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| | Title | | |
| * | Surname | Curdt-Christiansen | |
| * | First Name | Xiao Lan | |
| * | Corresponding | yes | |
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| | Institution | | |
| | Department | | |
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Xiao Lan Curdt-Christiansen and Jing Huang

9 Factors influencing family language policy

1 Introduction

Family language policy (FLP), a critical element in home language maintenance in ethnic minority contexts, is dynamically influenced by “a wide range of linguistic and non-linguistic elements, variables, and factors” (Spolsky 2004: 41). As families are a microcosm of a macro society, reflecting the larger sociocultural environment in which they are situated, they constantly interact with others in socio-linguistic, socio-cultural, socio-economic and socio-political contexts (Curdt-Christiansen 2018). Because of the social nature of families, the study of home language maintenance with regard to FLP goes beyond parenting at home to encompass different domains related to family decisions, such as education, and the public linguistic space (Spolsky 2009) as well as many different aspects in individual family members’ everyday life, including emotions, identity, and cultural and political allegiances (Curdt-Christiansen 2009, 2014, 2016; de Houwer 1999; King, Fogle, and Logan-Terry 2008; Pavlenko 2004; Piller 2002; Tannenbaum 2012).

Recently, a number of important volumes and studies have addressed not only how families navigate the use of language in the home, but also what impact social, economic and political forces have on family language practices (for examples, see Curdt-Christiansen and Lanza 2018; Curdt-Christiansen and Wang 2018; Macalister and Mirvahedi 2017; Lanza and Curdt-Christiansen 2018; Lanza and Li 2016; Revis 2019; Smith-Christmas 2016; Fogle 2012).

This chapter starts with a brief introduction outlining the recent developments of FLP. In section 2, the theoretical model of FLP is introduced to illustrate how internal and external forces interact to influence the formation of FLP and definitions are provided together with a critical discussion of the different types of these internal and external factors. Following that, in sections 3 and 4, major contributions to the field are discussed with focus on a few major studies that examine internal factors such as emotions, identity, and parental impact beliefs, and external factors such as language status, socio-economic and socio-political realities. By using empirical studies, the chapter illustrates how family language policy as a dynamic socio-cultural practice is shaped by both linguistic and non-linguistic forces in different types of families, geopolitical contexts, and macro-level policies. Section 5 outlines suggestions for future research into factors that have not been or are rarely included in the field as they are related to recent development of new technologies and depend on emerging variables resulting from increasing transnational migration and evolving language policies.

2 Family language policy – a dynamic model

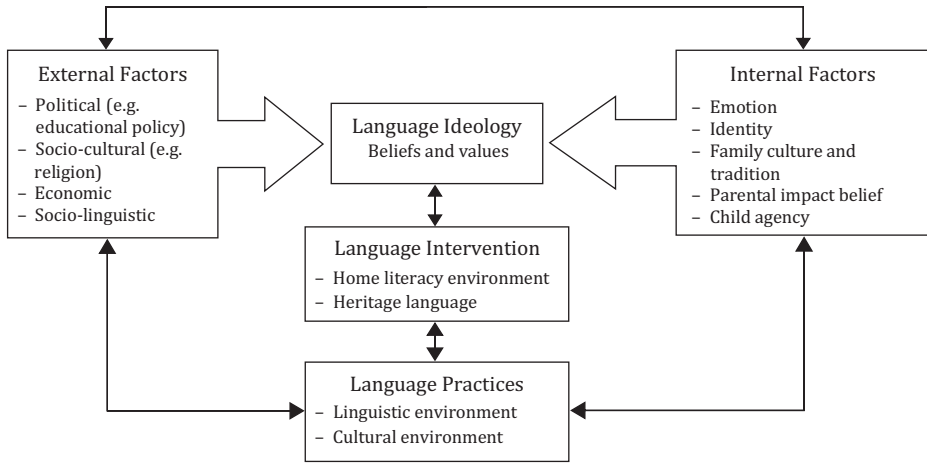
Research on family language policy (FLP) has developed considerably over the past decade (see Lanza and Lomeu Gomes this vol.). Apart from examining what types of practices were best for language transmission outcomes, more recent lines of FLP scholarship have reframed key questions on FLP by recognising the family as a dynamic system in a changing world (King 2016). While language policies at large are set to change or influence social structures and processes, language policies enacted in a family domain are based on the individual family's perception of social structures and social changes (Curdt-Christiansen 2009). Immigrant parents often encounter the dilemma of either raising their children bilingually or only in the societal language. While they often desire that their children maintain the home language and at the same time learn the school language to succeed at school subjects (De Angelis 2011), the dilemma to raise children bilingually or only in the societal language is never a fading issue. There are many factors that influence parents' choices about "what will strengthen their family's social standing and best serve and support the family members' goal in life" (Curdt-Christiansen 2009: 326).

Curdt-Christiansen (2009, 2014, 2018) developed an FLP model illustrating the complex interplay of FLP and its socio-cultural-political-linguistic environment. Building on Spolsky (2009)'s triadic model of language policy (see Lanza and Lomeu Gomes; Palviainen; Smith-Christmas, all this vol.) and language socialisation theory (Duranti, Ochs and Schieffelin 2011; Lanza 2007), this FLP model provides a theoretical conceptualisation to depict how different factors influence family language decisions in dynamic ways.

2.1 The inner core

Situated within the broader socio-cultural, socio-economic, socio-political and socio-linguistic context, the inner core represents the three interrelated components of FLP. According to Spolsky (2004, 2009), language ideology, made up of beliefs, refers to how family members perceive particular languages; language practices refer to what individuals actually do with languages; and language management is the interventional measures used to maintain and develop a particular language.

Within a family, there are rules and norms for speaking, acting and believing. Making rules and decisions on what language(s) to practice and encourage, or to discourage or abandon, depends largely on the beliefs and values that family members ascribe to certain languages. Curdt-Christiansen (2009, 2012) contends that this decision-making process is not only related to parental beliefs and goals for their children's multilingual development and educational success, it is also related to the emotional and identity needs of family members.



AU: Please provide missing citation for Figure 1.

Figure 1: Dynamic model of family language policy (adapted from Curdt-Christiansen 2009, 2014, and Spolsky 2009).

These beliefs and goals are driving forces for caregivers to provide language and cultural environments as well as facilities, accessible to family members, for language socialisation and maintenance. As deliberate and explicit efforts (language management), these environments include literacy-related resources in the home language, parental involvement/investment and different forms of capital in engaging home language development. As implicit language socialization practices (language practices), these environments refer to the linguistic and cultural resources for language use and practices. These environments are crucial for home language maintenance and development because they provide the natural “speech resources” (Blommaert 2008) to which children are exposed within and outside a family. In other words, without an adequate linguistic and cultural environment, it is unrealistic to expect any children to maintain and develop a home language. Therefore, FLP decisions are influenced by language ideologies, the nature of inter-generational speech resources, parents’ educational background, their own language learning experience, their migration history, and the family’s economic resources.

In this regard, the influencing variables can be divided into two major types of forces or factors: internal factors and external factors. Although the two types of factors are categorised as two distinct entities, they are actually closely related and sometimes blurred together; they form the ideological bedrock for language choices, linguistic practices and language investments at home (see Curdt-Christiansen, 2009, 2014, 2018). In the following section, we provide a discussion of the two types of factors.

2.2 Internal factors

Internal factors refer broadly to language-related variables that can maintain or break a close family bond and intimate relationship between family members. These factors include “emotion”, “sense of identity”, “cultural practices and social norms” that parents or caregivers perceive as important and valuable for family ties. Concomitantly, “parental impact beliefs” and “child agency” also play a crucial role in home language maintenance (see Smith-Christmas this vol.).

The **emotional factor** concerns the role home language plays in the relationship between the generations in a family. Research into emotions and language shows that home language serves not only for heritage maintenance but also for strengthening the emotional ties between family members (de Houwer 1999, 2015; Okita 2002; Pavlenko 2004; Tannenbaum 2012). Pavlenko (2004, 2012) points out that intimacy and emotional development take place in two parallel processes during primary language acquisition. The first is related to *perceptual development* where children form their emotional concepts of all sensory modalities, such as visual, auditory, tactile and visceral, through language socialisation. The second process involves *linguistic affective conditioning* where children develop linguistic associations with emotionally charged experiences and memories. During this process, words and phrases take on affective connotations and have deep personal meanings in that some are linked to love, others linked to fear, and others again linked to taboos. As a result, using the primary language can invoke deep emotional reactions and make family members feel “closer” in daily interactions. Home language fluency also enables meaningful communication between generations (Wong-Fillmore 1991).

The **identity factor** is related to individuals’ perception of self as a member of a family. This identity is related to the ethnolinguistic origins of the family (see Tseng this vol.). As a symbolic representation, home language is, in some families, the most significant cultural and ethnic feature reflecting family roots and heritage, despite the fact that family members may simultaneously take on other identities related to their professions and have membership of multiple communities (e.g. Little 2017). Heritage identity, in the context of intergenerational transmission, can be a contested issue that may cause conflicts between family members (Blackledge and Creese 2010; Zhu 2008).

The **cultural factor** refers to cultural practices and social norms to which a family adheres. Like identity, culture can be interpreted and experienced differently from one member of a family to the other and from one generation to the next (Little 2017; Mu 2014). Within a family, some parents/caregivers may expect their children to learn the home language in order to maintain a cultural “loyalty” to the home country and continue certain cultural values and social practices which may or may not be consistent with those of the host society. As a consequence, the home language may be lost or altered because of conflicting values attached to it (Curd-Christian 2016).

Parental impact beliefs (de Houwer 1999) refers to parental convictions about their own capability and responsibility for raising children in a home language or bilingually. Such beliefs are motivated by parents' past educational experiences, cultural upbringing and disposition, migration experiences, and knowledge of raising bilingual children. All of them are reflected through parental expectations of their children's linguistic and educational development (Curdt-Christiansen 2009). This factor is one of the most crucial factors in home language maintenance as it is directly related to parental involvement and investment in the process of language learning and development.

Child agency, in the context of FLP, can be defined as children's active role in making decisions about patterns of family language use (see also Smith-Christmas this vol.). While child agency is noticeable in immigrant families, the notion is complex because generational gaps in cultural values and social norms exist inherently between the parent/grandparent generation and the child generation (Fogle 2012; Revis 2019; Said and Zhu 2017; Smith-Christmas 2016, 2018). Language socialisation practices between mainstream society (including school and peer culture) and home can be drastically different oftentimes involving competing social and cultural values as well as political affiliations. Such competing forces can lead to emotional, psychological and ideological consequences that may or may not lead to home language loss (Little 2017; Pavlenko 2012). Therefore, child agency should be treated with careful consideration in specific cultural or linguistic contexts (Ahearn 2001).

2.3 External factors

While internal factors tend to focus on close analysis of face-to-face interactions and social life within the family (Curdt-Christiansen 2009, 2016; Curdt-Christiansen and Wang 2018; Fogle 2012; Gafaranga 2010; Lanza 2004, 2007; Li 1994), families do not live in a vacuum, isolated from the larger socio-cultural environment. On the contrary, they are often influenced by external factors, including socio-linguistic, socio-cultural, socio-economic and socio-political factors (Spolsky 2004, 2012).

Socio-economic factors refer to the economic forces or linguistic capital that a particular language evokes or vice versa (Bourdieu 1996). In other words, they are the interconnections between languages and the economy (Grin 2006). Language economics is a field of study that seeks to address whether and, if so, to what degree language variables affect economic variables, such as earnings and salaries. Tollefson and Tsui (2018) argue that economic forces are central in most language policies. FLP decisions on whether to continue developing a home language are often related to the economic benefits to which the language can provide access.

Socio-political factors concern individuals' rights, resources and access to education (e.g. language-in-education policy), civil activities, and political decisions.

FLP is often influenced by parents' concerns about their children's education in the societal/mainstream language. If immigrant families see their home language as an educational barrier or problem, preventing them from accessing educational information and their children from participating in education, then the chances of maintaining this home language are very small.

Socio-cultural factors refer to the symbolic cultural values that particular languages represent. In this perspective, languages are viewed as manifestations of culture. As mentioned earlier (see child agency), mainstream culture and school culture as well as peer culture can be strong forces that compete against or strengthen the home culture (c.f. Tse 2001; Oriyama 2016). Therefore, FLP often faces challenges and may struggle with the mainstream ideology to resist language loss.

Socio-linguistic factors provide resources for parents to form beliefs about what kind of languages are good/acceptable or bad/unacceptable. Such beliefs are typically reflected in parents' attitudes towards mixing mainstream language with home language or their preference for a particular language variety. In immigrant contexts, many Chinese parents, for example, decide to teach their children Mandarin rather than their home dialect because of the prestige and instrumental value of Mandarin in today's world.

While the above discussion may present the factors as internal and external, there is, in reality, no clear distinction between the two types of factors. Language-in-education policy as an external factor, for example, influences parental decisions on whether to (dis)continue home language development which is reflected in their impact beliefs. Child agency is also a blurred factor between internal and external categories as child agency is often related to school culture, peer culture as well as mainstream culture. These cultures, by category, are external factors that ~~often~~ shape children's agentic role in FLP. In this regard, internal and external factors are inherently related.

These factors, as evidenced in above discussion, act as driving forces for family members to make critical decisions about continuity or discontinuity of home languages. Unpacking the influences of these factors can "enhance our understanding of the power relationships between linguistic varieties and cultural and symbolic values" (Curdt-Christiansen 2013: 4). In the following section, we present empirical studies to demonstrate how these factors are interconnected and crucially shape language ideologies and practices in different types of families.

3 Internal factors: Changing cultures, evolving identities and conflicting views

When combating language shift and loss, immigrant families encounter tremendous challenges from mainstream ideologies, children's culture, and peer influence

on children's social values, as well as from public education and macro language policies (Curdt-Christiansen 2009, 2016, 2018; Little 2017). In recent years, scholars have paid particular attention to emotions, parental impact beliefs and child agency (e.g. Fogle 2012; Pavlenko 2012; Smith-Christmas 2016; Tannenbaum 2012). These shaping factors turn families into contested fields with conflicting views from different policy actors (family members) within the same families.

3.1 Harmonious family relationship

Home language maintenance, as argued by some scholars (de Houwer 2009, 2015; Okita 2002; Pavlenko 2004, 2012; Tannenbaum 2012), can be an important element for a harmonious and cohesive family relationship. De Houwer (2009), for example, studied a bilingual Dutch-English child (Lauren) in Belgium. At age three, Lauren spoke fluent Dutch and understood some English. Her productive English, however, was restricted to "yes" and "no", which is understandable as her exposure to English was limited and the input came only from her father who often traveled. Her father perceived this linguistic behaviour as a "rejection" of him. De Houwer argues that by not speaking the parents' language, a child may affect the harmonious relationship in a family. Similar cases have also been reported by other scholars where parents feel guilty for not passing on their heritage language (Curdt-Christiansen 2016; Okita 2002). Okita (2002), in her study of children of Japanese and English heritage in the UK, reported Japanese mothers' conflicting feelings about not using Japanese with their children when they started schooling in English. Curdt-Christiansen (2016), in her study of Singaporean families, also illustrated the parents' conflicting emotions and regrets for not passing on their heritage language.

In addition to the conflicting feelings expressed by parents, studies have shown that emotional expressions used by parents in their L1 emerge as more authentic, natural and genuine (Pavlenko 2004). Therefore, terms of endearment or other strong emotions expressed in L1(s) offer an opportunity for language maintenance. The relationship between emotions and home language maintenance has been reported by Tannenbaum and Berkovich (2005) in their studies of 180 adolescents from families that immigrated to Israel from the former USSR. Focusing on attitudes and other emotional aspects, they found that home language maintenance in the second generation is associated with harmonious family relations which lead to the well-being of immigrant parents and children. They concluded that successful home language maintenance is largely attributable to children's internalisation of the emotional dimensions that their parents attach to the L1.

3.2 Parental impact beliefs

While children's emotional identification with their parents has a strong influence on home language maintenance, parents' impact beliefs (De Houwer 1999) about their children's ability to learn the home language can be a decisive factor, informing their FLP decisions and thus affecting the linguistic environment they provide for their children. Such beliefs are often instantiated through parents' expectations of their children's bilingual development. Pérez Báez (2013) studied language shift of speakers of San Lucas Quiavini Zapotec within the home and in the diaspora context in Mexico and California. She found that parents held weak impact beliefs in their ability to support their children's bilingual development leading to ineffective FLPs and language shift in both home context and diaspora community. These weak impact beliefs were derived from the strong external forces associated with the assimilation ideology in the US. The example provides evidence for the close relationship and blurred characteristics of internal and external factors.

In contrast to the weak impact beliefs, *strong impact beliefs* held by parents have been found in diaspora context with regard to minority home language maintenance. Curdt-Christiansen (2009) studied Chinese immigrant families in Quebec where Chinese, English and French were part of the children's language repertoires. Believing that "language is a window to the world" (Curdt-Christiansen 2009: 367), the parents in her study provided rich linguistic resources for home language development. The findings revealed that parents' perceptions of maintaining Chinese and developing French and English simultaneously (multilingual proficiency) were clearly related to their past educational and migration experiences, and beliefs in the market values of the different languages in Canada and beyond (Curdt-Christiansen 2009; Zhu and Li 2016). Similar findings have been reported in studies of immigrant families in other parts of the world, demonstrating that impact beliefs are contributing factors that inform FLPs (Curdt-Christiansen and LaMorgia 2018; Kang 2015; Li 2007; Ren and Hu 2013).

3.3 Child agency and home language maintenance

A harmonious and cohesive family relationship is not always easy to achieve in immigrant families. Migration background and experiences have crucial effects not only on individual family members' language practices but also on relational factors such as culture and identity. As family members have different encounters and experiences during their migration trajectory, conflicts of identity and culture between generations may arise.

Zhu (2008) studied family language talk between parents and children in Chinese diasporic families in the UK. Using a detailed analysis of sequential movement in conversations, she demonstrated that "conflicts in values and identities are

negotiated, mediated and managed” (2008: 1799). Family language policy in these participating families is thus negotiated through intergenerational conflict talk as a result of different life experiences, socio-cultural values and linguistic practices between members of different generations. Critically, Zhu points out that family dynamics and family values are changing because societies are changing; such changes, however, have crucial effects on home language maintenance.

Also looking at the evolving sociolinguistic environment of immigrant families in the UK, Little (2017) explored families’ attitudes towards home language development and their efforts to support or develop the home language in their families. Involving 212 families from a wide variety of cultural and linguistic contexts, she looked into how attitudes towards heritage language may be linked to identity. By asking “Whose heritage? What inheritance?” she drew attention to the notions of peripheral vs. essential and pragmatic vs. emotional aspects of heritage language learning. While parents may have an “essential/emotional” attitude to their home language and view it as an essential aspect of their identity, children may struggle to identify with their parents and find it difficult to understand their parent’s deep emotional need. She points out that because of the external influence from school and society, and because of the lack of resources for home language learning and use, children tend to regard their home languages as peripheral. The study, again, demonstrates the influences of blurred internal and external forces, which together contribute to the incomplete home language development.

While the outcome of children’s home language development may not have been as the parents expected, recent studies reveal that children can exert their agency to make creative use of their heritage language and the mainstream language (Said and Zhu 2017; Mu 2014; Zhu 2008; Smith-Christmas 2016, 2018). Said and Zhu (2017: 3) reported a case of third generation Arabic speaking bilingual children who “mobilise their multiple (and developing) linguistic repertoires creatively to assert their agency in language use and socialisation”. By analysing mealtime interactions, they argue that the acts of agency are enacted through the children’s knowledge and manipulation of their parents’ preference for Arabic. These “bottom up” (child negotiation of parental decisions) vs. “top down” (explicit parental decisions) language negotiations are conducive for successful development or maintenance of home language. They demonstrate that the children’s clever manipulation of their metalinguistic knowledge contributes to their language learning and cultural appreciation of the “home” linguistic environment, because family values go hand-in-hand with language development through socialisation processes. They finally contend that a flexible FLP may encourage active involvement in language learning and create positive experiences related to home language development which, in turn, invite children to assert their agency to develop a close family relationship. This positive perspective on the value of children’s agentive role is congruent with De Houwer’s (2015) harmonious bilingualism and Schwartz’s (2008) co-existence of L1 and L2 environment for bilingual development.

However, child agency does not always result in a positive home-language learning experience. Very often, child agency can go against parental language decisions for home language maintenance, thus causing conflicts within families. Fogle (2012), for example, found three types of agency in children's heritage language development in adoptive families: resistance through 'nothing' response, interaction through the frequent use of wh-questions, and influencing their parents' language choice. Revis (2019) also studied child agency in Ethiopian and Colombian refugee families and communities in New Zealand. Employing a Bourdieusian theory as conceptual framework, she illustrated that there are gaps between ethnic values and norms of parents and those with which the children grow up in their new living context. As children are immersed in the educational field where the prevalent cultural and linguistic norms of the broader society shape their habitus, they bring such "embodied predisposition from the societal field to their home environment" (Revis 2019: 188). In this regard, children act on their habitus and make decisions about changes in their cultural and linguistic practices in their families. Such changes are evidenced in their metalinguistic evaluations of their parents' ethnic language and the host country language (Said and Zhu 2017), in their "medium requests", demanding adults to repeat questions in the societal language (Gafaranga, 2010; Smith-Christmas, 2016), in their sociocultural socialisation, and in their teaching of the mainstream language to their parents (Revis 2019).

These above-mentioned conflicting issues in families provide evidence of the ways in which children contest their parents' decisions with regard to their top-down FLPs. As Mu and Dooley (2015) have observed, children do not just reproduce their home language and culture, rather they establish a bi/multilingual space where the languages and cultures of both the ethnic home and the mainstream society co-exist. They may also establish a monolingual space where only the mainstream language and culture are practiced. The latter illustrates a case of language loss in intergenerational transmission which has critical implications for identity, cultural continuity and societal cohesion. Home language maintenance and development, thus, are not private matters confined to family and community domains. Instead, they are closely related to external forces exemplified by broader sociopolitical policies and public ideologies, which will be explored in the next section.

4 External forces in FLP: Competing for space for home language development

As illustrated in the above review, FLP tends to be competing for space with the mainstream society and sociological ideologies. The competing forces are most visible in language status, political allegiance, educational goals and economic

benefits brought forth by home languages. In what follows, we present some empirical studies that illuminate the influence of these external forces on FLP formation.

4.1 Language status

The status of a home/minority language is a critical factor for its survival in a given society (Curdt-Christiansen and LaMorgia 2018; Curdt-Christiansen and Wang 2018; Lane 2010; Ren and Hu 2013). Walls (2018) examined how immigrant Anglophone parents, based in the metropolitan region of Barcelona, Catalonia, Spain, raised their children in English by competing with the two official languages in the region: Catalan and Castilian (Spanish). Because of the powerful status of English as valuable linguistic capital, both in its socio-economic capacity and as a global lingua franca, all participating parents ($n = 331$) recounted deliberate and ambitious FLP decisions for their children to attain a high level of English proficiency as well as native or native-like levels of Castilian and Catalan.

In the same vein, Curdt-Christiansen (2009, 2014, 2016, 2018) found in Chinese diasporic communities that parental decisions on maintaining Chinese are related to the economic and political power brought forth by the language as well as to the powerful position of China on the global economic-political stage. One of the Quebec parents expressed her view this way (data from Curdt-Christiansen 2009: 364):

看中国的这个经济改革，有一种局势，那个那个经济中心会移向东方。所以那你要要是会英文又会中文，你工作上的机会会多很多。现在已经很明显，如果你有一门技术，又懂几门语言，那你就完全可以跨越很多障碍。

Look at the economic changes in China, there is a tendency that the center [of finance] will move to the East. There will be ample opportunities if you know English and Chinese, the job opportunities will be abundant. It is very obvious now, if you have a skill and know a few languages, you can overcome many barriers.

The positive view of Chinese language in this quote reflects its economic value and powerful political status. When linguistic and human capital is ascribed to a home language (Bourdieu 1996), FLP decisions for home language development can be made with assertion, which can be directly reflected in their impact beliefs.

While the “high” status of a minority language has motivated parents to implement home language development policies, a “low” status of a language could force parents to make the opposite decisions (Curdt-Christiansen 2014, 2016; Curdt-Christiansen and Wang 2018; Wang 2017). Lane (2010), for example, studied a group of Kven (a Finnic language) speakers in northern Norway. Aiming to understand the macro (external)-micro (internal) connections contributing to the massive language shift in this ethnic minority group, Lane conducted this longitudinal study

through sociolinguistic interviews, participant observation, and feedback discussion with participants. The research was situated within the context of the official Norwegianisation Policy of the 1970s. The entire process of Norwegianisation had imparted a sense of inferiority and shame to the Kven speakers, who had little choice but to stop language transmission. In their own words, “[w]e did what we thought was best for our children” (Lane 2010: 63).

These examples illustrate that in multilingual societies where minority/home and majority/mainstream languages and cultures co-exist, “language ranking and ideological conflicts can invoke complex systems of power relations that may or can inhibit intergenerational language transmission” (Curd-Christiansen 2018: 431). It is particularly crucial for minority/home language maintenance in societies with an explicit and strong monolingual ideology in public discourse, such as the UK and the US. Kirsch (2012), for instance, studied Luxembourgish families in Britain, in which she demonstrated the unbalanced power relationship between English, the dominant societal and powerful global language, and Luxembourgish, the non-dominant European home language. Although Luxembourgish is perceived as a European language with a “high status” in Luxembourg, it struggles in vain on the linguistic battleground of the United Kingdom. Similarly, in multilingual Singapore and Malaysia, Curdt-Christiansen (2014, 2016) and Wang (2017) have shown that even when home languages are given official languages status (such as Malay, Tamil and Mandarin), they are hierarchically ranked and placed below English. These studies are not unique cases as illustrated by other researchers (e.g. Sevinç 2016; Curdt-Christiansen and LaMorgia 2018). Many immigrant families have encountered similar issues when trying to raise multilingual children in a new, monolingual society where peer pressure, the political discourse and school policy are generating various pressures or difficulties for home language maintenance. In the following section, we discuss the influence of public education and language-in-education policy on FLP.

4.2 Public education

Education is one of the most important factors – if not *the* most important – that shape immigrant families’ decisions on whether to continue or to discontinue home language practices for intergenerational transmission. It is understandable, as Curdt-Christiansen (2009: 352) has argued, that parents usually want what “will strengthen the family’s social standing” and usually do their best to support their children. However, very often this best interest tends to make parents sacrifice their home language and give way to the dominant school language. In this regard, FLPs have to compete with language-in-education policy, and home languages have to compete for space with school languages. In addition, parents’ inner voice that speaks for the heritage language has to compete with the teacher’s advice on developing only school language (Curd-Christiansen 2014; Curdt-Christiansen and

LaMorgia 2018; Bezcioglu-Goktolga and Yağmur 2018; Gkaintartzi, Chatzidaki, and Tsokalidou 2014).

To understand how external factors underlie the process of language decisions in families, Baldauf (2005: 961) argues that “language-in-education planning, through schooling can become the sole language change agent”. Curdt-Christiansen (2014, 2015, 2016) studied how language-in-education policy affects Singaporean families’ FLP. In Singapore, despite the fact that the state language policy recognises four official languages – English, Mandarin, Malay, and Tamil which are also the home languages of some of the recent and past immigrants from China, Malaysia and India, the language-in-education policy has adopted English as the language of instruction across all subjects in all schools at all levels. This political decision has resulted in much less curriculum time allocated to the teaching of Mandarin, Malay and Tamil (also referred to as the mother tongues) as a subject in schools. In her study of bilingual Chinese families, Curdt-Christiansen found that there are competing ideologies with regard to developing Chinese and English simultaneously. Concerned about “losing out to English in a competitive society and a meritocratic educational system” that emphasizes high proficiency in English, the parents had little choice other than to place Chinese and English in opposing positions (Curdt-Christiansen 2014: 48). This has resulted in their lower expectations for their children’s Chinese proficiency and less sufficient provision of Chinese literacy resources at home.

Socio-cultural and socio-political realities are driving families to make difficult decisions about their language practices. On the one hand, they desire to maintain their cultural loyalty and linguistic continuity through intergenerational transmission. On the other hand, they have to negotiate social pressure and public educational demands. In a recent special issue on family language management, edited by Curdt-Christiansen and Lanza (2018), researchers from different geopolitical contexts, such as England, Scotland and Luxembourg, showed that family language management measures often encounter obstacles from public educational systems where immigrant parents are forced to prioritise school languages and academic matters (Curdt-Christiansen and LaMorgia 2018; Gogonas and Kirsch 2018; Smith-Christmas 2018).

In a study of Chinese, Italian and Urdu-speaking families in the UK, Curdt-Christiansen and LaMorgia (2018) showed the importance of the “conscious choice” of the linguistic measures and literacy practices in shaping the “unconscious process” of linguistic and cultural transmission in transnational families. While the study shows that parents provide an environment and various language resources that enable their children to maintain their home language and develop additive bilingualism, it also shows the dilemma that parents encounter in their everyday life and the challenges parents have as they struggle to keep up with social and educational pressures and the demands of the educational system. As one of the parents stated about choice of language at home (Curdt-Christiansen and LaMorgia 2018: 19):

First of all, she [daughter] has to complete her school work. Currently, she is in a private primary school, so she has homework to do every day. When that is completed, it's already eight, time for bed. To read in Chinese, we really don't have time for it. Because we both work and have to make sure that one of us gets home before seven, so we take turns to bathe her and supervise her homework. This is the main reason. Ideally, we should read to her in English and do the same in Chinese.

This narrative illustrates one of the challenges that parents encounter when raising bilingual children. The authors highlight that educational demands from the public educational system have “coerced” the parents to promote English in the family domain, and that leaves them little time and energy to keep up with the children’s home language development.

Within the educational context, language-in-education and space for home language development are not the only competing forces determining parental decisions. The teachers’ advice to parents regarding language practices at home, and their expectations of the parental role in the schooling of immigrant children play a key factor in shaping parental language choices and practices at home. Bezioglu-Goktolga and Yağmur (2018) studied the impact of Dutch teachers on the FLP of Turkish immigrant parents. By observing 20 families and interviewing 35 parents and five classroom teachers, they found that there is a major mismatch between teachers’ perceptions of the parental role in education and parents’ beliefs about the language use at home, as illustrated in one of the interviews with a teacher (Bezioglu-Goktolga and Yağmur 2018: 227):

You have to choose one language. I know a Turkish intern, she knew two languages but neither is good. She told me her parents speak only Turkish, so she has to choose between languages. I think if she lives here, she has to choose Dutch.

Although research in recent years shows that bilingualism does not cause confusion and is not the cause of school failure, in this study the Dutch teachers still believe that monolingualism should be the norm. In this regard, parents are influenced by teachers’ beliefs and act upon teachers’ advice to watch Dutch TV with their children, ask their children to play with Dutch schoolmates, and hire private tutors to support children’s language learning in Dutch. The authors suggest that more research into teachers’ knowledge of multilingualism and beliefs about bilingual education is needed as it can facilitate immigrant students’ educational achievement and language development (Palviainen and Mård-Miettinen 2015; Schwartz 2008).

The studies above show that in order to ensure more positive examples of bilingual development, the public educational system and schools need to provide adequate structures and facilities for heritage language development as well as ideological support for families battling against language shift and loss.

5 Outlook

The last ten years of empirical research has enriched the field of FLP with increased emphasis on seeing each family as a dynamic unit in society. Language decisions made in such a unit are always contextually situated and therefore shaped by the broader context of the society. Accordingly, FLP research must look beyond family confines in order to effectively investigate and interpret the home decisions made by family members. It is evident from our review that internal and external factors are not discrete and independent categories, rather they influence each other, and together they form the ideological underpinnings of FLP.

In this final section of the chapter, we would like to point out, alongside the internal and external factors which we have discussed above, some recently generated new factors that have not been or are only rarely included in the discussion of FLP factors. These new factors are related to recent development of new technology (see Palviainen; Hatoss both this vol.) and the changing social structure resulting from increasing transnational mobility of people, resources, and capital.

An increasingly relevant force affecting FLP, which we would like to highlight in this conclusion, is the digital media. The growing exposure to global satellite broadcasting and easy access to the Internet have enabled immigrants to establish instant contact and affiliation with religious, ethnic, and political practises happening in their countries of origin and other places around the world. The wide distribution of computer-mediated online language learning and teaching, the free access to digital language resources, and the constant connection with peer parents from various settings around the world are all playing increasingly salient roles in parents' decision-making for FLP (Piller and Gerber 2018). For example, in our ongoing research project on British minority communities and FLP, we are observing parents' social media practices and the influence of such practices on their home language use. Being a member of a parent chat group of 200 people on a social media platform where hundreds of messages are daily exchanged can greatly influence a parent's ideas and practices regarding home language use. Moreover, this constant online connection with peer parents involves collective practices with regard to language learning, home language maintenance, and language socialisation. A parent may easily start or reform an FLP under peer influence from such a chat group.

To address this new phenomenon, we would like to call for more attention to the cross-boundary connectedness, to being in a network and to being digitally networked. Perhaps a new term – “Networked FLP” – would be of use for us to further investigate the cross-boundary connectedness and its influence on FLP, such as “how would grandparents' weekly video chats with a grandchild affect the parents' language planning and the child's motivation to learn the home language?”

Secondly, we would like to call for further attention to the term “hybrid urbanism” (Rabinowitz and Monterescu 2008) in research on FLP and FLP factors. This

hybrid urban norm of language use reinforces the earlier conceptualisation of FLP as a complex, multilevel process of formulating, interpreting, and appropriating certain plans and practices. We suggest further research on FLP to shed light on this urban complexity and ensuing challenges, particularly in the lives of cosmopolitan families, to investigate how contextualised FLP links to national and regional level political and economic forces, and how such a link is being negotiated, adopted, and reproduced among parents, children, and other family members.

Thirdly, we would like to suggest that further FLP research devotes more attention to how neoliberal language ideology and policy (Piller and Cho 2015) and the commodification of language influence FLP in our discussion of external factors. Under the neoliberal language policy, the commodification of language has resulted in new conceptualisations of individual parents and children, their reasons for language planning and learning, and the ideologies that give meaning to their everyday family routine and language use. Neoliberal language policy inevitably affects parent's FLP decision-making. Questions like "What language(s) will bring my child a financially advantaged future?"; "Is my home language still useful in the global market?"; or "Am I paying too much money and spending too much energy on the maintenance of my home language?" are often heard from parents when they talk about their FLPs. Thus, it will contribute to the field if specific investigations can be conducted with a focus on the impact of neoliberal ideology on FLP.

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