised or survey interview. In contrast, unstructured interviews primarily focus on the social interaction between the researcher and the participants to allow their experiences, understandings or interpretation to unfold without following any formal standardised list of questions. In this technique, the interviewer begins the conversation and then lets the interviewee simply continue while the researcher keeps specific topics in mind. Finally, semi-structured interviews are a mix of both structured and unstructured interview questions. In this technique, the interviewer introduces topics, but the questions provide enough flexibility for the interviewees to describe their experiences, perceptions and attitudes in as much depth as possible while they interpret the meaning of the described phenomena (Brinkmann, 2014; Richards, 2009). Semi-structured interviews are therefore widely used in qualitative research. The main advantage of this type of interview is that the data are more systematic and comprehensive than in the unstructured interviews although the tone of the interviews remains informal (Minichiello, Aroni & Hays, 2008). Semi-structured interviews are also favoured over a structured format which tends to avoid the social reality of the interview process through its controlled form.

For this study, I therefore used semi-structured interviews to gain in-depth information about how and to what extent the Bangladeshi migrants of this study maintain their language and culture in Australia. The interviews also investigated the intergenerational transmission of Bangla language and Bangladeshi cultural values to the second generation. In this investigation, the aim was to explore the various factors including the attitudes which influenced their Bangla language use and the practices of Bangladeshi culture in the host society. An interview guide and schedule were developed around a list of themes based on the research questions (see Chapter 1) instead of following any fixed terminology or sequence of questions. Clyne and Kipp (1999) stated that the authors of previous studies on language maintenance and shift within different migrant communities usually developed their own sociolinguistic questionnaires in order to collect information that is not available in the census data, such as language use in domains other than the home, speakers' language proficiency and speakers' language preferences. In addition to these language questions, I developed questions about practice of Bangladeshi culture in different domains, socialisation, celebration of religious and Bangladeshi festivals, and attitudes towards the maintenance of Bangla language, Bangladeshi culture and cultural identity (see Appendix 2).

However, the questions were designed with sufficient flexibility to encourage participants to express their opinions in their own ways. I took care to frame interview questions in simple terms in order to avoid technical language and jargon as much as possible for better understanding.

Two rounds of interviews

Two interviews were conducted with each participant for several reasons.

Firstly, I decided to divide the interview sessions in order to gather detailed information about the language and culture maintenance of the participants in this study. In the first round, the interviews aimed to relate their experiences in the social context with the themes of the study. This interview gained the perspectives of the participants on their settlement experiences in Australia from the very beginning of their migration, including their socio-demographic data such as age, level of education, language proficiency, profession, the reason for migration, and length of stay in Australia. I used open-ended interview questions and probes to elicit descriptions and to have experiences illustrated in a full and detailed manner. In the second round, the interviews mostly focused on more specific questions to explore how and to what extent they maintain their language and culture and the associated factors including the attitudes towards their Bangla language use and the practices of Bangladeshi culture in their host society.

Secondly, these two rounds of interviews helped me to create friendly relations with my participants that made them think of me as a member of their community. Minichiello, Aroni and Hays (2008) stated that a rapport between the researcher and participants is essential for in-depth interviews to gain access to the world of the research informants. For example, they shared with me many personal stories beyond the interview questions that helped me gain insight into their perceptions and attitudes. Before each interview, I talked to them about my research, along with its aim and the objectives, and they also asked me many questions. Moreover, between the two rounds of interviews, we continued our communication through phone, text messages and messenger. I also met them in social gatherings of the Bangladeshi community where they were interested to know about the progress of my research. They all welcomed me when I contacted them for the second interview.

Thirdly, the time between the two rounds of interviews provided me with an opportunity to reflect on the information from the first round and to clarify it in the second round through follow up

questions, and to reflect on the most appropriate interviewing techniques for particular individuals. In the first round, some participants talked very spontaneously while others did not. On the basis of further reading, I developed interview techniques to get the best possible information from those participants who were less talkative. The second interview with each participant consequently gave me much valuable information about their experiences and attitudes on language and cultural maintenance in Australia. Finally, these two rounds of interviews enabled me to evaluate the consistency of the viewpoints of my research respondents. Taylor and Bodgan (1998) stated that participants often exaggerate their success and hide their failures during their interviews, and Minichiello, Aroni and Hays (2008) recommended using cross-check questions to gain authentic accounts and to identify distortions or exaggerations. The two sessions of interviewing enabled me to validate the information provided by my participants by asking cross-check questions.

3.1.2 Approach to data collection and analysis

This study uses census data as background information, and three approaches in the fields of sociolinguistic and cross-cultural studies in analysing the interview data on language and culture maintenance of Bangladeshi migrants in Southeast Queensland: the domain approach; social psychological approach (core values and language attitudes) and dimensionality approach. These complement each other in exploring how, to what extent and why the participants maintain their language and other cultural components in the host society and are discussed in detail in sections 2.2 and 2.3. The thematic analysis of the interview data is guided by these three approaches.

Data from the 2016 Census of Population and Housing is used in section 3.2.1 as a starting point to provide a broad picture of the Bangladeshi community in Southeast Queensland. Socio-demographic data (age, gender, religion, education, profession) is used to compare this group with the wider Bangladeshi community in Australia, and information regarding language use is highlighted.

3.2 Data Collection

3.2.1 Context

The 2016 census recorded 2,765 Bangladesh-born Australians living in Queensland which is the state with third largest Bangladesh-born population after New South Wales and Victoria (ABS, 2016). This community is relatively small and new compared to other migrant communities in

Australia. It is mostly concentrated in the local government areas of Brisbane, Gold Coast, Ipswich, Logan, Toowoomba, Rockhampton and Townsville with a large number of Bangladesh-born people working as professionals in the fields of education, health and community services. The census showed 1654 Bangladeshi migrants lived in greater Brisbane and Toowoomba which were selected as the sites for this research.

Of the Bangladesh-born people who lived in Brisbane and Toowoomba, 51.8% were males, and 48.2% were females. Their median age was 34 years compared with 37.2 years for the total Australian population. Most were Muslims (82.8%), but some were Hindus (8.18%), Christians (2.51%) and Buddhists (0.23%) (ABS, 2016). These proportions are similar to the primary religious affiliations amongst the total Bangladesh-born Australian population.

Bangladeshi migrants in Australia are predominantly highly educated professionals who migrated to Australia under the category of skilled migration (Khan & Richardson, 2013). According to the 2016 census, Bangladesh is in the second position among the countries of birth with the highest proportion of people with qualifications in Australia. Among those who lived in Brisbane and Toowoomba, 78.77% had postgraduate and Bachelor's degrees compared to 63.6% of the total Bangladesh-born Australian population. 23.9% were employed as managers and professionals, 6.5% as community and personal service workers, and 2.63% as sales workers while 51.8% stated "not applicable" which indicates their occupations are not captured in the Census data. The corresponding rate of managers and professionals for the total Bangladesh-born Australian population is quite similar.

The most common languages spoken by this group are Bangla and English. The 2016 census reported that 2,253 Bangla-speaking people lived in Brisbane and Toowoomba. Some of them had ancestry in West Bengal (India) rather than Bangladesh. Although Bangla is the main language of the Bangladeshi community in Australia, their English proficiency is relatively high. According to the 2016 census, of people living in Brisbane and Toowoomba who were born in Bangladesh, 6.05% spoke "English only" at home. A further 86.03% spoke another language but also reported speaking English very well or well, and 6.59% spoke English not well while 0.84% did not know English at all. This ratio is similar to the overall Australian population born in Bangladesh.

The above discussion shows that Bangladesh-born people who lived in Brisbane and Toowoomba and participated in this study are representative of the wider Bangladeshi community in Australia

in terms of age, gender, religion, employment, level of education, language proficiency and language use in Australia.

3.2.2 Recruitment of participants

According to the purposeful sampling criteria, my target population was first-generation Bangladeshi migrants in Australia who came to Australia as adults and who had lived in Australia for at least five years. This was to ensure that the extent of their stay in Australia was long enough to report on their perceptions, feelings and attitudes towards their language and culture maintenance including their intergenerational transmission of language and cultural practices and values. Colic-Peisker and Tilbury (2003) argued that the two-year minimum periods of settlement experiences are necessary for migrants to be able to describe their new linguistic practices and social networks in detail. As the Bangladeshi community in Queensland is small in size comprising only a single ethnic group, I decided to collect data from 20 participants with different genders, ages and occupations. The purpose was also to explore the various diverse experiences and attitudes in the Bangladeshi community rather than interviewing a homogenous group.

At the outset of the research, the participants did not know me. In order to find the participants, after obtaining ethical clearance (see Appendix 1), I made an open invitation to participate in this research throughout the Bangladeshi community of Brisbane and Toowoomba via Facebook posts and group emails of community organisations and cultural groups, namely BAB (Bangladesh Association in Brisbane); Bangladeshi Community in Academia, Brisbane (BCA-Brisbane); Toowoombabangla - Bangladeshi Community in Toowoomba and Surrounding Region. The invitation described the aims and purposes of the study, eligibility, and how to participate.

I also used my personal network in the Bangladeshi community of Brisbane to locate participants. Clyne and Kipp (1999) demonstrated that having a social relationship with community members is “indispensable in securing permission to conduct the interview” (p.37). As an international student from Bangladesh, I can speak Bangla fluently. I have also developed personal networks with other Bangladeshi migrants because I have been living and studying in Brisbane for more than six years. I used these networks as starting points and then located other participants in Brisbane through the social networks of my friends and colleagues. During the participant recruitment process, I found that having a social relationship with community members was beneficial to the success rate of recruitment. For example, seeing my post on Facebook, a valued

key member of the Bangladeshi community circulated my email to his peer-groups and the whole community. He also gave me contact details of some prospective participants for my research. In the meantime, a few members contacted me by email and Facebook. I then contacted (via phone, e-mail, or in person) the potential participants in order to determine whether they fulfilled the selection criteria. Facebook groups of Bangladeshis assisted greatly in the selection of participants because they provided easy, fast access to members of the community. On the other hand, this risked creating a selection bias because people who are not interested in their language and culture maintenance are unlikely to join the group. However I decided to use social media deliberately as the advantages in the data collection process outweighed the disadvantages.

The participant recruitment criteria of this study were based on the purposeful sampling technique formulated by Patton (2002) that gives importance to criteria specified by the researcher. Furthermore, I used a snowball sampling technique. In this sampling, I invited selected respondents to refer me to others through their social networks.

Participants

The participants were adult Australian citizens except one who was a permanent resident of Australia. Most of them were aged between 35 and 50 years while only three participants were above 60 years old. They had in fact lived in Australia for much longer than the required five years. The sample of this research was diverse in terms of age, gender, level of education, length of residence and profession, to yield comprehensive understanding of their language and culture maintenance experiences. The information from the first 2 columns has been used to refer to the participants throughout the thesis, e.g. M1, F13.

Table 3-1 Details of participants

Number	Gender	Age group	Education level	Profession	Year of arrival	Religion	Reason for arrival
1	M	36-45	Postgraduate	Lecturer	2006	Muslim	Higher education
2	M	26-35	Postgraduate	Lecturer	2009	Muslim	Higher education
3	M	56-65	Postgraduate	GP	2001	Muslim	PR

4	M	46-55	Postgraduate	GP	2002	Muslim	PR
5	M	46-55	Postgraduate	Software Engineer	2006	Muslim	PR
6	M	56-65	Postgraduate	Govt. job holder	1992	Muslim	PR
7	M	36-45	Postgraduate	Taxi driver	2006	Muslim	Higher education
8	M	36-45	Postgraduate	Business	2008	Buddhism	PR
9	M	36-45	Secondary	Welder	2006	Muslim	Work visa
10	M	36-45	Secondary	Chef	1991	Muslim	Education & Settlement
11	M	36-45	Undergraduate	Meat worker	2006	Muslim	Settlement
12	M	56-65	Postgraduate	Retired	1973	Christian	PR
13	F	46-55	Postgraduate	Lecturer	2001	Muslim	Higher education
14	F	36-45	Postgraduate	Housewife	2005	Muslim	Higher education
15	F	26-35	Postgraduate	Engineer	2006	Muslim	Higher education
16	F	36-45	Postgraduate	Govt. job holder	2000	Muslim	Higher education
17	F	46-55	Postgraduate	Business	2000	Muslim	Higher education
18	F	36-45	Postgraduate	Childcare	2009	Hinduism	Spouse
19	F	36-45	Secondary	Household business	1995	Muslim	PR
20	F	36-45	Under graduate	Childcare	2001	Muslim	PR

Table 3-1 shows that the participants of this study arrived in Australia between 1991 and 2009 with the exception of one who came in 1973. Most came as students and only a few arrived through the skilled migration visa program. I tried to select participants from each of the occupational groups listed in the 2016 census data by the Bangladeshi migrants in this region. Colic-Peisker (2002) found that migrants from different occupations with different socioeconomic backgrounds

go through different experiences not only due to their different proficiency in English but also to their different expectations and desires (e.g., the desire that their status in the home country is transferred in part in the adopted country). In this study, the participants fell predominantly into two groups: one group from the professional class, having a more extensive educational background, whereas the other group was mainly working class, who migrated to Australia having limited education on arrival. They included university lecturers, engineers, general practitioners, public service employees, businessmen, child care service workers and blue-collar workers (chefs, meat workers, welders and taxi drivers). The participants broadly represent the Bangladesh-born population in Brisbane and Toowoomba in terms of age, gender, level of education and occupation (ABS, 2016 census). Although 20 participants may seem a small number, it has been justified by previous studies. After thorough research on qualitative sample sizes in PhD dissertations, Mason (2010) reported that the most frequently used sample sizes of qualitative research are between 20 and 30. Guest, Bunce and Johnson (2006) argued that 12 interviews of a homogenous group are adequate for saturation in qualitative research. Saturation refers to the point when the researcher ceases to gain new information and understanding from further participants and their data (Flick, 2009). The data on language and culture maintenance from the 20 participants in this study appeared to reach saturation.

3.2.3 Interview procedures

The prospective participants were invited to participate in two face to face in-depth interviews of 45-60 minutes in the place and time suitable to them. Before starting the interview, I explained the purposes of the study to the participants in detail. They were also given a copy of the participant information sheet to help them gain an understanding of the project and the nature of their participation. I further explained them that their participation was voluntary, and they had the right to withdraw their participation at any time without penalty, and I answered their questions and queries regarding my research. The participants were informed that pseudonyms would be used to protect their identity and privacy. Finally, those who agreed to participate were given the consent form to sign. There was no problem in approaching my potential participants and communicating with them as I am Bangladeshi myself and familiar with Bangladeshi culture such as how to show respect to people in a variety of contexts. For example, I knew that these community members would not wish to be interviewed during Ramadan, so I conducted most of

the first-round interviews before it started. In addition, I contacted them in Bangla which made them think of me as one of them.

During the first-round interview, open-ended questions were primarily used and the interviews were conducted in the language of the participants' choice—in Bangla, English or a mixture of both so that they felt at ease. Most of them preferred to tell their stories in Bangla to express their feelings openly and spontaneously. Prior to going to the interview, I wrote the interview prompts in advance in order to make the interview process smooth, and seamlessly connected to the research focus. All of the interviews were audio-recorded with the consent of the participants. From their own perspectives, the interviewees described what motivated them to come to Australia, how they viewed and positioned themselves in the host society, their identity in Australia, their current feelings towards Australia and how they had evolved including their sociodemographic data.

As a researcher, I showed my respect and gratitude to the participants because of their contributions to the research. Throughout the entire set of interviews, I played the role of an attentive listener, sometimes expressing appreciation or admiration, or acknowledging their persistence, struggle and wisdom. I rarely took written notes during the interviews in order to concentrate fully on the participants and to maintain eye contact. At the end of each interview, I had an informal chat with the participants to check whether they had told me what they really wanted to and whether they felt positive about sharing their experiences. I was always aware of the importance of addressing any problems or issues immediately if they happened in the interviews, although they did not happen. When the interview was concluded I spent at least 30 minutes thinking of my perceptions about the interview experience and wrote them down immediately. I also made notes for follow-up questions with the participant in the next interview for further clarity or better understanding of the data, if anything was unclear and required elaboration. After this round of interviews, I transcribed verbatim the data following the strategies of Silverman and Patterson (2014) who stated that the verbatim transcript should include everything the interviewer and interviewee said, word-for-word. Silverman and Patterson (2014) further suggested that researchers should transcribe their own data so that they can be immersed in data analysis process. When the transcription was completed, I coded the

data based on emerging themes related to my research questions. I analysed the original data which was later translated.

The second round of interviews aimed to investigate their language and culture maintenance in further detail. For this round, I contacted the same participants by phone, arranged the time and place to meet and gave them an overall idea of the second interview content. At the beginning of the second-round interviews, participants were requested to read and comment on the transcription of their first interviews to ensure that, from their point of view, it reflected their experiences accurately. Some of the participants in the interview sessions did not want to read, and so I told them the summary of their first interviews based on the themes related to the research questions so that they could add their comments or opinions. I also focused on specific questions or issues that were unclear or required elaboration from the first-round interview. Semi-structured questions were used to gain insight into how and to what extent they practice and maintain their language and culture and their attitudes towards Australian language and culture. Towards the end of the interviews, I asked them some cross-check questions to check the consistency between the information from the two interviews. Like the first-round interviews, most of these interviews were conducted in Bangla. All of the interviews were also audio-recorded with the consent of the participants, transcribed verbatim and coded.

3.3 Analysis

Data analysis is the process of giving meaning to the gathered data (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015). The analysis of data in this study was based on thematic analysis which is known as “a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 79).

Following transcription, the interviews were read several times, as Minichiello, Aroni and Hays (2008) argued that intensive data analysis should not be started until the researcher has complete familiarity with the data. I went through the transcripts of the interviews closely and thoroughly, to identify key themes and central ideas in line with the research questions and objectives of the study. Using my research questions as a guide, the data were then coded in order to identify recurring themes, patterns and structures (Silverman & Patterson, 2014). In coding, I first categorised the data under the main headings of each research question: **Language maintenance**, **Culture maintenance** and **Factors associated with language and culture maintenance**. The

data were then grouped under subheadings both by topic (e.g. language use with spouses, childrearing practices) and by theme (e.g. fear of Western culture, gratefulness). As the participants had expressed their views in different and distinctive ways, categorical coding (Gibbs, 2007) helped me to organise the information under common topics and themes while noting the range of diverse responses. For example, I coded references to happiness, satisfaction, joy, satisfaction, gratefulness, enjoyment and pleasure together with the code for “positive attitudes”.

I also imported the soft copies of all the interview transcripts into the qualitative analysis software NVivo 9 to assist me in categorising the data. Computer-assisted qualitative data analysis helped me to organise the data systematically providing information about different patterns, frequency and proximity. This also confirmed the coding process and associated themes that I already identified in the data during the transcriptions.

Meanwhile, the demographic details of the participants were entered into a spreadsheet. This helped me to identify whether participants’ age, gender, level of education and employment facilitated or impeded their language and culture maintenance. Pseudonyms were used to refer to the participants in order to maintain confidentiality. Also, any other identifying characteristics in the data were disguised.

I wrote summaries of each theme and included extensive direct quotations from the interviews to illustrate and validate my points in constructing the themes. At first, the interview data on language maintenance and culture maintenance were sorted out separately in order to analyse them in more detail. Next, I created documents on the key themes including: (1) self-reported language proficiency; (2) language maintenance domains: family, social and media; (2) intergenerational language transmission; (3) Bangladeshi community; (4) language maintenance attitudes; (4) Bangladeshi cultural values including family relationships; (5) celebrations and festivals; (6) religious practices; (7) food habits and behaviours; (8) children’s culture maintenance; (9) attitudes towards Australia and Australian people (10) attitudes towards culture maintenance and identity. The next stage was to analyse and report on each theme in detail to “...identify the ‘essence’ of what each theme is about” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p.92). The selected quotations, which were in Bangla in the interviews, were translated into English for use in the thesis. The translated quotes were cross-checked by a Bangladeshi colleague.

In the data analysis plan, the discussion of the data is the last and crucial stage. At this stage, the themes were closely discussed according to the methodological approaches. Then I discussed the extracted findings in relation to the research questions, as well as with the existing literature in order to explore how they resemble or are different from existing knowledge in the field of language and culture maintenance research.

3.4 Position of the researcher

Krieger (1991) advises us to acknowledge a researcher's responsibility to position him/herself in the research process. The interview procedures have already described my role as the researcher in providing the participants with an overall idea about the purpose of the study and creating a sense of trust with them, so that they could tell their experiences spontaneously in the interviews. In doing so, I positioned myself as "outsider within", the term propounded by Collins (1986). It is because the participants of my research revealed that they migrated to Australia seven to ten years ago while I arrived in Australia only three years ago as an international student during the interview, although all of us shared the same origin. In addition, I considered my outsider role as useful as my insider role in the research. As an international student I was an "outsider" in their community (*etic* perspective), and so they did not hesitate to share with me their personal experiences of language use and cultural practices including their struggles to negotiate their identity in some aspects of their lives. The "within" role helped me much to understand their perception of language, cultural values and psychology due to my cultural background as Bangladeshi (*emic* perspective). The main advantage was that I talked to them in Bangla and they also gave their interviews in Bangla, except for four participants who gave their interviews in English but talked to me in Bangla before and after the interviews. Our common language facilitated the data analysis as it was easy for me to understand their tone, cultural practices and the exact meaning of the expressions they used in their interviews. As a qualitative inquirer, I collected, processed, analysed and interpreted the data within the framework of my experience, looking at the data with curiosity, familiarity and passion. I spent extended time in the research field, chatting for half an hour with each of the participants before starting the interview or often at the end of the interview. This strengthened the trust between the researcher and the participants, which helped me generate rich interview data.

3.5 Validity and credibility

As the interpretation of qualitative data is subjective, Creswell (2014) recommended the use of multiple strategies to assess the validity and credibility of the research findings. In order to validate the research findings of this study I therefore used several strategies including member checking and follow-up questions (see section 3.1.1 and 3.2.3). Member checking is a strategy in which the final draft of the transcripts or summary of themes are sent to the interviewees to provide them with an opportunity to add their further viewpoints and interpretation (Creswell, 2014). The information collected from the feedback given by the participants was incorporated into the data of this study. However Willoughby (2018) stated that issues around truth in interviews are complex because participants might report on their language proficiency and practices to impress the researcher. Within the field of language maintenance research she described truth in two ways: objective truth which refers to the accuracy of how informants report their language practices, and subjective truth which indicates how they make sense of these practices in describing who they are, where they are from, and the attitudes and beliefs they hold. Willoughby (2018) suggested that the interviewers need to be attentive to the way questions are phrased to arrive at objective truth in the interviews by exploring subjective truth in different subtle ways.

For this study, I was aware of this issue in preparing my interview questions in which I focused not only on participants' linguistic skills, language use and cultural practices in different domains, but also on their feelings, attitudes towards such practices and cultural identity including their practices of intergenerational language and culture transmission. In this way, I created opportunities to cross-check what participants said in interviews regarding their language use and practices

These measures strengthened the usefulness of the interview data in providing information and insights into language and culture maintenance of Bangladeshi migrant community in Queensland.

Chapter 4 Language Use and Maintenance

4.1 Introduction

This chapter analyses the interview data of this study on Bangla language use and maintenance to identify how and to what extent the participants maintain their language in Australia in terms of their self-reported language proficiency and their uses of language in different domains. It further focuses on their individual decisions about their linguistic behaviours since their migration. The analysis of the interview data also determines the factors that collectively inform the overall understanding of language maintenance of this group of Bangladeshi migrants. Most importantly it looks at intragenerational language maintenance, and then explores perceptions and the efforts of the participants who have children for their intergenerational language maintenance. Finally this chapter discusses the attitudes of the participants towards their language maintenance.

4.2 Language proficiency

4.2.1 Self-assessments of linguistic competence

Language maintenance depends on an adequate level of competence in the relevant language (Winter & Pauwels, 2006) and language loss happens with the decrease of proficiency level in the particular language (Hulsen, De Bot & Weltens, 2002). This section first focuses on the participants' Bangla language skills and then their English skills.

All 20 participants in this study reported a high competence in their Bangla speaking, listening, reading and writing skills. During the interviews, 16 out of 20 participants used Bangla in order to express their opinions and feelings spontaneously, while four used English. In the present study, all of the participants were first generation Bangladeshi-born migrants. Prior to their migration, 16 participants had completed their postgraduate studies and 4 completed high school, leading to strong Bangla proficiency (see Appendix 3).

The self-assessment of the other four participants' Bangla proficiency reflects their mastery of the language, which implies that they are not experiencing significant language loss. However, they admitted that they have some code-switching between English and Bangla when they speak in Bangla. Such change in their language is due to the influence of English during their residence in Australia of more than five years. They mentioned that they have consciously developed strategies

to maintain their mother language in their host society. This suggests that Bangla is maintained strongly at the individual level by the participants of this study.

During the interviews, the participants were asked to describe their language skills in Bangla. All of them rated their Bangla as having no change since Bangladesh except one, who declared,

4/1. We, I mean my wife and I try to speak in Bangla at home, though we use some English words in our daily communication. Sometimes it happens that we have to think of the exact Bangla word when we speak to one another. Most probably this is because of our long stay in Australia and the continuous use of English around us for long time [M12]¹.

Example 4/1 shows the lexical retrieval difficulties of M12. These difficulties demonstrate a change in his linguistic behaviour due to the length of his residence because he has been in Australia for more than 40 years and worked as a government employee in different states. His “*continuous use of English*” also indicates his good English proficiency. However, he has maintained Bangla in his daily communication with his wife in order to sustain his mother tongue. It was possible for him to do this as his wife was also of Bangladeshi origin. His endogamy facilitates his language maintenance. He reported his self-confidence in using Bangla language and agreed to give the interviews in Bangla when there was an option of using English.

As a strategy of retaining his Bangla literacy M12 further added that he always tries to communicate in his mother tongue when he gets an opportunity to use it, and he always reads a Bangla online newspaper for one hour before going to bed to keep his reading skills alive. His reading of a Bangla newspaper shows his deliberate efforts to retain his mother tongue and to learn what is happening in his country of origin. It also indicates that he maintains his attachment with his country of origin by reading its daily news in his mother tongue. This newspaper reading before going to bed sustains both his Bangla literacy skills and an attachment to his motherland. The modern technology helps him to continue his link to his country of origin in spite of living elsewhere for more than 40 years.

¹ Excerpts of the interview data that have been translated into English are presented in italics.

Next, the participants of this study were asked to speak about their English proficiency. English is taught as a compulsory subject in Bangladeshi schools from grade one. Seven informants reported having high confidence in English when they arrived in Australia. Among them, F16 and M6 developed their English skills watching Western movies and television programs since their childhood and five had previous overseas experiences before coming to Australia: M4 spent four years in New Zealand, M5 and M8 worked in the UK, F14 was in the USA, and M12 studied in India. Initially, M3 lacked confidence in understanding the Australian accent when he arrived in Australia as a medical practitioner from overseas. Likewise, five other informants (M1, M2, F13, F15 and F17) reported their initial problems in understanding the Australian accent which decreased after a few months. For example,

4/2. *At the beginning, I had problems with the accent as I had to communicate with our head of school and the postgraduate coordinator who had a very difficult accent as he was from New Zealand. It was very tough for us to follow his speech. However, I was familiar with his accent after a few months. I can't tell you how it happened; it actually happened automatically so that I didn't notice [F13].*

4/3. They [universities] always look for a person who has the ability to communicate well in English with students and other fellow colleagues and researchers and who has a power of good understandings. When I was not shortlisted for any job [after his graduation], I always thought that local people are prioritised because of their accent, and I failed because of my language accent. But finally, when I was shortlisted for any job, my confidence level went up thinking that I have conquered the language difficulties. It was really a challenging issue to get a job in an academic industry without high level of English proficiency [M2].

Several participants of this study mentioned accent as an issue for newly arrived migrants in trying to understand the speech of Australians. They took this for granted in their everyday life in Australia. Similarly to F13, most of them did not consider accent to be a significant problem as they believed that a non-English speaking migrant can understand the Australian accent within a short time through repeated exposure to native speakers.

On the other hand, example 4/3 shows the initial tension of M2 when he describes the perceived discrimination in the job field due to his accent. In order to manage this tension, he normalises the

discrimination, accepting “high level of English proficiency” as one of the job requirements in Australia. During his job searching period, he measured his confidence and success with his level of English skill. Later he has got a job and acculturated to the workplace in Australia through improving his English proficiency and other professional skills.

Overall participants of this study think English is essential for their social and economic survival in Australia, although they have normalized the issue of accent in their interaction with mainstream society. This is similar to the findings of Colic-Peisker and Hlvac (2014) which suggest that “foreign accent is becoming increasingly ‘normalised’ and losing its stigma as an unwanted social marker” among the professionally educated and employed non-Anglophone migrants in Australia (p.366).

Five participants who had initial problems in understanding the accent of host nationals claimed to have had moderate English skills at the time that they migrated. After their migration all five went to Australian universities, which proved their good command over English due to the entry requirement of English in those institutions. Similarly, M7 and M10 did foundation courses in English before commencing their undergraduate programs in Australian universities, although they could not complete their studies due to financial problems. As can be expected, further educational or professional qualifications in Australia helped the 15 informants increase their English proficiency.

Of the last five interviewees, three (F18, F19 and F20) attended the government’s immigrant language courses in Australia, and two (M9 and M11) have developed moderate English proficiency without any formal English language learning training, but through their job, in which they had to work with people of different backgrounds. They reported having developed communication skill in English due to their length of residence and work in an English-speaking environment.

Summary: Self-assessed linguistic competence

Overall the interview data of this study confirms that all informants have positive attitudes towards their proficiency in both Bangla and English. Although some had poor English proficiency at the beginning of their settlement, their English skills have later developed through further education, training, working with English speaking people and regular exposure to host nationals in Australia.

This indicates their behavioural acculturation to a certain extent as they have language skills which increase their intercultural communication in their host society. With regard to the significant role of English proficiency in the Australian context, Colic-Peisker (2002) asserted that migrants with poor communicative English and no written English do not feel confident living outside the safety net of their ethnic community. However, the informants in this study believed that they have integrated into Australian society through their successful communication with their neighbours, colleagues and the people around them in Australia (see section 5.3). For this reason, they did not have to confine themselves within the Bangladeshi community. Their length of residence in Australia, knowledge of English prior to their migration, level of education, and positive attitudes towards English enhanced their English skills. Age and gender did not have an effect on their proficiency in both languages.

4.2.2 Parents' perspectives on their children's language skills in Bangla

According to Clyne and Kipp (1999), second-generation migrants have a lower proficiency level than the first generation in their ethnic language. Research on bilingualism studies suggests that parents should start teaching the ethnic language to their children immediately after they are born if they wish them to become bilingual. Barron-Hauwaert (2004) recommended consistent use of ethnic language in the first three years for bilingual children. All informants of this study stated that their children have been exposed to English from an early age due to growing up entirely in Australia. Even if Bangla is spoken at home, children have to communicate at childcare, pre-school and school in English which is the only medium of instruction. However, all of the participants who have children, except M12 and M8, claimed that their children speak Bangla fluently because they used only Bangla and no English with their children until they went to school (see table 4-1). Seventeen out of the 20 interviewees declared that Bangla language has been transmitted to the second generation successfully. For example,

4/4. I always talk to them [her children] in Bangla, and you [the interviewer] will notice that they talk to me in Bangla fluently though both of them were born in Australia [F17]

4/5. I always speak in Bangla with my children so that they can learn Bangla from native Bangla speakers like us and English from English native speakers like their teachers and friends. I think that their accent will change if I talk to them in English. However,

sometimes I have to explain something in English when they do not understand clearly [F 13]

Examples 4/4 and 4/5 identify the strong language maintenance of this group of people marked in the use of “*always*” in both samples. Example 4/4 indicates that the children have both listening and speaking skills in Bangla which she wants to confirm, telling me “*you will notice*” and I noticed that the children had a high level of Bangla communicative skill as the parents indicated, because before and after the interview, the children talked to her in Bangla. Like F17, 11 informants (M2, M5, M6, M7, M9, M10, F13, F14, F16, F19 and F20) stated that their children know Bangla well although they were born in Australia. Example 4/5 reports the conscious efforts of F13 to provide a native accent to her children in order to develop their skills in both Bangla and English language. F13 focuses on “*native*” which indicates her dedication to teach the correct form and pronunciation of both languages. Arriagada (2005) suggested that the use of the native language by parents, siblings, and grandparents has a significant impact on the heritage language proficiency of the second-generation migrants. For her children, F13 wanted to ensure that they would have the native Bangla accent from her side and a native English accent from native English speakers. F13’s view, “*I think that their accent will change if I talk to them in English*”, represents a common fear. However, it is interesting to see in example 4/5 that English language is used to make Bangla comprehensible to her children of F13. It shows the efforts of a mother to transmit her language to her children despite the dominance of English outside the family domain.

Smolicz and Harris (1976), and Clyne (1982) argued that the existence of the ethnic language is threatened unless language maintenance at family domain is supported by institutional education. The great majority of the informants of this study stated that their children had neither informal learning nor formal teaching of literacy in Bangla, although they felt it necessary to teach them how to read and write in Bangla. Not surprisingly, 7 parents (M5, M6, M7, M8, M9, M11 and F18) admitted that they failed to provide the literacy skills to their children because there is only one Bangla language school in Queensland and it is not possible for them to go there regularly, due to lack of time and a long distance between their home and the school. They also mentioned the lack of Bangla language resources, particularly in digital form, which can be accessed online. For this reason, most of the parents except M4, M8 and M12 experienced a tension between their

failure to teach Bangla literacy to their children and their desire to see them reading and writing in Bangla.

In contrast, M12 and M8 maintained that their children cannot communicate in Bangla though they understand a little Bangla. While talking about Bangla proficiency of their children, M8 (whose wife and in-laws are Australian) reported,

4/6. I always try to speak in Bangla, but my daughters can't...because from our family to their school everyone speaks in English. Most probably they can understand Bangla when they listen to it, but they use English when they speak. That's the real problem... I always try to introduce my daughters to Bangladeshi language and cultures, but their mother is Australian. I often take them to the Bangla program organised by our organisation. But I can't take them to the Bangla School to develop their Bangla skill because I work for my community in the weekend. I admit that I am lagging behind in my language maintenance [M 8]

This example demonstrates the constant use of English of the daughters of M8 at home and at school. M8 highlights his marriage as the reason of his daughters' lack of Bangla language skills. Clyne (1991) also mentioned exogamy as the facilitating factor for language shift of the children to English. In line with their findings, M8 is the only exogamous case in this study and confirms his weak language maintenance at home due to his intercultural marriage.

However, in example 4/6, the sentence “*I always try*” explains the intrinsic desire of M8 to transmit his culture to his children while his feelings of tension are evident in the last sentence “*I am lagging behind in my language maintenance*” because he argues that he is heavily involved with the activities of the Bangladeshi community. It sounds paradoxical when he says that he is not getting time to give Bangla lessons to his daughters, due to his active involvement with Bangladeshi community work. It is because he tends to follow the patriarchal traditions in which he was born and grew up. As a husband/father, M8 tends to keep himself occupied with community work outside the home and considers managing home responsibilities as the duty of his wife. For this reason he mentioned “*the real problem..... their mother is Australian*”.

Nevertheless, M8 tries to minimise his tension regarding language maintenance to some extent, taking his daughters to Bangladeshi social and cultural events so that they can have an idea about

the ethnicity of their father. Although there is a shift to English in his home due to his marriage, the interview data from M8 show that he seeks happiness in using and practising his own language and culture with his community (see example 4/8) and through regular contact with his family members in Bangladesh. It reflects his efforts to hold onto his Bangladeshi identity, although he has assimilated to Australian language and culture to a great extent. For M8, language maintenance refers to his own mother tongue practices with his extended family members and compatriots.

Similarly, M12 mentioned the language shift of his sons to English when he said,

4/7. Initially, we used Bangla until our children went to school. After that, some of their friends came to our place to play with them...and when I talked to them in Bangla, my sons told me not to do that. They said to me, “baba (dad), don’t speak in Bangla in front of my friends, they think that you scold them as you’re using a different language”. It’s because my sons felt embarrassed before their friends if I talked in different language. Since then we got used to talking to each other in English. [M12]

This example presents the pressures from the children leading to their language shift, which was reported only by M12, who is the only person who arrived in Australia in the 1970s, while the other participants started coming after the 1980s. When M12 migrated to Australia in 1973, he first settled in Tasmania with his family. According to him, there was no Bangladeshi family around them until they came to Brisbane in 1983 and his sons had no Bangladeshi-born friends when they were in Tasmania. Subsequently, he and his wife started to use English with their sons at the request of their children not to speak in another language in front of their peers. The growing number of Bangladeshi migrants in recent times facilitates the language maintenance among the members of this community, because they have ample opportunity to maintain socialization with their compatriots. The year of arrival is found to be the facilitating factor for the language shift of the sons of M12 as they arrived in the 1970s when multicultural policies were not recognized widely by Anglo-Australians. Hatoss (2013) stated that “migrants were expected to use only English in public domains until the multicultural policy in Australia was actively accepted in the 1980s” (p.128). Nevertheless, M12 indicates that his children learned a little Bangla in order to communicate with their grandmother when she visited them (see section 4.3.1.3).

Whereas M8 expressed a very strong desire for his children to be able to speak Bangla, M12 did not have any plan to teach Bangla to his sons who already shifted to English at an early age.

Summary: Children’s linguistic competence from the parents’ perception

For this study children’s linguistic competence from the parents’ perception has been presented in table 4-1.

Table 4-1 Details of children and their linguistic competence

Participants	Children	Country of birth	Age of arrival in Australia	Speaks Bangla fluently	Understands but does not speak Bangla	Bangla literacy skills
M1	Boy: 11 years Autistic	Bangladesh	1 year		√	
M2	Girl: 6 years	Australia		√		
M3	Boys: 30 > Married	Bangladesh	13 and 14 years	√		
M4	Boy: 2 years	Australia		√		
M5	Boy: 9 years	Australia		√		
	Girl: 13 years	Bangladesh	3 years	√		
M6	Boy: 20 > Employed	Australia		√		
	Girl: 25 > Married	Bangladesh	4 years	√		
M7	Boy: 7 years	Australia		√		
M8	Girl: 4 years	Australia			√	
	Girl: 7 years	Australia			√	
M9	Girl: 5 years	Australia		√		
	Girl: 2 years	Australia		√		
M10	Boy: 8 years	Australia		√		√

M11	Boy: 13 years	Bangladesh	5 years	√		
	Boy: 3 years	Australia			√	
M12	Boys: 35 > Married	Bangladesh	3 and 5 years		√	
F13	Girl: 21 years	Bangladesh	3 years	√		√
	Boy: 12 years	Australia		√		√
F14	Boy: 13 years	Bangladesh	3 years	√		√
	Boy: 8 years	Australia		√		√
	Girl: 5 years	Australia		√		
F15	No kids					
F16	Girl: 9 years	Australia		√		
F17	Boy: 15 years	Bangladesh	2 years	√		√
	Boy: 9 years	Australia		√		√
F18	Boy: 8 years	Australia		√		
F19	Girl: 18 years	Australia		√		√
	Girl: 11 years	Australia		√		√
F20	Girl: 11 years	Australia		√		

The interview data demonstrate that most of the informants (17 out of 20) consider themselves to be successful in developing their children's Bangla communicative skills through their continuing efforts and commitment to intergenerational language transmission. They tend to involve their parents (the grandparents) to develop the Bangla language skills of their children at an early age, before starting school (see section 4.3.1.3). Only five of them (M10, F13, F14, F17 and F19) reported transmitting Bangla literacy skills to their children, while others encouraged only oral skills. In this study, the language skills of the children will also be explored through the interview data on the variety of language they acquire and their use of language in various domains (see

section 4.3.1.2). Twelve parents have accepted that they have failed to transmit Bangla literacy skills to their children due to social circumstances such as lack of time and Bangla language resources and the limited number of ethnic schools in Queensland. Only a few (M5, F18, F19 and F20) expressed uncertainties over whether their children would continue their language in the future despite all their efforts towards language maintenance. In general they believed that they were successful in developing their children's speaking skills in Bangla. The successful intergenerational language transmission of the parents in this study shows the determination of the parents to make their children bilingual. Language shift is most obvious in two cases: one due to intercultural marriage and the other due to the period of arrival in Australia, but there is some degree of language shift among others, especially among teenage children (see example 4/40).

4.3 Language use in different domains

This section discusses the domains in which Bangladeshi migrants in Australia use and practice their language of origin in their host society with the aim of understanding the contexts in which Bangla is being maintained and where it is likely shift to English. This will also help in understanding the likelihood of Bangla surviving in the Bangladeshi community in South-East Queensland.

The interviewees of this study were asked to report their actual language use in different domains with different interlocutors: family, friends, work, neighbours, parents of their children's friends, club, religious place, professionals, shops, television and radio, ethnic (secular) community groups/ethnic organisation, print media including press and library, and social media (see section 2.2.2). Among them, family, friends, and ethnic community groups were found to be the dominant domains for Bangla language maintenance while the media domain was also significant.

Language-related behaviours can be organised in terms of the domains of language use inside and outside the family (Fishman, 1972). This study discusses the media domain, separating it from the family domain, although media are mostly accessed within the family. The term "family" and "home" are used interchangeably in this study in order to refer to the family domain. The domains of the language use include the following subcategories which may overlap in some cases.

Table 4-2 Language maintenance domains

Family domain	Social domain		Community groups	Media domain
Spouses	Exchange Network (see section 2.2.2)	<i>Close friends</i>	Cultural Events	Broadcast media: Television; radio; Movies; videos; music
Children	Interactive Network (see section 2.2.2)	<i>Colleagues</i>		Print media: newspapers, magazines, books; libraries
Relatives		<i>Neighbours</i>		Social media
Visit to Bangladesh		<i>Parents of their children's peers</i>		
Visit from Bangladesh		<i>Religion</i>		
		<i>Education</i>		
		<i>Clubs</i>		
	<i>Shops</i>			
	<i>Professionals</i>			

4.3.1 Family domain

As discussed in Chapter 2, the family domain is decisive for language maintenance because it has a high rate of community language use (Clyne & Kipp, 1999; Pauwels, 2016). In this study, it is also evident that this domain has the highest Bangla use among the participants from all age groups and generations. The family domain not only includes spouses and children, but also members of the extended family. This section focuses on the language use between family members.

4.3.1.1 With spouses

The greatest use of Bangla language in Australia is seen at home between spouses and between parents and children. Nineteen out of 20 informants are married to Bangladeshi people and speak only Bangla with their spouses. However, M12 declared that they often use English words in their daily Bangla conversation (see example 4/1) due to their long stay in Australia. M2 and F16 are divorced though they communicate with their ex-spouses in Bangla.

On the other hand, M8 is the only informant of this study who is married to Australian. M8 reported using only English with his spouse and children:

4/8. I can't speak in Bangla when I am at my home, as my wife and her family are Australian, and English is used as a common language among us. They neither understand nor respond in Bangla. So Bangla is not used at my home. But I love to speak in Bangla. I speak in Bangla when I talk to my Bangladeshi friends in Australia. I always try to use Bangla whenever I get a chance to use it, for example if I get to know someone who knows Bangla around me, I try to talk to him/her in Bangla instead of English. [M8]

Example 4/8 shows the conscious effort of M8 to use Bangla as he cannot do it at his home due to his marriage outside the Bangladeshi community. Pauwels (2005) described personal effort as the main requirement of language maintenance. Due to his attachment to Bangla, M8 always seeks opportunities to communicate in Bangla with the Bangla-speaking people around him. For M8, the home domain is not dominant for his language maintenance although he uses Bangla in the other parts of the family domain, including his relatives and family in Bangladesh (see example 4/6).

4.3.1.2 With children

Speaking at home

Clyne and Kipp (1996) argued that “inter-generational transmission is heavily dependent on home language use” (p.451) and Clyne (2003) stated that “if a language is not transmitted in the home, it is not likely to survive another generation” (p. 22). Seventeen out of 20 participants report that home is the domain in which they use Bangla at home among family members including their children as the main medium of communication. For example,

4/9. *All four of us speak in Bangla at our home, in which speaking English is avoided, as my sons will automatically learn English as their first language [F 17]*

4/10. It is not possible to learn a language unless it is maintained at home[M6]

4/11. I always talk to my daughter in Bangla in order to listen to her words that sound very sweet and rhythmical [F10].

The above examples confirm the use of Bangla with participants' children for the intergenerational transmission of language. Example 4/9 expresses the confidence of F17 about the development of English proficiency of her children as she considers English their first language. It concurrently indicates her concerns about her children's Bangla language skills because she does not view Bangla as their first language. F17 therefore maintains a strong family language policy, in which "*English is avoided*" in favour of Bangla. M6 highlights the role of home in developing the ethnic language of children and example 4/11 emphasises the soothing sound of the mother tongue for F10. Their consistent Bangla practices in the home domain reflect their strong sense of Bangla based identity that they want to retain through a wide range of strategies.

Mealtime talk

The participants of this study tend to use different approaches to encourage their children to speak in Bangla more with other family members. Tannenbaum and Howie (2002) stated that family is not only a domain to practice language but also a place in which parents hold power as an authority to influence their children in developing a better understanding of their child's personality, psychology and temperament. Parents can apply various strategies for the transmission of their language to the next generation. Four out of 20 informants select mealtimes as a space for their daily interaction so that the children can talk and share their experiences or points of view in Bangla. They also have Bangla food at these times (see section 5.2.4). For example,

4/12. *We always have a great talk during our dinner time though I speak less than others...I just listen to them. Our two children spontaneously describe what they have done throughout the day since the beginning of their schooling...Their mother is also so interested in listening to them and shares her own experiences of what she did during her schooldays. Our conversation is always in Bangla. This dinnertime often lasts two hours, and Bangla is used here as the only language [M5]*

4/13. *We always have an agreement that one meal will be selected by me and the others by my children, depending on their demands. I usually select the dinner menu so that we can share our own experiences together in Bangla for longer than the usual meal times [F17].*

In the examples, the words “*always*”, “*often*”, “*usually*” emphasise the daily occurrence of their mealtime conversation and the word “*spontaneously*” shows the good communicative skills of the children of M5. In addition, the commonly used words “*we*”, “*our*” in both examples refer to the participation of both parents and children, instead of only the parents.

Family mealtimes are chosen by these families because they think of it as a significant family social activity which gives its members an occasion to sit together once in a day and share what they do throughout the day. This kind of family interaction creates a communicative norm among the family members. It also shows the characteristic of the extended family members to share experiences with one another as they believe in collectivistic traditions. This idea is similar to the findings of Pitton (2013) and Pontecorvo, Fasulo and Sterponi (2001) who reported that family mealtime communication develops a real intergenerational context to build up valued communicative norms and the negotiation of children’s behaviour. In contrast, Subhan (2007) found that the children of Bangladeshi migrants in Toronto completed their dinner very quickly without talking to anyone, although the adults chatted to one another for a long time. The participants of this study are not similar to the participants in Subhan’s study, as they always attempt to engage their children in different activities related to ethnic language and culture

Parents’ language strategies

Seventeen parents of this study use strategies to develop the Bangla communicative skills of the next generation of Bangladeshi Australians. Most attend regular weekend gatherings with Bangladeshi family members and friends where everyone attempts to use Bangla language (see section 4.3.2.1). Regular contact and visit to family in Bangladesh (see section 4.3.1.3), Bangla radio programs (see section 4.3.4.1), and Bangladeshi cultural events on special national days (see section 4.3.3), are among the strategies they adopt.

Some informants in this study mentioned their individual strategies to develop and sustain their children’s literacy in Bangla language. For example,

4/14. *As an introvert, I can't talk much with my family members [...] I wanted to use another way to sustain the reading skills of my children. When I go to my office by train every morning, I always try to write something in my iPad based on my experiences or those of people around me. In this way, I can complete one short story within one month or more. Later I give the draft to my family members to read. Finally, I post the story in my Facebook page. My initial plan was to develop and sustain Bangla reading skills of my kids. Though nowadays they do not get much time to read all of my writing due to their study load, I hope that they will read my stories in future. I always write the stories in Bangla so that Bangladeshi people around me and their children can at least read something in Bangla in this English dominant society [M5].*

4/15. *After my PhD, I have taken an initiative to teach my children Bangla. I have therefore prepared a curriculum and syllabus for a basic Bangla course. After that, I planned to involve the children of my friends who live in Brisbane. Now I'm running the course for 10 kids. If I can successfully complete the course, I have a future plan to do something on a large scale. Though I'm not sure what will happen in future, I'm now happy and satisfied thinking that my children are speaking in Bangla with one another. They are trying enthusiastically to use Bangla words that they are learning in their course. When I drive them to the school, we listen to Bangla songs together, and they are now fond of Bangla songs. I also take them to many places to introduce them to new Bangla words such as in the garden for the name of flowers, in the park for some activities etc. [F14].*

The above examples show the parents' conscious efforts, actions and initiatives to transmit Bangla language successfully not only to their children, but also to the next generation of this community. Their mission is not only to think of maintaining Bangla at their own home, but to spread Bangla literacy to the other Bangladeshi children. This reflects the very high value placed on the language as integral to Bangladeshi identity. It is evident in both examples that this success has been possible due to the participants' awareness, efforts, commitment and positive attitudes to maintain Bangla, their language of origin.

The role of technology is also a facilitating factor for M5's writing to reach others in the Bangladeshi community. Example 4/14 also demonstrates the persistence of M5 when he did not stop his writing due to the heavy study load of his children, but rather continued the story writing. The word "*hope*" shows the desire of a father to see his children reading his writing in future when they will be free from the pressure of study. It is interesting to see the use of the word "*future*" in both examples which reflects the optimistic view of M5 in example 4/14 and mixed feelings of F17 in example 4/15. In example 4/15, the word "*future*" at first shows the positive attitudes of F17 towards her plan to open a Bangla language school while the next "*future*" shows the tension and uncertainty of F17 about the future of their children's language use, although she expresses her present happiness with her success in transmitting her mother tongue to her children. In example 4/15, "*on a large scale*" indicates the enlargement of her Bangla teaching from the personal level (her children and her friends' children) to the institutional level. Both informants intend to participate in the Bangla literacy development of second-generation Bangladeshi migrants in Queensland, and for this reason, they are committed to their plans. This awareness of spreading Bangla literacy makes M5, a short-story writer and F14, a language teacher who wants to open another language school in the northern part of Brisbane. The current Bangla language school in Brisbane is not sufficient to provide Bangla language teaching for the larger community in southeast Queensland.

According to Pauwels (2005), parents who continued to use their first language in their family with each other and particularly with their children without imposing any pressures, were generally "more successful than those who either stopped or reduced their own language use considering the children's reluctance or who forced their children to speak it" (p.128). The participants of this study are of the first group of parents who promote their children's ethnic language skills through the persistence of their language use at home. With regard to parents' language strategies, 15 out of the 19 participants who have children said that they do not want to discourage the children with too many instructions or by imposing their language policy. For example,

4/16. *My son is only two years old and goes to his childcare regularly as both of us are busy with our job and business. We always speak in Bangla with him, and I tune his ears indirectly so that he always hears Bangla words and Bangla sounds from us*
[M 4].

4/17. *If my son makes any mistakes in his Bangla, I always try to explain them to him saying “Baba, it will be this one, not that one”. Actually, we have never talked in English at our home since he was born [M 10].*

4/18. *Yes, sometimes I correct them when they speak in Bangla language. I do this in the same way as a language teacher usually does so that they can't be discouraged. If I laugh at them for their mistakes, I know well that they will never be interested in speaking further. So I correct them indirectly instead of doing a direct correction [F 14].*

The parents of this study tend to promote Bangla language through their different conversational strategies. Examining immigrant parents' discourse strategies reported in past research studies, Kheirkhah and Cekaite (2015) found two kinds of approaches for successful language maintenance. The first is explicit strategies that involve “requests for translation and clarification” (Lanza, 2004), and the other is implicit strategies such as “parents' repetitions and recasts of the child's utterance into parental language” (Lanza, 2004, p.6). Referring to the “insisting strategies” discussed by Döpke (1992), Juan-Garau and Pérez-Vidal (2001) stated that “the not understanding” strategy is better than the “request for translation” as asking for a translation might discourage children from further uses of ethnic language (p. 69). Similarly, Lanza (2004) asserted that translation requests as part of explicit approaches have a propensity to increase children's refusal to speak in the parent's language. The participants of this research maintain that they never want to impose strict rules on speaking Bangla such as demanding a translation. Like M4, M10 and F14, four other parents (M7, M9, F16, F18) who have pre-primary and primary school children, follow implicit strategies such as negotiation through requesting, consistency in using Bangla at home, and recasting, depending on the psychology of their children.

Considering the children's attitude, F14 positions herself first as a language teacher to discover language teaching strategies and then as a mother to understand her child's psychology. M4 and M10 follow consistent strategy speaking only in Bangla since the birth of their sons while M10 corrects his son politely if he makes any mistakes.

In contrast, parents of teenagers think that the foundation of their children's Bangla language has already been established as they reach their teens and they are now mature enough to choose to use Bangla and English in particular contexts. For example,

4/19. I don't have to worry about what language my eldest son will use. He usually speaks in Bangla with Bangla-speaking people, and even with other Bangladeshi friends. But most of the time, his friends do not continue their Bangla for long, then he also switches to English [M11].

4/20. Both my both sons speak in Bangla fluently. Nowadays the youngest one is trying his best to communicate with other Bangladeshi people in Bangla when he sees them in any program or get together. So I don't have to worry about their language use anymore as they are now settled with knowledge of both their languages, though once I had to work hard to make them practice Bangla. For example, if they speak anything in English with me, I asked them to repeat it in Bangla saying "I don't understand", "say that again", [F17].

4/21. We hardly talked in English at our home. If sometimes they tried to speak in English, I told them "banglay bolo" (speak in Bangla) by which I insisted or encouraged them to practise Bangla at home [M 6].

The above examples demonstrate the confidence of the parents about the Bangla proficiency of their children which is reflected in statements such as “*I don't have to worry*” and “*We hardly talked in English*”. The interview data also show that parents of teenagers did not express concerns regarding the language shift of their children, while the parents of young and primary school children continued their struggle to pass their language on to their children. Example 4/19 shows the scenario of communication patterns of bilingual children who shift to the dominant language in their conversation with their peers, while motivated parents encourage their children to shift back to the ethnic language during their conversation, as reflected in examples 4/20 and 4/21, although the strategy of M6 is much more direct. The strategies used by F17 and M6 are similar to Ochs' (1988) clarification requests which promoted ethnic language use. None of the participants of this study requested translations as a part of their language strategies.

Thus, the interview data show that parents' perceptions vary and that they are using language strategies based on the age of their children. They mainly give priority to their intergenerational language transmission because they believe that language maintenance refers to the language practices not only of their own but also of their children with their family and friends. Their

conscious efforts and dedication to pass their language on to their children are reflected in the strategies they employ in the family domain.

Parents' attitude towards their children's language maintenance

Nineteen out of 20 participants agreed that it is important to them that their children know how to speak in Bangla language. They see it as an integral part of “Bangla identity” and as a part of Bangladeshi culture. According to them, the reasons why they want to transmit Bangla to the subsequent generations are retention of Bangladeshi identity, family communication, and desire for interaction during their old age. For example,

4/22. *My parents think that our culture is expressed well in our language that I believe too. I will, of course, maintain my language in Australia as it is the best way to transmit my culture to my children* [M 6]

4/23. *It's my language it's a part of my culture, so I'll obviously want him to speak in Bangla* [M4].

4/24. *Language is the pillar of a culture, if one's language is lost, one's culture is lost automatically* [F13].

Examples 4/22 and 4/23 show that participants of this study accept the best way to pass on Bangladeshi culture to the next generation is by maintaining Bangla. Through active efforts to use only Bangla in the home domain, the parents play a significant role in enhancing Bangla language of their children so that they can share a similar sense of identity. Example 4/24 emphasises the maintenance of a language for the survival of a culture. This finding is also consistent with the argument put forward by Fishman (1996) who said that “most of the culture is in the language and is expressed in the language” (p. 81).

The above examples show that Bangla is not only a language but perceived as the main, even the only way to represent Bangladeshi culture and identity. This is apparent in the use of intensifiers, such as *of course*, *obviously* and in the use of possessive pronoun *our* and *my* before culture and language as a mark of their attachment and belonging to Bangla language and culture. Bangladeshi people, in general, bear a nationalistic sentiment that is based on Bangla (Jahan, 2016). Bangla language is thought to be the embodiment of Bangladeshi culture and identity given the historical weight it has in connection with the building of Bangladesh as a nation (see section 1.1). It

confirms Bangla as a core value of Bangladeshi culture in terms of Smolicz's (1981) theory of the core values of culture.

Bangla language transmission is also significant to the participants in this study to maintain their visions of their families. In relation to family connections, 16 out of 20 participants agree that learning Bangla will help their children to continue their communication and family bond with their grandparents and relatives in Bangladesh.

For example,

4/25. *My daughter should learn Bangla. As she will live here, she needs to learn English. The medium of instruction for her study is English.... Wherever she will go, there is also English, such as if she goes to do a job; there is English. But in future when she will go to my country or if anybody, I mean my parents, will come from my country, she will need to speak in Bangla. Furthermore, I want her to learn Bangla because it is my mother tongue, and to communicate with my family. And I believe that if she learns anything, it will ultimately assist her in future. So Bangla will be helpful for her future interaction [M 9]*

4/26. *One of the main reasons to speak in Bangla at home is because of my mother back home who does not speak English at all, and she wants my child to talk to her in her own language. For this reason, I feel that our language is very significant as a mark of our family bond [M10]*

4/27. *I think if my children do not know how to speak in Bangla, there is a problem because they will not be able to communicate with their grandparents. This is why I use Bangla... We encourage them practice Bangla so that they can communicate with relatives back home...that is very significant to me. It's true that none of my relatives back home can communicate in English [M 11].*

These examples show the influence of family bonds for the transmission of Bangla to the subsequent generations. They mainly highlight their parents, as shown in statements like “my parents”, “my mother back home”, “their grandparents”, as the main reason to teach Bangla to their children. The participants emphasise the continuation of relationships with relatives in Bangladesh through their children, and this is why they take the decision to teach them to speak in Bangla. Bangla language is a symbol of their closeness to the family. Fillmore (2000) argued that

the cultural values, norms and behaviours of a family tend to be lost if the parents and grandparents fail to communicate with the children successfully due to the difference of language. Family identity and values are transmitted to the subsequent generations through the effective communication that is only possible through ethnic language maintenance. It shows how language transmission influences the sense of their cultural identity in which Bangla language and extended family values co-exist as core values (Smolicz, 1981).

Furthermore, eight informants of this study think that their children's Bangla proficiency will help their children to communicate with them in Bangla during their old age. They think of securing their own relationships with their next generation using a shared language.

4/28. *If I do not teach my children Bangla, it might happen that they will not understand what I mean or understand. I really do not like such a gap between my children and me. They are part of my body and soul, and so I can never accept any linguistic separation between us [F 14].*

4/29. *If my son does not know how to speak in Bangla, who will talk to me when I will grow old.... then there will be a gap between my son and me. So I teach him Bangla [M 9].*

These participants are aware of the distance that might happen with their children because of using different languages. The English word “gap” is used in both examples as code-mixing in their Bangla sentence to indicate distance, separation and detachment between parents and children. It also reflects their awareness of taking pragmatic steps to eliminate such kinds of separation. Example 4/28 shows an appeal of a mother who emphasises a strong connection with her children as she identifies them as part of her body and soul. She wants to make her children understand what she means and make them feel what she feels through a shared language.

Example 4/29 explains that children's Bangla proficiency will be of benefit to M9 due to the perceived loneliness of his old age. M9 may be referring too to the tendency for people to lose their second language in old age (McMurtray, Saito, & Nakamoto, 2009). He hopes for happy and friendly communication with his children in his old age.

Both of them (F14 and M9) use Bangla in their daily communication, as they seek no detachment between parents and children due to linguistic difference. These examples demonstrate the impact

of language on emotional ties between parents and children. Here, securing future family bonds between parents and children is found to be another significant motivating factor for the intergenerational transmission of ethnic language.

Parents' attitude to children's use of English

Though majority of the informants (17 out of 20) in this study are determined to maintain Bangla in family interaction, they have given their children some freedom in their language choice. It is significant to note here that all of them believe in the significant role of bilingualism for their children. King and Fogle (2006) explained that bilingualism has been a popular personal and family goal for a large number of parents worldwide who strive to teach their children their ethnic language at a younger age. Participants of the present study reported,

4/30. *I want my kids to learn two languages simultaneously so that they can use the language depending on the context for example with us “Bangla” at home and “English” with their friends, teachers in school [M 9].*

4/31. *I can't deny the importance of English for social and economic well-being in Australia, but at the same time, Bangla is important for them as a part of our culture [F13].*

The above examples reveal that interviewees M9 and F13 perceived bilingualism as a benefit and explained its advantages not only in terms of maintaining relational family bonds and cultural identity, but also for their social integration into the host society. All agreed that English is an essential skill for the advancement of their lives in Australia and Bangla is essential for cultural identity. They have decided to give sufficient input of their ethnic language to their children from a young age as they believe that children will attain English proficiency in their educational institutions. Fishman (1972) argues that the ethnic language use is limited to the intimate social groups of family members and friends whenever English has been widely accepted as the dominant language in public spaces. It is therefore important for migrants to encourage their children to learn and use their mother tongue regularly at home if they wish their children to be bilingual and hold both their cultural and national identity together.

The participants of this study tend not to force their children to use only Bangla with them, because they tend to be successful in making them bilingual at an early age. Some of them do not use Bangla in the presence of non-Bangla speakers, especially in public places. For example,

4/32. *I always talk to my daughter in Bangla at home, but when we go to public places such as shopping, park, we never speak in Bangla. To me, it is one kind of showing dishonour to the people around me if we speak in different languages. When I first started my job in a childcare centre in Melbourne, I did not have any idea about Australian slang that was frequently used by my colleagues particularly in front of me. I then assumed that they were talking against me when they talked and laughed loudly during lunch time. From those experiences, I have decided not to use different languages in front of others. On top of everything, I believe that it is my religious and Bangladeshi culture not to hurt anyone even with my words [F20].*

4/33. *I never use Bangla with my daughter in public places. It's just because of the culture in which I grew up [F16].*

In examples 4/32 and 4/33, F20 and F16 mention some Bangladeshi cultural values that are reflected through their language choices. As has already been discussed, Bangladeshi culture adopts some values from the different religions in Bangladesh. F20 and F16 refer to the Islamic teaching that says, “when there is a group of people, they must not leave any one of them feeling excluded” (Leaving One Person Out, 2018). Both indicate that they have grown up in a society in which this is followed as part of Bangladeshi cultural values. Their purpose in using English in public places is different from that of the Albanian migrants studied by Gogonas and Michail (2015) who preferred using Greek in public in order to hide their identity in Greece. According to Pauwels (2005), parents’ consistency in language choice is significant for the successful inter-generational transmission of language, but it does not mean the constant use of the community language in all family contexts. Hence Pauwels (2016) suggests that parents can use the dominant language in front of other speakers such as visitors or friends. Her study rather emphasises the persistence of parents in continuing the use of their language at home if the children decline to use it. Similarly, the interviewees of the present study are flexible in the language choices of their children as they employ various strategies for the persistence of their children’s language use (see section 4.3.1.2.). For example,

4/34. *Two languages are important for my children. I don't mind if they use English when they talk to their siblings or their other Bangladeshi friends as I am confident that they can communicate with us and our relatives in Bangla well* [F14]

4/35. *My children always speak in Bangla when they talk to us, but in English with their friends even if they are of Bangladeshi background. We usually do not see any problem here at all* [M3].

In relation to children's language choices, examples 4/34 and 4/35 describe children's uses of English with their siblings and peers, which are easily accepted by their parents. This view is similar to Pauwels (2005) who stated that children usually have no problem once they build up good "receptive skills in the community language from their home although their extent of active (productive) use is very inadequate" (p. 126). This is also similar to these children, as the extent of their English use is greater than that of Bangla, but they have adequate receptive skills in Bangla at their family and social domains. Both examples show their openness as they focus on the traditional strong bonds with siblings and friends which should not be ruined for the sake of strict language maintenance.

Like F14 and M3, eight other participants of this study have given freedom to their children in language choice to strengthen their sibling bonds and other friendships. They believe that their children participate in their ethnic language maintenance very actively. This group of people is thus different from the participants in studies by Rindstedt and Aronsson (2002) and Evaldsson and Cekaite (2010) who identify that children's participation in educational practices, as well as interaction with their siblings and friends in English, act as strong factors for their language shift to English. The participants in this study do not think that their children will shift to English as they believe that their children already have good communicative skills in Bangla and they have regular communication with their relatives in Bangladesh. Their children are also involved in many cultural and social activities organised by Bangladeshi associations in Australia. In accepting the necessity of English and Bangla for their children, they show their positive attitudes towards the host society while retaining their mother tongue.

4.3.1.3 Language use with extended family members

Communication with relatives in Bangladesh

Leuner (2008) demonstrates that the extent of contact with country of origin promotes language maintenance, providing a higher chance of using the ethnic language. As first-generation migrants, the informants in this study left parents and siblings in Bangladesh. Prior to their migration, they spoke mainly in Bangla, as their first language, with their family and relatives in Bangladesh. Since they arrived in Australia, they have maintained regular contact with family in Bangladesh by phone, Skype, Messenger, Viber and WhatsApp to keep their family bonds strong and alive. The Internet allows them to maintain this contact at a cheap rate. All informants use Bangla to communicate with their families in Bangladesh. No participants reported using English or mostly English with this type of interlocutor.

Of the participants of this study, 7 (M3, M5, M6, M12, F13, F19, and F20) have lost their parents. The other 13 continue to have regular contact with their parents, for example,

4/36. *Most of the time, I communicate with my parents...Sometimes with my aunt. I often talk to my siblings. But in total, I talk much with my Mom. But it was more frequent in past. Now it's around 10 minutes throughout a week...umm...Maximum 20 minutes. All of them are Bangla speakers [M8].*

4/37. *I always use Bangla when I talk to my parents, grandma back home and my only brother who lives in the USA. Though I can't talk to my brother regularly due to the time difference, I regularly talk to my parents at least once in a week. Moreover, I have to talk to my grandma who is very kind to me. Most of the time, we use Skype for our communication [F14].*

4/38. *I always have to communicate with my family back home regularly either in phone or skype. By family, I mean both my parents and my in-laws' relatives. It's because of our family bonds that are very strong [F18].*

The above examples show that the participants' family domain includes not only parents, but also members of the extended family. The interviewees reported that all of them lived with parents, siblings, uncles, aunts along with their children. They are all Bangla speakers as Bangladeshi families are mostly endogamous (see section 4.2.2). Example 4/36 shows the regular contact of

M8 with his family in spite of the change of his talking time with the passage of time. It is also evident that M8 maintains his language and relations with family members in Bangladesh although his language shift to English is evident in his home domain in Australia due to his marriage.

Example 4/37 indicates that the time distance between Bangladesh and Australia has no impact on their regular communication while it creates a problem in maintaining communication between Australia and the USA, where F14's brother lives. The small-time difference between Australia and Bangladesh facilitates the communication of migrants with their country of origin which has a great impact on their language maintenance.

Like M8 in example 4/36, 14 participants have siblings in Bangladesh, and F14, M4 and F16 have brothers who are overseas elsewhere. M2, M7, M10, F17 and F19 have siblings in Brisbane and Sydney. Their interviews show that all of them use Bangla with their siblings irrespective of where they live. Accessing and using the internet for regular contact with homeland is an individual effort of this group of informants to keep their family bonds strong and alive. The advancement of technology sustains their family relationships, dissolving the geographical boundaries between the two countries.

Borland (2006) suggested that higher levels of engagement between host society and homeland promote the use of the heritage language among the children. All participants of this study tend to encourage their children to talk to their relatives in Bangladesh. For example,

4/39. *I always let my sons talk to his grandparents in Skype as a sign of respect and as a symbol of our family bond [F18].*

4/40. *My eldest son regularly talks to my parents. They talk to one another in Bangla just basic things...how are you? What are you doing...what have you eaten today etc.... nothing else...I mean my son can't gossip nor share experiences or story in Bangla for long times. He can speak, can speak out normally but not like us. For example, if we start our talking with our parents or siblings, it continues for hours that he can't with my parents or relatives [M11].*

Example 4/39 describes talking to grandparents as a symbol of respect in Bangladeshi culture. Eighteen out of 20 participants believe that family relationships should be maintained through regular communication with their relatives in spite of the different patterns of language between

their children and their families in Bangladesh while the other two participants did not say anything about this, but they maintain their family relations. M11 confirms the difference between the interaction patterns of the first and the second-generation migrants by which he explained that the speakers can speak better in their first language than in their second language. The interview data demonstrate that 16 parents believe that their children can communicate well in Bangla, which makes them happy, although their children's communicative skills are not as good as their own.

Visits to Bangladesh

According to Sanchez-Castro and Gil (2008), trips to the country of origin and regular contact with family and friends strengthens language maintenance. Nineteen out of 20 participants in this study spoke of their visits to Bangladesh at the end of the year in order to sustain their family ties. All of them have strong desires to meet their family in Bangladesh regularly as they cannot see all their relatives here, although their parents often visit them. They also go for special occasions like weddings or for business matters. For example,

4/41. I guess I at least visited eight times in Bangladesh on an average of one or two times every year I went to Bangladesh and I normally stayed there normally stay there maximum one month.... on an average 22 to 30 days[M2]

4/42. *I normally go to BD every third or fourth year and always have a plan to stay there at least two months* [M9]

4/43. *I usually go to Bangladesh each year for at least one month, but unfortunately last time there was a four-year gap due to the birth of my third child and my PhD study. However, in the meantime, my parents came each year* [F14]

4/44. *I usually go to Bangladesh every year as I can't live more than one year without my parents, siblings, relatives.... I always miss them in Australia* [F19].

These examples present the frequency of their regular travel to Bangladesh and also their desire to visit and find ways to stay in frequent contact with relatives. In line with the results of Gardner and Shukur (1994), this study found that visits to Bangladesh strengthen "Bangladeshi-ness" and keep the family attachment stronger and vibrant. Regular gatherings of family members, including extended family members, are usual in Bangladeshi families. This tradition is retained in the majority of families in this group, for various purposes.

Some of them also expressed a strong sense of responsibility to their parents and siblings. For example,

4/45. *When I came to Australia, I was only 16 years old. After 11 years of long struggles when I succeeded in settling in Australia; I went to Bangladesh.... I did not see my parents or siblings for those 11 years living in Australia. It was to me a great happiness when I was able to meet them. But because of this long gap, I could not recognise my own sisters and brothers as they were much younger when I left them. I stayed in Bangladesh for only 3 months out of my last 26 years. However, I regularly contacted them after that and helped them financially, and I was successful to bring one of my brothers to Australia, and he is now well settled here ... [M10]*

This example shows the efforts of a brother to sustain the sibling bond in spite of their geographical separation. M10 could not visit Bangladesh during his struggle for permanent residency status in Australia. In the interviews M10 stated that those days were entirely lacking the necessities of life, but he continued sending money to his family in Bangladesh. These 11 years of separation also exerted a negative effect on their sibling relationship as shown by the statement, “*I could not recognise my own sisters and brothers*” which he has later revived through his regular contact. His successful settlement in Australia is also found to be one of the facilitating factors for continuing interaction with homeland because he had very little contact during the first 11 years in Australia due to the struggle to settle there. Furthermore, the length of residence of M10 in Australia is reflected in the statement “*my last 26 years*” which has had little effect on his family relationships although initially there was a negative effect that he later mended.

The informants of this study tend to take their children with them during their visit, in order to maintain the bond between their family in Bangladesh and their children. For example,

4/46. *I often visit Bangladesh with my family at least once a year...so that my daughters can communicate well with their grandparents and cousins face to face [F19].*

4/47. *We went last year and this year too...but we usually do not cross [exceed] more than three years. Then my son gossips with his cousins and enjoys it a lot when we visit Bangladesh [M11].*

4/48. *I always have a plan to visit Bangladesh every third or fourth year. If I had money, I would go every year. Actually, I don't need to go to Bangladesh as one of my sisters lives with me in Brisbane, and my mother visits us almost every year, though we lost my father a long time ago[F17].*

The above examples depict a sense of their responsibility to return to Bangladesh regularly. All of them give importance to the physical presence of their children with their relatives there at least once a year while the wife of M11 does not want to keep her sons detached from Bangladesh for more than three years. Their frequent visits to Bangladesh provide the children ample opportunities not only to practise Bangla in real-life situations, but also to create a group of Bangla-speaking peers which might not be possible if they did not visit them. Here it is also evident that their definition of family consists of not only parents and siblings, but also grandparents, cousins and other extended family members. F17 described a different purpose:

4/49. *The main purpose of our visit to Bangladesh is to show my sons a real picture of pain and suffering of one group of people in the world who always have to live under the poverty line. I always take them to the orphanage and pass a whole day over there during our trip to Bangladesh. We give them food, clothes and some other gifts. They share their own experiences with my sons. Of course, they use Bangla in their conversations. Then they realize how happy they are in their own lives compared to those deprived kids. I want to grow humanity in my sons through this kind of social work. So they always save money throughout the year for those kids. This year my elder son is saving money for the air-fare as I told him that we are not taking them with us during our next trip to Bangladesh. See, my responsibility is over now as they have started to take their own responsibility to do something for the people of their roots [F17].*

Example 4/49 shows that F17 involves her sons in social welfare activities for underprivileged Bangladeshi children through their regular visits to Bangladesh. This is one of her strategies to develop not only their communicative skills in real-life situations, but also positive attitudes towards poverty-stricken people in Bangladesh as part of her commitment to the society in which she grew up. This social work has also created strong feelings and attachment in F17's children for those people, so that they wait eagerly to visit her homeland, although they were not born there.

She believes that she has extended the responsibility of her children from their relatives to the disadvantaged people around her motherland.

Visits from Bangladesh

The informants in this study want to sustain the relationship not only through their own visit to Bangladesh. They often bring their parents to Australia because of their great feelings of connection and attachment for their families. They find reliance and satisfaction in the presence of their parents around them. They also believe that their children will develop basic Bangla skills from their grandparents. Seven participants report that their family members and relatives, in turn, visit them in Australia. For example,

4/50. *I always feel good when my parents and in-laws visit us. They visit us in turn. For example, if my parents come this year, her [his wife's] parents will come next year. We also bring them for my youngest son so that he can pass his time with his grandparents instead of going to child care. He can learn Bangla by communicating with them [M11].*

4/51. *I always prefer to keep my daughters in my family until they start their school life in order to develop their Bangla language. Actually, I think that they will learn and use English when they will start their school. Before then, I want to teach them Bangla. But when we both work outside, it's not possible for us to keep them in my place. So I bring my parents to accompany them when we go to our work. However, we really enjoy my parents' presence around us. I wish they could live here for longer! But they don't like it here as they are used to living with the extended family in Bangladesh having lots of relatives and friends around them [M9].*

These examples present a strong reason for their parents' visits to Australia. It is their conscious strategy so that their children develop the skills of their ethnic language in a naturalistic setting with grandparents and parents before starting school. As discussed in 4.2.2, the majority of the parents in this study take initiatives to pass Bangla on to their children at home before they start their school. M9 also shows her confidence that her children will learn English from their schools while they will learn Bangla at home. The inherent desire of M9 to live with her parents has been reflected in her statement, "*I wish they could live here for longer!*" which is not possible due to

their parents' strong attachment to their family members and friends in Bangladesh. Bringing parents and close relatives is also one kind of consciously developed strategy that they employ for their Bangla language maintenance.

M4 used a different strategy. For example:

4/52. Most of the time we communicate with our family members by phone. However, we see one another once a year. Each year we arrange our holidays in different countries when everyone joins from their respective places. For example, we two brothers join each other there with our families from Brisbane. My mother and one of my brothers come from Bangladesh, and my youngest brother comes from the USA. We spent 10 to 14 days together in our holidays. Last time, we went to Brazil. Of course, we communicate in Bangla. They can speak in Bangla very well that you can't imagine it. [M6].

This example shows the efforts of M6 to sustain their family ties through phone calls and family-holiday celebrations in different parts of the world which also shows their affluence. It also talks about the use of Bangla in their communication. Through creating a context for Bangla use in family gatherings, extended family members of M6 promote Bangla maintenance among second-generation speakers. However for M6, the language and family are important, and getting to know the country of Bangladesh is much less important. They do not think of going to Bangladesh, they rather emphasise the family vision and bond through Bangla language due to their attachment to Bangla as a strong sense of identity. All informants in the present study reported using Bangla in their daily family interactions between their parents and children that eventually pushes the children to use Bangla. For Example,

4/53. *My mother often visits us and tells my sons stories of the real world based on her own experience when they all communicate in Bangla* [F17].

4/54. *Though once we stopped using Bangla at our home, my children later have to learn it when my mother would visit us here, as we had to use Bangla at that time* [M12].

All informants describe feelings of connection, trust and mutual concern as the primary strength of their family relationships. They believe that children will learn etiquette and manners from their

grandparents. The example of F17 shows that her mother brings her whole life experiences to share with her grandsons in Australia so that they can get an overall idea of culture, beliefs and knowledge of their roots through her real-life stories. M12 describes the revival of Bangla language at their home. Due to the visit of his mother to Australia, they started once again to use Bangla, which they had decided to stop using after their arrival in Australia (see section 4.2.2). This also supports the argument of Clyne (1982), who claims that grandparents with little or no English at all promote ethnic language maintenance. Law (2014) further described language as a bridge by which grandparents and grandchildren can reach the world of one another when they get an opportunity to stay together. As the grandparents of this study visited from Bangladesh, they were found to stay in the same place with their grandchildren. The maintenance of Bangla as a heritage language during the family interactions in Australia promotes social and cultural connections for this group of migrants between their homeland and host society.

Summary: Language use in family domain

The interview data showed that the majority of participants reported using Bangla in the family and home domains which are the main spaces of language maintenance for this group of migrants. The findings of previous studies conducted in a wide range of immigrant groups of Australia (see section 2.4) show the relationship between use of the ethnic language in the family domain and strong language maintenance. The previous studies, therefore, help to explain why language maintenance is strong among the participants of this study. Their perception of language as cultural identity, desire to maintain a family bond with their family members and for their future secured relationships with their children during their old age are the main factors contributing to their language maintenance in the family domain.

This study also demonstrates that family context strongly influences Bangla usage for Bangladeshi migrants across two generations and all age groups. Level of education has not been found to be a factor for their shift to English as the participants of this study are not reluctant to use Bangla with their children, unlike some previous research which showed that migrants with a high level of education tended to shift to English (see section 2.2.1). The patterns of language use of the informants were similar to those of studies which found that migrants' successful home language maintenance in their host society provides them with a strong sense of identity and self-esteem (Čašule, 1998; Leuner, 2010; Au Yeung, 2011; Jamarani, 2012; Mejia, 2016). In investigating the

language patterns of this group of migrants, this chapter shows that there has been little change in the parents' linguistic behaviours in the family domain since their migration because they want to retain their ethno-linguistic identity through their constant language uses in family domain.

For most of the participants (17 out of 20) of this study, language maintenance does not mean merely the language practices in their everyday lives, but rather they attempt to transmit it to their children as a mark of their ethnicity. Family is recognised as the central context in which Bangla language is being passed from generation to generation. The views of the majority of the participants on the importance of home for language maintenance are similar to the findings of Clyne and Kipp (2006) who recognise home as the space for inter-generational transmission of language. The parents of this study advocate bilingualism for their children's social and economic wellbeing in their host society. Parents' consistent efforts to maintain Bangla in their home and daily family interactions are found to be the facilitating factors for their language transmission to their children. They are different from some Indian and Chinese parents who do not want to transmit their ethnic language to their children as they think that it will impede their academic achievement in Australia (Bilimoria & Ganguly-Scrase, 1988; Butcher, 1993; Clyne & Kipp, 1999; Lao, 2004). This group of migrants are also dissimilar to some Bangladeshi migrants in Canada and the UK who are less aware of the possibilities of transmitting Bangla to their children through consistent use of the language, although they maintain regular visits and contact with their family and relatives in Bangladesh (Subhan, 2007; Rasinger, 2013).

The interview data show that parents are varied in their perceptions based on the ages of their children. The participants who have pre-primary and primary school children tend to follow implicit strategies such as negotiation through requesting, consistence in using Bangla at home, and recasting, depending on the psychology of their children, while the parents of teenagers are found to be confident in their children's successful Bangla language learning. This reflects that the family domain is an important base for Bangla language maintenance among the Bangladeshi migrant community in Queensland. Their language practices in the family domain further confirm that language and extended family relationships are core values that they do not want to change although they have accepted English as essential. Within the framework of Berry's (1974) bi-dimensional model, participants of this study follow an integration strategy in their acculturation speaking two languages in order to negotiate between them.

4.3.2 Social domain

As discussed in Chapter 2, the social domain was examined in this analysis because the social network of migrants has always had an influence on their language use outside family domain. It provides insights into the patterns of language use with friends and neighbours with an emphasis on the correlation between language use and cultural identity. This section discusses two types of social network, namely, “*exchange network*” and “*interactive network*” (see section 2.2.2). The strong ties in the *exchange network* help to ensure the maintenance of the ethnic language and to resist language shift. On the other hand, the weaker ties of the *interactive network* play a bridging role producing mixed language behaviour (Milroy, 1987).

4.3.2.1 Language use in exchange network

Although *exchange network* is used to refer to the relationships with both family and close friends (see section 2.2.2), this section will only discuss language use patterns with the participants’ close friends as the family domain has already been discussed in section 4.3.1.

In the interviews, the participants were asked about their social networks and their preference for using language in this domain. None of them described an Australian-only social network. They reported that their social relationships are primarily with other Bangladeshi migrants of similar educational background, age and occupation. They spend their free time with their peers going out, celebrating birthdays and other events, meeting at restaurants or one another’s apartments on the weekend and during holidays. Bangla is mainly used on these occasions. They tend to rely on their peers for both informational (advice, suggestions, and information) and instrumental (financial assistance, material goods, or services) support, even more than relying on their families. In describing their social contact, they reported,

4/55. *Most of my socialization is centred on Bangladeshi people though I have some more Australian friends and relatives. My socialization is mainly with Bangladeshis [M8].*

4/56. *My socialisation is basically with only a few Bangladeshi people with whom I have good friendships [M4].*

4/57. *I told you several times that I have two types of socialization...one is with my Bangladeshi friends and the other one is with my Australian friends. But I see that socialization in Australia is a bit more artificial than in Bangladesh. I mean*

everything depends here on give and take. If I invite others, I will then be invited. Similarly, if I can't, I will not be included later. So I find here a lack of cordiality, attachment and sincerity. [F18].

4/58. Here, in Australia I have friends... I also socialize with other people around me, but I don't feel here such closeness. I believe in one thing that when you become friends, that happened in your childhood at school or college life. But when you grow up, you usually can't make friends; they are only your acquaintances. And the friends at my childhood, school friends are still my friends. One of my friends is a professor at the Iowa University; we still are closest to each other. I'm his closest friend, and he's my closest friend. He's my best bosom friend. We still chat in Facebook, we talk, we call, we email etc. FB is not used much. But we basically use email and telephone call. We had such other friends [M6].

4/59. *My friends in Australia are mixed. When we first arrived in Brisbane, there were only seven Bangladeshi families. We were then close to one another. As I was older than others, I always treated them as my younger brothers. They came to me to seek advice if they fall in any problems. Now the number of Bangladeshi migrants is increasing. I do not have relationships with the newly arrived ones [M12].*

The above examples show the trends of the interviewees' socialisation in Australia. M8 explains that his socialisation is mostly with Bangladeshi people, although he has a large number of Australian friends and family members reflected in *some more*. His interview data shows that he maintains his Bangladeshi social networks due to his conscious efforts to sustain his Bangladeshi identity (see examples 4/6 and 4/8). His social network is also reflected through his active participation in organising Bangladeshi cultural and social events in Brisbane throughout the year. Like M8, 13 other interviewees reported having mostly Bangladeshi networks for their socialisation while they have some Australian friends.

Example 4/56 shows the socialisation pattern of M4 who reported having only a few particular Bangladeshi friends on whom his socialisation centres. Like M4, five other participants (M2, M12, F16, F18 and F20) have a social relationship with a limited number of Bangladeshi friends in Australia whom they meet frequently. However, all of them acknowledged that they have good

relations with other Bangladeshi migrants. Participants from all age groups showed a high preference for the use of Bangla with Bangladeshi people and English with others.

Examples 4/57, 4/58 and 4/59 describe the mixed network of the participants who socialise with both Bangladeshi and Australian friends. F18 highlighted the lack of depth in her friendships with mainstream Australians, and M6 talked about lack of closeness, although it might be with Bangladeshi-born Australians. M6 clearly explained the difference between friends and acquaintances as he believed that friendship actually grows at an early age. He sustains his childhood friendship with regular contact through emails and phone calls.

On the other hand, M12 talked about the rapid growth of recent Bangladeshi migrants in Australia. He reports that the recently arrived Bangladeshi migrants want to maintain their socialisation only with people of the Bangladeshi community, while this was not possible for those who arrived in Australia during the period of the White Australia policy (see example 4/7).

Previous studies on language maintenance show that low use of the community language ensures low transmission of the language to future generations. All the respondents report that they regularly arrange get-togethers with family members and friends at weekends, as that creates an opportunity for them to sustain Bangla language and Bangladeshi culture in the host society. For example:

4/60. *We always have “dawat” in weekends at our friends’ places. It is a great opportunity for us to speak in Bangla with others and eat Bangladeshi food. Though our children speak in English with other children, they have to speak in Bangla when they talk to elderly people in our groups. It is our strategy to let our children practice Bangla. For example, we talk to one another’s children in Bangla asking what they did all week, what they liked a lot, what they didn’t like much etc. [M6]*

4/61. *My socialization is mostly with the Bangladeshi community...here we have a good Bangladeshi community who always organize programs on weekends ...on our national days. We join and try to join those programs and enjoy them a lot. My daughter also wants to get involved with the cultural events of our community [M9].*

Dawat is a commonly used term in this community that means “invitation/banquet” in English. Participants in this study state that this *dawat* shows the hospitable nature of Bangladeshi people

in which they invite one another to their places. This provides them with a way to practise their home language and culture in spite of living far from their homeland for a long time. It is also one of their conscious strategies to engage the children of their friends in Bangla conversation for the transmission of Bangla to the second generation. This social gathering does not only transmit language but also promotes Bangladeshi cultural events in which they perform Bangla song and dance, and their children often perform. Social relationships with people of the same cultural background provide the migrants with an opportunity to share their experiences as well as problems and feel a sense of belonging, self-esteem and identity in their host society (Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, Jaakola & Reuter, 2006). The intra-ethnic network among the Bangladeshi families is found to develop a sense of belonging, closeness, warmth, and mutual help to one another in times of need.

4.3.2.2 Language use in the Interactive network

The participants of this study report that they maintain the *interactive* network well due to good relations with their Anglo-Australian colleagues, neighbours and the parents of their children's friends. This demonstrates that the participants have the highest chance to contact with the mainstream society and members from other communities within this domain.

Language use with colleagues

The workplace tends to be a significant site for socialisation (Plöger & Becker, 2015). Seventeen out of 20 participants claim to have a good relationship with their colleagues while two other participants did not mention it and F19 has her own business within the Bangladeshi community. M12 is the only participant who has already retired from his job. The interview data show that 19 out of 20 do not work in exclusively ethnic workplaces and speak English there. For example,

4/62. Some of them [colleagues] are Australian; some others are Indian, Sri Lankan, and Pakistani who work with me as GP [M4].

4/63. *Among my colleagues, some are Pakistanis, Indians, Somalians and some are Australians, and our boss is Australian. My socialisation with them is only limited to my workplace though we have daily interaction in English. If my fellow workmates have any problem, they at first come to me as I am their supervisor... after then we go to our boss together to solve the problem. We respect one another. I never feel unhappy here due to my non-native English. My wife who works in a*

club also maintains good socialisation with her colleagues who are mostly local Australians, some are from New Zealand and The Netherlands, but there are no Asians [M11].

4/64. I spend most of my time at work with my colleagues, and I think that most of my interactions are with my Australian colleagues that you might call socialization to some extent. Among them, some are my very, good friends, and we go to have coffee together or to have some catch ups in some places during our lunch break or after our office work is finished. That keeps happening on a daily basis. Similarly, my wife invites her colleagues to our place once every three months. They are Australian, mostly [M6].

4/65. Around 80% of my colleagues are Australians, and some are from Hong Kong, Japan, China and Bangladeshi background. I always have to use English with them. I believe I never had a feeling that I'm discriminated by others due to my foreign accent. All of my colleagues are very fantastic and very nice with me, so far they are very respectful to me, and I think we always maintain a very high level of respect for one another. Actually, I mostly relate myself with them in my works' perspectives, and so I mix with them. I get invited by a couple of my colleagues in their places, but they were mostly from Bangladeshi background [M2]

The participants of this study tend to work in multicultural environments with workmates of different origins. They are not isolated from other workmates in their workplace. They respect one another, regardless of their ethnic backgrounds. According to Holmes and Riddiford (2011), migrants who are successful in getting jobs beyond their ethnic community have to negotiate with other colleagues due to the particular set of workplace linguistic conventions and socio-pragmatic norms, which can cause difficulties. Such negotiation does not appear to be a problem in the interview data of this study. Although they were not asked specifically about discrimination in the interviews, all of them agreed that they felt neither discrimination nor social isolation in their workplace due to their non-native English skills. This suggests that they expected discrimination before coming to Australia and so they were conscious of ignoring it in their workplace. However, they tend to maintain their socialisation with their workmates only in their workplaces. With the exception of M6, they basically maintain their social network with the migrants of Bangladeshi background.

The other three participants (M10, F17 and F19) said that they have their own ethnic business mainly for the people of the Bangladeshi community. Among them, F19 does not have to deal with the people outside the Bangladeshi community, as the main customers in her boutique are Bangladeshi women, whereas F17 and M10 have shops selling Asian food in which they have Asian and Australian customers. They use Bangla with Bangla-speaking people, Hindi with Indians and English with others. M10 reported,

4/66. *When a group of Bangladeshi people come to my restaurants on any of their occasions, I really feel proud seeing that they are eating Bangladeshi food and communicating in Bangla [M10].*

This example shows the fulfilment of M10, identified by the statement “*feel proud*” in the language maintenance of Bangladeshi migrants. In his interviews, he describes his restaurant as “mini-Bangladesh” which provides a communicative space for the Bangladeshi community to negotiate their identity. He seeks happiness in the gatherings of Bangladeshi people who speak in Bangla, eat Bangladeshi food, wear Bangladeshi dress and organise different cultural events and personal celebration in his shops.

Language use with neighbours

All the participants stated that they have good relationships with their neighbours. None of them mentioned having Bangladeshi neighbours. Though they have little socialisation with their neighbours, they say “hi” or “hello” when they see one another in their neighbourhood. They report that they are helpful to one another. They use English in their daily social interactions. They send food and gifts to one another during their respective special festivals, namely Eid and Christmas. This suggests that Bangladeshi migrants are neither confined by their own ethnic or social boundaries, nor marginalised in mainstream society.

Language use in other community groups

The participants with children socialise with other parents to a limited extent through school activities, extra-curricular activities like sports and birthday celebrations of their children’s friends, but to a limited extent. As the parents are from different ethnic groups, English is used as the main mode of communication. However, parents in this community have developed their own respective peer groups with other Bangladeshi migrants with children of similar ages. They arrange social

gatherings regularly so that their children grow up in a Bangladeshi cultural atmosphere. Bangla language is used here to a great extent.

Some of the interviewees participate in sports clubs and religious associations with friends from different origins. As they have good English skills (see section 4.2.1), they are confident to mix with people from different ethnic backgrounds. When they were asked about their involvement with clubs, only three participants (M2, M8 and M9) reported going to clubs and gyms for sports and physical exercise while the others did not due to their excessive workload on weekdays and the Bangladeshi community socialisation activities on weekends (see section 4.3.2.1.). M2, M8 and M9 reported mixing with people of different origins at these places. For example:

4/67. I don't think of any particular community when I go to the gym I have no problem in mixing with anyone. It is not a factor to me for sports. My main objective then is the activities and the effectiveness of the activities that I do [M8].

This example shows that M8 values his social and physical activities regardless of the ethnicity of those around them. Clubs and gyms are used by the participants of this study not as a communicative space but as a place for physical exercises as they are already involved with lots of cultural, social and sports activities organised by Bangladeshi associations.

With regard to religious involvement, 12 participants said that they go to the mosque with Muslims of different backgrounds, two (M8 and F18) attend temples with other Hindus and Buddhists of Bangladeshi origin, and M12 is actively involved at his Christian church in which he has friends from different ethnic groups. The language of religious services in Australia is often English, although the Muslims pray in Arabic, and the Hindus and the Buddhists pray in Sanskrit. As they have to mix with different groups of people in religious organisations and congregations, most of them tend to speak in English. The other five participants (M4, M5, M9, F19 and F20) are not involved with religious activities though they consider themselves believers. Bangla language is not dominant in the religious practices of Bangladeshi migrants in Australia.

Most of the participants also asserted that they are not confined in their own ethnic community in consulting professionals such as lawyers, doctors and accountants. They respect their professionalism and skills, regardless of their background. They claimed that they did not experience misunderstandings due to their non-native English proficiency. Only four participants

(M7, M10, F17 and F19) declared that they always select Bangladeshi migrants as their lawyers, accountants, doctors, plumbers, beauticians, and photographers in order to help the businesses in this community.

All of the informants also report that they go to Bangladeshi shops in Brisbane to buy Bangladeshi groceries where they speak in Bangla with the shopkeepers and other Bangladeshi customers. This provides them with an opportunity to meet new Bangladeshi people and to broaden their social networks with Bangla-speaking people. At the same time, they regularly go to other supermarkets, weekend markets, and Asian shops where they speak in English. Bangla language use is therefore not predominant in shopping.

Summary: Language use in social domain

The interview data showed that the majority of participants reported using mostly Bangla in their social domain. The above discussion emphasises the persistence of Bangladeshi migrants in sustaining connections with their country of origin through their language maintenance, making this an in-group-oriented set. The analysis of this study demonstrates that the strong ties of the participants' social networks are centred on Bangladeshi people. Outside the domain of immediate family members, Bangla use has been reported in regular communication with relatives in Bangladesh and with friends. It confirms Bangla maintenance among the members of this community. The English proficiency of the participants shows that two languages are simultaneously present in their lives and they are not confined with ethnic social boundaries. Though English is commonly used in the interactive networks, they use Bangla with their family at the end of the day in their exchange networks. They also made deliberate efforts to practise Bangla on weekdays after their work and on weekends arranging different social activities. Their deliberate efforts demonstrate their inherent tension that they might lose their ethnic language due to the influence of mainstream language if they do not take steps to use it outside family domain. Thus, the social domain acts as one of the most significant areas of Bangla language use due to the conscious efforts of the informants. They believe that they are well-integrated in the host society through their active links with colleagues, friends, neighbours and parents of their children's friends from the mainstream society. However, the interview data show that their social domain is heavily involved with Bangladeshi ethnic community members, and friendships with other groups are few and less deep. According to Smith (2017), a lack of friendship with other groups in society

reveals a lack of social integration that eventually decreases the development of positive inter-ethnic attitudes and feelings. It is therefore evident that the extent of their social integration in Australia is limited due to little socialisation with mainstream friends. According to the acculturation strategy of Berry (1997), their choice of acculturation strategy looks like integration. Most of their explanations suggest that they show their linguistic integration because they use English as the mainstream language while strong Bangla language maintenance is an important aspect of their Bangladeshi identity.

4.3.3 Community groups

This domain has also a significant role in promoting Bangla language in Australia. Section 5.2.3.1 analyses the interview data on the role of Bangladeshi community groups in language and culture maintenance of this group of migrants. The analysis demonstrates that the Bangladeshi Association in Brisbane (BAB), Society of Bangladeshi Doctors Queensland (SBDQ), Bangladesh Puja and Cultural Society (BPCS), Toowoombangla - Bangladeshi Community in Toowoomba and Surrounding Region, Brisbane Bangla Language School and a number of university specific Bangladeshi student associations in Queensland organise a wide range of Bangladeshi concerts, cultural events, Bangla theatre and movie shows throughout the year where artists often come from Bangladesh. They also arrange various types of cultural programs in Brisbane and Toowoomba involving their respective community members with the aim of promoting Bangla language and culture to second generation migrants and the wider Australian community (see examples 5/40, 5/41). They therefore allocate space for the active participation of second-generation migrants in those cultural programs which are organised around celebrations such as International Mother Language day, Independence Day, Bangla New Year and Victory Day (see examples 5/44, 5/45, 5/46). Local Australian Members of Parliament inaugurate these programs and give speeches as distinguished guests.

Seventeen out of 20 participants regularly attend Bangladeshi concerts, theatre shows, movies and cultural programs arranged by Bangladeshi associations in Queensland. They attend with their children in order to introduce them to Bangladeshi culture. M9 does not attend the programs in Brisbane due to his newborn baby and F18 is too busy with her own study. For both of them, distance is also a factor as they live in Toowoomba, although M1, M11, F13, M15 and F20 travel from Toowoomba. M12 is not able to attend the program due to his old age. Bangla language is

featured in all of these programs, which are a platform for practising Bangla language in Australia. Participation gives the artists and the attendees a powerful symbolic voice to express themselves, their language and Bangladeshi identity itself. This domain of community groups also play a significant role in shaping their Bangladeshi identity providing with a wide range of opportunities for Bangla language practices in Australia.

4.3.4 Media Domain

Media use has also a significant impact on the ethnic language maintenance of immigrant communities. In this section, language use in different forms of media was explored in order to examine the extent to which it was used to support language maintenance. Participants were asked to explain their choice of language when using media platforms in Australia.

4.3.4.1 Broadcast media: Television and radio

The broadcast media discussed with participants were television and radio. All of the participants tend to watch Australian television regularly for news, and six of them (M4, M6, M12, F14, F16 and F20) watch drama serials and reality shows.

The internet is a significant source of Bangladeshi language and culture for the participants. Nineteen out of 20 participants watch Bangladeshi TV channels, Bangla dramas and movies using the internet (see section 2.2.2). In addition, eleven (M1, M2, M3, M5, M6, M9, M10, F13, F17, F19 and F18) bought a set-top box to watch programmes from Bangladeshi TV channels. Among them, three participants (F17, F18 and F19) watch Indian Bangla programs too. Only M12 did not seek out Bangladeshi programs in these ways.

All except M12 declared that they try to watch Bangladeshi programs with all their family members at least once a week, particularly on Friday nights or on the weekends, but they watch Bangladeshi news every afternoon. According to them, this movie night reduces their geographical distance as they can watch Bangladeshi life through movies and dramas. As F13 explained,

4/68. My daughter learned Bangla language before we arrived in Australia. But she continued her literacy watching Bangla Natok [drama]. For example, she always used to read on the TV screen attentively who were the actors/actresses, who were the producers of each Natok. I believe that she has thus continued her Bangla reading skills [F13].

Like F13, F14 and F17 believed that watching Bangladeshi TV programs not only increased the communicative skills of their children but also introduced them to the Bangladeshi culture and lifestyles that are represented in the Bangla programs. Children can ask their parents instantly if they do not understand anything which parents explain elaborately, telling stories from their own experiences. Thus, movie night plays a significant role in transmitting Bangla language to the second generation for this group of participants.

Radio is the only media in Australia that broadcasts Bangla language. Radio 4EB FM broadcasts a 45-minute program in Bangla on Wednesdays from 8:30pm to 9:15pm in Brisbane. Most of the participants cannot listen to the radio program regularly due to its broadcasting time, but rather listen to the recorded program that is posted on the website of Bangla Radio and shared on the Facebook pages of the Bangladeshi community in Brisbane.

Brisbane Bangla radio runs four programs each month, presenting news items, health reports, interviews, current affairs, songs, drama, and poems in simple ways to the listeners. Among them, the live health report programme “আপনার স্বাস্থ্য” (“Your health”) is very popular, in which Bangladeshi doctors are guest speakers. They are asked questions about health-related issues which they answer in Bangla. As F17 explained,

4/69. (Your health) is very popular among us as Bangladeshi doctors discuss various critical diseases in a simple way on the live radio program. We can ask them directly in the live program and can get the answer in Bangla instantly. You know that the medical language is always critical for us, particularly if it is in another language. This program is therefore a favourite of mine. It not only helps us to understand our own individual problem but also helps us to know the solutions and preventions of other critical health issues asked by other listeners. This program is very informative and beneficial to me as I can share this information with my mom and relatives in Bangladesh who are facing different health related problems [F17].

Another popular radio program is the talk show “ভিনকৈশোরের কথা” (“The Story of Boyhood”). It is another tool that helps the informants to encourage their children to use Bangla more fluently. This program involves second generation Bangladeshi migrants talking about their dreams, their talents and hobbies. They are asked to talk in Bangla about their pastimes, memories of

Bangladesh, their relationships with parents, peers and relatives both in Bangladesh and Australia, their emotions and conflicts between the countries of their birth and origin. This talk-show is now becoming popular among the new generation of Bangladeshi community in Brisbane ranging from 5/6-year-olds to teenagers. For example,

4/70. There seems to be a competition among the parents for the best performance of their children on the radio program. Children are also feeling good and confident to speak in Bangla in public [F17].

This radio program is thus playing a vital role in transmitting Bangla language and culture to subsequent generations through the active involvement and participation of the second-generation Bangladeshi migrants in Brisbane.

However, all of the participants listen to Australian radio regularly for news, particularly whenever they drive. Although this shows that they are not restricted to their ethnic language in media domain, this is not due to the choice, but due to the availability of English programs in Australia.

Most of the participants of this study tend to listen to Bangla music on YouTube. Some also listen to Bangla radio programs from the website of particular Radio channels in Bangladesh. On the other hand M1, M5, M6, F14 and F17 bring CDs of Bangla songs back from Bangladesh when they visit. This is because there are no Bangladeshi shops in Queensland selling CDs or DVDs, unlike the Indian, Chinese and Vietnamese shops that sell or rent CDs or DVDs to their ethnic community members.

4.3.4.2 *Print media: newspapers, magazines, books; libraries*

As there is no Bangla language newspaper in Queensland, all of the participants in this study read Bangladeshi newspapers online in order to get up-to-date news of Bangladesh. In addition, there is no library in Queensland that provides Bangladeshi books or videos. Two participants bring back books to Australia from Bangladesh when they visit:

4/71. When I go to Bangladesh, I usually see my bags are empty. But when I return, I see that there is not a single space in my luggage due to my books. I read books and love to share them with other Bangladeshi friends [M 5].

4/72. I always bring lots of Bangladeshi popular novels and other fiction from Bangladesh. I love to read books, and so I understand the demand for them of other

book lovers. I, therefore, keep some books in my shop so that other Bangladeshi people can borrow them from me [F17].

The above examples show the participants' efforts to circulate Bangla books among Bangladeshi migrants in Queensland. None of the participants reported that their children read Bangla newspaper or books. This is the result of low Bangla literacy among the second-generation Bangladeshi migrants in Queensland.

4.3.4.3 Social media

As discussed in chapter two, social media is also another tool to maintain ethnic languages. Nineteen out of 20 participants of this study use Facebook as their main social media platform and use it to communicate with friends of various ethnic backgrounds. However, only 3 participants (M5, F13 and F17) communicate in Bangla in their personal Facebook accounts. 16 participants mentioned two reasons for not using Bangla language. Firstly, they lack Bangla typing skills on their mobile phone and secondly, they think it is impolite to use Bangla among friends with different ethnic languages.

The media domain is found to have a high rate of Bangla use and proven to encourage the second-generation migrants to practice Bangla more outside the family domain. The participants watch both Bangla and English news along with Bangla, English and Hindi movies and TV programmes, showing their acceptance of both ethnic and host cultures in their arena of entertainment.

Conclusion: Attitudes towards Language Maintenance

The analysis of the interview data uses the “sociology of language approach” and “social network approach” in exploring the extent and patterns of language use of Bangladeshi migrants in Australia in various domains. As part of a social-psychological approach, “core value” and “language attitudes” approaches are further used to identify the reasons for language maintenance of migrants in various domains. The analysis demonstrates that the positive attitudes of the participants towards Bangla language and the value they place on it facilitate their successful language maintenance in Australia irrespective of their age and gender. Although age and gender are mentioned as significant factors in previous studies on language maintenance, (see section 2.2.1), they appear to have no the language maintenance of influence on this group of Bangladeshi migrants.

From our discussion in 4.2 and 4.3, it is clear that this group of Bangladeshi people want to retain the use of their Bangla language for several reasons, including a sense of Bangla-based nationalism; relational bonds with family members, desire for closeness between parents and children during their old age; and intragroup communication with compatriots, friends and relatives in Bangladesh. This is similar to the findings of earlier research on language maintenance in Australia (Clyne, 1988; 1991; Kipp, Clyne & Pauwels, 1995; Ndhlovu, 2010; Sanchez-Castro & Gil, 2008). For this group, Bangla language practices are viewed as a symbol of Bangladeshi identity and cultural heritage rather than solely a medium of communication with family members. It confirms Bangla as a core value of Bangladeshi culture in terms of Smolicz's (1981) theory of the core values of culture.

For language maintenance the participants of this research not only practise Bangla themselves but also attempt to pass it to the second generation as a symbol of their ethnicity and as a mark of their Bangladeshi sentiment. The strategies employed by the participants with their children are persistence in using Bangla in the home domain; regular phone contact with their family in Bangladesh, frequent visits to and from there; gatherings for social events, observation of national events, and celebrations of personal events. In addition to the consistent use of Bangla in the family domain, the social gathering and cultural events throughout the year facilitate the maintenance of Bangla outside the home. Although the above list of strategies appears to be similar to those of other migrant communities, what is interesting about the Bangladeshi community is the strength of these strategies.

There were no significant differences in the participants' attitudes towards both languages in terms of gender and age. Similarly, level of education and profession in Australia did not have any significant effect on their decisions about language choices. Holmes (2013) argued that the dearth of the awareness of migrant community members might cause the loss of their language in subsequent generations. This is not evident in this group of migrants, as they were found to be very conscious and strong-minded about maintaining their language in Australia.

With regard to the unsuccessful transmission of Bangla language to the next generation, M8 mentions insignificant numbers of Bangladeshi migrants and the negative attitude of the mainstream society towards languages other than English while he first arrived in Australia in 1973. He described the social context as a factor discouraging migrants at that time from using

their ethnic languages, particularly in public. This indicates that ethnic language maintenance is facilitated by the positive attitudes of migrants and the people around them.

Another interesting finding of this study is that every participant has a positive attitude towards English in order to integrate with mainstream society and to interact with people from different migrant communities in Australia. If Berry's (1974, 2005 and 2010) acculturation strategies are applied to language maintenance, bilingualism can be likened to integration; language shift to assimilation; while language maintenance at the expense of learning the language of the host culture can be likened to separation (see section 2.3.4.). The interviews show that this group of migrants follow an integration strategy in terms of language maintenance as they have adopted English skills and retained also Bangla language in their family and social domain to a large extent. The respondents respect the official language policy of Australia as a mark of their commitment to Australia. The data indicate that strong attachments to ethnic languages did not create negative attitudes towards English. They rather expressed their positive attitudes towards both Bangla and English languages. It further shows their integration strategy in which both Bangla and English operate concurrently, although Bangla has been identified as their core cultural value (Smolicz, 1981, 1999). The parents in this study express a strong desire to make their children bilingual because English is an essential skill for the advancement of their lives in Australia and Bangla is essential for cultural identity. Although the informants of this study tend to follow a separation strategy for their acculturation to some extent (as discussed with regard to the social domain in section 4.3.2; see also 5.2.2), they adopt bilingualism and an integration strategy for language maintenance.

Overall, there is a very positive attitude towards Bangla language maintenance among Bangladeshi migrants in Southeast Queensland, Australia. It suggests that Bangla languages will not be lost from this society because its speakers accept it as their social and cultural capital.

Table 4-3 Summary of language use data

Language use in family domain	Language use in social domain		Language use in community groups	Language use in media domain
<p>Spouses</p> <p><u>Bangla:</u> 19 participants</p> <p><u>English:</u> Only 1 participant (M8)</p>	<p>Exchange Network (mostly Bangla)</p> <p>Interactive Network (mostly English but with limited socialisation)</p>	<p><i>Close friends</i></p> <p><u>Bangla:</u> All (20) participants</p>	<p>Cultural events</p> <p><u>Bangla:</u> 20 participants</p> <p>Actively involved: 17 participants (all except M9, M12 and F18)</p>	<p>Broadcasting media</p> <p><i>Television-</i> <u>English:</u> All (20) participants <u>Bangla:</u> 19 participants: (all except M12)</p> <p><i>Radio/Music-</i> <u>English:</u> All (20) participants <u>Bangla:</u> Only 5 participants (M1, M5, M6, F14 and F17)</p>
<p>Children</p> <p><u>Bangla:</u> 17 participants</p> <p><u>English:</u> Only 3 participants (M8, M12, F15)</p>		<p><i>Colleagues</i></p> <p><u>English:</u> 19 participants</p> <p><u>Bangla:</u> Only 1 participant (F19)</p>		<p>Print media:</p> <p><u>English:</u> All (20) participants</p> <p><u>Bangla:</u> All (20) participants</p>
<p>Relatives</p> <p><u>Bangla:</u> 20 participants <u>English:</u> Only 1 participant (M8)</p>		<p><i>Neighbours</i></p> <p><u>English:</u> All (20) participants</p>		
<p>Visits to Bangladesh</p> <p><u>Bangla:</u> 19 participants (all except M12)</p>				<p><i>Parents of their children's peers</i></p> <p><u>English:</u> All (20) participants</p>

<p>Visits from Bangladesh</p> <p><u>Bangla:</u> 19 participants (all except M8)</p>		<p><i>Religion</i></p> <p>Religious activities</p> <p><u>English:</u> 13 participants</p> <p><u>Bangla:</u> Only 2 participants (M8 and F18)</p> <p>Religious festivals</p> <p><u>Bangla:</u> All (20) participants</p>		
		<p><i>Clubs</i></p> <p><u>English:</u> Only 3 participants (M2, M8 and M9).</p> <p><u>Bangla:</u> All (20) participants</p>		
		<p><i>Education</i></p> <p>Only English</p>		
		<p><i>Shops</i></p> <p><u>English and Bangla</u></p>		
		<p><i>Professionals</i></p> <p><u>English:</u> All (20) participants</p> <p><u>Bangla:</u> 4 participants (M7, M10, F17 and F19)</p>		

Chapter 5 Bangladeshi Culture Maintenance and Identity

5.1 Introduction

This chapter analyses the interview data on how and to what extent Bangladeshi-born migrants maintain their culture of origin and manage their acculturation when they come into contact with host nationals and people from other ethnic communities in Australia. Their attitudes to Australian people and culture have also been explored to identify the reasons for the extent of their culture maintenance. This chapter first identifies different aspects of Bangladeshi culture which the participants of this study see as significant for their identity and how they are transmitted to second generation. In analyzing the changes that occur as a result of migration, this study focuses on psychological, behavioural and cognitive aspects of acculturation (see section 2.3). In doing so, it mainly focuses on the intragenerational culture maintenance, and then explores the perception and the efforts of the participants who have children for their children's cultural affiliation in Australia. The second part focuses on the attitudes of this group of Bangladeshi migrants towards Australian people and culture and the final parts of this chapter discusses their attitudes towards cultural identity and culture maintenance. This will help in understanding various factors which influence the extent of culture maintenance of Bangladeshi migrants in Queensland.

5.2 Bangladeshi culture maintenance in Australia

The participants of this study have positive attitudes towards Bangladeshi culture maintenance, but they are varied in describing the main features of Bangladeshi culture from their own perspectives, mostly focusing on Bangla language, family traditions, distinctive Bangladeshi cultural values, festivals and celebrations, religion, food and dress.

Clyne (1991) suggested the need to “view cultural values according to the terms in which they are meaningful to the group concerned” (p. 93). In the same way this section aims to identify the cultural values of Bangladeshi migrants in Australia in various domains—family, social and community groups—from their own perspective. The participants were asked in their interviews to discuss their maintenance of different aspects of Bangladeshi culture which they think of as significant for their identity. All of them expressed positive attitudes towards Bangladeshi culture maintenance in their host society as a mark of their ethnic identity. For example:

- 5/1. *Bangladeshi culture is very rich. It has many things to be followed by others. My feeling about it is undoubtedly very good. The reason is that I am a Bangladeshi at the end of the day...* [M8].
- 5/2. *It is important because it's my roots, it is my background...it's my culture...* [M4].
- 5/3. *Our practice of our own culture in Australia makes me feel that we are in touch with Bangladesh* [M9].
- 5/4. *I want to pass the rest of my life in my culture through the practice of Bangladeshi culture* [F13].

The above examples show that Bangladeshi culture is an important component of their identity and its maintenance plays a significant role in their well-being. Example 5/1 reveals a belief about the value of Bangladeshi culture, identified by statements such as “rich”, “many things to be followed” and M8’s ultimate identity as shown in the comment “Bangladeshi at the end of the day”. The frequent uses of “my” in examples 5/1, 5/2 and 5/4 describe their feelings of belonging to Bangladeshi culture. All examples identify Bangladeshi culture as their “own”, using words like “roots”, and “origin” to represent their attachment to their own ethnic culture. These informants reported that the retention of Bangladeshi culture practice provides them with a feeling of happiness (example 5/1) and connection with their country of origin (example 5/3), although they have lived far from their homeland since their migration. By the word “undoubtedly”, M8 put emphasis on the unyielding relationship between his Bangladeshi culture maintenance and positive feelings.

All of the participants tend to identify Bangla language as the main basis of Bangladeshi culture maintenance. For example:

- 5/5. *It's my language; it's the main part of my culture as it is my mother tongue, for which we have a history of struggle* [M4].
- 5/6. *Bangla Language is the pillar of Bangladeshi identity and we sacrificed our lives for it* [F13].
- 5/7. *The word “Bangladesh” comes from the words “Bangla” (Bangla language) and “desh” (land) which represents Bangladesh as the land of Bangla that signifies our mother tongue “Bangla”* [M1].

Examples 5/5 and 5/6 report that Bangladeshi identity is strongly connected to historical events that identify the language with nation-building (see section 1.1). Example 5/7 defines Bangladesh as the country of Bangla, which gives special meaning to Bangladeshi identity. This is consistent with the findings of Jahan (2016) who found that the language identity of Bangladeshi people is an indispensable part of their cultural identity. The participants of this study did not mention any change of attitude towards their ethnic language after their migration, although they use both ethnic and host languages depending on the context in their host society (see Chapter 4).

5.2.1 Bangladeshi concept of the family

All the participants believe that having a close connection to their extended family is another core value of their ethnic culture that they try to maintain in Australia through, for example, regular contact with relatives in Bangladesh; visits to and from Bangladesh (see section 4.3.1.3.). They also tend to transmit the traditional concept of the Bangladeshi family to the second generation. Chapter 4 showed that one of the reasons why Bangla language has been maintained is to keep the bonds of the Bangladeshi collective family structure strong throughout their lives.

5.2.1.1 Family relationship

In the interviews, all of the participants expressed their opinion that the traditional Bangladeshi family showed the closeness, cohesion and interdependence of family members. For example: parents have to take full responsibility for their children until their marriage or sometimes after marriage, if children are not financially settled, while children take care of their parents, living in the same house till the last day of their lives. In the meantime, children have to follow what the parents say and want, without any arguments. They consider this the opposite of Anglo-Australian family traditions in which children are often separated from parents when they become adults and parents do not necessarily live with their children in their old age. For example:

5/8. To me, the main part of our culture is the joint [extended] family.... what we understand by my culture. If our kids have no access to our culture, they will not know what is meant by the joint family. They always see the single [nuclear] family everywhere ...you can see here the kids are separated in their own ways after the age of 18 years. Then they leave their parents alone. I think this is because of not having the same bond in their family that we have. We want to retain our culture with the aim to keep our family bonding strong [M11].

This example presents the traditional concept of family structure as an integral part of Bangladeshi culture that M11 wants to maintain in his host society. The English words “*joint*” and “*single*” are frequently used by the participants in this study in denoting the extended and the nuclear family as shown in example 5/8. By the word “*joint*” they emphasise ties that join the family members strongly, whereas “*single*” connotes something alone, isolated. It is interesting that they do not use the term “*extended*” family, which would suggest something extra, beyond the usual dimension of family. According to them, their family domain includes relatives whom they do not want to view as “*extra*” (see section 4.3.1).

The participants in this study also mention their obligations in bringing up their children as a significant part of Bangladeshi culture. For example:

5/9. *It is also a part of our culture that we do not leave our kids alone after a certain age like western culture, rather we provide them with food, accommodation, daily and educational expenses and other things until they start their careers and sometimes even after their marriage [M11].*

5/10. *It is the tradition of our Bangladeshi family to provide our children with proper care and attention throughout their lives [...]. For example Australian boys and girls have to work for their education, while Bangladeshi children are getting many opportunities from their family for their study and most of them have achieved better results. So most of the second-generation Bangladeshi migrants are achieving very good results in their OP [Overall Position, the Queensland system of university entrance scores] and getting chances in medicine, engineering or some other good programs for which they are going to higher positions in their professions. They are thus successfully contributing to the workforce in Australia with good reputations [M3].*

The above examples focus on Bangladeshi family patterns of responsibility compared to Anglo-Australian culture. The part of sentence “*leave our kids alone*” in example 5/9 and “*proper care and attention*” in example 5/10 indicate the belief that the Bangladeshi parents take better care of their children, providing more support than Australian parents. Example 5/10 highlights the success of second-generation Bangladeshi migrants in the Australian job field. The participants of this study consider the educational success of their children as adding to the prestige and reputation

of their family and that this is one of their significant cultural values. For this reason, they ensure the academic achievements of their children through the consistent support from their families.

The participants of this study feel the inherent tension of living apart from family members when they think of their old age in Australia. They consider their Bangladeshi family ties of responsibility as a significant cultural value that they want to retain in their host society. For example:

5/11. *It is our culture to keep the joint family relationship strong that I always want to inform our son about Bangladeshi family traditions, as he is growing up in a western society... [F18].*

5/12. *We want to retain [...] we always bring our parents to Australia each year or we go to visit them in turn to take care of them during their old age...similarly we want to create a realization in our kids that they will have the same duties for us during our old age [M11].*

5/13. *I always teach my sons how I take care of my Mom when she visits us, and we visit her in turn [...]. It is not our culture to send our parent to a nursing home during their old age. I am very scared of passing my old age alone at old people's homes. But I can't tell now what will happen in my future days! However, I have a plan to return to Bangladesh if my sons send me to a nursing home. I have an arrangement to live with my nephew and nieces [F17].*

These examples show how the participants try to develop a high level of attachment to their extended family relationships in their children by fulfilling their own responsibilities to their parents. F18 and M11 perform their own duties towards their respective parents by their frequent visits to Bangladesh or bringing them to Australia. Nineteen out of 20 participants mentioned regular visits to Bangladesh and 7 participants reported that their relatives in turn visit them in Australia. It shows their persistence in maintaining the Bangladeshi value of family in order to avoid the perceived threat of losing their ethnic culture due to the dominant culture in which their children are growing up.

It is also evident in the interviews that most of the participants do not like the idea of a retirement home, which is reflected in example 5/13, where F17 mentions that she is “scared” and worries

about “*passing my old age alone*”. They rather want to spend their old age with family members. “*Alone*” is also a significant word used in example 5/9 and 5/13, although from two different perspectives. In example 5/9, M11 wants to support his children throughout his life so that they do not feel alone, and in example 5/13, F17 wants to have support from her children during her old age. Both of them want to avoid loneliness.

There is a complex interplay between the social values with which the participants in this study have grown up and the social values with which their children are growing up. Although they have tried hard to transmit their patterns of family life to their children, there is continued concern among them over their future.

It is also interesting to mention here that all of the participants declared that they have no plan to live with their children in a single house. In a compromise between the culture of their origin and the culture of their adopted society, they have changed their Bangladeshi traditional mindset of living with their children during old age. Twelve out of the 20 participants would prefer to live in a separate house near their children in the future. This seems to be a strategy to avoid passing their old age in the nursing home. They believe that if they live in their own house, they will at least get the opportunity to spend time with family members. This suggests a change in their ethnic cultural practices to some extent. They further state that they respect the privacy of their children’s family life with their spouses and children. Clearly the informants have developed awareness of showing respect to the privacy of their children after marriage, due to the influence of the Australian culture of independence. Their plans for the future show their psychological acculturation in their new cultural milieu as they have acquired culturally appropriate norms and values of the host society to a certain extent.

M3 and M6 state that their children, with their families, live nearby and come to their house for dinner and in turn they go to their place if they prepare special dishes. They attend weekend gatherings together as one family. On long weekends or holidays, they travel together to enjoy family time. Both of them mention enjoying family time with their children and grandchildren.

M12 reports a different story. As his two sons live in separate places for their jobs, the family members visit each other on weekends. M12 thinks that he has to work a lot to manage the whole house, including cleaning, shopping, cooking, and gardening, meaning he cannot pray on time. M12 is therefore planning to go to a retirement home with his wife, selling his current property.

This shows his adoption of the mainstream culture, as he does not have any fear of an old age home. He gives utmost importance to his prayers through which he believes he will avoid loneliness and escape from everyday worldly activities

In a further pattern, M1, M2, M8 and F15 want to live in their own house without any plans to live near their children. Their situations vary: M1 has an autistic son; M2 is divorced and his daughter lives with his ex-wife; M8 thinks his wife will decide what they will do in future; and F15 has no children. They showed their flexibility to adopt what the situation demands in the future. M4 has a plan for a world tour with his wife in his retirement for which he is now working hard to save money, suggesting he has adopted the mainstream culture's model of the nuclear family, focused on autonomy and the emotional independence of each individual.

Although child-rearing practices among Bangladeshi families are strongly supportive of family group in which early self-reliance and independence of children are not priorities, the participants of this study appreciate aspects of the Australian way of bringing up children, particularly the idea of teaching children to work independently from an early age. This shows a contradiction in their views because they like the lifestyle but do not follow it in their own families. For example:

5/14. It is true that we, Bangladeshi parents, normally take care of our children more than Australian people. To me they are also good but are different from us. Though they do not put much effort into their kids, they do well... very well. We actually make the children dependent and inactive. For example: we feed our older kids with our hands, whereas, you see they let their children eat with their own hands. They let them practice it from the very beginning of their childhood. In one way, it is not bad, it makes them independent. On the other hand, only a few persons do not take care of their kids...they leave their kids to someone else and have no relationships with their kids. Their number is very low. But the rest, I mean most Australians, take very good care of their kids and do this very well. [M11].

In the above example, M11 compared Bangladeshi culture with Australian culture in terms of parenting, in which he argues in favour of the Australian style. This statement contradicts his previous views (see example 5/8 and 5/9) when he stated that he does not like the Australian system of parenting, in which children often leave the family and their home when they are 18. He has

accepted some aspects of Australian culture in spite of the two contrasting cultural values. This shows some extent of psychological acculturation. The informants who showed their positive outlook on Australian styles of parenting mentioned the development of personal qualities, namely, “*independence*” “*self-reliance*” and “*confidence*” in Australian children, in contrast with Bangladeshi parents who belong to the extended family traditions in which most of the children are grown up as “*dependent and inactive*”, as M11 states, “*feed our older kids with our hands*”. This tension is also evident in 16 participants of this study, and is consistent with Triandis, Kashima, Shimada and Villareal (1986) who argued that it is often difficult for migrants to change their core cultural values and beliefs, despite showing their eagerness to develop new behaviours and skills for their acculturation to the new society.

5.2.1.2 Responsibility towards relatives

The participants expressed positive attitudes towards maintaining family relations as part of their family obligations, responsibilities, mutual love and affection. They try to retain traditional Bangladeshi family bonds of reciprocal dependence and commitment among family members. They consider this to be the continuity of their culture.

Six participants mention family responsibilities not only towards parents and children, but also other family members. Bangladeshi migrants throughout the world tend to send money to their relatives in Bangladesh. Conducting an ethnographic study on Bangladeshi migrants in Japan, Mahmud (2017) found that the social relationships Bangladeshi migrants have with their families and communities are the main reason for the large amounts of money remitted to Bangladesh every year. Some of the informants in this study also report that they send money to parents and poor relatives in Bangladesh as part of their family traditions. For example:

5/15. As the only member of his family earning money, my husband always sends half of his salary to his family in Bangladesh for his parents and the family of his eldest brother who are financially dependent on us [F14].

5/16. I am the eldest son of my family, which is dependent on my earnings. [...] Now all of my siblings are settled in good positions with money [...]. I also applied for the immigration of my brother to Australia[...] and now he works here as my business partner.

Again, when I was buying my restaurant in Brisbane, I faced some shortage of money that I shared with my family members. Then my sister and my mother-in-law gave me all of their savings for my business, for which I am always grateful to them. This is called our Bangladeshi family bonding. [M10].

5/17. *My husband was the youngest brother of his brothers who were then settled in Australia before our migration. They sponsored my husband for his immigration. A few years after his arrival, I joined him as his fiancé [...]. Initially, my brothers-in-law helped us a lot with our settlement* [F19].

These examples identify strong relations between the participants and their family members in Bangladesh that make them help one another financially. M10 and the husband of F14 want to sustain their family relations in spite of living far from their immediate family in Bangladesh. Examples 5/15 and 5/16 show that they send money regularly to maintain their emotional bonds and obligations to their parents and siblings. In both examples, comments like “*as the only member of his family earning money ...*”, “*I’m the eldest son*” and “*dependent*” confirm that a son, particularly the eldest one of each family, has to support his aged parents, younger siblings and family members due to the patriarchal ideology and social practices in the Bangladeshi context. Sultana and Zulkefli (2012) stated that in rural areas of Bangladesh, sons are brought up to be responsible for their parents and immediate family members in the future while the daughters are considered non-permanent family members as they will go to the families of their husbands after marriage. The eldest sons often expected to lead an ideal lifestyle with academic and career success, to set a good example for younger family members. Individual prosperity is a symbol of the success of the whole family. This vision of the eldest son is evident in M10 and the elder brothers-in-law of F19 who helped their younger siblings to settle in Australia, but none of the participants continue such gender-specific attitudes in their parenting in Australia.

While Bangladeshis often feel obliged to offer loans to a family member in financial trouble, this is not common to all the participants in this study as most (18 out of 20) grew up in affluent families and the older generation do not need financial assistance from their children. This is consistent with the findings of Shafiq (2016) who demonstrated that only a small number of Bangladeshi migrants in Australia regularly remit money to support their parents or other family members, compared to the unskilled migrants in the Middle East and East Asia, and in the UK and the USA,

who send remittances frequently. Nevertheless, the participants in this study send gifts and money to family members in Bangladesh in order to sustain their extended family relationships.

5.2.1.3 Marriage patterns

The marriage patterns of the participants tend to reveal a lack of cognitive acculturation. All of them are in endogamous marriages except M8 (see section 4.3.1.1.). With regard to the selection of marriage partners for their children, all of them would prefer Bangladeshis, except M8 and M12. However, they are not confident about finding a suitable spouse for their children from their own ethnic group in Queensland. Most of them, therefore, would accept a son- or daughter-in-law with a different ethnic identity.

In this study, religion has more influence than ethnicity in the marriage-related decisions among this group of migrants (cf. Heard, Khoo & Birrell, 2009). Participants from the four main religions in Bangladesh (Muslim, Hindu, Buddhist and Christian) were involved in this study (see table 3-1) and most of them strongly maintain their cultural practices based on religious faith (see section 5.2.5). The eldest son of M3 and the only daughter of M6 married other Muslims with different ethnic backgrounds and the eldest son of M12 (Christian) wed a Christian with Indian background. 15 out of the 20 participants emphasise religion in selecting life partners for their children. For example:

5/18. *I am not sure at this moment what will happen in future! But I have a reservation (sic.) that my children will marry Bangladeshi Muslims or Muslims from any other countries. For the life partners, I can sacrifice ethnicity but not religion [F14].*

5/19. *As the number of second-generation Bangladeshi migrants in Queensland is very limited, we who have marriageable sons or daughters have to face many difficulties in selecting a suitable person for their marriages. So, we have opened our minds to accept someone at least with the same religious belief [F17].*

5/20. *Even now I have a plan to arrange the marriage of my daughters with Bangladeshi guys, although I don't know what will happen in future. I always tell my daughters to choose from those who are their contemporaries in Australia, because it's not possible to select persons from Bangladesh. There are lots of second-generation boys and girls in Brisbane now. I don't like if they marry from other cultures. But I will*

have nothing to say if they do. However I advise them not to select any non- Muslims [F19].

5/21. I do not mind if they marry someone from a different cultural background, but one condition is that they should be Muslim. I always want my sons to make their own decisions, based on the teachings and lessons that I give them. However, it is their choice because they will live with their wives. I believe they will not stay with me then. They will just come to visit me or to ask me to look after their babies before going on holidays [F17].

Most of the interviewees perceive themselves as Bangladeshi and would prefer to select their children's spouses from people of Bangladeshi origin. At the same time, they express their uncertainty for the future, as they are not sure whether their children will follow the Bangladeshi tradition of marrying according to the choices of parents or relatives. Their concerns about the future are shown by their comments, *"I am not sure at this moment what will happen in future!"* and *"I don't know what will happen in future"*, although they are making efforts to transmit their culture to their children. However, they communicate to their children that they should think of selecting a partner of the same religion.

The above examples present another significant aspect of Bangladeshi culture in which marriage is mostly arranged by the parents and elders of the family. As a mark of incorporating Australian culture into Bangladeshi culture, some of the informants, like F17 and F19, show a change in their mindset, describing themselves as open and liberal, evidenced by their statements *"we have opened our minds"*, *"I will have nothing to say if they do"*, *"I do not mind if they marry someone from a different cultural background"* and *"it is their choice"*. They state that they are providing freedom for their children in choosing their life partner; at the same time they are letting them know their preferences and requirements as a parent. In this way, the participants express their mixed attitudes towards their culture maintenance. It shows the cognitive aspect of their acculturation which refers to how people think of and perceive themselves and others in intercultural contexts (Ward,2001). The participants try to maintain their cultural norms and values at the family level but simultaneously show their acceptance of the values of their host society to a certain extent. They are aware that they are citizens of Australia, but they do not want to forget their original identity.

They do not select the spouses of their children directly but strongly seek to influence the decisions of their children.

The interview data identified that extended family relationships and their associated values are the core values of Bangladeshi culture that the participants are strongly determined to maintain in their new adopted society. Intercultural marriage is found to create concern, because they consider endogamous marriage to be a determining factor in keeping their cultural values intact in future.

5.2.2 Intergenerational transmission of Bangladeshi culture

Nineteen out of 20 participants of this study have children. This section describes children's practice of Bangladeshi culture in Australia from the perspective of their parents. The parents believe they are generally successful in the transmission of Bangladeshi culture to the second generation through their conscious efforts and commitment.

All the parents state that their children are very family-oriented and are accustomed to the family traditions and values of Bangladeshi culture, because they have taught their children to maintain them (see section 5.2.1.). They mention their insistence on the strict maintenance of the values with which they grew up. For example:

5/22. At this moment, I'm not sure how far I'll be successful to transmit my culture to my son as a mark of my identity. However, I will try to keep it up for good. As a parent, I teach him to respect and show honour to his grandparents and try to follow what they say. His father teaches him first to bow to his parents, kneeling down twice a day, and next, to bow down to older relatives. We also practise this in front of him, so that he can do it. We have a Guru [a Hindu spiritual teacher] to whom we bow after each prayer. Our Guru also says that you have to bow down to your parents before your Guru, as your parents are your real Guru [F19].

This example shows the strategy of the parent to introduce their son to cultural values and traditions, especially respect for elders, despite the fact that she is unsure of their future circumstances. According to Bangladeshi culture, grandparents hold positions of respect and wisdom and are often decision makers. Bowing represents the norm by which children surrender to the authority not only of parents, but also of other relatives as part of the extended family. Parents and relatives are to provide the children with advice as well as emotional, psychological

and financial support. This example also focuses on the position of teachers who deserve reverence and resemble family members in Bangladeshi culture. Children are expected to follow the suggestions of their parents, relatives and teachers and to uphold the name and reputation of the family and the community.

The parents tend to take steps to keep their children within the boundaries of Bangladeshi culture with the strong help of the whole Bangladeshi community. Parents' consistent efforts to socialise their children into their ethnic culture not only introduces the children to the culture but also enables them to develop positive attitudes towards it (Killian & Hegtvedt, 2003). Downie, Chua, Koestner, Barrios, Rip and M'Birkou (2007) added that successful transmission depends on the extent to which the parents believe that their children effectively internalise the associated values and practices of their ethnic culture. In the interviews, the participants in this study believe that they are continuously transmitting their ethnic cultural norms and behaviours to their children through regular family practices and ethnic community efforts, despite the fact that they live far away from homeland for long periods of time.

5.2.2.1 Encountering differences

Participants believe that they are able to retain and maintain their Bangladeshi cultural values and norms in their family and social lives in Australia, by which they identify themselves as distinct community members, having a rich cultural background. However, they found some social issues in their host society that created tensions among them in child-rearing due to their migration from a traditional collectivistic society to a more individualistic Western society. This change of their location is described by Hatoss (2013) as the "transition from traditionalism to late-modernity" (p.7). Bangladeshi culture is mostly centred on family cohesion, with a wide range of collectivistic family traditions (patriarchal society, filial piety, culture-specific gender roles, priority to children's education, responsibilities towards not only immediate family members but also extended family members, neighbours) which emphasise attachment and interdependence between group members. In contrast, Australian society is more individualistic, highlighting individual choice, independence and achievement (Smolicz, Secombe & Hudson, 2001).

Saggers and Sims (2005) argued that migrant families are also influenced by what happens outside of the family domain, such as in the media, children's schools, and workplaces. Due to such influences, parents may experience a clash of cultural values such as family structure, role of

family members and the socialisation of children. The parents in this study are found to negotiate the cultural variations in their new adopted society through their psychological and behavioural acculturation to some extent, while retaining and practising their home culture to a large extent. In the interviews, the participants state that they cannot accept some aspects of Australian culture which contrast sharply with the values of Bangladeshi culture and their respective religious beliefs. Among them, family break-ups, free mixing of girls and boys (including going to nightclubs, alcohol consumption) and sleepovers are noteworthy.

Family break-up

The interview data show that the participants are all believers in strong family bonds, particularly between husband and wife. In this study, only two participants (M2 and F16) are divorced. The other participants try to convey to their children an ideal concept of the family, in which husband and wife lead a happy family life with their children and other family members. For example:

5/23. On top of everything, we do not like to change our wife or husband easily if we do not like him/her. It's our culture to try hard to keep our conjugal relations strong. I therefore keep our children in touch with my family members and relatives in Bangladesh so that they can see the matrimonial bonds in other family members [M11].

5/24. I do not like the western concept of broken families such as single mum, single dad, divorce etc. I do not want to introduce my son to these terms at this early stage as I believe that most of the parents in mainstream schools are separated. I can't like my son seeing his friends have a single mother or a single father [...]. [M7].

The above examples highlight family break-ups, separation and divorce as social issues that are perceived as fairly common in Australian society. Example 5/23 reflects the family bond as a core value of Bangladeshi culture and describes the efforts of M11 to transmit his family relationships to his children. M7 reports that he enrolled his son into an Islamic school as his conscious strategy to keep his son to keep him from being exposed directly to what he sees as the family structure, “single mom, single dad, divorce”, of the mainstream society. Like M11, 17 out of the 19 participants who have children, try to convey the norms of their traditional family to their children through their own tenacity to make conjugal life strong, with much affection, love and patience.

The participants also assert that divorce is not easily accepted in the traditional Bangladeshi society in which they grew up, but the number of divorces is increasing nowadays to some extent. However, they attempt to pass on their traditional values to their children through their own behaviour.

Free mixing between boys and girls

The participants in this study who have teenage children tend to avoid what they perceive as the Australian trends of free mixing between boys and girls outside of marital relationships, and their visits to nightclubs and alcohol consumption. For example:

5/25. To me there are some dissimilarities between the two cultures. For example: girls in this country can go to clubs with boyfriends on weekends and holidays. That is not accepted in our culture. Here the girls have much freedom and independence in their movement which we do not allow. Bangladeshi girls cannot go anywhere at night without parental guidance due to cultural and social restrictions [M9].

5/26. One night I was driving a taxi carrying three girls who had very western outfits returning from a night-time party. In the meantime, I had a phone call from my friend whom I was telling in Bangla to call me back later. All on a sudden, one girl from the back seat asked me whether I was Bangladeshi, because her parents were Bangladeshi too- I was then totally disheartened, because in my Bangladeshi culture a girl can never attend any night-time party without their parents or family members. After that, I decided to enrol my son in Islamic school for a certain period of time. I'm not here to make my son Australian or to follow western culture, I'm just here for his better future and education. In my son's school, he was taught all mainstream subjects, just with an extra religious course and one time when he prayed in a group. There was another incident that hurt me a lot. I heard from one of my friends that "a Bangladeshi girl in the Gold Coast attempted to stab her parents with a knife as her father interfered in her free-mixing with her friends" [M7].

The above examples reflect participants' fear of western culture in bringing up their children. However sixteen parents of this study adopt the strategies discussed below to protect their children from being westernized, notably through their constant supervision. Example 5/26 shows that M7

has taken an avoidance strategy to keep his son away from mainstream culture since early childhood. In the opinions of other parents in this study, extra-marital relationships are not permitted in their culture, regardless of their religion. M7 expresses his confidence that his son will build up a strong foundation of his religious faith. He resists the mainstream culture as evidenced by his statement, *“I’m here not to make my son Australian or to follow western culture”* which confirms a strong sense of his cultural identity. He also expresses the purpose of his migration to Australia clearly shown by his comment *“better future and education”* for his son. Example 5/25 highlights the differences between Bangladesh and Australian society, in terms of the movement of girls.

The participants are found to be very protective of their daughters, suggesting that patriarchal culture is another core value. They do not allow their daughters to move outside their home, particularly at night, without parental supervision. F13 and her husband are university lecturers. She always tried to work in line with her daughter’s school hours. Either she or her husband always managed to pick up her daughter, never leaving her unattended. Now their daughter is a doctor in a Brisbane hospital. Conducting research on Bangladeshi migrants in Malmö, Sweden and New York City, USA, Nahar (2008) found that Bangladeshi girls are not allowed to stay out unsupervised after dark, consume alcohol, attend late night parties, or live with boyfriends before marriage due to the parents’ religious beliefs and Bangladeshi community pressure, despite the fact that they live in western societies. The participants in this study practise similar parental authority over their children as a strategy to keep their children separated from mainstream peers and culture. Most importantly, the mothers of each family are constant company for their daughters in order to make them understand the role of women in the Bangladeshi family through their own behaviour.

Parents of girls in this group of migrants assert that they did not have to deal with requests from their daughters to visit nightclubs with their friends due to growing up in a Bangladeshi cultural atmosphere in their family and social domains. They explain that their daughters are often engaged with their studies and have get-togethers with their Bangladeshi family and friends. However, the participants in this study invest time and effort in their children, regardless of their gender. They affirm that they did not accept invitations which would have meant leaving their children alone at

home. All describe their daughters as quiet and family- oriented, but some had to negotiate requests from sons. For example:

5/27. *My son studies in primary school. He asked me “Mum, why do I have to eat different foods when I attend any party”. I explained to him softly that we are of different religions. I always try to make him understand very politely as imposing any strict rules might have a negative impact on him. I’m not sure what will happen in the future, but I’m now 80% successful in transmitting my culture to him [F18].*

5/28. *When the friends of my teenage son go to parties or holidays with their girlfriends, he raises questions about why he can’t. I understand the demands of a teenage boy. I hug him and telling him that we, family members, are your friends and give him more family time with my husband and another son. We often cook our dinner together. I always took him to Bangladeshi community programs, and get-togethers so that he can develop his friend circles based on our community. Most importantly I involved him in cultural activities. He has been learning Tabla since his early childhood, as it was his father’s dream. He is now working with his father’s other passion, photography, which he tries to have as his pastime. Most importantly, we go to visit different places each school holidays with our family members and the other Bangladeshi friends who have children with similar ages to my sons [F17].*

5/29. *My son asked his mother one or two times to go with their friends for holidays. She then told him that “Baba², I love you so much that I can’t live without you for a single day, can you do without me? Do you want to hurt me? How will you stay there without me?” It is his mother’s strategy to keep him in our family boundaries, however we always arrange family get-togethers in different places where his friends go so that he does not have any sorrow not to see the places from where they are [M11].*

The above examples describe the strategies of parents in order to keep their children separate from mainstream peers and culture, although they sometimes feel tension and anxiety due to the requests of their sons. However, they state that they are successful in making their children aware of the differences in their culture through showing much affection and love, explaining the differences of the two cultures in order to eliminate confusion and engaging their children in pastimes such as

² *Baba* means father in Bangla, and can be used as a term of endearment in addressing sons,

cooking, social events and cultural performances. Furthermore, they develop friendships with Bangladeshi families who have children of similar ages so that the children do not feel isolated.

The parents report that they use personal and religious teaching in order to keep their children away from free mixing and going to parties at night. In addition, the children are not free on weekends as Bangladeshi community members occupy all weekend nights with their *Dawat* and various social and cultural programs, as mentioned in Chapter Four. This is the conscious strategy of the family and Bangladeshi community to engage the second generation in Bangladeshi cultural activities to prevent them from mixing with mainstream peers. However, there is also some evidence of anxiety among the parents of primary school-age children because they are uncertain about whether their children will continue their values in future. In contrast, the parents who have adult children believe that they are now settled in transmitting their cultural values to their children

Sleepovers

Sleepovers are also another significant aspect of Australian culture that the participants of this study tend to avoid for their children. For example:

5/30. *He demands this, but I do not allow it. I explained this to him saying that “as a mother, I do not like it. I can’t let you join any party or night-time stay or sleep over with your friends...you will go when you will be mature enough to know the difference between good and bad.... but now I can’t let you go there at this early stage of your life [...]. I’m very sorry, Baba” [F18].*

5/31. *Yes, he has gone to the parties of his friends several times. But I have never allowed him to stay anywhere at night, I did not say him directly not to do this, but tried to make him understand indirectly so that he does not have any bad impressions in his mindrather we describe the situation in a way that he himself decides to say that he will not stay [...] But his friends have come to my house and stayed, that I have allowed, ...um...because our culture and their culture is not the same. The main difference is that their culture is a bit open, but we are not.... if he stays at their home, he will be able to see many things very close up. For example: when he’ll open their refrigerator, he’ll see the bottle of alcohol and he’ll also see the openness in the dress of their parents and siblings etc. I always ask him to invite his friends to our place [M11].*

5/32. *Actually, they didn’t like it at all...they just love to live in, I mean sleep in their own bed. So, I didn’t have to face the request of my children regarding sleepover [M6].*

5/33. *Though they have many Australian friends in school, they do not go to their houses. They often attend their birthday parties, but they are not allowed to stay there, to go anywhere with them or to attend any night-time parties. I have never seen their interest in mixing with friends so closely, but I don't know what they will do after going to university! They have never asked my permission to attend such a party at night. But I'm mentally prepared to face such kinds of proposals, particularly negative ones, so that I can't be surprised. Actually, I won't be able to say "No" to them directly when they are adults. So I always try to keep a friendly relationship with them and take them to Bangladeshi Dawat so that they can be influenced by this. Actually, my daughters are very calm and quiet and can't make friends with others easily, rather I often ask them to invite their friends to our house, but they don't do it [F19].*

5/34. *I will never impose anything upon my daughters. We will teach them the distinction between good and bad by which they will decide what they will follow from the cultures of their father and that of their mother[M8]*

The above examples demonstrate various strategies taken by the parents in this study in addressing cross-cultural differences between the collectivist social values in which the participants of this study have grown up and the individualistic social values in which their children are growing up. They mainly highlight sleepovers which is a common aspect of Australian society. It is interesting to mention here that 8 parents of teenagers do not like to say "no" to their children directly when they face any resistance from their children on these questions. The participants emphasise indirect strategies, for example: the wives of M11 and M5, as well as F16 and F17, show their love and attachment to their children and try to make their family life so enjoyable and entertaining that their children are not interested in going anywhere without their family members.

The children of M6 and F19 are reported to like to sleep at home and for this reason did not request sleepovers, although F19 has prepared herself for how to manage her daughters if they want to do so in future. On the other hand, F18 strictly discourages her eight-year-old son directly from attending parties without parental guidance until he is adult enough to decide between right and wrong. The Bangladeshi cultural trend of obedience and conformity to parental belief is reflected in the above examples. In the interviews, M4 and F20 did not mention sleepovers, but stated that they provide indirect cultural orientation and understanding in their home in the hope of influencing the decisions of their children about what to do.

The participants do not permit sleepovers as they are afraid making their children familiar with aspects of the mainstream culture such as alcohol, free mixing of the sexes and forms of dress which go against their ethnic cultural values. Their purpose is to keep their children away from direct exposure to such culture of their peers through discouraging sleepovers because they want to adhere to the collectivist values of their ethnic culture in their childrearing. Three participants (F13, F14 and M11) allow their children to invite their friends to their places instead. Seventeen participants state that their children do not want to bring their peers home, as they are not allowed to go to their friends' houses. This shows how the children limit the extent of their friendship with mainstream peers to the school ground. Willoughby, Starks, and Taylor-Leech (2015) suggested that adolescent identities are usually constructed by the attitudes of their peers towards them. It is therefore necessary to know how the second generations are accepted and perceived by their peers from their own perspectives. However it is not possible here to probe this interesting issue further including what the children really do and what their peers think of them because this project did not include interviews with children.

5.2.2.2 Moral teaching

Several participants (M3, M7, M9, M10 and M12) referred to their religious teaching and practices in their home to bring up their teenage children. For example:

5/35. I never gave them any private tuition. We actually could not give them anything special. We only did one thing.... we taught them the basic teaching of our religion. We always took them to the church and tried to keep them under the shadow of our religion. We taught them what is wrong and what is right...we taught them the real values of a human being. So, they realized and learned the best things from us.

I am really proud of my sons. They could be bad guys...they could be drug addicted ...they could be loafer...they could be derailed...but they are not. You might have seen what the Australian teenagers are usually doing...and my sons could have joined them, but they did not. They always tried to do the right thing and give us a good academic result to make us happy, though I could not live with them because of my job. Their mother gave all her time and effort for their upbringing [M12].

5/36. By Muslim cultures, I mean fraternity and love for human beings. So, these are all religious practices to me. I taught my kids to say salaam, which means "peace", when they see other people. It is also another Muslim culture that we practise in our home. You might also see

that how the teenagers in our society are going to be spoiled by others for which I have to give my elder son a lot of attention to keep him within the boundary of religion and culture [F14].

5/37. I have no fixed rules of following a particular culture or to avoid a particular one to bring him up. I want to build up strong moral belief in him through our behaviours and practice.... I always introduce him with my culture. As a physician. I believe that there is no use of giving pressure to kids to follow a particular culture. yeah...it's more important that he will be grown up here under this culture and I have to give him much freedom for his healthy growth...he will go to school of this country, so he will be educated under this culture where I can't do anything. If he is teenager, he will go in his own way when I can't force him to follow my culture...it's never possible!... but what he learns from our house might have impact on his future culture adaptation...but I will give him no pressure. [M4].

The above examples reflect on further strategies employed by the parents of this group of migrants in bringing up their children in the host society. Like M12, F18 and M8 (see examples 5/30 and 5/34), 14 other participants believe that if their children develop the distinction between right and wrong through appropriate moral and religious teaching, they will have a good basis for their future decisions. In example 5/35, a negative view of Australians is reflected when M12 talks about teenagers. This perception has been found in other participants due to their anxieties caused by the differences in cultural values in their country of origin and host society. M12 and F14 have generalised their negative perceptions, as shown by their statements “*what the Australian teenagers are usually doing*” in example 5/35 and “*the teenagers in our society are going to be spoiled by others*” in example 5/36. The parents try to shield their children from such influences. It is also noteworthy that M12 did not involve his sons in any particular Bangladeshi cultural activities, except moral teaching, while F14 wants to keep her children “*within the boundary of religion and culture*”.

In contrast, example 5/37 shows the secular point of view of M4, who reports in his interview that he does not give his son any religious teaching. Like M4, M8 does not support the imposing of home and religious culture on the children and respects their freedom of choice as adults in the future. However, example 5/37 shows M4's attempt to give his son an orientation of his ethnic culture through his personal behaviour, as illustrated by his comment, “build up strong moral belief in him through our behaviours and practice” with the hope that “what he learns from our house

might have impact on his future culture adaptation”. Example 5/37 thus shows the contrasting viewpoints of M4, because he wants to give freedom of choice to his son without imposing any particular culture, but he is also found to provide the behaviours and practices of his culture at home as a foundation for the beliefs of his son, to influence his future choices. Example 5/37 also reflects M4’s adoption of mainstream culture by his intention not to impose anything on his children to enable their healthy growth.

The interview data show that participants employ persistent efforts in transmitting their cultural values and practices to their children. Examples 5/28 and 5/29 represent the active roles of the mothers of this group of migrants in maintaining close relationships with their children as a strategy to keep their children confined to the family culture, separate from the dominant culture. F14 did not start a job after completing her PhD, and F17 left her job, both due to having teenage boys, while the wives of five male participants did not start a job for the same reasons, and fathers also participate in culture maintenance at home. The participants emphasize the attention they pay to their children. For example:

5/38. *I never sent my sons to childcare. This is not because of saving money, it’s just to stay attached to us. I went to my job early in the morning and returned home at 2pm and my husband went to his job at 2pm and was back home at 10pm. Thus, we shared our time for bringing them up, although we, husband and wife, did not enjoy our own family time. The problem was a bit solved when they started school. But when my eldest son became a teenager, I stopped my job and started to do business so that I can live in my house after they return home from school. I never let him stay alone. I always tried to occupy his time talking and talking so that he can share his feelings with me. As a mother, I understand the demands of teenagers. I always therefore gave him a lot of time [...]. So, see, I did not let my son pass his time alone as I believe an idle brain is the devil’s workshop. Now they are settled with both cultures [F17].*

5/39. *Initially, my son would argue much but he does not do it now. The biggest problem was Christmas because to celebrate it here, people make their preparations from the beginning of December, but we do not celebrate our Eid with such a big range. So he always raised questions about why we do not celebrate Christmas and why we do Eid. So, it was then difficult for us to make him understand the differences of the two cultures. This is why we take our annual leave during the Eid two/three days earlier to celebrate it well. During Eid, I usually cook delicious food that I take to his class and give to his friends and teachers so that*

he does not feel isolated from others. But now he can confidently say to others that he is Muslim and that he cannot do everything such as drink alcohol or attend night-time parties etc. [M11].

The above examples show the efforts and struggles of F17 and M11 in developing the norms and behaviours of their ethnic culture in their children. Both examples show that they are successful in making their children aware of the differences between the two cultures.

Overall, the interview data show that the participants of this study have minimised their children's contact with what they see as the visible markers of mainstream culture such as separation of parents, free mixing of boys and girls, sleepovers, alcohol drinking and attending night-time parties which are not acceptable in Bangladeshi culture. As they believe that the contact of their children with mainstream culture increases with their age through media, school, work and social contexts, the participants started their transmission of culture when their children were born. They gave them a foundation of their cultural values, norms and practices before starting school. They also create different Bangladeshi associations in their host society, so that they can arrange different social and cultural events to promote their ethnic culture to their children. In doing so, the children of this group of migrants are engaged with ethnic culture-specific behaviours not only at home but also outside the home with ethnic community members. However, they make their children participate in mainstream society through their outstanding academic results and professional achievements. In doing so, the parents of this group of migrants are often found under pressure from their children when they are asked questions regarding the differences they have to maintain. They believe that they are obliged to make some compromises in bringing up their children in the new context which is foreign to their Bangladeshi culture. They are found to be flexible in changing some of their culture specific behaviour and practices that do not collide with their core values such as extended family relationships, patriarchal cultural values, religious practices and marriage patterns. In their opinion, their children should follow the positive sides of both Bangladeshi and Australian culture, for several reasons. Firstly, they believe that every culture must have a positive side that should be respected and welcome by all. Secondly, Bangladeshi culture is the symbol of their cultural identity that they want to transmit to the second generation. This is consistent with Hughes et al. (2006), who stated that the main objective of most parents who have strong cultural identities is to preserve their own culture in their children. Most parents

(16 out of 20) in this study do not want to lose their cultural identity and for this reason they impose a cultural boundary on their children. This group of Bangladeshi migrants show their acculturation strategy of “separation” in maintaining their culture maintenance in terms of family relationships, as they primarily maintain their ethnic cultural values and keep themselves and their children separate from the host society.

5.2.3 Bangladeshi festivals and celebrations

“Celebrations and festivals have the potential for strengthening communal ties and uniting people” (Earls, 1993, p. 32). The Bangladeshi community in Southeast Queensland, Australia, is a vibrant community which organises various social events and cultural and sports programs based on Bangladeshi national and cultural days. The participants believe that these festivals and cultural events are significant components of Bangladeshi culture maintenance in their host society which represent their unity as a distinct immigrant community.

During the interviews the informants were asked to discuss their celebrations of different Bangladeshi and Australian festivals which they think of as significant for their identity and well-being in their host society. 18 participants like to celebrate all kinds of festivals while some of them are happy to celebrate only religious festivals. In addition, they tend to celebrate Australia Day each year in order to show their identity as an Australian, too. However, all of them see Bangladeshi festivals and celebrations as an essential way to express and reinforce their Bangladeshi-ness.

5.2.3.1 Role of community groups

During the interviews, five participants were acting as executive members of Bangladeshi associations in these regions. They describe the reasons for organising different types of cultural programs and events in the following ways:

5/40. *To coordinate these programs, we have a motto (objective) to sustain our language and culture in our second generation so that they can retain our heritage, culture, customs and traditions when we leave them. We want to practise the culture that we are used to since our childhood. [M8].*

5/41. *The main and sole aim to organise the Bangladeshi cultural events in our host society is to introduce our next generation to our ethnic culture so that they can realise it, accept it and*

nurture it with proper respect and love. This is our target. Another target is to let them know the real and authentic history of our country so that they can keep it in their heart and accept it as their own [...]. We did not make them feel that they are accompanying their parents to their programs. I involved teenage boys and girls in conducting the last few programs in order to make other Bangladeshi boys and girls feel encouraged to prepare to participate actively in the following programs. We have inspired them to do something different in Bangladeshi language and culture, for which we trained them. We, the first generation will not live forever in this world, so we have sown the seed in them for sprouting Bangladeshi feelings in their soul with heaps of affection, love and care. We have thus developed a positive mindset for Bangla language and culture [F17].

The above examples reflect on the Bangladeshi community of Southeast Queensland's objectives for organising the programs evident in the words "motto", "aim" and "target". They also express their fear of the extinction of Bangladeshi culture with their death ("when we depart"; "we... will not live forever") if they do not properly maintain it during their lifetime. Both examples, therefore, focus on instilling Bangladeshi feelings permanently inside the next generation ("in", "heart", "soul") with the aim of ensuring Bangladeshi culture maintenance after their death. This shows their awareness not only of present maintenance, but also of the future existence of their ethnic culture. Both participants quoted above not only practise their ethnic culture, but also employ consistent efforts to transmit it to the second generation. The other participants in this study also highlight the efforts of the Bangladeshi community in Brisbane and Toowoomba to promote Bangladeshi culture to the future generations and the wider Australian community, so that Bangladeshi culture will continue to thrive in Australia.

Participants appreciated the cultural programs on Bangladeshi national days (see section 4.3.3). For example:

5/42. Cultural programs organised in our community are predominantly associated with Bangladeshi significant national or cultural days...so each of them reminds me of the national days of my home and its history...when I often miss home [M14]

5/43. [...] at the very beginning of each program, we request someone to say something about what the day is ...why it is celebrated as all of the days bear significant history and meaning. [...]. I believe if these kids were in Bangladesh, they would get ideas about them from schools or text books or from the TV news or programs. Then he/she

discusses the theme and the history of the specific day in detail in English.... We always try to make the kids understand the significance of the particular day and the festivals[M16]

Example 5/42 reflects on the vivid memories of M14, related to his home and its history, while example 5/43 shows how the history is transmitted to the second generation in Australia. These days give them time for thinking about their history and origins. For example: when they celebrate their Independence Day or Victory Day, they feel a sense of belonging as a Bangladeshi, which identity was achieved in exchange for the lives of millions of Bangladeshi people during the Liberation War in 1971, while International Mother Language Day gives them a sense of pride as part of a nation which sacrificed people's lives to establish their mother tongue as a state language. It is through these cultural events that this group of migrants demonstrate their ethnic identity and sustain their connections with their country of origin, despite the fact that they live far away.

The informants also want to transmit their knowledge of the history of each Bangladeshi national and cultural day to the second generation through different strategies. Example 5/43 mentions the story-telling strategy that is used in each of the cultural events organised in the Toowoomba community. It is interesting that the story is usually told in English instead of Bangla. It seems to be inconsistent with their declaratopm that their children have good communicative skills in Bangla. However, the aim is to present the history in the simplest way, whereas Bangladeshi political discourse uses Bangla words which are rarely used in their daily communication. They fear that children might be discouraged to listen to the story if they are not familiar with the vocabulary.

The participants also report how the events are arranged by various Bangladeshi associations in Brisbane throughout the year. For example:

5/44. BAB organises the cultural program in our Victory Day and on the first day of Bangla New Year. We usually can't arrange anything for Independence Day. We organise International Mother Language Day with the collaboration of Brisbane Bangla School. We also arrange some social, cultural and sporting activities. For example: concerts, annual picnics, barbecues on Australia day cricket and tennis tournaments are noteworthy. We also organise seminars, debates, conferences and

workshops on topics of interest related to Bangladesh and Australia. [.....]. The International Mother Language Day is actually organised by Brisbane Bangla School, we only cooperate with them [F17].

5/45. *The Society of Bangladeshi Doctors Queensland organises many networking and socio-cultural activities in Bangla for its members and their families all year round [M3].*

5/46. *In Toowoomba we celebrate the First day of Bangla New Year on 14 April, our Victory Day on 16th December, International Mother Language Day on 21st February and our Independence Day on 26 March.... [M11]*

This wide range of programs and events show their efforts to sustain their culture in their host society. Examples 5/44 and 5/46 show the frequent use of “we” to indicate their collective identity as Bangladeshi. According to these examples, organising different festivals and cultural events are a mechanism that makes them construct personal feelings of belonging and acceptance within a collective sense of “we” as part of the community.

Example 5/44 shows that this group of migrants in Australia have included Australia Day as part of their celebrations. This shows their cognitive acculturation as they have accepted Australian identity as part of their social identification. Their celebration of Australia Day also indicates a degree of behavioural acculturation, as they have adopted the social behaviours of other people in the host society. This behavioural acculturation is also evident when they declare that they follow (mainstream) Australian rules and appreciate (mainstream) some behaviour of Australian culture which do not contradict their core values. Similar attitudes have also been reflected in organising academic events on “*topics of interest related to Bangladesh and Australia*”, which indicates their awareness of maintaining relationships between the two countries. They also promote intergenerational networks through such programs which provide young adults with adequate psychological and intellectual resources to appreciate the values of both cultures.

The cultural events organised in this region are platforms for Bangladeshi migrants to perform various forms of Bangladeshi arts such as song, dance, recitation, and staged drama in which the active participation of the next generation is encouraged. The main attractions of the Bangladeshi festivals and celebrations in Australia are cultural programs and food. The arts are one of the most active ways by which migrant community members negotiate their identities in their host society,

because performing traditional songs and dances in a new environment connects the performers with their native culture (Smith, DeMeo, & Widmann, 2011). The participants in this study state that their emotions and feelings for the country of origin are stimulated by the sounds of Bangla songs and recitation and the rhythms of the dance, as they grew up with a wide range of cultural programs which were organised throughout the year. Jacobson (2006) stated that music is a symbol of collective identity and represents self-definition. The music programs of the Bangladeshi cultural events and festivals in Australia remind the participants in this study of their memories of the homeland in which the source of their identity lies. They start to sing with the performers, sometimes consciously, or sometimes unconsciously, which ultimately gives them solace.

The informants also feel proud of their cultural programs as they invite local members of parliament, ministers and their Australian friends to introduce Bangladeshi arts to people of the mainstream society. This also gives them an opportunity to socialise with the broader Australian community. Chayes and Minow (2003) stated that such performances of traditional arts in the host society promote cross-cultural understanding among audiences of different backgrounds (p. 284).

Surprisingly, two participants in the interviews report that they celebrate their ethnic cultural festivals in Australia better than in Bangladesh. They invest their effort and time to organise such festivals and sometimes hire artists from Bangladesh, which is difficult to fund. Some members of this community therefore train to perform in those cultural programs, although many of them did not have experience of performing arts when they were in Bangladesh. Learning new culture-specific skills strengthens their ethnic identity when they perform Bangladeshi arts in front of people from different communities in multicultural Australia. This also gives them a feeling of belonging and attachment with the community for which they perform. Kim, Kim, Han & Chin (2015) found that such culturally meaningful activities constructed positive attitudes of immigrants to their host society. In this study, engagement in the arts provides participants with broader social connections, occasions to share language and various forms of art between generations and allows them to feel connected to the host society.

Eighteen out of the 19 participants with children confirm that their children are actively involved in cultural and religious festivals in Australia. They also report that their cultural knowledge of Bangladeshi arts has been transmitted through the involvement of the younger generation in cultural training and activities. For instance, the eldest son of F17 is a famous tabla player in

Brisbane, who has been learning Tabla since childhood from a renowned professional in Brisbane. He has performed on stage in programs organised by various South Asian cultural organisations and won prizes. In the same way, the daughter of M6 has become a good dancer, as he described:

5/47. My daughter learnt Kathak dance from Indian classical dancing school in Brisbane. She used to perform in the cultural program regularly. She is really a professionally good dancer and her teacher is too...she was the best student at the dance school [M6].

The eldest daughter of F13 is also a singer who sings Bangla and Hindi songs and performs in cultural programs in Brisbane and Toowoomba. Without formal training from any institution, she has developed her skills from YouTube. Similarly, the son of M11 performs song and drama in the cultural programs at Toowoomba. The daughters of F19 also sing Bangla songs in these programs in Brisbane, whereas M9 mentions the desire of his daughter to learn Bangla songs to perform on stage like other Bangladeshi children, although she was only around three years old during his interviews. Interviewees also reflected that the participation of children motivates the other children to participate in the next programs. Parents and the executive members of various Bangladeshi associations in Southeast Queensland play a significant role in such encouragement.

The participants believe that they can perform in the cultural events held in their host society more actively than would be possible if they were in their country of origin. For example:

5/48. I would say that I am very happy regarding practising culture in Australia. I can perform and practice culture much here than in Bangladesh. For example: you get to see so many artists from Bangladesh and they will come and stay with you here. Once I got a chance to see a famous artist of Tabla player who stayed at my home and I was learning Tabla together. That's an Indian Tabla player. I would not be getting such kind of opportunity in Bangladesh where they just come on the stage and perform and go back home. People, I mean the audiences have no interactions with them. so I would say that it is more fulfilling and happier to be here and to be an Australian, to be able to maintain my culture, my language, my religion, my friendship, my security [M6].

5/49. *I enjoy cultural festivals here a lot as I am heavily involved with organising various programs here with my utmost love and sincerity while I would only join those programs in Bangladesh as a visitor. Here, participation and involvement is significant to me. You know that there are some different groups of people in Bangladesh who are involved in organising*

the programs. I am therefore happy here as I believe that I am organising these programs myself here [F17].

The above examples show their happiness in Australia due to the active participation and involvement in organising such programs in their host society. Voluntary participation in ethnic art-based activities enhances the positive feelings of the persons who are active in organising ethnic cultural events and who perform in their host society (Ramsden et al., 2011). M6 talks about the lack of opportunity of the audiences to get closer to the artists in Bangladesh while it is possible in Australia due to the limited number of audiences. It is often very difficult to find professional artists for the Bangladeshi community in Queensland, because members of this newly arrived and small immigrant group have not yet adopted performance of Bangladeshi arts as their profession. The lack of professional artists makes some community members perform arts out of their passion for arts and culture. Their dedication and commitment to culture maintenance are reflected in their statements: “*heavily involved*” and “*utmost love and sincerity*”. Participating in arts and cultural activities in the host country provides them an opportunity to maintain a connection and continuity with their culture of origin.

Eighteen out of the 20 participants of this study consider Bangladeshi cultural festivals, literature, songs and music an indispensable component of Bangladeshi culture that they want to maintain in their host society. This is evident through their active participation in the celebrations and festivals in Australia. The informants who act as executive members of Bangladeshi associations in these regions describe the role of the organisations in arranging different cultural events in Australia. For example:

5/50. If there were no organisation, who would organise our cultural programs on a large scale? Where would we go? I think at that time (when there was no Bangladeshi organisation), the celebration would be on a personal level...no Bangladeshi in Australia would be connected to one another. Now because of the organisation, we can see a get-together of all Bangladeshi migrants under a single umbrella by which we are well-known to other migrant groups. To me, Bangladesh is itself an organisation, and if there were no Bangladesh, we would not have any Bangladeshi identity. After that, when we came here, our identity would be a refugee having no identity [...]. An organisation plays an enormous role in networking between the members of the particular community [...]. For example: if you are a single Bangladeshi without a group, nobody will value only a single Bangladeshi person; instead, you will be

esteemed well when you are in a group. A collective voice is always valuable than that of a single person in Australia, though he/she might be a rich person. In Australia, the vote is significant and so is the collective vote [...] here politicians will see a single Bangladeshi person as a single person but value 5000 Bangladeshi migrants as a group with much respect and honour [M8].

M8 highlights the importance of upholding group identity in his statements: “we”, “collective voice”; “connected to one another”; “all Bangladeshi migrants under a single umbrella” and “5000 Bangladeshi migrants as a group”. These statements emphasise the group as Bangladeshi, rather than focusing on the identity of an individual Bangladeshi in Australia.

In establishing and sustaining a group identity for the Bangladeshi community in Australia, M8 emphasises the role of leadership as demonstrated by the rhetorical questions starting with “who?” and “where would we go?”. The question “who?” indicates that nobody other than Bangladeshi associations organise different types of Bangladeshi cultural events each year. Bangladeshi associations in Australia provide their members with an opportunity to construct a comfort zone in which their ethnic, cultural days and festivals are celebrated with respect and value on a larger level. This zone ensures and increases social relations, which is evident in the comment, “networking between the members”. Such social networks enable the members of this community to provide assistance to one another in times of need. This is particularly helpful for recent migrants. They can find an opportunity to meet new friends and connect with other members of this community. Social networks consequently develop fellow feeling, trust and an ethnic bond of friendship among them. Bangladeshi organisations contribute to the development of social capital for Bangladeshi migrants in Australia through constructing networks and cohesiveness. These community efforts play a significant role in diminishing acculturative stress that might occur during settlement in a new society.

M8 also defines Bangladesh as “itself an organisation”, which provides the migrants with a foundation of identity which they retain, despite the changes in their life due to migration. M8 argues that Bangladeshi community members did not come to Australia as displaced persons. Instead, they moved to Australia with their respective professional skills and qualifications by which they are contributing to Australian society and economic development. Ward (2001) similarly found that acculturation outcomes of immigrants are different from those of refugees.

For this reason, it can be said that the acculturation process of Bangladeshi migrants of this group will be different from the refugees who are forced to flee to Australia against their will.

At the end of this example, M8 mentions the participation of the Bangladeshi community in electing the Australian government through their collective vote for which they are valued by Australian politicians and members of parliament. This makes them feel part of this society. It shows that they have adopted Australian nationality through their settlement as Australian citizens or permanent residents, giving them the right to participate in decision-making during elections. However they do not want to adopt the values and practices of Australian culture which mostly contradict their core values. This indicates elements of hybrid identity as they want to hold the national identity of their host country but, as discussed throughout this chapter, they have retained their cultural identity to a great extent in their daily practice and behaviours (see section 2.3.3).

During the interviews, they were found to be happy to practise their cultural norms and values in Australia, as they believe that Australia encourages the maintenance of ethnic culture of its populations through its multicultural policies. The above discussion shows that they maintain their cultural practices in the family domain and they organise a wide range of cultural and social events outside the family domain mostly involving their children so that they can develop skills in practising their culture at the community level. In doing so, their positive attitudes are reflected through their active participation and involvement, which help them to create a unique identity in multicultural Australia. This involvement is also one kind of strategy of these migrants to transmit their language and culture to the second generation through different Bangladeshi associations. All of the participants tend to be happy in celebrating their cultural festivals in Australia and highlight the community efforts for their culture maintenance. The interview data show that the informants celebrate their cultural festivals in Australia to a large extent as they did in Bangladesh, although they have included the celebration of Australia Day as part of their national identity.

5.2.3.2 Personal level

In addition to the festivals mentioned above, Bangladeshi people celebrate weekend get-togethers, birthdays, and wedding anniversaries with family members, relatives, neighbours and friends in Australia in a very different way, providing a touch of Bangladeshi culture, particularly with food and outfits. For example:

5/51. *Frequent and regular gatherings of Bangladeshi people in Australia provide us with an opportunity to practice many aspects of Bangladeshi culture, despite living far from our homeland. At those parties, we communicate with one another in Bangla, eat Bangladeshi food, and wear Bangladeshi dress and ornaments. We can also keep and engage our second generations within the boundary of Bangladeshi atmosphere so that they can be accustomed to this type of celebration. Moreover, this kind of social gathering promotes various businesses among Bangladeshi migrants in Australia. Whereas in the past we had to go to the shops of other migrant communities such as India, Pakistan and so on, with whom we have some cultural and religious resemblance [F17].*

This example describes how Bangladeshi community members maintain Bangladeshi culture in their personal and social celebrations, and how it has significant roles in developing and supporting community business in their surrounding areas. It also highlights their aim to raise their children within the Bangladeshi cultural atmosphere as evidenced by the comments, “keep”, “engage” and “in the boundary”. Finally, this example talks about the significant role of culture maintenance for the development of local community businesses among Bangladeshi migrants. All of these views in example 5/51 are also proof of the effort to maintain Bangladeshi culture of this group.

The interview data show that these programs happen all year in the Bangladeshi community. Interviewees usually invite friends and members of the Bangladeshi community to their places or to parks. Nowadays, they hire many clubs and community centres as the numbers of guests are increasing daily. They mostly cook Bangladeshi food for guests, though some of them now buy food from various Bangladeshi catering services or restaurants. They also hire a photographer and event management group to arrange the party. The host of each party bears the expenses of the whole program while the guests, in turn, only bring some presents and gifts for the host. They believe that such hospitality is also part of their cultural values so that they want to maintain this to a great extent. Every member of the party wears fashionable, new, traditional Bangladeshi dress to each of the cultural programs. Girls and women go to beauty parlours run by Bangladeshi women to adorn themselves with Bangladeshi-style makeup and hairstyles. Such adornment is also another form of the expression of Bangladeshi cultural heritage that the women of this community want to maintain in their host society. They want to look and feel themselves to be their best with

their Bangladeshi fashions and outlooks. Although they have adopted Australian styles in their outfits to a large extent, they maintain their Bangladeshi fashion and beauty styles in their ethnic community programs and get-togethers to negotiate and navigate their multiple identities as they perceive them as markers of their ethnic identities.

Due to these celebrations and programs, some businesses have grown up within this community. For example: Bangladeshi women migrants run some home-based and online-based boutique business because it is not possible for all of them to bring dresses from Bangladesh each month. Bangladeshi women entrepreneurs in Brisbane own a boutique/clothing store of traditional Bangladeshi dresses, jewellery and accessories for men, women and kids. Some women have also become makeup artists and opened their own beauty parlours, while previously they had to depend on parlours and salons run by people from India and middle-eastern countries. This also indicates their behavioural acculturation due to the development of social skills that are necessary to cope in the new society as they serve not only Bangladeshi people, but also people of different cultures in their host society. Similarly, the catering and restaurant business is becoming popular in this community and so are photography and event management jobs. Celebrations are so significant to these community members that they lead to the establishment of entire businesses and then further sustain the community economically. Arcodia & Whitford (2007) also report that festivals and cultural events play significant roles in having economic, political and socio-cultural impacts on the host groups. Thus, culture maintenance of this group of Bangladeshi migrants promotes multiculturalism in Australia and develops a local industry that contributes to overall Australian economic growth.

5.2.4 Food

“Dietary acculturation” is multidimensional, dynamic and complex, signifying changes in migrants’ food habits and choices after migration (Satia et al., 2000). For better understanding of the global trends of migration, it is essential to know how migrants negotiate their food habits and behaviours in their host society (Terragni, Garnweidner, Pettersen, & Mosdøl, 2014). The informants in this study love to eat traditional Bangladeshi food, although there are substantial changes in their food habits and behaviours after migration. They perceive their food as delicious, healthy and representing an attachment with their homeland and their mothers who cooked

delicious food for them in Bangladesh. All of them show a sense of pride and ownership when they described their cultural foods.

The interview data show that participants clearly compare the food of their host with that of their home country. Nineteen of them tend to define Australian food as breads, cereals, oats, fast or processed foods, while M4 mentions “steak” as Australian food. Some of them (M2, M7) are not sure what is distinctively Australian food, as it is a multicultural country having integrated food from different immigrant communities. According to them, the geographical location and climate of Bangladesh have a significant impact on the eating habits of Bangladeshi-born people. For example:

5/52. We are ‘mache-bhate Bangalee’ (a nation of “Rice and fish”), that we can’t hide, as we can’t live a day without rice [M2]

5/53. Our traditional eating patterns mean rice as the main dish for at least two, if not three, meals per day. We also like to eat different types of fish due to our riverine country. Whenever we went to our village, we caught fish from our ponds and our mother and aunts cooked them immediately for us, that I miss nowadays [M14].

The above examples show that rice is the staple food of Bangladesh. The participants in this study seek a sense of happiness and identity in rice and fish which they want to keep in their daily food menu as part of their culture maintenance. Recollecting the memories of their homeland, all interviewees stated that they used to eat home-cooked fresh food made by their mother or other relatives while they were in Bangladesh. According to the patriarchal values and norms of traditional Bangladeshi culture, domestic duties including cooking were women’s tasks, while men held the authority of the family (Sultana & Zulkefli, 2012). These roles are however evolving in Bangladesh, and this is also seen in the Bangladeshi migrants in Australia. In this study, all of the female participants and the spouses of seven out of the 12 male participants are working women. The participants acknowledge that their wives, mothers, grandmothers and aunts traditionally spent a great deal of time preparing food for the family. At the same time, their appreciation for such traditions is revealed when they say that customs like preparing foods for family members were deeply meaningful to the whole family. Their mothers and other female relatives bound the family together with their time-consuming cooked dishes prepared with love, affection and responsibility.

5.2.4.1 *Patterns of eating after migration*

Most of the participants (15 out of 20) state that they cannot get freshly cooked food for each meal due to their busy lifestyles and lack of domestic help in Australia. In Bangladesh, women receive help in chores including cooking from extended family members and domestic workers. In Australia, however, this is not the case, and so the participants in this study tend to have changed their food habits to a certain extent and adopted something from mainstream culture. Only M5 reports having a maid to help his wife cook and they always eat freshly cooked food every day.

During their interviews the participants described their food habits since migration. For example:

5/54. *I like and love Bangladeshi food a lot whatever is feasible for me to buy here [M8].*

5/55. *I still keep some cultures of my origin particularly food culture of my origin. Still now I am not used to with the Australian food culture. I think that Australia has not yet been developed in terms of food as a multicultural country. I love to eat food of Bangladeshi cuisine; I love to eat Asian cuisine. Unfortunately I am not used to eat Australian cuisine such as steak, bread, smash potatoes etc. I still stick to the original habit of Bangladeshi food, though the pattern of my eating habit has changed a bit due to my job. But I am happy with the food safety in Australia, though the cuisine is a different thing [M2].*

5/56. *Frankly speaking, I can't eat any food except Bangladeshi food. So, my son who is autistic also eats Bangladeshi food. We do our grocery shopping from Bangladeshi shops [M1].*

5/57. *I love all Bangladeshi food including bharta, vegetables, meat, fish, everything. I also like Australian food very much, particularly steak that we always eat in restaurants. Although you will not get fresh fishes in those shops, you will get the frozen foods of all items that I love most namely some savoury items dalpuri, singara, chanachur etc. Unfortunately, it is not possible for me to eat Bangladeshi food regularly, but we eat it in special occasions [M4].*

All of the examples show the participants' love for Bangladeshi dishes. Examples 5/54 and 5/57 show the acceptance of M8 and M4 that Bangladeshi food is not always available in their adopted

society. M8 and M4 have adapted their eating habits more than the other participants in spite of having an attachment to ethnic food that are fulfilled on “special occasions”.

On the other hand, M2 and M1 declare that they are not used to Australian cuisine, although M2 has been accustomed to Asian cuisines to some extent. M2 mentions different types of cuisines in multicultural Australia in which he suggests further improvement of Australian cuisine is needed, compared to others. The frequent use of “still” in example 5/55 illustrates that M2 is aware of the changes in his food habits since his migration. According to him, he maintains Bangladeshi culture as shown by his comments “cultures of my origin” and “original habit of Bangladeshi food”, despite his changes in eating patterns. This shows his limited dietary acculturation as he has not yet developed his habit to eat foods from Australian cuisines. The words “still keep” and “still stick to” refer to his food culture maintenance.

In terms of the original food culture maintenance, Garnweidner, Terragni, Pettersen and Mosdøl, (2012) categorised migrants into three groups, namely, “strict continuity”- strict followers, “flexible continuity”- people who are flexible in changing food habits, and “limited continuity”- people who maintain ethnic food habits on special occasions in spite of lots of passion for them (p.338). In this study, seven participants, like M1, are in the category of “strict continuity” who strictly follow the Bangladeshi diet in their daily meals, as they perceive other food as “tasteless”, “half-cooked”, “uncooked” or “boiled without spices”. In contrast, 12 participants like M2 have “flexible continuity” as they have changed their food habits to some extent while M4 and M8, represent “limited continuity”, as they cannot maintain Bangladeshi food habits regularly due to their excessive busy lifestyles in Australia. It is therefore evident that most of the participants are in the dietary acculturation group while some of them have limited acculturation and two persons have no acculturation in their food habits since their migration.

5.2.4.2 Religious influence

Food is a significant marker of Bangladeshi culture in which religion has a decisive role. Most of the participants (16 out of 20) in this study reported selecting their daily food based on religious beliefs as part of culture maintenance. For example: eating pork and consuming alcohol are prohibited for Muslims, beef is avoided by Hindus, Buddhists do not eat meat while Christians in Bangladesh, do not have such restrictions. In addition, when buying meat and other foods which use animal products (like gelatin), Muslims prefer Halal, which means permissible, according to

Islamic law. Muslim participants frequently mentioned their efforts to maintain halal food and a Hindu participant prefers vegetarian food while some of them do not follow any food rules.

5/58. *I always tried to make my children understand what is permissible for us and what is not in our religion since their childhood. Now they have developed their food habits based on this belief.* [F13].

5/59. *All of my in-laws are vegetarian out of their religious belief and so is my husband for the last twenty years. I am vegetarian too for the last five/six years. It is because of staying together for a long time and because of cooking for my husband, I was also interested to be vegetarian and can't eat meat anymore... but my son is not a vegetarian* [F18].

5/60. *I believe I have been emotionally integrated in Australian culture. For example: I go to pub with them, I go to clubs with them, I drink alcohol ... I never keep anything barrier with them in the name of food* [M4].

5/61. *Now people around me are familiar with our food habits. But initially...umm...we were a bit scared when we went to eat out, thinking about what we were eating...actually we were not sure what the ingredients of foods were. On top of that, people were not familiar with the terms Halal and Non-Halal. When we asked others about this, they also could not give us correct information. They looked peculiarly at us. They actually did not understand what Halal food was. But now because of the increase in numbers of Muslims, they are becoming familiar with the term "halal". Now most Australians are familiar with the term... [M11].*

5/62. *If we go outside, we usually prefer vegetarian to avoid the confusion between Halal and Haram* [F13].

Focusing on the development of food habits among family members in terms of religious norms, example 5/58 highlights the role of parents while example 5/59 points out the role of the spouse after her marriage. Like F3, 13 out of 17 Muslim participants follow Halal in selecting their food while three others (M2, F16 and F20) do not and are willing to eat anything except pork and alcohol. M12 and F18 have become vegetarian and M8 avoids beef and pork, due to their religious beliefs. In contrast, examples 5/57 and 5/60 illustrate that M4 believes that he is integrated into Australia and does not maintain any restriction on his food.

Concerning eating out in a new society, example 5/61 describes the initial tension and confusion of migrants when they fail to understand the exact ingredients of new foods. This example also refers to the benefits in the increased number of migrants with diverse religious beliefs in multicultural Australia to enhance cross-cultural understanding and socio-cultural adaptation. According to them, religion is an integral part of their Bangladeshi culture that they want to maintain, following different strategies to deal with the new behaviour in their host society.

The interview data indicates that all of them are respectful to the religious beliefs of others when they invite one another to their home. For example: Muslims do not cook beef if they invite Hindus and try to keep vegetarian food and fish for Buddhist friends, while Christians and Hindus always buy meat from a Halal butcher shop when they invite Muslim friends to their place. In the same way, Muslim and Hindu participants in this study mentioned that they are respected by their Australian colleagues and friends when they are invited to their celebrations. Prior to the party, they always frankly discuss their dietary requirements and options. Then the hosts make special arrangements for Muslims and Hindus, for which they feel satisfied and integrated in their host society and valued by the host nationals. The interviewees express their positive feelings and gratitude towards multicultural Australian society as they are able to maintain their food culture in their host society to a great extent, despite their religious and culture-specific values and beliefs regarding food.

5.2.4.3 Distinctiveness

The participants in this study mainly focus on Bangladeshi cooking styles that make their food unique. They seek a sense of belonging and connection in the flavour and smell of their cooked food when they eat. For example:

5/63. When I warm/heat up my lunch in the tea room of my office, there's a good smell and my colleagues tell me that "Wow! That's a nice yum yum food!" which makes me feel good. Sometimes I invite my Australian colleagues in our houses and party in which we share our native food. They love our curry, food. [M6].

5/64. *The food cooked by my wife always takes me back to my home when my mother did it for me as my wife learned cooking from my mother. I do not find such feelings anywhere in the world except in the cooked food at my home* [M3].

Example 5/63 presents the distinctive taste of Bangladeshi cooked food and the hospitable nature of Bangladeshi people. It also shows M6's friendly relationship with host nationals. Many participants explain that, when preparing food, Bangladeshi people use special spices and ingredients and for this reason they go to Bangladeshi and Indian grocery shops close to them. These particular ingredients add flavours to their food that are strongly attached to their feelings and emotions about their homeland. According to the participants, the Bangladeshi way of cooking food has significant meaning in their life. Example 5/64 describes the intergenerational transmission of cooking styles from M3's mother to his wife showing the continuity of culture. Brown, Edwards and Hartwell (2010) reported that "eating home country food provides (*sic.*) emotional and physical nourishment" (p.202). The participants therefore eat home-cooked Bangladeshi dishes at least once per week with other family members in Australia for their psychological contentment.

At breakfast and lunch, they usually eat bread with jam, cereals, oats, sandwiches and/or pasta, like other Australian people. However, they make great efforts to maintain Bangladeshi culture in their home through organising dinner menus. For dinner they prepare home-cooked Bangladeshi food in which rice with curried dishes of meat, fish, vegetables and lentils are noteworthy. All of the informants of this study state their craving for rice. Their appetite is not satisfied without it, if it is excluded from their daily meals. They also make their dinnertime a time of family interaction and social events, retaining their food culture (see section 4.3.1.2).

On weekends, they try to prepare special Bangladeshi breakfasts which take a lot of time to prepare. The Bangladeshi restaurants in Brisbane often offer breakfast buffets in which many Bangladeshi families celebrate special events.

In relation to Bangladeshi family traditions and food cultures, all of the informants mentioned hospitality and visiting friends and relatives as integral parts of Bangladeshi culture that they want to maintain in their host society. Hospitality is deeply rooted within the tradition of Bangladeshi and religious culture of both Muslims and Hindus in which food plays a significant role. For example

5/65. *Hospitality is the main characteristic of Bangladeshi food culture* [M9].

5/66. *Hospitality is compulsory for Bangladeshi families if you visit them with an invitation or without an invitation. It is a part of our customs and so Bangladeshi*

people try their level best to cook something for guests. Guests, on the other hand, bring pastries, sweets, handmade food or good quality chocolates when they visit a Bangladeshi's home [M8].

5/67. I mean here we are so formal...if you want to see my friends we have to make a long plan ...we have to make a phone call earlier...but in Bangladesh we don't have to think about such formal things.... we don't have to call them. Any time you feel you can go without any hesitation. And they will welcome you anytime and entertain you with their special homemade food [M6].

In describing the hospitality and cordiality of Bangladeshi people in entertaining guests, M6 compares his life in Australia with that in Bangladesh. In example 5/67, Australian culture is presented as formal, while Bangladeshi culture is described as informal. During the interviews, it was said that guests are always welcome at any time and will always be served food, while guests themselves expect that they will be offered a variety of delicious food items with much cordiality. This is reflected in their regular weekend get-togethers, celebrations and social events in which they entertain the guests with an abundance of traditional Bangladeshi cooked food and delicious handmade sweetmeats (see section 4.3.1.2). Hospitality promotes cohesion and cordiality among these migrants.

For the participants in this study, food is the main attraction of their family and social gatherings, and also cultural events. They seek happiness and satisfaction in hosting family and social events with home-made or catered Bangladeshi food for the guests. In the gatherings, they talk about the food and share their cooking experiences. The informants in this study also recollect their own memories when they share their recipes of the dishes with which they grew up. Eating Bangladeshi dishes during social and cultural events in their host society is one kind of strategy to keep their culture alive.

5.2.4.4 Intergenerational Food Habits

The interview data show the concern of the participants about the food habits of their children, although they are found to maintain their food culture in Australia. The first generation are more inclined to maintain traditional Bangladeshi food habits, whereas the second generation prefers baked, fried, fast and processed foods as they seek the easiest way to prepare food. However, the informants tend to agree that it is important to keep their food habits intact as long as possible, so

that the future generations may sustain them through their regular mealtime traditions. In order to transmit the food culture to their children, they are found to employ different strategies such as meal-time talk; attending regular get-togethers, celebrating many personal and social events in groups and frequent visits to and from Bangladesh (see section 4.3.1.2 and 4.3.1.3). For example:

5/68. I always tell my sons not to waste food as lots of people in the world starve to death every day. In addition, I always try to make them accustomed to Bangladeshi food. We have an agreement that each day, I choose one meal and they choose the other one. For my favourite meals, I have Bangladeshi vegetables, fish etc. whereas they have spaghetti, pizza, nuggets and soup etc. I opened a shop for the first time in Brisbane so that Bangladeshi people like me can buy Bangladeshi food anytime they wish [F17].

This example shows that F17, as a mother, is extremely aware of developing negotiated efforts to foster her ethnic food habits in her sons. Like F17, all informants mention that the women in each family mainly make the food decisions in their households.

Regarding the food habits of children, the participants have said that they have made their children accustomed to their own favourite Bangladeshi meals. For example:

5/69. His [her son's] favourite food is Bangladeshi food. He eats rice a lot. Though I give him chicken rolls, muffins or some snacks, he wants to eat rice as a must with dinner. He eats whatever in daytime, but rice is must at night. He likes fish very much. He prefers fish curry to meat [F18].

Example 5/69 highlights the preference of the son of F18 to eat Bangladeshi food, particularly rice and fish.

The above discussion has provided some interesting insights into the role of Bangladeshi culture and religion in the food habits of Bangladeshi migrants in Southeast Queensland, Australia. Overall, the interview data confirm that the participants of this study view food as a representation of their ethnic culture that they want to pass on to their second generation in different ways. All of the participants are flexible in their food habits, although they want to retain their ethnic food habits and religious customs to a certain extent in their daily meals and to a large extent in their

regular social gatherings. In the interviews, the participants who follow religious faith in food selection showed their trust in and reliance on their children as they have already developed their children's strong religious faith through their religious teaching and organising daily meals at home accordingly. This is confirmed by Shafiq (2016) who found that Bangladeshi migrants in Australia perceive food not only as something to eat, but to symbolise their ethnic traditions and memories of home. Similarly, the participants in this study believe that preparation of food as per Bangladeshi cuisine tends to be a marker of the cultural identity of Bangladeshi-born people. Such kinds of food preparation are recognised as a kind of cultural continuity by Bangladeshi migrants as they find the smells of home in the aromas and flavours of such kinds of food. They enjoy traditional Bangladeshi cuisine which takes them back to their home country. It is also found that they are employing different strategies to transmit their food culture to their children. This is consistent with the family policies of Turkish, Greek, Indian and Chinese communities in Australia (Green et al., 2003) and Anglo-Australian, Chinese Australian and Italian Australian families (Rhodes et al., 2016). However, it is not always possible for migrants to maintain all aspects of the ethnic culture in their new society. It is evident that the participants of this study show their psychological acculturation to some extent in their host society, as they have changed the pattern of their eating habits to cope with their lifestyles in their new society. However, they try to eat Bangladeshi dishes at least once a day or on weekends as part of their culture maintenance.

5.2.5 Religion

Bangladesh is a state of diverse religions: Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, Christianity, and several local religions (Momen, 2013). With a majority Muslim Sunni population (85 to 90 per cent) it is also one of the largest Muslim-majority countries in the world, after Indonesia and Pakistan. Participants from these four main religions were involved in this study (see Table 3-1). They were asked to discuss their views on religion in relation to Bangladeshi culture. For example:

5/70. By Bangladeshi culture, I mean Muslim culture, but Muslims who are very moderate, unlike Middle Eastern Muslims [F20].

5/71. I should not say religion is the main part of Bangladeshi culture because both religion and Bangladeshi cultures are closely interrelated that we can't separate. When we talk about Bangladeshi culture, it means Bangladeshi language, culture and religion. All of these are composed of Bangladeshi culture. Being a Bangladeshi, we cannot tell it that you will just be a religious not knowing other Bangladeshi cultures

or norms. Again, if you don't know the Bangladeshi culture, you will not know religion well. So, religion is linked to Bangladeshi culture [M2].

Two out of the 20 participants view religion as part of Bangladeshi culture. Most of them (see section 5.2.5.1) follow their respective religion in maintaining social values and celebrating festivals. In contrast, 75% of the respondents of Shafiq's 2016 study viewed religion as the primary symbol of Bangladeshi culture, and also mentioned that social values in Bangladesh are mainly religion-based.

The participants in this study believe that their religious identity is distinctive in terms of religious practices and beliefs which they want to practice in Australia as part of their culture maintenance. F20 states that Bangladeshi Muslim culture is different from other Muslim cultures in terms of its practices and norms. M2 thinks that Bangladeshi culture is the coexistence of shared cultural values, practices and beliefs of different religious groups and that retaining religious identity is one kind of Bangladeshi culture maintenance.

According to cultural heritage, communal harmony prevails as an integral part of Bangladeshi culture in which all communities celebrate their religions regardless of the differences, despite the fact that there are some incidents of religious tensions in Bangladesh. The interview data show that attitudes and values of the participants of this study towards religions are more resistant to change, although they have acknowledged that their religious practices have changed to some extent due to the influence of people around them in Australia.

5.2.5.1 Religious Practice

The interviewees were asked to discuss their maintenance of religious practices which they think of as significant for Bangladeshi identity in Australia.

5/72. I have faith in religion but do not practice. I enjoy the celebration of the religious festivals. My wife and my children neither believe nor practise any particular religion. They only do believe in humanity as their sole religion [M8].

5/73. I say prayers five times daily regularly, including one time in a mosque with my neighbouring Muslim people. I always try to maintain all religious prayers. It is our culture to give food to our neighbours during the month of Ramadan. We, Bangladeshi people organise an Iftar³ party once in the month of Ramadan in our local mosque. I

³ Iftar is the meal eaten by Muslims after sunset during Ramadan.

also send food to my non-Muslim neighbours in Ramadan and they also send us gifts during Christmas [M3].

5/74. I usually cannot go to the mosque, until there is a public holiday [M9].

5/75. I maintain my culture through my prayers. I pray two times per day. We practice religion very strongly. We go to the temple at Brisbane as there is no temple in Toowoomba. Our temple is in Jindalee. We go there mostly on weekends... not regularly...it might be once in two months or once in six months. Some religious programs like Kirton⁴ and some other Puja⁵ [prayer ritual performed by Hindus] are organised in the temple. But besides going to the Temple to celebrate Puja, we regularly arrange some religious services at our residence for which we invite nearby Hindus [F18].

These examples give an overall idea about the religious practice of Bangladeshi migrants in Southeast Queensland, Australia, as part of their culture maintenance. Of the 20 participants, nine maintain their daily prayers, while nine others are not regular in their daily prayers but maintain their religious rituals. F18 and M12 believe that they maintain their culture through their religious practices.

Twelve of them reported that they go to the mosque just for prayers and F18 attend temples occasionally with other Hindus of Bangladeshi origin for her religious practices and M8 attend temples during the festivals (see section 4.3.2.2). M12 is the only person who is actively involved at his Christian church activities (see section 4.3.2.2). In contrast, M4, M5, M8, M9, F19 and F20 do not follow the norms and practices of religion except for enjoying celebrating their main religious festivals. However, all of the interviewees are believers in a God (or gods), regardless of what religion they follow. They celebrate their religious festivals with great enthusiasm and in a festive mood. According to the categories of Muslims in Australia proposed by Saeed (2003), Muslim participants in this study fit into Saeed's "liberal" group that includes both practising and non-practising Muslims with a secular outlook. This is consistent with the findings of Shafiq (2016) who also found her Bangladeshi Muslim participants in Australia to be liberal Muslims.

In addition, the above examples show the behavioural and psychological changes of the interviewees in their religious practices after their migration. Example 5/72 refers to the concept of "*humanity as their sole religion*" which has been adopted from Australian culture due to M8's

⁴ A genre of religious performance arts.

⁵ Prayer ritual performed by Hindus.

intermarriage, although he maintains the celebration of his religious festivals with his compatriots. Examples 5/73 and 5/74 focus on going to the mosque for daily mandatory religious prayers, which most Muslims in Bangladesh tend to maintain five times a day and for the special *Ju'ma* prayer on Fridays. Both M3 and M9 have changed their religious practices as demonstrated in their comments “*one time in a mosque*” and “*cannot go to the mosque... [until there is a] public holiday*”.

Similarly, Hindu and Buddhist Bangladeshis go to temples for regular prayers which provides strong cultural and religious experiences as well as identities. Example 7/75 shows how F18 manages to arrange religious services at her home, as it is difficult for her to regularly go to the temple in Australia, although she goes on special occasions.

Due to the limited number of mosques and temples in Brisbane and surrounding areas, the participants perform their prayers in their own ways at their own places. Most believe that religion means a connection with God. On the other hand, M12 has the opportunity to maintain his religion well in Australia due to the large number of Christian churches and Christians in Australia. He believes that he has acculturated well in Australia due to the religion in which he has grown up, although he maintains his relationships with family and friends in Bangladesh.

Iftar, the fast-breaking dinner, is another significant religious event for Muslims. Sometimes people arrange this dinner at their own home and sometimes they arrange it collectively in mosques with different Muslim communities in particular areas as a symbol of the strong Islamic tradition of hospitality. Thirteen of the respondents of this study participate in the Iftar dinner party arranged in the mosques in Australia when the Muslims of different nationalities serve their own traditional dishes. This practice is new to Bangladeshi women migrants in Australia, because going to events at mosques is restricted for women in Bangladesh. Bangladeshi migrants also organise Iftar dinners at their home with their family and friends or occasionally in larger-scale functions in restaurants or open spaces. The interviewees also report that they still send food to neighbours during Ramadan as part of their culture. Similarly, their neighbours send them gifts at Christmas. This also shows their psychological acculturation in Australia as the exchange of gifts makes them feel a part of the society, which eventually increases their positive feelings for one another and levels of satisfaction.

Two of the participants (F14, M3) report that they attend Islamic lectures in Brisbane, organised by Muslim community members, in which Islamic scholars speak on issues related to daily life from Islamic perspectives. Attending Islamic lectures is also a new activity for the Muslim participants in this study.

Attending and organising Iftar dinner and joining Islamic lectures gives participants an opportunity to construct social networks and mutual understanding with other attendees. As a religious community builds “social ties”, it can be considered “a strong predictor of social connectivity in public life” (Putnam, 2000, p. 67). Furthermore it can show their inter-cultural adaptation because their religious practices involve not only Bangladeshi people but also people with different ethnic communities although they maintain their own religious values with which they grew up.

When asked about details of their children’s practice of religion, 17 participants report offering their children religious teaching. It is noteworthy here that two participants (M7 and F16) send their children to Islamic schools as a strategy to keep their children away from direct exposure to mainstream culture at an early age. Three Muslim participants (M3, M10 and F14) take their children to the Quran learning class held in the mosque on Saturdays and five other participants (M2, M5, M11, F13 and F20) have enrolled their children in online Quran learning classes in order to develop their understanding of the values and teaching of Islam. M12 (Christian) reports that he taught his sons religious teachings, taking them to church sermons and encouraged his sons to join them when they used to pray at home. Likewise, F18 (Hindu) engages her son in their regular religious practices at home, and also in temples. In contrast, M1’s (Muslim) autistic son does not understand anything about religion and M9’s (Muslim) daughter is still a toddler.

Eighteen participants declared that their children have developed their faith in various aspects of their religion, although they are not regular in their daily prayers. The interviews show that they are happy with the religious beliefs of their children, as this group of migrants put great emphasis on their beliefs and their personal relationship with God. They believe that their children will be able to keep themselves away from juvenile delinquency due to their strong foundation of religious and familial teaching since their early ages. However, M4 and M8 report something different. For example:

5/76. My wife and our daughters neither believe nor practise any particular religion. They only believe in humanity as their own religion [M8].

5/77. I won't give him any religious culture...not at all. He will learn only that we were born in a Muslim family...he will know that his heritage is Muslim...we will never give him any religious education [M4].

M4 and M8 do not impose religious norms or beliefs on their children, although they feel that their children will have an orientation towards Bangladeshi culture. M8 maintains his own religion as part of his culture, but his wife and children do not, as his wife is Australian, and does not follow a religion. This shows his compromises in relation to accepting the values of his wife, regardless of her ethnicity, as part of his cultural belief in family bonding. Example 5/78 shows the contrasting attitudes of M4, as he is not interested in passing on his religious belief to his son, although he is passing on his religious identity as a Muslim. Thus, M4 and M8 adopted the secular attitudes of the mainstream society in bringing up their children.

5.2.5.2 Religious festivals

The interview data show that Bangladeshi people in Southeast Queensland use religious festivals as an opportunity to maintain particular Bangladeshi culture-specific religious practices. The participants reported that religious festivals are celebrated in their host society at a personal level, based on Bangladeshi cultural beliefs and norms of respective religions such as Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism and Christianity. For example: Muslim immigrants observe mainly *Eid-ul-Fitr* and *Eid-ul-Adha*, the main religious festivals of the global Muslim community. On each Eid day, they go to say Eid prayers. As there are no national holidays in Australia on Eid day, Eid prayers are usually held early in the morning. They celebrate this with their family members, friends and relatives in Australia, although they attend Eid prayers with other Muslims from around the world. The Hindu and Buddhist communities celebrate their festivals with their compatriots on their personal levels. Such celebrations of festivals give them an opportunity to maintain different Bangladeshi cultural practices related to their particular religion which they were used to doing before their migration.

Brisbane Bangladeshi community members celebrate Eid on a personal level while the Toowoomba community does it on both personal and organisational levels with Bangladeshi food and wearing Bangladeshi dress. For example:

5/78. In Toowoomba, we celebrate Eid with a very festive mood. 10-15 Bangladeshi families invite one another to their houses. In order to avoid conflict, we fix up a

timeslot of invitations from morning to evening. For example, from 8 am to 8:45 am, everyone will come to my house, then from 8:45 am to 9:30 am we all go to another's place...in this way, we attend all invitations throughout the day. Everyone will try to prepare different dishes for all of us. It is very enjoyable for us as we can have the taste of different foods by different families. Besides, all of them decorate their houses differently and wear different types of dresses. Finally, Eid get-togethers are always organised by our Toowoomba Bangladeshi community in the following weekend of Eid in which we have lots of fun and enjoyment through the participation of all community members [F15].

F15 highlights hospitality, food, dress and decoration of the house as the main opportunities to celebrate Eid to express and reinforce their Bangladeshihood. Example 5/78 shows that Bangladeshis love to cook for their guests, and at the same time they love to visit the places of their friends as a symbol of the connectedness of their relationships. These close ties with other migrants create cordiality, bonds and satisfaction among them. Religious festivals thus facilitate social capital among the Bangladeshi community, more than other groups, due to their collectivistic culture, because they do not enjoy such festivals alone. This is also followed as a strategy to maintain their Bangladeshi culture in their host society. Although Brisbane community members celebrate Eid on a personal level, the Toowoomba community does it on both personal and organisational levels.

The example below shows how Hindu migrants in Queensland, Australia celebrate their *Durga puja* differently. F18 reported:

5/79. Yes, we celebrate Durga Puja. The whole Puja is usually organised in Brisbane by the Bangladeshi Hindu community to be two days long.... Starting from Saturday morning to Sunday midnight. They arrange and organise everything [...] We, Bangladeshi people, celebrate it in our own way and they [The Hindus from West Bengal] in their ways [...]. Moreover, I arrange and perform our other religious festivals, Laksmi Puja and Saraswati Puja with my friends and neighbours at my residence. I also do other Pujas in my house [...]. [F18]

Example 5/79 illustrates how Bangladeshi-born Hindu migrants celebrate the main religious festival with all members of their own religious community but celebrate other festivals on their own initiative. F18's interview data also show how her religious practices act as social capital in creating a comfort zone in her host society so that she does not miss her homeland. She also mentions that Hinduism has many events according to Bangladeshi cultural heritage. F18 also

reports that she always wants to follow distinctively Bangladeshi cultural ways in her prayers and the formalities of other ceremonies in her religion as evidenced by her statement “*We, Bangladeshi people celebrate it in our own way and they [The Hindus from West Bengal] in their ways*”, although both groups are similar in terms of religion. Her interview data further stated that Bangladeshi Hindu community members in Queensland have individual associations which organise their religious events and festivals in Australia throughout the year. This shows that national identity is significant to the migrants, and religion and language act as mediums of expression.

Bangladeshi-born Buddhist migrants are a smaller group compared to the other two religions. They go to the temple for prayers and celebrate *Buddha Purnima* with some intimate friends and their families on a personal level. M8 reported:

5/80. The celebration of our Buddha Purnima in Brisbane is entirely different. It is better than Bangladesh. As numbers are few, we celebrate our festivals together. We pass our time throughout the day with one another as family members. We enjoy the day immensely. However, in Bangladesh, the scenario is different as there are lots of people. As there is a large population in Bangladesh, they go to different temples in their own ways. So, we can't see our relatives or friends together during the festivals. In Australia, it is therefore delightful to me as I can see everyone whom I know here at the same time, we enjoy it together, and we greet one another addressing them by their personal name. [M12]

This example reflects on the social ties and intimacy among the community members in this group as shown by M12's comments, “*pass our time throughout the day with one another*”, “*I can see everyone whom I know here at the same time*” and “*we enjoy it together*”. M12 describes his satisfaction in addressing someone with his/her name, as that gives him a sense of social connectedness, attachment and psychological well-being. Comparing his celebration in Australia with that in Bangladesh, M12 said that social networking is possible within the small community in which everyone gets the opportunity to see one another regularly during the festivals and programs. In order to reduce acculturative stress, people in this small religious group employ their own efforts to build up and sustain strong social networks among themselves. Social bonds of this group of migrants also represent their persistence to retain religious identity and practices in their host society as part of their culture maintenance.

On the other hand, Bangladeshi-born Christian people in Southeast Queensland, Australia, celebrate Christmas with people of the mainstream society due to their same religion. However, they maintain some norms and traditions of Bangladeshi culture in their socialisation with host nationals. For example:

5/81. We invite our Bangladeshi and Australian friends and neighbours to our home during Christmas. Some of our Bangladeshi friends are Muslims and some are Hindus. My sons and their family join us then. My wife makes delicious cake and special Bangladeshi dishes which our friends like so much that they remind us about including their names in the guest list from the middle of the year. We talk about our childhood stories including celebrations, food, and mainly the difference between present and past in terms of the practice of culture. We really enjoy our celebration with my family members and friends [M12].

This example describes how M12 celebrates his religious festival in Australia with their family and friends. This reflects his socio-cultural relationships with the people regardless of their religion or ethnicity in their host society. He feels a sense of pride in introducing his guests to special Bangladeshi dishes with which he grew up and sharing stories of eating the same food in Bangladesh. The stories also stimulate memories and provide migrants with a connection to their country of origin. In the interviews M12 talked about his past, highlighting the change of culture not only in Bangladesh, but also in Australia. He greatly valued the traditional cultures of both countries as he believes that the current global culture is mostly shaped by American culture, by which the younger generations are mostly influenced.

The above examples in this section show that Bangladeshi Muslims, Hindu, Buddhist and Christian communities celebrate their respective religious festivals in particular ways that they have been used to doing since their early childhood. The majority of them do not celebrate religious festivals with people of the same religion from different countries, although they often invite their mainstream friends and neighbours during their festivals. Furthermore, the participants in this study follow different strategies to celebrate their religious festivals in their new society. For example:

5/82. I usually do not take leave from my job throughout the year; I always keep them to use during the Eid days. I often go to Bangladesh to celebrate the Eid with my mother and family members in Bangladesh. A long time ago I stayed there for a month...but

these days life is so busy, and normally I take some annual leave during the Ramadan when I don't have much annual leave left... so I go for one week or 10 days [M9].

M9 describes his efforts to go to Bangladesh to celebrate Eid not only with family, but also with the relatives, neighbours and friends with whom he has grown up. He uses his economic capital in his culture maintenance in order to keep the family bonds alive as he spends money to go to Bangladesh.

The interviewees in this study point out that there are no public holidays in Australia during such festivals. For example:

5/83. I think that I would definitely celebrate it more if I were in Bangladesh... because most of the time we have public holidays in Bangladesh during the festivals that's not here [in Australia] [...] [M2].

5/84. *We usually do not go to work if Eid is held on the weekdays as there are no holidays in Australia... we do not even send our children to their schools if they do not have any tests or important assignments in order to make them understand that it is our festival that should be celebrated with utmost importance* [M6].

M2 and F19 feel that it would be great if there were public holidays during Eid like those in Bangladesh, as there are holidays in Australia during Christmas and Easter. Some other participants argue that they do not expect public holidays during Eid and Puja as it is not possible for them to get all the opportunities of home in their host society. This shows their psychological acculturation in their host society as they have made some changes to their religious practices and cultural mindsets that they have to celebrate their festivals on the particular day.

Like M6, some of the participants report that they neither go to work nor send their children to school on Eid days. They believe that this is also a strategy to transmit their culture to their children, so that the children accept the days as significant. At the same time, example 5/84 shows their cultural values to give priority to the academic success of their children and so try to avoid academic penalties by disobeying the rules of the educational institution as shown by their statement, "*if they do not have any tests or important assignments*".

Some other participants want to introduce their cultural practices to the people of other cultures in the host society. For example:

5/85. *I, of course celebrate our Eid differently. I always prepare special Bangladeshi dishes during the Eid days and buy lots of gifts that I send to my daughter's class and my workplace in order to give the people around me an impression of our religious festivals, like their Christmas. So nowadays everyone around me already has an idea what Eid is and how we celebrate it. I also put henna with a different design in the hands of my colleagues that they really enjoy it [F20].*

5/86. *I always encourage my sons to give gifts to their school friends on the occasion of our Eid so that they can be used to this practice and tradition and can continue this practice all throughout their lives [F17].*

Like F20, parents in this group of migrants are very aware that they live in a society with different religious practices and beliefs. Some of them take Bangladeshi food and gifts to the schools of their children so that they can introduce their friends to their home culture. Examples 5/85 and 5/86 demonstrate that they want to develop some sorts of courage and power in their children by giving gifts and special foods to their mainstream peers during Eid so that they never feel hesitation to declare their religious beliefs in front of their friends. This is one kind of strategy that the parents employ in order to avoid the marginalisation of their children due to their different religious identities.

Example 5/85 shows how F20 promotes an understanding of Bangladeshi cultural practices for their religious festivals in her workplace. The other participants of this study also tend to do the same thing with the host nationals, namely, their friends, colleagues, and neighbours in the host society. This shows their self-identification as Bangladeshi, when they feel proud and honoured in positioning their religious identities. According to Phinney (1992), self-identification of a person as a member of an ethno-cultural group affirms a sense of pride and positive attitudes to his/her ethnic cultural values, practices and traditions. F20 states that she is successful in introducing her different religious practices to her colleagues in the workplace. She also mentions “*they really enjoy it*”, which indicates the positive attitudes of the host nationals towards her culture, and which eventually confirms her inter-cultural adaptation and acceptance by her host society.

The participants celebrate their respective religious festivals and practices with their close Bangladeshi friends in Australia and some of them go to Bangladesh to celebrate with their extended family members. They did not mention in the interviews that they feel obstacles in celebrating their festivals. They also celebrate their festivals with Bangladeshis from different religions. Muslims invite their Hindu, Buddhist and Christian friends during Eid while they are

simultaneously invited to others' festivals. Based on Putnam's (2000) social network approach, religious festivals thus act for the participants of this study as "bonding social capital" (relational networks based on similarity) more effectively than as "bridging social capital" (relational networks that bring people of other backgrounds closer). Participants believe that they maintain their religious harmony due to their cultural heritage. It can be said that the religious festivals of this group have a significant role in their culture maintenance, creating social networks among the compatriots to express their ethnicity. The religious practices and behaviours of this group of Bangladeshi migrants represent their acculturation strategy of "separation", as they maintain their religious practices according to their cultural heritage to a great extent in spite of adopting some norms from the people of other ethnic communities with same religion.

5.2.5.3 Religious harmony

During interviews, the informants in this study represented themselves as peace-loving people who maintained religious harmony as significant component of their culture since their early childhood. For example:

5/87. By Bangladeshi culture, I mean Muslim culture, but Muslims who are very moderate, unlike Middle Eastern Muslims. People around me are often astonished to see me as open and liberal in many aspects of our daily lives. This is because of the misconception regarding Islam and its followers that prevails everywhere in the world. I always try to make others understand that we, Bangladeshis, are Muslim, but very moderate. We really value our behaviour to others [F20].

5/88. I have some Hindu friends...I have Muslim friends...I always keep my doors open for everyone irrespective of their caste or religion. You might know well that there is Islamophobia everywhere. So, one guy from my church asked me how I maintain good relations with my Muslim friends. I told him that we were born with lots of Muslim and Hindu friends...we went to school together...we, Christian friends, went to celebrate their Eid...they also came to our place to celebrate our Christmas... My wife also fasted with her Muslim friends in boarding school. We always maintained communal harmony in our society when we were in Bangladesh. We were beyond meanness. Hearing our relations with Muslim and Hindu friends, the guy later told me that he would learn from me a new story about how to deal with people of other religions. I told him that he was "welcome" anytime. [M11].

5/89. We grew up in a very healthy culture in Bangladesh when we practised our own religion [Hinduism] in our own way with much respect and honour to one another...When we came here, the Bangladeshi people who helped me to find a job

were Muslim. Here in Australia, we do not consider others in terms of religious identity, rather we stand on a particular platform of Bangladeshi origin and identity [F18].

The above examples describe the religious harmony among the participants of this group as part of their culture. This value is also seen in Article 2A of the Bangladeshi Constitution that describes “the state religion of the Republic is Islam, but the State shall ensure equal status and equal right in the practice of the Hindu, Buddhist, Christian and other religions”. The informants in this study also maintain the constitutional obligation of Bangladesh to ensure equal rights for all religions, which are found in the active and equal involvement of Bangladeshi migrants from all religions in forming Bangladeshi associations and in organising various Bangladeshi events in Australia. For example: in the interviews, M12 and F18 mentioned equal, cordial and respectful relationships with their fellow compatriots, and M8 held the leading position in one of the Bangladeshi associations in this region. These things happened regardless of their religions. This is consistent with the IES report (2017), which described communal harmony as a core concept of Bangladeshi culture, for which reason Bangladeshi-born people believe in retaining the coexistences of religions irrespective of different beliefs and ideologies. The participants in this study declare that they still maintain a similar attitude and patterns in maintaining their religious practices and rituals as part of Bangladeshi culture.

5.2.6 Dress

Dress is a feature of almost every culture and in relation to the selection of dress, all participants in this study declare that they have adopted Australian styles in their casual and formal outfits to a great extent but retained Bangladeshi styles in the social gatherings of the Bangladeshi community.

Overall, the interview data show that the male participants view no difference in their outfits in Australia or Bangladesh. Female participants are also flexible in wearing Australian-style outfits but tend to avoid wearing shorts and sleeveless dresses due to their Bangladeshi religious and cultural norms to cover legs and arms. Only one out of seven Muslim female participants follows the Islamic tradition of covering her head with scarves and two of them have assimilated to mainstream culture in terms of dress as they neither follow Bangladeshi nor religious norms in their outfits. Similarly, for children and younger generations, the participants do not impose any restrictions on their clothing choices.

However, all of them wear traditional Bangladeshi dresses at their cultural festivals and celebrations in order to display their distinct identity in their host society. Wearing their traditional culture-specific dress such as *sarees* or *salwar kameez*, Bangladeshi women and girls feel a sense of belonging and attachment to their ethnic culture. This reflects the study of Shafiq (2016) who found that the Bangladeshi migrants in Australia adopted mainstream culture in their outfits in order to avoid discrimination in the public domain, although the participants in this study did not mention any issue of discrimination regarding dress.

5.3 Attitudes towards Australian people and culture

5.3.1 Perception of Australian people

In spite of the differences between Bangladeshi and Australian culture, all the participants stated that Australian people around them are very friendly, cooperative, straightforward, and honest. They expressed their positive attitude towards Australia when comparing the two cultures, confirming their strong feelings of happiness in their adopted society. For example:

5/90. I think their friendliness is very important, because if you walk in the street you can see the unknown people are even saying you “hi”, “hello”, “how are you going” etc. All these things are my cultural changes in my Australian daily life. After staying here for few years, whenever you go to Bangladesh, you will feel free to say hello to even the unknown people which is not common from the Bangladeshi perspectives. I think this people are very nice and good although some of my friends and relatives say and even in newspaper we frequently see many issues like violence against immigrants umm... mishap umm... many things happening in Australia but did never happen to me. I still think that in overall these people are very generous, very helpful, and very gentle in nature. I think they are very friendly most of them. At least they are polite. In Australia most of the people are honest. They are not cheating with the foreigners. Overall, this country is better [M2]

5/91. *As an Australian citizen we must have a feeling for Australian people as our friends and neighbours in spite of our different backgrounds. When any of them have problems, we go forward to them without thinking whether they are Bangladeshi or not. We have a feeling for them. We do whatever we are required to do. They help us too. And they look after us in many ways. My neighbours are very good. When they mow their lawn, they also do ours too. We don't have to say anything to them. When we went to Bangladesh last time, they always collected our mail from our mailboxes and kept them in their places and so not a single letter was wet in rain. But we did not tell them anything to do before going to Bangladesh. Now often our letters are wet*

with rain, though we stay at home. My neighbours even always kept our bins in their proper places. They are very caring and responsible to others. Feelings for Australians thus come automatically to us... they help us a lot. Most of the people are here very aged people, that I told you earlier. They always try to look after us as their own kids [...]. They do not see us as people from an outside country. But in Bangladesh we can hardly see such generous and helpful people around us, this might be because of poverty and the huge population [M11]

5/92. I like their social security, that is a part of their good culture. Umm...aside from that, I like their respectfulness towards others. They respect others whoever he/she is.... not only because of their jobs. They respect others in every way...even if they don't know us, they always give me a smile whenever they see me, that really soothes my heart...they will say "hi"... "Hello"...they will respect whatever job you do....even in our jobs, if I discuss any problem with them, they believe it easily and try to solve it immediately. I think this is one kind of respectfulness. They do not show their selfishness openly as we see in Bangladesh. I suppose in Bangladesh we always seek self-interest in helping others, but here we do not see this at all. Even if they can't help me, they at least show me sympathy or consolation [F18]

5/93. In the case of food, you will see that Australian are very cordial. But Bangladeshi people are more hospitable than Australians. If you go to any Australian family as a guest, they will entertain you cordially with food, but you can't see the same scenes if you visit them without prior notice. But hospitality is compulsory for a Bangladeshi family, if you visit them with an invitation or without an invitation. On the other hand, they are very straightforward. They will offer you food. If you say "no" to them, they will not give you anything. But as a Bangladeshi, we can never say "yes" to anyone, particularly in eating. This is due to our shyness, which Australians do not understand. But it is Australian culture to say "yes" or "no" directly. I also see some similarities and dissimilarities in the etiquettes of both cultures [M8].

5/94. I understand and believe that Australia is the best country in the world. Here the level of discrimination is very low. Here the Prime Minister does their shopping from the same shop as you. He does not require security like that of other countries. He is just like an ordinary man. So, Australia has no class distinction. We call others here by their real name, for example we do not call them sir/madam. It is Australian culture that will survive forever as it has been for the last 200 years. All of us are equal here, that you will obviously realize [M12].

The above examples demonstrate a number of perceived qualities of Australian people that are also frequently mentioned by the other participants of this study. As in examples 5/90 and 5/92, all informants appreciate the Australian way of greeting other people with smile when they encounter them. They have adopted this practice in Australia to a large extent although it is not

acceptable in Bangladeshi culture to greet strangers. Describing the relationship with neighbours, example 5/91 highlights the cordial and helpful attitudes of Australian people to migrants which made them grateful to Australians, and M11 describes the cordial relationship of his neighbourhood, in which the ethnicity of neighbours is not an issue. None of the participants describe a poor relationship with neighbours. In line with Dewey's (1938) theory of experience, M12's attitude sheds light not only on his past and present experiences in Australia, but also on his imagined views of the future that Australian culture will continue. In describing their feelings for their host society, all of the participants compare their situation in Australia with that in Bangladesh. Such a comparison increases their positive attitudes towards their host society.

M2 states that he has no experiences of discrimination in Australia, although he heard of it from others and M12 mentions "low discrimination" in Australian society. Both of the examples indicate that they either ignore or normalise discrimination due to their positive attitudes towards Australian people.

The above examples mention various personal qualities of Australian people as shown by the words used: "friendliness", "nice", "good", "generous", "helpful", "gentle", "friendly", "polite", "honest", "caring", "responsible", "cordial" and "low discrimination". These indicate that the Bangladeshi migrants feel welcome and socially accepted in their new environment by the host nationals. However, it is evident that despite these generally positive attitudes, they do not wish to make close friends with Australians but prefer to stick with their own community. The participants in this study stated that they can maintain their language and culture to a great extent with no discrimination or fear due to the positive attitudes of their neighbours, colleagues and other host nationals towards them.

5.3.2 Workplace environment

In this study, the workplace environment was the second emergent theme while the interviewees were describing their positive attitude to Australian culture. All of them state that there is no workplace discrimination in Australia in terms of role and status. For example:

5/95. My Australian colleagues are very cordial and simple. Here we do not have to ask permission if I want to visit our Dean/Head of School as one of their colleagues, but in Bangladesh, we had to maintain this strictly. Another striking workplace culture is that we all have to wait in the queue for food if there is any conference or workshop

or graduation program etc. But the scenario is totally different in Bangladesh, in which the food for the Dean or Head of School or Chairman of the Department is normally sent to their personal office by the office assistant. People with high positions in Bangladesh are always unapproachable for normal colleagues. They are only visible in special occasions or ceremonies [F13].

This example reflects the Australian workplace culture in which everyone has equal rights and respect, irrespective of their level of rank or position and background. According to the informants, their places of work are friendly as well as welcoming and free from corruption, which has made their life in Australia more satisfactory. For example:

5/96. Two years ago, I got the news that my father passed awayit was at 9am when I got the news...I was so shocked that I could not move...I was crying and crying in my office. Normally I go to my office at 7:30am and when I heard it from my sister over phone I took much time to realize what actually happened.... I could not hold me....my tears. I said to my director what happened.... I was surprised because all of my colleagues gave me a great support then that I will never forget. They did not let me go to my house alone they drove me to my house... and they assured me to take care of my work and home if I go to Bangladesh. So, see how helpful my colleagues were! Everyone is very supportive and helpful. That's why I tell you that Australian people are so beautiful....so nice. Anyway, I went to Bangladesh at night....it was really very hard time...I managed myself [M6]

The relationships of the informants with their colleagues appears very warm and sociable (section 4.3.2.2.). M3, M6 and M11 perform their daily prayers on time in their workplace which does not cause discrimination. In their opinion, skills, experience and dedication are valued much more in Australian workplaces than anything else. They also consider themselves integrated with their colleagues, regardless of their different ethnic backgrounds. They report that they all participate in the events their colleagues invite them to. They join in Christmas parties, barbecues, birthday parties and wedding ceremonies of their Australian colleagues without any religious restrictions, although they avoid alcohol and bacon. Similarly, they invite others to their ethnic, religious and personal celebrations. They also give special gifts to one another during their respective religious festivals such as Christmas, Easter, Eid, and Puja. In doing so they get an opportunity to introduce their colleagues to some practices of their culture which reinforces their culture.

The Muslim participants of this study who maintain Halal, and the vegetarian Hindu participant, do not feel isolated or alienated in their workplace social events due to their food restrictions. They

assert that as a multicultural nation “Halal” and “vegetarian” options are always available at the social events of Australian organisations. For example:

5/97. My wife basically works in a club where most of her colleagues are local Australians, some of them are from New Zealand and The Netherlands, but there are no Asians aside from her. When she was asked to discuss her dietary requirements, she always says fish and [that she is] vegetarian. Though they initially offered her alcohol as a courtesy, she told them politely that as a Muslim, alcohol is prohibited. She would then take lemonade or any juice. Thus, they are now used to our diet. Now they do not offer her alcohol as before. As everyone knows her different beliefs, she feels there is no problem at all in her workplace. Similarly, when socialising, our friends and colleagues already know that we do not eat anything other than Halal food. So, they keep one or two items specially for us and others are according to their choice. For instance, they keep fish or vegetables for us.... They often do barbecues....so they keep fish in their menu.... We have seen this several times, that they keep special foods for us [M11].

5/98. When I go anywhere for the purpose of training, I always mention my dietary requirements. I always feel pride because my food is served earlier than my other colleagues [F20].

The above examples highlight communal harmony in the social events of multicultural Australia. Examples 5/97 and 5/98 demonstrate that the voices of the participants are heard and valued by fellow colleagues in their workplaces, which confirms their social acceptance in the workplace, despite their different religious and cultural backgrounds. They are not marginalised like the participants in studies by Colic-Peisker (2002) and Yates (2011), who lacked confidence to mix with people beyond the circle of their ethnic communities. In the interviews, the participants report that they are not confined to their Bangladeshi community as they think they are valued members of mainstream society due to their professional skills, values and communication, in spite of different faiths and backgrounds. Their belief appears to contradict what they say about their weekends, their leisure activities and their friendships which shows their socialization with the mainstream community is minimal. Although they do not lack confidence to socialise with host nationals, they choose to restrict their social circle to the Bangladeshi community as much as possible.

The interview data show the positive attitude of this group of migrants towards Australian people, citing cultural traits they see as characteristic, namely personal freedom, equality in terms of social

status and workplace environment and addressing people by their names instead of using sir/madam. They therefore encourage their children to adopt these personal qualities of Australians despite cultural differences. They further reflect on their satisfaction with their life in Australia, which ensures equal rights and a similar social position for people with different backgrounds. F15 highlights personal freedom in Australia that she, as a woman, did not enjoy in Bangladesh. According to Sam and Berry (2010), it is easier to develop positive interpersonal relations if one is accepted by others in his/her host society. The personal qualities of Australian people make the migrants of this community feel welcome to practice their cultural values and norms in their new environment and they have therefore positive interpersonal relations with their colleagues.

5.4 Attitudes towards cultural identity

This section explores how the participants of this study think of their identity in their adopted host society, having lived in Australia for more than five years. According to them, they are proud of both their nationality as Australian and their cultural/ethnic identity as Bangladeshi due to their origin. Among the participants, nine introduce themselves as Bangladeshi Australian and a further five refer to both Bangladeshi and Australian identity, while six mention only Bangladeshi identity. Those who see themselves as Bangladeshi and Australian are found to divide their identity consciously based on context. They think of themselves as Australian in formal situations due to their passports and official records of their statuses as Australian, but they all believe that they are Bangladeshi in their hearts and souls. Phinney et al. (2001) argued that mainstream identity is weaker for migrants with a strong sense of attachment to their ethnic identity. Hatoss (2013) asserted that migrants can hold dual and multiple identities in their host society, without losing their ethnic identity. The informants claim that they consider Bangla language and some values of Bangladeshi culture and their religion very important in their lives, but they do not have any difficulty accepting Australian values which do not contradict their core values (cf. Triandis, Kashima, Shimada, & Villareal, 1986). This is consistent with Van Oudenhoven, Ward and Masgoret (2006) who found that migrants may adopt host culture language, dress, workplace behaviours and taste for food, which act as the “external trapping of culture” while still retaining their identity of origin. Although the participants in this study have a strong sense of their ethnic identity as Bangladeshi, they do not want to be seen as outsiders in Australian society and they feel comfortable introducing themselves as Australian. These contrasting identities have led them

to develop a hybrid identity which is constructed through their negotiation with the differences of both cultures (see section 2.3.3). Their identity is somewhat hybridized as they have modified their attitudes to living arrangements during old age, added the celebration of Australia Day to their celebrations, adapted their religious practices and food habits somewhat and adopted the dress of the mainstream culture to a large extent.

The participants in further state that they respect Australia as their own land since their oaths of citizenship. They have incorporated some cultural practices of Australian society to their original ethnic identity due to their long stay in Australia. They believe that they are able to express Bangladeshi identity in their host society through their successful language and culture maintenance. They tend to be happy in celebrating their religious and cultural festivals in Australia, and talk in favour of multiculturalism in Australia, which provides migrants with opportunities to practise their ethnic culture. What they really seem to like about Australia is the freedom to do so. Indeed in some cases they are so happy with their ethnic culture and language maintenance in Australia that they forget that they are far from Bangladesh.

Within the theoretical framework of Berry's (1974) bi-dimensional model, the Bangladeshi migrants of this study are found to be in the process of constructing a new Bangladeshi Australian cultural identity that represents their integrated identity in which Bangla language and the extended family function as core values (Smolicz, 1981 and 1991), while adopting new elements or interpretations of some aspects of religion, food habits and lifestyle, including dress under the influence of the mainstream culture. Their experiences of language and cultural practices shape their new cultural identity in which both Bangladeshi and Australian cultures operate concurrently.

5.5 Attitudes towards culture maintenance

In this study, the first generation of Bangladeshi migrants express a strong sense of attachment to their motherland and pride for their ethnic identity. The interview data show that this group of migrants grew up in a new nation whose people celebrated its independence and associated historical movements with fresh memories and great enthusiasm. They themselves had involvement in the political struggle of their homeland: three of them experienced the liberation war directly, while others experienced it through the participation of their parents or relatives or neighbours. Furthermore, the participants participated in a range of cultural programs

commemorating those historic days when they were at school, college and university. For this reason, their attachment to the motherland and its culture is very significant.

The informants show confidence that their children will not be lost in Australian culture because they are brought up in a home in which Bangladeshi language and culture, including religious teaching, has been given priority. Although they allow their children to adopt some Australian behaviours and traits, they prevent them from participating in certain social activities (see section 5.2.2). Prior to their migration, they prepared themselves to handle tensions due to the differences in cultural values and practices between their country of origin and host society and for this reason they are not found to suffer from frustration after their migration. However, they are found to be uncertain about their children's cultural orientation in the future, despite the fact that they have been working very hard to transmit their culture to their children. Research shows second generation migrants have to adapt to many things for their successful socialisation, such that it is not always possible for them to only follow their ethnic culture (Trommsdorff & Nauck, 2006). In this study, all informants have mixed attitudes towards Australian people and culture, and this attitude has undoubtedly enabled them to adapt to the Australian lifestyle yet retain their ethnic culture to a great extent. The parents in this study thus conclude that their children follow a modified Bangladeshi lifestyle, comprising the values of both ethnic culture and mainstream society.

The participants believe they have integrated into Australian society because they follow the rules and regulations of the society and contribute to its economic development through their dedication and skilled work. In their imagination, the participants feel themselves to be ideal citizens in their host country as they follow the customs and order of the society strictly. For their survival in this new society, they have acquired social and communicative skills, by which they maintain their socio-cultural interaction. They also believe that they have social acceptance in their host society due to their skills for socio-cultural adaptation (see section 5.3).

Although the informants in this study seek to participate in mainstream society, the integration of this community is minimal. The interview data demonstrate that participants are integrated into Australia in terms of their acculturation (Berry, 1974; 2005; 2010). However they maintain a boundary between their ethnic and host culture in order to keep their ethnic cultural values distinct from the mainstream culture. They invest time and effort to keep their children separate from many

aspects of their mainstream peers' lives. They do not want their children to be close friends with Australian children and they want endogamous marriages for them. They want their children to be successful in education and work, but they want their social bonds to remain primarily confined to the Bangladeshi community. They are heavily involved with maintaining their various cultural practices and values in their host society. According to Berry (1974; 2005; 2010), they are found to follow a integration strategy for their acculturation in terms of culture maintenance due to their affective, psychological and behavioural acculturation to some aspects of their host society.

Chapter 6 Discussion of findings and comparison with previous studies

Chapters 4 and 5 provided a detailed analysis of language and culture maintenance and the factors that influence them among the Bangladeshi participants of this study. This chapter discusses and integrates the findings in relation to the three research questions of this thesis and compares them with other language and culture maintenance studies. This provides a detailed view of Bangladeshi language and culture maintenance in Australia in comparison with other migrant communities in Australia and other Bangladeshi migrant communities throughout the world.

6.1 Bangla language maintenance

In response to the first research question “*How and to what extent do Bangladeshi migrants maintain their language in Queensland, Australia?*” this section discusses language maintenance of the Bangladeshi migrants based on the analysis in Chapter 4.

Bangla language has been strongly maintained by the Bangladeshi migrants in this study because they perceive Bangla as the core cultural element which reflects their culture and identity to continue their relationships with their family, relatives and friends in Bangladesh. The informants were similar to Greek, Hungarian, Polish, Macedonian, Chinese, Vietnamese, and African migrants who belonged to language centred cultures (see section 2.4).

The informants of this study also intended to sustain their future social interaction with their children in their mother tongue and to continue communication with their family members in Bangladesh. In the same way, other migrant groups in Australia pass on their language to their children for different purposes: for example, Persian in the Iranian community as a core value of the culture, to secure parent-child relationships and to give access to Persian literature (Jamarani, 2012); Spanish language in the Salvadorian community for the advantage of being able to speak two languages; and for a sense of cultural unity (Sanchez-Castro & Gil, 2008).

Table 4-4 summarises the language use data according to the analysis of Chapter 4. The table shows that daily language maintenance of participants in this study is mainly observed at home, where they use only Bangla in their family interactions. The social domain, community groups and media domain also play a significant role in providing them with an opportunity to develop a strong social network to maintain their ethnic language not only at home, but also at the

community-level through their regularly arranged get-togethers with family members and friends at weekends.

In contrast to the participants in the research on Bangladeshi migrants in the UK, USA and Canada (see section 2.4.6), the informants in this study tended not only to practise their language but also to pass on Bangla to their children with many efforts as a mark of their ethnicity and for continuing communication with their family members in Bangladesh. They are also different from some of the Chinese Australian families who support bilingualism for their children, but they do not maintain it due to the lack of commitment (see section 2.4.2).

Most of the informants who had children in this study declared that they were successful in developing their children's Bangla communicative skills through their persistent efforts and awareness of intergenerational language transmission. Among the strategies used by the parents of this study, dinner time was found to be the most helpful strategy for the transmission of their mother tongue and culture to their children. This dinner time approach is particular to this group of migrants who used it to develop Bangla communicative skills of their children through storytelling strategy when the children were encouraged to narrate their everyday experiences in which parents also participated with their similar or different stories.

The parents in this study engage their children in regular communication with their extended family members by phone calls and reinforce an environment of language and culture transmission through their frequent visits to Bangladesh and the visits of grandparents and other family members from Bangladesh in which children have practical exposure to use their home language. , Leuner (2008) likewise demonstrated that the extent of contact with the homeland promotes language maintenance among Polish migrants in Australia, providing the higher chance of using the ethnic language. The findings of this study also suggest the positive role that transnational communication plays in language maintenance.

The self-reported language proficiency of the informants of this study demonstrate that they have good proficiency in both Bangla and English languages. Although some of them had poor English proficiency at the beginning of their settlement, their English skills have later developed through further education, training, working with English speaking people and regular exposure to the host nationals in Australia. For this study, English and Bangla were simultaneously present in their personal and social lives in multicultural Australia. Piller and Takahashi (2011) claimed that “in

Australia it is English language proficiency levels that mediate social inclusion sites such as employment, education or health and that linguistic assimilation is the high road to social inclusion” (p. 372). All of the informants of this study believed that they have integrated well to their host society due to their proficiency of both English and Bangla, but they actually did not want to integrate to the mainstream society in terms of their cultural values, norms and behaviours. Their integration strategy and integrated identity has been mediated through their daily language use at family and social domain in which both Bangla and English exist together.

6.2 Bangladeshi culture maintenance

In response to the second research question “*How and to what extent do Bangladeshi migrants maintain their culture in Queensland, Australia?*” this section discusses culture maintenance of the Bangladeshi migrants of this study based on the analysis of Chapter 5.

Bangladeshi culture has been maintained by the Bangladeshi migrants in this study from the family level to the community level. The findings of this research identified that participants practised their cultural values and behaviour in maintaining their family relationships, child-rearing, religion and food. They have retained their ethnic culture in most aspects of their daily lives, while they were found to have negotiated their attitudes in other cases.

Family cohesion was found to be mostly maintained, because Bangladeshi culture is centred not only on Bangla language, but also on the traditional concept of the extended family. The participants in this study demonstrated positive attitudes towards the maintenance of different types of cultural practices in which they grew up. Although it was not possible for them to live in an extended family like in Bangladesh, they maintained family cohesion in Australia through their transnational activities. In the same way, majority of the Indian and Pakistani migrants in Australia sustained the tradition of their extended family through daily contact with their family members back home and their regular visits to home (Naidoo, 2007; Iqbal, 2014). It was also found that the family cohesion of this group of Bangladeshi migrants was not limited to parents and children, it rather extended to relatives and even neighbours. This is a community that seems to place “Bangladeshiness” first in their community scale. The participants referred to the Bangladeshi community as “family” at various times. With “family” they accept everyone, regardless of their beliefs. Although most of the participants missed their family members in Bangladesh, they were

found to compensate through regular communication with them. Technology (phone; WhatsApp; Viber; Facebook, Skype; online newspaper) helped them to sustain their relationship with homeland and played a significant role in enhancing their positive attitudes.

Like the Bangladeshi migrants in this study, Greek, Italian and Polish migrants, among the post-war migrants, as well as more recently-arrived Chinese, Indian, Pakistani, Sri Lankan, Middle Eastern and African migrants in Australia, were found to follow the values of obedience, parental guidance and moral obligations to the members of their extended family as significant parts of their respective cultures (see section 2.4). They also sustained their collective family traditions through various transnational activities which eventually reduced the distance between their country of origin and host country.

The participants in this study attempted to transmit their cultural values and practices to their children. They showed strong determination to pass on their cultural values, behaviours and traditions to have a close connection to their extended families, with strong bonds, cohesion and interdependence of family members. They believed that the foundation of language and culture should be given prior to starting their institutional learning. However, like other South Asian migrants (Ghuman, 2000, 2001; Malik, 2009), they experienced tension in their child-rearing when they tried to keep their children under the norms of their home culture. Sethi (1990) reported the dilemma between extended and nuclear family traditions: “the clash of tradition occurs when parents with a collectivist ethnic orientation are attempting to raise children in a society with an individualistic orientation” (p. 12). Indian and Pakistani migrants in Australia perceived dominant culture as an obstacle in their child-rearing because of the cultural distance between their country of origin and host society (see section 2.4.5). Similarly the migrants in this study found some social conventions in their host society that created tensions in child-rearing as they are in sharp contrast with their core values. These include family break ups; free mixing of boys and girls; sleepovers; drinking alcohol.

The major concerns among Pakistani migrants with regard to their children growing up in Australia were marriage arrangements, drinking, smoking and social mixing of both genders (Malik, 2009). Sri Lankan migrants also found that their cultural practices, based on collectivist values, contrasted sharply with the individualistic values and non-sharing behaviours of their Australian peers

(Athukorala, 2014). Indian and Pakistani migrants used their respective religion to keep their children away from mainstream culture (Malik, 2009; Naidoo, 2007; Perera, 2015).

The parents in this study also managed to provide religious teaching to their children, but they did not transfer their cultural identity to a religious one, becoming more religious, like the migrants mentioned above. It is evident in the culture maintenance studies in Canada that a large number of Bangladeshi migrants accepted religion as their alternative ideology, to overcome the apprehension associated with possible assimilation of their children into what they perceived as the Canadian way of life (Subhan, 2007; Ahmed, 2006). Shafiq (2016) also found some evidence of changing religious practices among Bangladeshi Muslims in Sydney as a strategy to keep their children apart from the mainstream society. Nevertheless, the parents in this study felt they had managed to overcome the issues they once perceived as a hindrance to Bangladeshi culture maintenance in their child-rearing practices. Among the strategies they employed were: transnational relationships with homeland, strong social intra-ethnic networks in Australia, regular religious teaching and consistent parental guidance and efforts until their children married.

The parents in this study were also aware of maintaining the vision of their family which is reflected in two aspects of their adaptation: marriage patterns of children and future living arrangements. Firstly, they did not support intercultural marriage as the expected marriage patterns of their children. Most of them cherished a strong desire for endogamous marriage of their children. However, they agreed to accept someone as a spouse for their children from the same religious background irrespective of their ethnicity, if there is no opportunity to find a suitable person with Bangladeshi background. Similarly, most Indian, Pakistani and Sri Lankan migrants expected endogamous marriage for their children although it was not always possible in their host society (Iqbal, 2014; Naidoo, 2007; Malik, 2009; Perera, 2015, 2016).

The majority of the participants in this study did not like the idea of a retirement home as a place for their old age. Instead of going to old homes or staying in the same house as their children, they preferred to stay in separate places close to their children so that they could meet their family members easily and spend family time with their grandchildren. Similarly, in Australia, Chinese and Polynesian parents were reported to be constantly afraid that their children might not take care of them in their old age due to the influence of mainstream nuclear family values (Mak & Chan, 1995). Strongly-held beliefs concerning responsibilities towards parents and respect for the elderly

family members of collectivistic traditions often come into conflict with the lack of time and resources of the adult children (Hartley, 1995). Hartley also added that fear of losing parental authority over family members often causes frustration among the old migrants with traditional cultural backgrounds.

The parents in this study discussed these possible future difficulties. Instead of retaining ethnic cultural values rigidly, they were found to have changed their traditional mindset and attitudes in varying degrees in order to manage the differences in the Australian context. Although ethnic culture practice has great influence on the behaviour and lifestyle of the children of migrants in Australia, they have to grow up in mainstream society, which is different from that of their parents (Hartley, 1995). For this reason, they have to develop mixed cultural values of both societies, accepting some, while rejecting others, based on various societal contexts. The findings of this study demonstrated that the level of education of the parents made them aware of these possible changes despite their successful intergenerational transmission of some basic values and behaviours of their ethnic culture. Therefore, they did not impose their parental authority directly on their children with the fear that they might lose their parent-child relationship. They managed to make their future life safe and secure for their families by developing a sustainable relationship with their children through their love and care. Batrouney (1995) reported that Lebanese migrants in Australia constructed a modified extended family in which married children live near the places of their parents in order to have regular interaction and socialisation between parents and children. Similarly, the parents in this study maintained a modified extended family based on the cultural values of both extended and nuclear families.

The Bangladeshi associations in Queensland organise a large number of cultural events in order to promote Bangladeshi language and performing arts to second-generation migrants and the wider Australian community. Second-generations were also found to be heavily involved in the activities of the Bangladeshi community. The migrants in this study are similar to migrants from China, Taiwan, Latin America, Africa, India, and Pakistan in terms of vibrant cultural organisations and sports interests (see section 2.4). All of these ethnic groups had a large number of associations and clubs who regularly organised different cultural and national festivals in order to negotiate their cultural identity in multicultural Australia.

Many Bangladeshi, Pakistani, Indian and Sri Lankan migrants in Australia were fond of cricket and some of them liked football and hockey. Bangladeshi associations in Brisbane were found to organise tennis, football and cricket tournaments, and bushwalking/hiking as sporting events. It is also one of their strategies to engage the young Bangladeshi generation along with their parents on weekends within Bangladeshi social networks. They organise friendly matches of cricket and barbecues on Australia Day in order to show their solidarity with the official discourse of the host nation. This is because they believed that they were part of the Australian community and negotiated their national identity as Australians with Bangladeshi background. It is however interesting that they celebrate Australian Day with Bangladeshi community members rather than Anglo-Australians.

For this study food was also found to be a significant identity marker of Bangladeshi culture, in which religion often had a decisive role (see section 5.2.4.2). Bangladeshi dishes are a special attraction in all personal, familial, social and cultural events organised in this Bangladeshi community. They maintained modified food habits which are a mixture of home and host culture but retaining their culture-specific cooking styles and spices. Culture maintenance research on Sri Lankan, Indian, Pakistani migrants in Australia demonstrated that migrants from these three countries tended to maintain their identity in their culture-specific food (Athukorala, 2014; Lindridge, Hogg, & Shah, 2004; Naido, 2007). They loved to eat spicy, diverse food which was prepared with the traditions of their respective ethnic culture. According to them, food carries cultural meaning in terms of various occasions and preparations. In the same way, the Bangladeshi migrants of this study perceived Bangladeshi food particularly home cooked special Bangladeshi dishes as part of their cultural identity. A large number of restaurants and Indian, Sri Lankan, Bangladeshi and Pakistani grocery shops in different places in Australia also exhibit the presence of the specific culture in multicultural Australia (Athukorala, 2014; Iqbal, 2014; Naido, 2007). The Bangladeshi migrants of this study sought an attachment with home and a cultural identity marker in their Bangladeshi dishes in the multicultural milieu of Australia.

Religion has also been strongly maintained by the Bangladeshi migrants in this study. They were also found to transmit the cultural practices of their religion to their children as a strategy to keep their children away from the mainstream cultural practices. As there were no Bangla-based religious institutions in Queensland, Bangladeshi migrants performed some of their religious

practices with other migrants in different mosques, temples and churches, but celebrated religious festivals with Bangladeshis of the same belief. However, research on Indian, Pakistani and Sri Lankan migrants demonstrated that they established language-specific religious institutions: temples, churches and mosques, which is not evident in the Bangladeshi migrants in this study (Lakha & Stevenson, 2001).

Religion had no direct impact on their language maintenance but had great influence on the extent of using Bangla as they mostly use Bangla when they celebrate religious festivals and events with their compatriots. Religion also played a significant role in their culture maintenance because the religious practices and rituals were practised not always in the original form of each religion but in a modified form according to Bangladeshi cultural heritage. The participants of this study stated that their respective religious festivals were mostly celebrated in their own ways in Australia with Bangladeshi food and wearing Bangladeshi dresses. There is no difference in culture maintenance between the religions because the Christian, Hindu and Buddhist Bangladeshis participate equally in culture maintenance although their groups are smaller. They also mentioned religious harmony among the members of this Bangladeshi community in Queensland.

Bangladeshi Muslim migrants in this study (17 out of 20) are also similar to the Muslims of Middle Eastern and African migrant communities in Australia in terms of maintaining religious beliefs, festivals and practices (see section 2.4.4). Although Bangladeshi Muslim migrants had regular religious practices in Australia, they did not move to a Muslim identity like some Bangladeshi migrants in the UK and Canada (see section 2.4.6).

In the interviews, participants demonstrated their positive attitudes to the Australian people due to characteristics such as good behaviour, kindness, straightforwardness, politeness and non-interference in personal and cultural issues, despite some cultural variants, although they did not approve of some social conventions, as already discussed. They were therefore found to have mixed attitudes towards Australian people and culture, and the positive attitudes undoubtedly enabled them to adapt to the Australian lifestyle. However, some Bangladeshi migrants in the UK and the USA perceived negative attitudes by mainstream society in admitting their Bangladeshi identity, due to the international image of Bangladesh as a land of poverty, corruption and natural disasters (Khanum, 2001; Kibria, 2008). In contrast, the Bangladeshi migrants in this study did not mention any discrimination when expressing their Bangladeshi identity to the people of the

mainstream society. They also stated that they were well accepted by their neighbours, colleagues, parents of their children's peers and people in shopping centres. They appreciate Australia and Australian people, due to the fact that they can practice their culture freely, in comparison to Bangladeshi migrants in other countries and so they do not criticise Australians and present themselves as model citizens in Australia. Analysis of the interview data suggested that the participants of this study hold Bangladeshi and Australian identity concurrently.

6.3 Factors influencing Bangla language and Bangladeshi culture maintenance

In response to the third research question “*What are the factors influencing the language and culture maintenance of Bangladeshi migrants in Queensland, Australia?*” this section discusses language and culture maintenance of the Bangladeshi migrants of this study based on the analysis of Chapter 4 and 5.

Hatoss (2013) argued that the majority of sociolinguistic research focused on the extent of language maintenance of a particular migrant community based on a particular time and space, without acknowledging the source of their inspiration and the effect of their vision of the future. She added that migrants tend to construct their new identity by incorporating traditional cultural values and practices, which are concurrently influenced by the new society with its various socio-cultural values, including language. Clyne (1991) also reported that language maintenance research should focus on the political factors in the homelands of the migrants. This study also identifies that the past political factors of this group of Bangladeshi migrants has an impact on their language and culture maintenance in Australia. They maintain their language and culture strongly, both at the personal level, where they seek to sustain their family relationships in the future, to the community level with the hope to sustain their mother tongue and the practice of Bangladeshi cultural values in an English-speaking society through their children after their demise.

The analysis of the interview data of this study in Chapter 4 and 5 identified many factors which facilitate not only Bangladeshi language and culture maintenance among first-generation migrants but also their intergenerational transmission. Table 6.1 categorises these factors under three headings: *past*, *present* and *future*.

Table 5-1 Factors influencing Bangla language and Bangladeshi culture maintenance

	Factors
Past factors	Political history of homeland
Present factors	Socio-political policy of host society
	Socio-demographic factors- <i>Age; Gender; Level of education; Length of residence; Intercultural marriage</i>
	Socio-cultural factors: <i>Reason for migration; Community factors; Cultural compatibility; Core value; Religion</i>
Future aspirations	Future aspirations/visions

6.3.1 Political history of homeland

Political and historical factors in the country or origin have a positive impact on the language maintenance of migrants across the world. The political history of the Bangla language movement of the 1950s was noteworthy for this study. This political struggle was found to be a significant factor in the language maintenance of Bangladeshi migrants in this study as they maintained Bangla language as a part of their national and cultural identity. Thompson (2007) affirmed that Bangla language is critically significant to its speakers because they fought for its survival, once in the language movement and next in the Liberation War. He further added that compared with other Asian countries, the distinctive feature of the linguistic position in Bangladesh is Bangla, which is widely spoken throughout the country by 98 per cent of people in all domains of their lives (p. 47).

In this regard, the Bangladeshi migrants are similar to Macedonian and Hungarian migrants in Australia, who, among post-war European migrants, most strongly maintained their language.

Macedonian language speakers suffered due to the political history of the discriminatory language policy which was introduced to ban the use of Macedonian in their homeland (Čašule, 1998). This ban on speaking in their mother tongue created an intense feeling and determination in its speakers to maintain it strongly after their migration. This was also evident among Hungarian migrants. Due to border changes in 1920, ethnic language maintenance was considered to be a significant tradition in Hungarian culture among the ethnic Hungarians who did not live within the new political boundaries of the country (Hatoss, 2005). This powerful tradition of maintaining the Hungarian language promoted strong language maintenance in the Australian-Hungarian community. Thus, political history creates an ethnic identity and awareness among the people of those places to sustain their mother tongue wherever they go. Similarly, Tamil has historical significance due to the language policy that marginalised Tamil, but a significant number of Tamil speakers shifted to English for their survival (Fernandez & Clyne, 2007). Fernandez and Clyne (2007) found that some of them revived their use of Tamil language and identity after their migration in Australia, although their revitalisation did not confirm the successful intergenerational transmission of Tamil.

The political history of Bangladesh has been found to be a very significant factor for the language and culture maintenance of the Bangladeshi migrants in this study due to their growing up in the newly-independent country as first generation having experienced the Liberation War second-hand and the language movement firsthand (see section 5.5).

6.3.2 Socio-political policy of the host society

The introduction of multiculturalism in Australia in the 1970s has had a positive impact on the language and culture maintenance of recently-arrived migrants in Australia, giving migrants the opportunity to maintain their language, identity and cultural practices. Multicultural media have increased, and ethnic organisations have received support from the Australian government for the maintenance of their cultures (Leuner, 2010). In contrast, the assimilation and integration policies of the Australian government of the time insisted that post-war migrants should maintain English language and Australian culture for their complete integration to Australian society. Studies on language and culture maintenance show that the post-1970 migrants have an advantage to practice and maintain their ethnic language and cultural values (Clyne, 1991; Rubino, 2007; 2010).

The majority of the Bangladeshi migrants in this study arrived in Australia after the 1980s, under the skilled migration program. One participant, however, arrived in the early 1970s, when there were few Bangladeshi migrants, and encountered pressure for his children to speak English. They described their satisfaction with their workplaces and children's schools due to the multicultural environment. They did not perceive discrimination from their colleagues nor from peers or teachers of their children.

Although the ethnic media resources for Bangla language use were limited, they were found to be happy as they believed them to be an extra advantage as they did not expect them before their migration. The findings of this study are similar to other studies who argued that the post-1970 migrants are often successful in maintaining their community languages (Clyne, 2005; Hatoss, 2005; Sanchez-Castro & Gil, 2009). For this reason, time of arrival and contemporary social policy are significant factors for language and culture maintenance of this group of migrants in Australia.

Furthermore, the informants in this study expressed their satisfaction with the multicultural policies of their host society. They found a clash between their imagination and the reality of these policies. Research indicates that most of migrants around the world think about the future during their decision to migrate (Koikkalainen & Kyle, 2016). Similarly, the participants in this study constructed an idea about Australia in their imagination prior to their migration, through media such as watching movies or television as well as reading books and newspapers. They assumed that they would see only "English/White" people in Australia, while they never thought they would speak Bangla with other people in Australia, eat Bangladeshi food or celebrate cultural or religious festivals to such an extent. Half of the participants of this study described how they found dissimilarities between their imagined life in Australia and the reality after their migration. The huge opportunity to practice and maintain their ethnic language and culture in the real Australia has had positive impacts on their overall positive feelings and attitudes towards Australia, eliminating the imagined feelings of stress and loneliness. Before migration, the way that the self is projected into the future has an impact on migrants' positive attitudes (MacLeod, 2016). All of the informants tended to be so happy with their ethnic culture and language maintenance in Australia that they often forget that they are far from Bangladesh.

6.3.3 Socio-demographic factors

Age

Among demographic factors, migrants' age at the time of migration is found in the literature to be an influential factor in their attitudes toward language and culture maintenance in Australia (see section 2.2.1). However, as the group studied was fairly homogeneous in this respect (see Appendix 3), there was not sufficient data to draw conclusions about such age-associated variance in their language and culture maintenance.

Gender

Research in Australia indicates that gender is a dominant socio-demographic factor not only for the language maintenance or shift to English (see section 2.2.1) but also for culture maintenance or shift (see section 2.3.1). While most of the studies explained that men tend to adapt to the host society more than women, Mejía (2016) demonstrated that Spanish-speaking mothers were determined to make their children bilingual in spite of living with English-speaking husbands in an English-speaking country. In contrast, Canagarajah (2008) suggested that women shifted to English more rapidly in Sri Lankan Tamil families because they perceived English as a means of affluence, educational and employment opportunities. In this study, however, there are no gender differences in the maintenance of language and cultural practices in Australia, as the men, women and indeed the whole community are heavily involved in maintaining Bangla language and culture. This is similar to Leuner (2010) who found no gender-specific role in Polish language maintenance in Australia.

In contrast, the findings of this study are different from existing studies which identified gender as a decisive factor for culture maintenance. Malik (2009) discussed the culture-specific gender role of Pakistani migrants during the acculturation process in Australia, based on two acculturation attitudes: culture maintenance and intercultural contact. He stated that women have to maintain their cultural traditions, norms and beliefs in their families, while men are supposed to maintain intercultural contact. Conducting research on single Bangladeshi female migrants in Australia, Rozario (2007) discussed how a woman with a traditional cultural background usually has to struggle a lot when she migrates to a western country due to the variance of two opposing cultural norms and practices.

Intercultural marriage

According to sociolinguistic research, intercultural marriage is a significant factor in the language and culture maintenance of migrants in Australia. Batibo (2005) stated that intercultural marriage increases the use of common language of the spouses, which is usually the language of the dominant culture, leading to language shift, and Kravin (1992) found that the input of one parent alone is not sufficient for children's home language development. Language and culture shift was found to be higher as a result of the high rate of intermarriage among the Dutch, Germans and Maltese migrants (Clyne, 1991).

Walker and Heard (2015) found that Bangladeshi born migrants in Australia are mostly endogamous, with a very low percentage of intermarriage. Italian, Greek, and Macedonian post-war migrants, like the Bangladeshi migrants in this study, gave priority to endogamous marriage in order to sustain and maintain their ethnic language and culture in their home domain with family members of the same origin (see section 2.4.1). It may therefore be predicted that Bangladeshi language and culture will thrive in Australia only if endogamy continues into the next generation among Bangladeshi migrants in Australia.

Level of education

Clyne (1988) mentioned high level of education and English proficiency before migration as significant factors for the shift from German to English among German migrants. Like post-war German migrants, Bangladeshi migrants in Australia are mostly educated and professional, as they have migrated under Australia's skilled migration scheme in which a high level of English competence is required (Khan & Richardson, 2013). Their higher level of education and English proficiency, however, did not make them use only English, discontinuing the use of Bangla from the domains of their daily language use. They rather took initiative in promoting Bangla to subsequent generations and to the wider Australian community through forming ethnic associations, a Bangla language school, and running Bangla radio programs. Their higher level of education often helps the migrants of this group to take advantage of opportunities to promote their language and culture in the multicultural milieu of their host society.

The Bangladeshi participants in this study are different from Tamil Christian families who had a higher language shift in Australia due to their higher educational level and experience of using English in their homeland before migration (Fernandez & Clyne, 2007). Level of education was

found to have a negative impact on the language maintenance of Bangladeshi migrants in London (Rasinger, 2013). Rasinger argued that the participants with higher educational and professional qualifications hardly used Bangla with their children, resulting in their language shift to English.

This study found that level of education and English proficiency do not make the participants shift to English, but instead contribute to relationships that build social capital for the participants in promoting Bangla language and culture maintenance in Australia.

Length of residence

Length of residence is found to promote language shift to English because the memories of their homeland fade away with the long stay of the migrants in their host society (Clyne, 1991). This is not evident among the participants of this study, although one person who migrated in the 1970s has had a language shift to some extent. Most of them admitted that they have code-mixing of English and Bangla words in their Bangla speech due to their consistent use of English in their workplaces and public domains since their migration. However, they still sustained their language proficiency and family ties and connection with home due to their strong attachment to their mother tongue and homeland. The length of residence in Australia of the participants enhanced their English and some social skills but did not make them shift to English.

6.3.4 Socio-cultural factors

Reason for migration

Sociolinguistic studies in Australia identified that language maintenance and the perceptions of migrants about their homeland varied according to the reasons for migration (Hatoss, 2013). Bangladeshi participants in this study arrived in Australia due to the socio-political instability and insecurity which persists in Bangladesh and particularly for the better lifestyle and education of their children, although most of them had high social and professional status in Bangladesh before their migration. The Bangladeshi migrants in this study tended to be similar to the Bangladeshi-born migrants in Australia studied by Shafiq (2016) and Iqbal (2014), in terms of their motivation to arrive in Australia and their settlement and acculturation processes.

Focusing on the attitudes of refugee and non-refugee African migrants, Ndhlovu (2010), reported that the reasons for migration play a significant role in perceptions among migrants about their homeland and host society. It is also interesting to learn that African refugee migrants tended to

feel a strong attachment to their country of origin, whereas Cambodian and Vietnamese refugees tended to forget their homeland in order to forget the experiences that forced them to leave it. Vietnamese and Cambodian refugees rather managed to perceive their host societies as “home”, maintaining their ethnic language and culture with their family members and compatriots. Different social and political factors of migrants’ homeland and host societies promote ambivalent attitudes towards their perception of “home”, because some of them perceived the place of their origin as “home” while some of them managed to believe that their adopted society was “home”. Reasons for migration do not always confirm language and culture maintenance in a straightforward way.

For this study, the reason for migration facilitates the language and culture maintenance of the participants to a great extent, because they do not perceive the reasons for their migration (socio-political instability, insecurity) as a factor in creating an aversion to their homeland, ethnic language or culture. This is because they migrated voluntarily (Berry, 1997), and then made free choices to maintain their language and culture in their host society. The informants of this study continued their regular communication with their homeland that they left by their own decision.

Community factors

For migrants, a well-organized community in the host society creates spaces, opportunities and resources to maintain their ethnic language and culture. Bangladeshi migrants have established associations in Brisbane, Toowoomba, and the Gold Coast, contributing to a multicultural Australian society by maintaining Bangladeshi language and cultural practices

Lakha and Stevenson (2001) stated that “various Indian associations in Melbourne are important sites of cultural activity and provide the communicative space where the heterogeneity and multiculturalism of India are represented and addressed” (p. 249). Among those communities who celebrate cultural festivals and national days in Australia, Naidoo (2007) talked about Indian migrants, Iqbal (2014) focused on Pakistani and Bangladeshi migrants, Musgrave and Hajek (2014) discussed African refugee migrants, and Khawaja, Yang and Cockshaw (2016) examined Taiwanese migrants. This all research often highlighted the importance of regional identity in language and culture maintenance.

Bangladeshi migrants in this study declared that the Bangladeshi associations in Queensland do not represent any particular group, nor region within Bangladesh. This is because Bangladesh is

mostly homogeneous in its ethnic composition, with a common language and a common cultural heritage. Furthermore, all studies mentioned above talked about the involvement of first-generation migrants in those cultural events, while this study found active participation not only of the first-generation Bangladeshi migrants in Australia, but also the second generation. Thus, the Bangladeshi community is found to be a significant factor in the language and culture maintenance of this migrant community.

Cultural compatibility

Cultural compatibility refers to the similarity between the migrant and the mainstream group in terms of their culture, while cultural incompatibility denotes their dissimilarity. Cultural compatibility has an important influence on the language and culture maintenance of migrants in Australia (Clyne, 1988; 1991). The Bangladeshi migrants in this study maintained their language and culture in Australia, due to cultural incompatibility, as Bangla language is distant from English and Bangladeshi culture is different from Australian culture to a large extent in terms of the concept of family and various other cultural practices and values (see section 2.4.1).

Linguistic distance acts here as a facilitating factor for language maintenance. Most of the first-generation Chinese migrants who came during the ‘Gold Rush’ in the 1800s, and Vietnamese and Cambodian refugees who arrived in Australia in the mid- 1970s, often had poor English proficiency. Their lack of English proficiency helped them to maintain their ethnic languages at home. Clyne, Slaughter, Hajek and Schupbach (2015) argued that migrant groups who have arrived recently, speaking a language that is linguistically very distant from English and belonging to cultures different from the English tradition English (Asia and the Horn of Africa) are least likely to shift to English (p. 152). In contrast, Bangladeshi migrants in this study do not maintain Bangla due to their poor English proficiency, they rather do it for their Bangla-based ethnicity and identity. Their distinct ethnic identity separates them from Australian culture due to the differences between the cultures.

Core cultural value

According to Smolicz (1981), core cultural values of each migrant group determine the extent of their language and culture maintenance in their host society. Bangladeshi culture is language-centred, with Bangla language perceived as central to the cultural identity of the migrants in this study. Similarly, Hungarian, Polish, Macedonian and German migrants belonged to language-

centred cultures and they had positive attitudes to maintain their language (see section 2.4.1). Among the recently arrived migrants in Australia, Chinese, Vietnamese, African, Taiwanese, Tamil and Middle Eastern migrants are found to belong to language-centred cultures (see section 2.4). Existing research demonstrated that Bangladeshi migrants are different from the cultures of Indian, Pakistani and Sri Lankan migrants in terms of their cultural value of language (see section 2.4.5). Bangladeshi migrants used Bangla as a common language, as there are no regional languages in Bangladesh, unlike in India and Pakistan, although there are some regional dialects.

The participants in this study were also found to maintain extended family relationships as a core value of Bangladeshi culture (see section 4.3.1.3). Language and culture maintenance research conducted on post-war migrants in Australia has demonstrated that Italian, Greek, Irish and Macedonian migrants maintained their ethnic culture strongly in terms of their family relationships and structure due to the status of family as a core value (see section 2.4.1).

Language is usually a strong core value when it is associated with other core values such as family cohesion, religion or historical consciousness (Clyne, 1991). In this study, the core value of Bangladeshi culture is found to be a fusion of linguistic and family cohesion values. The family was important to them because it helped their children to develop home language skills and the practices of their ethnic culture. In the same way, it would not be possible for them to keep family bonds strong without interaction. Greeks, Macedonians and Italians also value language, particularly regional dialects, and use language-related activities to maintain their family relationships (see section 2.4.1). The cultural identities of Vietnamese, Chinese, Cambodians, Taiwanese and Latin American Spanish-speaking migrants in Australia were similarly reflected not only in their maintenance of language, but also in maintaining their family traditions, food habits and religious festivals (see section 2.4.2 and 2.4.3).

It is expected that Bangladeshi language and culture will survive in Australia due to Bangladeshi core values which are a mix of linguistic and extended family relations, that stand together in stark contrast to mainstream society.

Religion

Religion is often found to be a significant factor for language and culture maintenance in Australia. Punjabi was maintained strongly by the Sikh community and Tamil was maintained by devout

Hindus because of their core values which are associated with language and religion (Clyne, 2003). Clyne and Kipp (1999) found that the Arabic language has a strong relationship with religion for Muslim community members who perform their religious practices in Arabic. Bangladeshi Muslims use also Arabic language in their regular prayers. However, Bangladeshi migrants in this study admitted that only a few of them try to understand the meaning of the verses that they read in their daily prayers and practices, while most of them read the verses that they learnt by rote without knowing their meaning. Bangladeshi Muslims do not think of Arabic as central to their culture, although they respect it as the language of their religion and as a language used in prayers. Similarly, Bangladeshi people with other religious beliefs use different languages in their respective prayers, such as, Hindus use Sanskrit, Buddhists use Pali and Christians use English.

For this study, religion is not found to have a direct impact on the language maintenance of the Bangladeshi migrants of this study because Bangla is not the language of any of their religions. However, religion influences the extent of Bangla language use as they celebrate their respective religious festivals with their compatriots and Bangla is then used. Bangladeshi Hindu migrants have also separate organisations to celebrate their specific celebrations and festivals throughout the year.

Religion is significant for cultural maintenance as the informants perceive their respective religion as part of their culture. They further used religious teaching and practices as a strategy to keep their children away from the host culture. It can therefore be expected that there is a high propensity to maintain Bangladeshi culture in future by this group of migrants and their children due to the distance between home and host societies in terms of religion and associated beliefs and behaviours.

6.3.5 Future vision

Future vision has been identified as a significant factor for the language and culture maintenance of this group of Bangladeshi migrants in Australia. It is evident in Chapters 4 and 5 and the discussion in previous sections, that in such maintenance the informants did not constrain themselves with their simple perception of using language and culture as part of their current national and cultural identity. They further invested their efforts and time for the survival of their Bangla language and various practices of Bangladeshi culture in the host society, first through

themselves and next through their children. They, therefore, involved their children in many language-related activities at the family level and at the community level in order to enhance their Bangla competence and to develop cultural traits.

They were found to pass on their language and culture to their children so that they can continue their close relationship with their children in the future. They did not want to create clashes due to their traditional cultural mindset and the children growing up in mainstream culture. In order to avoid such clashes, they acquainted their children with the language and cultural practices of their country of origin through their dedicated family time, consistent effort and religious teaching in bringing up their children until they married and through transnational activities between Bangladesh and Australia. At the same time, they were found to have changed their attitudes and cultural practices to varying degrees, while retaining their core values strongly. This indicates their awareness and pragmatic attitudes towards their transmission of language and culture to their children for a secure future parent-child relationship.

As part of their future vision, Bangladeshi migrants in this study did not express any desire to return home. Unlike some African migrants (Ndhlovu,2013), Bangladeshi migrants did not describe discrimination or negative attitudes received from mainstream society. They were further found to be excited to visit home out of their patriotic emotions and excitement to meet family members and friends in Bangladesh.

The informants highlighted three visions of their future: the survival of their language and cultural norms in Australia, the continuation of their own close relationships with their children and the survival of their extended family bond between their children and the family members in Bangladesh. Such visions are found to be a distinctive factor for the language and culture maintenance of this group of Bangladeshi migrants, who are motivated by their imagined future in which they see the survival of their mother tongue and the culture in their host society even after their demise.

Chapter 7 Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

This study was the first in-depth exploration of language and cultural maintenance of Bangladeshi migrants in Queensland, Australia. Its objectives were to identify how and to what extent the Bangladeshi migrants maintain their language and culture in Australia, and to explore the various factors and attitudes which influence this, and to compare this group of migrants with research on other migrant communities in Australia. In its investigation this research mainly focused on their intragenerational language and culture maintenance, and then explored the perception and the efforts of the participants who have children regarding their intergenerational language and culture maintenance. As part of exploring such maintenance, this study not only considered the extent of language use and cultural practices as an object of research in its own right, but rather explored why and how the participants make sense of their identities over time in different contexts based on their wide range of linguistic and cultural practices.

The thematic analysis of the interview data was guided by the three complementary approaches (*domain, dimensionality* and *identity*) of language and culture maintenance research which contributed to theoretical understanding of the paradigm of language and culture maintenance in migration setting and insight into the diversity of migrant communities. Although the language and culture maintenance studies are not usually theorised in this way in studies of bilingualism or of language and culture maintenance and shift, the current research identified that the approaches to the study of language and culture maintenance are complementary, and often parallel each other. I have deliberately used the approaches together because it might not possible to capture broader fields of language and culture with a single theoretical approach. Existing research has tended to use quantitative or mixed methods to investigate either ethnic language maintenance or maintenance of culture and cultural identity of migrant groups in Australia. Few research studies have conducted in-depth inquiries into both language and culture maintenance of migrant communities. This study used semi-structured interviews to gather in-depth information about Bangladeshi language and culture maintenance in Australia through detailed examination of their experiences in order to provide a better understanding of the practices of this immigrant community. Specifically, the inquiry was informed by the following questions:

1. How and to what extent do Bangladeshi migrants maintain their language in Queensland, Australia?
2. How and to what extent do Bangladeshi migrants maintain their culture in Queensland, Australia?
3. What are the factors influencing the language and culture maintenance of Bangladeshi migrants in Queensland, Australia?

This study emphasised the voices of migrants in expressing their individual attitudes, perceptions and experiences of home language and culture maintenance.

7.2 Synthesis of findings

Bangla language and family cohesion were found to be core values among this group. The participants in this study considered **language maintenance** as a highly significant aspect of Bangladeshi culture maintenance and emphasised the relationship between language and culture for Bangladeshis. This is consistent with Thompson (2007) who stated that Bangla symbolizes the cultural identity of Bangladeshi-born people due to its distinctive role in the fight for linguistic rights and for independence from Pakistan in the recent past. The participants perceive Bangladeshi culture as closely intertwined with Bangla language, because Bangla is actively used in a wide range of Bangladeshi cultural practices, values and celebrations, in addition to their individual as well as collective identification in their host society. English and Bangla were simultaneously present in their personal and social lives in Australia.

The participants believe that a vital part of their language maintenance is the transmission of their language to their children. Parents in this study worked in several domains to organise the language use of their children through deliberate efforts and a wide range of strategies. They often bring their parents to Australia in order to provide their children with an opportunity to gather language and cultural experiences firsthand and in naturalistic settings (see sections 4.3.1.3. and 5.2.1.2.). And through their visits to Bangladesh, children of the informants of this study were found to develop friendships, not only with their grandparents, but also with relatives their own age with whom they had to communicate in Bangla. This underlines the positive role that extended family members play in language maintenance through transnational communication. The family is thus found to be the most important facilitator for intergenerational transmission of language, including cultural traits, and provides a congenial atmosphere for children's socialisation (see section 4.3.1).

The social domain was the second most significant place for the language maintenance of this group of Bangladeshi migrants providing them a strong social network to maintain their ethnic language to large extent. The participants tended to encourage their children to practise Bangla language not only at home, but also at the community-level outside the family domain through their regularly arrange get-togethers with family members and friends at weekends.

The analysis showed the perceptions and efforts of the informants for promoting bilingualism in the second generation of this migrant group so that they can communicate with their children in their mother tongue during their old age and so that their children can continue their family relationship with other relatives in Bangladesh. They employed various strategies which appear to be similar to those of other migrant communities. What is interesting about the Bangladeshi community in this study is the strength of these strategies (see Chapters 4 and 5). Fishman (2008) stated that positive attitudes and motivation facilitate maintenance of the community language in the host country. It is evident from the interviews that this group of Bangladeshi people have very positive attitudes towards their language and culture maintenance due to their Bangla-based nationalistic sentiments which they brought with them when they moved to Australia. For this group, maintaining Bangla language was a significant way to keep Bangladeshi culture alive, while English was seen as an essential skill for advancement and integration in Australia. The parents in this study thus tended to see bilingualism as advantageous for their children.

The participants in this study demonstrated positive attitudes towards the maintenance of different types of **cultural practices** with which they grew up. The majority explained that they had deep relationships with their extended family networks and they could turn to their families for emotional support, financial support and practical assistance in times of need. They achieved this through various transnational forms of communication and fulfilling their own responsibilities towards their parents as significant aspects of the traditional Bangladeshi family. They believed that the foundation of language and culture should be given to their children before they start institutional learning. The rapid development in digital technologies, access to the internet, and ease of communication facilitated the maintenance of social networks and relations with family and friends in Bangladesh as well as other parts of the diaspora. Triandis (1994) stated that migrants from traditional cultural backgrounds are found to have collective traditions which emphasise the connectedness of the members of the group. Bangladeshi migrants in this study are

like Indian, Pakistani and Sri Lankan migrants in Australia in this respect, following the values of obedience, parental guidance and moral obligations to the members of their extended families as a special, significant part of their respective cultures which follow collectivistic traditions.

Due to their migration from a traditional collectivistic society to a more individualistic society, the participants in this study tended to face some social issues in their parenting, which contradicted their core values. They specifically mentioned using strategies to avoid their children experiencing what they saw as undesirable aspects of Australian social life, such as family break-up, free mixing of girls and boys, living together before marriage, going to nightclubs, alcohol consumption and even sleepovers. All of them believed that they were successful in transmitting their cultural practices to their children through their dedicated family time, consistent effort and religious teaching in bringing up their children until they married. In doing so, they were found to negotiate some of their traditional culture-specific behaviours, such as broadening the pool of potential spouses for their children to include non-Bangladeshis of the same religion and opting to live near, rather than with, their adult children. In their cultural maintenance, the Bangladeshi migrants in this study most resemble migrant communities from language centred-cultures having strong traditions about the extended family: for example, the post-war Greek, Italian, Hungarian, and Macedonian communities, and the contemporary Chinese and some Middle Eastern and African communities.

The Bangladeshi associations in Queensland organise a large number of cultural and sporting events in order to promote Bangladeshi language and culture to second-generation migrants and the wider Australian community. Most of the participants in this study who were associated with these Bangladeshi organisations expressed their sense of belonging and attachment by participating in such events, which bound the community members within social networks in which they sought happiness spending leisure time with Bangla-speaking people. Second-generation Bangladeshi migrants were also found to be heavily involved in the activities of the Bangladeshi community. Such events also played a significant role in promoting Bangla-based intra-ethnic relationships among Bangladeshi migrants in Queensland and also made the culture more visible to the wider community.

Unlike research on some Bangladeshi migrants in the UK and Canada (see section 2.4.6), this study showed no evidence of a shift towards strengthening of a Muslim identity. Religion

nonetheless plays a fundamental role in various cultural practices among the participants who belong to diverse religions: Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Christianity. As there were no Bangla-based religious institutions in Queensland, Bangladeshi migrants performed some of their religious practices with other migrants in different mosques, temples and churches, but celebrated religious festivals with Bangladeshis of the same belief. Most Bangladeshi migrants in this study maintained their respective religious practices according to their Bangladeshi cultural heritage, using Bangla to a great extent.

Food was found to be a significant identity marker of Bangladeshi culture and the participants sought an attachment with home in their Bangladeshi dishes in the multicultural milieu of Australia. Although they have changed their food habits after their migration to some extent, they tend to retain their culture-specific food where possible. This food culture was also transmitted to the second generation, first through daily Bangladeshi meals at home and then in community programs.

Dress also played an important role in displaying the distinct identity of Bangladeshi migrants in Australia, especially during cultural events, although most of them were found to adapt to Australian dress to a great extent.

The Bangladeshi migrants in this study were different from refugee migrants as they did not express a desire to return to their country of origin due to painful experiences of discrimination from the host society that some African refugees are reported to feel. They were rather interested to visit home because of their patriotic emotions and excitement to meet family members and friends in Bangladesh. They also accepted Australia as their second home, because they tended to miss Australia when they visited Bangladesh. It reflects their covert Australianness, a new kind of social identity which has not yet developed to be clearly named. Berry's (1974) bi-dimensional model stated that people belonging to the integrated identity identify with both ethnic and host cultures. Participants of this study did not feel discriminated against for speaking in their ethnic language or for their cultural and religious practices at personal and community levels. For this study the positive attitudes of the participants towards Australian people and culture, and cultural identity demonstrate that they are in the process of constructing a new Bangladeshi Australian cultural identity that represents their integration in Australian society.

This group of migrants is similar to Indian, Pakistani and Sri Lankan migrants due to cultural affinities and intertwined histories. All of them sought happiness in the maintenance of their practices of collectivistic family traditions, food, festivals and cultural programs as part of their ethnic culture maintenance, while some of them maintained their ethnic languages. However, the importance of language is a difference among them, because Bangladeshi people value Bangla as an integral part of their nationalism and ethnic identity.

The study's findings showed that the extent of their language and culture maintenance were shaped by **present, future and past factors**. The present factors influencing their language and culture maintenance included the socio-political atmosphere of multicultural Australia, core values of Bangladeshi culture (language and family cohesion) and future factors. When speaking of the future, the participants highlighted three visions: the survival of their language and cultural norms in Australia, the continuation of their own close relationships with their children and the survival of the extended family bond between their children and the family members in Bangladesh after their demise. A past factor, however, was also significant: the political history of their country of origin. The participants were proud to come from a nation whose people sacrificed their lives for their linguistic right to speak in their mother tongue. In this respect, they resemble the post-war Macedonian and Hungarian migrants in Australia with their respective political histories of discriminatory language policies in their homelands. The informants in this study grew up in Bangladesh, a new nation, either as the first generation or immediate second generation with fresh memories of the Liberation War and associated political history. Such experiences increased their awareness to take the initiative to maintain Bangla language and culture in their host society, and they used their agency and persistence in employing active strategies such as consistent use of Bangla at home; dinner-time talk; regular communication with relatives in Bangladesh; intra-ethnic interactions on weekends; and active participation in a wide range of social, cultural and sports events organised by Bangladeshi associations in Australia. For this study, the determination and willingness of parents and the whole community along with the favourable socio-political atmosphere of multicultural Australia, are found to be the most significant factors for successful intergenerational transmission of language and culture.

7.3 Implications

The results in this study indicate that this group of Bangladeshi migrants not only maintained but also increased their practice of Bangladeshi culture in Australia due to their strong determination to promote their language and culture to their children and to wider Australian society. The majority sought happiness and belonging in organising various cultural programs in Australia, because they felt responsible for keeping the culture alive in their host society for their own benefit and that of their children. In contrast, they did not have such feelings of responsibility when they used to attend cultural programs in Bangladesh as the culture was already active there.

The evidence from this study suggests that this group of Bangladeshi migrants showed mostly positive attitudes towards Australian people because they can express Bangladeshi identity in their host society through their successful language and culture maintenance to a large extent, which, prior to their migration, they did not think they would be able to do. They feel that they are accepted and respected by their colleagues and neighbours in maintaining many aspects of their Bangladeshi cultural identity, and governmental multi-cultural organisations provide them various forms of support, including financial, in organising their big cultural festivals. In describing the extent of their practices of language and cultural values in Australia, the participants mentioned their happiness and compared themselves with Bangladeshi migrants in other countries, as they did not have to face discrimination in Australia. It is possible that they avoided mentioning experiences of discrimination in Australia, because they perceived talking about this issue as a way of criticising mainstream Australian behaviour, which they did not want to do due to their general satisfaction with their lives in Australia.

The findings in this study suggest an “ideological dilemma”, expressed in the participants’ attempts to reconcile the ideological tension in identifying themselves: they feel a sense of belonging and happiness in Australia, but such feelings are primarily related to their ability to practise Bangladeshi language and culture, excluding integration and identification with mainstream Australian culture. Billig et al. (1988) used this concept of “ideological dilemma” to describe a situation where the embedded socio-cultural values and norms seems to be conflicting or contradictory to an individual due to his/her “moral and ideological complexities” (p.12). The participants in this study were found to respect not only their colleagues and neighbours, but also the legal systems of Australian society as a form of gratitude for being a member of this society in

which they do not feel pressured to stop using their ethnic language and culture. In contrast, they did not want to become more like Australians, nor desired their children to be close friends with mainstream peers, making their social bonds confined to the Bangladeshi community due to their desire not to discard their ethnic identity and exchange it for mainstream identity.

Of the four acculturation strategies identified by Berry (1974, 2005, 2010), it seems that Bangladeshi migrants in this study followed integration strategy to a great extent, although they always maintained a boundary between ethnic and host culture in order to keep their ethnic cultural values separate and distinct from mainstream culture. The findings show that participants were heavily involved with maintaining their various cultural practices and values in their host society, so that there were minimal changes to their cultural behaviour and attitudes, even though they have been in Australia for many years. It is also evident that they have fears regarding some aspects of Australian culture, especially in terms of schooling and family relations. This study therefore recommends community-based forums for different migrant communities in multicultural Australia to educate their members about cultural differences and how they can live their lives fully without having to renounce their own culture. This study further suggests bilingual parenting to assist parents in maintaining their language in Australia.

The Bangladeshi migrants in this study highlighted the role of Australian multicultural policy in their successful language and culture maintenance. All of them showed positive attitudes towards Australia due to multicultural policies which provided them with a favourable environment to maintain their language and culture.

A significant implication of this study is that multicultural policies are effective to help migrants develop a sense of belonging, loyalty and feelings of attachment to Australia, not because they may advocate integration or assimilation, but because they advocate equal respect to migrants irrespective of their cultural backgrounds, in maintaining their ethnic languages and different cultural practices and values in their host society.

The study contributes to the existing research on languages and cultures of immigrant communities in Australia and Bangladeshi-born people in the diaspora, building a more complete picture and providing new knowledge on how language and cultural maintenance intersect in the multicultural Australian social landscape.

7.4 Limitations

Several methodological limitations need to be considered.

Firstly, it could be considered that the 20 participants in this study are a relatively small number to generalise the findings to broader contexts. However, the in-depth qualitative inquiry into the language and culture maintenance experiences of the participants in this study made it possible to identify and understand the detail of perceptions and opinions that would be ignored in large-scale studies. Patton (2002) stated that the purpose of large-scale studies is to generalise findings, while the advantage of small-scale studies is to provide richness of individual perceptions and experiences in real contexts. As the main objective in this study was to provide detailed insights into Bangla language use and the cultural practices of Bangladeshi migrants in Australia, the number of the participants in this study was appropriate.

Secondly, the demographic details of the participants in this study indicated that they represent the Bangladeshi-born Australian population in Brisbane and Toowoomba, corresponding to their profile in terms of age, gender, level of education and occupation. It is true that the participants who volunteered for this project were “self-selecting”, in that they tended to be proud of their language maintenance. However, although it is possible that the results may have been different if the selection was based on a random sample, nonetheless the census data show that the number of Bangladeshi people who do not maintain their native language is very low (see section 3.2.1).

Thirdly, the findings in this study might not have been the same if the researcher was Anglo-Australian, or from a different ethnic community. It is conceivable that the participants censored their comments in some cases, as the researcher was a fellow Bangladeshi. However, the position of this researcher as an “outsider within” was more useful for this study to gather valuable information from the participants as they trusted me due to our having the same cultural background. The common language played a bridging role between the interviewer and interviewees, as most of them described their experiences spontaneously in their mother tongue. On the other hand, they shared their personal experiences without fear of privacy issues because as an international student, I did not belong to their migrant community.

Finally it would have been useful to know how the voices of the second-generation Bangladeshi migrants are different from those of this group of participants who were first generation, and this will be the focus of future research (see Section 7.5).

7.5 Future research directions

A number of avenues for future work arise from the outcomes of this thesis.

Firstly, based on the findings of the current study, on the language and culture maintenance of first-generation Bangladeshi migrants, future research needs to be done involving second-generation Bangladeshi migrants particularly teenagers, in order to compare the findings of both research projects. Willoughby, Starks, and Taylor-Leech (2015) signifies the teenagers as they stated that identity of individuals is usually constructed during the teenage years. The literature reports that perceptions and attitudes towards language and culture maintenance usually vary by age and generation (Clyne, 1991). Willoughby (2018) argued that it is important to know teenagers' perceptions when exploring the role of their multilingual practices with family members and peers in order to understand how they construct their identity. In describing personal experiences of heritage language use and cultural practices, along with their attitudes, second-generation Bangladeshi migrants in Australia may well differ in their perceptions from first-generation Bangladeshi migrants who arrived in Australia with different linguistic and cultural knowledge and skills. For this current study, children's Bangla language proficiency and language use and cultural practices in various domains were reported only from the parents' perspectives.

For the proposed future project, the approach would be to combine qualitative and quantitative methods to explore the sociolinguistic ecology of language and culture maintenance in an immigrant context. Firstly, in order to establish a full profile of the selected community, a survey could be conducted, focusing on the participants' demographic backgrounds, language proficiency, language use, and cultural practices in different domains. Secondly, semi-structured interviews could be conducted with a small number of second-generation Bangladeshi migrants into their personal experiences of and attitudes towards their daily language use, cultural practices and cultural affiliation. The findings of the interview data would be compared with those of the current research project. Finally, participant observation would be used for collecting natural language data on language use and translinguaging with family members and peers. A

comparative study of the first and the second generation would provide deeper insights for language and culture maintenance research on this community.

More broadly, in order to provide a comprehensive picture of Bangla language and Bangladeshi culture maintenance in Australia, comparative research is required to compare the situation in cities with large numbers of Bangladeshis and in regional areas where the community is very small. The aim of such a comparative study would be to identify the impact of high or low concentration of an ethnic population on language and culture maintenance of Bangladeshi migrants in Australia (cf. Clyne, 2003). The census will help to identify the concentrations of Bangladeshi migrants in various parts of Australia.

7.6 Closing words

This study has allowed me to explore the language and culture maintenance experiences of this group of Bangladeshi migrants in Australia. It helped me to realise how closely Bangla language is intertwined with Bangladeshi culture, reinforcing such a strong emotional attachment among the informants that they all tended to participate in promoting their Bangla language and culture maintenance to their second generation and the wider Australian community in the multicultural milieu of Australia. I admire the community members' efforts and strategies that they invest with strong determination and dedication to sustain their cultural identity in their host society. From this it can be seen that although the sustainability of the ethnic languages and cultural practices of this migrant community is facilitated by the favourable socio-cultural policies of the host society, it is primarily achieved through strong family language policies, culturally vibrant ethnic community associations, and above all the determination of the community to transmit their language and culture to the next generation.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Ethical Approval



School of Languages and Cultures

CRICOS PROVIDER NUMBER 00025B

26 April 2016

Investigator's Name: Farzana Yesmen Chowdhury

Project title: A narrative inquiry of Bangladeshi migrants' well-being in Queensland, Australia

Ethical Clearance Application Number: 16-04

Dear Ms Chowdhury,

I am pleased to inform you that your application for ethical clearance for your project has now been approved. The School Ethics Committee wishes you every success in your project. A signed, hard copy is available upon request. Otherwise, this completes the ethical clearance application process.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Sol Rojas-Lizana'.

Dr Sol Rojas-Lizana

SLC Ethics Officer

ethics@languages-cultures.uq.edu.au

Appendix 2: Interview Questions

The interview questions were followed by probes and further conversations about each topic according to the responses of the interviewees-

Round 1:

1. Please tell me the *story of your life as a whole in Australia* in your own words, any way you want to tell it.
 - reasons for migration; year of arrival; settlement process; length of stay in Australia, age; occupation; level of education; neighbourhood
2. So now tell me what you see as your *identity* in Australia? For example, do you see yourselves as *Australian* or *Bangladeshi-born Australian* or *simply Bangladeshi*?
 - What kinds of traditions and customs do you still practice? Why? If not, which did you decide to change or stop practicing?
 - What kinds of traditions/culture do your children practice?
3. What are your *feelings about Australia*? How did these feelings change from before you arrived in Australia and when you arrived in Australia?

Round 2:

1. What language do you usually speak at home? Could you please tell me more about your *language use with your family and friends* in Australia and Bangladesh?
 - How often do you talk to them and see them?
 - Do you visit Bangladesh? How often?
2. Who are your friends in Australia? How often do you see them? With whom do you *socialise* and *which language* do you usually use with them?
 - Do you practice religion? What languages do you normally use in religious practices? How do you celebrate your religious festivals in Australia?
 - Do you celebrate cultural festivals in Australia? How and using what language?
 - What kind of foods do you usually eat? What language do you use in buying food?
 - Do you prefer to consult a professional (lawyer, doctor, and dentist) who can speak Bangla?
 - What TV, movies, radio, music, and newspapers do you usually use in Australia? In which language?
 - What social media do you use in Australia? In which language?

3. How do you *feel* about ***Bangla and Bangladeshi culture and cultural identity*** in Australia?
 - Is it important to maintain Bangladeshi language and culture in your life in Australia?
 - How do you feel about English? How important is proficiency in English?
4. Do you have ***children***? Do you encourage your children to speak Bangla and practice Bangladeshi culture? Why (not)? If yes, how?
 - What aspects of Australian or Bangladeshi culture do your children adopt? Do they raise questions regarding the cultures? Do they experience any discrimination because of their culture? How do you feel about who your children might marry in the future?
 - Tell me about your children's friendships. What backgrounds are their friends from? Whom do they visit and when?
5. How would you rate your ***knowledge of Bangla***? Do you think your Bangla has changed while you have been in Australia?
6. How would you rate your ***children's knowledge of Bangla***?

Closing

7. How satisfied are you in terms of maintaining your language and culture in Australia? How do you feel about Australian people and their culture?