

**Language Use, Attitudes, and Identities
of Bilingual Arab Children in Manchester,
UK: Description and Factors**

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Language Use, Attitudes, and Identities of Bilingual Arab Children in Manchester, UK: Description and Factors

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Abbreviations

HL	Heritage Language
HLM	Heritage Language maintenance
HLS	Heritage Language speaker
LA	Language attitudes
LU	Language use
SA	Standard Arabic
QA ¹	Colloquial Arabic dialects
CA	Classical Arabic
SAS	Supplementary Arabic schools
FLP	Family language policy
LP	Language policy

Transcription key

...	Short pause
.....	Long pause
[...]	Part of the conversation is removed
[]	Researcher explanation
Bold	Key idea in the quotation

¹ Following Albirini (2016), I choose the abbreviation (QA) to refer to colloquial Arabic instead of (CA) which is usually used in the literature to refer to classical Arabic.

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Abstract

This sociolinguistic study contributes to the debate around language use, attitudes and identity within ethnic minorities in the UK. It also contributes to discussions of heritage language maintenance and family language policies. More importantly, it furthers our understanding of language use in supplementary schools, a field that has not received enough attention from researchers. In this thesis, I investigate bilingual Arab children's language use, attitudes and identities. First, I explore their language use patterns and linguistic practices in two environments: at home and at the supplementary Arabic school. I then examine their attitudes towards Arabic in its two varieties 'Standard Arabic (SA) and Colloquial Arabic (QA)', their attitudes towards Arabic supplementary schools, and their attitudes towards maintaining Arabic. Third, I explore the children's identities in relation to the Arabic school, the English school, at home and in general term as identity is approach as something dynamic and changeable in this study. The factors that affect these language practices, attitudes and sense of identity, and the relationships between them are examined in detail.

The aim of this study was to find patterns that lead to the maintenance of Arabic and/ or language shift. Arab children, parents and teachers in Arabic supplementary schools in Manchester, UK were invited to participate. Using a combination of questionnaires, interviews, observation and field notes, this project provides a picture of language repertoires, preferences and practices in the Arabic community in Manchester.

The findings show that Arabic is indeed maintained and that there is a great effort to maintain it. The main motivation for Arabic maintenance is its value as the language of the Quran. However, the results also show that the children's language use with older generations differs from children's language use with younger generations, which suggests that there is a shift towards English-dominant bilingualism amongst the younger generation.

The key finding is that the most influential factor on the children's general language use is the language spoken to them. Furthermore, it sheds light on the importance of setting language policies that increase the use of Arabic both at home and in Arabic schools. In addition, the findings of this study show that attending supplementary schools, watching Arabic programmes, reading Arabic books, and socializing with Arabs could motivate children to speak and maintain Arabic. Regarding attitudes, children generally hold positive attitudes towards Arabic, maintaining Arabic and Arabic supplementary schools. These attitudes are positively related to the children's language use, enjoyment in learning Arabic, and their sense of identity. In terms of identity, the children showed changeable sense of identity which appears far from fixed as they positioned themselves within different social groups in different social contexts. Identifying the children themselves as 'Arab Muslim' was associated with a higher use of Arabic.

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 About this study

This sociolinguistic study explores the language use of Arabic-English bilingual children in the UK, their language attitudes, and the identities associated with these languages and attitudes. I investigate these aspects of bilingualism in two predominantly Arabic environments: home and Arabic supplementary schools. Exploring children's language use in different contexts reflects the status of Arabic maintenance and language shift and contributes to a better understanding of what happens in bilingual classrooms. This study also aims at identifying the domains in which the two languages (Arabic or English) and the Arabic varieties (standard Arabic or colloquial Arabic) are used, which allows exploration of the factors and motives behind these different language use patterns. Recognizing other language use patterns between separate domains is fundamental to the process of language maintenance (LM) and language shift (LS) (Fishman, 2013). This also allows important insights into the roles of supplementary schools in heritage language maintenance and proficiency. Furthermore, this study aims to find out the children's language attitudes, including their attitudes towards attending supplementary schools and maintaining heritage language (HL). This enables us to understand, to an extent, whether being taught by teachers from a different culture and heritage is an obstacle or a facilitating element in terms of maintaining HL. The findings of this study also help us to understand the impact of using different language varieties as a medium of interaction in supplementary schools. In addition, identity is explored in relation

to language. The thesis describes the different identities that children hold in different contexts. For example, I investigate the children's sense of identity in the English school and in the Arabic school and how having a specific identity interacts with their language attitudes, language use and heritage language maintenance (HLM).

It is worthy to justify the use of bilingual approach to study the sociolinguistic practices of the community under investigation considering the recently emerging translingual turn in the field of applied linguistics. As this study focuses on the use of Arabic and English in different social contexts, the bilingual paradigm offers the distinction required for this kind of investigation. Although it is a heteroglossic translingual context, applying a translingual approach might not enable us to explore language use, attitudes, and identity in the same way a bilingual approach does. Nevertheless, I considered translingualism where possible.

Although this is primarily a sociolinguistic study, its findings could help supplementary schools make more informed decisions about allocating children to different classes or groups inside classes and which teachers to appoint in each class to get a better educational outcome. It could also help schools make more informed decisions about language policy that would benefit children and teachers at the same time. In addition, it could allow parents to make a more informed choice when considering sending their children to a supplementary school. For example, parents sometimes have the option to send their children to a school that is for children of a particular nationality (e.g., Libyan) or to a school that is for children of any Arab nationality. Parents may also have the choice to send their children to a school that

offers only Arabic and Islamic studies or a school that provides the full national curriculum. In such cases, parents would have some knowledge of what factors may affect their children's culture and language maintenance and their willingness to continue attending supplementary schools. Thus, parents would be able to choose the school that would be best for their children. More importantly, this study will help spread awareness about the significance of language maintenance and the role of language use at home in maintaining heritage language. In such situations, parents will have some awareness of what factors could influence the culture and maintenance of their children's languages and their ability to continue attending supplementary schools. This thesis will address the following research questions:

1. What patterns of language use do Arab children display when speaking in predominantly Arabic environments such as home and supplementary Arabic schools, and what factors influence those patterns?
2. To what extent do attitudes towards both heritage and dominant languages reflect and/or contribute to the construction of the children's identity as bilinguals?

To answer the research questions, this study investigates the following areas: language use in predominantly Arabic environments (home and supplementary Arabic schools 'SAS'), language attitudes towards Arabic language (colloquial Arabic 'QA' and standard Arabic 'SA'), language and identity, the factors affecting language practices, attitudes and identities. I use a mixed-methods approach to answer these research questions, including the implementation of questionnaires, interviews and observation.

This research builds on and adds to the ongoing discussion on heritage language use and maintenance, language attitudes, and identity among ethnic minorities. It also adds to the debates on family language policy and its role in HLM. More crucially, it contributes to our knowledge of language usage, language policies, language ideologies and identity practices in SAS.

1.2 Organization of the thesis

The thesis is structured as follows. The rest of this introduction introduces the motives behind choosing this topic to study; explores the importance of HLM; and describes the history to the present day of the community I am investigating (Muslims and Arabs in Manchester and the history of supplementary schooling in the UK and in Manchester).

Chapter 2 presents a comprehensive review of the relevant literature in the field of supplementary schooling and introduces some key concepts in this area. I define supplementary schooling and discuss the categorizations, aims and number of supplementary schools in the UK. The last section of this chapter presents the available literature on supplementary education in the UK with a focus on SAS.

Chapter 3 consists of a literature review of the principal concepts and frameworks used in the research. This includes Arabic varieties and diglossia, multilingualism, bilingual education, language use, language and identity, language attitudes, and finally, heritage language maintenance, shift, and loss.

Chapter 4 provides a comprehensive description of the development of the research design and addresses the methodological considerations and justifications

that have shaped this practical part of the study. I discuss the epistemological and ontological beliefs of this study and situate my study in the research paradigm. The rest of the chapter explains and describes my role as a researcher, my relationship with the participants, the concept of reflexivity, the research participants, the methods of data collection and analysis, and the ethical considerations.

Chapters 5, 6, 7, and 8 present and discuss the results of the study. Chapter 5 explores language use at home and in SAS, covering language practices description, inter-generational differences in language use, and language policy. Chapter 6 investigates language attitudes, while chapter 7 sheds light on language and identity. Chapter 8 combines all three previous chapters by examining the factors affecting language practices, attitudes and identities.

The last chapter of this dissertation is chapter 9, which concludes with a summary of the main findings, the contribution of the study, the limitations of the research and finally, some recommendations for further work in this area.

1.3 A personal journey

My interest in the field of heritage language maintenance was mainly motivated by my experience as an international student who moved to a host community that speaks a different language to mine. I moved with two children, became a part of the Arabic minority, and taught in SAS.

When I moved from Saudi to Australia to study for a master's degree, I moved with two young children, my daughter, who was four and my son, who was 18 months old. My daughter did well in fitting into the new community, acquiring

English, and maintaining Arabic at the same time. She fully understood where we come from and who we are. On the other hand, my son did not have any awareness of our origin due to his very young age. As my husband and I were studying for a full-time master's degree, we were very busy, and my son spent most of his day in day-care. He went there from 9 am to 6 pm, five days a week. The first language he learned was English. In the beginning, he could understand Arabic and react to what we said. A few months later, we noticed that he could no longer understand Arabic.

During my second year in Australia, he spoke mainly English with all of us. It was fine until we went back to Saudi for the summer holidays for two months. He was nearly three years old at the time. He constantly asked me why he could not speak Arabic like everyone else. He asked me once if he did not speak Arabic because he was still little. I was not aware at that point how much language is related to people's identity and their sense of who they are. He was confused about what language he should speak and why he was different from everyone else. This language difference might have affected the way he perceived himself. At some point, he had some speech difficulties that we needed to seek a therapist's help. His speech difficulties got worse after I graduated and moved back home to Saudi for a year. When we moved to the UK, and after he was enrolled in school, his speech difficulties gradually disappeared. He asked me one day after we moved to the UK, "why did we even go to Saudi?" It was not until then that I understood what he was going through. What happened with my son made me aware of the relationship between language and sense of identity and the extent to which the language

children speak on their emotional wellbeing. He was very confused about where we come from and what is our language.

When thinking about what was going on with my son, I can see that language was a very important element that formed his sense of identity and self-perception. When we came to the UK, we did not go back to all the familiar things that he was used to in Australia, such as our house and his day-care centre. We moved to a completely new country. However, Australia and the UK have language in common. Living in an English-speaking community might have made him feel comfortable and that he was where he belongs. Since we moved to the UK, I have made sure he understands where we come from and what our heritage language is, and I have spoken mainly in Arabic with him to reinforce his connection to Arabic.

Regarding the choice of the research site, I chose supplementary schools due to my work experience as a volunteer teacher in an Arabic supplementary school in Melbourne, Australia. While I was teaching there, I was amazed at how children as young as four were making language choices and switching between languages depending on the context and the person they were addressing. In a class, children would speak to me in Arabic, but when they talked to their classmates, they would switch to English. I started reading about this area of language behaviour and found that this interesting area of language use in supplementary schools has not received enough attention from researchers. Although there were some studies in this field, there are many aspects of supplementary schools that have not been studied yet. One of these aspects was the language policy in Arabic supplementary schools. Another element was presenting SA to children. The main issue here was that

children who live in a non-Arabic speaking country have different exposure to Arabic than those living in Arabic speaking countries. Arab children who live in Arab countries are competent in Spoken Arabic and are usually exposed to SA from different sources such as TV, religious speeches and formal education. On the other hand, Arab children who live in the UK most likely lack competence in spoken Arabic in the first place, and most of them might not have been exposed to SA before. Therefore, it is very important to be aware of the issue of lack of competence in both QA and SA, which might create conflict or confusion to children. Consequently, I decided to choose this field to do my PhD study.

1.4 The importance of maintaining heritage languages

To understand the importance of maintaining one's heritage language, we first need to understand what language loss means to people, both the practical and the emotional disadvantages of losing it, and how language is lost. Then, I briefly discuss the factors that might affect and/or contribute to HLS and negative HL attitudes. We also need to discuss the advantages of maintaining heritage language at the level of migrant families, migrant children and the host community.

Parents who raise their children in an environment where the dominant language is different from the language of their childhood can find it difficult to interact and show affection to their children (Fillmore, 2000; Pavlenko, 2007). Losing one's language (or be less proficient in it) means, in many cases, losing connection with one's culture, family, and sense of identity. Losing heritage language might make parents feel they no longer know their children and what is happening in their lives (Fillmore, 2000). Moreover, losing HL might affect the way children perceive

their parents. Nesteruk (2010) argues that as the children's English abilities exceed those of their parents, and they increasingly respond to their parents in English, parental power and authority are minimized.

Fillmore (2000) reports in detail one of the many cases of language shift and loss in the case of a Chinese family who migrated to the USA, the Chen family. The family consisted of a father, a mother, a grandmother, an uncle and two children, five-year-old boy Kai-Fong and four-year-old girl Chu-Mei. After settling down, the family added two girls to the family. In this case, the parents and uncle worked at their cousin's restaurant where all the workers spoke no English. That resulted in the parents and the uncle not acquiring English. The grandmother took care of the children. The two older children started school and were placed in the same class. While Chu-Mei was doing well and fitted into the social school world, Kai-Fong had a difficult time. The children at school made fun of his hair and the way he was dressed. Unfortunately, Kai-Fong could not establish himself socially with his classmates. Even after he learned some English, he remained an outsider, and his only friends were Asian migrant boys. One might think that this situation would make Kai-Fong increasingly close to his family and hold tightly to his mother tongue, with which he could express himself best.

On the contrary, as soon as he learned some English, Kai-Fong stopped speaking Cantonese at home. Even when his grandmother talked to him, he either ignored her or replied in English, which she did not understand. She tried to speak to the parents about his behaviour, but that made him insist even more on using English. Eventually, the grandmother became withdrawn. Unfortunately, Kai-Fong

was now an outsider at home too. The younger two girls were mostly taken care of by their oldest sister Chu-Mei. As Chu-Mei felt more confident in English, she spoke English to her younger sisters. As a result, they spoke no Cantonese and needed Chu-Mei to translate what they say to the adults. Eleven years after this family migrated, Chu-Mei was the only child who could still speak Cantonese with limited proficiency. This language shift and loss in the Chen family weakened family relations and increased the separation in the family.

The loss of connection between grandparents and grandchildren can be explained by Fishman's (1988) model of the three-generation language transition process. The first migrant generation speaks their heritage language and acquires the dominant language as far as their abilities and opportunities allow them to. The second generation, the children of these migrants, speak the dominant language fluently and keep using their heritage language at home. Finally, by the third generation, we have a complete shift to the dominant language, and in many cases, no knowledge of the heritage language is left.

Many factors affect and/or contribute to HLM, HL shift, and negative HL attitudes. First, language policies in mainstream schools might affect classes as "safe spaces" for bilingual learners where they feel all their learning experiences, at home, in the community, and at school, are recognized and acknowledged (Conteh & Brock, 2011, p. 5). Second, mainstream educators' attitudes are significant because educators' ideas and attitudes will shape pupils' perspectives about their cultural and linguistic background, both positive and negative (Hall & Cunningham, 2020). In addition, in some situations, later-generation heritage speakers might be

misunderstood and stigmatized as a result of imposed deficit identities arising from notions of language purity, competence, and individual agency by the surrounding society, leading to language insecurity and exclusion despite visibly positive attitudes about HLM (Spanish in this study) (Tseng, 2020). Additionally, the absence of support for bilingualism in society and educational institutions sends a clear message to parents that only certain languages are respected (i.e., those seen as having economic or cultural significance) (Eisenclas & Schalley, 2019). Unfortunately, the vast body of research on the advantages and drawbacks of bilingualism has had little influence outside of academic circles (Eisenclas & Schalley, 2019). As a result, parents frequently feel unable to make an educated decision regarding their children's linguistic development, as well as to endure public pressure if they want to keep their HL. When HL has limited prestige in the larger society, and when minority groups' cultural practices and norms differ from mainstream educational methods, this decision becomes much more difficult.

Language maintenance has many advantages to the migrant families, their children and even to the host communities. Language is related to identity and maintaining language helps people value their culture, hold positive self-concepts and form minority identity (Baker, 2011; García, 2003; Tannenbaum & Berkovich, 2005). In immigrant communities, the use of heritage language by children is positively related to coherent family relationships (Tannenbaum & Howie, 2002). Maintaining languages is also important to maintain social relationships with relatives from the homeland. Being bilingual also has educational and cognitive

benefits as well, especially if bilinguals are literate in both languages (Tannenbaum & Berkovich, 2005).

Moreover, maintaining language has religious importance. For instance, Arabic has a specific significance for Muslim Arabs that might not be the same for non-Muslim Arabs. Gogonas (2012) investigated Arabic maintenance amongst second-generation Egyptian migrants in Greece and found that Coptic Egyptians were less keen to use or maintain Arabic and that there was a language shift taking place in second-generation Copts compared to Muslim Egyptians who maintained Arabic (see section 3.3.7.4).

Language maintenance contributes to harmonious family relations, which contributes to the migrant communities' wellbeing (Tannenbaum & Berkovich, 2005). In other words, at the level of the host communities, maintaining heritage languages is very important in order to have harmony in those communities. When migrant children understand their background and heritage culture, they know the differences they might have from their peers and why they are different. This includes the difference in their parents' first language and proficiency in the dominant language, their skin colour, their religion, their family traditions and so on.

Moreover, on the level of community resources, it is helpful to have people who speak other languages. Countries need people with foreign languages for national security, economic, political, and social purposes. High demand for language services is an indicator of the importance of these foreign languages (Brecht & Rivers, 2000). Language services, such as language schools, translation, language testing

companies, machine translation software companies and interpretation, are in high demand from private and government sectors (Brecht & Rivers, 2000). Many Military sectors expressed their need for foreign language services. In addition, there is a growing need to develop international communication (García, 2003).

After introducing the context and the aim of the study, it is time to turn to present the community under investigation, their history and present context.

1.5 Muslims and Arabs in Manchester

In this section, I briefly review the history of Arabs and Muslims in Manchester, the reason for migration and settlement and the community formation processes. Reviewing the linguistic and cultural history allows us to understand the present linguistic and cultural situation of the diverse community under investigation.

1.5.1 History

The available evidence of Muslim and Arab life on Anglo-Saxon lands goes back to the time of King Offa of Mercia as the king issued a coin that had Shahada (Islamic declaration of faith) printed in Arabic on it in the year 794 BCE (Manchester City Council, 2020). There is also some evidence of Muslims' presence in Britain in the Renaissance period (Seddon, 2012). The early Arab merchants were from Tyre and Sidon in what is now Lebanon (Halliday, 1992). They put out to sea to Britain, crossing the Straits of Gibraltar and the North Atlantic, to trade their goods for Cornish tin (Halliday, 1992). According to Halliday (1992, p. 159), most of these merchants came to Britain as subjects from the Ottoman Empire and were called

Syrian 'Suri'. Specifically, Manchester, as a flourishing commercial and economic centre, had attracted Arabs and Muslims as early as the late-eighteenth century (Halliday, 1992). The textile and cotton industry had largely flourished in Manchester in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries making Manchester the world free-trade capital and attracting many cotton merchants from the Arab world (Seddon, 2012).

In Manchester, by 1798, there were four Arab trading houses; by the 1870s, these had grown to several dozen (Halliday, 1992). According to Halliday, this growth in the foreign community in Manchester was a result of the growth of commercial relations that Manchester and the Middle East had. Early Arab merchants came from Syria, which included what is today Syria, Lebanon and Morocco and they were followed by Yemeni migrants.

The main body of Moroccan merchant settlement in Manchester is believed to have happened in the 1830s, while the Syrian settlement occurred in the 1860s (Halliday, 1992). Most of these migrants kept good links with their lands and preserved their culture, language and religions. Most of them were Jews and Christians, and only a few of them were Muslims (Halliday, 1992). It is worth noting that both Jews and Christian Arabs maintained their Arabic identity, which seems to have been extremely important to them (Halliday, 1992; Seddon, 2012). The Muslim merchants established mosques, Halal food shops and merchant offices around Market Street (Manchester City Council, 2020). These merchant offices were established by Moroccans and reported in the Manchester City News in 1936 as Arab merchants were seen around their offices wearing their traditional clothes such as

turbans, red fezzes and jilbabs (Halliday, 1992). The Moroccan Arab community was also praised and noted for its religious piety, honest dealing, clean living, ceremonious practices and for never being called to court, which was also reported in a Manchester newspaper in 1936 (Halliday, 1992; Seddon, 2012).

Arab immigrants settled mainly in Didsbury (an area in the south of Manchester), and it was very common at the time to hear Arabic when walking down the local streets (Halliday, 1992). Others settled in Salford and Rusholme (Seddon, 2012). They followed the English middle-class style of housing that included big houses and gardens (Halliday, 1992). They attended their places of worship and started their own social life that was exclusive to them, and on Eid, Christmas, Tabernacle Day, they visited each other. However, there was less common contact with English families as the Arab relationship with the English was primarily commercial.

In the nineteenth century, there were over a dozen Moroccan families in Manchester with more than a hundred and fifty persons (Halliday, 1992). Many of those immigrants took British citizenship (Manchester City Council, 2020). However, in the mid-1930s, many of them went back to their homelands or migrated to other countries after the decline in the interest in English goods, and only a few of them remained in Manchester (Halliday, 1992). By 1975 there were about twenty-five to thirty Arab families who still lived in Manchester, with only a few of them still in the commercial sector (Halliday, 1992).

It is important when speaking about the history of Arabs in Manchester to briefly consider the Oriental Jews community, because many of the Arab migrants were Sephardic Jews mainly from Aleppo, Syria who settled in north Manchester. Halliday (1992) gave us a detailed picture of this Arab merchants' community. While they kept good relationships with other non-Jewish Arab migrants, their relationship with European Jews was not as good. They spoke a different language and pronounced Hebrew differently. They even discouraged intermarriage between them and other Jewish communities in Manchester. Because of this tension, they were expelled from where they originally settled (Cheetham Hill Road) to Old Landsdowne Road in south Manchester. Besides, Aleppo Jews maintained Arabic as their language, which other Aleppo Jewish migrants also documented in other countries such as the USA (Zenner, 1983). This connection between Arab migrants and maintaining Arabic as their language suggest that they were Arab before being Muslims, Christians or Jews. This also indicates that, although no one can deny the relationship between Islam and the Arabic language, Arabic was a common bond that kept Arab migrants together no matter what religion they followed (Barakat, 1993).

The second generation of Jewish Arab migrants spoke English as their first language but also maintained Arabic or could at least understand it if not able to speak it (Halliday, 1992). The Jewish Arab immigrants organized Arabic language classes for Jews, Christians and Muslims (Halliday, 1992). In the UK, it is believed that Jews were among the first minorities to established supplementary schools as early as the 1800s (Tomlinson, 1984). Fadlo Hourani, a Lebanese trader and Honorary Lebanese Consul from 1946 to 1960, set up a school himself that his children and

other Arab children could attend because the elementary school in Didsbury would not accept 'foreigners' (Halliday, 1992).

Besides the Syrian and the Moroccan migrants, Yemeni migrants began to migrate to Britain during the First World War working as stokers for the British merchants and in chemical factories (Dahya, 1965). In the early 1940s, they settled mainly in Cardiff and South Shields and then in Liverpool and Manchester (Khan, 1980). In 1965, the Yemeni population in the UK was estimated to be 12,000 (Dahya, 1965). Unlike other Arab communities in Manchester, Yemenis built good relationships with white people and were less isolationist (Seddon, 2012). In the 1950s, they started to settle in Eccles, where they established a mosque and three Arabic cafes (Seddon, 2012). The Yemeni community in Manchester, to the present day, is still based in Eccles and have the Yemeni Community Association in Greater Manchester that was established in 1990 and officially registered as a charity association in 2005 (YCA, 2019). It runs a lot of social activities that include an Arabic supplementary school.

1.5.2 Present

Today, Manchester is a multicultural and multilingual city that attracts migrants from all different parts of the world, including the Middle East. This attraction is a result of the living opportunities that England in general, and Manchester specifically, offer to migrants from politically and economically troubled the Middle East.

Even after the decline of industry in the late twentieth century, many migrant workers, EU citizens and refugees continued to arrive in Manchester (Matras, Robertson, & Jones, 2016). The South Asian community south of Manchester had changed completely with many new migrants coming after the Commonwealth Immigration Act in 1962, and particularly the 18 months before the Act was passed (Manchester City Council, 2020). Manchester received a large number of Arab migrants in the 1960s who came as students mainly from Syria, Egypt, Libya and Iraq (Seddon, 2012). Also, many Palestinian refugees migrated to England after the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948 (Seddon, 2012). Arab migrants continued to arrive in large numbers in the mid-1970s to 1990s as asylum seekers and political refugees following the unsettled political situation across the Middle East (Seddon, 2012). In the coming years, Arab migration to Europe seems very likely to continue considering the political situation in the Middle East (Fargues, 2004).

Manchester is now home to more than 150 languages with the most common languages after English being (in order): Urdu, Arabic, Somali, Panjabi, Chinese, Bengali, and Polish (Gopal, Matras, Percival, Robertson, & Wright, 2013; Matras, 2015; Matras et al., 2016). In 2001, the census indicated that there were around 136,000 Muslims in the city. The Arabic minority is the sixth-largest minority in England and Wales (Bullen, 2015). The Manchester Migration Report (2015) shows that the number of Arab residents in Manchester was 9,503, which made up 1.9% of all residents in Manchester and 0.4% of all residents in England. This indicates that Manchester hosts the second-largest Arab community in England, where the first largest is in London with more than 366,769 first and second-generation Arabs

(Census, 2011). This number has likely risen since 2011, especially with the continuing war in Syria. According to Seddon (2012), Manchester already has the largest Libyan community outside Libya.

Regarding the younger generations, the 2011 Census shows that Manchester has more than 20,000 residents aged three and over speaking a main language from a non-UK country in the European Union (EU) (Bullen, 2015). The Manchester Migration report (2015) also indicates that the proportion of the population aged 3-16 in Manchester, who speak English as their main language, was estimated at 83.4%, compared to 92% in England. It is estimated that 40% of Manchester schoolchildren are multilingual. Every year, out of 80,000 schoolchildren, there are around 1500 international new arrivals that enrol in Manchester schools (Matras et al., 2016). The Ethnic Minority Achievement Service (EMAS) provides minority schoolchildren in Manchester with all the support they need to develop English as an additional language and achieve the expected target in all areas of the curriculum (EMAS, 2002). More than 160 bilingual teachers, instructors, and nursery nurses work together with schoolteachers in over 80 schools to provide the support minority schoolchildren require (EMAS, 2002). These teachers speak more than 20 languages, including Arabic (EMAS, 2002; Gaiser & Hughes, 2015; Multilingual Manchester, 2020).

In conclusion, it seems that new arrival Arab migrants tend to form one community that welcomes all Arabs from all Arab countries and all religions. The first generation seems to make great efforts to maintain the Arabic language and identity. However, although the Arab Muslim, Christian, or Jews migrants were considered one community at the early years of their settlement, many years after, "one can say

that the barriers came down and the confined minority was absorbed into the wider ‘English Muslim’ world beyond” (Halliday, 1992, p. 176).

After reviewing the history of the community under investigation, it is time to move to the history of supplementary schooling in the UK in general and in Manchester in specific.

1.5.3 History of supplementary schools in the UK

Supplementary schools have been in the UK since the 1800s, established by Russian and Irish settlers (McLean, 1985; Simon, 2013). Following that, Polish, Italian and Jewish people started their own supplementary schools (Tomlinson, 1984). By the late 1800s, Chinese dockers started supplementary schools for their children aiming at maintaining their culture and language (Issa, 2009).

The rise of supplementary schooling is an outcome of the historical attitudes and processes towards culture and language in certain national contexts (Creese et al., 2008). In other words, the authors suggest, as the national contexts saw that it was not the state’s responsibility to teach minority languages and culture, individuals from those groups started establishing their own supplementary schools. Those minority groups thought that mainstream schooling failed to meet their educational needs (Hall, Özerk, Zulfiqar, & Tan, 2002). As a result, supplementary schools were established by immigrant groups in an attempt to support children (Wei, 2006).

Wei (2006) distinguishes three main groups of supplementary schools in the UK: The first group of supplementary schools occurred in the London area in the late 1960s for children of African-Caribbean families, the second and third groups of the

supplementary schools movement came in the late 1970s and early 1980s by the Muslim communities of South Asian and African origins, and Turkish, Chinese and Greek.

The late 1970s and the early 1980s presented the second of the three groups of supplementary schools, this time established to serve Muslim communities. Muslim communities, especially South-Asian and African communities, wanted their own schools where they had space to teach Islam to their children (Wei, 2006). This group differed from other groups in that Muslim people called for equal rights to the Anglican, Jewish and Catholic communities who had their own separate religious schools (Wei, 2006). Muslim people demanded single-sex schools for girls with an Islamic focus on marriage and motherhood education, presenting an issue that divided the opinions of Muslim communities and wider communities as well as liberal-minded educationalists from both Muslim and non-Muslim communities (Wei, 2006). The third group of the three supplementary school groups highlighted by Wei (2006) started at about the same time Muslim communities were asking for their separate schools. During this period, other immigrant communities started establishing their own supplementary schools. Specifically, Turkish, Chinese and Greek communities aimed at teaching community language and culture and never demanded to have their separate schools. There was a great number of schools set up by these three communities in England and Scotland, even more than the combined number of separate Muslim and African-Caribbean schools. These schools can really be called weekend and supplementary schools as they took place only outside of school hours to provide additional education.

The dramatic growth in the 1970s and 1980s of the supplementary schools that were established in the 1950s was led by the following circumstances (Hall, et al., 2002). First, there were many anti-racist campaigns in the 1970s that led to the multiculturalist movement in the 1980s (Jones, 2003). As a result of these movements, multicultural education advisors were appointed in English local authorities and anti-racist organisations were established by the mid-1980s (Jones, 2003). These movements led to a growing awareness of the advantages of bilingualism rather than viewing community languages as an obstacle (Leung and Franson, 2001). However, there were suggestions that those community languages should be taught by the communities themselves rather than being taught in mainstream schools (Swann, 1985).

In contrast, the late 1980s and the 1990s witnessed a decline in the encouragement of community languages by the government (Simon, 2013), and educational debates at this period rarely directly addressed the issue of minority, race and ethnic inequality (Tomlinson, 2005). These attitudes were motivated by government policy to use English as an instruction medium for all students in order to maintain national boundaries and social unity (Rampton, Harris, & Leung, 1997).

Nevertheless, this decline in the encouragement of community languages did not last for long. In the early 2000s, research on the benefits of bilingualism started to surface both nationally and internationally (Cable, 2009). First, the national languages strategy was established in 2002 named *Language for all, Language for life*, which aimed at changing attitudes towards community languages and language learning. Another project called *Our Languages Project* was established in 2007

aiming at supporting community languages in mainstream schools and supplementary schools (Cable, 2009).

Even though current educational policies encourage teaching community languages in mainstream schools and connecting supplementary schools and the local community, languages other than English are still criticised in some political discourse and the media (Creese et al., 2008). In addition, although minorities took the responsibility of teaching minority languages, none of these schools are funded by the UK government (Reed, Bengsch, Said, Scally, & Davies, 2020).

Nowadays, the number of refugees coming from different war-torn countries has resulted in an increased need for supplementary schools in the UK (Abdelrazak, 2001). It is estimated that 18% to 28% of non-white British children are attending supplementary schools in England (Maylor, Glass, & Issa, 2010). This explains the large number of supplementary schools in the UK (see section 2.1.2.2). In Manchester, supplementary schools, including Arabic ones, facilitate fluent communication between generations and help preserve culture and identity (Gaiser & Hughes, 2015; Solaiman, Zara, Jones, Jamil, & Akhtar, 2014). In addition, supplementary schools are found to play a fundamental role in avoiding language attrition (Solaiman et al., 2014). Othman (2006) suggests that Arab children who go to supplementary Arabic schools in Manchester are more literate in Arabic than those who do not.

1.5.4 History of supplementary schools in Manchester

In 1992, the Manchester Islamic Educational Trust was established by a small number of Muslims living in Manchester, with the main purpose of promoting “advancement of education, and more particularly, Islamic education in the United Kingdom” (Manchester Islamic Educational Trust, 2020). They established two single-sex Islamic schools: Kassim Darwish (KD) Grammar School for Boys, and Manchester Islamic High School for Girls besides the mixed Islamic school ‘Manchester Muslim Prep School’. In addition to these three schools, there are two other Islamic schools in Manchester: Afifah School for girls and Eden boys’ school. However, all these schools are private schools that are established and run by the Muslim community and that parents need to fund themselves. This suggests that although Muslims succeeded in establishing their own schools, they did not receive support from the mainstream educational system.

After researching the Arabic community in Manchester, and as a member of this community myself, I could say that this community is composed of two groups of Arab migrants: temporary visitors and permanent settlers. Members of the first group are referred to as ‘sojourners’ who migrate to another country for a specific period of time and then move back to their home country; while members of the second group are referred to as ‘classical immigrants’ who “settle in a new country - socially, economically, and politically - with little or no expectations or prospect of returning to their country of origin” (Block, 2014, p. 38).

In Manchester, it is sometimes difficult to differentiate between these two groups. Many of the permanent migrants came to the UK as international students

with no intention to stay permanently. On the other hand, immigrants who came to the UK to settle permanently might reconsider moving back to their homeland if, for example, the political or the economic conditions improve there. On a few occasions during my research journey, immigrants expressed their intentions to move to any Arabic country after their children graduate from university. They justified this by saying that it was hard for them to cope in the UK after all these long years or miss living in Arabic and Islamic countries.

More representative labelling of the community members under investigation might be 'transmigrants' or 'transnationals'. Transmigrants do more than keep in touch with relatives who have remained behind. They structure everyday economic, family, religious, and social ties in networks that cross the borders of two nations. Transnational ties can take various forms, many of which go beyond immigrant nostalgia, in which a person who has been separated from his or her ancestral home attempts to rebuild a sense of belonging in the new land (Fouron, 2001). Arabs in Manchester established their own SAS, mosques, bakeries, restaurants, and shops. They practice their heritage culture and are seen wearing their traditional clothes in some parts of Manchester especially on Fridays, when the Jumu'ah prayer takes place. They seem to be still connected with their homeland even after living in the migration land for many years.

In SAS, children of both groups enrol in these schools motivated by different reasons. It seems that the sojourners might send their children to be literate and to stay connected to their mother language, culture, and religion. This facilitates smooth return for the children when they finally return to their Arabic country

because they will have to enrol in mainstream education which is usually in Arabic. The classical immigrants, on the other hand, send their children to SAS to ensure a healthy connection with their relatives back home, to maintain their language and to get literate in the Arabic language as the mainstream education does not provide heritage language literacy.

Here again, it is difficult to distinguish between the children of these two groups in SAS. Sojourners' children might be born in the UK and have lived their whole life in the UK. Some of them speak only English or have limited proficiency in Arabic. On the other hand, some of the immigrants' children grew up in Arabic countries and lived in the UK for a short period, speak Arabic fluently and have limited English proficiency. In addition, sojourners might end up settling in the UK as permanent immigrants. Therefore, I make no distinction between the two groups in this study.

After exploring the history of supplementary schooling in Britain in general and in Manchester in specific, it is time to move to the literature available on supplementary schooling in the UK.

Chapter 2: Literature Review on Supplementary schooling

2.1 Supplementary schools in the UK

2.1.1 Definition and Labelling

Supplementary schools, according to Evans & Gillan-Thomas (2015) and Gaiser & Hughes (2015), are schools that provide part-time education on weekends or weekday evenings for children and young people from minority ethnic communities. Wei and Wu (2009, p.196) define supplementary schools in Britain as “voluntary, community organizations, aiming primarily at literacy teaching in the heritage languages to the British-born generations of young children”.

Volunteers of that community commonly run and manage them. Supplementary schools take place in mainstream schools, youth clubs, community centres or religious institutions (Evans & Gillan-Thomas, 2015). Such schools' main role is to help minorities maintain their heritage language and culture (Lytra & Martin, 2010; Szczepek, Said, Davies, & Bengsch, 2020; Reed et al., 2020).

Supplementary schools have a linguistic, social, political and cultural significance to different community members in the UK (Li, 2006; Lytra & Martin, 2010) as they provide classes on heritage languages and religious and cultural studies (Evans & Gillan-Thomas, 2015). Other schools also offer National Curriculum subjects besides culture and mother tongue language classes.

Supplementary schools can also be referred to as *complementary* schools and sometimes less commonly as *Saturday, heritage language, alternative, mother-tongue, or community schools* (Gaiser & Hughes, 2015; Li, 2006; Lytra & Martin, 2010;

Simon, 2013; Wei & Wu, 2009). Labelling these schools in different ways shows where these educational institutions have been assigned within the social space (Simon, 2013). However, there is a debate on the adequacy of each of these terms (Simon, 2013).

They are called complementary schools because of their significant role in complementing the role of mainstream schools (Creese & Martin, 2006). Creese and Martin (2006) encourage the use of the term 'complementary' when referring to schools that serve certain cultural, linguistic, or religious communities, claiming that using this term emphasizes the positive complementary role between these schools and mainstream schools. The use of the term 'complementary' is also supported by Issa and Williams (2009), who claim that this term indicates the support that these schools provide mainstream schooling with and the significant learning enhancement they offer. These schools reflect a bilingual interaction and form a good model of 'bilingual complementarity at work', and therefore they should be referred to as complementary schools (Martin., Bhatt, Bhojani, & Creese, 2006). Martin et al. (2006) emphasise 'complementarity' in such schools and prefer to move away from the idea that these schools add on to mainstream schools.

On the other hand, Mirza and Reay (2000) support the use of the term 'supplementary' as they perceive these schools to be a result of the black community's rejection from the mainstream educational system. The term 'supplementary' is currently and historically significant, widely used and not completely negative (Simon, 2013). Simon (2013) encourages the use of the term

'supplementary', claiming that it can refer to the additional education such schools offer.

In addition, the term 'community schools' is misleading because this term has been used to refer to some state schools (Issa, 2009). The term 'alternative' is an unsuitable term considering the lack of resources available to such schools, making it difficult to consider them an alternative to mainstream schools (Simon, 2007).

Taking the previous debate into consideration, and after visiting and examining the schools, I have chosen the term 'supplementary' to refer to the schools under investigation. I have made this choice because this term is used widely in studies conducted over time. Moreover, these schools supplement, support and enrich learning provided by mainstream schooling. They do not offer similar content to that offered by mainstream schools. Thus, we cannot claim they complement mainstream education. Instead, they add on to and supplement what is provided by mainstream schools. That is, the schools under investigation offer heritage languages and religious education that is not offered in the national educational system.

2.1.2 Categorization aims and number of supplementary schools in the UK

In this section, I outline the different categorizations of supplementary schools in the UK. These categorizations are a simple division of this variety of schooling that helps conceptualise these schools, and schools can be allocated to more than one of these categories (Simon, 2013). I then discuss the number and aims of supplementary schools.

2.1.2.1 Categorizations and aims

The first category of supplementary schools is the religious schools that aim mainly at religious maintenance (Creese & Martin, 2006; Hall et al., 2002). Secondly, there are African-Caribbean schools (Issa, 2009; Li, 2006). The third category is language schools that aim at maintaining language and culture of minority groups (Creese, 2006; Hall et al., 2002; Issa, 2009; Minty, Maylor, Issa, Kuyok, & Ross, 2008). Another category is supplementary mainstream schools that aim at supporting children to achieve higher levels in mainstream subjects (Creese & Martin, 2006; Hall et al., 2002; Minty et al., 2008). Finally, Minty et al (2008) present one more category which includes schools that focuses on promoting different values to those of mainstream education.

Tinsley (2015) studied the types of schools that teach Arabic in the UK besides the types of Arabic language learners. The findings of this study show that the National Resource Centre for Supplementary Education (NRCSE) offers strategic support for the sector of supplementary education, championing excellence, innovation and partnership in supplementary education (findings in regard to primary and secondary schools will not be introduced here as they are irrelevant to the current study). NRCSE aims at raising the standard of education offered by supplementary schools. In addition, the database that showed the members of NRCSE listed 65 SAS. This number is higher than any other number of schools teaching other community languages, which indicates that Arabic was the most frequently offered language by supplementary schools. This could indicate that there is a great effort to maintain Arabic.

The results of the brief review conducted in Tinsley's (2015) study show that SAS are extremely diverse. In other words, they differ in their aim, focus, size and scope. Some of the schools reviewed have a religious focus while others provide educational support to new arrivals. Some schools have 350 students while others have a much smaller number of students. They also serve people from a wide variety of Muslim and Arabic countries the Middle East, Asia, East and North Africa. Some of these schools have partnerships with the schools of the local state. These partnerships allow supplementary schools to use local state schools' premises and offer them help with exams such as the General Certificate of Secondary Education test (GCSE). Nevertheless, all the 87 SAS Tinsley (2015) investigated are consistent in that they all teach Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and Quranic Arabic.

Maylor et al (2010) investigated the aims and purposes of supplementary schools and outlined four aims. To begin with, some of the schools, namely the African-Caribbean and Somali schools, aim at assisting children and parents of those communities with having a better understanding of the British educational system and hence achieving higher levels of learning in mainstream schools. The second aim corresponds with that found by Bichani (2015), which is transmitting heritage languages and reinforcing heritage values. They also found that the aim of some schools such as Islamic schools was to provide religious and faith education. They also suggested that some schools aim at supporting communities and building of networks that are significant for the new arriving immigrants and their children. That is, supplementary schools are considered to be an important point where members of communities come, network and support each other.

A different set of aims was suggested by Simon (2013), who has examined the purposes of 16 UK supplementary schools. She found that one of the aims was to survive in the wider community whose culture and values are different. Protecting the children of those minority groups against the negative influence of the dominant community was significant to some supplementary schools. Some schools try to regain what they believe was unjustly taken from their community such as their true identity. Moreover, other schools made considerable attempts to show their community identity features to the wider community, while other schools made careful efforts in correcting wrong portrayals about their community that were manifested by the students or by the wider society. She finally indicates that the goal of some of the schools she examined was to transform the social standing of the community by shaping the career goals of the children and by raising the academic achievement levels of these children (Simon, 2013).

The schools investigated in the current study seems to fall under more than one category and have more than one aim. To begin with, the schools under investigation teach heritage language (Arabic) and religious education (Manchester Islamic Educational Trust, 2020). In addition, they seem to promote different values to those of the host community which are the Islamic and Arabic values. The national curriculum is taught in only one of the schools I visited. They mainly aim at shaping the children's identities by reinforcing the Islamic and Arabic identities. Moreover, improving children's literacy is one of the main aims of the schools. The schools that provide national curriculum education aim at preparing the children to higher

education or to smoothly enrol in the educational system of their home country if returning back.

2.1.2.2 Number

It is difficult to say how many supplementary schools there are in the UK, as there are no precise statistics. Issa and Williams (2009) estimate the number to be less than 2200. CILT (2010), on the other hand, estimates that there are more than 3000, indicating that one-fifth of these schools are found in London. The National Resource Centre for Supplementary Education (NRCSE) estimates that there are 3000- 5000 supplementary schools in the UK but lists only schools which are quality assured by their standards. Up to 31 July 2017, 489 schools had completed a Quality Framework Award (NRCSE, 2019).

There are 14 SAS in the UK that completed the Quality Framework Award of NRCSE (NRCSE, 2019). The exact number of SAS in Manchester is unknown due to the lack of precise statistics. To my knowledge, in 2020, there are 11 Arabic schools in Manchester. In this study, I visited seven of these schools but collected data in only five of them.

2.1.3 Research studies on supplementary schools in the UK

Although the number of studies on supplementary schools in the UK has increased in the last decade, the research body in this area is still considered small when we consider the large number of minority communities (Bichani, 2015; Reed et al., 2020). Very few studies have focused on the sociolinguistic aspects of supplementary schools; instead, the vast majority of the studies have an educational

focus and aim (Bichani, 2015). In this section, I review some of the studies that have been conducted in three main domains that are of specific significance to my study. First, I discuss studies on interaction and multilingual practices including language use, practice, management and choice in supplementary schools. Then, I review studies investigating attitudes, motivation and identities. Finally, I review some of the studies that focus exclusively on SAS.

2.1.3.1 Interaction and multilingual practices: language use, practice, management and choice in supplementary schools

Using ethnographic methods, many studies have investigated multilingual practices in supplementary schools (Bichani, 2015; Creese, 2006; Issa & William, 2009; Lytra & Martin, 2010; Martin, 2006; Wu, 2006; Ferguson, 2013). To begin with, Bichani (2015) investigated patterns of language use and practices within two Arabic speaking communities in the UK (Leeds and Ealing). She used supplementary schools as a means of accessing the broader Arab community she explored. The results show that children used English with their peers and siblings while they used a mixture of QA and English with adults. The study also found that children tend to shift between Arabic and English both in SAS and at home. Vocabulary and reading tests revealed lower Arabic proficiency levels among children than self-report data suggested. In addition, language shift towards English has been evident in both sites. That is, comparing the parents' language use to that of the children shows that there is an obvious language shift towards English in the new generation. Bichani also found that higher proficiency levels in Arabic were reported in one research cite than the other, more in Leeds than in Ealing. The study suggests that this could be because more

children in Leeds than in Ealing were born outside the UK. Another possible reason Bichani suggests is that the participants in Leeds are more religious and thus use and value Arabic more than those in Ealing.

Several studies show that both dominant (English) and heritage languages are used in supplementary schools in order to make communication easier between teachers and students (Creese & Martin, 2006; Creese. et al., 2008; Wu, 2006). Wu (2006) found that Mandarin teachers who have previous involvement in mainstream education have a higher tendency to code-switch between Mandarin and English than teachers who had no previous experience in British education. The former used code-switching to facilitate communication with children. Similarly, Martin et al. (2006) found that, despite teachers used a mixture of Gujarati and English to make sure they are clear to the students, they focused more on using Gujarati. Although children in this study preferred to use English with their peers, they also used both Gujarati and English inside the class. Corresponding findings were found by Creese et al. (2008) as their class observation revealed that while teachers mostly spoke Gujarati, students mostly spoke English.

An interesting study that investigates language practice and management is Ferguson's (2013). He presents a clear picture of language repertoires, practice, and preferences in the Arabic Yemeni community in Sheffield, UK. This study investigates the Yemeni community in Sheffield, UK. His study aims at investigating three main aspects of that community. First, it gives a picture of the language preferences, practices, and the repertoire of this specific community. Moreover, it studies the language ideologies and linguistic culture that stimulate the Yemeni

community language management practices. Finally, it comments on religious motivation for attending a Yemeni supplementary school as well as parents' insistence on securing home as an Arabic speaking environment.

The findings of this study suggest that there is a shift towards English-dominant bilingualism in the younger generations, especially UK-born generations, despite the efforts made by the older generation to help the youngers maintain Arabic skills. Thus, there is a noticeable difference between the Arabic proficiency level in the older Yemeni generations and the younger Yemeni generation.

Ferguson (2013) used in-class observation, questionnaires and interviews with children, parents and teachers, and the organizers of the Yemeni complementary school. More specifically, Ferguson interviewed 13 male and female pupils aged between 12 and 16 years, two school leavers aged 17 and 18 years and five parents (two fathers and three mothers). He also interviewed eight schoolteachers, two community officials, two mainstream schoolteachers and eight Yemeni ESOL (English for speakers of other languages) learners. Data collection was done over the course of two years. Ferguson collected the data visiting the supplementary school 20 times during two academic semesters.

The results show that children prefer to use English to communicate with their peers inside and outside of class as well as to address their teachers. Regarding teachers, on the one hand, young teachers tend to code-switch between English and Arabic for pedagogical reasons such as clarifying some points to the students. This could be because young teachers are highly proficient in both Arabic and English. On

the other hand, older teachers, who had limited proficiency in English, tended to use Arabic with students and other teachers. This study also shows that Standard Arabic is valued more than regional varieties, as it is perceived as the language of religion. Therefore, Standard Arabic literacy and correctness is of a central focus and highly valued in the Yemeni supplementary school classes.

The findings of the studies reviewed in this section indicate that there is a shift towards English-dominant bilingualism amongst the young generations of minority groups. However, these results show as well that minority languages are still maintained even if young generations are less proficient in those languages than older generations. It is also clear that using both English and heritage languages in supplementary schools is widely accepted. Indeed, it seems that sometimes using English is considered as a positive technique to facilitate teacher-student interaction.

2.1.3.2 Attitudes, motivation and identities

Several studies have focused on the attitudes of students attending supplementary schools. Parents' motivation to send their children to such institutions as well as the children's motivation to attend them, received similar attention by studies in this field. Other studies explore the impact of attending supplementary schools on the identities of minority children. In this section, I review some of the studies carried out in these three areas.

2.1.3.2.1 Attitudes

One of the first studies that explored the attitudes towards attending supplementary schools in England and the largest study conducted in the UK that

studied supplementary schools and their pupils is Strand's (2007) study. A large sample of 772 students ranging in age between 5-16 was used to explore 63 supplementary schools in four major cities in the UK: London, Birmingham, Bristol and Manchester. Questionnaires were used to investigate the students' attitudes towards several aspects related to their education. The questionnaires mainly aimed at exploring the students' attitudes to mainstream and supplementary schools, the students' attitudes towards learning experience in supplementary school and their motivation to attend supplementary school.

The questionnaire results showed that the students' attitudes were extremely positive to supplementary school. Indeed, students aged seven and more were more positive towards supplementary schools than they were regarding mainstream schooling. Moreover, the results also indicated that students hold a deep understanding of their heritage culture and language. There was also a positive relationship between the length of attending supplementary school and positive attitudes to learning. In addition, questionnaires revealed that students valued the support of supplementary schoolteachers in mainstream work.

Although this study covers a wide range of supplementary schools in four different UK cities, it lacks categorization. That is, it would be more helpful to give some information about the schools' curricula and background. That way, we would have more accurate data that we can rely on when considering improving supplementary schools' curricula or teaching methods in different ethnic groups' supplementary schools.

In contrast to Strand (2007), Francis, Archer, and Mau's (2009) study, conducted in six Chinese supplementary schools, revealed less positive attitudes toward learning. Students reported that learning in mainstream schools is better than learning in supplementary schools although they identified some positive aspects and benefits of attending supplementary school. For example, some students claimed that attending supplementary school aided their educational achievement in the mainstream school. One possible reason for this preference was the nature of teaching methods in the Chinese supplementary schools, which is thought to be outdated and lacking proper resources, especially when compared with those used in mainstream schools (Francis. et al., 2009). In addition, it is more difficult for the students to learn in Chinese compared to learning in English, not to mention that unqualified volunteer parent teachers take the responsibility of teaching. Moreover, classes are held at the weekends which means that children have only one day of rest a week.

Here again, this study lacks clarity about the schools' curriculum. It says that some students value help offered by the supplementary school but does not say whether all schools offer help with the National Curriculum or only some of them. Moreover, it does not clarify what attitudes students have towards schools that only offer heritage language and culture. The findings would lead to better pedagogical implications if we knew what methods and curriculum are used in supplementary schools under investigation. In my opinion, it would be useful to compare students' attitudes towards supplementary schools that offer help with National Curriculum to supplementary schools that only offer heritage language and culture.

In terms of attitudes towards learning heritage language, it has been found that minorities hold positive attitudes towards their heritage languages regardless of their proficiency level in these languages. Bichani (2015) investigated migrant Arabs' attitudes towards learning Arabic. Both adults and children in this study show positive attitudes towards learning Arabic. More specifically, 87% of the children participating in the study said they would encourage their children in the future to learn standard Arabic even though these children do not like learning it themselves.

This positive attitude towards maintaining and passing their heritage language to the next generation indicates that they might realize the potential benefits of learning Arabic. The reason behind this positive attitude, according to Bichani (2015), is the religious importance of standard Arabic in addition to its practical importance in the participants' lives. In other words, proficiency in Arabic can increase the chance of getting a job in the future and it is essential for the participants to communicate with their relatives in their home country.

Tinsley (2015) covers 87 supplementary Arabic schools distributed around England besides one located in Scotland. Over a period of nearly three years (2013-2015), the number of students attending all supplementary schools under investigation has grown except for one. The reasons for this growth, according to the survey, include the increase in the size of Arabic-speaking community, the good quality of education offered by this sector, and the close connection between such schools and their communities. The only school that experienced a decrease in the number of students attributed this to the parents and children's lack of interest in Arabic. This suggests that the negative attitudes towards Arabic affect the willingness

to attend supplementary schools.

It is clear from the literature presented in this section that the attitudes towards supplementary schooling are generally positive. The methods used in teaching in supplementary schools and the curriculum adopted in these schools have a great influence on the students' attitudes. The children's and parents' attitudes towards Arabic significantly affect the attitudes towards SAS. Although some studies show negative attitudes, students still report some positive aspects of supplementary schools. In other words, students hold partial or complete positive attitudes. The current study will further investigate the children's attitudes towards Arabic schools, learning Arabic and Arabic in general in relation to the children's language use. It is important to note that the attitudes of those who continue attending SAS is investigated, but not these of community members who chose not to/ or stopped sending their children to SAS.

2.1.3.2.2 Motivation

Many studies investigating supplementary schooling explored the motivation behind attending such schools and learning heritage languages, both from the parents' and the children's perspectives. The understanding of these motivations is crucial because it can shape supplementary schools' aims, curricula and focus.

Regarding parents' motivation to send their children to supplementary schools, Maylor et al. (2010) suggest that there are two main reasons. The majority of parents sent their children to supplementary schools to raise the children's

achievement levels in mainstream subjects. Parents sometimes seek help with Maths, English and Science in supplementary schools because they are not proficient enough in the English language to help their own children. In other cases, parents find it difficult to understand the teaching methodology followed in English mainstream education. Secondly, parents surveyed reported that they send their children to supplementary schools to maintain their linguistic, cultural, and religious identities. Parents also find it important for their children to learn and understand their cultural history.

Maylor et al. (2010) study provides a deep insight into supplementary schools in England (1,136 schools). It surveys a wide range of supplementary schools run by different minority groups (Asian, Black African, African-Caribbean, European, Middle Eastern and Southeast Asian communities). The huge number of schools found in the UK indicates that supplementary schools are important to these communities and that some members of minority groups are highly motivated to attend these institutions.

Similar to Maylor et al. (2010), Strands (2007) found that one of the most common motivations to attend supplementary schools is to get additional help with subjects students find difficult. Some students attended supplementary schools because they find it fun and that it offers them the chance to do things they are good at. Other reasons reported include general educational improvement, understanding and improving home culture and language, and getting help with mainstream subjects. However, other children attended simply because their parents wanted them to do so.

Other studies (Archer et al., 2009; Bichani, 2015) found that children mainly attend supplementary schools to maintain their heritage language and acquire literacy in HL. In addition, practical reasons were found by these two studies behind this desire to maintain their heritage language including communicating with their relatives and widening their future job opportunities. In addition, Bichani found that there is a strong relationship between Islam and motivation to learn Arabic; as the more religious the children and their parents are, the more they are motivated to learn and maintain Arabic.

Tinsley (2015) employed interviews aiming at detecting parents and children's motivation to learn Arabic. The results show that parents are motivated by religious, educational and cultural reasons. This includes Quranic studies, performing Hajj², increasing the opportunities of finding a job in the future, and learning about Middle Eastern culture. Similarly, children at secondary age are, generally, highly motivated to learn Arabic. They seem to realize the potential benefits learning Arabic would bring. In addition to the reasons mentioned above, children reported the benefits of Arabic in communication with family members and in future mobility.

Although Tinsley (2015) provided a clear picture of the types of SAS and the motivation to attend these schools, it may have been more illustrative to broaden the scope of the study to cover the social aspects of supplementary schools and its influence on the teaching process outcome. For example, it was found in this study that both teachers and students come from very distinct cultures and backgrounds and speak different regional varieties of Arabic. Nevertheless, this study does not

² the Islamic Worship of visiting Makkah in the 12th month of the Islamic calendar

consider this factor when stating recommendations. Educational elements of such schools are significant; however, I believe social elements should receive similar attention for its great effect on the success of the teaching process. In addition, many of these supplementary schools are socially significant to minorities; thus, excluding the social aspects from the investigation might reduce the importance of the results. Therefore, the current study explores the sociolinguistic aspects of SAS.

The literature reviewed in this section shows that both parents and children from different minority groups around the UK have social, educational, religious, or practical motivations to attend supplementary schools. Regardless of the specific motivation, the findings of these studies indicate that minority groups positively perceive these educational and social institutions and hence are motivated to attend them. It also implies that supplementary schools are socially, linguistically, religiously, and practically significant to the members of these societies.

2.1.3.2.3 Identity

Supplementary schools offer learning and physical space where children from ethnic minorities can experience and develop their ethnic identities (Bichani, 2015; Creese & Martin, 2006). In other words, children manage and negotiate their multicultural identities in supplementary schools by code-switching between heritage language and English language (Martin. et al., 2006). Therefore, children can freely negotiate their bilingual identities in these multicultural contexts (Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2004; Creese. et al., 2008). In this section, I review identities as presented in supplementary schools. Identity as a concept will be presented later (see section 3.3.5).

The relation between language and identity can be discussed through the notion of performativity (Pennycook, 2003). Pennycook (2003, p. 528) argues that “it is not that people use language varieties because of who they are, but rather that we perform who we are by (amongst other things) using varieties of language”. In supplementary schools, children perform their ethnic, religious, and cultural identities through speaking the language that is most related to these identities, namely Arabic. For instance, they can discuss their heritage culture in Arabic, the language that is mostly associated with it. By doing so, they perform being an Arab by speaking Arabic.

Creese and Martin (2006) found from interviewing students that there are three identity types offered by supplementary schools: multicultural, heritage and learner identities. Multicultural, heritage identities are connected to ethnicity as a social category. Learner identity is a more emergent identity and “is concerned with how the school constructs the learner as a successful student around language and more mainstream examination agendas” (Creese, Bhatt, Bhojani, and Martin, 2006, p. 27). Creese et al point to the fact that investing in learning a language is also an investment in social identity. These three identities are socially important for young people. By offering a safe space for exploring and practicing linguistic and ethnic identities, as well as performing successful learner identities, supplementary schools offer a significant context where the formation of minority ethnic identities can be explored (Creese. et al., 2008).

In addition, SAS in England seem to play a significant role in building social and linguistic identities (Szczepek et al., 2020). According to Szczepek et al.,

attending SAS allows the children to maintain and develop distinctive identities that are associated with their heritage culture. Szczepek et al. (p. 58) suggest that SAS “were conceptualized as spaces for value and identity construction, and Arabic language education was seen as a vehicle in the service of this process”. Investigating three SAS, Szczepek et al. show that learning Arabic promotes a positive personal and community identity.

Regarding Arabic and Islamic identities within Arabic Islamic communities in the UK, there is a clear difference across generations (Bichani, 2015). Generally, it was found that participants valued their Islamic identity and that they find Arabic plays an important role in maintaining their Islamic identity. However, some participants mentioned non-religious identities such as national (e.g., Syrian), ethnic (e.g., Arab), or mixed (e.g., Arab-British) identities. Despite Arabic language being reported by parents as vital to maintaining the Islamic identity, some children reported that Arabic was not essential to Muslims and that Islam is not limited to Arabic speakers. This could be because the children are brought up in a non-Arabic speaking country and contact non-Arab Muslims and thus have this awareness.

Bichani (2015) suggests that religious identity is stronger than the national and ethnic identity among the Arab population in the UK. Most of the participants in this study reported that they perceive themselves as Muslims rather than Arab, British or Arab-British. The findings of this study also indicate that the stronger the religious identity is, the higher the Arabic proficiency is. This is understandable because the more religious people are the more likely they use Arabic language in religious practices such as reciting the Quran and praying. The participants

emphasize the importance of the Arabic language for helping them and their children maintain their Islamic identity. In addition, Bichani found that the linguistic identity of her participants is related to the heritage identity in a way that they feel it is essential for them as Arabs to know Arabic. These findings imply that different identities are interrelated and influence each other. They also imply that these identities are related to the Arabic language.

To sum up, attending supplementary schools offers a chance to explore and develop different identities. This chance might not be available in mainstream schools where children from ethnic minorities might not always have the opportunity to express either their religious identities or their linguistic identities. Indeed, children might be struggling with other dominant identities in mainstream schooling such as different religious beliefs or culture. On the contrary, children who attend supplementary schools feel comfortable and safe in expressing their heritage, cultural, linguistic, and religious identities in a place where these identities are dominant. Therefore, attending supplementary schools can make them understand, accept and be proud of their heritage background.

2.1.3.3 Supplementary Arabic schools in the UK

After exploring the studies investigating supplementary schooling in the UK, this section focuses on supplementary Arabic schooling in the UK, which is of specific interest to the current study. To my knowledge, there are only two studies with a sociolinguistic focus that have been conducted in this field.

The first study that focused on Arabic supplementary schooling in the UK is

Ferguson's (2013), (see section 2.1.3.2). In terms of the methodology used in this study, it is worth mentioning that the use of interviews is necessary for this kind of studies to confirm the results found in the questionnaires. However, interviewing some pupils with their parents in pairs could lead these children not to give their true ideas and attitudes towards learning Arabic. Therefore, I think it would have been much better if the researcher separated students from their parents in the interviews. Moreover, the way of choosing participants is ambiguous. The study says nothing about the criteria followed when choosing participant to undertake the questionnaire or interviews. There is an ambiguity in terms of observation sessions as well. Although Ferguson implies that observation was conducted over the course of two years, it is not clear why it took this long or why he chose to conduct observations over this period.

The study results show that there is strong loyalty to the Arabic language and that there is an obvious effort made by the Yemeni community to maintain the Arabic language and heritage. However, there is an obvious shift towards English-dominant bilingualism among the new Yemeni generation who are born in the UK. Another finding is that the Yemenis valued standard Arabic more than regional varieties. In addition, it is reported that there is a higher level of Arabic use with mothers than fathers. According to Ferguson, this is because older Yemeni women have low participation in the labour market and have limited social networks, which affect their English language proficiency. However, it would be more accurate if the mothers' English language proficiency had been included in the questionnaire instead of just assuming that this is the reason behind the children's preference. In

that way, the real motivation behind the children's preference to use Arabic rather than English with their mothers could be determined. Moreover, Ferguson points out that most of the younger children are UK born, and therefore it can be assumed that their mothers are not old. Thus, what can be claimed about older Yemeni women might not be true for younger Yemeni women.

In addition, Ferguson has not considered a significant element of Arabic classes. That is the use of different varieties of Arabic inside the classroom which is always found in such contexts as SAS. As mentioned in this study, children with Palestinian, Syrian, Somali, and Pakistani backgrounds attend the school beside Yemeni children. Therefore, Standard Arabic and different regional dialects of every Arabic community would be used in such classes. As a result, students might face a lot of difficulties when dealing with these varieties especially Standard Arabic, which is not used in everyday situations. In other words, the teacher may use Egyptian Arabic to illustrate a difficult grammatical point of Standard Arabic to a student who speaks Yemeni dialect with his family. Therefore, it is essential to consider this when investigating language preferences, practices, and repertoires of such community.

One important finding that might help supplementary schoolteachers is that some children prefer not to be categorized as 'British Muslims'. In other words, knowing this, schoolteachers could have a deeper understanding of the pupils' needs and attitudes which might lead to getting better outcomes out of the educational process. It is important to understand that although religious motives are considered important regarding attending supplementary schools, it is significant to bear in mind that this is not the only motive. Some identities, other than the religious identity, play

an important role in motivating supplementary schools attendance. Similarly, it is also interesting to know that some of these students want to learn Arabic for non-religious motivations such as travelling or potential employment benefits through Arabic language proficiency.

Ferguson (2013) differentiates the Yemeni community from other Islamic and Arabic communities. He presents a rich and coherent picture of the literature in the fields of ethnic minorities, language repertoires, language management practices and language policies. He also draws a clear portrait of the historical background of the Yemeni community in the UK. Moreover, He gives the reader an understanding of the Yemeni community language practices and the attitudes and ideologies of its members. However, there is still a need to study this community in relation to other Arabic communities because Arabic communities are interrelated and cannot be completely separated from each other. SAS, for instance, are rarely exclusive to one Arabic minority. There are always children and teachers from different Arabic communities. Therefore, it is important to understand the influence of this diversity in Arabic varieties on the children's language maintenance, acquisition, and attitudes.

Additionally, although Ferguson's 2013 study is important to understand the language practices of the Yemeni community in Sheffield, his findings cannot be generalized to other Arabic minorities in the UK. That is because the Yemeni minority is different from other UK Arab population in that, according to Ferguson (2013), they are mainly working-class and come from one of the poorer countries in the Arab world. Therefore, it must be said that there is a need to know other Arabic minorities'

language practices. In other words, it is important to know if these practices are the same in all Arabic minorities in the UK or if they are only noticed in this Yemeni minority. Thus, the current study explores the Arabic community in Manchester in general without focusing on one Arabic nationality.

A more recent study that investigates SAS is Bichani (2015). Like Ferguson (2013), Bichani has a sociolinguistic focus. Her study aims to describe the sociolinguistic aspects of Arab minorities in the UK. In order to do this, Bichani investigates attitudes towards learning Arabic, language use patterns, language attitudes and identity within two Arabic speaking communities in the UK (see section 2.1.3.1 and 2.1.3.2). Moreover, this study also investigates the Arabic language in relation to Islam. It also explores the relationship between Arabic and Islamic identity amongst Arab minority groups with different national backgrounds. In order to conduct this study, children, parents and teachers were interviewed. Questionnaires and informal Arabic proficiency tests were used with children as well. These methods were supplemented by observation of participants and field notes (For results on language use, shift, motivation, and attitudes, see sections 2.1.3).

Although high language proficiency was reported in the questionnaire, proficiency tests told a different tale. Proficiency tests showed that children's knowledge of vocabulary and reading skills were not at a high level. Reporting higher proficiency level than real levels, according to Bichani, indicates that standard Arabic is prestigious and that children like to exaggerate their Arabic proficiency level. However, reporting a higher proficiency level can be justified differently. The children might report a high level of Arabic because they make great efforts in learning and

using the language or compare themselves to those who do not attend SAS.

This study differs from the other few sociolinguistic studies in the field of minorities in the UK in that it studies a diverse population. Unlike Ferguson's (2013) who exclusively studied the Yemeni community, Bichani studies the Arab population in the UK whose members come from different Arabic countries and speak different vernacular Arabic. These differences have a noticeable influence on the attitudes of learning and maintaining Arabic. However, although Bichani implies that this study contributes to the investigation of colloquial Arabic (e.g., Syrian), that was not really reflected in the findings of the study. In other words, neither language choice in terms of colloquial Arabic nor attitudes towards different colloquial Arabic were described in Bichani's study. For instance, one case study with parents from different national origins (Syrian father and Iraqi mother) would make a very interesting example of language choice and attitudes to different regional varieties. That is, the children would have been exposed to a different Arabic vernacular as they were growing up. However, Bichani has not described the language choice that children in this family make when speaking regional Arabic at home. Moreover, one mother claimed that she prefers her children to learn and speak standard Arabic. However, no description of the children's language choice was provided in this study, not even if they really spoke standard Arabic or not.

The studies reviewed above cast light on the educational and sociolinguistic aspects of Arab minorities and SAS in the UK. They show that Arabs hold positive attitudes toward learning and maintaining Arabic. They also describe language practices within these minorities. However, there is still a need to further investigate

this diverse population and explore the influence of this diversity (vernacular Arabic) on the future of Arabic maintenance in the UK. There is still a need to study Arab communities in the UK in relation to each other because Arab communities are interrelated and cannot be completely separated from each other. SAS, for instance, are rarely exclusive to one Arabic population. There are always children and teachers from different Arabic communities. Therefore, it is important to understand the influence of this diversity in Arabic varieties on the children's language maintenance, acquisition, and attitudes.

Chapter 3: Literature Review on Arabic and multilingualism

In this part of the literature review, my focus is on language, culture, and multilingualism. The first section of the chapter is dedicated to the Arabic language with its varieties, namely standard Arabic (SA), colloquial Arabic (QA), and global and local varieties in the Arab world. The second and last section covers different dimensions related multilingualism including bilingual education, language choice and use, codeswitching, language and identity, language attitudes and heritage language maintenance.

3.1 Arabic varieties and diglossia

In this section, I discuss and compare Arabic varieties as introduced by the fundamental work of Ferguson (1959b), the relation between these varieties (SA and QA) including Ferguson's diglossia and finally, local, and global languages that exist in the Arab world.

3.1.1 Overview

Arabic is a Semitic language that is spoken today as a native language by about 300 million people in 22 Arab countries (Albirini, 2016; Bassiouney, 2009). Moreover, Arabic is spoken as a heritage language in Australia, Europe, and North America. Arabic is also spoken by non-Arab Muslims around the world who learn Arabic as the language of The Quran. In addition, Arabic is one of the United Nations' six official languages.

In this study, I refer to the Arabic speaking countries that are members of the Arab league as 'Arab world/Arab countries'. According to Anheier (2012, p. 2), "the Arab League (al-Jāmi'at al-'Arabiyya) is a regional organization of Arab states formed on March 22, 1945, in Cairo". Today, it consists of Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Transjordan (Jordan, as of 1950), Yemen, Algeria, Bahrain, Comoros, Djibouti, Kuwait, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, Oman, Qatar, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Sudan, Tunisia, and the United Arab Emirates. The Palestine Liberation Organization was admitted in 1976 to regard Palestine as an independent member.

Arabic is one of the languages that has been always marked by its sociolinguistic situation of having multiple coexistent varieties (Albirini, 2016; Ferguson, 1959b). Although Standard Arabic (SA) might have survived because of its link to the Quran (Jamai, 2008), both old and recent accounts indicate that SA may have been highly valued as a medium of oral and written communication even before the onset of Islam (Albirini, 2016). It could be argued that SA may have survived as a language even without its connection to Islam, but it would never have gained this level of respect, prestigious status or spread around the world this widely if not for its link to the Quran. Muslims from all over the world with many native languages other than Arabic devote time and effort to learn Arabic just to be able to read and understand the Quran.

3.1.2 Arabic varieties

Many researchers have classified Arabic varieties and sub-varieties. One of the main inspiring modern Arabic sociolinguistic works is the work of Ferguson

(1959b) which developed Arabic variationist sociolinguistics and provided the first formal framework that described the Arabic sociolinguistic situation (Albirini, 2016; Bassiouney, 2009). According to Ferguson (1959b), the Arabic language has two main varieties which are: standard Arabic (SA) and Colloquial Arabic (QA) where SA is the high formal variety and QA is the low informal variety. However, scholars and speakers of Arabic who are less familiar with the sociolinguistic scene of the Arabic region may find these classifications confusing and controversial (Albirini, 2016). Therefore, in this section, I briefly explain the main varieties as classified by Ferguson (1959b), discuss each of them separately and then review the relation between them.

3.1.2.1 Standard Arabic

According to Albirini (2016, p. 42) “SA is the variety that is typically used in education, literature, print media, news, reports, and religious discourse.... SA is often perceived by Arabic speakers as the ‘Arabic language’”. SA is the official language throughout the Arab world with only a few differences in the phonological features and lexical choice that are a result of the local dialects (Holes, 2004). This variety (SA) is called ‘Al-Fus’ha’ and considered as the high variety of Arabic by Ferguson (1959b). As Albirini (2016) suggests, SA includes both Classical Arabic (CA) and Modern Standard Arabic (MSA).

CA is known in the literature as the ‘pre-renaissance’ (Albirini, 2016, p. 10) or ‘eloquent Arabic’ (Jamai, 2008, p. 19) and is mostly related to the pre-Islamic poetry and the Quran (Ferguson, 1959a). Besides being the language of the Quran, the fact that the Hadith (the reported words and acts of the prophet of Islam Muhammad)

was recorded in CA, added to the significance of this variety (Albirini, 2016). Albirini (2016) gives three more factors that contributed to CA predominance in the Arab sociolinguistic scene. First, many Islamic sciences were established, such as the Quranic sciences, Hadith and jurisprudence which encouraged many Muslim intellectuals and scholars to learn CA. Second, the spread of Islam beyond the borders of the Arabian Peninsula encouraged grammarians to codify and standardize CA to preserve it for its significance as the language of The Quran. This led to creating a huge body of literature on the form and structure of CA. Third, the revolution of philosophy and science in the Umayyad caliphate and Arabization of administration in this era have also led to the predominance of CA.

The Arab world's contact with European countries in the 19th century led to unidirectional transmission of science, culture, literature and language which included huge linguistic changes and translation movement from these European languages to Arabic (Albirini, 2016). This European linguistic influence has contributed to the development of MSA (Abdulaziz, 1986). MSA is considered the CA's 'modern descendant' (Albirini, 2016, p. 10), and is usually referred to as the language of the press in the literature (Jamai, 2008). There are three main differences between CA and MSA: stylistic structure differences, vocabulary differences, and syntactic or structural differences (Bichani, 2015).

According to Abdulaziz (1986), the formation and development of MSA was a result of three main factors. The first one was Westernization, secularization and modernization processes that included upper and middle-class Arabs who received their education in Europe or in European-model institutions. The second factor was

that scholars in the Arab world, specifically in Baghdad, Cairo and Damascus, were determined to establish a 'Standard variety' that can be both distinct from regional varieties and accessible to all Arabs. The third factor was that the Western-educated individuals controlled the intellectual movements and media.

Bassiouney (2009) suggests that many Arabic speakers consider MSA the language of the Quran and that Arabic speakers do not often differentiate between CA and MSA. According to Zughoul (1980), the concept of MSA is a concept that is only known by specialists who received their education in the west and is not recognized by Arabic speakers in the Arabic world who refer to it as 'Al-Fus'ha'. In addition, in this study's context (supplementary schools) both CA and MSA are used (in the Quran, the Hadith and children textbooks). Therefore, I do not distinguish between CA and MSA when I speak about and investigate SA in this study and use the term 'Al-Fus'ha' to refer to SA as the majority of Arabic speakers are familiar with this term. The distinction is made mainly between SA and QA.

3.1.2.2 Colloquial Arabic (QA)

"Colloquial Arabic (QA) refers to several regional dialects that are spoken regularly by Arabic speakers in everyday conversations and other informal communicative exchange: sports, music, film, and some TV show Broadcast" (Albirini, 2016, p. 13). QA is also known in the literature as 'Arabic dialects' (Ferguson, 1959a; Jamai, 2008) or 'regional dialects' (Ferguson, 1959b). It is considered the low variety in Ferguson's (1959b) diglossia. QA is a direct continuance of CA that has only a few linguistic differences (Ferguson, 1959a). These dialects differ in some aspects of their lexis and phonology but share the same syntax (Albirini, 2016). According to Albirini

(2016), all these Arabic dialects from all the Arab world share four features. First, QA has no official status in any of the Arab countries as SA is the official and formal variety in the Arab world. Second, although there is some Arabic literature written in QA, this variety is not typically written. Third, these dialects are the everyday medium of interaction; and fourth, they are acquired by communicating with parents and family members. Ferguson (1959a) identifies fourteen features that he believes all modern Arabic dialects share, making them different from SA. Most of these features are morphological except for one phonological and three lexical features.

These dialects were considered as linguistic corruption in most of the early literature of the old Arabic. It is believed that grammarians started codifying CA grammar because of the emergence of these dialects after the Islamic conquests (Albirini, 2016). Today, there are many regional dialects that coexist in the Arab world and many studies attempted to classify them. However, because these regional dialects overlap geographically and linguistically, it is challenging to clearly distinguish between them (Albirini, 2016). Therefore, classifications are not only based on the linguistic criteria but on demographic, geographic, social and historical criteria as well. One of the main classification systems is the one that divided the Arabic dialects into Eastern dialects (the Middle East including Egypt) and Western dialects (North Africa) (Albirini, 2016). This division is based on the linguistic features of the spoken dialects and not only on geography (Bateson, 1967). Another classification divided the Arab world into five regions which are: Mesopotamian spoken in Iraqi, Maghrebi spoken in North Africa except for Egypt, Levantine that is spoken in Syria, Palestine, Lebanon and Jordan, Egyptian spoken in Egypt and Sudan

and Gulf spoken in the Gulf countries including Yemen (Holes, 2004). Country-specific classification (e.g., Saudi, Yemeni) is another popular dialect classification that many sociolinguists are adopting (Albirini, 2016).

After exploring SA and QA separately, it is time to investigate them in relation to each other which is presented in the next section.

3.1.2.3 SA versus QA

Although these two varieties share the main morphological, lexical, and syntactic systems, there are many differences between them. First, unlike SA, QA is changing constantly at a fast pace. There are three main reasons for this difference between these two varieties: QA, unlike SA, is not codified, and therefore, there is sometimes disagreement on what is acceptable in QA and what is not amongst speakers of Arabic. Moreover, new concepts, especially modern borrowed ones, are constantly being added to QA, especially by younger generations. On the other hand, SA has a richer vocabulary that does not include a lot of foreign words (Albirini, 2016). Albirini gives as an example of this richer vocabulary the various demonstratives that differ in SA depending on the number, gender, and case; while QA has a more simplified system that lacks this kind of representation.

Second, the two varieties differ in that, QA has its respective native speakers, and is acquired by informal everyday communication while SA has no native speakers and is acquired through formal education (Ferguson, 1959b; Jamai, 2008; Schulz, 1982). Finally, there is a difference in the morphological system between these two

varieties in that SA has a more elaborate morphological system than QA (Brustad, 2000).

3.1.2.4 The relation between SA and QA

Many linguists have described the relationship between SA and QA, their roles and social positions and functions in the Arabic-speaking communities. There are two main broad frameworks, 'diglossia' and 'polyglossia and contiglossia' (Albirini, 2016). In this study, I have adopted Ferguson's model of diglossia. Diglossia distinguishes between SA and QA by their structural historical linkage and their distributional levels (described below). Before I move on, it is important to explain the reasons for adopting Ferguson's classification. First, any Arabic speaker can differentiate between the two main varieties Ferguson classifies as SA and QA. This classification helps me as a researcher to draw conclusions regarding language attitudes, language use, and identity. On the other hand, we have the other frameworks, polyglossia and contiglossia, that focuses only on one variety or suggests that there are more than two main varieties. Adopting the polyglossia and contiglossia framework would not be appropriate in my study. That is because, as an Arabic speaker and a researcher, I believe that it is insufficient to focus on one variety, neglect the other existing varieties or underestimate all the differences between SA and QA. In addition, Arabic speakers might find it confusing to differentiate between more than two varieties or they might be not even aware that these varieties exist, while in the diglossia model there are only two varieties that almost every Arab is familiar with. In my view, using Ferguson's model of diglossia

supports the reliability of my results. Thus, I only discuss Ferguson's model of diglossia in the next section.

3.1.2.5 Ferguson's diglossia

Ferguson (1959b, p. 232) defines the diglossic situation as "where two varieties of a language exist side by side throughout the community, with each having a definite role to play". The roots of diglossia in Arabic are believed to go back to the eighth century when CA was codified by the grammarian Sibawayhi (Owens, 2001). According to Ferguson (1959b, p.327), "Arabic diglossia seems to reach as far back as our knowledge of Arabic goes, and the superposed 'Classical' language has remained relatively stable". The first time the term diglossia was introduced was in 1902 by the German linguist Karl Krumbacher (Albirini, 2016). In the 1930s, Marçais described the diglossic situation in the Arab world, which consisted of the co-existence of Classical Arabic (CA) or Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), also known as Fus'ha, and colloquial dialects (Albirini, 2016; Bichani, 2015). Nevertheless, Ferguson (1959b) provides the most accredited and influential formal framework that describes and defines the concept of diglossia (Albirini, 2016; Bichani, 2015; Jamai, 2008). Ferguson (1959b) was also the first linguist to classify different varieties of a language as High and Low varieties (Bichani, 2015). He described Classical Arabic as a high 'superposed variety' (1959b, p.325) and spoken Arabic as the low variety of the language.

We rarely find a satisfactory description of a particular diglossic speech situation although some of these situations are very widespread (Ferguson, 1959b). Therefore, Ferguson provided his framework of diglossia to help in dealing with difficulties in the linguistic description in such speech communities. Specifically, his

study aimed at characterizing diglossia by studying four speech communities (Arabic, Modern Greek, Swiss-German, Haitian Creole) and their languages, which clearly are marked by their diglossic situation, and describing their shared features which match the classification. He provides nine features of diglossia which I will briefly list here with a focus on Arabic. First, function: Ferguson considers this the most important feature of diglossia in that each variety is appropriate in a set of situations. As for Arabic, High (Standard Arabic) is used in a formal context and Low (Colloquial Arabic) is generally used in an informal context. Second, prestige: these varieties have unequal prestige with one placed as the High or prestigious variety and the other as the Low and less prestigious variety. Third, literary heritage: Standard Arabic has made a disproportionate contribution to the literature and is highly valued by Arabic speakers. Fourth, acquisition: their means and difficulty of acquisition where High is usually acquired in a formal setting and is therefore more difficult, whereas Low is easily acquired by everyday communication with community members. Fifth, standardization: there is a tradition of grammatical codification of the High form of the language while Low is not codified. Sixth, stability: both varieties can persist and last for thousands of years with the use of unstable and uncoded forms of the language. Seventh, grammar: the High variety has grammatical categories that Low variety lacks; Eighth, lexicon: there is some variation in the use, meaning and form of vocabulary between High and Low in Arabic. Finally, phonology: there is a moderate difference between High and Low in Arabic in the phonological systems. In the current study, I investigate how these differences between the High and the Low

varieties of Arabic affect the process of acquiring and maintaining Arabic as a heritage language.

3.1.2.6 Local and global languages in the Arabic world

Along with Arabic, there are many other local languages spoken in the Arab region such as Berber and Kurdish as well as global languages such as French and English. To begin with, Berber is more than one variety and is spoken in North African Arab countries (Sadiqi, 1997). Similarly, Kurdish includes more than one variety and is used in the Arab region in north-eastern Syria and northern Iraq (Marr, 2018; McDowall, 2003). Although these two languages existed before Arabic in this Arab region, they spread in only small parts of the Arab world (McDowall, 2003). In addition to Berber and Kurdish, English and French have influenced the sociolinguistic situation of the Arab world and have spread in various parts of it (Albirini, 2016). English has spread rapidly in the Arab world largely because of new technologies, growing economic competitiveness, the need for global communication, and the strong political and economic status of English-speaking countries (Albirini, 2016). It spread in the Gulf region, Egypt, Sudan, Iraq, Jordan and Palestine. The French were more aggressive in promoting French culture and language in their colonies compared to the British (Suleiman, 2003). That is to say, French was introduced to the Arab world as a part of a colonial package that, besides territories and military occupation, included French culture and language (Burrows, 1986). French exists in Egypt, Lebanon, Algeria, Syria, Morocco, Tunisia and Mauritania. It can be imagined how the coexistence of all these languages and varieties contributes to the linguistic portrait of the Arabic minority in the UK.

3.2 Multilingualism

In this section, I discuss different dimensions of multilingualism. I begin by exploring bilingualism from a sociolinguistic perspective, then I turn to discuss bilingual education. The third section is dedicated to language choice and use in minority groups. Code-switching and translanguaging, common phenomena in bilingual societies, are discussed in the fourth section. The relation between language and identity is presented in the fifth section. In the sixth section, I discuss attitude and its significance and relation to other aspects of bilingualism. The last section discusses heritage language maintenance in minority groups.

3.2.1 Bilingualism

In the field of bi- and multilingualism, research is traditionally focused on the competence and performance of people who speak more than one language (Pavlenko, 2005). In this section, I will briefly discuss it in relation to the current study.

3.2.1.1 Definition

Bilingualism, in the simplest sense, is the ability to communicate using two or more languages. Other terms are used besides 'bilinguals' to describe people or communities with more than one language, such as 'multilinguals' and 'trilinguals'. Multilingualism as a term is used to refer to an individual's language competence or use as well as the language situation on the level of a whole nation (Clyne, 1998). Bilingualism and multilingualism have received a considerable amount of attention in the field of applied linguistics, sociolinguistics, and psycholinguistics. As the focus

of the current study is sociolinguistic, I will review bilingualism from a sociolinguistic perspective in this section.

Haugen (1953, p.7) defines bilingualism as the “point where a speaker can first produce complete meaningful utterances in the other language”. Although this is one of the most cited definitions of bilingualism, it gives too broad a description of bilingualism that lacks specificity. More specifically, this definition does not specify the status of the ‘other language’, or how and in what domains these two languages are used, and does not consider the practice of mixing the two languages in one utterance. The word ‘complete’ reflects an ideal or perfect bilingualism where a bilingual speaker is considered as two monolingual speakers that has two independent language systems which co-exist. This way of describing bilingualism was common in the early twentieth century. Another definition provided by Bloomfield (1933, p. 55-56), that reflects the way bilingualism was viewed in the first half of the twentieth century, described bilingualism as “native-like control of two languages’ that is an outcome of ‘perfect foreign language learning [that] is not accompanied by loss of the native language”. This definition suggests that languages are learned rather than naturally acquired and that acquiring a language is normally accompanied by the loss of the native language. It also suggests that native control of both languages is not possible. In other words, it excluded balanced bilingualism and simultaneous bilingualism where two languages are acquired at the same time and a person who is native in both languages. This definition, therefore, approaches bilingualism from a deficit model.

Towards the end of the twentieth century, the perception of bilingualism changed and now it is no longer considered inadequate monolingualism. Many researchers define bilingualism as the ability to use two languages to communicate regularly and considered it as a practical linguistic behaviour. Grosjean (2010, p.4) describes bilinguals as “those who use two or more languages (or dialects) in their everyday lives”. This definition emphasizes the regular use of languages rather than fluency and includes dialects as well as languages. Genesee (2002, p.174) suggests that “true bilingual communicative competence entails the ability to adapt one’s language use on-line in accordance with relevant characteristics of the situation, including the preferred or more proficient language of one’s interlocutor”, which indicates that bilinguals use and adjust their linguistic sources in different situation to communicate proficiently. Bilingualism in these definitions is presented as a practical linguistic behaviour rather than a deficiency in the ability to communicate.

In this study, I will adopt the definition of bilinguals that Grosjean (2010) proposed because it is wide-ranging and detailed at the same time and representative of my participants. I have also chosen to use the term ‘bilinguals’ to refer to my participants and the term ‘multilingual’ to refer to the Arab community under investigation, for the following reasons. First, some of my participants are only bilinguals, hence using other terms such as multilinguals or trilinguals would be unrepresentative of the whole sample. That is to say, every multilingual is a bilingual but not every bilingual is a multilingual. Second, the term ‘bilinguals’ is widely used in the field and extends to cover using two or more languages regularly (Grosjean, 2010). Third, the term ‘bilinguals’ is generally used at the individual level while the

term multilingual is used at the societal or national level (Clyne, 1998). However, in this review, I will use the terms that the authors of my resources have used.

3.2.1.2 Factors, types, and Policies

Several factors contribute to creating bilingual societies and individuals. Grosjean (2010) provided six reasons for this phenomenon. To begin with, the movement of people around the world and immigration, and countries' linguistic structure are accountable for increasing bilingualism. In addition to these two factors, being born in a bilingual family contributes to creating bilingual individuals. Moreover, professions that require proficiency in more than one language encouraged people to be bilingual. Similarly, education along with culture out of the home domain result in bilingualism when children receive education in a different language to theirs or move out of their cultural environment for education. Last, using sign language and having knowledge of the dominant language of a country is also considered bilingualism, and thus deafness is believed to lead to bilingualism.

According to Van Herk (2012), there are different ways in which societies can be multilingual. In some societies, taking Canada and Belgium as an example, the political entity is multilingual while members of that society are usually monolingual. This happens when multiple linguistic communities co-exist in different regions of the same country. This situation is usually a result of countries 'boundary drawing' where regions with a specific language are divided between two or more countries or many regions with different languages are joined in one country. Second, there are multilingual societies composed of bilingual speakers such as most of South Asia. In this kind of multilingual communities, people speak different languages for

different purposes and domains. Generally speaking, the language of the stronger dominant group would be the official language that is used in education and government. Thus, the less powerful linguistic group will have to acquire the official language.

Many communities around the world set language policies that determine the status of each language in that society (Clyne, 1998). These policies are driven by the constant tension between monolingualism and multilingualism and may reject, tolerate, accept, support, enforce multilingualism or give special status to one or more languages (Clyne, 1998). Multilingualism might be advocated for economic, political, cultural, or social purposes. Australia, as an example, has not declared an official language for the country. However, it uses English as the only official national language and language of education. The latest policies, nonetheless, have encouraged the use of a range of other languages motivated by economic rationale (Clyne, 1991). Several immigrant groups' languages are taught at primary and secondary schools today in Australia. Community libraries hold books magazines and even up-to-date newspapers in minority languages such as Hindi, Urdu, Arabic, Italian and Greek. This change in the status of community languages is a result of the changing policies that moved from accepting multilingualism to strictly rejecting it at the time of World War One, to more positive accepting policies in the early 1970s (Clyne, Clyne, & Michael, 1991). It seems to me that this change might have also played a role in the positive change of the way bilingualism was viewed and defined by researchers in the late twentieth century.

It can be said that languages are only partially linguistic. Politics and power play a significant role in weaving the linguistic tapestry of a community (Maher, 2017). The influence of power and politics on determining the status of a dialect or a language within a community is described by Max Weinreich when he said, “a language is a dialect with an army and navy” (Maher, 2017). That is to say, the language (or dialect) of the strongest group is the language that has been given or gained a higher official status which ultimately results in it being the dominant language. This imbalance in power creates what is known as ‘asymmetrical bilingualism’, where the weakest group must adopt the strongest group’s language or dialect (Van Herk, 2012). It is important to note that the weakest group is not necessarily smaller in size than the strongest one.

The language choice that bilinguals make is determined by many factors (Clyne, 1998). Linguistic competence (including the level of proficiency in languages, and language dominance), the interlocutors’ histories (including age, context of acquisition), migration generation and who they are addressing will affect language choice (Clyne, 1998; Pavlenko, 2005). Pavlenko (2005) also suggests that the interactional goals, as well as the language of the environment and the language of interlocutors, are factors affecting language use and choice. In a typical bilingual situation, the minority language is spoken to and between members of the older generation while the majority language is spoken to the younger generation. The domain in which the language is spoken is also a significant factor in this matter. Minority languages are usually spoken for home and religious purposes, while the majority language is used at work and school. In addition, the relationship to the

addressee plays an important role in choosing a language, as does the topic of conversation. A very common example of this is bilingual children who usually speak the minority language at home but switch to the majority language to speak about school. In the current study, I examined the influence of these factors on the language use, choice, attitudes, and identities of my participants.

3.2.1.3 Perceptions

Multilingualism, according to Ruiz (1984), has been perceived from three different perspectives. The first one thinks of linguistic diversity as a problem that needs to be solved because of the negative effect it has on the majority language. This view encourages minority groups to adopt the language and lifestyle of the majority group. The second way considers the benefits of multilingualism to the whole community as it is viewed as an enrichment opportunity. The third perspective views maintaining heritage languages as a minority group's right. The second perspective is widely advocated by researchers and benefits such as social harmony, cultural enhancement, trade and international relations improvement (McPake, 2007). Auer and Wei (2008, p. 12) also supported this perspective over the negative perspective that viewed multilingualism as a problem when they stated "far from being a problem, multilingualism is part of the solution for our future. Social stability, economic development, tolerance and cooperation between groups are possible only when multilingualism is respected."

The world we live in today is multilingual, as two-thirds of the world's population is bilingual and the monolingual situation is no longer the norm (Van Herk, 2012; Maher, 2017). This would suggest that many people are more open to

multilingualism and use languages in a natural way that poses no boundaries between languages. Amongst the multilingual Arabic community in Manchester, the majority of Arabs are expected to be Arabic-English bilinguals, with the predictable patterns of bilingualism in such situations. That is, the older first-generation being Arabic-dominant bilinguals and the younger second generation being English-dominant bilinguals. This society consists of people from around the Arab world who migrate to Manchester as students, asylum seekers and refugees. They are attracted to Manchester for the study and work opportunities it offers. We can see bilingual shop signs mainly in the 'Curry Mile' district³ with plenty of Middle Eastern restaurants and Islamic shops. You can also hear Arabic spoken in cafes and restaurants. Today, there are more than ten Arabic supplementary schools in Manchester that provide literacy education for bilingual Arab children.

3.2.2 Bilingual education

3.2.2.1 Definition

Garcia (1997 p. 408) defines bilingual education "as the use of two languages in education". In this section, I will discuss bilingual education with a focus on supplementary schooling. I will start with a brief history of the development of language policy regarding community languages in the UK.

3.2.2.2 The development of language policies in education: minority languages

With the many immigration waves to the UK in the second half of the twentieth century, there was a necessity to draw an education policy that met the

³ The Curry Mile is a nickname for the part of Wilmslow Road running through the Centre of Rusholme in south Manchester, England (Wikipedia, 2020).

educational needs of migrant children. These policies changed over the period from the 1970s to the present day.

In the 1970s, children from minority groups had to spend nearly two years in what was called 'induction centres' learning English before they were moved to mainstream education (Reid, 1988). Later, these children attended mainstream schools but had to attend 'withdrawal classes' for a certain number of hours every week to enhance their English language skills (Reid, 1988). Reid (1988) marked this phase and the fact of having such classes in British mainstream schools as the starting point of the change in the British education system towards multilingualism. However, the names of these classes were not the best names. By the mid-1970s, they were replaced with more encouraging and positive names such as 'newcomer students' classes, and bilingual learners for the linguistic minority' classes and some of the teaching materials were adjusted for the sake of minority children (Stubbs, 1985). By the end of the 1970s, specifically in September 1979, the Linguistic Minorities Project (LMP) was presented by the Department of Education and Science (DES) (Stubbs, 1985). The main purpose of the project was, to "discover the extent of bilingualism among the school population, and the scale of mother-tongue teaching provision available" (Stubbs, 1985, p. 8). DES employed four surveys to investigate: secondary pupils' linguistic perceptions, the use of a mother tongue teaching dictionary, school language views and skills, and adult language use. We can see here that the issue of bilingual children was taken seriously and there were significant efforts to find solutions.

In the mid-1980s, a change in the ethnic minority languages policy was published in the Swann Committee Report (Martin, 2009). The Swann report (1985) recommended that no division between minority children and their native peers should happen in schools considering the negative influence of such policy on both native and minority children. It also recommended that bilingual teachers support classroom teachers until minority children become proficient in English. However, they also stated that teaching minority languages is the responsibility of minority groups, and thus, minority languages will not be taught in schools. Mainstream schools focused on the English language. Minority groups were offered the use of schools' buildings free of charge for teaching their heritage languages out of school hours. However, this report received a considerable amount of criticism. Parekh (2017, p. 64) described it as "a complex and uneven document" that is "grossly unfair to the Asian" since it only considered the West Indian children, neglecting children from other minority children. It was also criticized for not supporting bilingual education and for providing only a transitional model of bilingualism⁴ (Martin, 2009).

Nevertheless, it seems that this report played an important role in the development of supplementary schools. It is worth noting that even if bilingual education was provided in mainstream education, the culture and identity of schools would be that of the majority. Thus, the needs of bilingual children would not be met completely. It is important to remember that it is not only a matter of language, but also a matter of identity, religion, and culture.

⁴ For 'transitional model of bilingual education', see section 3.2.2.3.

In mid-1988, minority children were disadvantaged after the release of the National Curriculum in England, stating that the national exams will be for the 7, 11, and 14-year-olds. These national exams would influence the schools' national ranking, which led all schools to try to attract high-achieving children and often reject minority children who, because of the language barrier, were low-achievers and as a result, minority children often had to go to low-achieving schools (Bichani, 2015). This was unfair to them, and they would have a better chance of achieving higher if they were given the same opportunity given to their native peers. That is to say, one of the main reasons for minority children low achievement at the time was the unequal opportunities that is a result of classifying them as minorities in addition to their low language proficiency in the host community language.

In 2018, although English as an additional language (EAL) student in primary schools performed lower than English as a first language students, national GCSE⁵ results showed that EAL students outperformed students who speak English natively by the time they are 16 (Turner & Kirk, 2018; ONS, 2019). According to Turner and Kirk (2018), this was happening for the second year in a row, with the gap between the two groups wider in 2018 than it was in 2017. This may show that the support that migrant students receive from school systems is successful. It seems here that migrant children as EAL students need significant support to reach the expected level of attainment in mainstream education. It seems from the evidence above that the current educational system provides these students with the needed support to perform at the expected level. Having said that, the idea of providing minority

⁵ The General Certificate of Secondary Education

children with two monolingual educations seems more efficient than teaching minority languages in mainstream education. That is to say, this higher attainment of EAL students might be a result of the support and focus of mainstream education accompanied by the supplementary education they receive.

Today, the UK educational system still does not support multilingual education and no change has been made to these language policies since the mid-1980s (Bichani, 2015). The responsibility of teaching minority languages remains assigned to minority groups themselves. It seems that many minority groups, in the UK in general and in Manchester in particular, have taken this responsibility seriously, and have been providing their children all the support they need to maintain their heritage language, identity, values and culture. For example, I have visited some Arabic schools that have been running for more than 18 years (North Manchester Libyan school).

3.2.2.3 Types of Bilingual education

Garcia (1997) describes two main types of bilingual education: additive, and subtractive. The first type adds a second language to the language that children speak as their first language resulting in bilingualism. The second type is a transitional type where children are instructed in both languages and gradually limit instruction to the second language resulting in monolingualism. Additive bilingual education is considered, according to Garcia, a strong education while subtractive bilingual education is considered a weak education.

Garcia (1997) lists three main types of bilingual education, two weak and one strong, with 14 subtypes in total. These three types are monolingual education for

language minority students that leads to relative monolingualism, weak bilingual education that leads to relative monolingualism and limited bilingualism, and strong bilingualism education that leads to relative bilingualism and biliteracy. Each of these three has at least three subtypes. The education provided to minority children in the UK falls under the first two types which are classified as weak and lead to monolingualism. The type of bilingual education provided to my participants, bilingual Arab children in Manchester, falls under the third type. I am aware that there are a number of bilingual mainstream schools in Manchester, but it is beyond the scope of this research to investigate them. Therefore, I only discuss the type of bilingual education that the group under investigation receive.

My participants attend mainstream schools and afterschool heritage language supplementary schools. This type of bilingual education is classified as one of the strong additive bilingual types of education. In mainstream schools, children are fully taught in the majority language, English in the case of my participants. They also attend supplementary schools that provide education in minority language, history, culture and religion. In the supplementary schools under investigation, this is Arabic, national history, and Islamic studies. Although these classes and schools are supported by the majority group, they are mainly organized by the ethnolinguistic group⁶. The level of bilingualism and biliteracy gained as a result of attending heritage classes depends mainly on the commitment of the family (Garcia, 1997). Garcia claims that in cases where the child is supported by the family and the immediate

⁶ A group that is unified by both a common ethnicity and language.

society and provided with the contextual support for the ethnic language development, a high level of bilingualism and biliteracy can be obtained.

Besides the family and social support, developing successful bilingualism and biliteracy is related to some sociolinguistic and socio-educational principles (Garcia, 1997, p. 416-420). Regarding instruction in classes, as Garcia suggests, using one language exclusively as the language of instruction would mostly lead to monolingualism. However, the ethnic societies with an extremely strong sociolinguistic vitality are exceptions. Generally speaking, in most cases, bilingualism in general and biliteracy in particular, need educational support to be obtained. The best way to gain bilingualism and biliteracy, Garcia (p. 416) argues, is by employing bilingual instruction. This can be “obtained only by differentiating the roles of the languages in society”. The best way this can be applied might be by language ‘compartmentalization’ where languages are compartmentalized by allocating an exact language to a specific time, teacher, subject, class or even school (p. 416). In addition, Garcia suggests that the minority language should also be taught as a subject on its own. For example, Arab children who attend both English school and Arabic supplementary school are instructed exclusively in English Monday to Friday in the mainstream schools and instructed in Arabic and study Arabic reading and writing as a subject in the Arabic schools. In this case, each language is allocated to a specific time, day, topic, physical location, and teacher. To sum up, attending mainstream and supplementary schools has all the needed sociolinguistic principles required to obtain bilingualism.

In addition to the sociolinguistic principles, socio-educational principles must be present to gain greater biliteracy and bilingualism (Skutnabb-Kangas & Garcia, 1995). Complete commitment to bilingualism and biliteracy and active participation on the parents' side play a significant role in the success of this process. In addition, having bilingual qualified teachers, school administrators and staff can positively affect the experience of bilingual education. The culture of the school in general, including language policies, the context, teaching materials, fair assessment by not comparing them to native speakers of the target language (Arab children in Arabic countries) and varied educational strategies, can be crucial to the success of bilingualism.

In conclusion, bilingualism and biliteracy need careful planning, awareness, commitment, and a whole society to work successfully. Garcia (1997) considers attending mainstream school along with supplementary heritage language school as one of the strongest additive forms of bilingual education that could be provided for children. This kind of education would most likely lead to bilingualism and biliteracy. It is important to note here that supplementary schooling is not available to all minority children, for example, children who live in smaller cities. In addition, Supplementary schooling might not be affordable to many of these children.

It is believed that bilingual speakers make choices when communicating with other people. Language choice and use will be discussed in the next section.

3.2.3 Language choice and use

3.2.3.1 Definition

Language choice is a routine activity that people do continuously in their everyday communications. According to Holmes (1992, p. 1), “the way people talk is influenced by the social context in which they are talking. It matters who can hear us and where we are talking, as well as how we are feeling. The same message may be expressed very differently to different people. We use different styles in different social contexts.” Holmes highlighted here three social factors that influence language choice: the interlocuter, the social context or domain, and the emotional status of the speaker. Pavlenko (2005, p. 134) suggested that language choice is determined by “the speaker’s desire for internal satisfaction derived from the use of the language that feels emotional and natural”.

3.2.3.2 Factors

It is expected that bilingual speakers specifically make language choices frequently for different purposes in everyday interactions. They choose different languages, varieties, and words for different social situations influenced by social factors (Holmes, 1992). These social factors, as Holmes suggested, are expressed and reflected by different types of linguistic variation. This linguistic variation includes vocabulary choice, sound and word-structure choice, and grammar choice. Holmes (1992, p. 6) continues to explain this process by stating that “within each of these linguistic levels, there is variation which offers the speaker a choice of ways of expression. They provide us with different linguistic styles for use in different social

contexts. Choices may even involve different dialects of a language, or quite different languages”.

In addition to the social factors mentioned above, Holmes (1992) adds the aim of the interaction. For example, it is expected that there would be a difference in language choice made when the aim of the interaction is to give orders, to that made when asking for permission. Moreover, Holmes suggested that the topic has in some cases an influence on language choice. Bilinguals might use the language associated with work or school to discuss what happened through their day (most likely the majority language) in the home domain, where the minority language is usually used. This kind of situation is sometimes described as ‘leakage’ where codes from one domain ‘leak’ into another Holmes (1992). Fishman (1965, p.71) explained this by suggesting that “certain topics are somehow handled better in one language than in another, in particular multilingual contexts.”

3.2.3.3 Perspectives

There are two main perspectives to the study of language choice: the macro-societal perspective model, and the micro-societal perspective model (Li, 1994). In the macro-societal model, language choice is constructed socially in relation to the bilingual community. The micro perspective, in contrast, sees language choice as related to speakers’ reactions to the behaviour of other actors in a specific context. Briefly, these two approaches differ in terms of what factors that influence language choice are considered. The first one considers the social factors, while the other considers the individual factors. Li (1994) divides each model to two further approaches.

The macro-societal perspective includes the complementary distribution approach and the conflict approach. In the complementary distribution approach, the function of languages and varieties is emphasized. Researchers in this model suggest that different languages and varieties complement each other, each with a different function that constructs a steady bilingual interaction. In contrast, the conflict model emphasizes the social position of languages and varieties. In this model, researchers suggest that languages and varieties are not equal in terms of their social position, but rather competitive.

The micro-societal model includes the social network approach and accommodation approach. The first approach links the social factors to language choice and suggests that bilinguals' language choice is affected by their social interactions. The accommodation approach suggests that bilingual speakers "accommodate their speech to persons whom they like or whom they wish to be liked by" (Myers-Scotton, 2006, p. 131).

To sociolinguists, as Wei (2012) argues, the language choice a bilingual speaker makes goes beyond being just an effective means of communication, to being an act of identity. That is to say, every time we choose to say something in one language or variety over the other, "we are reconnecting with people, situations, and power configurations from our history of past interactions and imprinting on that history our attitudes towards the people and languages concerned" (Wei, 2012, p. 43). Wei (2012) here was arguing that language choice is used to draw ethnolinguistic boundaries and personal relationships. It is also used to define 'self' and 'other' within the wider historical, and political context.

The bilingual's linguistic behaviour of moving between languages is referred to as code-switching and is considered a very natural and common behaviour in multilingual communities (Clyne, Clyne, & Michael, 2003). According to Wei and Wu (2009, p. 193), code-switching is "the most distinctive behaviour of the bilingual speaker; there is no better behavioural indicator to show that a speaker is bilingual than when s/he is using two languages simultaneously in social interaction". As a common bilingual behaviour, code-switching will be explored in the next section.

3.2.4 Codeswitching and Translanguaging

In this section, I explore the concepts of codeswitching (CS) and translanguaging as these two concepts are widely used in the study of bilingualism. I start with defining these two concepts.

3.2.4.1 Definition

CS is a term used in sociolinguistics to describe bilinguals' and multilinguals' speech as well as bidialectals' and multidialectals' speech that include juxtaposing between more than one language or variety in a single utterance or piece of discourse (Albirini, 2016, p. 216). This definition of CS provided by Albirini (2016) implies that interlocutors switch between languages (e.g., English- Arabic), varieties (e.g., SA and QA) or regional dialects (e.g., Egyptian and Saudi) in a single communicative event. Gumperz (1982, p. 59) defines CS as "the juxtaposition within the same speech, exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems". The term 'code' is used to refer to languages as well as distinct dialects within a language (Van Herk, 2012). These definitions

indicate that there are two separate languages (or varieties) that exist in the mind of bilinguals and that they switch frequently between them.

Translanguaging, on the other hand, is “the use of one’s idiolect or linguistic repertoires without regard for the socially and politically defined boundaries of named languages” (Otheguy, García, & Reid, 2015, p. 303). According to Wei (2018), the difference between CS and translanguaging is that CS indicates switching back and forward to a default language while in translanguaging speakers flexibly use their repertoires without thinking of named languages and language varieties dynamically.

However, although some studies use the concept of translanguaging to describe this practice within the context of supplementary schooling (Creese & Blackledge, 2010b), CS is the concept that is used in the studies related to my work (Bichani, 2015; Ferguson, 2013). In addition, even though translanguaging is more recent than CS as a concept (Ferguson, 2013), Wei (2018, p. 27) argues that “translanguaging has never intended to replace CS or any other term, although it challenges the code view of language”. Therefore, I adopt the concept of CS rather than the concept of translanguaging and thus, only the definition of translanguaging is presented in this section. Moreover, as this study investigates the language use broadly and only highlights the occurrence of CS without specifically describing this practice, CS is briefly discussed here in relation to the context of the current study. The perspectives from which CS is approached are discussed in the second part of this section.

3.2.4.2 CS in the Arabic sociolinguistic context

CS usually occurs in bilingual communities (e.g., Canada), within minorities where the members of a specific minority speak a different language to that of the wider community (e.g., Arabs in Manchester) or in communities with a diglossic linguistic situation (e.g., Saudi Arabia). Regarding migrants, CS can occur in the speech of first-generation migrants who migrate as adults and second-generation young migrants who grow up in a bilingual environment.

In the current study, as the community under investigation is Arabic in an English-speaking country, alternation usually happens between QA and English (bilingual). In Arabic formal settings, such as Arabic classes, alternation between SA and QA (bidialectal) or between SA and English (bilingual) can also occur. Similar studies in a similar context (American communities) have studied the social function and structure of CS. Safi (1992) studied Saudi Arabic-English CS in the United States of America. He found that Saudi undergraduate students used both QA and English to interact. However, the participants shifted to Arabic to mark politeness and express national or religious feelings. On the other hand, English was used to curse, and to express serious attitudes. We can see here that each language has a distinct function and social meaning. Similar findings were found by Al-Enazi (2002) who investigated the social functions and syntactic constraints of CS between Saudi Arabic and English and compared bilingual Saudi children to adults in a Saudi community in the United States of America. While children English-dominant bilinguals, Adults were Saudi Arabic-dominant bilingual. Participants used Saudi Arabic for religious purposes, as discourse markers, and when discussing cultural topics. English was

assigned to interruptions and disagreements, clarification and specifications, dates and numbers and academic terms. English was also used to show prestige and seriousness. We can see that the findings of the two studies reviewed above (Al-Enazi, 2002; Safi, 1992) show similar patterns and social functions of CS between Arabic and English.

Regarding bidialectal CS between SA and QA, we need to distinguish between monitored and unmonitored speech (Albirini, 2016). Monitored speech is formal speech that addresses a specific audience (religious sermon, university lecture, etc.), while unmonitored speech is the informal speech in everyday communication. Unmonitored speech is also subdivided to include national dialects (e.g., Libyan) and local dialects (e.g., Bedouin, rural, and urban). Unlike bilingual CS, bidialectal CS is much more complicated with many external intervening variables that make it difficult to draw generalizations about the function of CS (Albirini, 2016). Gender, education, audience, and nationality all play a role in the dynamics of this kind of CS (Albirini, 2016; Holes, 2004; Abu-Melhim, 1992). However, although bidialectal CS is motivated by different historical, linguistic, and ideological reasons to these that motivate bilingual CS, it can be said that both are shaped by “the role and statuses of the two codes in the Arabic-speaking communities” (Albirini, 2016, p. 257).

I am aware of the on-going debate regarding the use of different terminology other than CS such as code-mixing, style-shifting and borrowing. However, it is beyond the scope of this thesis to engage with this discussion and to explore the possible differences claimed to exist between CS and such terms. Following Albirini (2016), I adopt the term CS as defined in this section to describe the bilingual

linguistic practice investigated here focusing mainly on the function of CS and the motivation behind it.

We have examined the relationship between language choice, code-switching and identity in the previous sections. Therefore, I discuss language in relation to identity in more detail in the next section.

3.2.5 Language and identity

Language and identity have been always linked together and seem to be inseparable (Albirini, 2016; Joseph, 2004). According to Joseph (2004, p. 12), ‘the entire phenomenon of identity can be understood as a linguistic one’. In this section, the concept of identity is presented and defined from a sociolinguistic perspective, as the connection has been long established in this field. I also discuss types of identity, review the methodologies used to study identity and language, discuss the types of identity and the relation between language and identity.

3.2.5.1 Definition

Identity has been defined differently in relation to different fields such as sociolinguistics, linguistics, history, sociology, and psychology (Albirini, 2016). Joseph (2004, p. 1) defines identity by simply stating that ‘identity is who you are’. However, the concept of identity has never been this straightforward nor simple. Góis (2010, p. 265) suggests that identity is “a multidimensional and complex concept, frequently referred to both in everyday life and by the social sciences and humanistic studies, albeit rarely coherently defined”. Ivanič (1998, p. 10) defines identity as “the everyday word for people’s sense of who they are”. Nevertheless, she highlighted

that this definition lacks “the connotation of social construction and constraints”. For the current study, a more adaptable definition of identity is the one Bucholtz (2010, p. 18) provided: “the social poisoning of self and other”. This definition indicates that identity is where people are located within and out of a social group by themselves and by others.

3.2.5.2 Types of identity

According to Fearon (Fearon, 1999, p. 2), identity can be classified into two main categories, ‘social’ and ‘personal.’ Personal identity is “some distinguishing characteristic (or characteristics) that a person takes a special pride in or views as socially consequential but more-or-less unchangeable”. This includes gender, work, education, age, and family (Góis, 2010). Social identity, on the other hand, is simply a “social category, a set of persons marked by a label and distinguished by rules deciding membership and (alleged) characteristic features or attributes”. Social identity “refers to a person’s sense of belonging to a group and the attitudes and emotions that accompany this sense of belonging” (Vedder & Virta, 2005, p. 319). This might include national, religious, and ethnic identity.

3.2.5.3 The relationship between identity and language

The relation between language and identity has been widely debated. There are three main schools with three different perspectives regarding this relationship. The first school argues that there is an inter-dependent relationship between the two and highlights the fact that language constructs identity and identity affects linguistic behaviour (Liebkind, 1999). The second school of thought considers language as a

key factor and distinguishing feature of a group's identity (Edwards, 2011). They argue that "specific languages are related to specific cultures and to their attendant cultural identities at the level of doing, at the level of knowing, at the level of being". (Fishman, 2001, p.3). However, this significance given to language and its relation to identity is doubted by the third school. In the third school, they suggest that maintaining identity can be achieved without maintaining language and that many migrant groups have maintained their identity even though there was language shift within the group (Canagarajah, 2008; Liebkind, 1999).

Many studies focused on the social meaning of variable features rather than social categories (Drummond & Schlee, 2016; Eckert, 2012). In these kinds of studies, language use was perceived as something constituted through stylistic practice. This emphasis on stylistic practices transferred speakers from being passive and stable carriers of dialect, to "stylistic agents, tailoring linguistic styles in ongoing and lifelong projects of self-construction and differentiation" (Eckert, 2012, pp. 97-98). Identities, therefore, are constructed and reconstructed as they are changeable and dynamic (Drummond & Schlee, 2016); and are viewed as "the product rather than the source of linguistic and other semiotic practices and therefore are social and cultural rather than primarily internal psychological phenomenon" (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, p. 585). The concept of identity is very broad and includes three levels of identity which are: '(a) macro-level demographic categories; (b) local ethnographically specific cultural positions; and (c) temporary and interactionally-specific stances and participant roles' (Bucholtz, 2010; Bucholtz, 2005). The methods used to study identity and language in these studies are combinations of quantitative and qualitative methods.

Drummond and Schlee (2016) consider this kind of practice to be the best practice in sociolinguistic research when combined with the different levels of identity outlined above. The current study employs qualitative and quantitative methods to investigate identity in different social contexts (home, Arabic school, English school, and in general). Identity is treated in this study as changeable and dynamic rather than fixed.

To sum up, the relationship between language and identity seems to be variable amongst groups and appears far from fixed. As for the Arab communities, “Arabic language has been the soul and the substance of identity dynamics in the Arabic speaking world” (Albirini, 2016, p. 122). The Arabic language has more than just a linguistic significance for Arabs. Its significance goes far beyond being just a group language because of its association with Islam. The fact that the Quran is in Arabic makes Muslim Arabs proud of speaking Arabic and insist on maintaining it. Therefore, Arabic is related to different aspects of identity such as being Arab or Muslim.

3.2.6 Language attitudes

The role that attitudes play in the bilingual world cannot be ignored. The approach of ‘language attitudes’ has emerged in the field of bilingualism and revealed a clearer picture of the relationship between people’s language attitudes and language learning outcomes (Pavlenko, 2005). Therefore, the concept of attitude, attitude’s significance and attitudes role will be discussed below.

3.2.6.1 Definition

People generally hold attitudes towards language at all its levels: the speed other people speak with, dialects, languages, spelling and punctuation, grammar and word choice, accents, and pronunciation (Garrett, 2010, p. 2). Language attitudes as Albirini (2016, p. 78) defines them are “the socio-psychological evaluative reaction to a certain language or to the speakers of that language”. This attitude towards language or a variety and its speakers may define a whole speech community (Labov, 1972). In addition, language attitudes influence language behaviour construction. Baker (1992, p. 10) suggests that “the status, value, and importance of a language is most often and mostly easily (though imperfectly) measured by attitudes to that language”.

According to Baker (1992, p. 12), attitudes have cognitive, affective and “readiness for action” components. The cognitive component is related to the beliefs someone has about the world. For instance, Arab children might be aware that learning Arabic is important for them to interact with their relatives back home and might help them have a job in one of the Arabic countries in the future. The cognitive processes of language attitudes are likely to be formed by “stereotyping in intergroup relations” (Garrett, Coupland, & Williams, 2003, p. 3). The affective component is related to the feelings associated with languages or varieties. An example of that is the migrant Arab children who love Arabic for its association with their relatives in their homeland. Finally, the readiness for action component is behavioural and related to someone’s willingness to act. An example of that is Arab children who move from just liking Arabic to try and learn Arabic by attending Arabic schools.

3.2.6.2 Importance and role

Language attitudes may also play an important role in maintaining languages and that “in the life of a language, attitudes to that language appear to be important in language restoration, preservation, decay or death” (Baker, 1992, p. 9). Investigating language attitudes is significant to understand a particular speech community, and the shared beliefs about the different varieties in that sociolinguistic context (Albirini, 2016). Albirini (2016) argues that people’s language attitudes affect their social and personal lives.

Moreover, language attitudes play a significant role in producing language policies and in the success of language programs (Baker, 1992). Whether students, parents, teachers and administrators hold positive or negative language attitudes towards the language being taught, is crucial to the success of second language programs (Albirini, 2016). Understanding language attitudes and individual beliefs about language repertoire in their speech community is significant to predict the direction in which language attitudes are changing or should be changed (Albirini, 2016). According to Albirini (2016), many studies have documented a change in the attitudes toward SA and QA (Albirini, 2011; Bassiouney, 2013; Holes, 2004; Soliman, 2008). In these studies, there is a change from negative attitudes to positive attitudes towards the use of QA in specific domains in which only SA was previously accepted, such as in religious discourse. The reason behind this change in attitudes towards QA is believed to be that most Arabic speakers consider QA to be simpler, more practical, more influential than SA (Soliman, 2008).

Garrett (2010) argues that because attitudes are psychological constructs it is not easy to investigate them. It is significant to keep in mind that the reported attitudes might be influenced by the reporters' desire to reflect the best self-image. The aim of the study presented by the researcher might also affect the reported attitudes. Therefore, using a combination of questionnaires and observation would be valuable (Baker, 1992). Three broad approaches are widely used to study language attitudes (Garrett, 2010). According to Garrett (2010, p. 37), these three approaches are: "the analysis of *societal treatment* of language varieties (also called content analysis), direct measures and indirect measures". These three methods differ in their ways of investigating attitudes. The first one, for example, extracts participants' attitudes from advertisements, media scripts, and policy documents. The second approach, as is clear from the name, uses direct questions about language attitudes using questionnaires and interviews. Finally, the last approach uses indirect techniques to elicit the participants' language attitudes. Each of these approaches has strengths and weaknesses and differs in the frequency of use in research into language attitudes: the direct approach is the most common, followed by indirect and finally by analysis of societal treatment (Garrett, 2010). In the current study, the first approach was adopted.

3.2.6.3 Language attitudes and language ideologies

Language and ideology have been linked together in sociolinguistic and cultural studies (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994). Woolard and Schieffelin (1994, p. 55) emphasize "language ideologies as a mediating link between social structures and forms of talk" and that language ideologies are linked to personal and group

identities. Milroy (2004) argues that language ideologies have an impact on individual's linguistic practices. Silverstein (1979, p. 193) defines language ideologies as "any sets of beliefs about language articulated by the users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use". Irvine, Gal, and Kroskrity (2009, p.402) define language ideologies as "the ideas with which participants and observers frame their understanding of linguistic varieties and map those understandings onto people, events, and activities that are significant to them".

Additionally, language ideologies are strongly related to language attitudes. The relation between the two concepts can be summarized in that people's language attitudes might be the product of language ideologies in a community (Dyers & Abongdia, 2010). Dyers and Abongdia (p. 132) claim that clear language ideologies form people's language attitudes and that these ideologies have their "roots in the socio-political and historical environment of particular communities".

After briefly presenting the relationship between language ideologies and language attitudes, it is important to compare the two concepts and show the differences between them. Dyers and Abongdia (2010, p. 132) summarize and outline seven differences between the two concepts. The first difference is that language ideology are the group or community beliefs while LA are individual thoughts, feelings, reactions. Second, language ideologies are developed in interests of powerful groups while LA are possessed by individuals. Third, language ideologies are Shaped by socio-historical events while LA are rooted in individual experience. Fourth, language ideologies are long-term, deeply rooted and resistant to change while LA can be both short- and long-term, but more mutable than ideologies. Fifth,

language ideology has strong effect on language learning and motivation while LA might affect language learning and motivation, but not always. Sixth, language ideologies play a central role in language policies and their successful implementation while LA might play a role in the creation of language policies, but not their implementation. Finally, language ideology are conscious, overt assessment of languages and their speakers, while LA are often unconscious, covert assessments; sometimes distinguishes between languages and speakers of those languages.

In this section, we have seen the influence of positive and negative language attitudes on language choice, and on encouraging or discouraging language maintenance in minority groups. Examining the attitudes of my participants towards languages and varieties in Arabic supplementary schools can be of great value. It might help us understand the linguistic behaviour of Arab children in the UK, predict language attitude change and set language policies in favour of children. We also reviewed language ideologies and compared them to language attitudes. It is time to move to the last section of this chapter to discuss heritage language maintenance in minority groups.

3.2.7 Heritage language maintenance, shift, and loss

One of the main concerns for migrants is maintaining their heritage language (Tannenbaum & Berkovich, 2005). In this section, I discuss heritage speakers' language shift and maintenance. The types of language shift and the reasons behind it is explored. I also discuss two theories of language maintenance, the Core Value theory, and the Ethno-linguistic Vitality theory. Before I move on, I need to define what is meant by the term heritage speakers. As the current study investigates Arab

children I define 'Arabic Heritage speakers' as children of parents who have migrated from the Arab world and who are native speakers of one of the spoken colloquial varieties (Albirini, 2014a).

3.2.7.1 Definition

The discussion of language loss and maintenance is usually carried out in relation to other sociolinguistic phenomena including language death, language dominance and language shift (Fase, 1992). According to Albirini (2016, p. 305), "in a minority-majority language contact situation, such as Arabic-English situation in the United States, language loss and maintenance are widely used in describing the situation of the minority language in relation to the majority language". Language maintenance refers to a situation when a speech community retains their language in one life domain or more, despite contacting the majority language (Pauwels, 2004). According to Fase (1992, p. 4), "language maintenance refers both to the retention of use and proficiency". Language shift, on the other hand, means that one language is gradually replaced by another language in at least one domain of life (Clyne et al., 2003). Language loss, as Fase defines it, refers to "changes in language proficiency". A distinction between partial and total loss of language needs to be done, as sociolinguists call the first one 'attrition' and the second one 'loss' (Clyne, 1992).

3.2.7.2 Types of language shift

In terms of language shift, many categorizations have been made. Clyne et al. (2003) differentiate between two types of language shift: intra-generational and inter-generational shift. The difference between these two types is the migrant

generation that the language shift occurs within. Intra-generational shift is the shift that happens within the same generation, while inter-generational shift happens between different generations (e.g., second and third migrant generations). However, it is significant when studying language shift to distinguish between language shift and the non-acquisition of the language (Clyne et al., 2003). For example, a child who speaks a heritage language at home might shift to a dominant language in the home domain after starting to go to school. On the other hand, the same child might not acquire the language needed to discuss school matters and therefore, will always use the dominant language in this domain. The difference between the two situations is that in the first one, the child has the ability to use both languages, but s\he chooses the dominant language. In the second situation, however, the child does not have the linguistic ability to speak about school in his/her heritage language.

Similarly, distinguished four types of language shift that consider the extent and nature of that shift. The first two types are macro-level, that happens on the whole community level, and micro-level, that happens on the individual level. The last two types are partial and total, where the first refers to an on-going language shift process, and the second one refers to the 'point of no return' in language shift. The language shift going on with the participants of the current research is a partial, micro-level shift in the second generation.

3.2.7.3 Causes of language shift

In a migrant minority community, many factors might contribute to language shift or loss. Fishman (1991) suggests that language shift could be a result of one of

three main types of dislocation: physical and demographic, social and cultural. The first type, physical and demographic, can affect the whole linguistic community, as “physical and demographic arrangements have cultural (and, therefore, language-in-culture) consequences” (Fishman, 1991, p. 58). The second type, social dislocation, is ‘a serious problem for the future of any ethnocultural community’. Many minority group members, who are dislocated from their original community, are disadvantaged on many scales including economically, culturally, and educationally. As a result, members of these minority groups might develop negative attitudes towards their heritage language and culture. Last, language shift might be a result of cultural dislocation when the dominant group “undercut the very cultural and identity distinctions on which minority language maintenance must be based” (Fishman, 1991, p. 63).

Other factors that affect HLM and LS may include frequency of communication with the mother country, family relations, the value of the language to its speakers, religion, and length of time (Clyne et al., 2003; Holmes, 2001). One of the most important causes of language maintenance and shift is exogamous and in-group marriages, particularly within the second generation of the language (Fishman, 1991; Holmes, 2001). This is because, according to Tandefelt (1992, p. 155), “in a mixed family the minority language is clearly used to a more limited extent in the generation of children than in that of the parent who could have given this language as an inheritance”. On the contrary, growing up in a family where both parents speak the heritage language might increase the chance of maintaining that language. Parents’ English proficiency can play a significant role in maintaining heritage

languages as the lower their proficiency is the higher is the chance of maintaining heritage language. In addition to the previously mentioned factors, there are two theories about heritage language maintenance and shift. These two theories are the core value Theory and ethno-linguistic vitality and will be briefly reviewed below.

3.2.7.4 The core value Theory

The Core Value Theory was established by Smolicz (1981) who investigated multilingualism in Australia with a focus on the reasons behind language maintenance in particular communities. Core value refers to “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). According to Smolicz (1999, p. 78), “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”. Arab Muslims, as an example, mostly define themselves as Muslims. The significance of maintaining Arabic comes from its value as the language of the Quran. In this case, the Arabic language is a core value. Gogonas (2012, p. 115) suggested that “when language is closely intertwined with other core values, such as religion, the match between attitudes and actual maintenance is even higher, whereas when the language is isolated from other cultural aspects, the match is lower”.

An example of the importance of core value in maintaining heritage language was given by Gogonas (2012), who studied language maintenance and shift among second-generation Egyptian Arab migrants in Greece. The results showed that

Muslims maintained Arabic while there was a language shift towards Greek on the Copts' side. Copts were not interested in the Classical Arabic and when talking about language maintenance they emphasized spoken dialect. In contrast, second-generation Muslim Egyptians maintained Arabic. They were interested in Standard Arabic as much as they were interested in day-to-day dialect. They perceived standard Arabic as a connection with the Arabic and Islamic world and thus emphasized the importance of learning Standard Arabic and attended supplementary schools. This suggests that Muslims and Copts view language as a significant part of their identity. Therefore, Muslims largely maintained Arabic (the language of Quran) while the mostly Christian Copts tended to shift to Greek. We can see here that "religious practice leads Muslims and Copts to view Arabic and Coptic respectively as core values for their identity" (Gogonas, 2012, p. 113). In addition, the core value influencing language maintenance/shift here is religion rather than language.

3.2.7.5 Ethno-linguistic vitality

The notion of ethno-linguistic vitality was first introduced by Tajfel's intergroup relations theory (1974), and Giles' speech accommodation model (Clyne et al., 2003). The ethnolinguistic vitality of a group is associated with that group's own awareness of their presence in relation to other groups in society. Myers-Scotton (2006, p.74) defines ethno-linguistic vitality as "what the group thinks about itself in relation to other groups". In other words, ethno-linguistic vitality is what "makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations" (Giles, 1977, p. 308).

There are two main dimensions of ethno-linguistic vitality: the objective and subjective vitality. The sociological group factors, such as the group's linguistic status, the groups demographic status, and the institutional support within the wider community, are considered objective factor (Giles, 1977). On the other hand, the affective factors, such as language attitudes, are considered subjective factors (Myers-Scotton, 2006).

3.2.7.6 Family language policy (FLP)

The emerging field of FLP has received increasing attention in the last two decades as the focus in studying language policy has shifted from the traditional top-down macro approach towards bottom-up micro approach (Curdt-Christiansen, 2013a; Moustou Srhir, 2020; Spolsky, 2012; Tannenbaum & Berkovich, 2005; Van Mensel, 2016). In the first approach, the focus is on “external macro-factors of a socio-political nature” (Van Mensel, 2016, p. 549), while the focus of the second is on how “people negotiate language policies in their favour in their everyday lives in micro-social domains” where family is one of these domains (Canagarajah, 2005, p. 427). These two terms, top-down and bottom-up, are used to describe stakeholders' relation to power (Horner, 2009). An example of the former is governmental language policies and an example of the later is the family language planning (King, Fogle, & Logan-Terry, 2008).

Curdt-Christiansen (2013a) indicates that these micro family practices and the macro-political policy are interdependent. According to Schiffman and Ricento (2006, p. 279):

It is important to view language policy as not only the explicit, written, overt, de jure, official, and top-down decision making about language, but also the implicit, unwritten, covert, de facto, grass-roots and unofficial ideas and assumptions, which can influence the outcomes of policy-making just as emphatically and definitively as the more explicit decisions.

Here again, we can see how micro family language practices and ideologies interplay with and affect the macro language policies. Understanding this relationship could offer significant insights into communicative practices and everyday language use processes which in turn might lead to improved language policies and practices that support language maintenance (Curdt-Christiansen, 2013a).

King (2008) suggests that the study of FLP draws from and contributes to the field of child language acquisition as well as the field of language policy. The view of child language acquisition within the field of FLP “addresses child language learning and use as functions of parental ideologies, decision-making and strategies concerning languages and literacies, as well as the broader social and cultural context of family life” (King & Fogle, 2013, p. 172). The field of language policy covers of the analysis of language practices, language beliefs and ideologies and people’s efforts in modifying their language practices through language management and planning (Spolsky, 2004). Therefore, the field of FLP includes analysis of these aspects within the context of family.

FLP has been defined by King and Fogle (2006, p. 907) as the “explicit and overt planning in relation to language use within the home among family members”. King and Fogle (2006) indicate that FLP has become a common practice within the mainstream parenting practices that promote additive bilingualism. They also

consider establishing family language policies and allocating language within the family communication as two of the challenges that parents face in raising bilingual children. Furthermore, FLP is considered as the 'critical domain' for "determining natural intergenerational transmission of a variety" (Spolsky, 2012, p. 3). Thus, FLP can be considered as the key factor in the continuity or discontinuity of minority and heritage languages (Curdt-Christiansen, 2013a).

None of the studies in the context of SAS investigated the language policies related to the language of interaction. In other words, the language and variety that teachers use to interact with the children in SAS was not explored. It is expected that this aspect of SAS would be investigated considering that the main aim of these schools is to maintain heritage languages. Only one study (Eid, 2019), which studied the Lebanese minority in London, out of the sociolinguistic studies in the context of Arabic minorities in the UK investigated FLP. Therefore, the language policies in SAS and FLP are of specific interest to the current study.

3.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have explored different fields of language, culture, and multilingualism. It can be said that maintaining heritage languages within a minority group faces many challenges. Many overlapping factors affect achieving this goal. To start with, whether to maintain heritage languages, in the first place or shift to the dominant language is widely debated. Attitudes towards and ideologies associated to heritage language and its speakers have a great influence as well. Moreover, the identities associated with these languages are crucial to the success of maintaining

them. It seems that identity, language attitudes and language choice overlap and bidirectionally affect each other and affect maintaining heritage languages.

Chapter 4: Methodology and research design

4.1 Introduction

After presenting the study's origins and reflecting on the current guiding literature as discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, this chapter describes the development of the study design and addresses the methodological considerations and justifications that directed to the construction of the empirical part of this study. As discussed in Chapter 1, this sociolinguistic study aims mainly at investigating and revealing a fuller picture of language choice among Arabic-English bilingual children in the UK. It is hoped that this inquiry can develop deeper understandings of the status of Arabic maintenance and language shift in relation to language attitude and identity. It can also contribute to a better understanding of what happens in a bilingual classroom.

The chapter starts by describing the epistemological and ontological beliefs I adopted in carrying out the current research. Next, I discuss the rationale for adopting a mixed research approach. After that, since the researcher is considered a participant (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008), I discuss my role as a researcher in the research and some issues that might occur as a result of that role. I also discuss my relationship with the participants and the effect of my role as a researcher on the research results (reflexivity). Later, I provide a comprehensive overview of the sampling and recruitment of participants, before describing those who took part in the study. The next section introduces the data collection methods used to conduct this research, and the fieldwork arrangements and rearrangements. In this section, I report on the pilot study and the necessary adjustments which I decided to make as a result. The

rest of the chapter provides details of the process of data analysis and ethical considerations. In short, this chapter explains in-depth the procedures performed to carry out my study in the hope that it not only helps the reader to examine the research, but it also provides the opportunity for other researchers to recreate it Mackey and Gass (2015). Where appropriate, the sections begin with a theoretical discussion accompanied by a methodological explanation of how the analysis was applied in the light of the previous discussion's justifications.

4.1.1 Epistemological and Ontological beliefs

The choice of methods of research depends on interrelated assumptions relating to the epistemological and ontological position of the researcher (Morgan & Smircich, 1980). To determine these methods, Morgan and Smircich argue, researchers need to establish their presumptions regarding social reality, or what it means to be human existing in the world (ontology), and the nature of knowledge about the social world (epistemology). They distinguish between subjectivist assumptions and objectivist assumptions in their model that consists of six points along a continuum. The subjective approaches perceive reality largely as a result of human imagination, and assume that human beings construct their own realities, seeing knowledge as something specific to an individual that cannot be considered concrete. Objectivist approaches, by contrast, believe that reality is "a hard concrete, real thing out there, that affects everything in one way or another" (Morgan & Smircich, 1980, p. 495). Human behaviour in objective approaches is the product of a series of environmental factors, and knowledge is treated as something real and

fixed. Other approaches to social sciences lie between the extreme subjective and objective ends of the continuum.

My study is a subjectivist study, where knowledge of both researcher and participant is relative, positioned in real life, always implicit and is based on our explanations and perceptions as we behave and make sense of what is happening in our world (Cunliffe, 2011, p. 658). Specifically, I hold a primarily socially constructivist and interpretative approach in this study. According to Heller (2008, p. 249), the assumptions that lie behind most ethnographic research regarding the nature of bilingualism are:

interpretivist rather than positivist: that is, they posit that 'bilingualism' is a social construct, which needs to be described and interpreted as an element of the social and cultural practices of sets of speakers, rather than a fixed object existing in nature, to be discovered by an objective observer.

Following this, my conclusions are focused on the views and perspectives of the participants, usually developed through socio-cultural conversations and encounters with others. In contrast with the positivist view, which believes truth can be gained by measurable and observable evidence, I aim in this study to draw conclusions empirically based on the meanings that others have about the world. Although a part of this study is quantitative in nature, it is difficult to tell to what extent the findings are objectively true. In other words, the participants reported what they believe is true or what they want me to think is true, yet it is hard to take the patterns they report as measurable observable evidence. In addition, the questionnaires include behavioural and attitudinal questions (see section 4.5.1) that are hard to be considered as something real and fixed. My interpretivist approach helps me to enter

the community under investigation and engage more openly with the participants, having a better experience and understanding of their individual perspectives, beliefs and behaviour.

4.2 Situating the study in a research paradigm

In this section, I position my research as a mixed-method study, with ethnographically informed qualitative elements. I explain my position in the following two subsections.

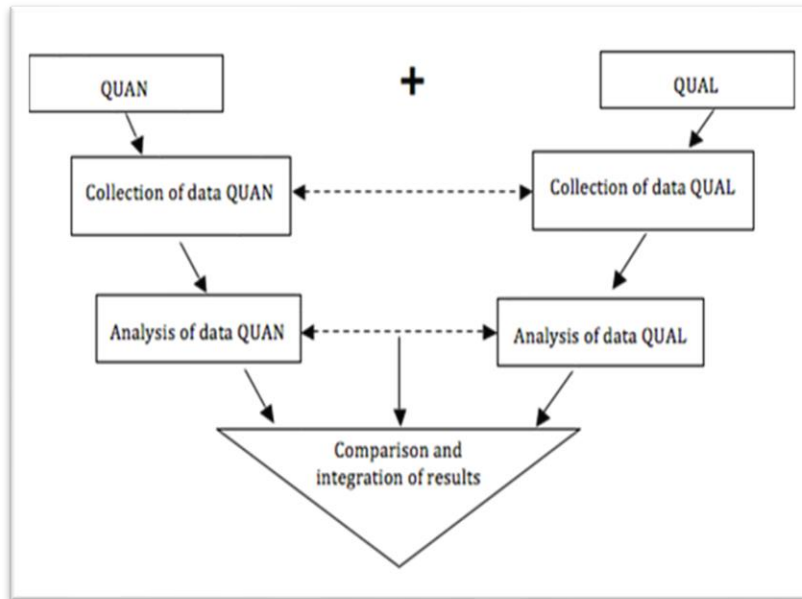
4.2.1 The rationale of the mixed-method approach

The rationale for adopting a mixed-method approach is to allow for triangulation which Cohen, Manion, & Morrison (2000, p. 254) define as “an attempt to map out, or explain more fully, the richness and complexity of human behaviour by studying it from more than one standpoint”. Dörnyei (2007, p. 163) defines this kind of study as “involving the collection or analysis of both quantitative and qualitative data in a single study with some attempts to integrate the two approaches at one or more stages of the research process”. Using four methods (questionnaires, interviews, observation, and field notes) in the current study allows for a complete examination and investigation of the language use, attitudes and identities of the Arabic immigrant families in Manchester along with the factors contributing to these sociolinguistic practices and patterns. According to Dörnyei, using a mix of qualitative and quantitative research methods increases the strengths of the methods and eliminates the weaknesses and biases that might be found when using a single method. It also allows researchers to analyse complex issues using multi-level analysis. Besides, having corresponding evidence out of the different methods used

improves the validity and the generalizability of the findings. In these kinds of studies, “the qualitative should direct the quantitative and the quantitative feedback into the qualitative in a circular, but at the same time evolving, process with each method contributing to the theory in ways that only each can” (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 34). In addition to its role in answering my research questions from different perspectives, I can say that triangulation contributed to producing more comprehensive data collection tools in the first place. For example, starting with observation, I was able to discover the specific areas that needed to be explored, and thus I built my questionnaires inspired by these observations. In the same way, piloting the questionnaires allowed me to specify the areas I needed to further explore in the interviews.

When conducting mixed-method research, we need to consider timing, weighting, merging data, and theorizing and choice of the strategy (Creswell, 2009). In this study, the concurrent triangulation strategy of Creswell (2003) was adopted. Adopting this strategy, I concurrently collected, analysed and reported the data with comparisons taking place at all stages (see figure 4.1, and for the timeline see Appendix 9).

Figure 4.1: Concurrent Triangulation Design



Source: Creswell. W. J., 2003, *Research Design: Qualitative and Quantitative, and Mixed Approaches*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. (Creswell, 2003)

Collecting data concurrently is described by Creswell to be more manageable, and more cost-efficient in terms of time and resources. In each visit to the school, I distributed questionnaires and carried out one or two sessions of observation or interviewed a teacher. By doing this, I was able to collect the data promptly. An exception for this were the first visits where I was only able to meet the head-teachers and, after getting the parents' permission, carried out only an observation to familiarize myself with the research site.

In terms of weighting, I equally emphasized the qualitative and quantitative data. The nature of the research questions required both kinds of methods in order to be addressed. While the quantitative data revealed a full generalizable picture of the general linguistic practices, language attitudes and identities, the qualitative data revealed a deeper, more detailed image of these practices and the motivations behind them.

Merging data took place at all three stages of the research: the data collection, the data analysis, and interpretation. As previously explained, qualitative and quantitative data were collected concurrently. Data analysis was carried out in the same manner using thematic analysis. All the data were prepared for the chosen type of analysis. After getting all the quantitative and qualitative data ready for analysis, data were analysed in relation to the research question they answer and the theme they fall under regardless of the type of data (this will be discussed in detail in section 4.6). In other words, the merging involved integrating both qualitative and quantitative databases, which allowed me to constantly compare the two. The process might not have been as efficient if each type of data had been analysed separately. Similarly, qualitative, and quantitative data interpretations were combined with the data analysis. For example, each section of the results and discussion chapters include all relevant quantitative and qualitative data, compared, interpreted, and discussed. Merging the data at all stages was challenging to manage; however, employing this model of mixed methods is preferable since it is accessible and may lead to well-validated and justified findings (Creswell, 2003) and allows to reveal a complete picture to the reader.

Overall, the rationale for using a mixed-methods approach is justified by its strengths mentioned above. The quantitative method (questionnaires) used here allows us to uncover the general linguistic practices of the society under investigation and the factors affecting them. Questionnaires guide us through qualitative data collection process (semi-structured interviews, participant observation and field notetaking). Qualitative methods add more depth to the quantitative data collected.

They allow us to understand the factors and motivation behind the participants' sociolinguistic behaviour and compare them with these reported by them. In short, "the core assumption of this form of inquiry is that the combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches provides a more complete understanding of a research problem than either approach alone" (Creswell, 2014, p. 4) and that "the combination of strengths of one approach makes up for the weaknesses of the other approach" (Creswell & Clark, 2017, p. 12).

4.2.2 Locating the study in a research tradition: ethnographically informed qualitative methods

The qualitative element in this thesis is motivated by work involving ethnography as it is grounded on "studying an intact cultural group in a natural setting over a prolonged period by collecting, primarily, observational and interview data" (Creswell, 2009, p.13). I start this section by defining ethnography, presenting its features and then discuss these features in relation to my study, showing which elements of my approach, and to what extent, were ethnographically informed.

Cresswell (1998, p. 68) describes the process and the outcome of ethnography as "a way of studying a culture-sharing group as well as the final, written product of that research". Harris (1968, in Cresswell, 1998, p. 68) defines ethnography as "a study that describes and interprets the shared and learned patterns of values, behaviour, beliefs, and language of a culture-sharing group". However, the term 'ethnography' is hard to define as there is disagreement on what can be considered as ethnography or not, and as it overlaps with other terms such as 'interpretive research', 'participant observation', 'qualitative method', and 'case

study' (Hammersley, 2016, p. 1). In terms of methods, Hammersley (2016, p. 2) suggests that ethnographic research needs to contain most of the following features:

1. People's behaviour is studied in everyday contexts, rather than under conditions created by the researcher, such as in experiments.

2. Data are gathered from a range of sources, but observations or relatively informal conversations are the most regularly used ones.

3. The approach to data collection is 'unstructured', in the sense that it does not involve following through a detailed plan set up at the beginning, nor are the categories used for interpreting what people say and do entirely pre-given or fixed. This does not mean the research is unsystematic, simply that initially the data are collected in as raw a form, and on as wide a front, as is feasible.

4. The focus is usually a small number of cases, perhaps a single setting or group of people, of a relatively small scale. Indeed, in life history research the focus may even be a single individual.

5. The analysis of the data involves interpretation of the meanings and functions of human actions. It mainly takes the form of verbal descriptions and explanations, with quantification and statistical analysis playing a subordinate role at most.

In this study, I explore the Arabic community in Manchester in natural settings, namely home and SAS, by participating in the daily activities of its members. During the data collection period, I would usually take my children to the Arabic school on Saturdays, which allowed me to meet other parents and widen my social circle and get access to the society I was investigating. I would spend the day in the Arabic school and get involved in the routine activities of the school, such as classes, prayers, break time and ceremonies. This allowed me to examine the real experience of an Arab child attending SAS and observe their linguistic practices, language attitudes and identity negotiation. It also allowed me to explore the teachers' linguistic practices, language attitudes and identity forms. By the end of the day, I

would return to the role of an Arab parent who is part of this community and go to collect my children from their classes. The balance between these two positions, the parent, and the researcher, is discussed in section 4.3.2 and the issue of observer Paradox in section 4.3.3.

I analysed and interpreted the observed practices and statistical data guided by the available literature, my understanding of them, and the participants' own explanations. The statistical data provided a description of the linguistic practices, language attitudes and identities. However, the interpretations and explanations of these practices were derived from the ethnographically informed semi-structured interviews and observations.

Nevertheless, this study included other methods besides the ethnographic methods and considering the five features of Hammersley (2016), we can see the extent to which my study used ethnographically informed methods. First, this study, as mixed-methods research, included statistical data that play an important central role. Additionally, although observation was a significant method, it was not the main one and aimed at investigating very specific points (see section 4.5.3). Regarding data collection, although I adopted a very flexible procedure during the first visits to the research sites and pilot study, I followed a fixed plan that was set up before the start of main data collection. Therefore, it can be said that, although this study is not a purely ethnographic study that "looks for real actors in real events, using real communicative codes with real effects in real life worlds" (Blommaert, 2001, p. 2), the qualitative parts of the study design were informed, in part, by ethnographic methods.

4.3 The researcher's role, relationship with the participants and reflexivity

4.3.1 The relationship between the participants and the researcher

According to Badwan (2015, p. 91), when addressing the relationship between the researcher and their participants, a researcher should consider four factors: reciprocity, the longitudinal nature of the study, the interview site, and participants' comments on participating in this research.

Reciprocity means that both participant and research benefit mutually from participating in the study (Creswell, 2007, p243). From the very beginning of my research journey back in 2015, when I contacted SAS to check the feasibility of the project, the schools' head-teachers welcomed me on the condition that I share the results with them. SAS needed this research to guide and help them in carrying out the educational process considering the limited number of studies in the field of supplementary schooling and the difference between Arabic education in Arabic countries and host non-Arabic speaking communities. Parents, as well, benefit from taking part in this research in that sometimes we share experiences as migrant parents in the struggle to maintain our heritage languages. As for the students, especially the older ones, they considered participating in my study as a contribution to knowledge and thus were more than happy to get involved.

In addition to reciprocity, the longitudinal nature of my study resulted in building a close relationship between the participants and me. When I first physically visited one of the schools that I had been contacting for nearly two years, the head-teacher greeted me saying 'we finally have the honour to meet you'. It felt like I had known them for a long time when I had not met them before. During observation

visits to the schools, the children got used to my presence and usually greeted me saying 'Hi Miss'. I built friendly relationships with some of the families, and we kept in touch, especially on special occasions such as Eid and Ramadan.

The interview site plays an important role in considering the topic of the study and the culture of the participants. As this study explores sensitive sides of the participants' lives, their experience with HLM and their LA and identities, I tried to make the interviews as friendly as possible by choosing cafes and visiting the participants whom I already know in their homes. By doing this, participants feel that they are just having a conversation with a friend instead of having the sense of being formally interviewed. Second, in Islamic and Arabic culture, it is sometimes unusual for men and women to sit together in closed areas. Therefore, with families who I knew would feel uncomfortable in closed places, I offered to meet them in a café where they can feel more comfortable and open to share their thoughts. In some cases, this affected the quality of the recording, but I prioritized respecting the culture of my participants.

Finally, my participants commented on their experience in taking part in my research. The most frequent comment I received was how they had changed their views regarding their children's Arabic proficiency. Participating in my study made them think of things they never thought of. They were also happy to share their experience with me and discuss the issue of HLM with an expert who understands what they go through without blaming or judging them for the LS their children undergo.

4.3.2 Position of the researcher

The researcher's position as an insider or an outsider has been discussed extensively due to its effect on the data collection process and data analysis (Creese & Blackledge, 2010b; Dwyer & Buckle, 2009). Both positions have advantages and disadvantages. In ethnographically informed studies, it is sometimes preferred for the researcher to be an insider, a member of the community under investigation, as this would provide easy access and acceptance by their participants (Bichani, 2015; Dwyer & Buckle, 2009; Nortier, 2009). Moreover, being an insider has been effective in some sociolinguistic fieldworks, and insiders sometimes believe that they only are, as a part of a specific community, permitted to describe and study their community (Johnstone, 2000). Creese and Blackledge (2010b, p. 87) argue that taking an insider position allows the researcher "to use their intimate knowledge of the contexts to gain access and make insightful observations". Nevertheless, participants might be less descriptive in their interactions, considering their sense of researcher similarity (Eid, 2019). Taking an insider position, researchers may be affected by their own experience as members of that community and be unable to differentiate between their personal experience and that of the participants in both data collection and analysis (Eid, 2019).

In some cases, however, it is suggested that the observer be an outsider because people like to keep a distance between them and the observer (Bichani, 2015). An outsider sometimes notices things that are significant and unique that an insider might take as natural and granted and thus does not notice (Johnstone, 2000;

Richards, 2003). Blackledge and Creese (2010, p. 87) argue that outsiders are perceived to be “neutral and can stand apart from the politics of the local”.

Considering the issue of ‘insiderness’ and ‘outsiderness’, Acker (2000, p.1) advocates creatively taking both stances instead of taking one position. In terms of my position in the community I was studying, following Bichani (2015), Creese et al. (2008), Eid (2019) Hamid (2011), I attempted to locate myself as an insider and outsider at the same time. My position with the participants in this study was not fixed, but rather changeable, performing different roles at different times, trying to benefit from both positions. That way, I gained the advantages of both positions and perspectives. Coming from a contemporary perspective on this issue of insiderness and outsiderness, Merriam, Johnson-Bailey, Lee, Kee, Ntseane, & Muhamad (2001, p. 416) argue that “in the course of a study, not only will the researcher experience moments of being both insider and outsider, but that these positions are relative to the cultural norms of both the researcher and the participants”.

Being an Arab Muslim myself with children attending an Arabic supplementary school identifies me as an insider of the Arab community in Manchester. I also speak the same languages spoken in this community (English and Arabic and can understand and use different Arabic varieties to various degrees. These Arabic varieties include Fus’ha, Gulf, Levantine, Egyptian, Maghrebi, and Iraqi. This is a facilitating element that helps me to communicate with, get access to and understand, the Arabic community. Thus, I collected data that reflects, to some extent, “the native’s own point of view” (Stocking, 1984, p. 7).

On the other hand, as a researcher, I entered the community as a stranger. I carried out observations, and I visited the school to collect data which gave me an outsider status among the participants. Despite being an insider at that point, I “maintained a certain amount of analytical distance so that I can critically reflect on what I observe” (Mallinson, Childs, & Van Herk, 2013).

4.3.3 The issue of observer’s paradox

The term ‘observer’s paradox’ was introduced in sociolinguistics by Labov (1972, p. 209) who suggests that “the aim of linguistic research in the community must be to find out how people talk when they are not being systematically observed; yet we can only obtain this data by systematic observation”. This indicates that there is a tension between the need of the observer to observe, record and to be present to capture natural linguistic behaviour, and the desire to record and analyse people’s speech without people being aware they are being recorded and observed (Holmes & Hazen, 2013). Therefore, I presented my study as a research that studies the Arabic language in Manchester without drawing the children’s attention to that I was studying their language use patterns. However, when they asked specific questions, I explained to them what I was exactly studying. Therefore, this issue of the observer’s paradox was not avoidable during in-class teacher observation sessions. Following Eckert (2000), I tried to attend a few classes to make the teachers familiar and thus more comfortable in my presence, and to reduce the influence of this issue on the behaviour of the participants and the data collected. I also assured the teachers that I was only observing the language use and not attending to judge their teaching methods in any way. Fortunately, this was not an issue during out of class

observation as the teachers were busy chatting and less aware of me observing the language use patterns as I usually sat with them having a cup of tea or coffee discussing various topics. Heller (2008) encourages not wasting time worrying about the unavoidable impact of the observer's paradox as the influence of the observer's paradox was unavoidable.

4.3.4 The researcher's role

After discussing the relationship between the participants and the researcher, the researcher's position and the issue of the observer's paradox, it is important to discuss the researcher role and reflective practice. The presence of the researcher among other factors such as the ethnic identity of the researcher, language use, status, beliefs, age, and gender can all affect the behaviour observed (Baker, 1992). According to Denzin and Lincoln (2008), the researcher can be regarded as an instrument for data collection in qualitative research or what Simon (2011, p.1) calls a 'human instrument' who generate the data. It can be argued that the researcher's role in the research process is significant. Specifically, in subjectivist studies, such as the current one, and considering that such studies assume that realities are multiple and can be interpreted in various ways, the role of the researcher becomes of greater influence. For example, Gee (2014, p.170) claims that "socially situated identities are mutually co-constructed in interviews, just as much as they are in everyday conversations". In other words, both the interviewer and the interviewee become part of the interview and equally co-construct various socially situated identities through language use, which shows the extent to which the researcher is involved in data generation (Eid, 2019). It is, therefore, necessary to

understand the multiple roles I played in this research, and how they could have affected my data collection and my interpretation of the findings.

Multiple identities contributed to and influenced the process of me conducting this study, starting from getting access to the participants, to the data collection and through to data analysis and discussion. Among these identities was my Arabic identity (ethnic identity), as being an Arab living in Manchester facilitated accessing the Arabic community in Manchester and gave me a better understanding of the linguistic practices of the members of that community I was studying.

Moreover, my identity as a married woman whose children attend SAS also contributed to facilitating recruiting and getting access to the participants and communicating effectively with them. I met and developed friendly relations through my children, who made friendships with other children in SAS. Given the nature of my social research, I believe that my gender has played a key role. Being a female gave me better access to participants' homes, considering the Arabic culture and traditions. If I had not been a female, I would probably have been less able to undertake my observations at the homes of the participants. I was invited to many mother-child days out, which allowed me to meet other mothers, and potential participants, and thus explore the community further.

Also, being a mother of children who speak Arabic as a heritage language influenced this research in many ways. To begin with, being a mother was one of, if not the, most important motives behind my interest in the field of heritage language maintenance in the first place. In Melbourne, Australia, in 2014, I volunteered to

teach in a Saturday Arabic school that was funded by the Saudi government and run by volunteer teachers from the Saudi community. It started as an effort of the mothers to help children in maintaining Arabic. Working there attracted me to this field. Besides, being a mother encouraged participants to express their thoughts openly given that I am going through the same experience. Had I not been a mother, I would likely have less interest in the field, less access to the participants, different kind of communication with them, and different understanding of their experience.

In addition to the identities mentioned above, my religious identity as a Muslim also played a role in giving me an insider status as well as securing access to the participants. Being a 'Muslim sister' encouraged many of the Muslim members of the Arabic community to help me, especially with questionnaire distribution and collection. However, a drawback of this identity could be that participants might hesitate to express their religious beliefs and struggles to me if they believe it might be different from mine. An outsider might be in a better position in this case, and participants might communicate more effectively and freely with an outsider than with an insider with a different religious observance level. In other words, participants might be afraid of being judged for what they believe, especially if it is different from the common religious beliefs. For example, a participant who prefers not to wear hijab might explain to an outsider (a non-Muslim) that she does not believe she is obligated to wear it but might be hesitant to express this idea to an insider (Muslim) who is wearing a headscarf.

4.4.5 Reflexivity

Reflexivity is one of the factors that might affect the results of the study. Mann (2016, p. 28) describes reflexivity as being “focused on the self and ongoing intersubjectivities. It recognizes mutual shaping, reciprocity and bi-directionality, and that interaction is context-dependent and context renewing”. My presence at the research field, along with the roles I was taking, and my positionality, might, to an extent, influence the participants’ sociolinguistic practices and their responses to my questions. My reflective role or what Edge (2011) calls ‘prospective reflexivity’ might affect the results of the study is. Prospective reflexivity relates to the effect of the researcher as a whole person on the research. Another interacting element is ‘retrospective reflexivity’ which is related to the impact of the research on the researcher (Edge, 2011).

In this research, and throughout the research journey, I interacted with the participants, entered their lives, and discussed religious, historical, social, and political issues with them. I chose the aspects to be investigated; I selected the parts of the interview to be transcribed; I interpreted the data gathered and reported the results in my own words. Therefore, as part of my prospective reflexive part in this study, I was shaping the findings of this study by my attitudes, beliefs and socio-cultural knowledge and experiences. On the other hand, as part of the retrospective reflexive process of this research, my personal experience and understanding of bilingualism, HLM, language attitudes and identity changed entirely in a way that reflects Sandywell’s (1996, p. xiv) description: “... reflexive action changes the form of the self: a reflexive practice never returns the self to the point of origin”.

However, the positionality and reflexivity of the researcher do not necessarily mean that the objectivity and accuracy of the research are affected but can act as a crucial and integral tool for the research process. Heath and Street (2008, p. 123) perceive reflexivity as a method by which researchers “reveal their self-perceptions, methodological setbacks and mental states, often includes broad general critiques of the field”. Attia and Edge (2017, p. 35) argue that prospective reflexivity aims to support scholars to develop “their capacity to understand the significance of the knowledge, feelings, and values that they brought into the field to the research questions that they came to formulate, to the analytical lenses that they chose to employ, and to their findings” and argue against considering such influenced of the researcher’s role as a ‘contamination of the data’.

In my research, I sought to address these issues by the triangulation of methods to enhance the reliability of the results (see section 4.2.1), to widen my understanding of the issues under investigation and to reduce the influence of the researcher’s reflexivity. Regarding the interviews and observations, I intentionally embraced a neutral position, showing no preference for any specific participant or opinion. I stated explicitly from the beginning that I had no intention of criticizing or judging any particular attitude or linguistic behaviour. Instead, I explained that I was interested in examining and exploring the family's different beliefs and linguistic practices from their perspective. Participants were assured that all views were strictly confidential, legitimate, and tolerable. Teachers and head-teachers were also assured that I was only interested in describing the sociolinguistic aspects of the schools without any intent to judge, evaluate or criticize.

4.4 The research participants

This section includes a thorough explanation of the sampling strategy, how the sample size was determined, how participants were recruited, and a summary of each participant.

4.4.1 The strategy of sampling

I chose members of the Arabic community in Manchester who are part of SAS as participants in the study. This includes parents, their children, teachers, and head-teachers. Selection of participants was done in two stages. Those who had been asked to answer my questionnaire met the following criteria:

Criteria for parents:

- Arab parents who live in Manchester.
- Parents of Arab children who attend SAS.
- Parents who are willing to take part in this research study.

Criteria for children:

- Arab children who were born in the UK or who moved to the UK during their childhood.
- Children aged 8 -16 years.
- Children of both genders.
- Children who are willing to take part in this research study.

Criteria for teachers:

- Teachers of SAS.
- Arab.
- Teachers who are willing to take part in this research study.

The second selection stage included recruiting potential participants for the interviews and observation. In this study, I adopted what Lanza (2008) calls purposive

or judgmental sampling to choose interview and observation participants. In this type of strategy, which is widely employed in studies of bilingual communities, researchers select individuals from a group or community who they consider appropriate, typically based on group or community participation observation (Lanza 2008, p.83). The core principle of this sampling strategy is that the researcher decides the qualities of the participants necessary in the study in advance (Milroy, 2003). To select participants for interviews, I identified the following criteria:

Criteria for parents:

- Arab parents of different Arabic backgrounds.
- Married couples who came from the same Arabic nationality and these who came from different Arabic countries.

Criteria for children:

- Children of the above-selected families
- Aged 8-16

Following these criteria allows me to investigate language use in relation to background and religious observance and identity. It also allows me to give a detailed description of the language use patterns, language attitudes and investigate the factors contributing to these patterns. It also entitles me to study identity and its impact on HLM.

Criteria for Teachers:

- Teachers from different Arabic backgrounds
- Teachers who teach the same nationality children, mixed Arabic nationalities, and teachers who teach Arabic and non-Arabic speakers.

For observation, I chose a variety of classes to attend. I observed classes of a specific nationality, mixed Arabic nationalities, and classes of mixed Arabic and non-Arabic speakers. The reason for deciding this criterion is to investigate the impact of different strategies followed by schools in distributing and allocating children to different classes on the language use patterns, language attitudes and identities. The difference between schools' strategies in allocating children to classes was one of the first issues that caught my attention in my early visits to SAS (see section 4.6.2.1). As SAS are mainly language schools, distributing children could be crucial in terms of the outcome of the whole process.

4.4.2 Deciding the size of the sample

As this study includes quantitative and qualitative data, I had to decide the sample size for questionnaires, interviews, and observation. Quantitative data generally need a relatively large number of respondents to be representative. However, it can be said that the word 'large' can be ambiguous as it does not offer guidance in terms of the suggested number of the participants. Barkhuizen (2018, p. 121) advises to "consult published research literature in the same field". Therefore, and following previous studies (Bichani 2015, Ferguson 2013, Eid 2019), I aimed at around 100 participants for each of the three questionnaires. That 100 children, 100 parents and 100 teachers. Fortunately, teachers, parents and children were exceptionally co-operative with me. They showed high enthusiasm in my research topic, which allowed me to collect a fairly large number of questionnaires. I exceeded the planned number of participants for the parents and children. However, due to the limited number of teachers, and because some of the teachers work in two

schools (on Saturday and Sunday), I was able to reach only half of the sample size I aimed at.

On the other hand, qualitative data are more about the depth of the data rather than the quantity. According to Neuman (2014), “the logic of the qualitative sample is to sample aspects/features of the social world. The aspects/features of our sample highlight or shine light into key dimensions or processes in a complex social life” (p. 247). Using the term sampling in qualitative studies can cause confusion as it is usually associated with quantitative studies (Luker, 2008, p.101). Thus, and following Barkhuizen’s (2018) recommendation, I consulted previous studies (Bichani, 2015; Ferguson, 2013; Eid, 2019) and chose four families to interview and four classes to observe. I made sure to have a heterogeneous sample to ensure diversity in the collected data.

4.4.3 The process of recruiting participants

Recruiting participants might be one of the most challenging and lengthy stages of research. I needed to identify research site first (SAS), get their permission to conduct my study on their premises, obtain the parents’ consent and finally convince the participants to complete the questionnaires, be interviewed or observed. As this is the case, and as I mentioned above, I started contacting the schools in 2015 before I arrive in the UK to make sure the study is achievable. For the pilot study, I started in the school that my children attend, taking advantage of the insider status (see section 4.3.2). I faced some challenges at this point as one of the schools that I originally contacted (the Saudi school) was no longer open. I started mapping the schools again and contacting them. In more than one case I got an

appointment with the head-teacher, and when I attended the school, the head-teacher was 'too busy to meet with me'. Some schools allowed me to collect my data but outside of the school. However, I aimed at convincing schools with a large number of students to make the data collection process more effective. Fortunately, I got access to two schools for the pilot study and five schools for the main data collection.

Out of the three targeted groups of participants, parents were the hardest to recruit. I had to distribute the questionnaires to the children and rely on them to hand it to their parents, get it completed, and remember to bring the next week. The other option I had was to distribute when parents drop their children in the morning and finish it by the afternoon and get the completed questionnaire when they come to collect their children. All these methods were a complete failure, and I collected only 11 questionnaires. I then tried to attend school parents' days and celebrations and distribute the questionnaires. The problem with this method was that parents were busy enjoying watching their children, and the last thing they wanted was to complete my questionnaires. However, I was able to collect about 50 questionnaires from ceremonies. I then had to figure out a more effective to collect my data. I finally decided to make an online version of my questionnaire. Luckily, this was very successful, and more than 200 questionnaires were completed within a week. I benefited from the privilege of being an insider once again and sent the link through WhatsApp⁷ parents' groups which I was a member of.

⁷ WhatsApp is a free app that allows users to send text messages and voice messages, make voice and video calls, and share images, documents, user locations, and other media.

For the interviews, I chose two families from my social circle and two families through snowball sampling. The only challenge that I faced was interviewing the male participants considering the nature of the Arabic culture. It is unfamiliar in some of the Arabic countries for males and females to gather in closed places as the tradition is usually to have separate seating areas for each. I felt some hesitance from one of the fathers as the mother asked if it was important that her husband attends. I made it clear that it was completely optional and that he can withdraw if he feels uncomfortable. He eventually decided to take part, but he barely got involved in the discussion except for when was asked directly. He avoided looking at me, which is considered a sign of respect in his culture. As an insider, I could understand his behaviour which an outsider might misinterpret or misunderstand.

4.4.4 Introducing research participants

This project involves children, parents, and teachers. A total of 591 participants completed the questionnaires (see Table 4.1). I also interviewed a total of 16 participants. The participants in this study come from Morocco, Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, Egypt, Sudan, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Palestine, Kuwait, Somalia, Eritrea, Yemen, Oman, United Arab Emirates, and Iraq. In this section, I introduce the participants of the study.

Table 4.1: The total number of questionnaires and interviews participants

Number of recruited participants			Number of participants who took part	Number of the participants who fulfilled criteria
Questionnaires	Children	607	373	328
	Parents	300	250	215
	Teachers	60	54	48
Interviews	Children	8	4	4
	Parents	8	7	7
	Teachers	8	5	5

4.4.4.1 Questionnaires

Children

Children who fulfilled the participant criteria were chosen in five supplementary schools. 328 children of both genders ranging in age from 8-16 were invited to take part in this project. Children under the age of eight were not included as their reading and writing skills may not be developed enough to complete the questionnaire. They also might have no understanding and awareness of the languages they use. Only Arab children (with one or both Arab parents) were included. After collecting the questionnaire, I made sure that all the participants fulfilled the criteria presented in section 4.4.1.

Table 4.2: Questionnaire participants' demographic and background data (Children)

gender	Age group	Length of residence in the UK	Place of Birth
45% male 55% female	63% primary-school age 37% high-school age group	8% 0-2 yrs. 20% 3-4 yrs. 30% 5-10 yrs. 10% 10+ yrs. 32% born in the UK	44% in an Arabic country 54% in the UK 2% other

Parents

215 parents of both genders were invited to participate in this project. Here again, convenience sampling was used to survey members of the community under investigation.

Table 4.3: Questionnaire participants' demographic and background data (Parents)

gender	Age group	Length of residence in the UK
32% male 68% female	14% age group 20-30 57% age group 31-40 26% age group 41-50 3% age group 51-60	50% 1-5 yrs. 20% 6-10 yrs. 20% 11-20 yrs. 7% 20+ yrs. 3% Born in the UK

Teachers

In addition to children and parents, 48 teachers completed the teachers' questionnaire. Teachers of both genders were invited to take part in the study.

Table 4.4: Questionnaire participants' demographic and background data (Teachers)

Gender	Age group	Length of residence in the UK
6% male	8% age group 20-30	29% 1-5 yrs.
94% female	27% age group 31-40	19% 6-10 yrs.
	59% age group 41-50	31% 11-20 yrs.
	6% age group 51-60	17% 20+ yrs.
		4% Born in the UK

4.4.4.2 Families profiles

The Palestinian Family⁸

Karam's family is a Palestinian family who migrated to the UK about 15 years ago. The family consists of the parents, Karam (11), Noor (10) and their younger brother (6). All the three children were born and raised in the UK and are British nationals. They visit their extended family in Jordan every year.

The Libyan Family

Ahmed family is a Libyan family that consists of the parents, and three boys. They migrated about 11 years ago when the older boys were six and five and Ahmed only three, and they are Libyan nationals. Ahmed was (14) at the time of the interview.

⁸ All the names of the participants are pseudonyms to ensure the anonymity of the participants.

The Saudi Family

Mona's family is a Saudi family that consists of the parents, Mona and her younger brother Omar. They moved to the UK as international students and have been living in the UK for three years. Mona was six when they moved to the UK and was born in Saudi Arabia and is a Saudi national. At the time of the interview, she was nine.

The Libyan-Syrian Family

Fatimah is a Syrian mother of five and is married to a Libyan. Both moved to the UK as international students and then decided to work in the UK after graduation. Her children range in age from 16 to two. It was difficult to arrange a family interview, and thus, only the mother was interviewed. All the children are born in the UK and are British nationals.

4.4.4.3 Teacher profiles

Ms Sarah

Ms Sarah is a Palestinian teacher who has worked in SAS for three years. She is 33 years old and is a mother of three. Ms Sarah has been living in the UK for ten years. She studied nursing and chose to be a housewife after having her first child.

MS Hanan

Ms Hanan is a Libyan teacher in her 40s and works in the Libyan school. She has been working in the Libyan school for a few years. She and her husband moved to the UK as international students.

Ms Amal

Ms Hanan is a Libyan teacher in her 40s who works in the Libyan school. She has been working in the Libyan school for a few years. She moved to the UK 20 years ago as an international student and then stayed permanently.

Ms Safa

Ms Safa is the assistant head-teacher in one of the SAS. She is in her 50s and is a mother of four. She moved to the UK as an international student and started working in her profession after that. She works in SAS Saturdays and Sundays to stay connected with her home culture.

Mr Mohammad

Mr Mohammad is the head-teacher of one of the SAS and has been working in supplementary schooling for the last ten years. He is a father of five children, and he is in his 50s. He moved to the UK as an international student 15 years ago, and then he decided to stay and work in the UK.

4.5 Data collection methods

In this section, I introduce data collection methods in detail. Each of the three data collection methods will be discussed and justified in a separate section below. I start with the quantitative methods (questionnaires) and then move to the qualitative methods (interviews and observation). An overview of the rationale and the way data was collected with was introduced in section 4.2.1.

4.5.1 Questionnaires

One merit of questionnaires is that the participants generate self-reported data without actually communicating with the investigator, thereby reducing the interviewer's effect and optimizing the consistency and reliability of the findings (Dörnyei & Taguchi, 2009, p. 6). The questionnaires contained a broad variety of questions to collect comprehensive information on the sociolinguistic context, educational level of the respondents, linguistic practices, attitudes, and identities; in addition to key factors influencing their linguistic behaviour, attitudes, and different identity forms. In this section, I introduce the design of the questionnaires in general and then discuss each of the three questionnaires separately.

4.5.1.1 Questionnaire Design

Designing questionnaires needs to be done carefully. Once they are distributed, no changes can be made to them (Rasinger, 2010). In this study, three different written self-administered questionnaires were distributed to the children, parents and teachers. The questionnaires' general format and design follow guidelines set out in (Dörnyei, 2007) and build on Bichani's (2015) questionnaires.

The order of items within a questionnaire is important as it affects how items are interpreted, and then the response given (Dörnyei, 2007). Questions relating to general information about the respondents was placed at the beginning as they are easy to answer and then moved slowly to the more specific questions about language, attitudes, and identities. By placing the items that need more thinking near the end, respondents will feel encouraged to devote some time to answer these questions knowing they are almost finished.

The questionnaires measure three types of data about the respondents by using three types of questions. First, it investigates the respondents' demographic information using factual questions that ask about the age, gender, level of education, length of residence in the UK and country of origin. Second, it investigates the respondent's linguistic behaviour by asking behavioural questions. Finally, it uses attitudinal questions to find out the children's attitudes towards languages in use and SAS. Most of the questionnaire items are mainly close ended with a few exceptions. They consist of multiple-choice questions that give various options that the respondents can choose from by ticking boxes besides some yes or no questions.

Moreover, the questionnaires include some items that ask for specific pieces of information about the respondents. That way, the respondents are not required to provide any free writing. This makes the response options easy to convert to numeric coding and thus suited for quantitative data analysis (Dörnyei, 2007). Open-ended items were avoided when writing the questionnaire items because they yield qualitative data (Dörnyei, 2007). Also, open-ended items are used generally to provide long detailed personal accounts, which is not the aim of the questionnaires. However, I left some space for elaboration in a few questions in the teachers' and parents' questionnaire. According to Dörnyei (2007), this kind of questions works well if not completely open.

Although closed-ended questions are easily coded and analysed, one limitation of this kind of question is that the responses of respondents are restricted to the set of categories that the researcher designs. Additionally, closed-ended questions are difficult to design, as they require researchers to have a full idea of

what the range of responses to a question may be. Further, one drawback of closed-ended questions is that they rely on the presumption that for all respondents, words, categories and concepts have the same meaning, which is not always the case (McGuirk & O'Neill, 2016).

When designing the questionnaires, the clarity and accessibility of item wording are very important. Therefore, here again, I adopted Dornyei's rules for item wording. I aimed for short and simple items that do not contain more than 20 words with one complete thought. Moreover, I made sure the items are clear and unambiguous. Items that ask two or more questions and expect a single answer, or 'double-barrelled' questions, were avoided. I considered the wording of the children's questionnaire very carefully. For example, in the children questionnaire I used words such as 'love' and 'like' to investigate attitudes. I also piloted the children questionnaire with my daughter first to make sure it is understandable and with other 29 children in the pilot study in SAS. The parents' and the teachers' questionnaires were also piloted to check for wording clarity (see section 4.8)

One of the issues that I faced when designing my questionnaire was which classification to follow in terms of Arabic varieties. In the beginning, I decided to choose classifying dialects on five main regions, Gulf, Egyptian, Levantine, Iraqi and Maghrebi dialects. The aim was to investigate language attitudes and language use patterns and compare Arabic speakers from different Arab regions. Piloting my questionnaires revealed that using this classification in my study was problematic, as some of the participants did not accept this classification. For example, a Sudanese parent argued that the Sudanese dialect is far from the Egyptian and that they should

not be under the same category. This might be a matter of identity rather than being a matter of dialect. I could see that this classification triggered a sense of prejudice amongst my participants. In addition, children found it challenging to choose which category to choose so I eventually decided to eliminate this section of the questionnaire.

Moreover, this 'regional dialects' section did not reveal any significant findings. Therefore, I deleted this section. I then decided not to classify QA to any further categories in the questionnaires and use the country-specific dialect classification if needed in interviews and observation. That is to say, I divided the Arabic language to SA and QA without considering any deeper division.

Regarding the length of the questionnaires, I limited myself to four pages and less than 15 minutes for completion. By doing so, it was more likely that the participants would return completed forms. The layout of the questionnaires is also important. Thus, I made sure the pages are not crowded. It is also effective to make the questionnaire look short by reducing the margins or using a space-friendly font, for instance.

The combination of these three questionnaires helps in giving a full picture of the children's language choices and preferences from different angles. I will describe the construction of each questionnaire and procedure of collecting data below.

4.5.1.1.1 Children's questionnaire

After gaining their parents' consent, children who were willing to participate completed the questionnaire in class under the supervision and with the assistance

of the researcher and the teacher. The questionnaire consists of four main domains: background information, language use, language attitudes and identity. It also collects data about the factors that might affect the children's linguistic behaviour, attitudes, and identities (See appendix 1).

4.5.1.1.2 Parents' questionnaire

Parents were surveyed using a questionnaire completed online. The questionnaire allows respondents to complete it in Arabic or English. It aims at collecting data about background information, language use at home, FLP, LA and identity. It also collects data about the factors that might affect the children's linguistic behaviour, attitudes, and identities (See appendix 2).

4.5.1.1.3 Teachers' questionnaire

Teachers were surveyed using a questionnaire completed at break time or home if they prefer to. This questionnaire allows respondents to complete it in Arabic or English. The questionnaire collects data about the children's language choice at the Arabic school both inside and outside class. It also collects data about the teachers' educational background and English language proficiency and its effect on their linguistic behaviour with the QA. By doing so, I investigate the effect of the medium of interaction in supplementary schools on the children use of Arabic and on HLM (See appendix 3).

Although questionnaires allow us to collect a useful amount of data about the target feature, they still have some disadvantages. For instance, participants may not present their true point of view to satisfy the researcher. The design of the

questionnaire might not provide participants with a good opportunity to elaborate on their answers (Codo, 2008, p. 175), which might result in a “thin description of the target phenomenon” (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 115). However, as this study uses mixed methods, interviews and participant observation enrich the findings and both sets of data combine to provide a deeper understanding.

4.5.2 Interviews

Interviews were used to investigate participants’ language use, language attitudes and linguistic identity in more depth and to allow for the “participants’ perspectives, their meanings, their subjective views” (Creswell, 2007, p. 38). Data collected from interviews enriches and enhances data gathered from questionnaires. The interviews were semi-structured, which allows participants to illustrate their answers (Dörnyei, 2007).

Similar to the questionnaires, interviews were piloted with several participants. A final version of the interviews was produced after that. All the interviews were audio-recorded to be able to transcribe them and analyse them at length. That also allowed me to quote some of the participants’ responses.

4.5.2.1 Interviews with parents

Parents’ interviews took from 30-60 minutes and a total of 175 minutes of recorded data was gained. Parents were given the choice to be interviewed either in English or in Arabic or both languages, and all of them chose to be interviewed in Arabic. I interviewed parents together. I decided to do so after piloting the interviews with my husband and was surprised that his answers differed from what I had in

mind. Therefore, I decided to interview the parents together to allow some space for discussion. This happened many times where one of the parents asked their partners 'what do you think?' or 'do you agree?'. I made sure through the interviews to maintain balance and direct the interview in a way that allowed both parents to take part and express their thoughts. However, a drawback of interviewing participants together could be that participants might not be able to criticize their partners' behaviour. If we take language policy as an example, it might be difficult for a mother to criticize her husband's language policy that he set for their children. Therefore, meeting Fatimah individually, although it was not my first choice, might have had a positive effect in terms of revealing some disadvantages of the followed language policies.

Parents' interviews explore language use and maintenance within the family. They also investigate the children's acquisition of Standard Arabic and other Arabic varieties as a result of attending supplementary school. Family language policy and its effect on HLM is also investigated (See appendix 5). As the questionnaires and previous studies (Ferguson, 2013; Varro, 1998; Wilson, 2020) showed a gender-related difference in language use and maintenance, I specifically investigated gender as a contributing factor that affects language use and maintenance.

4.5.2.2 Interviews with children

The interviews were as short as possible to avoid discomforting the children. Children's interviews lasted for 15-25 minutes. Interviewing children focused on their language use in supplementary school and at home. It also focused on their attitudes

towards other varieties of Arabic, and SAS, besides exploring the children's linguistic identity (See appendix 4).

I interviewed a total of four children from three different families. Karam and Noor who are siblings were interviewed together to make the interview more of an informal discussion rather than a formal interview and to save time. Ahmed was interviewed separately because his older siblings are older than 16 and thus do not fulfil the participant age criterion. Similarly, Mona's brother was younger than eight, and therefore only she was interviewed.

4.5.2.3 Interviews with teachers

Teacher interviews took place on the school premises during break time and took 15-20 minutes. Although I aimed for focused-group interviews, they were difficult to arrange, considering that all the teachers were busy teaching, so I had to do individual interviews. I interviewed five SAS staff, three teachers, one head-teacher and one head-teacher assistant, who work in three different SAS. The teacher interview questions investigated the language use, language attitudes and LP in SAS (See appendix 6)

The data collected from questionnaires and interviews were supported by observation to explore whether data reported by participants correspond with their actual linguistic behaviour. Observation will be discussed in the next section.

4.5.3 Observations

Ethnographically informed participant observation was used as a method in the current study. It allows us to investigate the children's real linguistic behaviour in

relation to the social context. More specifically, the children's speech, or 'language-in-society' as Hymes (1973) calls it, was studied. Children were observed in class and during break time. By observing my participants, I was able to compare the findings found to those found in the questionnaires.

According to the early visits of the schools under investigation, the classes have a mixture of Arab children from different origins. Having this mixture helped in detecting children's language use and their ways of dealing with different varieties of Arabic. Thus, the observation was carried out in completely naturalistic settings. After getting the required consent, an audio recording was used during in-class observation for future analysis.

Observation was conducted as follows. First, it was carried out over the course of one school term, which is usually between 12 and 15 weeks long. I observed four classes for two sessions each. The observation was conducted in four different schools to be able to compare and generalize of the findings later. I chose one class at each school. Each session was nearly 45 minutes long (the duration of a lesson), which makes a total of 6 hours of observation. I needed four visits to obtain consent from parents and eight visits for observation which was done over 12 weeks. This study's observations were unstructured and were recorded by my phone. The observations conducted in this study was informed by previous studies (Bichani, 2015; Eid, 2019).

The focus of the observation was mainly on the use of different Arabic varieties and its effect on the children's language attitude. In addition, I closely

observed the difference in language use and dominance in different classes comparing classes that include Arabic speakers of one Arabic nationality, Arabic speakers from different Arabic countries, and classes that include Arabic and non-Arabic speakers. The recordings obtained from these observation sessions allowed me to compare the language use patterns in the different classes. Besides the recordings, I used field notes as a supporting instrument to observations. I explain my way of taking field notes in the following section.

4.5.4 Field notes

Fieldnotes help in documenting and recalling important field events (Creese. et al., 2008), and allow researchers to record their thoughts (Creese & Blackledge, 2010a) adding “emic (i.e., insider) details” to the etic “outsider” perspective recordings provide (Mallinson et al., 2013). Combining observation and fieldnotes enables researchers to collect more information regarding the research context (Simon, 2013). That way, researchers can use these fieldnotes to interpret the information they gathered during data collection.

However, it is important to bear in mind when and where to take these fieldnotes. Participants might feel uncomfortable when researchers start taking notes, and that would stop the natural behaviour of participants. It is also possible that notetaking would disturb the researcher’s observation, and that could lead to missing significant events or activities (Bichani, 2015). Therefore, I needed to create a balance between the desire to document important events before forgetting them and the need not to disturb natural behaviour or missing important events. Taking the points mentioned above into consideration, field notes were taken during each

observation session to ensure I do not forget important details later. Fieldnotes were supplemented immediately after each event to make sure I do not miss any details or disturb the children's natural behaviour. If in any case this was not possible, I noted down my recollection of the events as soon as possible as recommended by Mallinson et al. (2013). It is important to note that field notes do not constitute data themselves. I took field notes to report general and precise descriptions of the study sites, the participants, the incidents that took place, the ideas that emerged, and possible problems.

4.6. Data analysis

In this section, I describe the data analysis followed in this study. The process of data analysis was carried out in three steps (Creswell, 2007, p. 148). First, the data were prepared and organized for analysis, then they were organized into themes, and finally were represented in figures, tables, and discussion. I start by describing quantitative data analysis and then move to the analysis of qualitative data. An overview of the rationale and the way data were analysed was introduced in section 4.2.1.

4.6.1 Quantitative data: Questionnaires

The collected data were analysed using Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS version 26) and Microsoft Excel computer packages. I used two main tests to examine the relationship between different variables. These two tests are Chi-square and multiple regression. I consulted two statisticians who work in MMU to make sure I have made the right decisions regarding my choice of tests that answer my questions and that I was running the tests and interpreting the output correctly.

4.6.1.1 Multiple Regression models

Considering the nature of my data, I had to create four multiple regression models that analyse the independent effect of children's identities in different social environments on their LU. These social environments are Arabic school, English school, home in addition to the children's general sense of identity. In each regression model, the language spoken to the child, attitudes towards Arabic, attitudes towards SAS, attitudes towards maintaining Arabic, and six dummy coded⁹ variables associated with the children's identity (Arab, Muslim, British, all of them equally, British Muslim, and Arab Muslim) were created in a multiple regression model to predict LU. I followed Strand (2007) in presenting and using this statistical test. A fifth regression model was employed to examine demographic factors that influence children's LU.

4.6.1.2 Chi-square tests of independence

Chi-square tests of independence were calculated to determine whether there is a significant association between the nominal variables. The significance threshold was set at .05. Using Chi-square tests, unlike the regression model, allows me to investigate items one by one, which allows for a deeper level of investigation. Using this test, I was able to answer specific questions such as the gender effect on the language used with mothers.

⁹ Dummy coding is a way for nominal variables to be incorporated into regression analysis

4.6.2 Qualitative data

One of the main issues I faced in this study is choosing an appropriate approach for analysing the qualitative data. I had to decide and select the most appropriate way to analyse the interview data. I needed to consider that I have quantitative data that I eventually need to merge my qualitative data with. I finally decided to choose thematic analysis. Identifying themes allows me to be more capable of dealing with different kinds of data. Having more than one source of data was one of the biggest challenges I faced. Recognizing themes made it easier to organize the data I have across all three methods used in this study. Also, as this study's design was informed by ethnographic methods, applying thematic analysis was appropriate.

4.6.2.1 Participant observation and field notes

Beside the participant observation's main role as a way to explore the sociocultural aspects of the group under investigation and its role as a way to compare and contrast reported patterns to actual behaviour, participant observation was used to answer specific questions that the questionnaires and the interviews did not answer. For example, the questionnaires do not investigate the effect of different criterion in allocating children to classes on the language use patterns in those classes. In this case, I had to go back to the recordings listen to them, make notes, transcribe some of them and compare recordings from different classes against each other. During these observation sessions, I made field notes of the key observations on the features under investigation. Field notes were analysed using thematic analysis (see section 4.6.2.3.1)

4.6.2.3 Semi-structured Interviews

The process of analysing interview data is one of the longest stages in data analysis. I analysed the interview data using thematic analysis which is described in detail in this section.

4.6.2.4 Thematic analysis

Thematic analysis is defined by Braun and Clarke (2006, p. 79) “a method for identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data”. Braun and Clarke (p.83) identify a theme as a pattern of responses or meanings within the data set that “captures something important about the data in relation to the research question”. Although it seems that identifying these themes happens because themes exist in the data and are discovered by researchers, Ely, Anzul, Vinz, & Downing (1997, p. 205-206) argue against this idea. They argue that “If themes ‘reside’ anywhere, they reside in our heads from our thinking about our data and creating links as we understand them”. These themes are chosen rather than discovered by researchers whose theoretical and epistemological positions influence the whole thematic analysis process (Badwan, 2015, p. 111). This implies that even that we, as researchers, try to ‘give voice’ to our participants, we still “carve out unacknowledged pieces of narrative evidence that we select, edit, and deploy to border our arguments” (Fine, 2002, p. 218).

As I followed a ‘theoretical thematic analysis’, my analysis “tended to be motivated by” my “theoretical or analytic interest in the area and is thus more explicitly analyst-driven” and provides more detailed analysis of some aspect of the data rather than describes the whole data (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 88). In this study,

since the analysis derives from a social constructivist and interpretative perspective (see 4.1.1), it discusses the sociolinguistic and sociocultural backgrounds and the circumstances underlying and affecting the experiences of participants and that of the researcher.

My thematic analysis generally adopted the step-by-step six-phase guideline of Braun and Clarke (2006, p. 88) (see Table 4.5).

Table 4.5: Phases of thematic analysis by Braun and Clarke (2006)

No	Phase	Description of the process
1	Familiarizing yourself with your data	Transcribing data (if necessary), reading and re-reading the data, noting down initial idea.
2	Generating initial codes	Coding interesting features of the data in a systematic fashion across the entire data set, collating data relevant to each code.
3	Searching for themes	Collating codes into potential themes, gathering all data relevant to each potential theme.
4	Reviewing themes	Checking if the themes work in relation to the coded extracts (Level 1) and the entire data set (Level 2), generating a thematic 'map' of the analysis
5	Defining and naming themes	Ongoing analysis to refine the specifics of each theme, and the overall story the analysis tells, generating clear definitions and names for each theme
6	Producing the report	The final opportunity for analysis. Selection of vivid, compelling extract examples, final analysis of selected extracts, relating back of the analysis to the research question and literature, producing a scholarly report of the analysis

4.6.2.4.1 Phase 1: Familiarization with my data

As Braun and Clarke emphasize, the researcher needs to be familiar with the depth of the data by reading the data thoroughly. The first phase of thematic analysis was the longest of the six phases as it includes transcribing, translating and reading

the interviews many times. At this phase, I listened and listened to the recordings many times and then started taking notes while listening. I then started the process of transcribing the data.

As the interviews were carried out in Arabic, I had to translate them into English. I had three options to choose from. The first option was to transcribe in Arabic and then translate the transcripts to English and code the English version of the data. I began with this option and transcribed a sample of the data in Arabic and then started translating the data. This technique was challenging, and I found that I need to go back to the recording many times to make sure I was translating accurately. I found that written text without all the accompanying elements of the conversation lost a lot of its meanings. This technique was time and effort consuming with disappointing results. The second option was to transcribe in Arabic, code in Arabic and then translate the report. This technique was also challenging and time-consuming as I will have to translate the extracts anyway later at the final phase. I finally decided to follow a third technique which was to conduct a spontaneous translation. This technique was more convenient and satisfactory than the two previous techniques. It allowed me to get the most accurate translation that captures most of the meanings of the original text for the following reasons. First, I was able to translate most of the elements of the conversation considering the associating nonverbal aspects of the dialogue such as laughs, hesitant, pride etc., which translating a written text might not allow, resulting in losing some of the meaning. Second, hearing the interviews and immediately translating them was less time and effort consuming. Third, listening and translating at the same time created a link in

my mind between the translated written transcripts and the participants' voices which contributed to making me more familiar with my data and having a real sense of the written text.

After deciding on the technique of translating and transcribing, I had to deal with another challenge regarding translation itself. As the interviews were carried out in QA and discuss everyday Arabic-culture related topics, it was sometimes hard to find an equivalent in English and to culture translate (Torop, 2002). Therefore, throughout my translation, I used a combination of literal translation and communicative translation. The literal translation was used to transfer as much as possible of the original text to the target language. However, the literal translation transforms the grammatical structures into their closest counterparts in the target language and translates lexical terms separately and out of context (Newmark, 1988). Thus 'communicative translation' was employed because, as Newmark (p. 47) argues, it "attempts to render the exact contextual meaning of the original in such a way that both content and language are readily acceptable and comprehensible to the readership". For example, when Abu Ahmed was explaining his FLP, he used the phrase "التربية بالقدوة" which literally might be translated into 'parenting by role model'. It can be seen here that the literal translation has not produced a comprehensible content. Therefore, I translated his response to the equivalent English expression for this style of parenting: parenting by 'setting an example'. Another example was in translating Aum Karam's answer to my question about the effect of visiting home country on her children's Arabic proficiency. She said "هاي" "بتعمل معاهم تطور غير شكل". A literal translation of this is "This makes with them a

development of a different shape". Here again, this translation is a weak translation as it does not provide a coherent meaning. I translated the expression communicatively to "This makes a big difference" which is acceptable and comprehensible to the readership. In general, the 'exact equivalence' of what the participants have indeed said 'is impossible' (Halai, 2007, p. 351). However, the use of a combination of literal translation and communicative translation allowed me to reflect the essential meaning of what the participants have said. Thus, the final translated material is a recreation of the original and can be called 'transmuted texts' (Halai, 2007, p.344).

4.6.2.4.2 Phase 2: Generating initial codes

After familiarizing myself with my data, getting it transcribed and translated, my data were ready for the second phase of the thematic analysis, which entails creating initial codes from the data. Braun and Clarke (2006, p. 88) argue that "codes identify a feature of the data (semantic content or latent) that appears interesting to the analyst". Coding was data-driven and theory-driven with the research question used as a broad guideline. In other words, I searched for codes depending on the data, in addition to approaching the data "with specific questions in mind that" I "wish to code around" (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p. 89). Since I was working with a limited number of interviews, I decided to manually code the data by writing notes on the interview transcripts. An example of my coding can be found in Table 4.5. An example of the latent meaning can be found in Ms. Sarah's statement when she said, 'For me, of course, I speak my language'. The semantic meaning suggests that she speaks Arabic. But if we consider the latent meaning, she specifically means her QA

which in itself an identity indicator. Referring to her QA as her ‘language’ instead of ‘dialect’ indicates that she is strongly connected to that specific dialect, possibly more than the standard formal form of the language.

Table 4.6: Data extract, with codes applied

Theme: Attitudes	
Data extract	Coded for
Interviewer: Can you imagine your children not speaking Arabic? Ahmad: This is something that I would not allow; they need to speak Arabic.	Attitudes towards Maintaining and passing Arabic
Theme: Language policy	
Data extract	Coded for
Aum Karam: I get strict from time to time, Abu Karam: Exactly. Aum Karam: As I told you, there are sometimes when I, for weeks, no, only Arabic. I do not accept any language other than Arabic.	Family language policy

4.6.2.4.3 Phase 3, 4, 5: Searching for, reviewing, defining and naming themes

Searching for themes following Braun and Clarke’s (2006) guidelines included classifying the various codes into possible themes and classifying all the related extracts of coded data in the themes established. I made sure that all related extracts have been collected for all themes. At this stage, I searched for the underlying content, which is the latent ideas and ideologies of the participants’ responses, rather than concentrating on semantic content, the explicit or surface meanings of the data.

After that, I started reviewing all the themes, by deleting some of them, merging some themes or dividing themes into more than one theme. By doing this, I aimed to, as recommended by the guideline, checking themes against each other and back to the original data.

Following that, I defined each theme, and a thorough overview was given for every single theme, in addition to addressing its relationship with other themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). I aimed by doing so to decide what can be considered a theme and what cannot (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

4.6.2.4.4 Phase 6: Producing the report

Taking my time in the previous phases, facilitated moving to this final phase of the thematic analysis process. As I am adopting a mixed-method approach, I needed to consider carefully the way I present the data with. As data analysis was done using a concurrent triangulation strategy, I had to produce a report that includes the qualitative and quantitative data at the same time (see section 4.2.1). I compared and linked the qualitative and quantitative data and decided to produce a four-chapter report. Every chapter discusses one main area of the areas investigated with all its themes. Data from questionnaires, interviews, field notes and participant observation are all combined under each theme.

The selected extracts have been embedded in the narrative that aims to illustrate the story I am telling. Although there are a lot of extracts and many of them are long, together they contribute to presenting strong cumulative evidence and add to the depth of the findings. For example, while some parts of a chosen extract may

seem less relevant to a particular theme than others, they work together as elements of the of participants' social life that, in one way or another, have a role to play in the evident sociolinguistic practices. Every part of the chosen extracts contributes as a piece that completes the sociolinguistic portrait of the community under investigation.

4.7 Ethical considerations

As this project includes children, consent was gained from their guardians (orally recorded or given in writing) in addition to the children's personal consent. The confidentiality and security of personal data were protected. All the data were kept in my personal computer and all the hardcopies were kept in a locked location in my house. Before starting the data collection, informed consent was gained from the participants and ethics approval granted by the Manchester Metropolitan University Ethics Committee (see appendix 10). I also obtained an up to date Disclosing and Barring Service²³ (DBS) form, which was shown to schools and parents before any contact with the children was made. Using a participants' information sheet, the purpose and the participants' involvement in nature were stated and given to participants before the consent forms were signed.

Consent forms were signed, and a copy was handed to the researcher (See appendices 7 & 8). Participants were told of the use of audio recorders. Participants were also told that all collected data would be stored on the researcher's computer, accessible only by the researcher and would only be used for scholarly purposes, with the anonymity of the participants assured. To ensure the anonymity of participants, no real names were mentioned in the data analysis or transcripts. Participants were

also reassured and reminded of their right to withdraw from the research. They also had the opportunity to discuss matters of concern with the researcher.

4.8 Reporting on the pilot study

A pilot study is a significant methodological instrument for pre-testing a research tool that allows us to anticipate any problems in our instrument and assesses the appropriateness of them (Baker, 1994). The pilot study involved 29 children, 11 parents, and 21 teachers in two SAS. The sampling method used here was convenience sampling. I analysed the data using SPSS software.

The main findings show that there was a language shift towards English dominant bilingualism. However, it was also clear that Arabic was maintained and that there was a great effort from children and parents to maintain their HL. The main factors that contribute to the language shift towards English were place of birth, as I found that there was a language shift to English in the UK born generations. This might indicate that children who were born in the UK have a stronger sense of British identity than children who were born in Arabic countries. In addition, attending supplementary schools might be crucial to maintain Arabic to some children as the data showed that children speak Arabic with their teachers even more than they do with their mothers or fathers.

Moreover, the pilot study showed that setting strict FLP could have negative results and that children would insist on speaking English. For instance, parents who reported allowing only Arabic at home have also reported that their children speak only English. In contrast, parents who allowed both languages were successful in

maintain Arabic to some extent. Additionally, children's language preference when speaking to their Arab teachers was significantly related to the number of years attending Arabic. The results showed that the longer children attend SAS, the more they prefer SA to QA. It could be that the longer children attend supplementary schools, the more SA they are exposed to.

On the other hand, children who attend supplementary schools for shorter periods might not have been exposed to SA, and that's why they tended to prefer QA. The results also show that watching Arabic programmes is an important input source of Arabic, especially SA. This indicates that watching Arabic programmes supports the maintenance of the heritage language. Data analysis also showed that there was a significant difference in the language spoken to mothers between males and females, as males spoke significantly more Arabic to their mothers than did females. However, no significant differences were found in this category with any other Arab people.

In addition, there was a statistically significant relationship found between length of parents' residence in the UK and the FLP at home. Parents who have been living in the UK for less than ten years allowed their children to use English and Arabic. On the other hand, parents who have been living in the UK for more than ten years or have been born in the UK reported that they either allowed children to speak only QA or a 'mix of SA and QA'. This contradiction in the length of parents' residence in the UK and the language parents reported they allow at home could also be explained in more than one way. It is possible that new arrivals are not aware that children may lose their mother tongue. It is also possible that parents, especially the temporary

residents, are happy that their children are acquiring the new language (English) so they give them more space to speak English at home. Therefore, they tend to be softer when it comes to language allowed at home.

On the other hand, parents who live in the UK for more than ten years realize the problem of mother tongue loss and thus start setting new rules in terms of language allowed at home. This is to suggest the longer they live in the UK, the more they are aware they should make an effort to maintain Arabic. It is also possible that these parents do not mind their children speaking English at home but do not want to be judged for not maintaining their mother tongue. Therefore, they reported that they only allow Arabic at home.

After collecting and analysing data and writing a full report, I made some changes to the questionnaires. I produced the final version of the questionnaires that were used in the main study. Any questions that made confusion were removed. I added the identity and attitudes sections to the children's and parents' questionnaires. I decided to make all the questions close-ended especially for the children.

Chapter 5: Language use

“Abu Ahmed and I speak only Arabic to each other. Arabic is forced on them. I do not mean against their will, I mean, we create an Arabic atmosphere for them, we speak only Arabic, they live in it.”

Aum Ahmed

“It is indirect guidance. It is called ‘parenting by setting an example’. It is like when you do not tell your son to pray, but rather, go and pray in front of them.”

Abu Ahmed

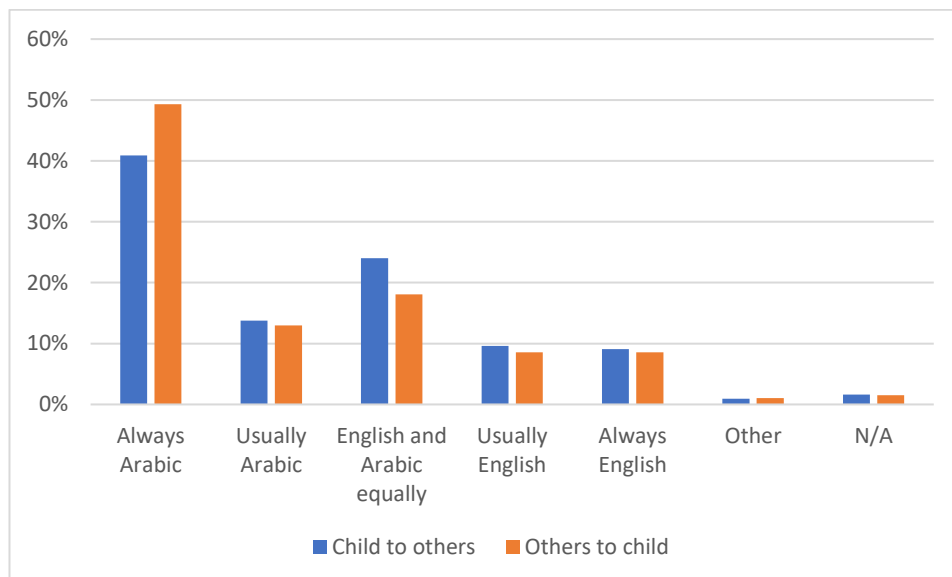
In this chapter, I explore language use at home and in SAS. It consists of three main sections. The first section discusses the general LU. The second section discusses LU at home and includes language practices description, inter-generational differences in LU, and FLP at home. The third section is LU in the SAS, which includes five sub-sections: general LU in the SAS, Arabic varieties (SA and QA), LP in the SAS, the impact of SAS and improving SAS.

5.1 General language Use

Main participants within the family are parents, children, and significant others (grandparents and near neighbours); all of these participants may have different language habits, different beliefs about the values of the varieties that make

up the community's sociolinguistic nature and attempt to manage or influence other people's language practices and beliefs (Spolsky, 2012). Therefore, I start by looking at the general LU patterns that children reported speaking within the Arabic predominant environment they live in. This includes both home and the SAS. The Arab people in the home environment include parents, grandparents, Arab family friends and siblings. In the SAS it includes Arab teachers and classmates.

Figure 5.1: General LU patterns as reported by children (n=328)



As seen in Figure 5.1, children reported speaking always in Arabic more often than any other category within the Arabic predominant environment. These results are very similar to the results found in the pilot study. It would perhaps be expected to find that the children spoke back to people around them in the same language. However, we can see here that children report speaking less Arabic and more English than the Arab people around them. This could perhaps be explained by the impact the dominant community has on the children's language. This pattern corresponds with LU patterns found in previous studies (Bichani, 2015; Eid, 2019; Ferguson, 2013)

These results are very general and include home and school, as well as older and younger Arab people. To understand these patterns, they need to be broken down. Therefore, in the next sections, I discuss the LU patterns reported in the home environment and then move on to those in the SAS. Furthermore, I compare the LU patterns found in the older generation to those found in the younger generations. This gives us a clear picture and a deeper understanding of the actual LU patterns and inter-generational differences in LU.

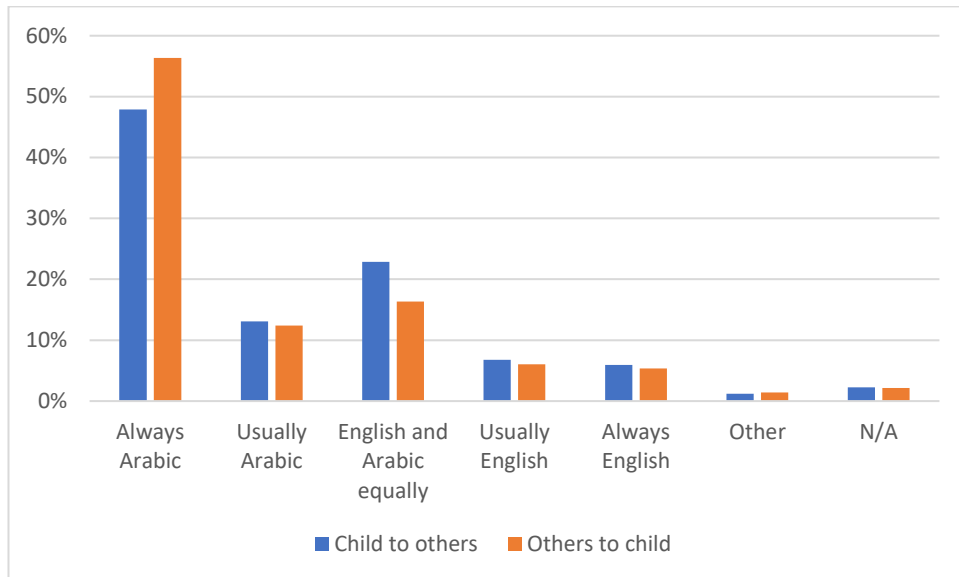
5.2 Language use at home

As the main domain in which HL is used, I start my investigation of language practices at home. I then explore the inter-generational differences in LU, and finally discuss the FLP.

5.2.1 Language practices description

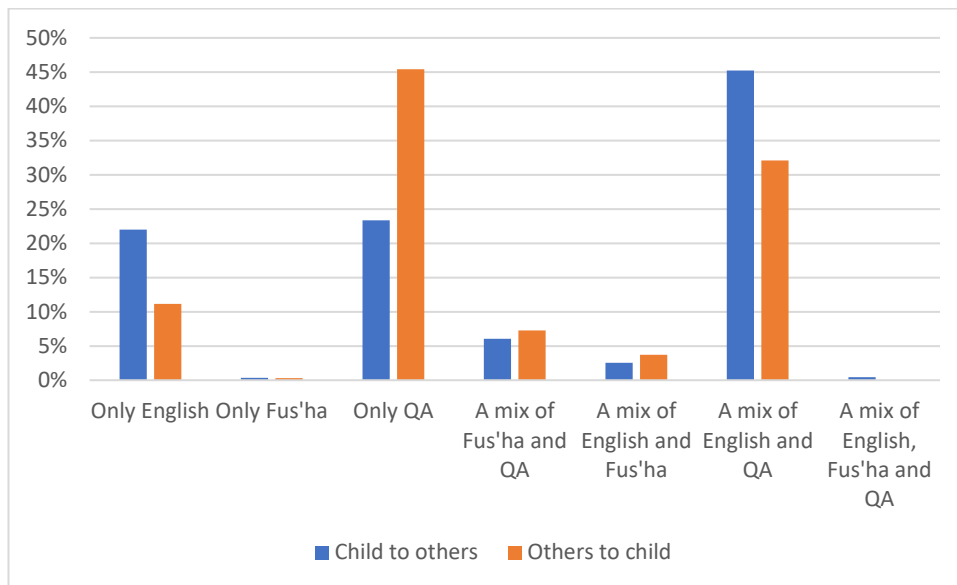
Language practices at home are one of the strongest predictors of the maintenance of HLs (Kenji & Andrea, 1992). Therefore, LU at home is investigated by exploring the frequency of reported use of each language variety (questions 19-32 of the children's questionnaire and questions 13-24 of the parents' questionnaire). I begin with the children's results then turn to those reported by parents. To investigate LU, I looked at the frequency of reported use of each category (e.g., always Arabic) by all children with people in the home environment (mother, father, grandparents, and siblings).

Figure 5.2: General LU patterns with and by people in the home environment as reported by children (n=328)



The patterns found in Figure 5.2 are similar to those in the general LU in Figure 5.1 that included both home and school. Here again, the most frequent reported category was speaking always in Arabic, compared to speaking always in English which was reported much less frequently. This indicates that Arabic is still maintained within the home domain in the Arabic minority under investigation which is consistent with the findings of previous studies (Bichani, 2015; Eid, 2019; Ferguson, 2013) in that Arabic is maintained at home by Arabic minorities.

Figure 5.3: Children's general LU patterns in the home environment as reported by parents (n=215)



The parents' questionnaire investigates languages spoken by children (Arabic and English) with Arab people around them in the home environment. Children's linguistic behaviour is described from the perspective of their parents. Arab people investigated in this project include parents, grandparents, siblings, and Arab family friends. It is worth mentioning that my questions to the parents were more specific and deeper than these for children regarding LU. It does not only ask which language parents observed their children use, but rather which variety they use. I avoided such variables in the children's questionnaire to avoid confusion, so I kept it to the main two languages under investigation (Arabic and English).

As can be seen in Figure 5.3, the most frequent pattern of the language children speak to Arab people is *a mix of English and QA*, which indicates that CS is a highly common practice. Children use CS for both adults and peers to meet various communicative needs and index different identities as a realistic bilingual activity (Eid, 2019). Speaking *only QA* is the second most frequent LU pattern, followed by

speaking *only English*. Here again, the patterns are like those found in the pilot study. In contrast, we can see that the pattern differs when it comes to the language spoken to children. Here, the most frequent pattern is speaking only in *QA*. Speaking *a mix of English and QA* is the second most frequent LU pattern, followed by speaking *only English* as the language spoken to children. We can see here that there is a big difference in the patterns comparing the language children speak to that spoken to them. This indicates that there might be a language shift undergoing which is expected in the second migrant generation according to Fishman's (1989) three-generation model of LS.

It is interesting though to see that children have reported that they speak always Arabic more than any other category while the highest pattern parents reported by parents regarding the children's language was *a mix of English and QA*. This could reflect the awareness on the parents' side of the language shift their children are undergoing. On the other hand, children might not be aware of the language they are using, or they might overestimate their Arabic use frequency. This overestimated LU could be a result of many factors: they might exaggerate to please the researcher; they might wish they are this proficient in Arabic; they might be aware of the prestigious status of Arabic and thus overestimate their proficiency in it; they might believe that this is their actual proficiency level considering all the effort they do to learn Arabic. The reported patterns could also be justified by applying a translanguaging lens. In other words, the children might not be sure how to refer to their language use, but they were aware that this is definitely 'not English' because it is different from what they hear at school, so they simply used 'Arabic'.

If we want to compare the patterns reported by the children and their parents, it is necessary to compress the variables to three main categories: Arabic, a mix of English and Arabic, and English. In the parents' questionnaire, Arabic includes 'only SA', 'Only QA', and 'a mix of SA and QA'; a mix of English and Arabic includes 'a mix of English and QA', 'a mix of English and SA', and 'a mix of English, SA and QA'; English includes 'only English'. In the children's questionnaire, Arabic includes 'always Arabic'; a mix of English and Arabic' includes 'usually Arabic', 'a mix of English and Arabic' and 'usually English'; English includes 'always English'. I only included the language children, parents, siblings and grandparents in this table but not Arab family friends. That is to make the comparison valid because 'Arab family friends' was included in the parents' questionnaire but not in the children's.

Table 5.1: LU in the home environment as reported by children (n=328)

Children's questionnaire		
	people to child	child to people
Arabic	56%	48%
A mix of English and Arabic	35%	43%
English	5%	6%

Table 5.2: LU in the home environment as reported by parents (n=215)

Parent questionnaire		
	People to child	Child to people
Arabic	34%	49%
A mix of English and Arabic	50%	38%
English	16%	13%

As can be seen in Table 5.1 and Table 5.2, the percentage of children who reported that people around them speak Arabic was higher than the percentage of parents who reported Arabic to be spoken to children. However, nearly the same percentage of children and parents reported that children speak Arabic in general. In terms of speaking English, children reported less English than did their parents. Speaking a mix of both languages to children was reported by more parents than children while speaking a mix of both languages by children was reported by more children than parents. The difference could be explained by the fact that children might not be aware of the amount of English they speak. It seems to them that they speak Arabic more than they really do. This could be a result of their struggle and the effort they invest in speaking Arabic within the home environment. On the other hand, parents might look at HL use frequency from a different perspective and thus report more English to be spoken more than their children. It also could be because the parents have high expectations in terms of their children's Arabic proficiency and frequency of use, as some migrant parents have high expectations in terms of their children's HL proficiency and compare them to monolingual native speakers of HL (Nesteruk, 2010).

This contrast in the language reported by children in the questionnaires and that reported by parents was also found in some of the interviews. Ahmed, who moved to the UK when he was three, claimed that he speaks always in Arabic with his parents and brothers. He believes that his parents allow English and Arabic at home. When asked specifically if he ever speaks English to his brothers, his answer was the following:

Extract 1

Ahmed: sometimes, a few times, but Arabic is the main language because they know I am weaker than them in Arabic, they speak English to explain to me.

Ahmed claimed at the beginning that he speaks 100% Arabic at home. However, he later revealed that he sometimes speaks English with his brothers due to his inferior proficiency in Arabic. Aum Ahmed (Ahmed's mother) was more aware of the language used in her family. She claimed that they speak Arabic as the dominant language at home, but not 100% (Extract 2).

Extract 2

Aum Ahmed: We speak Arabic at home [...] Not 100%. We speak English, but the dominant language is Arabic.

On the other hand, Karam and Noor described a different pattern in their interview when they were asked what language they like to speak in their everyday life:

Extract 3

Karam: English.

R: Why?

Karam: **Easier.**

R: And you Noor?

Noor: For me, both. But with my friends who do not speak Arabic, I speak English.

R: And with your friends who speak Arabic and English?

Noor: **English.**

R: English as well!

Noor: Yes. [Everybody laughs].

We can see here that Karam has frankly expressed his preference for English over Arabic because it is simply easier. On the other hand, Noor claimed that she prefers both and speaks both equally. However, when she was asked specific

questions about her LU and preference, she reported using English even with Arab friends. Karam's and Noor's parents seem to understand this preference and accept the need to speak English when discussing topics that children are most familiar with talking about in English. They also speak English when the children are emotional. Additionally, they speak English when their children do not understand Arabic.

Extract 4

Aum Karam: We speak English...Like when they **speaK about school or detention** or something important happened, they use English to explain why they got detention for example, **they need to deliver their ideas in English**, so we are **forced** to reply in English. We have to use some English words because they do not understand. In some situations, they are very **stressed and angry** and need to tell why they are angry, so **you need to back off a little** [Aum Karam laughs]. **It is not time for Arabic.**

However, whenever possible, they try to explain the word in Arabic but could also employ English translation to help their children understand:

Extract 5

Abu Karam: Sometimes I speak constantly in Arabic, they say: 'what? what did you say? I didn't understand.' I translate it for them, so they understand.....we also use other words in Arabic.

When they were asked if they code-switch between Arabic and English, Abu Karam reported that he tends to code-switch between Arabic and English frequently (Extract 5). Nevertheless, Aum Karam made it clear that she is against this practice, and that she prefers to stick to one language at a time:

Extract 6

Aum Karam: I do not. I do not like that.

R: So, you speak one language at a time.

Aum Karam: Yes, exactly, **and they know that**. I do not think I should strengthen my English; I am fine this way [laughs].

Abu Karam: Yes, sometimes I do that with some vocabulary.

When Fatimah was asked about the language they speak at home, her answer was the following:

Extract 7

Fatimah: We speak Arabic, we try not to allow English at home, **until a certain age**, we were able to control, but as soon as children got into high school, **it went out of control**. It became more like, when mom and dad are there, English is not allowed. But as soon as they are alone, they don't speak Arabic, they speak only English. **When they are with their dad because he set the rules, hmmm, they mix languages**. When they no longer can say it in Arabic, they speak English. When we sit together for dinner or tea, they speak Arabic.

Regarding the Arabic variety spoken at home, it is expected that each family would speak their regional dialect at home, which was reported in the Palestinian family:

Extract 8

R: Ok... So, what language do you speak to your parents Karam?

Karam: Palestinian.

R: And you Noor.

Noor: Palestinian.

It is interesting though to see many of my participants calling their QA their language instead of saying 'Arabic' (See Extracts 8, 24, 52). This could be viewed as a national or local identity marker (Almahmoud, 2013). It was also interesting to

investigate the LU of the Syrian-Libyan family. As the Arabic dialect of the father is different from that of the mother, it is of value to describe the dialect the children speak. This would give us some insights into the family's language attitudes (LA), ideologies and identities. When Fatimah was asked about the variety her children speak, she said that their father insists that they speak Libyan and she agreed that it annoys him that they speak Syrian. She even reached the point that she herself speaks Libyan at home. However, she disagrees with him on this point:

Extract 9

Fatimah: At home, I do not know why, I ask him, is it that men like their children.....But I have another point of view, we are not living in Libya, we are not even living in Syria as well. So, when they go out, children make fun of them. We are here, the dialects are mixed, you sit with Egyptians, with Palestinian, and all nationalities in the university...

In Extract 9, we can see that the father is influenced by the Arabic culture when it comes to the language and dialect his children use. It seems that the language and the dialect they speak is related in his opinion to their identity. Therefore, he insists that they speak Libyan instead of Syrian. Also, Fatimah described that he feels that their children should speak Libyan Arabic to protect them from being laughed at when out in the Libyan community. However, she believes that they are in a neutral environment where Arabs are Arabs before they are different nationals. She goes on to describe a difference in her children's use of Arabic, and explains it with reference to gender:

Extract 10

Fatimah: My **daughter** loves to copy me a lot. That's why she speaks like me.

R: She speaks a lot of Arabic?

Fatimah: No, **my dialect**, she must speak like me.

R: And the **boys**?

Fatimah: No, they do not care.

R: So, they speak Libyan Syrian?

Fatimah: **They prefer to speak Libyan, like their dad.** They prefer to speak like their dad. **Their dad planted that in them**, and I do not mind. The opposite, I loved it. No problem.

It is interesting to see that males and females in the same family speak two different varieties. Regarding the variety her children speak on their yearly visits to their home countries, she highlighted the 'amazing' ability children have in acquiring languages and dialects. They go to Qatar where her Family lives, and the year after they go to Libya. She indicates that they speak Syrian when they are visiting her family and Libyan when they are visiting their fathers' family:

Extract 11

Fatimah: So, when I go to my family, Syrians, they speak Syrian, and next year we go to Libya, you say they were born in Libya, children have an amazing ability.

R: So, do you think they acquired both dialects?

Fatimah: For some time, yes.

The contrast found between the LU patterns reported by children, and these reported by parents could be a result of the fact that the Arabic environment under investigation includes two different generations. For example, Ahmed at the beginning seems to imagine the whole family together and thus he answered *100% Arabic*. However, when was asked about the language he speaks to his brothers in

specific, he revealed that he speaks some English to them. Therefore, we need to break down LU patterns into two subcategories: LU patterns with the older generation and LU patterns with the younger generation. Besides understanding the contrast found above, breaking down these categories would allow us to investigate the extent of language shift in the younger generation. There is usually a difference in language practices between generations (Bichani, 2015; Ferguson, 2013). To do so, I divide Arab people into two simplistic categories: older people (mother, father, grandmother, and grandfather) and young people (siblings). The inter-generational difference in LU is presented in the next section.

5.2.2 Inter-generational differences in language use

In sociolinguistics, family LU and practices have received significant attention for some time (Soler & Roberts, 2019), assuming traditionally that one of the main and strong indicators of LS, in the case of minority and migrant languages, is the breakup of intergenerational transmission (Fishman, 1991). Therefore, in this section, I investigate the intergenerational differences in the LU.

Children's questionnaire

Figure 5.4: LU patterns with the older Arab generation as reported by children (n=328)

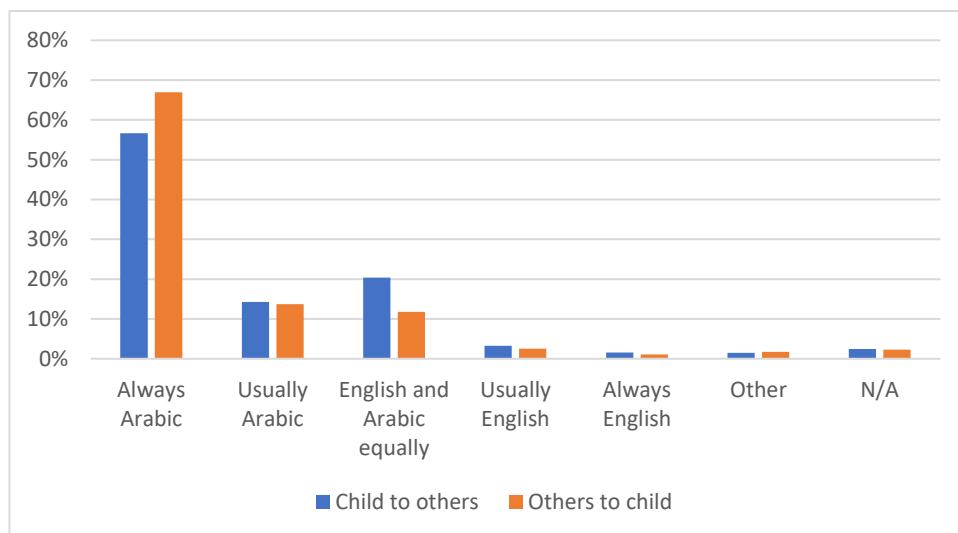


Figure 5.5: Children's language use with siblings (n=328)

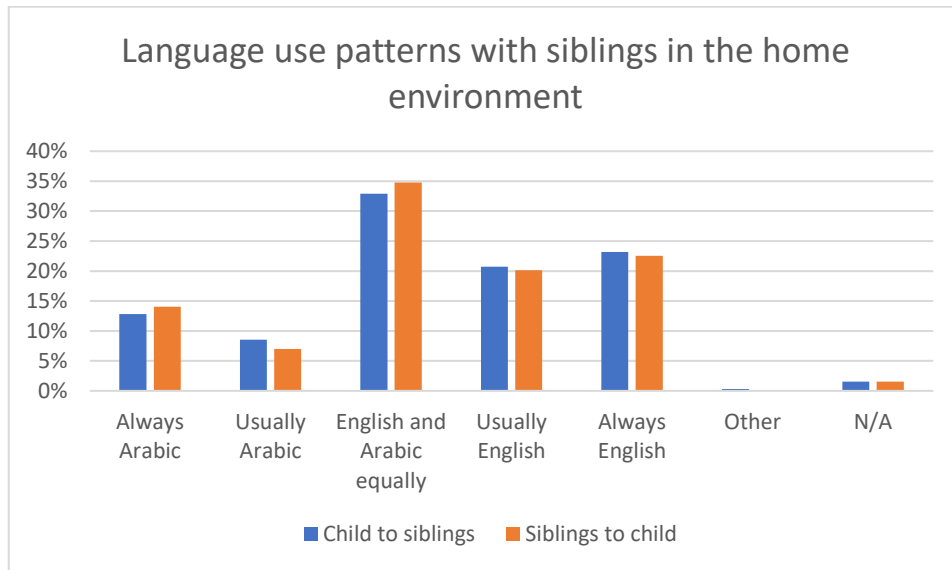


Figure 5.4 shows that the most frequently used language with older Arab people is Arabic. With siblings, however, we have a completely different pattern of LU. As can be seen in Figure 5.5, there is a tendency to speak more English than Arabic. This indicates that there is an inter-generational difference and that there is a language shift to the dominant language among the younger generation. This pattern is not surprising for many reasons. First, many of the older people have low proficiency in English which means the only way to communicate with them is by speaking Arabic. Second, bilingual siblings, including fluent ones, display a clear preference for English communication among themselves (Nesteruk, 2010). This pattern is considered a typical bilingual LU pattern where the minority language is used with older members of the society and the dominant language is used with the younger members (Pavlenko, 2007) and was documented by other similar studies (Bichani, 2015; Eid, 2019; Ferguson, 2013).

Aum Karam described the language Karam speaks to his friends:

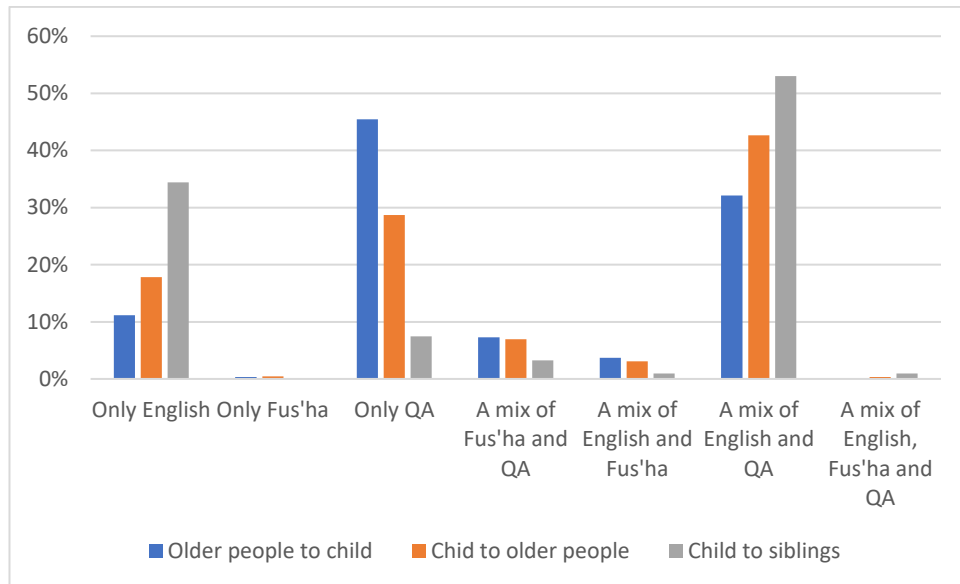
Extract 12

Aum Karam: As for Karam, sometimes his Arab friends are online with him on PlayStation and so I hear them 'La Walla, Walla, wait, wait' [No, God, God, wait wait]... **decide, are you speaking Arabic or English?** [laughs] he speaks a mix, but they understand what he says.

We can see that Aum Karam noticed that her son code switches between Arabic and English when talking to his friends; she seems to be against this practice and that she prefers that he decides what language he is speaking. Karam's code-switching here might be an act of identity (Wei, 2012) that he is showing when playing online with his Arab friends as he feels free to show his ethnic identity and use his HL. Besides, Karam might be code-switching for social and religious functions (swearing to God to his Arab friends), something that Aum Karam might not be aware of. Dhaouadi (2006) argues that one of the potential explanations for the negative attitudes towards CS is dominant 'deficit' view amongst parents that it is a result of lack of knowledge in either or both languages rather than a skilful display of bilingual abilities.

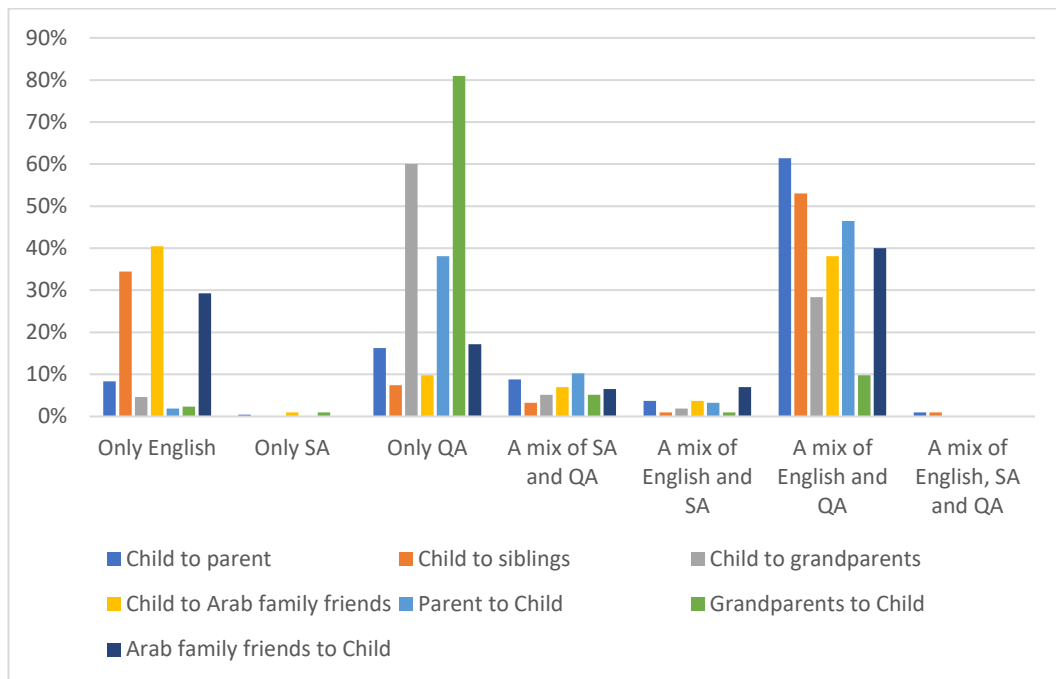
Parents' questionnaire

Figure 5.6: Children's general LU patterns with older and younger people as reported by parents (n=215)



After dividing the LU at home into three main categories, child LU with younger people (their siblings) and child LU with older people (parents, grandparents, and Arab family friends) are investigated separately. We can see in Figure 5.6 that we have a different pattern from that presented in the general LU pattern in the previous section (Figure 5.3), which indicates that there is an intergenerational language difference.

Figure 5.7: Children's LU patterns with Arab people in the home environment as reported by parents (n=215)



Looking separately at parents, grandparents and Arab family friends might show some interesting findings (Figure 5.7). By looking separately at the language people around children speak, we can work out who are the most influential people on HLM. For example, parents reported speaking more QA than did their children to them. Only a small percentage of children speak only in QA or only in English to their parents. Instead, children seem to mix English and QA when speaking with their parents more than any other LU patterns. This indicates that children usually code-switch between English and QA which is consistent with the literature (Creese et al., 2008; Creese & Martin, 2006; Wu, 2006), which indicate that CS between minority and dominant language is a common linguistic practice among minority children.

The data obtained from interviews showed that all parents and children speak mainly Arabic and a little English to each other at home. It also confirmed that

children tend to speak English to their siblings. This pattern is consistent with the literature (see section 2.1.3.1 on interaction and multilingual practices: language use, practice, management and choice in supplementary schools). I also observed these patterns during the interviews and observation. For example, all the participants chose to speak Arabic in the interview despite being given the choice to be interviewed in English or Arabic. However, code-switching occurred frequently during the interviews. Eid (2019) argues that the participants choice of speaking Arabic in the interviews indicates mutual ethnic identity with the researcher while switching to English suggests their adaptation to British culture and their ability to express themselves as British.

Regarding the highest percentage reported of speaking only English, parents reported that it was with Arab family friends, which is even higher than English spoken to the siblings. Parents noticed a slightly different pattern of LU when it comes to these Arab friends' language spoken to their children as the highest was speaking in English and QA. None of the parents reported that children and Arab friends speak 'only SA' to each other. What can be taken from these results is that learning SA (as it is considered the lingua franca of the Arabic world) to communicate with Arabs who speak a different QA might not be sensible. In other words, children either speak in English or their QA but not in SA (this will be discussed further in section 5.3.2).

The LU patterns with grandparents were completely different from the other three categories (parents, siblings and Arab family friends). According to parents, QA is spoken by the vast majority of grandparents and only a small number of

grandparents speak a mix of English and QA. As can be seen in Figure 5.7, grandparents speaking in only QA to children was the most frequently reported category. This corresponds with Solaiman et al. (2014) who found that Arabic was used most with mothers and grandparents. This indicates that communicating with grandparents might be crucial to the process of language transmission and maintenance. The pattern was different in terms of the language children speak to grandparents. More than half of the children have been reported to speak QA as the highest frequent language to grandparents and nearly a quarter to speak a mix of English and QA. Although children spoke less QA to their grandparents than the other way around, speaking in QA was most frequently reported to be spoken to grandparents than to any other person.

As an important and crucial factor affecting HLM, frequency and type of communicating with grandparents was further investigated in the children's questionnaire. The results revealed that only 21% of children reported that they speak to their grandparents every day, 33% once a week and 20% once every month. Phone calls were more common than visiting grandparents. Only 8% of children reported visiting their grandparents every day, less than 10% every week, 5% every month and finally and the most frequent is visiting once every year (50%). 25% reported that they never speak to their grandparents. Ruby (2017) argues that intergenerational learning and interaction with grandparents has many anticipated advantages for both grandchildren and grandparents; it helps to build a strong special relation between them as well as building the children's learner identity as bilingual persons. This kind of interaction seems to be missing from most of the participants'

daily lives. As only 5% of children reported grandparents were living with them, it might be expected then that Arabic usage could decline because of that and thus HLM would be significantly affected. This reduction in the domains of minority LU and the intergenerational language transmission discontinuity are signs of language shift to the dominant language (Tawalbeh, 2019). However, the fact that children are still in touch with their grandparents, despite not living with them, might reduce the LS.

Nevertheless, interviewing parents revealed some obstacles that children face when communicating with their grandparents or their aunts and uncles. Some interviewees reported the quality of these calls was not high, and the calls were cut short by the children. The reason behind this is the children's weak proficiency in Arabic and the relatives' weak proficiency in English. Unfortunately, this language barrier is obviously affecting the quality of communicating with their older relatives even when contacting them by phone.

Extract 13

Aum Karam: On the phone, they speak with heir aunts, they know there is no English there, no English in Jordan. So... they are good I think, they reply, how are you, I am good. But not a whole topic. But they do not open a conversation. They answer short questions, simple. They try to shorten the phone call, how are you, I am good.

R: So, you feel that the children keep it short or do not start a conversation because of the language?

Abu Karam: Exactly, exactly, and **that would affect their future and their social relationships, with their home country.**

It might be normal for conversations to be cut short by the children when they feel distant from their relatives even if they speak the same language. However,

adding the language barrier to that might make it more difficult. In addition to the language barrier, the grandparent's language attitudes and ideologies regarding languages other than Arabic might play an important role in this regard which might pose a challenge to Arabic language maintenance. Fatima reported the older relatives' attitudes towards English as a great obstacle to communication. However, Fatimah reported a change from negative to positive attitudes towards English among the relatives of the younger generation:

Extract 14

Fatimah: They speak Arabic but not completely right. Now with my older family members, **they do not communicate**. With their grandparents and the older uncles and aunts, if they speak English, **they do not reply to them**. My parents....

R: They do not understand them?

Fatimah: No, it is not that. My older sisters speak English but

R: So, they are like '**we do not want to speak English**'?

Fatimah: Yes. But my **younger** brothers speak English with them, they do not care. It is just **the communication with the elderly**. They sit down and do not talk. the older ones should understand that they need time to get used to it.

R: And what if they speak incorrect Arabic, do they speak to them

Fatimah: Yes, that is fine.

We can see in Extract 14 that older people prefer even corrupted Arabic to English. On the contrary, the younger generation does not mind communicating in English with Fatima's children. In these situations, the mother's identity as a 'good mother' is questioned and Fatimah might be considered a 'bad mother' by older family members who reside out of the UK for not teaching her children their HL (Barry, 2005; King & Fogle, 2006). Fatimah mentioned this kind of struggle with her parents when she said '*My parents ask me why you speak like this with your son;*

I tell them it is hard.... It is hard'. Fatimah's way of speaking with her son is being questioned by her parents who might not understand how hard it is to maintain HL on the migration land.

In short, communicating with grandparents, which is one of the most important factors influencing and leading to HLM (Nesteruk, 2010), is facing a lot of challenges. The frequency of occurrence due to physical distance, the grandparent's LA and ideologies, and the gap in the language proficiency both for the children and their grandparents seem to negatively affect HLM. Also, we can conclude from the data analysis above that Arabic is maintained within participants at home which is consistent with previous studies (Bichani, 2015; Eid, 2019; Ferguson, 2013) and with the results from the pilot study. However, there is a shift towards English in the younger generation of Arabs in the UK, which is again similar to what has been found in previous studies (Bichani, 2015; Eid, 2019; Ferguson, 2013). It is important to note that even though a good number of children were new arrivals, the results still indicated English dominance in the children's LU.

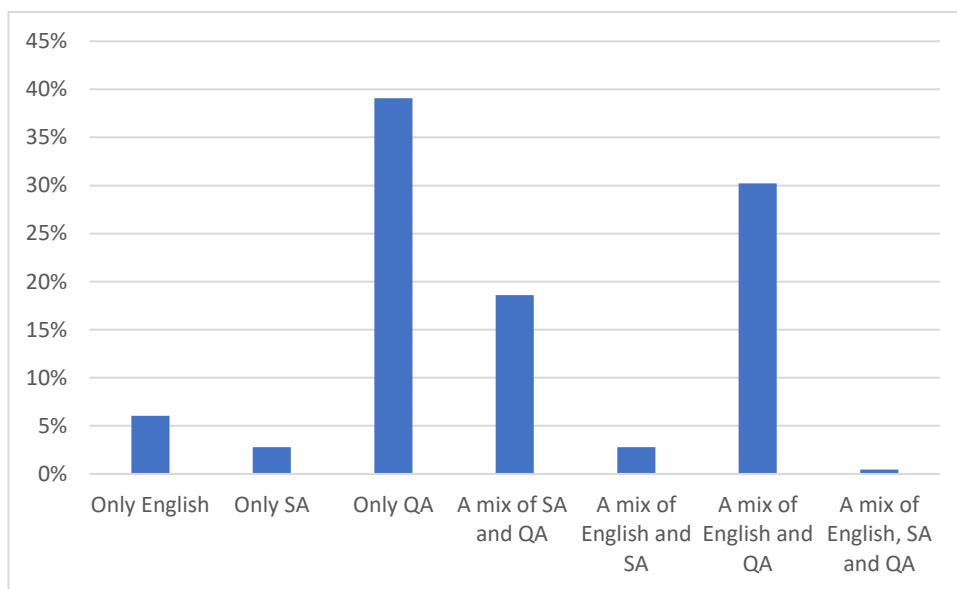
5.2.3 Family Language Policy (FLP)

Migrant parents, as they speak a different language to that of the wider community, are expected to make some decisions and planning in relation to their children's language practices within the home among family members. These decisions are known as FLP (see section 3.3.7.6). Spolsky (2004, p.222) argues that the success of language policies depends on their "congruity with the language situation, the consensual ideology or language beliefs". That is to say, FLP is affected

by the social positioning of the heritage language within the society (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009) and that the value of the HL to parents would also impact FLPs.

The parents' questionnaire revealed the FLPs parents set for their children (Figure 5.7). These numbers might indicate that some of the participants are against CS while others are more flexible and allow CS and use of English at home.

Figure 5.8: Family Language policy as reported by parents (n=215)



The interviews investigate how parents enforce this policy. Aum Karam stated that the LP they follow 'depends on the topic, the situation and what they say'. Aum Karam and Abu Karam described the LP they follow at home with their children to maintain Arabic. Many parents have described the same technique when their children speak English to them. This technique is not to reply until children speak in Arabic.

Extract 15

Aum Karam: As I told you, there are sometimes when I, for weeks, no, only Arabic. **I do not accept any language other than Arabic.** most of the time when they do that, we immediately say, no, speak Arabic, so they say it in Arabic with some English for the things

that they do not know in Arabic... **I do not talk to them, as if they are not talking to me [laughs] until they try**, umm, they try a sentence, of course, they would not say it correctly, but I try to correct the sentence for them: that is how we say it, even with regional dialects.

In Extract 15, Aum Karam mentions that, in addition to not responding to them when they speak in English, she corrects her children's Arabic to help them through the conversation. While correcting children's language might be a natural parental behaviour, Wilson (2020) argues that correcting the language could take over the conversation and thus, discourage the child to pursue the conversation; children might even decide not to share their ideas at all.

Although Aum Karam gets strict regarding the language her children use from time to time, especially when she sees that 'they are losing their Arabic and going backwards', nevertheless, she indicated that she sometimes feels that children need some space to express themselves in English (see Extract 4).

We can see here, although Aum Karam is very serious when it comes to the language her children use, she still believes that there are sometimes when children should be allowed English. This kind of flexibility is advocated by Wilson (2020) as her participants described their parents' flexible FLPs as favourable; and that they think that when their mother allows them to translanguage, she transfers the responsibility of maintaining HL to them. Wilson (p.137) argues that it is not using two languages that could generate conflictive bilingual development but rather, the parents' conversational reactions to the children's linguistic practices.

According to Aum Karam and Abu Karam, the LP they follow is useful and helped their children maintain Arabic. I observed a good proficiency in Arabic when I interviewed and visited this family. Although I speak a different QA, the children still could complete a conversation with me in Arabic. The LP might not directly be the reason for this language proficiency. However, the LP combined with other HLM efforts might be the key. Indeed, Spolsky (2004) describes the FLP as the critical domain in HLM.

When I asked Fatimah how they (her and her husband) react when their children reply in English to them, she described two different techniques she and her husband are using:

Extract 16

Fatimah: **I keep talking in Arabic...** not their dad. He says speak Arabic to me [laughs].

R: And do you think it works?

Fatimah: No, **over the age of ten it does not work.** I see that it does not work.

Here, we can see that the two parents have two different approaches. Fatimah would reply to them in Arabic, while the father would ask the children to speak Arabic to him before he can reply to them. The strategy that Fatima's Husband is using is defined as highly translanguaging intolerant (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009). This strategy was also described by Wilson (2020, p. 136) as a "deliberate hindrance to their mother-daughter communication". The FLP here might be seen as "coping with competing demands of its heritage and its new environment, and a defence mechanism against the external pressures" (Spolsky, 2012, p. 7). Fatimah highlighted this negative effect of imposing too strict FLP with such strategies:

Extract 17

Fatimah: But what happens is that when they no longer can express themselves in Arabic, **they stop talking**. I mean **communication became harder**.

R: Do you mean it is affecting your communication with them?

Fatimah: A lot. I mean because we forced them to either speak Arabic or not to talk, hmmm, **they speak Arabic when they can**. I mean they express something in Arabic if they can but if they cannot, **they just stop talking**.

Fatimah gave a detailed description of the struggle she had with strict language policies:

Extract 18

Fatimah: My husband and I have different opinions. He believes they must learn and speak Arabic, even if they...I was the same until a certain time but then I changed my mind. Why? **Because I could not communicate with them anymore. They prefer silence to speaking, they speak very fast, you want us to speak Arabic, short sentences, we speak fast without explanation, without being comfortable**. Imagine someone would interview you in a language that you have just learned, Spanish or whatever, you would not feel as comfortable. So, I changed, I changed, **the most important thing is now that the communication between my son and me is right**.

She also explained her belief about HLM and what she considered more important than maintaining their HL to focus on:

Extract 19

Fatimah: That they have **the right principles in life**, in whatever language, inshallah Japanese [If Allah wills]. [laughs]...like the most important thing in life, **Monotheism** [the belief that there is only one God]. We have many problems in the schools by the way, that the children leave their religion, they get lost. **Morals, respecting parents**. These principles are a little weaker here. We need to develop them at home, respecting mom and dad, the elderly.

It can be seen that the quantity and quality of communication between Fatimah, her husband and her children are affected by the FLP they impose. Similar findings were found by Wilson (2020) who indicates that imposing strict FLPs affects the attitudes of children towards their HL and causes frustration and anxiety. These kinds of strict strategies, according to Wilson, includes high expectations of HL proficiency, which might put children under pressure. It is also significant not to forget the motivation behind maintaining HLs which is the wellbeing of the bilingual child; therefore, it is significant to consider whether it is worthy and justifiable to impose such strict policies (Wilson, 2020). I believe that balance is required. It is important and fruitful to set some language policies, but it is more important to maintain healthy communication with children which was also recommended by Wilson.

It can also be seen that Fatimah's language management practices are affected by her attitudes, beliefs, and ideologies (Extract 19). LA plays a significant role in LP making and the effectiveness of language activities (Baker, 1992). Fatimah's language policies are also affected by the children's behaviour and reaction to the FLP imposed by their parents. Also, Fatimah's language management practices differ from that of her husband based on their different ideologies. That is, the father believes and prioritizes that his children must speak Arabic while the mother believes that other things are more important than speaking Arabic.

Fogle (2012) argues that the children's language strategies and practices affect the language ideologies and practices of their parents, which corresponds with findings of the current study. Looking closely to the Palestinian family and the Libyan-

Syrian family, we can see that the children's reaction towards their parents' FLP as well as their emotional state led to flexibility, if not a holistic change in their parents' FLPs. For Aum Karam, she would speak English to her children when they are emotional, either excited, happy or sad. As for Fatimah, her language beliefs have changed significantly influenced by the children's choice of not to speak Arabic and remain silent. She started re-evaluating the significance of their HL and questioning this great significance that they have given to being proficient in Arabic.

Other parents suggested that the best way to help children maintain Arabic is by '*setting an example*' and by creating an Arabic atmosphere instead of setting strict language policies:

Extract 20

Aum Ahmed: Abu Ahmed and I speak only Arabic to each other. **Arabic is forced on them.** I do not mean against their will, I mean, **we create an Arabic atmosphere for them, we speak only Arabic, they live in it.**

Abu Ahmed: **It is indirect guidance.** It is called '**parenting by setting an example**'. It is like when you do not tell your son to pray, but rather, go and pray in front of them.

Interviewing Ahmad indicated that this kind of LP that parents follow might be useful:

Extract 21

Ahmed: We speak Arabic by our choice, we learn Arabic, we speak Arabic...Arabic is the main language.

It seems in Extract 20 that the Libyan family are following an implicit, actual and unwritten FLP (Schiffman & Ricento, 2006) by creating a heritage language environment for their children in an attempt to maintain Arabic (Spolsky, 2012). We

can see that Ahmad thinks that his parents allow English, however, he reported that they speak Arabic when they sit together as a family. He expressed that this is his own choice and that he prefers to speak Arabic. This kind of linguistic practice was found in other migrant communities in the UK. Ivashinenko (2019) argues that Russian as an HL can build a specific cultural atmosphere at home that helps parents solve some problems in their relationships with their children; by serving both as an instrument of communication and as a way of conveying cultural values. It sounds like the way of managing languages the Libyan parents have been following was successful. During the interview, Ahmad was speaking fluent Libyan Arabic that I admired and commented on with his parents. They said that he was the least fluent amongst his brothers due to his young age (three) when they migrated. It might be worth mentioning that Ahmed's high proficiency might also be due to the siblings' high proficiency in Arabic as well.

In conclusion, we can see from the data presented in this section, that different FLPS were applied to maintain HL and that these FLPs might have similar results in terms of HLM. However, these different methods and strategies might have different emotional effects on bilingual children. Besides, predicting the outcome of the FLPs might be unproductive and unrealistic and cannot in any way determine the children's HL proficiency (Thomas, 2012; Wilson, 2020). Therefore, flexibility and balance are highly required. Moreover, the results show that FLPs seem to be multidirectional and dynamic in that children practice their own agency to re-negotiate these FLPs and socialize their parents with their own linguistic activities and practices (Eid, 2019).

5.2.4 Conclusion

The following interview with Mona, summarizes the LU pattern in the home domain, the inter-generational difference in LU and the influence of LP:

Extract 22

R: What language do you speak at home with your mother?

Mona: At home? **I always have to speak Arabic.**

R: At home, you have to speak Arabic. Why do you have to speak Arabic at home?

Mona: Because my mom and dad, they **say, because I go to the English school five days and to the SAS one day, so they tell us to speak Arabic.**

R: **So, you understand that Arabic is important to you.**

Mona: **Yes.**

R: OK...So... they tell you to speak Arabic. What if they do not tell you to speak Arabic, would you speak Arabic with them?

Mona: No [laughs].

R: Ok [laughs].

Mona: I sometimes speak **English with my brother** and sometimes I speak Arabic, but my mom and dad tell me to speak Arabic... **I have to** [with a shy laugh].

R: What language do you **prefer** to speak to your **brother**?

Mona: **English**

R: Why?

Mona: Because I feel that, it is easier.

R: Easier... so ... do not you feel that you want to speak Arabic with him so that he learns Arabic?

Mona: I sometimes, almost always, speak Arabic to him but sometimes we **play**, and we speak **English**.

The LU patterns Mona described correspond with the patterns found in the questionnaires. In addition, the intergenerational difference in LU, speaking Arabic with parents and English with siblings, is obvious here. It can be seen that Mona prefers speaking English to her brother and that they speak English when they play despite her parents' insistence on speaking Arabic. We can also see the positive

influence setting an FLP might have on LU and maintenance. Indeed, it seems that for Mona, FLP is the crucial factor for her to maintain her HL. It is worth highlighting that Mona has a good awareness of why the parents ask her to speak Arabic. And as mentioned earlier, she reported that her parents explained to her why they are asking her to speak only Arabic 'because she goes to the English school five days and to the SAS one day'.

5.3 Language use in the Arabic school

Ethnic schools play a significant role in maintaining literacy in minority languages, which in turn helps HLM (Othman, 2006). Fishman's (1991) language shift model stresses that preventing LSs involves community language literacy by organisations or institutions (ethnic schools is one of them) that are regulated by the ethnic group. In its role in language management, educational institutions that teach religious belief and the sacred languages have proven to be one of the most influential institutions that attempt to influence the family domain by declaring the need for all to speak the language chosen as the educational medium (Spolsky, 2012). All these schools are usually run by members of the minority community and thus they set their own policies concerning, approaches curricula and teachers (Othman, 2006). In this section, I investigate the language use patterns in SAS, the use of SA a QA, language policies, the Impact of SAS in terms of heritage language maintenance, attitudes and identity. I conclude the chapter with the parent's, children's and the teachers' recommendations regarding improving SAS.

5.3.1 General language use in the Arabic school

In the teachers and children's questionnaires, 18 questions aim to investigate the reported LU patterns. They cover teachers-children LU and children-classmates LU. The teachers' questionnaire also investigates LU in-class and outside-class. In addition, it investigates the LP that the teachers think the schools have in terms of their LU with children both in and out of class. Finally, four of these questions investigate SA in particular and the extent to which children understand it. It also investigates the children's and the teachers' use and attitudes toward SA in SAS. In

addition to the questionnaires, interviews and observation were used to complement the results.

In this section, I start with the language that teachers reported using when they speak to children. There was no clear pattern concerning the language teachers used inside or outside class. The results were divided between six out of the seven variables with no big differences between them. For instance, 25% of the teachers reported that they spoke 'only SA' inside classes and a similar percentage of teachers reported that they spoke 'a mix of English and SA'. (See Figures 5.8, 5.9). 17% of the teachers claimed they spoke a 'mix of SA and QA' to children, and another 17% reported speaking 'only QA'. Outside class, the percentage of teachers speaking SA declined while the percentage of teachers speaking 'only QA' slightly increased. This is consistent with the language I observed being spoken to children during my observation visits to the schools under investigation. Some teachers spoke only SA, others spoke only QA, and others mixed Arabic and English.

Figure 5.9: LU in class (reported by teachers, n=48)

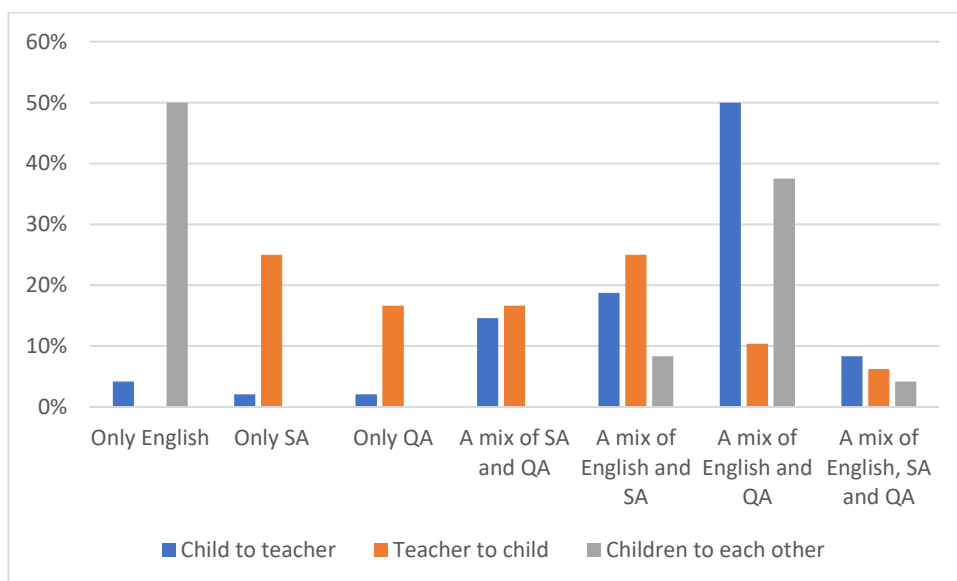
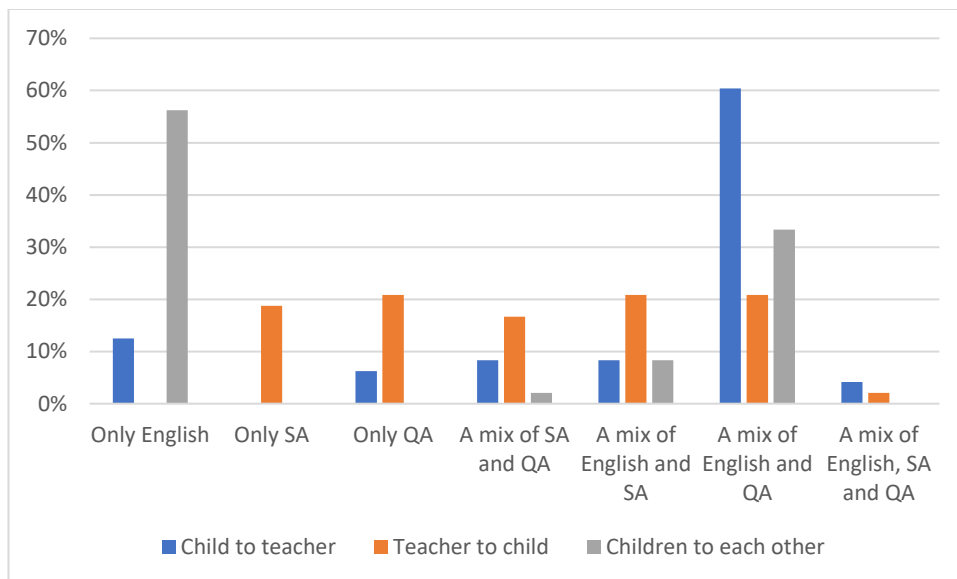


Figure 5.10: LU out of class (reported by teachers, n=48)



One of the teachers, Ms Sara, described the language she speaks in class. She reported constantly code-switching between Arabic L and H varieties. She indicated that the use of QA is always needed:

Extract 23

Ms Sara: No, it is Arabic for sure.For real, it is, **mostly, SA. However, ... It's never without some QA because there are some complicated words in SA for the children.** But the simplified SA, as I told you, they are learning it. But, it's never without QA, but during lessons, we focus on SA. But during activities we have more space, **everyone speaks their languages.** For me, as long as it is Arabic, I do not mind, I do not mind. I mean I focus on them because I have a small number of children. **I do not mind if you speak Arabic in your dialect, I do not mind, as long as it is Arabic.**

She also described the LU outside the class:

Extract 24

Ms Sara: For me, of course, **I speak my language [her QA];** I mean outside class with teachers and my friends...and with the children, mostly,

no, I do not speak SA, no, no... **Of course, I feel freer to talk any language, even them, you feel they interact more with me, you want to be more friendly with them,** we are outside class. Inside the class, there are rules that neither you nor I can break. And outside of class, it is break time, we are not going to put them under pressure. They already speak English in play and lunchtime.

Regarding the language children speak to their teachers inside the class, The most frequent category the teachers reported was speaking a 'mix of English and QA', The patterns of language spoken by children to their teachers are very similar in and out of class with slightly more English spoken outside class. In terms of children's LU patterns with other children, half of the teachers noticed that children speak 'only English' to each other in and out of class. More than third of teachers have also reported that they noticed children use a 'mix of English and QA' in and out of class. Ms Sara described the language children generally speak in school as follows and highlighted the influence of not allowing English on the children language choice (Extract 25). During break time all the teachers interviewed reported that children always speak English.

Extract 25

Ms Sara: **They know now that the Arabic school is for Arabic,** they know that we are very **strict** that they cannot speak English in class, even if you want something from your classmate, a pen or a rubber, this is a new vocabulary for them. **I would say they speak 70% Arabic.**

After presenting the LU patterns reported by parents, we turn to the LU patterns reported by the children themselves. First, we can see in Figure 5.11 that Arabic was the most frequent language children reported speaking to their teachers;

and only a small number of children reported English as the language they speak to teachers. That is to say, Arabic is clearly the main language children speak to teachers. Regarding the language teachers speak to children, we can see in Figure 5.12 the same pattern with even more Arabic spoken to children by teachers than the amount of Arabic children speak to their teachers. However, not all the teachers spoke only Arabic to children as two percent of children reported only English as the language teachers speak to them. This might be reported in one of the mixed classes where Arabic-speaking children are mixed with non-Arabic speaking children and therefore teachers tend to speak English. In contrast, we can see a completely different pattern of LU amongst the children. The most frequent language children reported to be used with classmates is speaking Always in English, and the least is speaking in Arabic. These patterns are the opposite of the patterns children reported regarding their interaction with their teachers. This corresponds with findings of other studies that suggested that there is a language shift to the dominant language amongst the younger generations (see language use in SAS in section 2.1.3.1). It might also indicate that SAS is an important domain where children are exposed to their HL.

Figure 5.11: Children LU with teachers and classmates (reported by children, n=328)

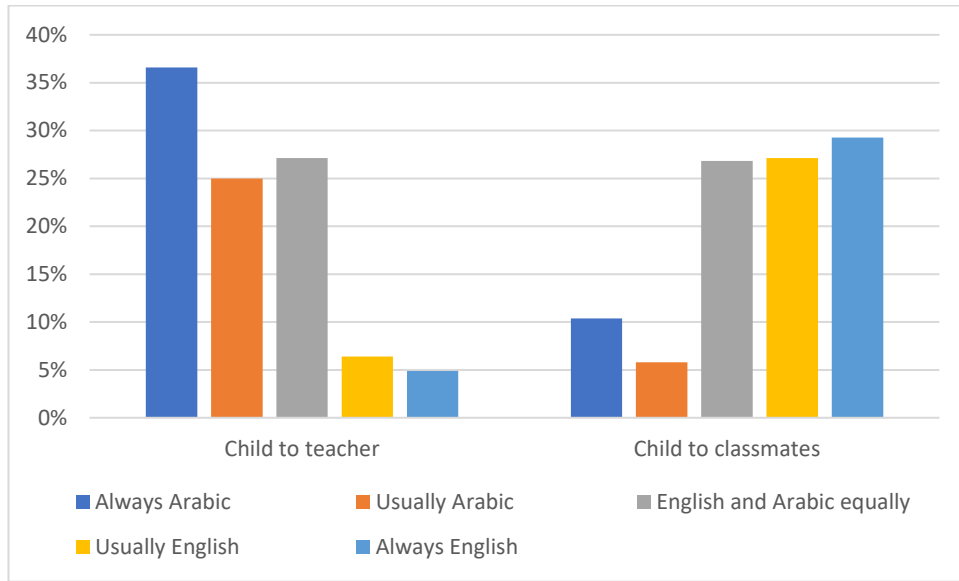
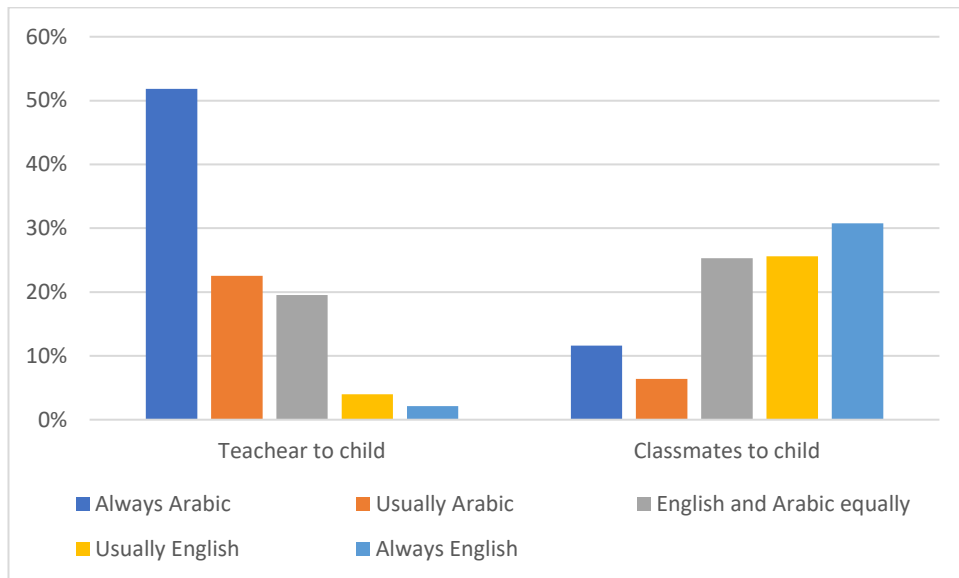


Figure 5.12: Teachers and classmates LU with child (reported by children, n=328)



Interviewing children revealed that children speak mainly English in SAS with their friends and peers. For example, when Mona was asked what language she speaks with her friends in the SAS, she replied as follows:

Extract 26

Mona: English.

R: English? They are all Arab, why do not you speak Arabic?

Mona: Because all, **nearly all of us like to speak English.**

In Extract 26, when Mona indicates that she likes to speak English, she might also indicate that English is her first language and a change in her identity. Ahmed, who speaks Arabic fluently, answered the same question as follows:

Extract 27

Ahmed: English. Because some of my friends do not understand Arabic.

R: Ok. Do not you feel that these friends motivate you to speak Arabic, so they learn.

Ahmed: No, they want to speak it, but they do not understand it much.

We can see here that both Ahmed and Mona speak English to their Arab friends. However, Mona's motivation seems to be more attitudinal while Ahmad's was more practical.

The patterns might look different if we compare what teachers have reported with what children have reported. The reason might be that the variables were different. Similar to what I have done in the parents' questionnaire, I had more specific language classifications in the teachers' questionnaire. For the children, I kept it limited to the two languages under investigation, English and Arabic, to avoid confusion. However, in both the parents and the teachers' questionnaires, I included Arabic with its high and low varieties, SA and QA. Now, if we want to compare the patterns reported by the children and their teachers, we could classify the variables to three main categories: Arabic, a mix of English and Arabic, and English. In the teachers' questionnaire, 'Arabic' includes 'only SA', 'Only QA', and 'a mix of SA and

QA'. A mix of English and Arabic includes 'a mix of English and QA', 'a mix of English and SA', and 'a mix of English, SA and QA'. In the children's questionnaire, Arabic stands for 'always Arabic'. A mix of English and Arabic includes 'usually Arabic', 'a mix of English and Arabic' and usually English'.

Regarding the language teachers speak to children, the most frequent category reported by both teachers and children was Arabic, followed by 'a mix of English and Arabic'. None of the teachers reported English as the language they spoke to children and only 2% of the children claimed that teachers spoke in English to them. It is clear here that the patterns reported by the 328 children match those reported by the 48 teachers. Similarly, children and teachers reported the same patterns of the language children speak to their teachers but with a different frequency (Table 5.3). That is to say, both teachers and children reported speaking a *mix of English and Arabic* as the most frequent language used and English as the least frequent language used. This difference could be because teachers are not satisfied with the amount of Arabic that children speak, or they could be comparing them to monolingual speakers of Arabic. On the other hand, children might feel that they speak a lot of Arabic and put a lot of effort into that.

Table 5.3: LU as reported by teachers (n=48) and by children (n=328)

	Teachers' questionnaire		Children's questionnaire	
	Child to teacher	Teacher to child	Child to teacher	Teacher to child
Arabic	19%	58%	37%	52%
A mix of English and Arabic	77%	42%	59%	46.0%
English	4%	0%	5%	2.1%

We can see from the data above that both the HL and the dominant language are widely used by teachers and children in and out of class. This pattern of LU was found in other studies (Bichani, 2015; Creese. et al., 2008; Ferguson, 2013; Martin. et al., 2006; Wu, 2006). However, although English was used to facilitate communication, teachers concentrated on the use of HL (Martin. et al., 2006). Therefore, we can say that SAS is a context that children are exposed to/ and use HL within. Many studies have highlighted the importance of using the HL more often and in a wider range of contexts as the most important factor in predicting HL competence, HLM or language shift (Albirini, 2014b; Schmid & Köpke, 2007).

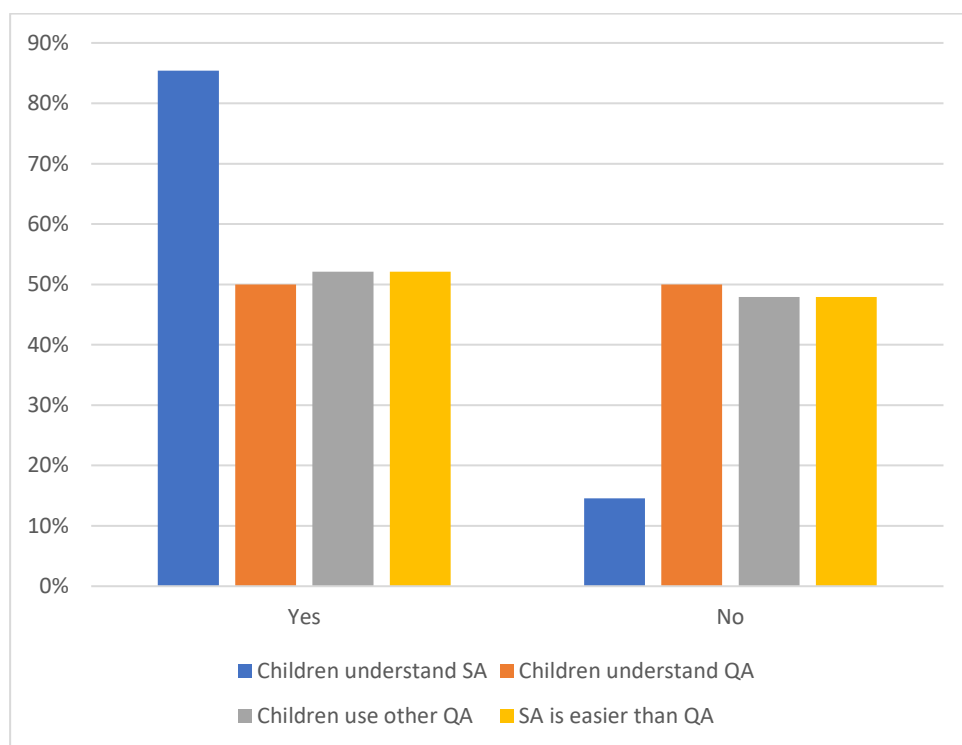
5.3.2 Arabic varieties (SA and QA)

SA is investigated further both in the teachers' and the children's questionnaires. The reason behind this further investigation of SA is that I found contradictory views on the use of SA when interacting with children in SAS. Some people, including parents, teachers, and head-teachers, believe that interaction should be strictly limited to SA. On the other hand, others think that use of SA should be only for the purposes of teaching and that interaction should be in QA. This contradiction was obvious in the teachers' LU patterns with children (see Figure 5.9 and 5.10). Before I move to the results, it is important to highlight what I mean when I say 'LU with children'. I refer here to the general interaction that is not related to teaching. For example, when a child asks if it is break time yet, or when the teacher asks children to pack up and put their books in their bags. I start with the teachers' data and then move to that of the children.

As can be seen in Figure 5.13, most of the teachers believe that children understand SA. Regarding children's understanding of other QA varieties, a significantly lower percentage of teachers who answered yes was found. We can see that in this regard, teachers' views split in half as half of them believe the children do understand different QA while the rest believe they do not. Similar results were found regarding the ease of Arabic varieties and the children use of different QA. It is interesting to find that 73% of teachers reported that they use QA to help them in explaining SA. What can be concluded is that the findings here are contradicting. While most teachers believe that children understand SA, they report that they need QA to explain SA, and half of them find that using QA is easier than using SA. In addition, they witnessed children using different QA which might indicate that children understand different QA. The teachers' beliefs regarding the children's understanding of SA and other QA might be influenced by the common ideologies related to SA as the lingua franca of the Arabic world and would consequently suppose that children would understand it more than different QA. It is important to keep in mind that children from the Arabic minority in Manchester are different from Arab children in Arab countries. An Arab child living in an Arabic country would be mainly exposed to one QA in their daily life and SA from the media and mainstream schools, thus, would have a better understanding of SA over different QA. In comparison, Arab migrant children are most likely exposed to different QA and are much less frequently exposed to SA (Albirini, 2018). Therefore, it might be expected that they understand QA more than SA. It is important here to remember that this is what the teachers think regarding the children's attitudes and language practices. It

is also important to have a picture of what the children themselves prefer when it comes to the Arabic variety spoken to them. Hence, I included the same questions in the children's questionnaire. The comparison between the results of the two questionnaires would offer insight into the difference between the LU and LA of teachers and children, the older and the younger generations.

Figure 5.13: Teachers' views on SA (reported by teachers, n=48)



I believe that the variety children prefer to be talked to with has a critical impact on their attitudes towards maintaining Arabic and towards attending SAS. To explore this, I compared their understanding of both SA and other QA, their use of each variety and their language preference (Figure 5.14). To begin with, we can see in Figure 5.14 that the patterns are nearly identical. This indicates that children claim to be able to understand both SA and different QA to the same extent. In terms of LU, we can see in Figure 5.15 that most children did not use SA with their classmates

or at home. This suggests that children use either QA or English to communicate within their Arabic community. However, a good percentage of children reported that they 'sometimes use SA' with their teachers which indicates that SAS is an important domain that SA is used within. Finally, we turn to the children's language preference. When children were asked if they prefer that their Arab teachers use QA instead of SA, a significant preference of QA to SA was found (Figure 5.16). Taking these results into consideration, an argument could be made that using SA should be limited to teaching and should not be used as a language of interaction. This would, in my point of view, reduce the awkwardness children might feel when speaking Arabic to their teachers. It would also prepare them in a better way to live in the Arabic community they are a part of. According to Albirini (2016, p. 13), "colloquial Arabic (QA) refers to several regional dialects that are spoken regularly by Arabic speakers in everyday conversations and other informal communicative exchange: sports, music, film, and some TV show Broadcast"; therefore, it seems more natural and more acceptable to communicate with children in spoken Arabic (QA).

Figure 5.14: Children's understanding of SA and QA (reported by children, n=328)

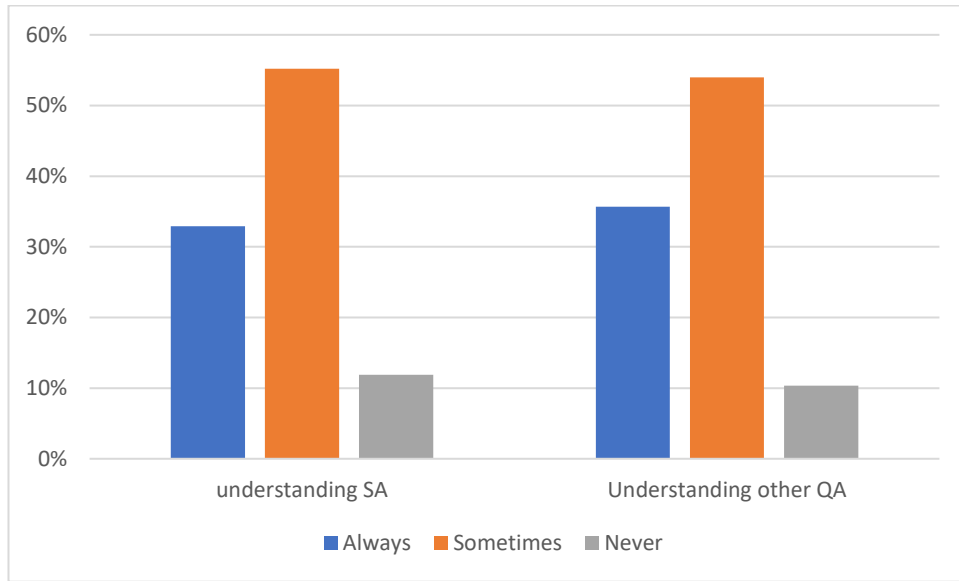


Figure 5.15: Children's use of SA (reported by children, n=328)

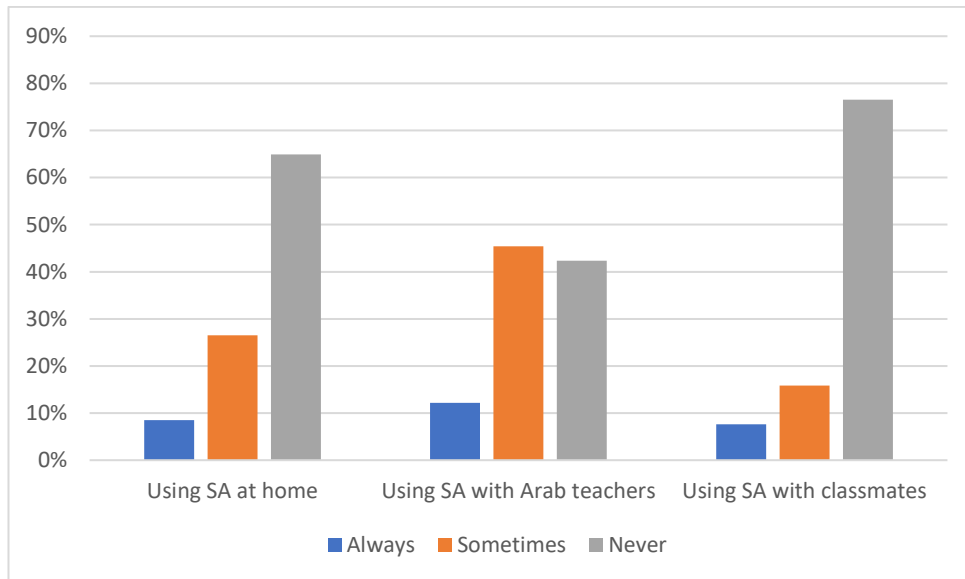
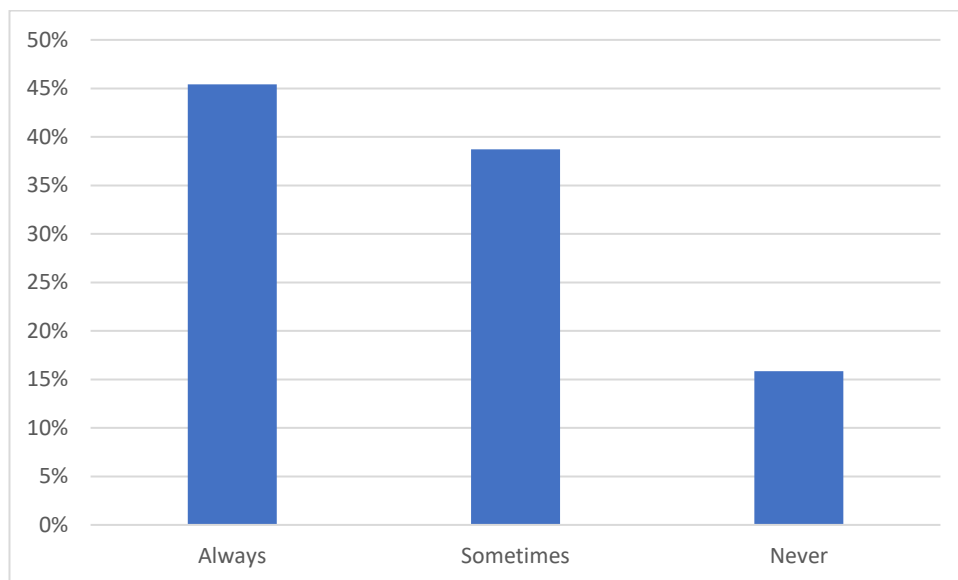


Figure 5.16: Children's language preference within Arabic predominant environment: Preferring QA to SA (reported by children, n=328)



When discussing the impact of the language used with children, specifically SA, on their willingness to attend SAS, Fatimah clearly stated that she does not like her children's teachers to speak SA and she prefers that children pick any QA rather than speaking SA.

Extract 28

Fatimah: No, **not SA**. The children will get bored. **Any dialect**.

R: So, do you prefer that your children speak any Arabic accent

Fatimah: Even if they mix all accents, fine [laughs].

On the other hand, Aum Ahmed said she does not mind although, from experience, she knows that children sound awkward and get socially rejected when speaking in SA (Extract 29). Aum Ahmed here might be motivated by the common language ideologies regarding SA as the high prestigious variety of Arabic. Almahmoud (2013) argues that SA is perceived as the valid reflection of culture and identity; and thus, his participants agree that educators and lecturers can only use SA in class speech.

Extract 29

Aum Ahmed: It is worthy to investigate this point. I noticed this when I first came to the UK. There were Saudi schools. The problem was that they spoke pure SA in Saudi school. **So, the Libyan children felt out of place in the Libyan community and did not understand it.** They were kind of **criticized** because, in the simplest form, they did not say, papa or daddy, they used to say, Father, brother in SA so.... When they went out to the normal community, they were criticized. **So, they kind of withdraw, they isolate themselves from the Libyan community.**

R: What if your sons come speaking SA to you, what would you do?

Aum Ahmed: I do not mind as long as he wants to. But as I told you, my friends say when their children speak SA, they got isolated and rejected by the community.

Abu Ahmed, however, distinguished between the language used in class and everyday life:

Extract 30

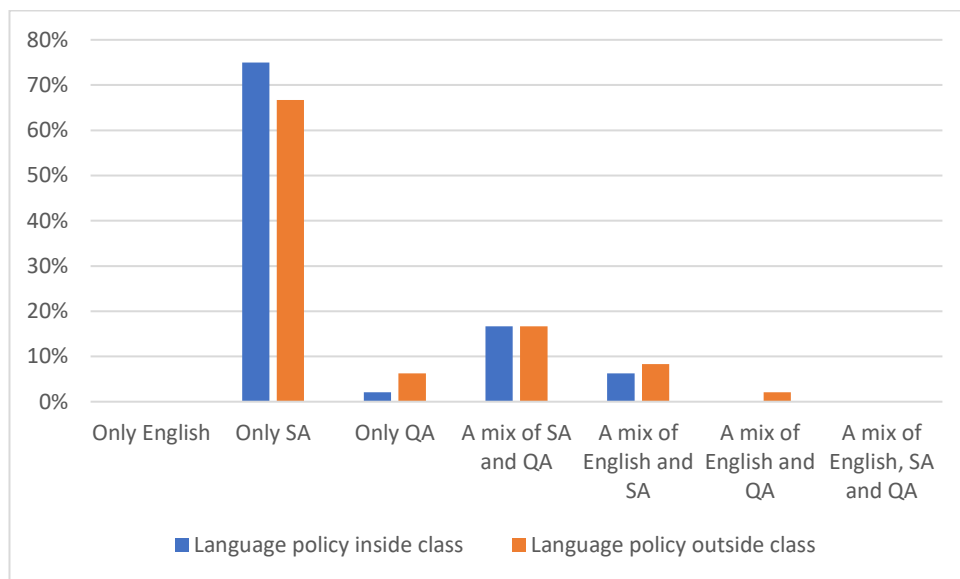
Abu Ahmed: We do not mind. When the child obliges himself to speak SA during lessons, it is good. When we finish the lesson, he speaks Libyan.

5.3.3 Language policy at SAS

5.3.3.1 Description

In a multilingual environment such as SAS, and as one of its main goals is to teach and support HLM, SAS is expected to have some sort of language management or what Spolsky (2004, p. 11) defines as “the formulation and proclamation of an explicit plan or policy, usually but not always written in a formal document, about LU”. In this section, I examine the LP in SAS, to what extent they are followed and their influence on the general LU in the school.

Figure 5.17: Language policy (reported by teachers, n=48)



When asked about the LP that has been set by the school, most of the teachers chose 'only SA' in and out of class. (Figure 5.17). However, 'a mix of SA and QA' and 'a mix of English and SA' were also chosen by some of the teachers. We might expect that if there was a clear LP most of the teachers would choose the same answer, but here we have varied answers. This suggests that there is inconsistency in the LP, that there is no clear policy set by the schools or that the teachers are not aware of the existing LP. However, it is important to note that the study was conducted in five different schools. To investigate where this inconsistency comes from, I compared the answers of the teachers according to school. Table 5.4 shows that teachers from different schools reported different language policies. For instance, when teachers were asked what language, the school allows them to use, teachers working in School 2 and School 3 reported that the schools allow only SA in class. On the other hand, teachers' answers in School 1, 4 and 5 varied. This suggests that there is a variation in the LP the schools under investigation set.

Table 5.4: language policy in class in different schools (n=48)

	Only SA	Only QA	A mix of SA and QA	A mix of English and SA
School 1	12	1	6	0
School 2	10	0	0	0
School 3	2	0	0	0
School 4	3	0	1	3
School 5	9	0	1	0

Nevertheless, when we compare these results regarding stated LP to the results regarding reported LU by teachers (Figure 5.9 and Figure 5.10) we can see a great contrast. Therefore, I decided to investigate the language that teachers reported speaking to the children in the class, based on schools (Table 5.5). This provided some useful comparisons. For example, while the two teachers in School 3 reported that the language allowed by the school is only SA, both teachers reported speaking only QA to their students; a similar pattern is found in School 5. This contrast can be explained in more than one way. It could be that the teachers disagree with the current LP, it could be that they are not able to follow the policy for some reason (the teachers' lack of ability and limited competence in SA) or it could be that they are not aware of the policy. It is also possible that the teachers might have reported what they think the policy is or should be motivated by the common ideology about SA as the High variety of Arabic, despite not actually being certain about it.

Table 5.5: language teachers speak to children in class in different schools (n=48)

	Only SA	Only QA	A mix of SA and QA	A mix of English and SA	A mix of English and QA	English, SA, QA
School 1	3	5	6	1	3	1
School 2	8	0	0	1	0	1

School 3	0	2	0	0	0	0
School 4	0	0	0	4	2	1
School 5	1	1	2	6	0	0

In the interviews, only one out of three teachers said that the school provided training which incorporated some kind of LP. According to Ms Sara, Some of the SAS provide training to their new teachers at the beginning of the year. It is noteworthy to mention that Ms Sara works at one of the two schools (School 2) where teachers reported that the school's LP is to use only SA (see Table 5.4).

Extract 31

Ms. Sara: **The schools train us, before we teach, to qualify us to teach Arabic, to teach syntax, and to perform, to do a lot of things.** They are very inclusive. We took more than one. They are long, more than one session, like, we spent two days from nine to five, they take place at the beginning of the academic year. They teach us how to deal with the children who live here, Arabs and non-Arabs. This is very important. I mean, how to deal with them, with their stubbornness, according to their age, I, for example, specialized in year-three children, not the older children. Training for a specific age group. older children's teachers are trained on other days with different preparations. We, for example, get middle group training, and the younger group teachers get their own training as well. **Because it is very different from our countries.**

As the interest of the current study is the linguistic practices in schools, I asked Ms Sara more specific questions concerning LU. Ms Sara suggested that these training sessions discuss the LP that teachers are required to follow: "they (schools), the most important, emphasized that we should all speak Arabic with them, no matter what, no matter what". However, it seems that the schools emphasized speaking Arabic but did not specify what variety they should stick to:

Extract 32

Ms. Sara: **It generally and completely covers the linguistic interaction. They [schools], the most important, emphasized that we should all speak Arabic with them**, no matter what, no matter what, we are with you, **we repeat**, even if it is only one day a week. Actually, I have tried it with my own children, I mean, in the beginning, I wasn't really convinced in that method, but really, it works. With constant repetition, they learn even the words their teachers always use. For example, they learn *اجلس* [sit down in Standard Arabic] not *يقعد* [sit down in QA]. I mean, here I am, I have learnt that from the training sessions, I speak Arabic no matter what [she means SA or QA].

Ms Amal, on the other hand, stated that there were no language policies set by the school (School 1). Instead, she described the teachers' agreement on speaking only Arabic in class:

Extract 33

Ms Amal: I think... **No, this is a rule ...every teacher sets, I think, for himself**, yes, yes, for himself.

R: So, the school administration, for example, when you first started teaching here, did anyone tell you: "look these are the rules"?

Ms Amal: No, no.

R: So, it was a personal choice.

Ms Amal: Inside your class, you decide what is best for children, because the school administration does not know if some of these children might not speak Arabic, so you need to translate, sometimes.

Ms Hanan (works at the same school as Ms Amal) when was asked if the school administration has explained any language policies when she first started teaching in Arabic, confirmed what Ms Amal reported:

Extract 34

Ms Hanan: **No there was not any rules.**

R: So, they left it to your personal choice?

Ms Hanan: Yes.

Mr Mohammad, the head-teacher of one of the schools, does not mind that teachers use English or QA to help to explain Arabic. In contrast, he believes that using all the sources available would widen the children's knowledge. In Extract 35 and 36, Mr Mohammad explained how the use of QA, as the Arabic variety the children are familiar with, can help children in SA learning. Albirini (2018) advocates the use of QA in SA classes and argues that instead of completely disregarding the use of QA, teachers need to find ways to invest HLSs' knowledge of QA to develop their SA skills.

Extract 35

Mr Mohammad: **Many parents struggle with this, that the children do not understand Arabic vocabulary. But when you explain it to them in English, it makes a difference. They understand it.** For example, when you look at science, the process of forming clouds, you say 'سحاب' [clouds] they do not understand what you mean. So, you say clouds they understand.

R: So, do think **the QA helps in explaining texts in SA?**

Mr Mohammad: Ummm.... **Yes, it helps.**

R: And do you prefer using QA or English to explain SA?

Mr Mohammad: **I explain it in SA, QA and English. It increases their knowledge, by the way, I see that as an advantage for the child.**

However, when asked about the LP, he encourages very limited use of English.

The variety was left to the teachers' preference:

Extract 36

Mr Mohammad: **We prohibit English except for non-Arabic speakers' classes. But for the variety, we leave it to the teachers' preference.** We found it more beneficial. SA, with all respect, is the formal version but in some cases, for the child to understand, his first language is not Arabic, so we allow regional dialects in some cases, but not all the time, so you get down to his level,

... speak with his variety to teach him his Libyan heritage. But it is not the variety they do their tests in.

5.3.3.2 Allocating children to classes

In my visits to SAS, I observed this inconsistency in the language teachers speak to children, both in and out of class. I also noticed that schools differ in terms of allocating children to classes. Some schools had separate classes for Arabic speakers and other classes for non-Arabic speakers including Arab and non-Arab students. Other schools distributed children to classes depending on their age regardless of their Arabic language proficiency. This point was one of the first aspects to catch my attention. Some would argue that the second arrangement is more appropriate and beneficial since non-Arabic speakers would have more exposure to Arabic this way and that the arrangement allows them to practice speaking Arabic with native speakers of the language. Therefore, I decided to investigate this aspect of SAS through interviews and observation. When Ms Amal was asked what she believes about mixing Arabic and non-Arabic speakers in the same classes, she replied as follows:

Extract 37

Ms Amal: It... is... honestly... if they were in an environment where all of them speak Arabic, it is ... positive that they be there... so they... they acquire... but...

R: And what about the children who speak Arabic, do you think it is positive or negative for them?

Ms Amal: I do not think it would affect them a lot because most of the time we speak Arabic... so, it is not going to affect them...if the teacher took five minutes of his time to explain to another child who is a non-Arabic speaker... but if the whole environment speaks Arabic, this child would benefit and learn.

When asked to give an example from her experience in mixing Arabic and non-Arabic speakers, Ms Amal answered:

Extract 38

Ms Amal: Yes, one now, I had more, I had two, but now I have one. Ms Nada, I think, has one as well, she speaks only English, but the problem is that the children do not speak only English, their mother's language is dominant, sometimes the mothers speak languages other than English, so there is a third language, so Arabic is the third language, first their mother's language, then English, and then Arabic comes in the third place, regrettably..... so this is the main problem for the children.

In Extract 38, we can see that Ms. Amal was expressing her thoughts about having mixed classes. However, the school Ms. Amal teaches in is mainly for one Arab nationality with a very small number of non-Arabic speakers. She tried to show that she has experienced the situation, but her answers to the interview questions do not support this claim. For example, when I asked about the number of non-Arabic speakers in her classes, she answered "one child". This is a very small number of children to consider a class to be a mixed class. Her explanation of why she thinks it is positive to mix Arabic speakers and non-Arabic speakers sounded emotional more than practical. For instance, she said, "*and then Arabic comes in the third place, regrettably... so this is the main problem for children*". This reflected the sorrow she feels when seeing these children who do not speak Arabic. She did not, for instance, narrate an incident from her own experience that shows the advantages of mixed classes. For example, we might expect her to tell us about a non-Arabic speaker child

who started speaking Arabic after attending these classes. However, her answer did not include such an example.

Ms Sara, in contrast, provided a different perspective on the issue:

Extract 39

Ms Sara: **This has been a point of conflict last year.** It was very difficult for the teachers, the children did not fit in with the Arabic-speakers, and because the teacher has to teach in Arabic, and so you feel that the children are in a different world. They come from Arabic backgrounds and non-Arabs. But I have seen an Arab boy, I mean a Syrian family, but the boy **did not understand a thing to the point he started making noise and yells, like ‘I can’t understand what you are saying’.** I really prefer that they are in **separate classes made especially for them.** This year actually we had separate classes for non-Arabic speakers. They moved all these children to two classes.

We can see here that Ms Sara is speaking out of experience. First, this issue had arisen and had been addressed by the school she teaches in. She had personally taught one of these classes and had experienced some difficulties. Moreover, she gave a practical example of why she thinks it is negative to have mixed classes.

During my visits and in-class observation sessions, I closely observed the language spoken by both children and the teachers. Regarding the effect of mixing Arabic and non-Arabic speakers in the same classes on the amount of Arabic input children receive, I noticed that having mixed classes significantly reduced the amount of Arabic spoken.

I observed four classes: one mixed class, one class for Arab speakers with varied Arab nationalities, and two classes for Arabic speakers from the same home country. I found that the class where the teacher and children come from the same

home country and the Arabic speakers' class that included diverse Arab backgrounds both had the highest amount of spoken Arabic. On the contrary, the mixed class had significantly less Arabic spoken to children. The extracts below are from the three classes, and serve as good examples of the LU patterns I observed:

Extract 40

Mixed class of Arabic speakers and non-Arabic speakers

Teacher: أطفال, عندما نسمع القرآن, ماذا نفعل؟ [Children when we hear the Quran, what should we do?].

Children: [No one Answers].

Teacher: Children when we hear the Quran, what should we do? Mohammed?

Child: لا [No].

Teacher: Should we shout? Yeah, Sara?

Sara: We should not shout.

Teacher: Not shout.

Child to Sara: You shouted before.

Teacher: shhhhh.... Rana?

Rana: We should not shout.

Teacher: We should not shout, we should talk normal, be quietly, and read Quran respectfully. So, Rana, was respect Quran? So, I read this Surah (section of the Quran), to start *درس التربية الإسلامية* [Islamic education lesson]

In Extract 40, we can see that the teacher asked a question in Arabic, but she got no reply from the children. She then switched to English. Here it seems to me that the children's lack of response was either because they did not understand what was asked, or because they were waiting for the English version of it. It is easier for the children to communicate in English as suggested earlier in the results. Therefore, knowing that the teacher would switch to English if they do not respond might reduce the children's motivation to communicate in Arabic. During break time, the teacher told me that she had to speak English because of the non-Arabic speakers.

*Extract 41***One nationality class**

Teacher: ممكن حتى في رمضان نقرأ، نعم يا ياسمين؟ [We could study in Ramadan, yes Yasmin?].

Yasmin: ممكن نصيم [Can we fast?].

Teacher: ايو، حتى انا نصيم وانا بنشرح [Yes, me too, I will fast and teach].

Child: كيف نصيم؟ [How do we fast?].

Teacher: صيام مش معناه نرقد، صايم مش معناه مش نتحرك، اوووه انا جيعان، لا، oh I am hungry, no].

Child: كيف نصيم ونقرأ في المدرسة؟ [And how do we fast and study in the school?].

Teacher: نقدر نصيم ونقرأ... في نفس ال... مش مشكلة... at the same.... no problem].

We can see here that the teacher and children carried out the whole conversation in Arabic. Although there was some English spoken by the children in the background, the teacher-child interaction was in Arabic.

*Extract 42***Arabic speakers from different Arab backgrounds**

Sami: Ms.

Teacher: نعم؟ [Yes?].

Sami: I need a pencil.

Teacher: سامي كم بينسل عطيتك كم الصبح؟ [Sami, how many pencils have I given you since morning?].

Sami: What?

Teacher: يلا سامي، ابدأ بالكتابة [Come on Sami, start writing].

The lesson goes on in SA and QA with some few answers in English

Five minutes later:

Teacher: سامي ليش طلعت من مكانك؟ [Sami, why are you out of your place?].

Sami: Ms, I want to sit here.

Teacher: أول اكس لسامي [The first black mark for Sami].

Sami: wow

Teacher: سامي أول اكس حيكون إلك، إرجع مكانك. [Sami, the first black mark will be yours, go back to your place].

In Extract 42, we can see that the teacher was able to carry on speaking in Arabic to the children. She only used very few words in English. Even though Sami insisted on replying in English every time she spoke to him, she continued speaking Arabic. The rest of the class spoke Arabic to her.

The question of whether Arabic HLSs should enrol in the same classes with Arabic L2 learners is one of the critical pedagogical concerns (Albirini, 2018, p. 332). An increasing research body on heritage language acquisition has indicated that the acquisition of the standard variety of colloquial dialects for heritage speakers is close to learning a new language or third language (Polinsky, 2015; Rothman, 2011; Rothman & Cabrelli Amaro, 2010). The presumption that SA is an L3 for heritage speaker is also based on the notion that the social context in which heritage speakers live significantly limits their exposure to SA, especially when compared with speakers who grow up in the Arab region (Albirini, 2018). However, Albirini (2014a, 2018), who studied college Arabic HL students, found that SA may not be defined to heritage speakers as a new language (or L3) since they already know different aspects of this variety before they formally begin to learn it in college; and that heritage Arabic speakers in the elementary SA classes have an advantage over their L2 counterparts (non-Arab learners). This was built on the finding which suggests that proficiency in QA correlates with the HLSs proficiency in SA, which gives them an advantage over L2 learners. Albirini also explained this considering that HLSs are exposed to SA incidentally and considering the overlap between QA and SA in terms of vocabulary, grammar, morphology, and phonetics. Also, HLS hold positive attitudes towards their Arabic culture and are passionate to learn it due to its sociocultural significance.

Therefore, from a theoretical perspective, HLSs may not be identified as L2 or L3 learners of SA and may not be approached as SA learners of L2 or L3.

It can be concluded that drawing from the given examples and previous research, the disadvantages of mixing Arabic speakers with non-Arabic speakers outweigh the advantages for the following reasons. First, as seen from the evidence provided above, mixing them seems to reduce the amount of exposure to the target language. That is, teachers will have to use English to interact with the non-Arabic speakers and thus Arabic-speaking children will be exposed to less Arabic. Moreover, taking into consideration the fact that children tend to speak English to each other, mixing them would not increase the amount of Arabic non-Arabic speaking children would use or be exposed to. Additionally, speaking only Arabic in mixed classes might reduce the non-Arabic-speaking children's acceptance of SAS and cause rejection amongst them. It is significant here to highlight that most of the teachers are not originally qualified teachers. Therefore, we should not rely on the teachers to confidently and proficiently handle linguistic communication and deliver their lessons in such classes. Finally, mixing Arabic speakers with non-Arabic speakers might disregard the advantage of speaking QA for Arabic speakers and consequently prevent the use of it to support SA acquisition and development.

5.3.4 Impact of SAS

In this section, I investigate the impact of attending SAS from the parents and teachers' points of view. To begin with, Fatima highlights the beneficial effect that attending SAS has on her children. Aum Karama and Aum Karam also said that attending SAS had a positive influence on the children's performance in the English

school. This positive influence was also found by Archer (2009) whose participants reported that attending supplementary school improved their mainstream school education achievement. In addition, Strand (2007) found that Students attending supplementary schools have an exceptionally high educational advantage way above the national average.

Extract 43

R: Does going to the SAS affect their performance in the English school, negatively or positively?

Aum Karam: No, vice versa, **in a positive way** when they study religions, my children in the schools when they ask them about their religion in RE, as a Muslim, what do you know about Islam, it is a good identity, he knows what to say imagine if he does not know what is Ramadan? How many times he prays a day?

Like the Palestinian parents, Fatima suggests that attending SAS was academically positive:

Extract 44

R: Do you think that going to the SAS affects their achievement in English school?

Fatimah: No never, the opposite.

R: So is it a positive effect.

Fatimah: Academically yes.

R: In what exactly?

Fatimah: The lessons in the Arabic school are different so they gain more information and widen their knowledge. Even reading and writing, it is good. As much as you give children to learn, they learn.

Ms Safa explains how attending the Libyan school might have helped children in performing higher in the English school:

Extract 45

Safa: There is this study; it is available on the city council website. We received a visit from an English school. Why? **Because the children who study in our school are top in their classes.** How did they become superiors? Because their understanding is broadened by studying languages. They have a good amount of vocabulary. Arabic, and English, and math and so. **They do the same lesson in two languages.** They were aware of the phenomenon. Not in one grade but in all grades. They found a shared point between the top in all classes that they go to our school. They thought there must be something. We received a visit from the head-teacher, and she attended one of the classes. It was because the curriculum of the school is ahead of the English school, so they take the lesson in Arabic first and then in English.

Moreover, Mr Mohammad explains the two types of programmes offered by School 1. He explained the benefits of taking the GCSE¹⁰ in Arabic on the children's academic opportunities:

Extract 46

R: What about supportive curriculum and comprehensive curriculum?

Mr Mohammad: Yes. The first one includes Arabic national education, Quran, and Islamic education. The second one teaches the full national curriculum.

R: Which is better?

Mr Mohammad: **Definitely the comprehensive curriculum.** They study the full national curriculum. They pass the GCSE in Arabic and it is equivalent to the foundation year and in some low-rank universities, it is equivalent to year one.

In addition to the academic effect, positive influence on the children's linguistic practices was also reported. Aum Karam also agreed that attending SAS

¹⁰ General Certificate of Secondary Education

increased the use of Arabic at home, which, as discussed previously, was pointed out by Spolsky (2012) as one of the influences of attending sacred languages schools.

Mr Mohammad highlights the cultural effect of attending SAS. He explained the difference between the Arabic and the western culture in terms of parents' and teachers' respect; and suggested that many parents bring their children to SAS to learn these Arabic values:

Extract 47

Mr Mohammad: **Many parents bring their children to learn the Arabic values of respecting the older and teachers.** The value is different in western culture and the Arabic culture. The children go to the English school and argue with teachers and this is not acceptable in our culture.

R: So, you do not encourage copying the same way of interaction with children in English schools?

Safa: It is nearly the same, there is respect, there is discipline, everything.
But our culture is different.

He gave an example of explaining the difference between the two cultures:

Extract 48

Mr Mohammad: **The children need to understand that they have to respect older people.** There was a funny incident happened. The teacher was explaining a geological phenomenon, but a student was not convinced. So, he said to the teacher 'you are lying'. So, the teacher got offended and took him to me. The student said this is my opinion. So, I asked the student can you say to your dad the same? Even if what he said was not true? Can you say that? He said no I cannot. I said I want you to treat your teacher as a father, not as a teacher. Can you do that? He said: yes, I can do that. **So, he learned the value of respecting parents and teachers.**

In conclusion, attending SAS seems to bring many benefits not only on the educational level but also on supporting heritage identity, attitudes and heritage culture values. According to Othman (2020), receiving culture education in SAS reinforces children's ethnic and cultural identity, a role that is missing in mainstream education. supplementary schools emerged to fill a gap in the macro-language planning sense, or even to resist discrimination within it (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Liddicoat & Baldauf, 2008; Wei, 2006). Garcia (1997) argues that attending mainstream school together with supplementary heritage language school as one of the best additive forms of bilingual education that could be offered for children; which most possibly, would lead to bilingualism and biliteracy. It is at this point important to note that this positive impact is reported by parents and teachers who obviously have positive attitudes towards SAS. Parents who did not notice any positive impact or negative impact would probably stop sending their children to SAS. Therefore, it is important in future research to study the language practices of those who do not attend SAS and compare it to that of who are enrolled in SAS. This comparison would allow important insights into the impact of SAS. In the next section I investigate the participants' views on how to improve SAS which in turns could reveal some of these negative aspects of SAS.

5.3.5 Improving SAS

In the parents' questionnaire, the small number of parents who reported in the questionnaires that they would stop sending their children to SAS claim their children had not improved a lot %1 (3 parents out of 215). One parent said that they find the teaching techniques are not efficient enough and another parent complained

that the SAS is hard and exhausting for her children. Another parent complained about the number of breaks in the SAS and that the school did not do any effort to increase the children's desire to study Arabic. It seems here that the mother expects the school to motivate the children to learn Arabic.

To identify the potential reasons for parents to stop sending their children to SAS, I gave parents five options to choose from with the option to tick one or more. I also provided space for parents to write any other reasons. The results showed that the biggest worry is the cost of the SAS. 87 parents reported that if they stop sending their children to SAS it would be because of its high cost. 41 parents also reported that attending SAS brings too much work for parents and children. Moreover, the children's refusal to go was reported by 40 parents. 22 parents said that if they stop, they would do so because it takes a lot of their time. Finally, 19 parents said they would stop if they did not like the culture of the school.

All the parents in the interviews were happy about SAS and were not planning to stop sending their children until they finished all the levels or were competent in reading and writing. Asking the parents and children if there are any changes and improvement that could be implemented to make the SAS better, Aum Mona suggested having more discipline due to the large numbers. Abu Mona suggested increasing the days of supplementary schools, but he doubted if the children would agree to go then. Nevertheless, they were satisfied with the curriculum, culture and treatment:

Extract 49

R: And for the curriculum, the culture, the treatment.

Aum Mona: It is perfect.

Abu Mona: It is perfect, it is only one day a week, and I feel it is a good achievement. **The most important for me is that they make them love Arabic more.**

Aum Mona: I feel because it is only one day, they are stressed, sometimes you find them shout, sometimes you find that the teachers shout at them because of the mess in the class, so I feel this makes them hate the school, they need to keep an eye on that and make them love the school more.... And they keep comparing the English school to the SAS, the English school has more playtime...

Mona complained about lack of discipline herself and that a lot of people are talking a lot and misbehaving, so she cannot focus. When I asked Ms Sara what difficulties she faces in communicating with the children in SAS, she reported this lack of discipline as one of the difficulties. She justified this by the fact that most of the children are not willing to attend the school and that is why they show such behaviour.

Regarding the improvements of SAS, when Fatimah was asked what she would change in the SAS if she had the opportunity, she wishes to have better-qualified teachers and more focus on speaking. The need to draw more attention to speaking was mentioned by one of Strand's (2002, p.21) participants, who suggested that teachers should change the way they teach from just reading and answering questions to activities that involve speaking. Aum Karam would make the focus on reading and writing and not go too deep in Arabic syntax while Abu Karam suggested adding more fun activities and competitions:

Extract 50

Aum Karam: I would change the focus on the Arabic syntax, I mean **I want to focus on the Quran and the reading and writing, so they understand and can read the Quran, the pronunciation and pronunciation of phonetics.** They will take the GCSE in Arabic, it is good for them especially for university, but in the end, I care about comprehension and pronunciation more than the syntax or the GCSE grades.

In summary, the main things that my participants suggested that SAS need improving or changing are the curriculum to focus more on HL and religious education, organisation, qualification of teachers, and resources. The findings of the current study are consistent with the literature. For instance, Tinsley (2015, p.39) suggests that help is required in teaching materials and resources, developing the needed methods for teaching Arabic as a foreign language; and finally planning and tracking progress which corresponds with the findings of the current study. Similarly, Strand (2007, p.15) reported that some of his participants disliked some aspects of supplementary schools that are related to the organization, the curriculum of the schools, strategies of teaching and reported poor resources. Nevertheless, he argues that since students would raise similar issues about mainstream schools, those statements should not be taken as unique to supplementary schools.

Moreover, the socio-educational principles that Skutnabb-Kangas & García (1995) argue must be present to gain greater biliteracy and bilingualism out of the bilingual education are not all present in the context of SAS, which might have a negative influence on its outcome. For example, the lack of bilingual qualified teachers, school administrators and staff is one main concern for parents regarding SAS. The lack of clear language policies might be another issue in SAS. However, the

culture of the school, in general, was praised by parents and only a very small number of parents complained about the general culture in SAS (see attitudes towards SAS). Additionally, I have seen great commitment from most parents, teachers and children themselves through my research journey. Most of the parents who withdrew their children from SAS complained about the amount of work they need to do at home and that the school should carry the whole responsibility of teaching heritage language. It could be seen here that these parents were not committed nor engaged in their children's biliteracy experience and that this might be the reason behind this failure. It would be beneficial to understand that this responsibility is a shared responsibility that cannot work without the co-operation of all members included, children, parents, teachers, and administrators. I believe that administrators could encourage parents to be more engaged and understand that the progress might be slow and that it needs their participation.

5.3.6 Conclusion

This section has shown the linguistic practices in SAS and the complex linguistic repertoires within this multilingual context. Within SAS, teachers and children use all the linguistic sources available to them to communicate and deliver the educational content. The use of QA is widely acceptable by parents and children and is found to be useful in communication and to support carrying out lessons in SA. However, teachers' views on which variety they should use seems to contradict that of the children and parents, and with their linguistic practices. This contradiction might be a result of the common ideologies regarding SA as the high variety of Arabic that is associated with formal settings, and as the lingua franca that should be shared

and understood throughout the Arab world. However, the results show that the case for migrant Arab children and parents might be different. The children's understanding of QA exceeds that of SA which might be behind their preference for the use of QA. The parents as well showed different ideologies regarding the use of SA and QA in SAS from the dominant ideologies in this regard. They seem to understand the practical role QA can play in their children's interactions and questioned the usefulness of speaking in SA.

In SAS, the LP are not clear and vary from school to school. It is mainly left for the teachers' judgment and preference. Some schools made it clear that they prefer the use of Arabic, however, the Arabic variety was not specified. Regarding the impact of attending SAS, participants reported positive influence on the linguistic, attitudinal and identity levels. Finally, participants reported needed improvement in the organisation, qualification of teachers and curriculum. LP as well need to be revised and made clearer to gain better outcomes. Having explored the LU patterns, I move to investigate LA which is found in this chapter to have a big influence on the LU patterns.

Chapter 6: Language attitudes

“When I was little, I preferred English but now I changed my mind... (because of) reading Arabic and they have shown us in the Arabic school how beautiful Arabic is.”

Ahmed

The bilingual experience of each child is distinctive, and the perceptions of children vary considerably from those of their parents (Wilson, 2020). Whether students, parents, teachers, and administrators have positive or negative LA towards the language being taught, is crucial to the success of second language programmes (Albirini, 2016). Therefore, this chapter investigates the attitudes of children and their parents towards Arabic in general, SA and QA, maintaining and transmitting Arabic, and finally the attitudes towards SAS.

6.1 Attitudes towards Arabic

Asking the children in the questionnaire if they love Arabic or not revealed very positive attitudes towards Arabic. The results showed that 70% of children said

that they always love Arabic, 28% said that they sometimes love Arabic, and only 2% said that they never love Arabic. Although the children's questionnaire showed that children hold positive attitudes towards Arabic, interviews revealed that children preferred English to Arabic. Specifically, younger children showed a preference for English. For example, Karam and Noor expressed their preference for their QA (Extract 51). Preferring L1 (the heritage language) was also highlighted by Pavlenko (2005) who found that more than half of her participants favoured their L1. However, when Karam and Noor were put in a position to choose between English and Arabic, Karam chose English over Arabic. We can see here that Karam favoured Arabic at first but then he stated that he prefers English, which in he is more proficient, to Arabic. Noor, on the other hand, claimed that both Arabic and English are the same for her. Among Pavlenko's participants, those who did not favour their L1 were the ones who were more proficient in their L2 (the dominant language). I noticed that Noor was more proficient in Arabic than her brother which was also confirmed by their parents (see Extract 118). Therefore, proficiency in the HL might be a significant factor that affects the children's heritage LA.

Extract 51

R: And what is your favorite language?

Noor: Palestinian

R: And you Karam?

Karam: Palestinian

R: Do you prefer it to English?

Karam: No, English

Noor: Both for me

Aum Karam seems to understand her children's preference for English. She also realizes the influence the English school and the wider community have on their children's LA and identity:

Extract 52

Aum Karam: **They love English, it is their primary language.**

R: Ok, what is it that makes them feel this way?

Aum Karam: They were born here, and they spend a long time in the English school, more than home, they speak more, and even when we speak at home, what do we talk about? Not as much as school, as learning, as friends, relationships....

It is worth noting that the key explanation for the participants' preference for English is that it is simply easier (see Extracts 3, 22, 57). Preferring the dominant language because it is easy to use is very common in similar linguistic situations where the children's language preference is based mostly on pragmatism than on emotions (Wilson, 2020, p. 134). This also correlates with Festman's (2017) conclusions which suggest that migrant children prefer English because it is easier provided that they spend much of their day in an English-speaking setting. In the current study, spending a lot of time in the English school was given as an explanation for higher proficiency in English than in Arabic and more frequent use of English by Karam and Mona (see Extract 22 and 54). The co-occurrence of a majority language preference and positive LA indicates that children do not see the two languages as distinct and conflicting systems; instead, they tend to accept the acquisition of dual language as an integrated phenomenon (Wilson, 2020).

Mona agreed that she loves to speak Arabic and seemed to enjoy being multilingual and teaching her little brother other languages:

Extract 53

R: Ok. So, do you prefer if you can speak English all the time with everybody?

Mona: No. sometimes. I mean ... I speak half English No... Not half Arabic half English... I mean I sometimes I speak Arabic and sometimes I speak English.

R: That means you love that you speak Arabic?

Mona: Yes, and sometimes French... sometimes I play school with Omar and I teach him French because I study French in the English school.

R: Wow, that is great. so, you love learning languages.

Mona: Yes, and to help Omar learn French too.

Karam and Noor explained their preference to be bilinguals instead of speaking only English. Noor seems to realize that Arabic was the first language she learned to speak and that is why she wants to speak the two languages. Moreover, Noor's Arabic language maintenance seems to be identity-related when she said: *"because we are like this"*. Communicating with relatives back home was also a motivation to maintain Arabic for her. She prefers to speak Arabic even with her relatives who live in the UK although they can speak English because *"it is better if we speak Arabic with them"*. Learning Arabic for social purposes such as communicating with relatives and extended family was found by Bichani (2015) and Tinsley (2015) to be one of the most common motivations to learn Arabic as HL. Karam, on the other hand, has a different reason to speak both languages. He believes that he speaks English because he goes to an English school. This might reflect that he does not believe he should speak English in the first place but going to the English school had this influence and that is why he speaks better English than Arabic.

Extract 54

R: Why do you speak Arabic with them as long as you always speak English all the time?

Noor: Because, **this what we learned** that.... That **the first language we learned was Arabic and then English** ... but... that...

Karam: **Because we go to the English school, that is why we know English more.**

R: Ok Karam. As long as you know English more, then why do you speak Arabic to your mom and dad?

Karam: I do not know.

Noor: Because **we are like this**... our country all our cousins and so they speak Arabic, so we **must** speak Arabic too.

R: And do your cousins speak English?

Noora: Most of them are in Amman, but there are a few of them here, the ones in Amman do not understand English a lot but the ones in here, it is better if we speak Arabic with them.

The children here have shown positive attitudes towards HL and bilingualism which was also documented in other studies such as Wilson (2020). However, it was difficult for most of Wilson's participating children to explain why they have a good attitude towards HL and bilingualism. On the contrary, my participating children have shown a great understanding of why their parents are asking them to speak Arabic, and why it is important for them on the practical, social, educational and religious levels, which is consistent with Bichani (2015) and Tinsley (2015). This high awareness and understanding might be of a great impact on HLM. Ms Hanan believes that children's attitudes have a great influence on their HLM:

Extract 55

Ms Hanan: I felt... I do not know... **That they look at Arabic to be less than English** or something ... maybe this is their parents' fault...That it is as if English is better..... I told them that it is a language like any other language.....

It is worthy to note that Ms Hanan implied that she feels that some students look down at their HL and think about it as an inferior to English. She blamed this on the parents and their preference for English. The teacher's viewpoint could be drawn from society's ideology at the macro level towards HLs where HLM is the responsibility of parents, families, and minorities, which is clear in UK policy and media discourses on the preservation of heritage literature (Weekly, 2020, p. 5). Othman (2020, p. 102), who evidences similar attitudes in his study, suggests that these negative attitudes toward HL are a result of underestimating minority languages by the national curriculum since free-of-charge mainstream education in ethnic languages is not available. Therefore, it makes minority children view their heritage language as inferior or not prestigious, which negatively affects their motivation to maintain and learn it (Lamb, 2001, p. 8). Therefore, the parents' negative attitudes towards HL, although it might be a contributor in some cases, might not be the main reason.

Moving to the children's attitudes towards learning Arabic, the children's questionnaire revealed that they were also positive. More than half of the children said they like learning Arabic, 39% sometimes like learning Arabic and 7% never like learning Arabic. It still indicates a positive attitude, but it is lower than their attitude towards the language itself. This difference could be justified considering the difficulties children face to learn Arabic, which might have affected their attitudes. Nevertheless, Aum Mona believes that learning Arabic might negatively affect their attitudes towards the language. That is to say, that going to the SAS to learn Arabic made her children treat Arabic as a subject rather than their HL, and thus might not

accept it. Low proficiency in Arabic due to lack of exposure is another factor that is negatively impacting their attitudes towards Arabic. On the contrary, they treat English as their first language that they understand and feel comfortable speaking:

Extract 56

R: OK. What do you think your children feel towards Arabic in general?

Aum Mona: Ummmm... **they, because they look at it as a school... it is a little bit heavy on them** especially that it is on the weekend and that it takes a long time. But generally, they come back they do their homework I feel that no, **they are accepting it** ... but every time they go to school, why do we go to school?

R: So, do you think they look at it as a subject?

Aum Mona: Yes, **as a subject, like a compulsory thing that they must take and that they might not accept it.**

R: And what about English?

Aum Mona: No, it is fine because it is easy for them, they understand it and know it

R: And what is the language that they love the most? And that they feel comfortable with?

Aum Mona: English, for example, let's read stories, they agree to read stories in English, but they do not agree to read Arabic stories.

R: And what about speaking?

Aum Mona: The same. **English is easier for them** but because we are at home, they try to speak Arabic.

Ahmad has shown an age effect on his LA. He preferred English when he was younger but now, he prefers Arabic. This change in preference is influenced by attending SAS. In the next extract, Ahmed shows his LA towards SA and the relation between the beauty of the language and his attitudes. It was found in other studies that the beauty of the language was one of the reasons for the preference for SA over QA and other languages such as French and English (Almahmoud, 2013; Murad, 2014; Saad, 1992).

Extract 57

Ahmad: When I was little, I preferred English but now I changed my mind

R: What made you change your mind?

Ahmad: **Reading Arabic and they have shown us in the SAS how beautiful Arabic is.**

After presenting the general attitudes towards Arabic, we turn to a deeper level of investigation. Here I investigate each of the two varieties of Arabic, Standard and regional, separately. I also discuss the attitudes towards maintaining and transmitting the Arabic language to the next generation.

6.2 Attitudes towards Standard Arabic (SA) and Colloquial Arabic (QA)

This study is specifically interested in the children's attitudes towards SA and QA. As the low variety of Arabic, many scholars have advocated the prohibition of QA use in educational contexts, on the grounds that QA affects education in general and Arabic language in particular due to its negative cultural impact (Abu-Rabia, 2000; Aldannan, 1999; Almahmoud, 2013; Ayari, 1996; Maamouri, 1998; Tinbak, 2005). In the context of Arabic supplementary schools in the UK, I observed different contradicting attitudes towards SA. On the parents and the teachers' side, they highly value SA and believe it should be used most of the time in classes. On the other hand, we find that children who have lived in the UK their whole or most of their life hold different attitudes. They usually do not understand it nor accept it due to lack of input. They might not understand the great value of this variety at this age as well. This difference in the language attitudes might have a great influence on the success of teaching Arabic in these schools. Therefore, as migrant children might be only exposed to QA and have not been exposed to SA before (Albirini, 2018), limiting communication to only SA might have a negative effect on the children's LA. The

children's attitudes towards the language spoken to them could critically affect their willingness to attend SAS and their attitudes towards learning and maintaining Arabic. Therefore, the use of QA and SA in classes is investigated in this section. As the teachers might be the ones most commonly speaking both varieties to children, their attitudes and perceptions are discussed first.

To begin with, the teachers were asked in the questionnaire if they think the children like SA. 19% of the teachers believe the children like it, 54% sometimes like it, and 27% do not like it. Although we have a good percentage of teachers who reported that children sometimes like SA, we have only a small number of teachers who believe that children do like SA. The percentage of teachers who reported they think children do not like SA is even higher than that of who said yes. In addition, I found a large number of teachers use both QA and English to support and explain texts in SA (73% and 83% respectively), which might reveal positive attitudes both on the teachers' and children's sides towards the use of QA and English within the educational context.

Furthermore, 65% of teachers agreed that communicating with children in their QA was easier (always or sometimes) than it was in SA. Regarding the children, nearly 61% of the teachers believed it was easier for the children to speak in their QA than in SA. This linguistic simplicity of using QA was found in other studies to be one of the factors behind the preference of QA over SA (Almahmoud, 2013; Murad, 2014). In Almahmoud's study, about half of the participants reported that it made it easier to understand the subject when teachers used QA in class. Therefore, I cannot suggest that the attitudes toward the use of SA in classes are positive and this could

significantly affect the process of HLM. Ms Sara has not faced any problems when speaking her QA to the children and she believes they accept it:

Extract 58

R: Of course, classes have a diversity of Arab nationals?

Sara: Yes, of course.

R: As you said earlier, that when you need to speak your QA, do you feel that having this diversity is being an obstacle or do you feel they **accept your QA** and understand it?

Sara: **Most of them do.**

On the parents' side, the attitudes towards SA were more positive than those reported by teachers. Only 32% of parents claimed they prefer that their children's teachers speak their own QA to the children while 68% suggested they prefer SA. In terms of what parents think the children prefer, nearly half of the parents reported they believed their children prefer that the teacher speaks in SA while the other half said they sometimes or always think their children prefer teachers to speak their QA to them. Although the vast majority of parents claimed they prefer SA to QA to be spoken to their children, most of them reported using English and QA themselves to help in explaining text in SA, which indicates that this practice is accepted by parents. Thus, the parents' preference could be due to the prestigious status of SA. Almahmoud (2013) argues that religious, linguistic, social, and cultural factors are behind the positive attitude of the participants towards SA; and that QA is perceived as the low variety of Arabic with limitations to become the language of knowledge. It could also be because of that SA is usually associated with a formal setting such as classes. Thus, parents tend to choose SA over QA. However, amongst my interviewees, only one family out of four said they prefer that the teachers speak SA

to their children. In Aum Mona's family, they believe that speaking a different QA would affect the children. Aum Mona's language ideology regarding SA is obvious here as she considers SA "the base" of Arabic, which might be affecting her preference and LA:

Extract 59

Abu Mona: **I guess SA is better**, I think even in the SAS they speak SA.

R: Is it important for you or it does not make a difference?

Aum Mona: It is important especially that dialects differ in Arabic.

R: Ok, so how is it important for you? Why is it important?

Aum Mona: Because I feel for Arabic as a language, **SA is the basis**. So, for dialects... what are they going to benefit from knowing dialects? learning words from other dialects is not going to help them... it is the opposite, it is going to affect them.

In contrast, Fatimah seems to hold negative attitudes towards SA and to be against the use of SA (see Extract 28). Abu Karam and Aum Karam had different attitudes and point of view regarding the variety they prefer teachers to speak to their children. They believe that learning SA is not that beneficial nor practical to their children on the speaking level. They also did not relate speaking SA to their identity as Arab and Muslim, although they believe that Arabic in general "is forming an Arabic identity" to their children. Albirini (2018) suggests that one of the differences between many native speakers of Arabic who live in the Arabic world, and heritage speakers of Arabic is that SA is an important identity marker for the former but not for the latter. To Abu Karam, their children need to learn reading and writing and that, as he believes, they will acquire SA through reading and writing and differentiate between SA and QA later.

Extract 60

R: I mean, do you feel the SA is important for you to be Arab and Muslim?

Abu Karam: **Not very strong for me to be honest.** Because we grew up and learned it and **we never used it**, we used it only in reading, only understand and read.

R: And how do your children feel about Arabic in general?

Aum Karam: The two older started to feel its importance and it is useful to them, and that it is a second language to them.

R: So, they seemed to understand the practical and academic aspects of it?

Aum Karam: Yes.

Abu Karam: **It is forming an Arabic identity and it is their second language.**

When they were asked what variety, they prefer teachers to speak, their

answer was:

Extract 61

Aum Karam: No problem, it is not exclusive to Palestinian and Jordanian for me, even if she speaks some other dialects, we know Saudi, Egyptian, Iraqi, so I do not think there is

R: so, you do not mind?

Abu Karam: No.

Aum Karam: No [...] **I think it is flexible, SA with QA would be the closest to the children in here, because Arabic for them is the second language, not the first language so when it is close to them, to the regional dialect, I feel they understand it more.**

R: So, you are saying that you prefer it because it is closer to the regional dialects?

Aum Karam: Yes. I mean I do not mind that they speak SA but not all the time, of course, they will not understand it, my little son used to say about **his teacher who speaks SA 'she does not speak Arabic or English'.**

R: So, you do not encourage that they speak SA with them?

Aum Karam: No, no. Do you mind Abu Karam?

Abu Karam: **I do not mind, because they learn it and as they get older and they read and write, it gets separated from QA.**

We can see here that Aum Karam and Abu Karam's attitudes towards the use of QA are more positive than SA. They appear to consider QA to be simpler, more practical, more influential, and closer to the children than SA. It is important here to note that SA sometimes sounds to children like a different language, as Aum Karam suggested, which might negatively influence the attitudes towards SA and add an additional challenge to SA acquisition. This takes us back to the debate on whether SA should be considered an L3 to Arabic HLSs (see section 5.3.3 on LP at SAS for more details). Albirini (2018) argues that HLSs should not be considered as L3 learners. As he found that QA proficiency correlates with HLSs' SA proficiency, he suggests that one of the main ways to build up the skills of HLSs in SA is to provide enough input from different sources, including QA. Moreover, the findings from the study indicate that HLSs enter elementary SA classrooms prepared with efficient SA knowledge that allowed them to finish an oral and a writing task in SA.

Although Aum Mona is in favour of the use of SA in SAS, it seems that she does not mind that her children speak a different QA as a result of attending diverse SAS (Extract 62). We can sense some conflict here between the affective and cognitive components of their attitudes towards the two varieties (see section 3.3.6.1). According to Ferguson's (1959b) theory of diglossia, Aum Mona and Abu Mona were more likely to support SA's status because of their knowledge and perhaps because of its status as a highly prestigious H variety which was considered superior and more rational and valued within the speech community (Almahmoud, 2013). Nevertheless, they appear to support QA emotionally because it was the

mother dialect and thus have a greater emotional bond to it than to SA (Bassetti & Cook, 2011).

Extract 62

R: Umm, so if your children came from school speaking words from a different accent, do you mind?

Aum Mona: No, because my parents-in-law speak with some Palestinian-Syrian accent, **so I do not mind.**

R: So how do you react? Do you correct them? Or do you say what is this word?

Aum Mona: No, it is fine, the opposite, it is a new word.

R: Ok, so do you like that they are learning new dialects.

Aum Mona: Yes, I like it you feel **they widen their knowledge in new dialects.**

Similarly, Aum Karam and Abu Karam hold positive attitudes towards different QA:

Extract 63

Aum Karam: Wow, nice, I would comment on it, that you **know** it is Saudi and you are not just copying. It is nice.

Abu Karam: Exactly.

We can also see from the questionnaires that there is a difference in what the parents prefer and what they believe their children prefer. This might reflect the parents' awareness of the difference between them and their children. This awareness was reflected by Aum Mona when she wondered if her children would understand and pick up SA:

Extract 64

R: How do you feel towards SA?

Aum Mona: I feel it is important, but I don't know.... if the little ones would pick it or understand it ... I feel... they do not hear it a lot ... so... they would not understand Especially a lot of words they

would not understand ... a lot of stories are in SA.... You feel a lot of words...that... they never came by.... They do not know its meaning.

After investigating what teachers and parents prefer and believe children prefer, it is time to turn to what children themselves reported. 84% of children reported they always or sometimes prefer the teachers use QA instead of SA to speak to them. We can say that overall, children generally prefer QA to SA. Mona has frankly expressed that she does not understand SA:

Extract 65

R: What do you feel towards SA? Like when you hear someone speaking SA?

Mona: I do not understand it.

Other children, like Karam and Noor, reported that they understand a little of

SA:

Extract 66

R: Do you understand teachers who speak with QA?

Karam: Sometimes.

R: Ok, and do you understand SA?

Noor: mmm [...]

Karam: Not a lot.

R: I mean if an Iraqi teacher speaks Iraqi or a Saudi teacher, do you understand her more or standard Arabic?

Noor: I understand SA but not every word.

These negative attitudes towards using SA presented in the data above are in line with the relevant literature. Saidat (2004) found that his participants have negative attitudes towards using SA in informal contexts. Saidat claims that the explanation for this attitude is the common belief that people would make fun of people who use SA in informal conversation. The current study suggests similar

findings as Aum Ahmed reported that children who speak in SA sound awkward and get rejected by the community (see Extract 29). In the same context, Almahmoud (2013) found that Saudi university students showed a positive attitude towards SA in general, yet they held negative attitudes towards the use of SA in educational contexts. It is important here to highlight that SA within the Arabic communities is not considered a spoken variety. Therefore, these attitudes seem to be justifiable.

According to Albirini (2016), many studies (Albirini, 2011; Bassiouney, 2013; Holes, 2004; Soliman, 2008) suggest that there is a shift from negative attitudes to positive attitudes towards using QA in specific domains where previously only SA was accepted. It can be seen here that at the school domain, where it was usually more common to use SA as the formal language of communication and instruction, there is a change in these attitudes and practices. It seems that it is more practical for both the teachers and students to communicate using their QA than SA.

Besides, the results above indicate that both teachers and students employ all the available sources including the use of QA to support the educational process. Albirini (2018) argues that, instead of totally disregarding QA, teachers need to find ways to tap into the QA experience of heritage speakers to develop their SA skills. This finding was built on the grounds that SA input along with QA competence were the only predictors of SA proficiency, which according to Albirini, implies that one of the main ways of building up heritage speaker competence in SA is to have appropriate input from various sources (such as parents, Sunday schools, and Mosques).

Therefore, one could conclude that limiting the use of SA to teaching might be more efficient. It might be of negative influence to communicate with children in SA, which is not a spoken variety of Arabic. It is important here to consider that as the Arabic community children live in is composed of Arabs from all over the Arab world. Hence, being exposed in the SAS to different varieties would be beneficial to them.

6.3 Attitudes towards Maintaining and transmitting Arabic

One of the main areas investigated in this study is Arabic HLM within the younger Arab generation in Manchester. Studies of the immigrants' heritage LA generally find a strong desire among immigrants to teach their children their HL to transmit their culture and foster positive family interaction (Nesteruk, 2010). In this section, I explore the parents' and children's attitudes and motivations to maintain and transmit the Arabic language to the next generation.

Children were asked if they would continue speaking Arabic for the rest of their lives. 61% of them agreed, 31% neither agreed nor disagreed, and only 8% disagreed. Most of them said they would always or would sometimes speak Arabic to their future children; only 4% said they would never speak Arabic to their children. In terms of teaching their children Arabic, 92% of the children reported they intend to do so and only one participant reported intending never to teach their children Arabic. In the interviews, children's attitudes towards maintaining Arabic were investigated by asking them about their plans for their future children. All of them reported straight away that they would like their children to learn Arabic. They

suggested that they would teach them at home or send them to SAS to avoid doing the job of teaching themselves like in the case of Karam:

Extract 67

Noor: Yes.

R: And you Karam.

Karam: **I'll send them to an Arabic school.**

R: You will send them to an Arabic school.

Noor: And me too.

R: Why?

Karam: I do not want to teach them.

R: What?

Karam: I do not want to teach them.

R: Ummm, you **do not want to teach them yourself**, but you want them to learn Arabic? And you want them to read and write in Arabic?

Karam: Yes.

R: Is it important to you?

Karam: Yeah.

Noor: Because... **Muslim is who knows Arabic...** That ummm... **and a lot of Muslims speak Arabic, not all of them but a lot.**

When Mona was asked if she would send her children to SAS, she replied as follows:

Extract 68

Mona: Yes, if they really really wanted to go, I will send them.

R: And if they do not want to go?

Mona: **I will teach them myself at home.**

R: So, you want them to learn Arabic, it is important to you.

Mona: Yes.

R: Why is it important?

Mona: Because it is **our** language.

R: Why is this language important for us?

Mona: Because **it is the language of Islam.**

R: So, why do not we make English our language?

Mona: Because **it is not right, it would be wrong.**

Mona, here, reflected on the persistence she has to teach her children Arabic. She pointed to Arabic by saying that it is 'our language' which shows a sense of Arabic identity (this will be discussed further in the next chapter). Ahmad even insisted that he would not allow his children to grow up not speaking Arabic:

Extract 69

R: Would you send your children to an Arabic school?

Ahmad: Yes, **because it is important to know Arabic.**

R: Why is it important?

Ahmad: Because **we are Arab**, if their cousins sleepover at ours, they could speak to them. I do not want anyone to make fun of them if I have children.

R: Can you imagine your children not speaking Arabic?

Ahmad: **This is something that I would not allow, they need to speak Arabic.**

We can see here that the shared motivation to maintain Arabic is that Arabic is the language of Islam. It is clear that for the group under investigation, the HL is considered a 'core value' (Smolicz, 1981) that is interrelated with their religion and ethnicity which works as a strong motivation to maintain it on the immigrant land. Gogonas (2012) argues that when language is closely related to other core values, such as religion, the match between attitudes and actual maintenance is even greater, while if language is separated from other cultural factors, the match is weaker. In addition, children have shown in the previous section high positive attitudes towards Arabic. Mills (2005) argues that these positive attitudes towards HL result in more positive attitudes towards maintaining that HL.

In this study, I investigate the parents' attitudes and perceptions regarding HLM. All my interviewees had some sort of awareness regarding the possibility of children's loss of mother tongue. They all learned from other parents whose children

did not speak Arabic at all. However, for Fatimah the story was different. She insisted that her children speak Arabic, but as they grew older, she changed her mind and now prefers to invest her time and energy in building a strong relationship with her children no matter what language they speak. It is important to note that her children speak, read, and write Arabic fluently.

Extract 70

Fatimah: Ok. I am quite the opposite, I think. Of course, **at the beginning I wanted them to speak Arabic.** When they were little, I was so keen that they speak Arabic, learn Arabic, and write Arabic, and become the top in the SAS... but now..... **When you say what is their identity? Muslims... They are Arabs.... Now not a lot, I care much less...** I am the opposite of you and many people. **Raising children is very critical and the challenges I am seeing in high school, made me think they speak English, not a problem, but they are straight, their morals are right, they are good people, is more important.** They speak Arabic, I have Arabic tutors, I chase after Arabic, **it will put them under stress. I thought let me invest this energy, focus on building a good relationship with my son.** For example, I went out on Sunday with the two older sons, the chat was, unfortunately, let us say half of it, was in English. I did not feel guilty for not speaking Arabic. **As long they are talking to me and I am getting the principles to them, that is what matters.**

Fatimah explained why it is important for her that her children speak Arabic by explaining that Arabic is a means of communication with their relatives. Communicating with relatives was one of three key causes parents used to justify and clarify their bilingual decisions on parenting that King and Fogle (2006) identified. Regardless of the country of residence of the relatives, migrant parents emphasize the importance of HLM to promote contact through generations (Nesteruk, 2010). More importantly, a change in the LA and expectations can be seen in Fatima's case. She had high expectations when her children were at a young age and felt she

succeeded in maintaining HL. This corresponds with Nesteruk (2010) who studied HLM and loss among the children of Eastern European immigrants in the USA. In her study, Nesteruk suggested that very young children's parents tend to be very positive about the prospect of transmitting their HL to their children, and some do succeed in the short term. Over time, Fatimah appears to understand the strong forces that lead to English monolingualism and became more rational in her language aims and attitudes, settling for less than she had previously anticipated. This parental behaviour and change in language aims and attitudes were also found by Nesteruk. This could be a result of that the transmission and maintenance of an HL involve considerable and huge efforts on the part of the parents, a fact that is frequently understated and lacking from the social focus on the benefits of bilingualism (Okita, 2002). Fatimah goes on to explain how speaking another language allows them to explore a completely different culture, civilization and history (Extract 71). Similar motivations were found by Maylor et al. (2010). Besides, Fatimah's hopes to move out of the UK later in life which brings uncertainty about the family's location. This ambiguity about the future location of the family brings with it a further desire to HLM (Ivashinenko, 2019).

Extract 71

R: What is the importance that they speak Arabic to you? How important is it and why?

Fatimah: So, they can **communicate** with people in Arabic countries. We will not stay here forever.

R: So, you plan to move?

Fatimah: Inshallah [If Allah wills], sure.

R: Umm

Fatimah: And **language is a culture, civilization, history**, it is not just words you say, and that is it. I mean..... So, they can read books,

how they get to know their history, how they get to know their culture, even their religion, how they know it if they do not know the language.

R: And what about reading and writing.

Fatimah: They read very well. But writing is weak.

Aum Mona came from the same point of view. When I asked Aum Mona and Abu Mona to go back with memory to when they first came here, and describe How their perception about their children's Arabic maintenance was different from their perceptions now, how has it changed after three years of living here, how these perceptions have differed, how their LU with their children has differed after three years of living in Manchester, Aum Moan answered as follows:

Extract 72

Aum Mona: **From the beginning, I cared that they speak Arabic....** Maybe in the first year... I did not look for a SAS... but she could still speak Arabic... But in that year, she a little bit forgot Arabic but after that, I was alerted that, no, we must find her something and we do not depend on ourselves, that we will teach her, or she will grow up older then learn... And now it is more..... When I noticed that they are their Arabic language has improved, their writing has improved, their comprehension has improved, I am more encouraged, I thought should I pull them out of SAS? I said no, let them go, it is better for them, they are benefiting and learning.

R: So, is your awareness about language maintenance the same since you first came here?

Aum Mona: Yes, because **I have seen a lot of people who came here, they go back home and their children do not speak Arabic**, so for me, it was no, I do not want to come here when they are little and they learn English and they go back not speaking Arabic, no, I want them to learn Arabic.

Aum Mona had seen many children who go back home not speaking Arabic.

Thus, Abu Mona and Aum Mona have kept a close eye on their children's Arabic

language and worked hard to maintain it. Similarly, Abu Karam found it confusing to see Arab children not speaking Arabic while Aum Karam was 'scared' of the idea that one day her children grow up not speaking Arabic. Therefore, they "took precautions" to prevent that from happening to their own children.

Extract 73

Abu Karam: I think we shared the same perceptions because **we knew people, who have children and they speak Englishand that made me confused.**

Aum Karam: **I was scared that one day my children grow up not speaking Arabic.**

Abu Karam: Therefore, we were cautious.

Aum Karam: We took precautions [laughs].

Abu Karam: We **planned**, and we lived, like this, trying to strengthen Arabic at home.

R: So, **from the beginning**, since they were little, you had this principal.

Aum Karam: Yes.

Abu Karam: Yes.

R: And this principle has not changed until now?

Aum Karam: Yes, **but it is getting more difficult**, the idea....

Abu Karam: We feel how **difficult** it is.

Aum Karam: Application is difficult, that... **as they get older**, you need to get stricter, they force English on you. At home and out.

R: But your perception about the importance of maintaining Arabic is the same.

Aum Karam: Yes.

R: But it is more difficult now?

Aum Karam: So that is why I like to **widen my social circle with Arabs, their friends, it affects them a lot, their friends.**

Many parents see bilingualism as a benefit and addressed its benefits ranging from preserving cultural relations to growing their children's economic opportunities (Extracts 62, 73, 99, 108) which correspond with the findings of similar studies, that investigated the parents' motivations to raise their children bilingually (Bichani, 2015; King, Fogle, & Logan-Terry, 2008; Nesteruk, 2010; Wilson, 2020). All of my

participants hold positive attitudes towards maintaining and transmitting their HL, which might contribute to HLM. This is consistent with previous studies that evident extremely positive attitudes towards the maintenance and transmission of HLMs including Arabic, East European Gujarati, and Spanish (Bichani, 2015; Ferguson, 2013; King & Fogle, 2006; Martin, 2009; Nesteruk, 2010). Also, all parents had addressed clearly and agreed to use two languages for their children from a young age onwards which corresponds with King and Fogle (2006). This awareness of the possibility of losing Arabic and the early start in making decisions on HL use are crucial to maintaining HLMs. It is significant to realize that the maintenance of HL is a continuous process that needs a lot of energy and time to be invested in. By the end, considering that all the children who I interviewed chose Arabic and could answer all the questions in Arabic, all the efforts seem to have paid off.

Ivashinenko (2019) argues that in migrant communities, reasons for HLM seem sensitive and emotionally motivated, rather than focused on rational thinking about the advantages that learning HL could carry in the host community. However, the participants in the current study have shown high awareness of their motivation to maintain and transmit their heritage language to the younger generation and these behind sending their children to SAS. Although they have shown some emotional motivations behind HLM, they also are fully aware of the benefits which knowledge of HL could bring (see section 2.1.3.2). This awareness was missing among the Russian immigrants in the UK parents who, according to Ivashinenko, did not give many straightforward reasons on why they wanted to teach their children Russian. Rather, Ivashinenko's participants reported that Russian people should

teach HL to their Russian children without any clear justification, only because it is 'right' to do so, mainly because it would facilitate parent-child communication. One of the main differences between Arabic and Russian as heritage languages is that Arabic has a great significance as a sacred language for Muslims. Second, Arab migrants are aware of the job opportunities available for them in some of the Arab countries. Fatimah has pointed out that they do not plan to stay in the UK forever. Through my research journey, I met with other members of the Arabic minority and many of them have told me that they hope their children find good jobs in Dubai for example. They were aware of the opportunities available for their children who have received their education in the UK and are proficient in both English and Arabic. Although some of them did not hold higher education qualifications, they seemed to invest in their children's education including bilingual education. They explained that they wish to live in an Islamic country again where it is easier for them to raise their children and grandchildren and that they only can do that if their children grow up and find jobs there.

6.4 Attitudes towards SAS

To investigate the children's attitudes towards the SAS, I included questions asking about: how comfortable they feel in the SAS, if they like to go to the SAS and if they find SAS fun. I also checked if they would continue going to the SAS and if they would send their children to SAS in the future.

The results show quite positive attitudes towards SAS. 89% of my participants said they feel comfortable in the SAS compared to only 11% who said they do not feel comfortable in the SAS. Additionally, 83% of the children reported that they like

going to the SAS, and only 17% never like going to the SAS. A similar pattern was found regarding seeing SAS as fun. In terms of their plans, more than half of the children intend to attend SAS the following year, while only 18% stated they would not. 25% were neutral about this matter. Although the final decision in this matter might not be theirs, it is still a good indicator of their attitudes. When it came to their plans for their future children, the pattern was different. Most of the children plan to send their children to SAS and only 10% of them reported they would not do so. This shows the children's positive attitudes towards learning Arabic and SAS. Moving to the parents, I investigated both their plans and motivation to send the children to SAS. First, the parents' questionnaires revealed that 93% of them plan to continue sending their children to SAS which indicate positive attitudes toward SAS. These parents' and children's positive attitudes were also found in previous studies (Bichani, 2015; Strand, 2007; Tinsley, 2015; Ferguson, 2013) (see section 2.1.3.2.1).

Second, in terms of the parents' motivation behind sending their children to SAS, the questionnaire included the following options: to study Quran, to speak Arabic, to learn reading and writing in Arabic, to study the curriculum of my Arabic home country, to strengthen their Islamic identity, to strengthen their national identity, and to keep them busy. The parents were given the choice of ticking more than one option and space was given to report any other reasons. The biggest motivation among them all was to learn reading and writing in Arabic as 178 of the 215 participants selected it. Becoming literate in the HL is one of the most common motivations to attend supplementary schools and was also reported by other studies such as (Archer, 2009; Strand, 2007). The second motivation was to study the Quran,

which was ticked 160 times. Furthermore, strengthening their Islamic identity was the third most frequent motivation, as 151 participants ticked it. Speaking Arabic as a motivation to send children to SAS was reported 69 times. Only 33 parents reported strengthening children's national identity as their motivation. The same motivations were reported by the interviewees. Aum Karam, for instance, stated her motivation to teach her children Arabic:

Extract 74

Abu Karam: We want them to speak Arabic.

Aum Karam: So, when we go on holidays, they understand, they can speak, express themselves, they would not be at the needed level otherwise. They are still not proficient enough, but no, for me, my children are good, better than others who live here.

This level of proficiency in Arabic could be a result of attending SAS (among other factors) as Othman (2006) argues that children who attend SAS are more proficient in Arabic and show higher literacy levels than those who do not attend SAS.

In addition to the above motivations, some participants added socializing with Arabs and Muslims. One parent mentioned socializing with children who are raised with similar culture, traditions, and background. Another participant suggested that s/he send their children to SAS to socialize and make friendships within Arabic and Islamic minorities. Furthermore, a participant reported sending their children to SAS to strengthen social bonds. Talking with and meeting friends was a motive for Fatimah's daughter to go to the SAS:

Extract 75

Fatimah: My children went to Alhijra, the Libyan....

R: Do they like to go? Or you force them to go?

Fatimah: No, we force them.

R: Did they tell you why they do not want to go?

Fatimah: Now my daughter loves to go.

R: Why?

Fatimah: Because there are girls and they talk because my daughter does not go out, the boys go out. She goes and has fun. I stopped sending the boys after primary school. But honestly, it was very beneficial.

Ms Sara was asked about her motivation for starting teaching in SAS. Her main motivation was to socialize with the Arabic community:

Extract 76

R: Why do you teach in the Arabic school?

Ms Sara: Mixing with the Arab community in the first place, more, to build more relationships with Arabs, for me and my children, this is my first motivation. And then ... life is expensive here, so it helps, it is barely enough for me, but it helps.

Therefore, SAS seems to work as a social space that does not only enable children to negotiate their heritage identity, but also allows both teachers and parents to get engaged in the Arabic community in Manchester. The role of SAS here goes beyond literacy and religious instruction to providing members of the Arabic minority with the sense of community they need.

Asking the children in the interviews if they like going revealed some of the reasons that make them do not like going to the SAS. Karam and Noor do not like that the SAS is on the weekend and that they do not have a lot of free time for themselves. They prefer going to the SAS after school rather than going on the weekend:

Extract 77

R: Do you like going to the SAS?

Karam: No, I do not like to.

Noor: It is OK with me but **because it is at the weekend**, we have to go too.

R: So, being on the weekend makes you do not like it?

Noor: Yes, but it is OK if it is after school.

R: [...] And you Faris, why do not you like it?

Karam: Because it is on the weekend, and I play sports, **I have only a day rest that I do not go to school.**

In the following extracts, I further explored Karam, Noor and Mona's justification to prefer the English school more than the Arabic one:

Extract 78

Karam: **I understand them more, and the food is good.**

R: Mmm, so, do you understand what they say in the English school more than in SAS?

Karam: I understand Arabic but not a lot.

Extract 79

R: Do you like to go to the SAS?

Mona: No.

R: Why?

Mona: **I feel there is a lot of talking it gives me a headache, you do not understand a thing.**

R: What is it that you do not understand? You do not understand what is being said in the books or you do not understand the teachers when she speaks to you?

Mona: Everything.

In summary, the language barrier and poor understanding of Arabic might be the most important challenge they mentioned. This supports my assumption about the importance of the language spoken to children, and how it affects their attitudes towards SAS. Similar negative attitudes towards SAS were found by Archer (2009), who found that children prefer mainstream schools to Chinese supplementary schools despite identifying some positive aspects and benefits of

attending Chinese supplementary schools. The reason for these negative attitudes is the difficulty of learning Chinese, outdated teaching methods and unqualified teachers which were also reported by the participants of the current study. However, these findings contradict with Strand's (2007) findings which suggest that children held more positive attitudes towards supplementary schools than they did towards mainstream schools. Strand argues that the help supplementary school offer in mainstream schools' work might be behind the positive attitudes.

Investigating the effect of attending SAS on the children's attainment in mainstream schools, all my interviewees think that going to the SAS has no negative effect on the children's achievement in the mainstream school:

Extract 80

R: So, did you ever feel that going to the SAS affected their level in the English school.

Aum Mona: It has nothing to do with it. Because it is on the weekend and they do the homework during weekdays, and in the English school, they do not have a lot of homework.

R: Ok. Do you feel that there is a positive effect? That, for example, when they go to the SAS their level has improved in the English school?

Abu Mona: **No, I did not find any relation.**

Indeed, Aum Karam and Fatimah both reported positive influence of attending SAS on the children's academic attainment in mainstream school (See section 5.3.4 on impact of SAS for more details).

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter shows that LA is acquired through the surrounding environment and inspired by the surrounding people. It also shows how LA is related to the children's, parents' and teachers' linguistic practices and HLM. Fatimah described her

children's journey of maintaining Arabic. She highlighted that the key factor was their father's determination and continuous positive attitude building. According to Lyon (1996), fathers play a greater role than mothers in defining the language of the family:

Extract 81

R: why do your children love Arabic?

Fatimah: **It was their father's influence.** We always remind them that it is **the language of Quran**, not only religion; we tried to **plant loving Arabic** in them. They feel that They know that **they are originally Arab; they love everything that connects them to their origin.** We have always reminded them that we are **Arab and Muslim.** Because they used to come with questions like why we are like this, different and so. That it is the language of the Quran, that Arabic is your mother tongue. **That the people who you love the most, mom and dad, their language is Arabic.** Their dad always said I do not speak English, look, I speak Arabic until they loved Arabic. I honestly since they were little, no matter how I am tired when I come back from work, I must, before they sleep, lay next to them and **read them an Arabic story.** It is as important as my morning breakfast. Only God knows what impact this had on them. They don't have to understand but they sit and listen. They love it. They sometimes asked me to read in English, but I said: no, I do not love to, I love Arabic. And until now I do the same.

R: And do they love English?

Fatimah: They love it, they love it, they feel comfortable. But it is different from Arabic. Arabic, **they feel it is part of them. It is for them. They feel they belong to it. They love English because it is easy, they use it.**

This chapter also highlights complex motives among parents to educate their children in Arabic and encourage them to attend SAS in the UK. The motivation to attend SAS is complementary to and based on, the general desire for HLM. Parents' decisions about HLM appear to be strongly related to their preferences about the family's use of this language for stronger mutual communication and understanding,

highly religiously motivated and driven by a high knowledge of the potential benefits of bilingualism. In addition, it can be concluded that LA is strongly connected to the children's sense of identity, which will be the topic of the next chapter.

Chapter 7: Language and Identity

"If I am a Muslim and do not speak Arabic, I am not exactly a Muslim"

Noor

Language, as we will see in this chapter, is associated with the children's sense of identity. In this chapter, I first investigate the children's sense of who they are and where they socially position themselves. Social identity "refers to a person's sense of belonging to a group and the attitudes and emotions that accompany this sense of belonging" (Vedder & Virta, 2005, p. 319). This includes national, religious, and ethnic identity. Identity here is approached from a social constructionist perspective where identity is seen as "constructed rather than essential and performed rather than processed" (Joseph, 2010, p. 14). From this perspective, identity is perceived as multiple, which means that an individual may enact multiple identities (Kroskrity, 2000) that can be "complementary or conflicting with other identities present at the

same time" (Omoniyi & White, 2006, p. 3). The children's questionnaire, therefore, employs four questions that explore the children's identity in general and then in three specific social contexts. These three social contexts are the SAS, the English school and home. I chose these three contexts to examine how the children's sense of identity changes from one social context to the other. The children were given six options to choose from: Arab, Muslim, British, all of them equally, British Muslim, and Arab Muslim. The Parents' questionnaire also investigates the dominant identity at home. Moreover, it investigates the extent to which the parents' motivation to send children to SAS might be identity related. Following Bichani (2015), I focus on four social positions that could best describe my participants regarding ethnicity and religion. These are the Islamic, national, Arab and British identities.

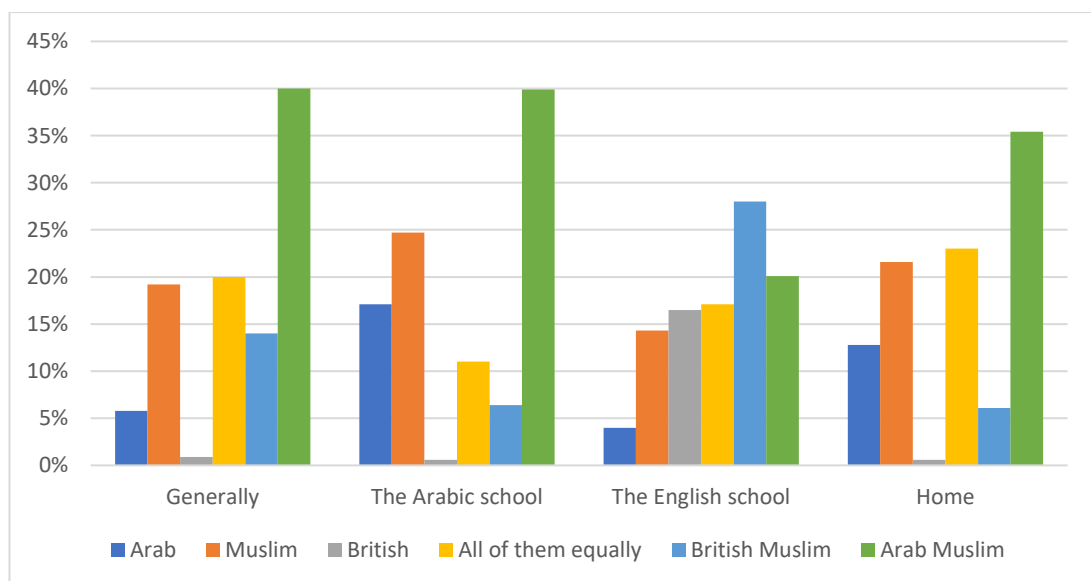
Second, this chapter investigates the relationship between identity and language. Therefore, another four questions investigate the relationship between language and identity in the children's questionnaire. Along with the questionnaires, the interviews added a deeper description of the participants' identity and its relation to the language they speak. Additionally, it examines the influence of attending SAS on the children's sense of identity.

7.1 Identity

The most frequent social position children chose to position themselves in general, at home and in the SAS was 'Arab Muslim' (see Figure 7.1). However, in the English school, 'Arab Muslim' was the second-highest position reported after British Muslim. This is understandable as the dominant language and culture in the mainstream school are English. It is worth noting that regardless of the ethnicity, the

Muslim Identity was the highest in both cases. It is also important to note that the context in which the Arab Muslim identity was reported most frequently was in the SAS. Also, the context in which the highest percentage of children perceived themselves as British was the English school. Finally, a number of children expressed that they feel they are equally Arab, Muslim and British at home and in general. However, this was reported the least in SAS. It is clear in Figure 7.1 how the same individuals positioned themselves in different social groups in different social contexts. This indicates that children's sense of identity is changeable and dynamic.

Figure 7.1: Children's identity (n=328)



The number of children who reported themselves as British might be influenced by being a part of the English school community, being born in the UK or living in the UK and thus see themselves as Britons. There is a possibility that the language might be a factor to consider as well. Children with low Arabic proficiency might find it hard to consider themselves Arab and those with high English proficiency might feel British (the relationship between language and identity is

discussed in brief in section 7.2). However, the relation between language proficiency and identity is an area that would need to be explored in more detail in future research. In the same way, children who see themselves as Muslims in the English school, despite its non-Islamic environment, might be falling under the influence of the dominant identity in the SAS and at home that extends to the English school. It is important here to remember that all the participating children are Arab with at least one Arab parent and all of them are Muslims. Children who have one non-Arab parent made up less than five per cent of the whole sample.

The interviews offer insights into the participants' sense of identity. It is worth to point out that researching identity as a fluid, performative construct was challenging especially in the interviews where I tried to make my questions straightforward for the children. However, identity was treated as changeable and dynamic in the questionnaires which shows the advantage of the mixed-method approach used in this study. I asked Karam and Noor to choose from British, Muslim, Arab or Palestinian to describe themselves:

Extract 82

Noor: Muslim.

R: And you are Karam?

Karam: Both.

R: What do you mean by both?

Karam: Actually, I say I am a Muslim.

Similarly, Ahmad and Monna were asked the same questions and their replies match these given by Karam and Noor:

Extract 83

Ahmad: Muslim.
 R: Then?
 Ahmad: Arab then Libyan and then British.
 R: So, do you feel that part of you is British?
 Ahmad: Yes.

Extract 84

Mona: Muslim.
 R: And then.
 Mona: Arab.
 R: And then?
 Mona: What other options I have?
 R: British and Saudi.
 Mona: Saudi.

On the parents' side, the Islamic identity was also the most frequent identity reported as the dominant identity at home (Table 7.1). It was followed by the Arabic identity; national identity and the least was the British identity.

Table 7.1: Dominant identity at home as described by parents (n=215)

	Islamic Identity	Arabic Identity	National Identity	British Identity
agree	83.7%	71.2%	62.8%	7.0%
neither agree nor disagree	13.0%	23.3%	29.8%	22.8%
disagree	3.3%	5.6%	7.4%	70.2%

Aum Mona described her family as a Muslim family. She insisted that the identity is Islamic and that this is more important than the national identity:

Extract 85

Aum Mona: Maybe I would **say Islamic identity; I am trying as possible that our identity is Islamic.**
 R: Stronger than the Arabic and Saudi identity?
 Aum Mona: Yes, like... my morals, your morals, your behaviour, your religion... Like this.

R: So, before any identity, the Islamic identity.

Aum Mona: Yes.

R: And what makes you describe your family as having an Islamic identity?

Aum Mona: I do not know... sometimes that they recite the Quran... saying the daily supplications, doing the basic Islamic practices... So, I feel that this makes them...for example, praying is the most important thing ... Memorizing Quran...so I am trying to strengthen the Islamic aspects of them, not the Arabic ones. [...]

She also described her children's identity and how they never described themselves as British. Her answer is consistent with Mona's answer, as we can see in Extract 84, Mona chose all the options given to her to describe herself except for British.

Extract 86

R: And your children? Do you think they feel British or Arab?

Aum Mona: They know they are Arab, but Arabic is difficult for them... why do we have to learn Arabic, why do we go to the SAS? We know English, we can speak Arabic, and they still not fully understand that they must learn Arabic... they feel English is easier.... They know they are Arab, but as a language, communication, that why...

R: So, they never come and say we are British?

Aum Mona: No, no, no, no, no.

Aum Mona here strongly denied the idea of her children holding a sense of British identity. However, the children's data from Figure 7.1 indicates that the most 'salient' identity chosen by children with reference to 'the English school' is 'British Muslim'. This could be an example of the tensions between parents' and children's views/reflections on identity, language use and language attitudes and how children are pushed and pulled in different directions.

Moving to Fatimah, she straight away described her family and family members as Muslims which indicates that Muslim identity is the strongest identity

they hold. However, Fatimah was hesitant about describing her children's national identity. The main reason for that was the language they speak "*no because their first language is English*". She concluded by describing them as a British Muslim. This indicates that her children might hold multiple identities or a 'repertoire of identities' (Kroskrity, 2000) that compose of the Islamic identity which is a part of the family's heritage culture and that complements the identity that they acquired as a result of being born and brought up in the host community.

Extract 87

Fatimah: **Of course, Muslim, a Muslim family..... Arabic if we want to talk about the mother and father.....** If we want to talk about the children..... **no, because their first language is English.....** what would we call these **foreigners?** [both laugh]

R: So, do you think a part of their identity is English?

Fatimah: What do you exactly mean by identity? **It is a Muslim family for sure** because even the external is Muslim, you see us in the street you say Muslim, it is us or Pakistanis or Somalis, we are Muslims. But what do you mean by identity, language, culture?

R: This is what I want to ask you. What makes you describe your family in this way?

Fatimah: Because you could say we are Muslims because the appearance is Islamic, there is Hijab..... A beard. You could say we are Muslims. But you could also say these are only formalities. You could say we are Muslims because we worship Allah, we pray we read the Quran. The first thing we are Muslims. But Arab Muslims? **My husband and me yes, but my children no. because if you say identity you mean culture...**

R: There are a lot of things that form Identity.

Fatimah: Of course, religion, culture, language, right..... no, my children..... Muslims yes..... What else I could describe them.....

R: Ok if anyone would ask them?

Fatimah: **British Muslim.**

However, she mentioned that they always point out their origin as Libyans. It is interesting to see the impact of Arabic culture here. In the Arabic culture, children take the last name, origin and religion of their fathers. Unlike in Western culture, where I would expect children to identify themselves as half Libyan and half Syrian, her children identified themselves as Libyans. They would point out that their mother is Syrian, but they would not say they are Syrians. Fatimah felt like she had to justify that for me when she said: “They are excused of course”.

Extract 88

Fatimah: They talk about their origin.

R: What about their Arabic nationality?

Fatimah: **They directly say we are Libyans.**

R: So, they never say we are Syrians.

Fatimah: They say mom is Syrian. But at first, they say we are Libyan and then they say mom is Syrian. They are excused of course.

Fatimah explained the kind of identity that she has worked to develop in her children:

Extract 89

R: And what is the identity that you wish to develop in your children, the most important one?

Fatimah: **The Islamic identity.** When I say Islamic, I do not mean praying and fasting, this is not what we are. **I mean morals**, since they are in high school, I have changed. I want him with Islamic morals like parents’ respect, the relation between girls and boys. That he has values, the Islamic and Arabic values that he becomes a balanced person, with high morals. That he could live in this society.

R: So, do you think your children consider themselves Arab or Muslim or British?

Fatimah: **Muslims** in the first place that is what they care about the most. And then British from Arab origins yes that is it, **British Muslim but I come originally from Libya and my mom is Syrian.**

Abu Karam and Aum Karam also described their family's identity, but unlike Fatimah and Aum Mona, they described a national identity rather than a religious identity:

Extract 90

Abu Karam: **Palestinian family**, but not like the ones in Palestine, Palestinian like in Jordan.

Aum Karam: They are similar. [laughs]

Abu Karam: Palestinian with a Jordanian colour.

R: but Arabs?

Aum Karam: Yes, Yes, of course, Arabs no doubt

When asked about the reason that made them describe their family by this description, they answered:

Extract 91

Aum Karam: **It is our roots, our roots, our people, we are already Palestinian, from one generation to another**, me and him, right, I was born in Kuwait, and he was born in Jordan, but our roots, when you speak you say I am Palestinian. That we are Palestinian.

Abu Karam: In the house, **we leave a fingerprint and food and knowledge is mostly Palestinian.**

Aum Karam: Yes, of course, we must leave a fingerprint in the house, we bring Arabic decoration every time we visit home.

Abu Karam: **The house, the food, the speech, and the social relationships**, all our friends are Palestinian so, like this, we call ourselves Palestinians.

Here, they identified themselves as Palestinians considering their origin. They sounded proud to be pure Palestinians 'from one generation to another'. They make sure to reflect this identity with home decoration and food. I noticed this the first time I visited them. There was a statue of Ka'ba on the table and some written Quranic verses on the wall. To Aum Karam and Abu Karam, the language is a

significant part of this identity. Tawalbeh (2019) suggests that those who show deep pride in their ethnic culture and consider language as an inseparable part of their identity are more likely to maintain their HL than those who lack positive heritage LA. In minorities, immigrants may create transnational spaces that assist them in maintaining their cultural identity (Tawalbeh, 2019). This kind of practice is similar to what Aum Karam, Abu Karam and Abu Ahmed (see Extract 20) are doing to help their children maintain their HL and HC.

They described the identity they would like their children to develop as follows:

Extract 92

Aum Karam: **No bias, it is Islamic-Arabic, in the end, we are Arab, Muslim Arab, not.... These regions are just names, roots.**

Abu Karam: I would reject that they have European identity, but Arabic, no we do not mind, if they want Palestinian, as they want, if they do not want

R: Ok, your children, do you think that they feel they are Arabs or English?

Aum Karam: No, Arabs, like Karam, tells us we are from Palestine, but we have not been in Palestine yet.... And it really touched me, I felt, really, why?

R: So, he feels he is Palestinian?

Aum Karam: Yeah, yeah. For a long time, where do we come from? We are from Palestine. Ok, you are born in England, I was born in Kuwait, but you are Palestinian, I am Palestinian. So, you feel that they understand this.

R: Ok, what are the things you think make someone Arab, their roots, or their language?

Abu Karam: **His actions and daily actions,** that he celebrates Arab Islamic events like Eid, that he does not celebrate Christmas, their celebrations here.

Aum Karam here is showing an awareness of where her family is in the wider community and how they are distinctive from it. She considered the wider European community as different from the community that she belongs to, namely the Arabic community. She rejects that her children show any sense of 'European identity'. This kind of awareness according to the Ethno-linguistic vitality theory is vital to HLM. High- Ethno-linguistic vitality groups are likely to maintain their HL and their distinctive cultural characteristics in multilingual settings whereas Low- Ethno-linguistic vitality ethnic groups are more likely to have unfavourable attitudes towards HLM and to go through language assimilation (Bourhis, 1982).

7.2 Language and identity

Abu Karam linked the Arabic language with his children's Arabic identity when he said: "it is forming an Arabic identity" when he was asked how he thought his children feel about Arabic (see Extract 60). For the Arab communities, "Arabic language has been the soul and the substance of identity dynamics in the Arabic speaking world" (Albirini, 2016, p. 122). In Extract 93, we can also see the relationship between language and identity. Aum Karam is investing in maintaining the Arabic language to maintain and develop her children's Arabic identity. Likewise, third-generation members of three Arabic-speaking families in southern Turkey were found to invest in maintaining Arabic as a way of maintaining their cultural identity (Sofu, 2009). Therefore, a positive perception of the language-identity relation can have a significant impact on the engagement of immigrants in maintaining and transmitting their HLs (Tawalbeh, 2019).

We can also sense in Extract 93 some of Aum Karam's concerns that her children might be, one day, embarrassed of their HL or who they are (being different). However, thinking about her own children, she dismissed the idea and concluded 'no, the opposite'. This shows that she rejected that idea whether because she did not want to think about it, she believes that it does not apply to her children, or she believes that she has done enough to make sure her children are proud of who they are. As a migrant parent, Aum Karam's fears might be in place and justified. In general, according to Nesteruk (2010), researchers documented increased conflicts between parents and children as well as low self-esteem and feelings of embarrassment about the culture of their parents among families whose young people are not fluent in the HL. Besides, with time in the migration land, the English skills of children surpass those of their parents, and they respond increasingly to their parents in English, thereby undermining parental control and weakening parental authority (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001).

Extract 93

R: Ok, this feeling, that it is their language, what influence does it have on their identity and their perception of themselves and who they are?

Aum Karam: As they grew up, **they knew that Arabic was useful to them** and when you start planting it in them at a young age, **their Arabic identity grows with them**. I do not think that they, one day, will be embarrassed..... No, the opposite.

In the interviews, children varied in their understanding of the relationship between Arabic and Islam. Some of them related speaking Arabic to being a Muslim, while others seem to understand that someone can be a Muslim without speaking Arabic. When Karam and Noor were asked if Arabic and being Muslim are related,

and if it is important that they speak Arabic to become an Arab or a Muslim, they agreed:

Extract 94

Noor: **If I am a Muslim and do not speak Arabic, I am not exactly a Muslim.**

R: You are not a Muslim, do you think, if you do not speak Arabic?

Noor: Yes, I am a Muslim, but it is better if we speak Arabic and we know Arabic.

R: Why did you connect the Arabic language to Islam? Why do you feel it is connected?

Noor: **Because Arabic is the language of the Quran and the Quran makes us Muslims.**

R: Do you think Arabic is related to being a Muslim Karam?

Karam: Yes.

R: Why?

Karam: **Because the more we speak Arabic, the more Muslims we are.**

It seems here that Noor was primarily motivated to learn Arabic for its religious significance as the language of the Quran, but at the same time, when pressed, she is aware that she does not need to speak Arabic to be a Muslim. Karam on the other hand, positively related Arabic language and being a Muslim. Mona, similar to Karam, related speaking Arabic to being Muslim and to being the language of the Quran.

Like Noor, Ahmed related being an Arab to speaking Arabic but not to being Muslim because *Muslims can speak any language*:

Extract 95

R: Why is it important for you to learn to speak Arabic?

Ahmad: **Because I am Arab. So, I do not like being Arab and not speaking Arabic and not understanding Arabic.**

R: So, is it part of being Arab to speak Arabic?

Ahmad: Yes.

R: And what about being a Muslim? Do you think you should speak Arabic because you are a Muslim?

Ahmad: **No, you can speak any language.**

Parents as well related speaking Arabic to their identity. For example, Aum Karam and Abu Karam agreed that language is an important part of their identity. Abu Karam repeatedly pointed to Arabic as 'our language'. Language use and choice in such cases are used, as Wei (2012) argues, to draw ethnolinguistic boundaries and personal relations, which is often used in the wider social, and political sense to describe 'self' and 'other.':

Extract 96

R: And you said that language is a part of this description [how they described themselves].

Abu Karam: Of course.

Aum Karam: An important part.

Extract 97

R: How important is that they speak Arabic to you?

Aum Karam: **It is their mother language, I mean, it is impossible that one day, we abandon it**, you do not know, no one knows what is to come, we might have to go back home, they go back home and cannot speak with people? With their family?And for their future.

Abu Karam: Exactly, and there is an **emotional side of this, we love that our children grow up with our language and learn our language and they see their relatives** and when they travel in the future... it is good for them, **emotionally and practically**, the Arabic language helps them in their Future, academic and professional future.

R: And as for the **religious motivation**?

Aum Karam: Of course, it is the first thing.

R: Is it the first one?

Aum Karam: Yes, of course, **it is the strongest motivation**

For Aum Mona, although she starts with ‘going back home’ as the main motivation for being alerted about her children’s spoken language, she said that reading the Quran is the first motivation for her. She also related the language they speak with their origins and “roots”: She believes that Arabic “*is their language; it is their Arabic identity*”.

Extract 98

Aum Mona: I feel it is very important. It is **their** language, they will go back home, everyone speaks Arabic, schools will be in Arabic, and even if they study in English, it is still their language, if they do not know their language... I feel that..... it is their roots I mean.

R: Is this the most important reason for you?

Aum Mona: **And for the Quran...** if they do not know Arabic, how are they going to read the Quran, how are they going to read books, how they can communicate with Arab people? **I feel it is fundamental, it is their language, it is their Arabic identity.....**For me, reading is more important than writing, it is important, but reading is more important because..... There are a lot of Arabic books that they can read... as I said... **Th Quran... the most important thing for me is to read the Quran.** If they cannot read Arabic, they cannot read the Quran.

From this viewpoint, literacy is seen as a process of language socialization and a social activity that includes not only the ability to decode and encode written texts but also ideologically shaped ways of reading and writing that represent the principles, beliefs, attitudes, culture and life worlds of individuals (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009) (see also Extract 71). Arabic specifically is commonly taught alongside a range of cultural languages in the UK so the children could read the Quran (Wei, 2006). Aum Mona also connected the Arabic language with the Islamic identity she described in Extract 85. She also described Arabic as the language that represents her and the closest to her.

Extract 100

R: And do you feel that Arabic is related to this description [Islamic identity]?

Aum Mona: Of course, it is related to this description. Because they learn all these things in Arabic.... I do not try to explain it to them in English; no, I try to explain it in Arabic.

Although Aum Mona is aware that her children struggle with Arabic, she has noticed that their sense of Arabic identity is strong and that they associate it with speaking Arabic. Relating language and identity here can be discussed through the notion of performativity (Pennycook, 2003). It seems here that Omar was performing his Arabic identity by speaking the language that is most related to that identity, namely Arabic:

Extract 101

R: But do not you feel that this difference in difficulty affects their perceptions of themselves? [the difference between English and Arabic].

Aum Mona: No, because all of our friends are Arab.... I do not feel that it ... I mean if they see someone..... For example, my son speaks Arabic with me and my friend was with us and she spoke in English, he told her that **we speak Arabic** ... It was like... we speak Arabic ... he was explaining to her ... So, it is the opposite, I mean... **he is proud that he is Arabic.**

Parents and children here mostly related Arabic language to their Arabic and Islamic identity, a finding that is consistent with the literature (Bichani, 2015) who suggested that parents believed that Arabic plays an important role in maintaining their Islamic identity. My participants were motivated to learn Arabic for its religious values and linked Arabic to their Arabic identity and Islamic identity. However, some children even reported that Arabic is not important to Muslims and that Islam is not

limited to Arabic speakers. This awareness may be because the children grew up in a non-Arabic speaking country interacting with non-Arab Muslims and thus have this knowledge.

Looking at Table 7.2, we can see that here again, the Islamic identity was associated the most with SA. SA was associated with being a Muslim more than with being an Arab. Interviewing the children also revealed a strong association between Arabic in general and being a Muslim. Mona connected speaking Arabic to being a Muslim because '*Arabic is the language of the Quran*' (Extract 94). She also emphasized that she would transmit the language to her children because it is the language of Islam (Extract 68). Similarly, Noor defined Muslims as the ones who know Arabic (Extract 67).

Table 7.2: Importance of SA (n=328)

	For Muslims	For Arabs	For me
agree	66.8%	56.1%	53.4%
neither agree nor disagree	23.8%	29.9%	30.5%
disagree	9.5%	14.0%	16.2%

It can be concluded from the data presented in this section that my participants related speaking Arabic with their identities as Arabs and Muslims and considered Arabic as an identity marker. Here again, we can see that the HL is considered a 'core value' (Smolicz, 1981) for the community under investigation that is attached to their religious and ethnic identities, which functions as a strong motivation to maintain their HL on the country of immigration.

7.3 Arabic school and identity

When Aum Mona and Abu Mona were asked if, since they started going to the SAS, her children's sense of Islamic and Arabic identity have been stronger, and how does this impact the way they perceive themselves, they replied as follows:

Extract 102

Abu Mona: Yes, especially Omar. He started thinking we are Muslims, what do we do...

Aum Mona: We love our God.

R: So, do you think it strengthened their Muslim identity?

Aum Mona: Yes.

R: What about their sense of being Arab?

Abu Mona: No, the Islamic identity more.

According to Reed et al. (2020), attending SAS enables children to preserve and establish distinctive identities associated with their HC. Blackledge and Pavlenko (2004) argue that identities are constructed and performed through discourses. When we look at this in relation to supplementary schools, we can see that supplementary schools provide access to discourses and language resources that might not be accessible through other educational contexts (Creese et al., 2006). Aum Mona mentioned earlier in the interview that their children prefer English to Arabic, and that they associate Arabic with SAS (See extract 56).

Mona and Omar are an example of performing the three identity types offered by supplementary schools that Creese and Martin (2006) described: multicultural, and heritage and learner identities. The first two are connected to their ethnicity as Arabs living in Manchester where they perform different identities in the Arabic and English schools and with classmates and family friends. In addition, Mona

seems to perform a learner identity which can be seen in Extract 54. Mona, as a result of attending SAS, might have constructed a successful learner identity as she is engaged in learning and teaching languages, that is according to Creese et al. (2006) investment in social identity.

Ms Safa described SAS as “identity supportive schools”. This is consistent with Reed et al. (2020) who argue that SAS were conceptualized as spaces for value and identity formation; and describe Arabic language education as a tool serving this purpose that promotes a positive personal and community identity.

Extract 103

Ms Safa: What I always insist on, is that the SAS, or, as best described **‘identity supportive school’**, is very important.

Ahmad reflected on the impact of the environment on his sense of identity. He also showed the role SAS plays as a heritage social space. In this extract, it can be seen that Ahmed has multiple and changeable identities that he performs in different social spaces:

Extract 104

R: And how do you feel in the SAS? Do you feel Arab Muslim?

Ahmad: Yes, **I feel like I am sitting in Libya, in a school.**

R: And what about the English school?

Ahmad: **I feel English.**

Regarding the dominance of the Islamic identity in SAS, it could be a result of the religious atmosphere in SAS that I have observed in my visits to schools. In the SAS, the children were reminded continuously with Islamic morals and practices. For example, they perform ‘Salat Aljama’a’ (congregational prayer) altogether. Some of

the children might not have experienced this kind of unity and practice anywhere else. Unlike children in Islamic countries, migrant children might not go to the Mosque frequently. This is because children are at mainstream schools on most of the prayer's times including Juma'h prayer which takes place every Friday. Some children live in areas where no mosques are nearby. Therefore, they have a stronger sense of the Arabic Islamic identity in SAS than anywhere else including home.

When asked what she thinks would encourage children to speak Arabic, Ms Hanan connected strengthening the religious identity with speaking Arabic:

Extract 105

Ms Hanan: **Religious lessons.** I noticed that they respond... when you have a discussion with them... today I had a religious discussion with them about the mosque and congregational prayer and all... they were good ... in other lessons they are not, but in Islamic education, they are good and are encouraged and they respond. I noticed the most that they find it easy to speak English and I have spoken with them about it... that they will lose Arabic and that it is a second language for you, and third **it is the language of Quran** and people love to learn it.... and it is hard later how you learn your Islamic religionand that you will lose a big thing and you will not understand Quran, so I advised them not to lose it [...] and second thing there is the privilege that it is the language of Quran and when someone asks you about your religion's matters you need to know it in Arabic... you lose it... it is hard to gain it again. And here you have the chance to learn it and you benefit **Yes, they are influenced, and they respond.**

As a motivation to send their children to SAS, parents reported studying Quran and strengthening their Islamic identity as the second and third most frequent motivation (see Attitudes towards SAS in section 2.1.3.2.1). The first most frequent motivation, which was to read and write in Arabic, was influenced, in some cases, by

the parents' desire to help their children read the Quran. This is consistent with Maylor et al. (2010) who found that parents surveyed reported that they send their children to supplementary schools to maintain their linguistic, cultural, and religious identities. When Aum Mona was asked about the importance of becoming literate, Abu Mona said that it is very important and that it is the main reason for sending his children to SAS. Aum Mona confirmed that being able to read the Quran was the main motive for her to teach her children reading in Arabic. Aum Karam and Abu Karam as well suggested that this was the case for them too:

Aum Karam: Now for me ... **reading. I want them to read the Quran**, I want them to read for example ... in the future a letter, a will... a lawyer... something like this.... **I mean they have knowledge in it ... they understand what they read....** That is for me... that is the importance of reading... yeah, yeah First that he holds the Quran and read it and by this, he would have reached comprehension and then after comprehension... Like this for his future, for his studies, he might study something that he needs Arabic with... Maybe he gets a contract, a job... overseas... in Dubai... you never know what circumstances you go through. It is necessary. it is important.

Abu Karam: As we said about speaking... **it helps them, religiously to read Quran or to read Arabic books if they like reading we encourage them to do so...and like this they read Arabic... they travel, and they come and go... of course**

Aum Karam: **Two languages are better than one.**

Finally, I conclude this chapter by this quote from Aum Ahmed. Here, she is telling me about a boy who was confused about who he was. She believes that the reason behind this confusion is that he did not socialize with Libyan friends as he was not allowed to attend Libyan schools:

Extract 107

Aum Ahmed: I knew this boy, he was very amazing, he prayed constantly, he comes from a good Libyan family, well-known family, but because he was born here, so.... When he grows up and they went to Libya when they were allowed back... he was sad..... he told my son that he is in **an identity crisis**, we said to him why? My son asked him... he said I am lost, **I do not know who I am, I do not know to which identity I belong**. I was born and raised up and ate and studied here. And when he went home, and he was dreaming about it his entire life, when he had the chance...the boy..... this family specifically maintained their identity, Libyan and Muslims and go to the mosque and pray, So, he did not have Libyan friends. I think I agree with you that the schools that are nationally based might be better for identity.

7.4 Conclusion

The findings above show the dominance of Islamic and Arabic identity in SAS which was also found in other studies (Bichani, 2015; Ferguson, 2013). They show at the same time the influence that SAS might have on forming the children's Islamic and Arabic identities which again correspond with Bichani and Ferguson (see section 2.1.3.2.3). This highlights the importance of SAS as a social space that goes beyond getting literate in Arabic which was here again discussed in the relevant literature. In this social space, children can express their heritage and religious identity (Bichani, 2015; Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2004; Creese & Martin, 2006). They gain a deeper understanding of who they are, where they come from and why they are different from children in the wider society. It might also contribute to building stronger connections with their relatives back home. Therefore, attending these schools is significant especially for those who are living in the UK temporarily.

Chapter 8: Factors affecting language practices, attitudes and identities

“It was their father’s influence. We always remind them that it is the language of Quran, not only religion; we tried to plant loving Arabic in them. They feel that They know that they are originally Arab; they love everything that connects them to their origin.”

Fatimah

Many factors determine the language choices bilinguals make (Clyne, 1998). Similarly, according to Kipp, Clyne, and Pauwels (1995), HLM and learning are influenced by several factors, usually divided into two categories: individual and community level. At the individual level, we should consider a person's age, gender, place of birth, education, marriage pattern, prior knowledge of the majority language, length of stay in the host country and language variety; at the group level, the host country's LP, the size and distribution of an ethnic group, and the proximity/distance of the minority language to/from the majority language are relevant. Additionally, Albirini (2018) found that Arabic HLM and learning correlate with several linguistic (language input), socio-affective (identity, LA, and religious practices), socio-contextual (family pressure, community support, and SAS), and

demographic variables (i.e., age, gender). Therefore, in this chapter, I investigate the factors affecting heritage language use, maintenance, learning, attitudes, and identity.

The first section examines the factors affecting general LU. The factors that were investigated include *language spoken to children, attitudes towards Arabic, attitudes towards SAS, attitudes towards maintaining Arabic, sense of identity, place of birth, gender, age, length of living in the UK, frequency of visiting the home country, frequency of watching Arabic programmes, and the length of attending SAS*. Afterwards, I move to a deeper level of investigation to examine factors affecting specific linguistic practices with specific members of the Arabic community (e.g., mothers). I also investigate the use of SA and what factors affect it. These factors include the *length of attending SAS, watching Arabic programmes, gender place of birth, socializing with Arabs, reading, teachers' language proficiency and constant repetition*. Factors affecting Attitudes are also inspected in a separate section later in this chapter. Identity, because was found to be related to many items, and to avoided repetition, is not investigated in a separate section. Rather, it is discussed whenever found to be meaningfully related to any of the items investigated.

8.1 Factors affecting the children's general language use

Identity choices are built, validated, and implemented through discourses, and such discourses are available to individuals at different times and locations; moreover, identity is formed at the interface between age, race, class, ethnicity, gender, generation, sexual orientation, place, and social status and is often fractured, hybrid, de-centred, multiple, and changing (Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2004). Therefore,

the focus of this section is to investigate the relation between language use, attitudes, and identity more deeply.

To answer the different specific research questions, I ran several regression models, ensuring the data satisfied the key necessary assumptions¹. In total, I created five multiple regression models. The dependent variable in all of them is the children's *general LU*. The first four models investigated the effect of the *language spoken to children, children's attitudes, and children's identity* on the dependent variables. These four models are separated to cover the *children's identities* in relation to four distinct contexts: the *SAS, the English school, at home* and *in general terms*. Children were given six choices to describe themselves: Arab, Muslim, British, all of them equally, British Muslim, Arab Muslim. In each model, I investigated the effect of the language spoken to children, the children's LA (towards Arabic, towards SAS, towards maintaining Arabic) and then their sense of identity in one of the four contexts (in general in model 1, SAS in model 2, English school in model 3, and home in model 4). The fifth model examined the effect of gender, place of birth, length of living in the UK, frequency of visiting the home country, frequency of watching Arabic programmes, and the length of attending SAS on the children's LU. I explain each model in detail in the following sections.

8.1.1 Language use in relation to children's attitudes and identity in general

In the first regression model (Table 8.1), the language spoken to the child, attitudes towards Arabic, attitudes towards SAS, attitudes towards maintaining Arabic, and the *children's general identity* were used in a multiple regression model

to predict LU. Only two predictors were significant contributors, [the general language spoken to them, identifying self as 'all of them equally']. The model was statistically significant, $F(9, 298) = 124.108, < 0.001$, and accounted for approximately 78% of variation in LU ($R^2 = .789$, Adjusted $R^2 = .783$). That is to say, there was a relationship between the general language spoken to children and identifying self as 'all of them equally' with the dependent variable (children's LU). While the language spoken to children and the language children speak were positively related, identifying self as 'all of them equally' was negatively related to the general language children speak. This means that speaking Arabic to the children would increase the amount of Arabic children speak. In addition, the participants who identified themselves in general as 'all of them equally' are less likely to speak Arabic compared to other participants. Identifying self as 'all of them equally' in the first place might indicate that the children are not sure where to position themselves or have no strong association with any of the given social positions. Therefore, children in this group might be more influenced by the dominant language than the HL and thus speak less Arabic.

Controlling for age, I found no significant differences between the age groups. This means that the reported sense of identity in general and the LU patterns were similar in both younger and older children. Moreover, older, and younger children have the same positive attitudes reported earlier. This finding corresponds with Strand's (2007) who found that, surprisingly, attitudes to supplementary school were not significantly correlated with age although it was significantly related to attitudes towards mainstream schooling. In Strand's study, older children held less positive

attitudes towards mainstream schools than younger participants. However, both younger and older participants held positive attitudes towards SS. According to Strand, this suggests that supplementary schools may be especially successful in motivating and engaging older students, who may become disaffected with the traditional school.

Table 8.1: LU in relation to children's attitudes and general identity (n=328)

	B	S.E	β	95% Confidence Interval	
				Lower	Upper
(Constant)	.086	.057		-.021	.201
General language spoken to child	.940	.040	.865**	.853	1.026
I am All of them equally	-.173	.070	-.087**	-.312	-.036

Note. B = unstandardized estimate.

*Significant at $p < .05$. **Significant at $p < .01$.

I then explored whether there was a gender difference. It is important here to point out that this has implications for policy and its likely outcomes (e.g. policy does not necessarily need to address gender differences, but it may be important to get both sexes on board). I found that for males, only the general language spoken to child remained significant but for females, in addition to the general language spoken, identifying self as an 'Arab Muslim' β (.129), $P < .01$, 'Arab' β (.846), $P < .05$, and attitudes towards maintaining Arabic β (.085), $P < .05$ were positive significant contributing factors. Regarding gender differences, it seems that the males were positively influenced by the language Arab people around them speak. However, for

female participants, reporting self as 'Arab Muslims' and 'Arab' could be connected to speaking more Arabic. In addition, the female participants who held positive attitudes towards maintaining Arabic were more likely to speak Arabic than other participants.

When I investigated whether there was a difference in relation to the children's place of birth, I found that for those who were born in an Arabic country, identifying self as 'all of them equally' had a negative relationship with the general LU β (-.156), $p < .01$. Attitudes towards maintaining Arabic was an important predictor of general LU for those who were born in Arabic country β (.074), $p < 0.05$. In other words, while those born in the UK were influenced only by the language spoken to them, those who were born in an Arabic country were also influenced by their sense of identity and their attitudes towards maintaining Arabic. That is, children who were born in an Arabic country and identified themselves as 'all of them equally' were less likely to speak Arabic than other participants. In contrast, children who were born in an Arabic country and held positive attitudes towards maintaining Arabic were more likely to speak Arabic than other participants.

8.1.2 Language use in relation to children's identity in Arabic school and attitudes

The second regression model explored the language spoken to the child, attitudes towards Arabic, attitudes towards SAS, attitudes towards maintaining Arabic, and the *identity in SAS*. Only one predictor was a significant contributor [general language spoken to them] (Table 8.2). The model was statistically significant, $F(8, 134) = 134.062, < 0.001$, and accounted for approximately 78% of

the variation in LU ($R^2 = .783$, Adjusted $R^2 = .777$). Therefore, the language spoken to children increased the likelihood of children's use of the Arabic language.

Table 8.2: LU in relation to children's attitudes and identity in the SAS (n=328)

	B	S.E	B	95% Confidence Interval	
				Lower	Upper
(Constant)	.023	.143		-.273	.295
General language spoken to child	.951	.036	.872**	.875	1.026

Note. B = unstandardized estimate.

*Significant at $p < .05$. **Significant at $p < .01$.

When I controlled for gender in this model, there were no differences between males and females in the sample. However, when I controlled for the place of birth, for those who were born in an Arabic country in addition to the general language spoken to children, identifying self as an 'Arab Muslim' in SAS was positively related to the dependent variable β (.146), $p < .05$. This means that those who were born in an Arabic speaking country and identified themselves as 'Arab Muslim' in the SAS were more likely to speak Arabic. For those born in the UK, the general language spoken to child remained the significant predictor. Controlling for age, I found no significant differences between the age groups.

8.1.3 Language use in relation to children's attitudes and identity in the English school

The third regression model investigated the language spoken to child, attitudes towards Arabic, attitudes towards SAS, attitudes towards maintaining Arabic, and the *identity in English school*. Only two predictors were significant

contributors [general language spoken to them and identifying self as ‘Arab Muslim’] (Table 8.3). The model was statistically significant, $F(8, 286) = 131.415, < 0.001$, and accounted for approximately 78% of the variation in LU ($R^2 = .786$, Adjusted $R^2 = .780$). In this model, identifying self as ‘Arab Muslim’ in the English school and the general language spoken to children were significant positive contributing factors to Arabic LU. This means that the participants who identified themselves as ‘Arab Muslim’ were more likely to speak Arabic compared to other participants. It is perhaps understandable that those children who still identify themselves as ‘Arab Muslim’ in a non-Muslim English dominant environment (English school) are strongly related to their heritage and religious identity. Therefore, they are more likely to speak the language associated with that identity (Arabic).

Table 8.3: LU in relation to children’s attitudes and identity in the English school (n=328)

	B	S.E	β	95% Confidence Interval	
				Lower	Upper
(Constant)	-.049	.139		-.327	.215
General language spoken to child	.951	.037	.871**	.882	1.023
I am Arab Muslim	.117	.058	.059*	.005	.231

Note. B = unstandardized estimate.

*Significant at $p < .05$. **Significant at $p < .01$.

When I controlled for gender I found that for males, in addition to the general language spoken to the child, identifying self as ‘all of them equally’ in the English school was negatively related to the dependent variable $\beta (-.103)$, $p < .05$. This translates into those males who reported themselves as ‘all of them equally’ being

less likely to speak Arabic. By contrast, for females, only the general language spoken to children was a significant predictor.

After controlling for the place of birth, I found that for those born in an Arabic country, besides general language spoken to children, identifying self as “all of them equally” β (-.153), $p < .01$ was negatively related to the dependent variable. Attitudes towards maintaining Arabic was an important predictor of general LU for those who were born in Arabic country β (.084), $p < 0.05$. For those born in the UK, general language spoken to child remained the significant factor. Controlling for age, I found no significant differences between the age groups. In other words, those born in an Arabic country and identified themselves as ‘all of them equally’ were less likely to speak the Arabic language compared to those born in their Arabic countries and positioned themselves in any other category. As in the previous models, identifying self as ‘all of them equally’ might mean having no strong sense to any specific one of the given identities. Therefore, influenced by the wider society, this group of children tend to speak the dominant language of the wider society (English) and speak less HL (Arabic).

8.1.4 Language use in relation to children’s attitudes and identity at home

The fourth regression model examined the language spoken to the child, attitudes towards Arabic, attitudes towards SAS, attitudes towards maintaining Arabic, and the *identity at home*. Two predictors were significant contributors [general language spoken to children and identifying self as British] (Table 8.4). The model was statistically significant, $F(9, 297) = 123.453, < 0.001$, and accounted for approximately 78% of variation in LU ($R^2 = .789$, Adjusted $R^2 = .783$). In other words,

language spoken to children was a positive significant contributor to the children's LU in this model. However, children who identify themselves as 'British' in the home environment were less likely to speak Arabic than other participants.

Table 8.4: LU in relation to children's attitudes and their identity at home (n=328)

	B	S.E	β	95% Confidence Interval	
				Lower	Upper
(Constant)	.068	.171		-.255	.369
General language spoken to child	.948	.038	.873***	.872	1.023
I am British	-.375	.072	-.027**	-.512	-.234

Note. B = unstandardized estimate.

*Significant at $p < .05$. **Significant at $p < .01$.

***Significant at $p < .001$.

When controlled for gender, the general language spoken to child remained a significant contributing factor for males, but for females' attitudes towards maintaining Arabic became a significant predictor β (.071) $p < 0.05$, having a positive relationship with the dependent variable. For female participants, having positive attitudes towards maintaining the Arabic language increases the likelihood of speaking Arabic. After controlling for the place of birth, I found that for those born in an Arabic country, identifying self as "all of them equally" β (-.133) was negatively related to general LU. Putting this in different words, Arabic countries born children who described themselves as 'all of them equally' were less likely to speak Arabic than other children in the same category. Controlling for age, I found no significant differences between the age groups.

8.1.5 Language use in relation to demographic information

The fifth regression model was employed to examine other factors which influence children's LU. In this model, different independent variables have been used: length of living in the UK, gender, frequency of visiting the home country, frequency of watching Arabic programmes, and the length of attending SAS. Table 8.5 below shows the significant contributors. The model was statistically significant, $F(9, 297) = 10.264, < 0.001$, and accounted for approximately 21% of variation in LU ($R^2 = .237$, Adjusted $R^2 = .214$).

Table 8.5: LU in relation to demographic information (n=328)

	B	S.E	B	95% Confidence Interval	
				Lower	Upper
(Constant)	3.177	.304		2.586	3.759
length of residence in the UK 0-2 years	.907	.191	.311**	.573	1.264
Length of residence in the UK 3-4 years	.428	.152	.204**	.147	.709
Visiting home country	.190	.082	.116*	.037	.350
Watching Arabic programmes	.412	.091	.247**	.221	.588
Length of attending SAS	.099	.032	.171**	.033	.165

Note. B = unstandardized estimate.

*Significant at $p < .05$. **Significant at $p < .01$. ***Significant at $p < .001$.

In this model, the length of residence in the UK, visiting the home country, watching Arabic programmes and length of attending SAS were all positive significant contributors to the dependent variable. Regarding the length of residence in the UK, the results indicate that living in a community that speaks a different language than the home language for periods more than four years (0-2 and 3-4) might have a

significant influence on the children's LU. This might mean that children could maintain their HL for up to four years after migration. However, children might not maintain their HL after this four-year period. Clyne et al. (2003) and Holmes (2001) identify longer periods of residence in the host community as one of the factors that lead to LS; and they identify the frequency of communication with the mother country as one of the factors that could contribute to HLM or language shift.

To summarize, it seems that the key factor that affects the children's LU is the language spoken to them. Many researchers suggest that the parents' LU at home significantly leads to HLM or language shift among children (Curdt-Christiansen, 2013b; Pauwels, 2016; Spolsky, 2012). This might highlight the significance of speaking the HL to children both at home and in SAS. The input was generally recognized as a significant factor in the development and acquisition of a heritage language (Albirini, 2014b, 2015, 2016, 2018; Anderson, 1999; Silva-Corvalán, 2003). In addition, this point might not have received enough attention in supplementary schools where the focus is mainly on getting the children literate in Arabic, which could suggest that putting a lot of effort on getting the children literate, sending them to supplementary school or making them watch Arabic programmes might not have a significant effect if not paired with speaking Arabic to them.

From what I observed during my visit to the SAS I could say that the focus on the spoken language was weak, especially in break time. Indeed, this point was brought up by one of the parents whom I interviewed. Fatimah wished that there was *'more focus on the spoken language'* in supplementary schools. She seems to realize the influence of speaking the language to children on their HLM:

Extract 108

Fatimah: There is no time in the Arabic school, the teachers want to finish the curriculum. And the homework is all writing, and even **the teaching methods do not include a lot of communication between the teacher and the student**. It is all spoon-feeding and memorizing. I wish there is **more focus on the spoken language** than the writing and homework.

Second, positioning self in different social, religious, and ethnic categories has a different influence on the children's LU. This relation between maintaining Arabic and migrants' religious identity was found in previous studies. For example, Gogonas (2012) suggested that Islam is a core value in maintaining the Arabic language for Muslims. The findings presented in chapter 6 also suggested that parents, teachers, and children both in the interviews and questionnaires were mainly religiously motivated to learn Arabic because it is the language of the Quran. In addition, children who describe themselves as Arab feel that they need to speak the language of Arabs to be one (see Extract 95).

In Extract 54, we can see that three factors are affecting Karam's and Noor's LU: their sense of identity (because we are like this), communicating with relatives in their home country (our country all our cousins and so they speak Arabic), and the language their parents speak to them (That the first language we learned was Arabic). We can see that Karam is justifying his higher proficiency in English by attending the English school. He did not relate it to who he is.

Attitudes towards maintaining Arabic was a contributing factor, specifically for female participants. The children's LU was influenced by their attitudes towards maintaining Arabic in relation to their sense of identity in general and at home. The

children's place of birth, length of living in the UK, frequency of visiting the home country, frequency of watching Arabic programmes, and the length of attending SAS were also found significant contributing factors to the children's LU.

The gender differences were mainly attitude- and identity-related. First, in relation to the general sense of identity, only females' LU was influenced by identifying self as 'Arab Muslim' and their attitudes towards maintaining Arabic. In contrast, males' LU was not influenced by these two variables. Second, in relation to the children's sense of identity in the English school, only males' LU was influenced by their sense of identity in the English school. Those males who described themselves as 'all of them equally' spoke less Arabic. On the other hand, the females' LU was not related to where they position themselves in the English school. Third, in relation to the children's sense of identity at home, only females' LU was affected by the attitudes they held towards maintaining Arabic. Finally, there was no gender difference between males and females in relation to their sense of identity in the SAS. Gender will be further investigated in the next section of this chapter where results from interviews will be presented as well.

Age was significant in some of the areas, although had less influence on the language children speak than other variables. For example, high school children identifying themselves as 'Arab Muslim' were more likely to speak Arabic. Another example is that primary school children's language was more likely to be influenced by the language spoken to them compared to high school children. This means that the efforts made to transmit the HL to the new generation might be more fruitful for younger children compared to older children.

Nevertheless, evidence from the interviews suggest the opposite. There are examples in which age is felt to play a significant role in children's LU (see extract 72). For example, Ms Hanan indicated that the older children struggle and lose their language flexibility and interest compared to the younger children:

Extract 109

Ms Hanan: Children do not face big difficulties in understanding Arabic. I like them. When I taught year four and five, more than the older children, I noticed they are the ones who struggle a bit. They lose the language flexibility, especially with syntax. I noticed that primary school children are better in syntax. **When they get older, they lose the language flexibility.** I noticed that when they are young, they comprehend the two languages better than the older ones. The language of the younger ones is better. **They lose interest.**

Fatimah has confirmed this in her interview:

Extract 110

Fatimah: You know... because his life has changed, and he grew older, Arabic became..... But when he was little, he wanted to make mom happy, he was eager to explore, what is this word in Arabic. They still go to the SAS, they go to the mosque, we speak Arabic at home, but when they are older, they lose it.

The interviewees generally agreed that primary school-age children (children at the end of early childhood or the beginning of late childhood) attend these schools, and as they get older, their attendance gradually decreases. Even the efficiency of the LP she sets at home was age-related:

Extract 111

R: Ok. You said that they speak English to each other. Have you ever insisted that they speak Arabic to each other?

Fatimah: Yes.

R: Did it work?

Fatimah: With the little ones yes, under the age of ten, it works, **over the age of ten, it does not work.**

These findings correspond with Nesteruk's (2010) findings as she suggests that transmitting HL to young children is feasible, but it is remarkably difficult to maintain it during adolescent years. According to Nesteruk, this difficulty is a result of the nature of this age and its developmental pressures, and the desire of parents to maintain strong parent-child communication. This finding again corresponds with the findings of the current study (see Extracts 17, 18).

Fatimah, Ms Sara, Aum Karam and Abu Karam, have all noticed the difference visiting home countries have on the children's LU (Extracts 114, 115, 116). Aum Karam even reported reduced language proficiency because they have not been to Jordan for two years (Extract 11). According to Pavlenko (2005), the environment's language and the interlocutors' language affect LU and choice. Therefore, it is expected that spending a month at an Arabic environment where nearly all interlocutors speak Arabic has a positive effect on the children's LU and choice and thus parents witness increased use of Arabic after visiting the home country.

Extract 112

Fatimah: When I visit my family in Qatar, they do not feel shy they speak, and after one week ten days, they learn so fast, when they come back here, they speak Arabic for a week. So, it is the environment.

Extract 113

Ms Sara: I noticed something, **that children who visit their Arabic home countries**, I mean I know more than one child who visit their home countries every single summer, **they are much more proficient than others**, a lot. Although they are boys, I mean I have always believed girls always better on the linguistic level, but really, these

boys made me change my mind a little because I knew they visit Jordan.

Extract 114

R: Ok. So, do you feel that these visits have an influence?

Aum Karam: **Yes, a lot, they make a big difference, these two years, which we have not been home, you feel that their Arabic has declined.** But when they visit home, no, you can feel the difference.

Abu Karam: They learn new words and speak a lot of Arabic.

Aum Karam: Much of the impact of the vernacular dialect, so they understand us more, you feel, they gain it back. It makes a difference.

It is important to bear in mind that these regression models investigate all the factors combined and their effect on the dependent variable. Therefore, these models might only show the highly influential factors on LU leaving these less affecting factors out of the picture. In addition, there were other categories that I needed to investigate and was not able to use this regression test to examine because of the nature of data. Therefore, I used a different test to complement the regression models employed in this section. This will be discussed in the next section.

8.2 Language use, attitudes, and identity: a deeper investigation

After having an overall idea of the factors affecting the general LU patterns, it is important to investigate LU and practices more deeply. These linguistic practices include the use of SA, understanding SA, understanding QA, enjoyment in learning Arabic. The independent variables investigated here are length of attending supplementary schools, watching Arabic programmes, and programmes' variety, gender, place of birth and socializing with Arabs and LP. Furthermore, the attitudes towards learning Arabic and the SAS were investigated in a separate section. Chi-

square tests of independence were calculated to determine whether there is a significant association between the nominal variables. The significance threshold was set at .05. Using Chi-square tests, unlike the regression model, allows me to investigate items one by one. In this section, therefore, I investigate the aspects that have not been investigated in the first section of this chapter and investigate some of the variables that have been investigated more deeply.

8.2.1 Length of attending Supplementary schools and use of SA

As shown in Table 8.6, only a small percentage of children reported using SA with their Arab teachers and families (12.2% and 8.5% respectively). However, the number of years attending SAS was significantly related to the children's use of SA with teachers $\chi^2 (N = 328) = 18.691, p = .017$ and with their families $\chi^2 (N = 328) = 30.016, p = .000$. This could be justified in relation to the children's skills in SA as the longer they attend SAS the more input they are exposed to. Albirini (2018) found that Arabic HLSs who received more input in SA have done better in writing and oral tasks in SA than those who received less input.

Table 8.6: Children's use of SA with teachers and families (n= 328)

	Using SA with teacher		Using SA with family	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Per cent
Always	40	12.2%	28	8.5%
Sometimes	149	45.4%	87	26.5%
Never	139	42.4%	213	64.9%
Total	328	100%	328	100%

This is reflected in Aum Karam and Abu Karam's thoughts on the effect of attending SAS for a long period on the children's understanding and comprehension

of SA. We can see that Aum Karam differentiates between SA and speaking which indicates that she means her children improved their ability in speaking in QA. Similar findings were also found by Eid (2019) who argues that attending SAS in London had a positive influence on Lebanese children, especially on the older children, as they become more exposed to SA and gain more abilities in all four areas; with reading, comprehension and writing being always more developed than speaking. Eid justifies this by the fact that SA is rarely the spoken variety of Arabic. Nevertheless, Albirini (2018) found that for most of his participants, the SAS experience does not seem to have a big positive effect on SA learning.

Extract 115

Aum Karam: **The SAS helps them in terms of SA. [...] Maybe with continuity and a long period of attending it**, one day is not enough in the SAS.

Abu Karam: But it makes a difference with them, no, it makes a difference.

Aum Karam: Yes, it makes difference, **it makes a difference, on Arabic in general, not only for SA, for speaking as well.**

8.2.2 Watching Arabic programmes, and programmes' variety

Mass media is considered to be a societal body that plays a major role in the transmission of HL and heritage culture (Christakis, 2009). Media is, therefore, considered one of the social institutions that affect LU and maintenance along with linguistic factors (Eid, 2019). Therefore, watching Arabic programmes is investigated separately in this section.

As reported by children, a good percentage of them watched Arabic programmes frequently (60%) in comparison to only 15% who never watched Arabic

programmes (see Table 8.7). This contradicts with Eid's (2019) findings that suggest that 80% of the Lebanese participant children watch only English TV programmes. Regarding the Arabic variety of the Arabic programmes, we can see that more than half of the children watched programmes in QA, and about a quarter of them watched programmes in SA (see Table 8.8). The fact that they watch Arabic programmes along with English programmes their bilingual skills and ability to process information in multiple languages (Eid, 2019). In addition, this high percentage of children watching Arabic programmes in QA is an indicator of the positive attitudes towards the use of QA in the media which was also found by Almahmoud (2013).

Table 8.7: Watching Arabic programmes (n=328)

Watching Arabic programmes	Frequency	Per cent
Every day	78	23.8%
Sometimes	118	36.0%
Rarely	81	24.7%
Never	51	15.5%
Total	328	100%

Table 8.8: Arabic programmes variety (n=328)

Arabic programmes variety	Frequency	Percent
SA	81	24.7%
Arabic dialects	170	51.8%
N/A	51	15.5%
both	26	7.9%
Total	328	100%

An interesting association between watching Arabic programmes and understanding SA was found to be statistically significant $\chi^2 (N = 328) = 22.917, p =$

.001. Similarly, watching Arabic programmes was significantly associated with the children's understanding of QA $\chi^2 (N = 328) = 12.114, p = .059$. TV or HL programmes are considered as a significant source of linguistic input for HL improvement (Kang, 2015). Therefore, watching Arabic programmes seems to increase children's understanding of Arabic. Specifically, the variety of Arabic programmes children watch was significantly related to their understanding of SA $\chi^2 (N = 328) = 16.910, p = .010$ (Table 8.9). This again suggests that watching Arabic programmes, in general, promotes understanding Arabic regardless of the variety. In addition to understanding SA, the children's use of SA with their Arab teachers was significantly associated with the variety of Arabic programmes they watched $\chi^2 (N = 328) = 13.113, p = .041$. The variety of Arabic programmes is related to their attitudes towards learning Arabic $\chi^2 (N = 328) = 14.461, p = .025$, in that children who watch Arabic programmes in both varieties reported the highest positive attitudes towards learning Arabic. However, a significant association between the variety of Arabic programmes children watch and understanding QA was not found.

Table 8.9: Programmes language * children's LU (n=328)

	Variety of Arabic Programmes	
	Value	Sig.
Understanding SA	22.917	.001
Understanding QA	12.114	.059
Child to teacher	36.423	.000
Like learning Arabic	33.295	.000

These findings gained from the children's questionnaire were reinforced by those gained from the parents' questionnaires (see Table 8.10). If we compare these numbers to those reported by children, we find that they are similar (Table 15). The

parents' questionnaire showed that there was a significant relationship between the language of programmes children watch and the language children use to their parents and siblings ($\chi^2 (N = 215) = 53.306, p = .005, \chi^2 (N = 215) = 39.460, p = .033$ respectively). It also suggested that the language of the programmes children watch was significantly related to the children's understanding of both SA and QA ($\chi^2 (N = 215) = 40.988, p = .000, \chi^2 (N = 215) = 22.381, p = .013$ respectively). In other words, children who watched Arabic programmes in any Arabic variety used and understood more Arabic than those who watched English programmes only.

Table 8.10: programmes' language as reported by parents (n=215)

Programmes language	Frequency	Percent
Only English	96	44.7%
Only SA	20	9.3%
Only Regional Arabic	4	1.9%
A mix of SA and Regional Arabic	8	3.7%
A mix of English and SA	35	16.3%
A mix of English and Regional Arabic	52	24.2%
Total	215	100%

Similar to what was found in the children's questionnaire, the parents' questionnaire revealed that the programmes' language was significantly related to the language children speak to and with them and their siblings (see table 8.11). It even revealed that it was significantly related to the children's use of SA at home $\chi^2 (N = 215) = 28.994, p = .001$.

Table 8.11: LU * programmes language(n=215)

	Programmes Language	
	Value	Sig.
Parent to children	65.286	.000
Children to parent	53.306	.005
Children to each other	39.460	.033
Understanding SA	40.988	.000
Understanding QA	22.381	.013
Using SA at home	28.994	.001

This could be because children who live in the UK are not exposed to SA in mainstream education or everyday life. Therefore, Arabic programmes might be the only source of SA available to them. Thus, watching Arabic programmes is an important source of Arabic input, especially for SA. What can be concluded from this is that watching Arabic programmes and speaking Arabic are related and contribute to each other. This also indicates that watching Arabic programmes in any of its varieties supports the maintenance of the HL. The critical role of input in HL acquisition and development has been already presented earlier in this study. Specifically, input, including media, is considered one of the main and critical contributors and predictors of SA proficiency (Albirini, 2018). Tawalbeh (2019) argues that media can be used as a language-use and maintenance facilitator; for instance, through the use of media, immigrants may establish transnational communication with their relatives around the world. Bichani (2015) found that watching Arabic channels and the participants' media consumption habits are associated with their LU patterns. Thus, Bichani argues that the media has a potential impact on LU and identity, as it increases the exposure of individuals to the language and affects their attitudes towards it.

In the present study, none of the parents or the children whom I interviewed reported watching Arabic programmes and thus I could not investigate this further in the interviews. This could be due to the small number of the families I have interviewed (four families) compared to the number of participants in the questionnaires (328 children and 215 parents). This also indicates that watching Arabic programmes is not a part of these interviewees' FLP to increase input and exposure to HL.

8.2.3 Gender

While the pilot study (see section 4.8) suggested that there was a significant association between gender and the language spoken to mothers only, the current study showed that there was a significant association between gender and the language spoken to mothers, fathers, grandmothers, and siblings. No similar association was found with language children speak to grandfathers, teachers or friends. However, the results of investigating the relation between the language people speak to children and gender were not significant except for friends (Table 8.12), which means that male and female children, in general, had different language use patterns.

Table 8.12: gender * children's language and attitudes (n=328)

	Gender	
	value	Sig.
Child to mother	11.699	.039
Child to father	15.767	.008
Child to grandmothers	14.603	.024
Child to siblings	27.938	.000
Friends to child	11.628	.040
Loving Arabic	13.233	.001
Understanding QA	7.128	.028

Identity in general	18.735	.002
Identity at home	12.383	.030

The pattern of LU observed with mothers was nearly the same as that with the other Arab people. Therefore, I only take LU with mothers as an example to explain the pattern. We can see in Table 8.13 that the highest percentage was that of males speaking only in Arabic to their mothers. A lower percentage of females had reported speaking only in Arabic to their mothers. Even if we calculate *always and usually speaking in Arabic* together, males would still be higher than females (66.4% to 55%). Speaking in *English and Arabic equally* was reported more by females than males which indicates that females might tend to code-switch more often than males. The inter-generational difference in LU still applies here with this pattern reversed with the younger generation. Although more English was spoken than Arabic, the males still reported more Arabic than did the females.

Table 8.13: gender * children's language to mothers (n=328)

			Child to mother					
			Always Arabic	Usually Arabic	English and Arabic equally	Usually English	Always English	Other
gender	Male	Count	71	26	36	6	4	3
		% within gender	48.6%	17.8%	24.7%	4.1%	2.7%	2.1%
	Female	Count	64	36	71	8	2	1
		% within gender	35.2%	19.8%	39.0%	4.4%	1.1%	0.5%
Total		Count	135	62	107	14	6	4
		% within gender	41.2%	18.9%	32.6%	4.3%	1.8%	1.2%

Looking at Table 8.14, it seems that males hold more positive attitudes towards Arabic than females. On the other hand, all the participants who said they never love Arabic were females. Rieschild and Tent (2008) found religion and gender to be related to the attitudes of Arab Australians towards Arabic HL and their passion to learn it.

Table 8.14: gender * children's attitudes towards Arabic (n=328)

			liking Arabic		
			Always	Sometimes	Never
gender	Male	Count	113	33	0
		% within gender	77.4%	22.6%	0.0%
	Female	Count	116	59	7
		% within gender	63.7%	32.4%	3.8%
Total		Count	229	92	7
		% within gender	69.8%	28.0%	2.1%

Another significant association regarding gender was found with the participants' identity in general (see Table 8.15) and at home. It seems that males have a stronger sense of Arabic and Muslim identity than females (see Table 8.4). Here again, as the pattern are similar regarding identity in general and at home, I take the general identity as an example. When asked about their identity in general, 74.6% of male participants described themselves as Arab, Muslim or Arab Muslim compared to 56% of females. Although no females described themselves as British, 18% of females described themselves as British Muslim compared to 11% males who chose either British or British Muslim.

Table 8.15: gender * children's identity in general (n=328)

			Identity in general					
			Arab	Muslim	British	All of them equally	British Muslim	Arab Muslim
gender	Male	Count	10	30	3	21	13	69
		% within gender	6.8%	20.5%	2.1%	14.4%	8.9%	47.3%
	Female	Count	9	33	0	47	33	60
		% within gender	4.9%	18.1%	0.0%	25.8%	18.1%	33.0%
Total		Count	19	63	3	68	46	129
		% within gender	5.8%	19.2%	0.9%	20.7%	14.0%	39.3%

It might be important to mention that there was no significant association between their gender and their identity both in the English school and SAS. This could be due to the clear dominant identity in both of these two environments. In addition, parents' and teachers' questionnaires did not disclose any significant association between gender and any other variables.

However, the parents' interviews revealed some gender-related differences. In Extract 77, Fatimah mentioned that there is a difference between her daughter and her sons in terms of their attitudes towards SAS. She also reported a significant difference in the Arabic variety her daughter speaks compared to her sons (see Extract 10). Nevertheless, she did not think of these as gender-related differences. We can see that she justified the difference by other factors such as her daughter's desire to go out or that "she likes to copy me". However, I do not think that is the case for the following reasons. Even if the girl does not go out as often as her brothers, she still goes to English school where she can meet her friends. So, loving to go to the SAS just to get out does not sound a valid justification. Second, this

difference in the desire to go to the SAS to socialize is still gender related. However, we cannot be sure about the girl's motivation to like the SAS. It could be personality-related, but it could also be gender-related.

Abu Karam reported that his daughter speaks more Arabic and holds more positive attitudes towards Arabic than his two sons, which I also observed during the interviews and my visits to the family. Similar findings were reported by Varro (1998) who suggests the second-generation child's gender is significant, with females maintaining the minority language more often than males. Besides, Wilson (2020) found a gender-related difference among siblings who are brought up under the same roof and shared a similar family and sociolinguistic environment. She found that females hold more positive attitudes towards multilingualism and improving HL competence while male showed less motivation and enthusiasm towards learning and improving their HL.

Extract 116

Abu Karam: **The girl speaks Arabic better than the boys**; this is our experience. She loved the language or that... the girls have stronger memory... or...yeah. **But the girl speaks more Arabic.** And the boys, they are a little bit difficult.

Aum Karam: She is closer to us.

R: The boys prefer English?

Abu Karam: Of course, yes.

Aum Karam: The eldest is, yes, like this, but the little one is trying to imitate Noor and me. He is more Arabic, sometimes I think maybe he is still little, so he acquired Arabic more, at home.

R: So, you would see when he gets older if it is gender-related or it is just their personality.

Aum Karam: Yes, it might be personality, **but for me, no, as he said, the girls, the girl is stronger in Arabic, speaking and comprehension, writing.**

Regarding the difference in the language children speak to their parents, Aum Karam and Abu Karam report more Arabic being spoken to mother than father. Aum Karam explained this by the fact that they spend more time with her than their father:

Extract 117

Aum Karam: I feel they speak more Arabic with me because I am most of the time with them.

Abu Karam: We always try to help them with Arabic, but some words that they do not know, they say in English.

R: So, as the child come to you or their Abu Karam, did you notice that, for example, they start with Arabic when they speak to you Aum Karam but start with English when they speak with you, Abu Karam?

Aum Karam: Ummm... let me think. You are right; I think they speak Arabic to me the most.

However, Abu Karam justified this by the difference in English proficiency between the two parents:

Extract 118

Abu Karam: It is correct, it is correct. They feel I am stronger in English.

Aum Karam: He speaks English with them; I do not speak English with them.

R: So, is there a difference in English proficiency?

Abu Karam: Yes, I am at work most of the time.

Aum Karam: Yes, he goes to work, and he speaks English, you know, exposure.

Aum Karam describes the change in LU with her children after she was enrolled in college:

Extract 119

Aum Karam: Yes, in the beginning, **I thought let me practice** and then I took a break [laughs]. It was the same year that I wanted to get strict with them regarding Arabic and **I wanted to work hard and learn English, so it got messy and then I thought let me stop, they have the priority that they learn Arabic.** It got messy at the beginning yeah; I wanted to show my talent in English [laughs].

R: So, the use of Arabic decreased that period?

Aum Karam: Yes. So, I stopped and went back to allowing only Arabic.

Other studies reported similar findings but explained them in different ways. In Nesteruk's (2010) study, for example, four mothers reported that their husbands ignored their attempts to maintain the HL; and that, while their husbands value heritage language transmission in principle, according to these women, in practice husbands are quick to 'go with the flow' and communicate in English with the children. This indicates that fathers might hold different LA and ideologies than mothers regarding HLM.

Fatimah reported that her children speak more English to her than to their father (see extract 11) because she has higher proficiency in English compared to her husband (Extract 120). Tandefelt (1992) argues that the parents' English proficiency plays an important role in HLM, since the lower their proficiency the higher the chance to maintain HL. She also reported that she allows some English to keep healthy communication with her children (see Extract 18 and 120).

Extract 120

Fatimah: **They speak more English to me, unfortunately, because they know I understand and speak, I do not pressure them, just a little bit[...]**and they feel he might not understand them a lot [...]
He speaks good, you can say good to very good, because he works with Arabs, so he does not need English a lot [...] for me the nature

of my work and studies, **I speak better, my English improved more than him** [...] so because they find that I ... do not set a lot of rules [...] **language proficiency is number one and that I am less strict is number two.**

Regarding FLP and gender, we can see from the results presented here and in the FLP section that there are no gender-related differences in this regard. Additionally, no significant association between gender and the language parents allow was found in the parent's questionnaire. It appears here, in the case of Fatima's family and Karam's Family, that it might be a combination of the parents' English proficiency, the language parents allow that were responsible for this difference and the parents' LA and ideologies rather than gender. This finding contradicts with one of the very few studies that examined FLP in relation to gender (Soler & Roberts, 2019). In Soler et al.'s study, the two mothers situate themselves at home as more informed about language problems, something that the two fathers implicitly accept or at least do not explicitly challenge. Soler et al. argue that due to the small sample size (two families) this link between linguistic realities and gender issues could only be true for these two families.

8.2.4 Place of birth

Gender was not the only variable that I found related to identity. The children's place of birth was found significantly related to the children's identity in general $\chi^2 (N = 328) = 44.057, p = .000$, at home $\chi^2 (N = 328) = 21.174, p = .020$ and in SAS $\chi^2 (N = 328) = 18.921, p = .041$. Nevertheless, their place of birth was not found significantly related to their identity in the English school. As expected, the children born in the UK tended to report British and British Muslim identity more than did the

ones born in Arabic countries. Place of birth was also found to be significantly related to the tendency of watching Arabic TV $\chi^2 (N = 328) = 13.034, p = .043$. As reported by children, 31% of children born in Arabic countries never watch Arabic programmes compared to 64.7% of children born in the UK.

The results show that there is a significant association between children's place of birth and their first language $\chi^2 (N = 328) = 47.354, p = .000$. 93.8% of children who were born in an Arabic speaking country reported Arabic as their first language and only 5.6% of them reported English as their first language. In comparison, 63.8% of children born in an Anglophone country reported Arabic as their first language and 35.6% of them reported English as their first language. We can see here that there is a significant difference between the two categories. In other words, 87.5% of children who reported English as their first language were born in an Anglophone country compared to 11% were born in an Arabic speaking country. It is important at this point to note that 96.6% of participants' fathers speak Arabic as a first language and only 1.2% of them come from non-Arabic origins. Similarly, 93.6% of mothers speak Arabic as a first language and 3.7% of them come from non-Arabic origins. It is also important to highlight that only participants who have at least one Arab parent are included in the sample. This finding could be an indicator of the children's identity as they chose the dominant language over their HL.

In summary, we can see that place of birth has a significant relationship with the children's linguistic choices, and identity. The language shift discussed earlier in this study seems to be identity related. The results in this section might justify and give a thorough explanation for the reasons behind the language shift to the

dominant language that I found in the current study and that found by Ferguson (2013) and Bichani (2015) who found that there is a language shift to English in the UK born generations. My explanation for this is that children who are born in the UK have a stronger sense of British identity than those who were born in Arabic countries. They could feel that they belong to England more than those who were born in Arabic countries. Similarly, children who were born in an Arabic country might have a sense of Arabic identity and hence feel that they need to report Arabic as their first language. This indeed was found and describes earlier. Therefore, those born in the UK are more likely to speak English than those born in Arabic speaking countries.

8.2.5 Socializing with Arabs

Aum Karam explained how she widens her social circle with Arabs and how doing so affected her children in terms of HLM (see extract 73). She also mentioned the effect of visiting her sister who lives in Manchester on her children's language. According to Clyne et al. (2003), family relation is one of the factors that could lead to HLM or language shift:

Extract 121

R: Your sister is here with her children?

Aum Karam: Yes, even the same ages so you feel they are affected.

R: So, is this something positive that helps them to speak more Arabic?

Aum Karam: Yes, yes, I mean most of the words are English, but they understand Arabic, and when we, their aunts, their dads, their uncle speak Arabic with them, they understand us. So of course, it affects them.

She also told me how Noor's Arabic proficiency had improved because of having a new arrival Arab friend:

Extract 122

Aum Karam: **Noor is affected a lot when she knew her friend who has arrived here two years ago.** So, her Arabic is very strong, Jordanian, so when she speaks to her when I listen to them, it is amazing, where were you and where are you now. So that is the effect. [...] Generally, even if they are not new arrivals. It helps. It is less harmful than having just English.

This socializing with Arab friends was a motivation for Noor to favour and speak Arabic for the sake of her friend.

Extract 123

Aum Karam: Now, I am telling you, **her friend, because she does not understand a lot of English, you find that she prefers Arabic.**

R: So that her friend understands her.

Aum Karam: Yes, she tries to speak Arabic, so she understands.

This association was also found by Nesteruk (2010) who identifies having friends of the same national origin as one of the most significant factors that contribute to HLM; and suggests that immigrants and their children who have an extensive social network have opportunities to use their HL with family, friends, neighbours, colleagues and thus have a better chance to maintain it. In addition, studies suggest that parental input is not sufficient by itself for the continued development of a family's HL; wider linguistic inputs from peers and support from the wider community are also required (Nesteruk, 2010).

The demographic nature of the Arabic minority in Manchester, and the number of its members might contribute to the process of HLM. As regards demographic factors, it has been shown that groups that are numerically strong and highly concentrated in some areas are more likely to maintain their language than

those that are numerically weak and non-adjacent (Al-Khatib & Alzoubi, 2009; Clyne & Kipp, 2003; Othman, 2006). That could be because residential concentration can offer more opportunities to practice the language and to facilitate the group's cultural maintenance (Holmes, 2001).

8.2.6 Reading

When Ahmed was asked about his change in attitudes towards Arabic, he mentioned that reading had a part in this change (Extract 57). We can see that reading Arabic books and attending SAS had a positive influence on Ahmed's attitudes towards Arabic. Ahmed has described how he started reading Arabic books and how his mother motivated him to read:

Extract 124

Ahmad: I read stories.

R: Do you personally choose to read Arabic stories, or was it your parents who encouraged you to do so?

Ahmad: Sometimes I read on my own and sometimes my parents tell me to read with them.

R: And when you were little, how did you get interested in reading Arabic stories?

Ahmad: **We started with Prophets' stories. My mom used to read them to me as bedtime stories and then I loved them, got used to them. And then I got used to reading.**

Aum Mona also mentioned the role reading Arabic books plays on her children's understanding of SA:

Extract 125

Aum Mona: As I said, stories in SA, I feel it might be good if they read a lot, they will learn... Words in SA. I brought them Arabic stories in SA.

As an experienced Arabic teacher and a mother, I asked Ms Sara to talk about the things that motivated children to speak more Arabic. She gave the following answer:

Extract 126

Ms Sara: **Reading**, for sure, especially for year three and up .Short stories Walla, even my children, I got them short stories from Jordan, every useful. Like in the nursery, how they start with simple words and pictures, but they understand the meaning because the words are common and simple. [...] It made it much easier for them, even their textbooks, many repeated words.

Fatimah has also emphasized the great influence of Arabic bedtime stories (see extract 81). Nesteruk (2010) suggests that immigrant parents use the strategy of reading children's books in their HL and telling them heritage culture folk tales in efforts to maintain heritage language among children. It seems that this might be a useful way to introduce both HL and heritage culture to children without making them feel that HL and heritage culture are forced on them. Additionally, parents who read HL books more regularly with their children share common information derived from traditional HL fairy tales, reported that it helps them develop a better relationship in the future (Ivashinenko, 2019). According to Ivashinenko, sharing an interest in a wider heritage culture seem to help migrant families develop a better understanding of one another.

8.2.7 Teachers' language proficiency

Teachers' English proficiency is significantly related to the teachers' language spoken to children outside class $\chi^2 (N = 48) = .824, p = .037$. However, no significant relationship was found between the teachers' language proficiency and their

language they speak to children in class. It is not surprising to find this relation between these two variables. It also tells us that all teachers might be committed to speaking Arabic inside classes. Nevertheless, this indicates that having teachers with low English proficiency might decrease the amount of English spoken in school. Ms Hanan has explained that, because she does not speak English, she speaks only Arabic:

Extract 127

R: Have you ever faced any difficulties in communicating with the children in your Dialect because you do not speak English?

Hanan: Never. I speak Libyan with them, because I do not speak English, and they understand, even the younger children.

This finding is consistent with Ferguson (2013)'s findings who found that older teachers with minimal English skills preferred to use Arabic along with students and other teachers. This is not surprising but might show the advantage of having teachers with limited proficiency in English.

8.2.8 Constant repetition

MS Sara has acknowledged the significance and the influence of constant repetition, and she agreed that, from her experience, it has the most influence. Constant repetition here is employed by Ms. Sara as a reminder of the LP, that children know and have to follow and seemingly has a positive impact on their LU. It also indicates the continuity and commitment required to promote additive bilingualism which King and Fogle (2006) argue that just a few parents understood or seemed to have an awareness of.

Extract 128

Ms Sara: I guess **constant repetition works, repetition.** [...]

R: And have you seen children use the language?

Ms Sara: Correct, correct, yeah, yeah. They know it is the rule, they are getting used to it. Because they always repeat it, even if it is only one day a week.

8.3 Attitudes

The last section of this chapter investigates LA as a factor. I investigate the influence of attitudes towards SAS and the attitudes towards learning Arabic as I believe they significantly influence the children's HLM.

8.3.1 Attitudes towards SAS

The results show that there is a significant association between the children's attitudes towards going to the SAS and their understanding of QA $\chi^2 (N = 328) = 14.281, p = .006$ and their intentions in terms of sending their children to SAS $\chi^2 (N = 328) = 78.506, p = .000$. As the same patterns were found in the relation between children's attitudes towards going to the SAS and the two categories above, I take the first as an example. To begin with, 93% of children who understand QA reported that they always like going to the SAS. In comparison, only 7% of children who never understand QA reported that they always like going to SAS. As explained earlier, as Chi-square test is a bidirectional test, this association could be justified in many ways. This could be justified in that they might feel more comfortable as they can communicate more efficiently in Arabic and thus enjoy going to SAS.

8.3.2 Attitudes towards learning Arabic

Evidence in previous research (Albirini, 2018) shows that socio-affective variables, including attitudes, identity, and religious practices correlate with SA proficiency. These Affective factors are important to language learning, and they can play a facilitative role in promoting the heritage speakers learning of SA (Albirini, 2018). Therefore, I investigate in this section the attitudes toward learning HL as they play a significant role in HLM and learning. The relation between this variable and watching Arabic programmes and their varieties is already discussed earlier [section 8.2.2].

Table 8.16: Attitudes towards learning Arabic (n=328)

Variable	Like learning Arabic	
	Value	Sig.
Understanding SA	27.293	.000
Understanding QA	26.024	.000
Like going to the SAS	145.047	.000
Continue attending SAS next year	27.215	.000
Identity in general	25.702	.004
Continuing speaking Arabic	41.888	.000
Speaking Arabic to my children	97.821	.000
Send my children to SAS	82.545	.000
Teach my children Arabic	22.540	.001

As can be seen from Table 8.16, the children's' attitudes towards learning Arabic and understanding SA, and understanding QA were significantly associated. For instance, 70.1% of children who always understand QA claimed that they like learning Arabic whereas only 1.7% of them claimed they never like learning Arabic. On the other side, we have 35.3% of children who never understand QA claimed that they always like learning Arabic whereas only 17.6% of them claimed they never like learning Arabic. This means that children who understand QA and highly proficient

in QA hold positive attitudes towards learning Arabic. Albirini (2018) found that SA input and proficiency in QA were the only predictors of proficiency in SA. When considering this in the current study context, it might be that children with high proficiency in QA find it easy to understand SA (as suggested by Albirini) and thus they have positive attitudes towards learning Arabic.

The children's attitudes towards learning Arabic were also significantly associated with their attitudes towards SAS. It was even related to their willingness to continue attending SAS. This can be expected as those children who have negative attitudes towards learning Arabic are probably those who struggle with learning the language, and as a result, are expected to dislike attending SAS. Looking at this from a different point of view, these negative attitude towards learning Arabic and attending SAS in the first place could be a result of negative attitudes towards the HL and the HC. That is, HLSs who can enter SA classrooms with both passion to learn SA and confidence in their Arabic background due to SA's socio-cultural significance, are more likely to absorb SA input and vice versa (Albirini, 2018).

Other aspects that were found significantly related to the variable under investigation were identity in general and connecting SA to Muslim identity. For example, within the children's general identity, 62% of children who reported themselves as Arab Muslim said they always like learning Arabic. In comparison, 66% of children who reported themselves as the British claimed they never like learning Arabic. Furthermore, children who believe that learning SA is important to be Muslim and to be Arab have also reported that they always like learning Arabic (65.8% and 69.6% respectively). This suggests that the children's willingness and enjoyment in

learning Arabic might be motivated and inspired by their desire to be Arab or Muslim. Almubayei (2007) found that the sense of ethnic and religious identity of first- and second-generation Arab Americans is a key factor in their willingness to learn Arabic as an HL.

It seems that the children's attitudes towards learning Arabic affect their desire to maintain the language and pass it to the next generation. As we can see in Table 8.16, these attitudes are significantly related to the children's willingness to continue speaking Arabic, speak Arabic to their children, send their children to SAS, and teach their children Arabic. The patterns found here are similar to the patterns found above. That is, the more positive the attitudes are, the more likely they are to speak, learn and maintain their HL. For example, 95% of children who expressed that they would teach their children Arabic also reported that they like learning Arabic. On the other hand, all the children who reported they would never teach their children Arabic reported that they never like learning Arabic.

Ms Sara pointed out this relationship between the LA towards SA and the motivation to speak the HL:

Extract 129

R: From your experience, what can help teachers increase the children's use and acceptance of SA?

Sara: **This children's acceptance of SA itself is a motivation**, I mean I felt their acceptance of Arabic when I have seen many of them use SA, so I thought that it is a motivation.

To sum up, the children's attitudes towards learning Arabic is strongly related to their LU, LA and identity. All these together significantly affect the process of HLM within Arabic HLS.

8.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I explored a variety of factors that could influence HLM among the children of Arab migrants in Manchester. This includes demographic (e.g., gender), linguistic (e.g., language input), socio-contextual (e.g., family, SAS), and socio-affective (e.g., attitudes and identity) factors. It is important here to point out that heritage language acquisition was not the focus of the study as all the participants are Arabic language speakers. The results indicate that language input is the most influential factor in children's language practices and HLM. This includes the language spoken to children, media, SAS and reading. In addition, socio-affective factors seem to have a strong impact on heritage language use and maintenance. The sense of ethnic, and religious identities positively correlates with heritage language use, positive attitudes towards heritage language and HLM. Attitudes toward heritage language use, maintenance, and culture, along with attending SAS play an important role in HLM and identity. Besides, gender, age and place of birth correlate with the children's heritage language use, maintenance, attitudes and identity. Finally, socio-contextual factors such as attending SAS, FLP and visiting home country regularly are found to correlate positively with heritage language maintenance, attitudes and identity.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

In this chapter, I summarize the main findings of the study with particular reference to the research questions:

1. What choices relating to language use do Arab children make when speaking in a predominantly Arabic environment, and what factors influence those choices?
2. To what extent do the attitudes towards both heritage and dominant languages reflect and/or contribute to the construction of the children's identity as bilinguals?

I conclude by discussing the main contributions, implications and limitations of the study, and outlining potential future research directions.

9.1 Summary of the findings

9.1.1 Arabic is maintained within the community under investigation with a shift towards the dominant language (English) among the younger generation and considerable intergenerational differences in language choice.

This study has revealed the patterns of language use among Arab parents, their children, and teachers in supplementary Arabic schools (SAS). Parents and teachers use colloquial Arabic (QA) predominantly in their interactions with children, while functional use of English as code-switching (CS) occurs occasionally. Code-switching is largely used to clarify or enhance particular ideas and phrases, or to address topics associated with British life. Parents and teachers showed positive attitudes towards code-switching as they understand the role it plays in facilitating

communication with the children and that code-switching is a part of being bilingual. These positive attitudes towards code-switching in heritage language (Gardner-Chloros, 2009) situations are thought to strengthen the bilingual communication skills of children and contribute to the heritage language maintenance (HLM) and the formation of ethnic identity (Canagarajah, 2011; García & Wei, 2014; Gardner-Chloros, 2009; Wei & Wu, 2009). On the children's side, English is primarily used in interactions amongst themselves both at home and SAS. This indicates a shift towards English-dominant bilingualism among the children and their preference for English. Most of the children participants justified this pattern and preference by stating their belief that English is simply easier.

9.1.2 Language policies are widely used at home and in SAS

This study has demonstrated that parents imposed family language policies (FLP) at home to manage the language their children speak and to maintain their HL. It has also revealed that parents have varied attitudes towards code-switching as some parents allowed only QA to be spoken at home while others allowed a mix of the two languages. Parents also have used multiple techniques to enforce these FLP, as some parents used very strict explicit policies while others chose implicit ways to maintain HL. These multiple approaches and techniques, however, can have different emotional impacts on bilingual children as strict FLP were found to have a negative impact on child-parent communication.

In SAS, school administration and teachers imposed LPs to encourage the use of HL. In some of these schools, there were clear LPs set centrally for teachers; however, in other schools, there were no clear LPs and setting LPs was left to the

teachers' judgment. In both cases, Arabic was used mainly with children and code-switching was allowed to facilitate communication. In addition, schools varied in their approaches in allocating children to different classes. Some schools combined Arabic speakers (who speak Arabic at home and speak QA) with non-Arabic speakers (who do not speak Arabic at all and only learn SA at supplementary schools) in the same classes, while other schools had separate classes for each group. It can be argued, building from the previous research and the findings of this study, that the drawbacks of combining Arabic and non-Arabic speakers outweigh its benefits. It was found in this study that mixing Arabic speakers with non-Arabic speakers reduced the amount of Arabic spoken in class. Besides, mixing both groups takes no account of the value of speaking QA for Arabic speakers and, therefore, prevents the use of it to facilitate their acquisition and production of SA.

9.1.3 Positive attitudes towards Arabic, maintaining Arabic, transmitting Arabic, SAS and bilingualism

This research has essentially focused on the attitudes of children towards SA and QA. Many academics¹¹ have proposed the prohibition of QA use in educational settings, as the low variety of Arabic, on the grounds that QA impacts education in general and Arabic language in particular because of its adverse cultural effect (Abu-Rabia, 2000; Aldannan, 1999; Almahmoud, 2013; Ayari, 1996; Maamouri, 1998; Tinbak, 2005). However, as migrant children are mostly only exposed to QA and might have not previously been exposed to SA (Albirini, 2018), Limiting contact to

¹¹ It is important to bear in mind that these academics are Arab which may indicate a professional-cultural predisposition rather than an evidence-based position.

just SA may have a negative influence on their LA. This study has shown the parents' revealed distinct ideologies in this respect from the dominant ideologies on the use of SA and QA in SAS. They seem to know the practical role that QA plays in the experiences of their children and doubt the effectiveness of speaking in SA. This change from negative attitudes to positive attitudes towards the use of QA in particular areas where only SA was previously recognized is in keeping with the change found in some studies (Albirini, 2011, 2016; Bassiouney, 2013; Holes, 2004; Soliman, 2008). Similarly, this change in the attitudes and practices was also found in the school domain, where it was usually more common in such settings to use SA as the formal language of communication and instruction. It seems that QA is more practical than SA for both teachers and students.

A central focus of this study of Arabic HLM in Manchester is the younger Arab generation and I therefore explored the parents' and children's attitudes towards HLM. Both parents and children showed generally positive attitudes towards HLM and HL transmitting to the next generation. As a result of this positive attitude and desire to maintain HL, parents were highly motivated to send their children to SAS. The decisions of parents regarding HLM seem to be closely linked to their expectations about the use of this language by the family for better contact and communication, deeply influenced by religion and driven by a high understanding of the possible benefits of bilingualism. Finally, drawing on the findings of this study, it can be argued that LA is closely related to the children's sense of identity. Children who held heritage (Arab Muslim) identity also held positive attitudes toward their heritage language, learning it and towards attending SAS. This indicates that

children's desire and excitement to learn and maintain Arabic could be influenced and driven by their desire to be Arab or Muslim.

Regarding the attitudes towards SAS, it was found that the general attitudes were positive, with some negative attitudes related to the language barrier which emphasizes the importance of the language spoken to children and the LPs imposed.

9.1.4 The role of language and attitudes in the construction of identity

This study has shown how the same children positioned themselves within different social groups in various social settings, which implies that the identity of children is changeable and dynamic. These varied identifications of self were motivated by many social aspects, including language, culture and environment. Regardless of the ethnic identity, Muslim identity was the highest reported identity by parents and children. The Arabic language was directly associated with the participants' identity as "Arabic language has been the soul and the substance of identity dynamics in the Arabic speaking world" (Albirini, 2016, p. 122). Parents linked the Arabic language with the children's Arabic identity and believed that Arabic "is forming an Arabic identity", thus justifying their investment in maintaining their HL.

Therefore, it can be argued that my participants connected speaking Arabic with their identities as Arabs and Muslims, and perceived Arabic as a marker of identity. Thus, for the population under investigation, HL is linked to their religious and ethnic identity and is considered a 'core value' (Smolicz, 1981), which serves as a clear motive to maintain their HL in the immigration country. Additionally, LA were significantly related to identity in general, and to connecting SA to Muslim identity.

For instance, participants who reported Muslim and Arabic identity showed positive LA and children who believed that learning SA is important to be Muslim and to be Arab have also reported positive LA towards their HL.

9.1.5 Many factors contribute to HLM and LS

I investigated several factors that could affect HLM among the children of Arab migrants in Manchester. This includes demographic factors (such as gender), linguistic factors (such as language input), socio-contextual factors (such as family, SAS), and socio-affective factors (such as attitudes and identity). The findings suggest that the most important element in children's LU patterns and HLM was the language spoken to them. The study specifically highlights the significance of speaking the HL to children both at home and in SAS, as it seems that the key factor that affects the children's LU is the language spoken to them. Many researchers argue that the parents' LU at home significantly leads to HLM or LS among children (Curdt-Christiansen, 2013; Pauwels, 2016; Spolsky, 2012). Additionally, it was found in this study that the media, attending SAS and reading had a significant influence on the children's LU patterns and HLM. However, the emphasis is primarily on literacy in SAS, as speaking has not received adequate attention. Thus, if combined with speaking Arabic to them, literacy may have a major impact on HLM.

Furthermore, socio-affective variables (attitudes and identity) appear to have a strong effect on the use and preservation of heritage language. The sense of ethnic and religious identity correlates favourably with the use of heritage language, positive attitudes to heritage language, and HLM. Attitudes toward heritage language use, maintenance, and culture play an important role in HLM and forming heritage

identity. This corresponds with Fishman's (1988) language shift model, which stresses that preventing LS involves the literacy of community languages by organizations or institutions (including ethnic schools) regulated by the ethnic group. The children's place of birth, length of living in the UK, frequency of visiting the home country, frequency of watching Arabic programmes, and the length of attending SAS were also found factors contributing significantly to the children's LU patterns.

This study investigated the influence of gender on language behaviour, language attitudes, language proficiency, and identity practices of Arab children and their parents in the UK. This study has shown gender differences in language use, LA, and language and identity levels. For example, female participants who identified as 'Arab Muslims' and 'Arab' were more likely to speak Arabic than other females and than male participants. Parents also reported gender-related differences in language use and LA. In terms of FLPs and gender, the differences were not gender related. It can be argued that a combination of the parents' English proficiency, the parents' LA and ideologies, and the language parents allow were responsible for the difference in the imposed FLP and their outcome rather than gender.

9.2 Contribution of the study

This research provides a significant contribution to the literature on HLs and HL literacy, HLM and LS, FLP, language attitudes and identity, bilingualism/multilingualism. It is especially useful for all Arabic-speaking communities in the UK, which have received considerably less research attention than some other ethnic populations. The study differs from most studies on Arabic minorities in the UK in that it studied the Arabic community as a whole, including

participants from different countries of origin, while other studies have explored participants from the same national background, such as Jamai (2008) on the Moroccan minority and Ferguson (2013) on Yemeni migrants in Sheffield, and Eid (2019) on the Lebanese minority in London. This study thus shows how varied the UK Arab community is in regard to the country of origin, length and place of residence in the UK and shows at the same time their shared attitudes and identities. This study also complements Bichani's (2015) study which was the only study that investigated the UK Arab population as a whole.

This research offers an in-depth and thorough examination of language use patterns, FLPs, LPs in SAS, language attitudes, and identity practices of Arab immigrant parents and their children. In addition, the study identifies intergenerational linguistic differences by providing a voice to both Arab parents and their children, and thus offers more detailed insight and addresses a gap in the developing field of FLP. Furthermore, a certain degree of triangulation was achievable with the use of a variety of data collection methods (questionnaires, interviews and participant observation), thus enhancing the reliability and validity of the results.

The current study has explored the role of FLP in the HLM or LS process. Additionally, Complementing previous sociolinguistic studies on Arabic-speaking communities in the United Kingdom, this study casts lights on the diversity and heterogeneous nature of these ethnic population in terms of their religious views, language beliefs, identities, FLPs, and multilingual experience.

This research investigates the attitudes of parents and children towards both varieties of Arabic (SA and QA) and their effect on HLM and LS. Specifically, I examined the children's language attitudes effect on their attitudes towards HL learning and attending SAS. The parent's attitudes towards the use of SA to interact with children in SAS was also investigated. Thus, this study contributes to the available literature on language attitudes towards SA and QA within migrant communities, and its effect on HLM.

This study also has an educational focus, although is primarily sociolinguistic in orientation. Interviews with parents, children and teachers, as well as in-class and out of class observation, have helped to bring attention to the motivations for attending SAS, and attitudes towards SAS, improvements needed in SAS, the role of SAS in HLM, and considerations required in distributing children to classes.

9.3 Research implications

9.3.1 Implications for SAS

This research carries several implications for SAS in the UK and other countries of migration. Its findings bring attention to the importance of the language choices and policies in SAS, which might not have been considered carefully in this context. Due to the focus on literacy and educational outcomes, speaking might have received less attention whereas the evidence here suggests that the language spoken to the children has the biggest influence on children's language use and maintenance. In addition, this study emphasizes the importance of considering the sociolinguistic aspects of the school. Considering the language proficiency of the children, as well as their heritage background, contributes to the outcome of the

educational process as much as the educational materials used in classes. This study showed that different criteria in allocating children to classes had different results in terms of HL use and LA, which in turn might have an impact on the success of HLM. The results of this study could allow supplementary schools to make more informed choices regarding which teachers to assign in each class to achieve a better educational outcome. This study also highlighted and discussed the change in the attitudes towards SA and the impact of using SA in communication within SAS. Considering this change might be useful in updating LPs.

9.3.2 Implications for migrant parents

This investigation also has implications for Arab migrants in the UK and might be useful for migrant communities and organizations established to support them, as well as governments, local councils. This study shows varied FLP practices and reveals the parents' experiences in those matters, uncovering the advantages and drawbacks of the presented FLP. It also discloses the relationship between HLM, identity and LA. More specifically, this research helps to spread knowledge of the importance of HLM and the factors that affect HLM. Additionally, it encourages parents to make a more educated decision when considering sending their children to an additional school. For example, in Manchester specifically, there are many SAS to choose from. Parents have the option of sending their children to a school that offers only Arabic and Islamic studies or a school that has a full national curriculum. Parents also have the option of sending their children to a school for children of a specific nationality (e.g., Yemeni) or a school for children of any Arab nationality. This study explores the parents' experiences in all these cases.

9.4 Limitations

Considering the limited time available to the study and the busy nature of the participants' lives, family observation, which might have added a further dimension to our understanding, was not possible. In addition, as the chosen research site was Arabic Islamic schools, all the participants were Muslims, which is not reflective of the Arab world's religious diversity. However, to my knowledge, there are no Arabic schools that have any different religious affiliation. Moreover, there were relatively small numbers of families and teachers studied due to the limited time. I have sought, however, to compensate to an extent for this by involving Arab participants from various backgrounds and contexts, and by using multiple methods of data collection. The nature of the topic of my study is clear and obvious and I was able to obtain information easily in the interviews and in this case, as Morse (2000) suggests, few participants are needed. Additionally, having a small number of families allowed me to collect deep concentrated data in addition to that my participants were able to express themselves well, reflected on the topic investigated, were articulate and had a good experience on the topic. According to Morse (2000), the quality of the collected data, the nature of the topic, and the design of the study are among the factors that estimating the number of participants required in a study depends on. Therefore, it can be argued that these interviews can be assumed to be accurate and therefore have a wider scope.

9.5 Directions for future research

- a) There is scope to conduct further research investigating the impact of the criteria followed by school administrations in allocating children to classes

in supplementary schools on HLM, LA and identity. This would be particularly significant for the outcome of attending SAS and the attitudes towards heritage language and SAS at the same time, which in turn contributes to HLM.

- b) It will be helpful to perform a comparative analysis of Arab Christian families and Arab Muslim families for whom the religious importance of SA is valuable, to determine what key factors contribute to more effective maintenance in these families, and what factors have the greatest effect on the growth of children's literacy over time.
- c) A comparative analysis of Arabic families living in other cities in the UK and other European capital cities will be equally important to investigate why various trends of LU patterns and FLPs are followed and how they influence HLM and LS, the development of biliteracy, and identity practices. This could show the influence of other variables on LM such as the lack of supplementary schooling or the small number of community members within particular regions and locations.

In conclusion, this research develops new directions in which to explore issues within Arabic minorities and other minorities living in the UK regarding language practices, language attitudes, and identity practices. It provides an inclusive description of the linguistic practices and attitudes of Arab parents and children and the diverse ways in which their identities are constructed and negotiated. It shows what heritage language means to Arab migrant parents and how it ties them to their origin and to the next generation. It reveals the importance of maintaining heritage

language in maintaining healthy parent-child communication and shows how losing heritage language could affect this relationship. It also shows that language goes beyond being a means of communication to be a big part of one's identity. Participants reflect the exceptional nature of Arabic as a world language in which ethnicity, religion and roots play such an integrated, comprehensive role. Parents in this study show what Arabic means to them and to their children, and how 'they feel it is part of them. It is for them. They feel they belong to it'. They 'feel it is their language, it is their Arabic identity'. Children reveal how they feel about it and what it means to them and how it is connected to who they are, in that 'if they are Muslims and do not speak Arabic, they are not exactly Muslims', because 'the more they speak Arabic, the more Muslim they are'. They express that their children in the future need to speak Arabic because 'it is not right not to speak it, it would be wrong', and that 'this something they would not allow'. They maintain it and transmit it to their children because it is a critical part of who they are.

Notes

¹ These assumptions are normality, linearity, constant variance (homoscedasticity) and independence of residuals. The assumption of normality was violated hence I used logarithmic transformation of the dependent variable. This did not solve the problem, as a result, robust regression methods were used using bootstrapping function in SPSS to overcome this issue by calculating tighter confidence intervals.

An examination of residual scatterplots allows us to test the assumption of constant variance. The scatterplot of standardized residuals against standardized predicted residuals were investigated. I checked the assumption of linearity by exploring scatterplots of independent variables against the dependent variable. There was no strong correlation between the independent variables. For all regression models, I checked the followings to ensure the models were not biased.

1. Standardized residuals were checked to ensure that no more than 5% of cases have absolute values above 2, and no more than 1% have values above 2.5. Values above 3 were considered as outliers. Standardized residual is expressed in standard deviation units. Residuals are the difference between the observed values that the regression model predicts, and the actual values observed in the data.
2. Cook's distance measures the overall influence of a case on the regression model. The values of Cook distances were all below 1, which meant that no case influenced the model.
3. Leverage statistics assess the influence of the observed value of the dependent variable over the predicted values. The average "leverage" is the number of predictors plus 1, divided by the sample size, and no case had values greater than twice or three times this average value.
4. Mahalanobis distance measure the influence of a case by examining the distance of cases from the mean(s) of the independent variable(s). The significance value for Mahanobolis distances were calculated and outliers, which fell outside the critical values, were deleted.
5. DFBeta measures the influence of a case on the beta values in a regression model. Absolute values for DFBeta were all below 1.
6. Covariance ratio (CVR) measures whether a case influences the variance of the parameters in a regression model. I calculated the upper and lower limit of acceptable values for the covariance ratio (CVR). No case fell outside of these limits.
7. Durbin-Watson test, which tests for serial correlations between errors in regression models. For all regression models, the test results were below or close to 2.
8. Variance inflation factor (VIF), which is a measure of multicollinearity had values below 10.
9. Tolerance statistics, which is the reciprocal of VIF had values above 0.1.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 Children's questionnaire

Language Use, Attitudes, and Identities of Bilingual Arab Children in Manchester, UK: Description and Factors

Introduction

Thank you for offering to help me by answering some questions. I am asking you these questions because I want to find out how children feel about learning and speaking Arabic.

There are no right or wrong answers to the questions below. Completing the questionnaire will take 10-15 minutes of your time. I value your honest and detailed responses. Your identity and personal information will remain anonymous, and no one will get access to it except for the researcher. Your information will be used for the purposes of this research only and will not be used for any other purposes.

Please answer the following questions by choosing one of the given answers or ticking the box where appropriate. Feel free to add any comments:

What is the name of the Arabic school you attend?

.....

A. Background Information

1. What age group are you?

6-11 (Primary school)	12-18 (High school)
-----------------------	---------------------

2. Where were you born?

In my Arabic country	In the UK
----------------------	-----------

3. What is your gender?

Male	Female
------	--------

4. For how many years have you been living in the UK?

0-2 yrs.	3-4 yrs.	5-10 yrs.	10+ yrs.	I was born in the UK
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5. For how many years have you been attending Arabic school?

1	2	3	4	5+
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6. How many brothers and sisters do you have?

1	2	3	4+	0
---	---	---	----	---

7. Who lives with you?

Father	Mother	Grandfather	Grandmother	Brothers	Sisters	Others (please specify)
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8. What is your first language?

Arabic	English	Other (please specify)
--------	---------	------------------------

9. Where do you come from?

Morocco	Libya	Tunisia	Algeria	Egypt	Sudan	Jordan	Syria	Lebanon	Saudi Arabia
Palestine	Kuwait	Mauritania	Somalia	Eritrea	Qatar	Yemen	Oman	Bahrain	United Arab Emirates
Iraq	Other:								

10. What is your father's first language?

Arabic	English	Other (please specify)
--------	---------	------------------------

11. Where does your father come from?

Morocco	Libya	Tunisia	Algeria	Egypt	Sudan	Jordan	Syria	Lebanon	Saudi Arabia
Palestine	Kuwait	Mauritania	Somalia	Eritrea	Qatar	Yemen	Oman	Bahrain	United Arab Emirates
Iraq	Other:								

12. What is your mother's first language?

Arabic	English	Other (please specify)
--------	---------	------------------------

13. Where does your mother come from?

Morocco	Libya	Tunisia	Algeria	Egypt	Sudan	Jordan	Syria	Lebanon	Saudi Arabia
Palestine	Kuwait	Mauritania	Somalia	Eritrea	Qatar	Yemen	Oman	Bahrain	United Arab Emirates
Iraq	Other:								

14. How often do you visit your Arabic Home country?

Twice every year	Once every year	Once every two years	Once every five years	Never
------------------	-----------------	----------------------	-----------------------	-------

15. How often do you speak to your grandparents?

Every day	Once every week	Once every month	Once every year	Never
-----------	-----------------	------------------	-----------------	-------

16. How often do you visit your grandparents?

Every day	Once every week	Once every month	Once every year	Never
-----------	-----------------	------------------	-----------------	-------

17. How often do you watch Arabic programs on TV or on the Internet and YouTube channels?

Every day	sometimes	rarely	never
-----------	-----------	--------	-------

18. Are the Arabic programs you watch in Fus'ha or in Arabic dialect?

Fus'ha	Arabic dialects
--------	-----------------

B. Language use

1. What language do YOU use to talk with the following people? Tick the box which is closest to your answer.

		Always Arabic	Usually Arabic	English and Arabic equally	Usually English	Always English	Other Language (please specify)
19	Your mother						
20	Your father						
21	Your grandmother						
22	Your grandfather						
23	Sisters and brothers						
24	Your teacher in the Arabic school						
25	Your classmates in the Arabic school						

2. What language do THE FOLLOWING PEOPLE use to talk with you? Tick the box, which is closest to your answer.

		Always Arabic	Usually Arabic	English and Arabic equally	Usually English	Always English	Other Language (please specify)
26	Your mother						
27	Your father						
28	Your grandmother						
29	Your grandfather						

30	Sisters and brothers						
31	Your teacher in the Arabic school						
32	Your classmates in the Arabic school						

3. Attitudes

		Always	Sometimes	Never
33	I understand Fus'ha			
34	I use Fus'ha when I speak to my family members			
35	I use Fus'ha when I speak to my Arab teachers			
36	I use Fus'ha when I speak to my Arab classmates and friends			
37	I prefer that my teachers speak with their Arabic accents instead of Fus'ha			
38	I feel comfortable in the Arabic school			
39	If I was a father/mother I would speak Arabic to my child			
40	I love Arabic			
41	I understand different Arabic accents			
42	I like learning Arabic			
43	I like going to the Arabic school			
44	Going to the Arabic school is fun			
		Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree
45	Learning Fus'ha is important to be a Muslim			
46	I will continue speaking Arabic for the rest of my life			
47	Learning Fus'ha is important for me			
48	Learning Fus'ha is important to be an Arab			
49	I will go to the Arabic school next year			
50	If I was a father/mother I would send my child to the Arabic school			
51	If I was a father/mother I would like my child to learn Arabic			

4. Identity

		Arab	Muslim	British	All of them equally	British Muslim	Arab Muslim
52	In general, I feel that I am						
53	In the Arabic school I feel that I am						
54	In the English school I feel that I am						
55	At home I feel that I am						

Thank you

Appendix 2 Parents' questionnaire

Language Use, Attitudes, and Identities of Bilingual Arab Children in Manchester, UK: Description and Factors

Introduction

Thank you for agreeing to take part in this important survey. This questionnaire is a part of a PhD research project. It aims at investigating and describing Arab children's language in the UK. It aims at helping these children maintaining their Arabic language.

There are no right or wrong answers to the questions below. Completing the questionnaire will take 10-15 minutes of your time. I value your honest and detailed responses. Your identity and personal information will remain anonymous, and no one will get access to it except for the researcher. Your information will be used for the purposes of this research only and will not be used for any other purposes.

Please answer the following questions by choosing one of the given answers or ticking the box where appropriate. Feel free to add any comments in the space left for extra information you might want to add:

- **Background information:**

1- Gender

Male

Female

2-Country of origin

.....

3- Nationality

.....

4-Your children's Arabic school

.....

Questions						
5	For how many years have you been living in the UK?	1-5 yrs.	6-10 yrs.	11-20 yrs.	20+ yrs.	Born in the UK
6	How old are you?	20-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61-70
7	How many children do you have?	1	2	3	4	5+
8	How fluent is your English?	Native speaker	Very fluent	Fluent	Not fluent	I don't speak English
9	Which immigrant generation are you?	First	Second	Third	Fourth+	Not an immigrant

- **Language of education**

10	What is your highest level of education?	BA/BSc	MA/MSc	PhD	Other:
11	Where did you get your degree/s (country)?	Arab country	Anglophone country	Non-Arab and non-Anglophone country	
12	What language were your studies in?	Arabic	English	Neither Arabic nor English	

- **Language use at home**

		Yes	No	I don't know
13	Do your sons speak more Arabic to you than your daughters?			
14	Do your Daughters speak more Arabic to you than your sons?			
15	Do your children speak more Arabic to your wife/husband than they speak to you?			
16	Do your children speak more English to your wife/husband than they speak to you?			

		Only English	Only Fus'ha	Only Regional Arabic	A mix of English and Arabic Fus'ha	A mix of English and Regional Arabic
17	What language do your CHILDREN use when talking to you?					
18	What language do YOU use when talking to them?					
19	What language do your CHILDREN use when talking to each other?					
20	What is the main language that you allow them to use?					
21	What language do grandparents use when talking to your children?					
22	What language do your children use when talking to their grandparents?					
23	If you have Arab friends from different nationalities, what language do your children use when talking them?					
24	If you have Arab friends from different nationalities, what language do they use when talking to your children?					
25	In what language (or dialect) are the programs your children watch on TV and on YouTube?					

- **Language preference**

		Yes	No	Sometimes
26	Do you think your children understand Fus'ha?			
27	Do you think your children like being taught in Fus'ha?			
28	Do you think they understand different Arabic dialects?			
29	Do you find using your regional dialect useful in explaining texts in Fus'ha for your children?			
30	Do you find using English useful in explaining texts in Fus'ha for your children?			
31	Have you noticed your children using Fus'ha (standard Arabic) at home?			

3 2	Have you noticed your children using different Arabic dialects other than the one you use at home?			
3 3	Do you prefer that teachers in the Arabic school use their regional dialect, instead of Fus'ha, when they talk to your children in class?			
3 4	Do you think your children prefer that their teachers in the Arabic school use their regional dialect, instead of Fus'ha, when they talk to them in class?			

35-Why do you send your children to Arabic schools?

- 1- To study Quran
 - 2- To speak Arabic
 - 3- To learn reading and writing in Arabic
 - 4- To study my national curriculum
 - 5- To strengthen their Islamic identity
 - 6- To strengthen their national identity
 - 7- To keep them busy
- Other.....

36-Will you send your children to Arabic school next year?

Yes No

37-If you stop sending your children to Arabic school, this would be because:

- 1- It costs us too much money.
 - 2- It costs us too much time.
 - 3- My children do not want to go.
 - 4- It is too much work for my children and me.
 - 5- My children are not learning.
 - 6- I do not like the culture in the school.
- Other:.....

• **Identity**

		Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree
38	The dominant culture at home is Islamic			
39	The dominant culture at home is Arabic			
40	The dominant culture at home is my national culture			
41	The dominant culture at home is British			

If you have any questions about this research project, please do not hesitate to ask:

Researcher: Hind Alraddadi

Contact no.: 07402*****

Email: *****@stu.mmu.ac.uk

Department of Languages, Information & communication.

Manchester Metropolitan University, Manchester, United Kingdom.

You can also contact my supervisor Dr Rob Drummond: ****@mmu.ac.uk, +44 (0)161 247 ****

Appendix 3 Teachers' questionnaire

Language Use, Attitudes, and Identities of Bilingual Arab Children in Manchester, UK: Description and Factors

Introduction

Thank you for agreeing to take part in this important survey. This questionnaire is a part of a PhD research project. It aims at investigating and describing Arab children's language in the UK. It aims at helping these children maintaining their Arabic language.

There are no right or wrong answers to the questions bellow. Completing the questionnaire will take 10-15 minutes of your time. I value your honest and detailed responses. Your identity and personal information will remain anonymous, and no one will get access to it except for the researcher. Your information will be used for the purposes of this research only and will not be used for any other purposes.

Please answer the following questions by choosing one of the given answers or ticking the box where appropriate. Feel free to add any comments in the space left for extra information you might want to add:

- **Background information:**

	Question					
1	For how many years have you been living in the UK?	1-5 yrs.	6-10 yrs.	11-20 yrs.	20+ yrs.	Born in the UK
2	How old are you?	20-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61-70
3	For how long you have been teaching in Arabic schools?	1-5 yrs.	6-10 yrs.	11-15 yrs.	15-20 yrs.	20+ yrs.
4	How fluent is your English?	Native speaker	Very fluent	Fluent	Not fluent	I don't speak English
5	Of which Arab migrant generation you are?	First	Second	Third	Fourth+	Not an immigrant

- **Language of education**

6	What is your highest level of education?	BA/BSc	MA/MSc	PhD	Other:
7	Where did you get your degree/s (country)?	Arab country	Anglophone country	Non-Arab and non-Anglophone country	
8	What language were your studies in?	Arabic	English	Neither Arabic nor English	

- **Language use in the Arabic school**
 - A. Inside the class**

		Only English	Only Fus'ha	Only Regional Arabic	A mix of English and Arabic	A mix of Fus'ha and Regional Arabic
9	What language do CHILDREN use when talking to you?					
	Extra information:					
10	What language do YOU use when talking to them?					
	Extra information:					
11	What language do CHILDREN use when talking to each other?					
	Extra information:					
12	What language do the school allow you to use?					
	Extra information:					

B. Outside class

		Only English	Only Fus'ha	Only Regional Arabic	A mix of English and Arabic	A mix of Fus'ha and Regional Arabic
13	What language do CHILDREN use when talking to you?					
	Extra information:					
14	What language do YOU use when talking to them?					
	Extra information:					
15	What language do CHILDREN use when talking to each other?					
	Extra information:					
16	What language do the school allow you to use?					
	Extra information:					

- **Language attitudes**

		Yes	No	Sometimes
17	Do you think the children like being taught in Fus'ha?			
	Extra information:			
18	Do you find using regional dialects useful in explaining texts in Fus'ha?			
	Extra information:			
19	Do you find using English useful in explaining texts in Arabic?			
	Extra information:			
20	Do you believe your spoken Fus'ha is completely correct?			
	Extra information:			
21	Do you find communicating with the children using your regional dialect to be easier than communicating in Fus'ha?			
	Extra information:			
22	Do you think the children understand Fus'ha?			
	Extra information:			
23	Do you think they understand different Arabic dialects?			
	Extra information:			
24	Have you noticed the children using different Arabic dialects other than their regional dialect?			
	Extra information:			
25	Do you think it is easier for children to speak Fus'ha than their regional dialects?			
	Extra information:			

Gender	Female	Male
Country of origin		
Nationality		

If you have any questions about this research project, please do not hesitate to ask:

Researcher: Hind Alraddadi

Contact no.: 07402*****

Email: ****@hotmail.com

Department of Languages, Information & communication.

Manchester Metropolitan University, Manchester, United Kingdom.

You can also contact my supervisor Dr Rob Drummond: ****@mmu.ac.uk, +44 (0)161 247 ****

Thank you

Appendix 4 Children's interview

General information

1. How old are you?
2. Where were you born?
3. For how long have you been living here?
4. Who lives with you?
5. For how long have you been attending Arabic schools?
6. Do you prefer to speak in English or Arabic?

Arabic school

7. Do you like going to the Arabic school?
8. Why?
9. Do you know which country your teachers are from?
10. Do you understand teachers from different Arab countries?
11. Do you understand Standard Arabic?
12. Do you like speaking Standard Arabic?
13. How do you feel when you speak Standard Arabic?
14. What is your favourite Language?
15. What language do you speak to your friends in the Arabic school?
16. Ok, now which one do you prefer more; your English school or your Arabic one?
17. Why?
18. How can your Arabic school be better?

Home

19. What language do you speak at home with your mother?
20. What language do you speak at home with your father?
21. Why do you use Arabic with them?
22. Do they ask you to speak in Arabic, your mom and dad, or you just want to speak in Arabic?
23. Do you, sometimes, feel that you want to speak English with your mother or father?
24. What about your siblings? What language do you speak to them?
25. Do you speak more or less Arabic than your sister/ brothers?
26. Do you prefer if you can use English all the time with everybody?
27. Do you watch Arabic channels?
28. What channels do you watch?
29. Do you watch them because you want to, or because your parents asked you to?
30. Do you understand what they say on these channels?

Identity and Attitudes

31. If someone asks you to talk about yourself, what would you say? [Would you say, I am British, or I am Muslim or Arab or Palestinian or what?]
32. Do you think speaking Arabic has anything to do with you being Muslim or Arab?
33. Why?
34. How do you feel when your parents speak to you in Arabic in front of your friends?
35. How do you feel when your parents speak to you in English in front of your friends?
36. Do you prefer that your parents speak English or Arabic in public? Why?
37. Ok now, let me ask you about the future, are you going to teach your children Arabic in the future?

Appendix 5 Parents' interview

General information

1. How many children do you have?
2. How old are they?
3. Were all the children born here?
4. When did you first come to this country? For how long have you been living in a non-English speaking country?
5. What was the reason for coming to the UK?
6. Have you worked in the UK?
7. Where do you consider home?
8. Are you thinking of going back home, or are you settled here?
9. When?
10. What does your husband/wife do?
11. Does he come from the same home country?

Language in your life

12. How do you rate your level in spoken English?
13. What languages do you use at home?
14. What varieties of Arabic do you use?
15. What about your partner?
16. What about your children?
17. Do you insist that your children speak Arabic with you and to each other?
18. Do you use Fus'ha in your daily life? Why?
19. In which situation do you use Fus'ha?
20. Do you speak English with your children? Why?
21. Do you mix between Arabic and English in your daily life? Why?
22. If your children respond in English, do you shift to English?
23. Do they respond in Arabic when you speak to them in English?
24. Do you feel, sometimes, you must speak in English with them? When?
25. Is it important for you that your children speak Arabic? Why?
26. Do you want them to learn reading and writing in Arabic?
27. How important is it for you that your children become literate in Arabic? Why?
28. How your views about maintaining Arabic changed since you came here or since your children were born?
29. At home, do you watch more Arabic channels, or English ones?
30. How often do you watch each (English and Arabic channels)?

31. Do you think watching Arabic programmes helps your children maintain Arabic or have positive attitudes towards Arabic?
32. Now, how often do you visit your home country?
33. And how long do you stay there?
34. Do the kids like it there?
35. Do you have frequent visits from your home country?
36. Do you have any relatives here in the same city?
37. Do your children talk on the phone with their grand mom, granddad and other relatives back home?
38. What language do they use with them?
39. What language do your children speak to non-English speakers?
40. Do you think they struggle to speak %100 Arabic with their relatives?
41. How do they feel about that?
42. Do you have friends from different Arab countries?
43. What language do your children speak to them?
44. Do you think they struggle to speak to your Arab friends in Arabic?

Language and identity

45. Can you describe your family's identity?
46. Does Arabic have anything to do with this identity?
47. What identity do you insist that your children maintain and develop? Your Islamic, national, Arabic or British identity?
48. What language/variety represents you most? Or is closest to you?
49. Do you think your children perceive themselves as Arabs? Muslims? British?
50. What do you think makes someone an Arab?

Supplementary schooling

51. Do the children like going to the Arabic school?
52. If you have the opportunity, what would you change in the school or may be add?
53. Ok, and did attending Arabic school influence their performance at the English school, positively or negatively?
54. Do they have Arab friends in their English school?
55. Has going to the Arabic school influenced the amount of using Arabic at home?
56. Do you think going to the Arabic school have influenced their attitudes towards Arabic language?
57. Do you think going to the Arabic school have influenced their identity?

58. Is the Arabic variety that teachers use when speaking to your children important to you?
59. Do you prefer that teachers use Fus'ha when speaking to them? Why?
60. Do you mind that teachers speak different Arabic varieties than yours to your children?

Attitudes towards Fus'ha and other Arabic dialects:

61. How do you feel about Fus'ha? Why?
62. Do you like your children to speak Fus'ha?
63. Do you mind that your children sometimes speak other Arabic varieties?
64. How do you react if your children speak a different Arabic variety?

Language and gender

65. Have you noticed any difference between your daughters and sons in terms of language use?
66. Do you think your sons speak more Arabic than your daughters or vice versa?
67. Do they speak more Arabic or English to you or to their father/mother? Why?

Appendix 6 Teachers' interview

General Information

1. Where do you come from?
2. Where were you born?
3. For how long have you been living in an English-speaking country?
4. What do you do?
5. For how many years have you been teaching in Arabic schools?
6. Do you hold any degrees?
7. Why do you teach in Arabic schools?

Language use

8. What is the main language you use in class?
9. What Arabic variety do you speak when teaching?
10. What Arabic variety do you speak to children in general in class or in break time??
11. What is the main language/variety you use out of class?
12. What about the children? What language do they mainly speak in the school?
13. What if the children speak English with you?
14. Do you face any challenges when communicating with Arab children who come from different Arab backgrounds?
15. What other challenges do you face when communicating with children?
16. Do you think Arab children who come from different backgrounds find it difficult to understand you or to speak to you?
17. What do you think might encourage children to speak Arabic?
18. What about non-Arabic speakers? Do you think it would be better to put them in separate classes or to mix them with Arabic speakers?
19. Do you think having mixed classes for Arabic speakers and non-Arabic speakers are positive or negative?

Gender

20. Do you think boys speak more Arabic to you than girls or vice versa?

Language policy

21. Do you have any language rules that you follow when speaking with children?
22. Do you make any rules that children have to follow when speaking to you?
23. Are there any rules for language use when communicating with children in class that are emphasized by the school administration?

24. Are there any rules for language use when communicating with children outside class that are emphasized by the school administration?

Appendix 7 Participant information sheet and consent form (Parents)

Participant Information Sheet

Hind Alraddadi
PhD in Applied Linguistics
Department of Languages, Information and Communications
Manchester Metropolitan University

*Tel: +447402******

Language use, attitudes and identities of Bilingual Arab Children in Manchester, UK:**Description and Factors**

I would like to invite you and your child to take part in a research study that investigates the choices Arab children make when communicating in Arabic classes as a part of my PhD study at Manchester Metropolitan University. Please take time to read the following information carefully. Ask questions if anything you read is not clear or would like more information. Take time to decide whether to take part.

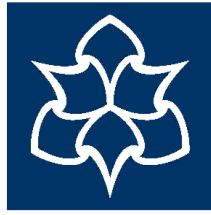
This sociolinguistics study of ethnic Arab children studying Arabic in supplementary schools in the UK has three aims: to investigate and describe the language choices the children make; to identify the factors that influence their choices; and to provide insight into their attitudes towards different Arabic varieties. It will include in-class children observation, interviews and questionnaires.

This research will require approximately 40 minutes of your time. The questionnaire will take 10 minutes to complete and the interview will take about 30 minutes where you will have a conversation with the researcher. The questionnaire and the interview will consist of questions regarding your language preferences and choice. It will also include a questionnaire to be completed by your child in class under the supervision of the researcher and the class teacher. An interview with your child and in class observation will be also a part of this research.

Ethical considerations

1. Anonymity and confidentiality will be maintained by using a study code number on the interview transcripts.
2. All the recorded data will be stored either on a computer at the University which is password protected or in a locked filing cabinet. It will not be possible to identify participants from the data presented in the study. The interview transcripts and the data generated from them will be kept for 5 years and then destroyed.
3. You are free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason. If you withdraw from the study all the information and data collected from you, to date, will be destroyed and your name removed from all the study files.

If you would like to participate, please indicate that you have read and understood this information by signing the accompanying consent form and returning it to the researcher.



**Manchester
Metropolitan
University**

Hind Alraddadi
PhD in Applied Linguistics
Department of Languages, Information and Communications
Geoffrey Manton
Manchester Metropolitan University
Tel: +447402*****

Consent Form

Title of Project: Language use, attitudes and identities of Bilingual Arab Children in Manchester, UK: Description and Factors

Name of Researcher: Hind Mohammad D Alraddadi

Participant Identification Code for this project:

box

Please initial

- | | |
|--|----------------------|
| 1. I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet dated for the above project and have had the opportunity to ask questions about the interview procedure. | <input type="text"/> |
| 2. I understand that my participation and my child participation are voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason to the named researcher. | <input type="text"/> |
| 3. I understand that my responses will be sound recorded and used for analysis for this research project. | <input type="text"/> |
| 4. I give/do not give permission for our interview recording to be archived as part of this research project, making it available to future researchers. | <input type="text"/> |
| 5. I understand that our responses will remain anonymous. | <input type="text"/> |
| 6. I agree to take part in the above research project. | <input type="text"/> |
| 7. I agree for my child to take part in the above research project. | <input type="text"/> |
| 8. I understand that at my request a transcript of my interview can be made available to me. | <input type="text"/> |

Name of Participant

Date

Signature

Researcher

Date

Signature

To be signed and dated in presence of the participant

Once this has been signed, you will receive a copy of your signed and dated consent form and information sheet by post.

Appendix 8 Participant information sheet and consent form (Teachers)

Participant Information Sheet

Hind Alraddadi
 PhD in Applied Linguistics
 Department of Languages, Information and Communications
 Manchester Metropolitan University
 Tel: +447402*****



Language use, attitudes, and identities of Bilingual Arab Children in Manchester,

UK: Description and Factors

I would like to invite you to take part in a research study that investigates the choices Arab children make when communicating in Arabic classes as a part of my PhD study at Manchester Metropolitan University. Please take time to read the following information carefully. Ask questions if anything you read is not clear or would like more information. Take time to decide whether to take part.

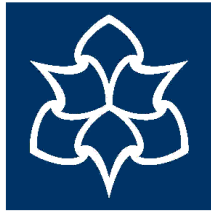
This sociolinguistics study of ethnic Arab children studying Arabic in supplementary schools in the UK has three aims: to investigate and describe the language choices the children make; to identify the factors that influence their choices; and to provide insight into their attitudes towards different Arabic varieties. It will include in-class children observation, interviews and questionnaires. Children, parents and teachers will be asked to take part in this study.

The questionnaire will take 10-15 minutes to complete and the interview will take about 30 minutes where participants will have a conversation with the researcher. The questionnaire and the interview will consist of questions regarding participants' language preferences and choice.

Ethical considerations

1. Anonymity and confidentiality will be maintained by using a study code number on the interview transcripts.
2. All the recorded data will be stored either on a computer at the University which is password protected or in a locked filing cabinet. It will not be possible to identify participants from the data presented in the study. The interview transcripts and the data generated from them will be kept for 5 years and then destroyed.
3. You are free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason. If you withdraw from the study all the information and data collected from you, to date, will be destroyed and your name removed from all the study files.

If you would like to participate, please indicate that you have read and understood this information by signing the accompanying consent form and returning it to the researcher. If you have any concern about any aspect of this study, you should ask to speak to the researcher who will do her best to answer your questions: ***i@stu.mmu.ac.uk . If you remain unhappy and wish to complain formally you can contact my supervisor Dr Rob Drummond: ****@mmu.ac.uk, +44 (0)161 247 ****



**Manchester
Metropolitan
University**

Hind Alraddadi
PhD in Applied Linguistics
Department of Languages, Information and Communications
Geoffrey Manton
Manchester Metropolitan University
Tel: +447402*****

Consent Form

Title of Project:

**Language Use, attitudes, and identities of Bilingual Arab Children in Manchester, UK:
Description and Factors**

Name of Researcher: Hind Mohammad D Alraddadi

Participant Identification Code for this project:

Please initial box

1. I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet dated for the above project and have had the opportunity to ask questions about the interview procedure.

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason to the named researcher.

3. I understand that my responses will be sound recorded and used for analysis for this research project.

4. I give/do not give permission for my interview recording to be archived as part of this research project, making it available to future researchers.

5. I understand that my responses will remain anonymous.

6. I agree to take part in the above research project.

7. I understand that at my request a transcript of my interview can be made available to me.

Name of Participant

Date

Signature

Researcher

Date

Signature

To be signed and dated in presence of the participant

Once this has been signed, you will receive a copy of your signed and dated consent form and information sheet by post.

Appendix 9 Data collection and analysis timeline

Date	Phase	Description of the process
Sep-Nov 2016	Pilot study (questionnaires, interviews, and observations)	The questionnaires, interviews were piloted, and two sessions of observations were completed
Mar-Jul 2017	Data gained from the pilot study was analyzed and a report was written	At this stage, quantitative data was analyzed, and separate section of the quantitative data was written. Then the data gained from the interviews was analyzed and reported in a separate section. Finally, I reported the data obtained from the observation sessions in the last section of the pilot report. I concluded that analyzing and reporting the quantitative and the qualitative data separately was not the best strategy. I decided to follow a concurrent triangulation strategy.
Sep-Dec 2017	All the data collection methods were revised and edited	After deciding on the new strategy of data collection and analysis, I revised the questionnaires and interview questions and the final versions of them were produced. I also decided the aim and the focus of the observation sessions.
Jan-Jul 2018	Data collection	At this stage, I collected qualitative and quantitative data and conducted observation sessions at the same time.
Sep-Dec 2018/Jan-Feb 2019	Data analysis	Quantitative data was analyzed. Thematic analysis of the qualitative data was also done.
March-Nov 2019	Writing the four findings chapters	After the initial analysis of the data in the previous phase, I reported the data in four chapters, with each of them containing all the relevant qualitative and quantitative data.
Mar-May 2020	Discussing the findings	The reported data was compared to the available literature and the discussion was merged with the four chapters.

Appendix 10 Ethical Approval Letter

Faculty of Humanities, Languages and Social Sciences

Dr Cemi Belkacemi
Department of Languages and Information and Communications

8 June 2016



Geoffrey Manton Building
Rosamond Street West
Off Oxford Road
Manchester
M15 6LL
United Kingdom

Website
<http://www2.hlss.mmu.ac.uk/>

Dear Dr Belkacemi,

Application for Ethical Approval: Hind AL RADDADI
Project Title: Study of the factors that govern Arab children's choice of Arabic in supplementary schools

I am pleased to inform you that the above's Application for Ethical Approval has been granted unconditionally. This part of the research can now begin.

I have also received confirmation that the project is fully insured by the University's insurers provided that:

- A DBS check is in place (if required)
- Appropriate adult/child ratios are adhered to

I would be grateful if you could inform the other member(s) of the supervisory team.

Yours sincerely

Katherine Walthall
Research Group Officer

Tel: +44 (0)161 247 6673
Email: k.walthall@mmu.ac.uk
Research and Knowledge Exchange Office
Room 212 Geoffrey Manton Building

cc. Departmental Research Degrees Co-ordinator
HLSS Research Degrees Administrator
Applicant
