UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

"Should I speak Portuguese or English?" - Ethnic and social identity construction in the language choices of Brazilian mothers and their mixed-heritage children at home and in a community language school in the UK

One Volume

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ABSTRACT

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"*Should I speak Portuguese or English?*" - Ethnic and social identity construction in the language choices of Brazilian mothers and their mixed-heritage children at home and in a community language school in the UK

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This study focuses on language and identity issues within the Brazilian community in England, a group which is informally believed to reach up to 100,000 members in London alone. More specifically, this is an investigation of how identity influences the language choice of a group of Brazilian mothers and their mixed-heritage children who are growing up in London. I consider the importance of combining macro- and micro-perspectives to the understanding of language and identity issues and argue that these two perspectives need to be linked to each other by a 'brought-from-within' perspective. Therefore, I explore the mothers' sense of ethnicity as well as their children's positioning in relation to the languages and identities available to them through the use of qualitative interviews. In addition, I record the child participants' oral interactions at home and in a Brazilian Community Language School. Information on the participants' views of, beliefs about and values in language and identity is used in the analysis of the interactional meaning of the use of different languages in the recordings. Overall, I argue that the children in this study refer to their experiences of identity and language at two levels: feelings and facts. The interaction of these two aspects of their experiences influences how they self-identify at different moments. Furthermore, this study pinpoints four objective and four subjective criteria which affect these children's self-identification and which affect how they use language as a marker of their "hybrid" ethnic identities and their multiple social identities.

List of Contents

Diagrams, figures and tables

To my sister

Ana Gabriela Barbosa de Souza Zaccarelli

Palavras nem sempre ditas
Sentimentos nem sempre revelados
Reconhecimento, gratidão e respeito
Certamente eternos

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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

In this study, I aim at examining the relevance of language in the identity construction of a group of Brazilian mothers in the UK and how their ethnic identification affects their children's identity formation and language choices in daily situations. I particularly focus on how identity influences the language choices between Portuguese and English through the analysis of oral interactions in the participants' homes and in the community language school this group of mixed-heritage children attend.

Although there are several studies on minority communities in England and their languages - *e.g.* Chinese heritage by Li Wei (1995), Pakistani heritage by Mills (2001, 2004), Punjabi heritage by Martin (2003), and Somali heritage by Arthur (2003) - the Brazilian community has not yet been studied. Brazilian immigrants are an ever-growing community abroad[1] who have been understudied. Despite the studies carried out in the USA - *e.g.* Margolis's (1994) ethnographic investigations and Debiaggi's (2002) study on gender roles - it is only recently that this community has come under the scrutiny of researchers in the United Kingdom - *e.g.* Florêncio's (2005) documentary[2] on immigration issues, da Silva's (2005) short film[3] on the daily difficulties faced by a group of Brazilians in London and Souza's (2005) dissertation on the identities of Brazilian students in London. None of these studies focus on language issues.

My professional background in teaching, my experience with a Brazilian community language school[4] in London and the fact that I am Brazilian myself reinforced my interest in understanding bilingualism and language maintenance issues within this community.

[1] The Brazilian Foreign Office estimated that there were about 2 million Brazilian nationals living abroad in 2003 and these are expected to grow at a rate of 100,000 per year (Parecer no, de 2005, Senator Rodolpho Tourinho, dated 14th April 2005, http://www.senado.gov.br/web/senador/RodolphoTourinho/parecer/20050414_pls_174_2004.html).
[2] 'A Brazilian Immigrant' by Daniel Florêncio, University of Westminster (http://www.brazilianimmigrant.com).
[3] 'City of Dreams' by Rose da Silva, Goldsmiths College, University of London (cinerro@yahoo.com.br)
[4] I use the term 'community language school' to refer to the educational centre organised by a group of Brazilian mothers where Brazilian Portuguese language is taught and Brazilian culture is explored. I avoid the term 'complementary schools' as used by researchers such as Creese *et al.* (2006) due to the fact that these schools tend to have stronger links with the mainstream schools, be it by measuring the students' language proficiency through mainstream examinations or by providing support to the learning of the mainstream subject curriculum (*ibid.*:24). These links between the mainstream schools and the Brazilian groups are inexistent.

1.1 BILINGUALISM AND LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE

Li Wei (2005:5), among others, estimates that the number of bilingual individuals in the world is greater than the number of monolinguals. For this estimation, Li Wei (*ibid.*) considers individuals who regularly use two or more languages for work, family life and leisure as well as individuals who make irregular use of languages other than their native ones. Nevertheless, determining who is bilingual and who is not can be a challenge for both lay and professional people. It has been acknowledged by Myers-Scotton (2006:3) that there is no accepted formula for defining exactly what being bilingual is. Although I do not aim at defining the different bilingual individuals participating in this study, I am aware that their linguistic fluency, competence, proficiency and skills in both British English and Brazilian Portuguese vary. The frequency and the amount of the use of both languages also vary among the participants. Therefore, Grosjean's (1985 in Shin, 2005:17) definition of a bilingual, as shown below, is a sociolinguistic view of bilingualism which matches the perspectives of this study:

> 'The bilingual is a fully competent speaker/hearer; he or she has developed competencies (in two languages and possibly a third system that is a combination of the two) to the extent required by his or her needs and those of the environment. The bilingual uses the two languages – separately or together – for different purposes in different domains of life and with different people. Because the needs and uses of the two languages are usually quite different, the bilingual is rarely equally or completely fluent in the two languages. Levels of fluency in a language will depend on the need for that language and will be extremely domain specific. Because the bilingual is a human communicator (as is the monolingual) he or she has developed communicative competence that is sufficient for everyday life. This competence will make use of one language, or the other language (in the form of mixed speech) depending on the situation, topic, the interlocutor, etc.'

The number of bilinguals is expected to continue to grow as a result of globalisation and increased migration (Dewaele *et al.*, 2003:1). Nonetheless, bilingualism is viewed from positive and negative perspectives which may affect the language maintenance of minority groups. Baker (2001:58-62) categorises factors that affect language maintenance/shift in three groups: (a) political, social and demographic; (b) cultural; and, (c) linguistic. The time of immigration of a group generally reflects the political and social situation, in both the home country and the country of destiny, which leads to a group's immigration. In addition, the status of the different languages in a society is closely related to how much they can influence the social and economic mobility

available via jobs and education. In other words, the language of the majority group might be valued due to their instrumental value in giving access to education and jobs. Mills' (2004) study of Pakistani heritage mothers in England showed that although the mothers wanted to ensure their children learned Urdu, these mothers also promoted the use of English by their children to ensure they were socially and economically successful in the future.

Furthermore, the number of members in a minority community and how close they live to each other affect their social networks and their chances of interacting with others who speak the same language (*e.g.* Chinese community in Britain by Li Wei, 1995). Another factor which seems to influence the maintenance of a community language is the length of time a group has been in their country of residence. Janik's (1996) study on a Polish community in Australia demonstrated that the longer a group is in another society, the less they may use their first language.

Some ethnic groups are more influenced by the cultural factors of language maintenance. There are groups which consider that keeping their language means keeping their ethnicity[5], such as the Korean-American adults, studied by Cho *et al.* (1997), who were attending lessons to develop their proficiency in Korean. Other cultural factors affecting language maintenance include whether the minority language can be used in institutions in the country of destiny. The existence of cultural and religious ceremonies where the minority language is used also fosters its maintenance, *e.g.* Hebrew by Jews and Koranic Arabic by Muslims (Joseph, 2004:174). The level of emotional attachment of a group to their mother tongue also promotes its language use among its members as exemplified by Howie and Tannembaum's (2000) study of a group of Chinese children in Australia and by Pavlenko's (2004) study of the role of emotions in language choices in parent-child communication.

Nevertheless, there are cases where the positive attitudes towards a language and an identity take place without active engagement in perpetuating them. An example of such

[5] Term discussed and defined in Chapter 2.

cases is the use of Breton language and the Breton identity, as studied by Hoare (2000). Hoare's data indicate that 'the use of Breton as a component of Breton identity is partly communicative and partly symbolic' (p.343). However, the positive attitudes towards the value and the preservation of Breton as a language contrasted with the lack of action in promoting its learning and use (*ibid.*:343-344).

The linguistic factors affecting language maintenance are also varied. These factors include having a mother-tongue which is standardised and which exists in written form as well as the similarities between the alphabets of the minority and the majority language and the international status of the community language. An interesting illustration of the effects of literacy in supporting the use of a community language is Arthur's (2003) investigation of a Somali community in Liverpool. Somali people come from a tradition of oracy and only had Somali introduced as a writing system in 1972. Thirty-four years later, the literacy rate in Somalia is still below 50% due to a failure in the country's literacy campaign in consequence of drought and civil war. This figure is reflected in the Somali community in the UK which is estimated to have a literacy rate of 25% in Somali language. Nonetheless, there are literacy courses in Somali in the UK. Arthur's (2003:264-265) study focused on the contributions the literacy lessons had on the students as individuals: (1) the lessons contributed to the students' knowledge about their cultural inheritance, and (2) provided the students with a positive experience of the communicative use of Somali in a learning context.

However, it is important to remember that every single factor mentioned above affects language but does not determine it on its own. This is the reason why I present an illustrative profile of the Brazilian community in London showing the political, cultural and linguistic factors that might affect the maintenance of their language.

1.1.1 The Brazilian Community in London

Brazilian nationals were led to try for a better life abroad due to the political and economical situation of Brazil in the 80s. This situation is described by Debiaggi

(2002:19-20) in her book about the effects of immigration on the change of gender roles in Brazilian families living in the United States:

> 'At the individual level it might be said that the push factors for Brazilians to leave the country are linked to economics. In fact, the emigration floodgates opened at the time that the Cruzado Plan, the government's attempt to control inflation, failed in 1986. Brazil at that time was faced with the saying "it has to work", but it did not. 'The new generation gets desperate with the lack of opportunities in Brazil and searches for alternatives' ('O povo da diáspora', 8/7/91). Moreover, many middle-class professionals in Brazil were either unable to find a job in the field of their training or even if employed, received salaries so low they were forced to hold two or three jobs in order to meet their needs. A middle-class standard of living was, and continues to be, increasingly difficult to sustain.
> The search for a better future for the next generation constitutes another motivational factor linked to economics. Brazilians no longer see the possibility of providing good quality education for their children in their own country. A good education means having one's children in private schools, which present higher costs each year ('Aumenta êxodo', 11/4/90). These circumstances continue to apply.'

The number of Brazilians in the U.S. is estimated to be over 800,000[6] which makes this country their main migratory destination. However, with the growing difficulties in entering the U.S., England has become one of the countries in Europe with a high concentration of Brazilian immigrants. Many of these Brazilians descend from European families which immigrated to Brazil in the 19th and 20th centuries due to socio-economic and political reasons such as the Brazilian Slavery Abolition, WWI and WWII[7]. As a consequence, these Brazilians hold European passports and have easy access through the English borders. The Brazilian Government stated that there are 15,000 Brazilians in the UK[8]. However, the Home Office[9] has acknowledged that 120,000 Brazilians entered the UK in 2001 and it is informally believed that this number may reach about 100,000 members in London alone[10]. This high number of Brazilian nationals, however, does not live in a close-knit community. Instead, Brazilians are spread all over London. This characteristic alone makes the Brazilian community different from other ethnic groups in London which tend to live in one area, such as Punjabis in Southall, Jamaicans in Harlesden and Bangladeshis in Tower Hamlets, and makes it interesting to be studied.

[6] *IBGE* (Brazilian Institute for National Statistics) 2004, http://www.ibge.gov.br/home/estatistica/populacao/censo2000/atlas/pag021.pdf
[7] See http://www.ibge.gov.br/brasil500/index2.html for a summary of the history of immigration to Brazil between 1500 and 2000.
[8] Brazilian online newspaper, *Folha Online*, 29.06.2003, Sergio Ripardo (www.folha.com.br)
[9] http://www.official-documents.co.uk/documents/cm56/5684/5684.html
[10] Naz Project London magazine 2000:10

Leros[11], the first and the most popular magazine written and published in London for the Brazilian community, presents at least thirty-six services that can be accessed in England's capital through the use of Portuguese language. The variety of services available in Portuguese ranges from tarot reading to legal services. Moreover, organizations such as *Diálogo Brasil* - a forum started by the Brazilian Embassy in 2002 to enable better links among the Brazilian community and between the community and the Brazilian government - show employment availability in other areas, *e.g.* university lecturers.

The Brazilian government has also exploited international interest in Brazilian culture and has promoted many cultural events in London. There are Brazilian cultural events[12] taking place throughout the year and especially during the summer months. These events include artists who especially come from Brazil for their performances as well as groups eradicated in England and other countries. In addition to Arts, it is also possible to attend religious ceremonies in Brazilian Portuguese in both the Catholic and Protestant churches. There are also religious services in other religions which were mainly developed in Brazil such as Kardecism and Afro-Brazilian cults.

In addition to the cultural presence of Brazil in London, the Brazilian community has also shown interest in maintaining their language through the organisation of play-groups by Brazilian mothers, as well as a group which offers literacy lessons in Portuguese. As the description above indicates, it is possible for Brazilians to live in London but use Portuguese for most of the activities in their daily lives. The fact that Portuguese is a standardised language and follows the Roman alphabet, only differing from the English written form in having three fewer letters and the use of accents, indicates that it is reasonably easy for literate people in the English language to learn it and vice-versa.

However, in this study I do not focus on how well the members of the Brazilian community speak Portuguese. Instead, I examine the possible social factors influencing

[11] First published in July 1991, *Leros* magazine is edited by Vicente Lou and can also be found on www.leros.co.uk
[12] Besides being advertised by the venues where the events take place, they are also found on the Brazilian Embassy webpage, http://www.brazil.org.uk

the language choices of the members of the Brazilian community who are part of the literacy school organised by a group of Brazilian mothers, such as the influence of exogamous marriage, the attitudes to the majority and minority groups, the trips to homeland, the intention to return, the patterns of language use and the sense of ethnic identity[13] as reported in Chapters 9 and 10. All in all, it seems appropriate to refer to the Brazilian community in London as a group living in diaspora.

1.1.2 Diaspora

Diaspora is an old concept which has changed over time and according to the context to which it has been applied (Ang, 2001:75). Diaspora has been attached to the concept of migration and colonization, has been referred to as the experience of collective trauma in exile and, has been related to the strong collective identities of people living abroad (*cf.* Cohen, 2001). The use of the term 'diaspora' in reference to any national or ethnic group dispersed across several countries is criticised by Rex (1997:274) who believe that groups must have suffered clear traumatic experience to be considered a diasporic group. However, as Latin America is continuously struggling against inequality, oppression and under-development (Robinson, 1999:111), it does not seem necessary to establish this clear traumatic experience when looking into the Brazilian community in London. One concept of diaspora which does not refer to traumatic experiences is the one put forward by Soysal (2000:2-3):

> 'Diaspora forms when populations disperse from their homeland to foreign lands, engage in movements between the country of origin and destination, and carry out bi-directional transactions - economic, political and cultural. In this formulation, the primary orientation and attachment of diasporic populations is to their homelands and cultures; and their claims and citizenship practices arise from this home-bound, ethnic-based orientation. In other words, diaspora is a way of theorising formations that are ethnocultural, and that constitute foreignness within other nations and ethnicities.'

In other words, a diasporic group is made of people living abroad who are linked to their place of origin and whose collective identities link them to each other. This positive identification through diaspora is recognised, but nevertheless criticised, by Ang (2001) on her book entitled *On Not Speaking Chinese*. Being originally from China herself, Ang

[13] Term discussed and defined in Chapter 2.

(2001:36) claims to be 'inescapably Chinese by descent' but 'only sometimes Chinese by consent' and thus calls for recognition of 'the double-edgedness of diasporic identity' (Ang, 2001:12). In her view, a diasporic identity can be 'the site of both support and oppression, emancipation and confinement' (Ang, 2001:12). According to Ang (2001:13-14), diaspora tends to emphasize the links one has elsewhere at the expense of the importance of living here, 'sameness-in-dispersal' and thus calls for a concept of 'togetherness-in-difference' which she believes is promoted by the concept of "hybridity". However, diaspora can lead to "hybridity", as I discuss in Chapter 7, as much as "hybridity" can lead to links elsewhere. From my perspective, what Ang criticizes is a static view of ethnicity which tends to be commonly adopted. In Ang's (2001:151) own words, it does not

> 'matter how convinced we are, theoretically, that identities are constructed, not 'natural', invented not given, always in process and not fixed, at the level of experience and common sense identities are generally expressed, and mobilized politically, precisely because they feel natural and essential'.

The struggle of identity formation which Ang seems to claim to be caused by the concept of diaspora is actually characteristic of identity per se, as I further discuss in Chapter 2 section 2.1.2. Therefore, arguing against one of the factors which construct the identity of a group of people, in this case the process of diaspora, does not seem to avoid the conflicts an individual might experience in having an identity. On the contrary, I consider this conflict to be important in the understanding of identity formation and the effects it may have in one's language choices.

As mentioned in section 1.1.1, the members of the Brazilian community in London, in contrast to Asians and West Indians, tend not to live together in one area. Thus, the Brazilian community is an example of a community which exists in the mind of its members instead of depending on geographic boundaries (Cohen, 1985:98 in Jones, 1999:7). Furthermore, in the same way that the Portuguese language has been the unifying element for the plurality of the Brazilians as a people in their homeland, the concept of diaspora creates a need for the language maintenance of people living abroad. This need to maintain the mother tongue is a consequence of the fact that language - together with religion, custom, folklore – represents loyalty and emotional links to the

country of origin as well as to other members of the community (Cohen, 2001:ix). Having said that, I acknowledge that the diasporic identity might be more relevant to first generations of immigrants than to the following ones, as it seems to be indicated by the participants in this study (*cf.* Chapters 7 and 8).

Before moving on to the research project itself, I make explicit my own interest in studying the sense of ethnicity, language attitudes to both Brazilian Portuguese and British English, and the language choice of a group of mixed-heritage children.

1.2 A PERSONAL INTRODUCTION

The importance of starting by explaining who I am is due to the fact that '...our understanding of others can *only* proceed from within our own experience, and this experience involves our personalities and histories as much as our field research' (Jackson, 1989 in Ellingson, 1998).

I come from Brasília, the capital of Brazil. It is a new city, only forty-six years old. Artificially built in the middle of a dry desert-like area, the Brazilian government gave incentives to civil servants of all kinds to move there for the settling of the new capital and for the expansion, towards the west, of the economic growth of Rio and São Paulo. This is also a unique city for the mixture of Brazilians from all over the country. I am a clear example of that[14]. I say 'yes' and 'isn't' like people in the South. I express surprise with the words from the Northeast. My /r/ is a flat one, which nowadays is said to be characteristic of Brasília. Still my /s/ tells I am originally from São Paulo. Even so, I look like people from Bahia, daughter to a coloured mixed-heritage father and a white mixed-heritage mother. Despite being taken for South Asian in the United Kingdom, I have four different traceable heritages: Brazilian native Indian, black African, white European and Middle-Eastern. My father's background is working-class, my mother's, middle-class. It may all sound very confusing; however, I would say that is what makes me Brazilian: the mixture, the contrast, the contradictions, the need of adapting that turns into the ability to

[14] This is a description of my own linguistic characteristics of which I was aware when I first arrived in England. It is very much possible that, after being in England for 9 years, these characteristics have changed slightly. According to my family, they can identify some English cultural traces in my speech such as the high frequency use I make of 'please' and 'sorry' when speaking Portuguese.

do so. Different immigrants, different traditions, different colours, different rhythms, different social classes - differences which are expressed in the way we walk, talk, dance, touch, think, feel.

However, none of these were present in the EFL books I used as an English Language Teacher in Brazil. It was up to me, as a humanistic communicative trained teacher, to provide my students with opportunities to talk about their own reality. This feeling that the use of local culture in the production of EFL textbooks would affect students' attitudes to learning as well as their actual learning led me to come to England and do an M.A. in ELT and write a dissertation on materials production. During that course, I had the opportunity of contact with the Portuguese community programme which teaches community language. Being aware of the size of the Brazilian community in London I started to search to see if there was anything similar in this community. I found two nursery schools, plus toddler groups, but only one initiative focused on literacy teaching in Brazilian Portuguese. The last one, a cultural and educational centre that works with children from five to twelve years old, became the focus of my study.

Having explained the importance of examining the maintenance of Brazilian Portuguese to me emotionally I would like to point out that I focus on child users for two main reasons:

(1) Most of my teaching experience in Brazil was with children and adolescents;
(2) Other studies have shown that language shift from the minority to the majority language tends to start in the second generation of immigrants and is completed totally with the third generation.

My strong sense of ethnicity (*cf.* Chapter 2 section 2.1 for a definition) as a Brazilian and my personal feelings that the use of Portuguese is a way of conveying this ethnicity are present in the questions being examined in this research project.

1.3 THE RESEARCH PROJECT

As explained above, I consider the Portuguese language to be a marker of Brazilian ethnicity. Being proud of my own ethnicity provides me with positive attitudes to the use of my mother-tongue and to the efforts of bringing up children bilingually. I position myself with researchers such as Edwards (2003) who see identity as a main factor in language choice of bilinguals. Therefore, I explore language and identity issues in this research and ask the following nine questions:

(1) What are the factors influencing the self-identity of a group of Brazilian mothers living in the UK?
(2) What is the influence of this group of Brazilian mothers in their children's self identity?
(3) How do this group of mixed-heritage children experience language and identity?
(4) What are the effects of the way these children self-identify on their attitudes to English and Portuguese languages?
(5) What are these children's language patterns in their interactions in the CLS?
(6) What role does the CLS play in these children's use of language?
(7) What are the links between these children's language attitudes and language use?
(8) What are the connections between language and identity in the home context of these children?
(9) How do the language patterns at home and in the CLS compare to each other?

The questions above resulted from my research journey, which started with the examination of whether and how far language choice between English and Portuguese is influenced by the following factors (see discussions in section 1.1 above):

- Importance of social and economic success;
- Level of contact with other members of the speech community;
- Attitudes towards the language and the culture;
- Different domains of language use; and
- Frequency of contact with homeland.

The issues above led to the following five initial questions:

- What seems to be the influence of the search for social and economic success on maintaining/shifting language?
- What seems to be the effect of being isolated/in touch with other members of the speech community?
- What seems to be the link between language attitudes and language use?
- Do home and community language school domains have a different language choice pattern? Does the language pattern in these domains differ for different children?
- How does the contact with homeland influence language maintenance/use?

These questions were used in my first contact with the mothers in phase one of this study when language maintenance was my research focus. At the time, I expected to have only two more data collection phases: observing the Brazilian CLS lessons and making recordings of the use of English and Portuguese in the participants´ homes. However, the development of this research was based on the view that the participants' beliefs and experiences are important pieces of information and should be valued. As a consequence, issues of ethnicity - which were raised by the mothers when discussing the initial research questions - were introduced. Therefore, two more phases were included before the original plan of examining the participants´ use of language in order to further explore (a) how the mothers and their children define their identity and (b) how the way they self-identify appears to affect their language attitudes. This project was then divided in five phases: (1) using the five initial questions to draw a profile of the participating families, (2) collecting the mothers' views on their own identity, (3) exploring the children's attitudes towards Brazilian and English identities as well as their attitudes towards Brazilian Portuguese and British English languages, (4) observing CLS lessons and (5) making recordings of both languages in use in the home.

In order to answer the questions in this research, I invited thirteen families to participate in this project. Nine of the families attended a community language school (CLS) for a

period of their lives[15]. There were nineteen children enrolled in the CLS at the time of the investigation, when only children aged between five and twelve years old could be enrolled in the lessons. These children were placed in three different classes according to their age and level of literacy. It was considered important to have children from all the three groups in order to have a representative sample. Therefore, they were selected as respondents according to the following five criteria:

(1) The mother being Brazilian;
(2) The father being of any other nationality but Brazilian;
(3) Children having a good relationship with me;
(4) Family being available; and,
(5) Access to the children in different domains being allowed.

I focused on the families where the mother is Brazilian and the father is of any other nationality due to two main reasons. Firstly, out of the nineteen families involved in the Brazilian CLS only one family constituted of a mother who was not Brazilian. There were only two cases where both parents were Brazilian. I dismissed these families as a consequence of considering that the fact that both parents are Brazilians tends to mean restricted immigration conditions which lead these families to return to Brazil in a short period of time. This relationship with Brazil might imply a different relationship with the Brazilian Portuguese language. Therefore, I focused on families which consist of parents in an exogamous relationship.

Trying to avoid the research being too narrow and unrepresentative of the community as a whole, four families with similar characteristics but who were not attending the CLS were also contacted by "snowball" sampling (see Chapter 6).

By listening to the participants' contributions, I try to have an insider's view of their perspectives on the issues of language and identity. In other words, I adopt a qualitative approach to this study where knowledge is seen as subjective and based on personal

[15] See Table 1 in Appendix 1 for how the families moved between the CLS and the non-CLS groups.

experience (Cohen & Manion, 2000:6-9). The focus of this study is the description of the ways in which the participants see themselves and of how their perceptions influence their language choices. Therefore, ethnographic procedures (see Diagram 1 below) were adopted in order to be able to better understand the mothers' and their children's experiences in both their homes and the Brazilian Portuguese CLS in London.

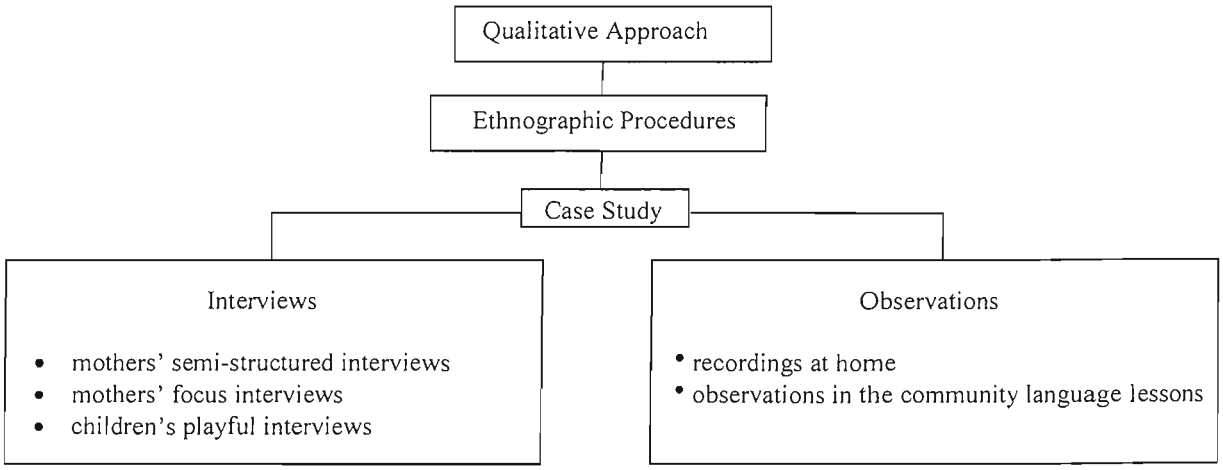


Diagram 1 - From epistemology to methodology and methods

This investigation started as a case-study of children of thirteen[16] families living in London consisting of parents of different nationalities where Brazilian Portuguese was one of the languages spoken. However, the analysis of the data collected led to narrowing down in focus to three of the sub-cases which form the core of the analysis chapters (Chapters 7 to 10) in this thesis.

1.4 THE THESIS STRUCTURE

This thesis is divided in eleven chapters: (1) introduction, (2) language and identity, (3) perspectives on analysing language in use, (4) research methodology, (5) research methods with the mothers, (6) research methods with the children, (7) "replanted trees": the self-identity of a group of Brazilian women in London, (8) "we are the languages we speak": the self-identity of a group of mixed-heritage children, (9) language and identity through interactions in a community language school, (10) language and identity through interactions with family and friends, and (11) conclusion. The theoretical background of

[16] See Table 1 Appendix 1 for how the participants moved between the CLS and the non-CLS groups.

this research is covered in Chapters 2 and 3. In Chapter 2 I look at bilingualism and language maintenance issues. In addition, I examine theories of identity and ethnicity in order to draw a framework to investigate the Brazilian mothers' ethnicity and language attitudes as well as one to investigate the children's ethnicity and language attitudes. In Chapter 3 I examine theories of code-switching which can facilitate the understanding of how the children choose between the languages they use. Having covered the theoretical background of this thesis, I move to the examination of the methodology that best suits this study in Chapter 4. That chapter covers the approach applied in this study as well as the appropriate techniques used. In Chapters 5 and 6 I refer to the discussion in the previous chapters in order to develop creative methods for the collection of data on the views of language and identity from this specific group of participants, as well as the collection of language in use in natural contexts. I explain the design of the activities used for data collection as well as the procedures experienced by myself and the participants. I present a discussion of the data collected in Chapters 7 to 10. Finally, in Chapter 11 I present a summary discussion and conclusion, drawing out the practical and theoretical implications of this study.

Overall, I argue for combining both macro and micro-sociolinguistic perspectives into an identity-related explanation of how individuals make language choices. Furthermore, I claim that these two perspectives need to be linked by an emic understanding of the factual and emotional variables affecting speakers' identity and choices of language. I conclude that there are four objective and four subjective criteria which the child participants in this research refer to as affecting their self-identification and show how these criteria influence their language choices.

CHAPTER TWO
LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY

Globalisation is a phenomenon which can be described as the interconnectedness of the world politically, economically and culturally speaking and which involves the migration of people through 'the mass movement of labour, the mobility of elites within transnational corporations and the formation of diasporic communities that have bi-local affiliations' (Papastergiadis, 2000:83). Migration in consequence of globalisation has contributed to the salience of different identities available to individuals (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004:2; Padilla, 2001:118) and has led to the recurrence of identity as a research focus in a variety of fields, such as anthropology (*e.g.* Hannerz, 2000), second language acquisition (*e.g.* Norton, 2000), cultural studies (*e.g.* Ang, 2001) and linguistics (*e.g.* Joseph, 2004).

As explained in Chapter 1, I focus this study on the language choices made by a group of mothers and children, who are part of the diasporic Brazilian community living in London. I start this study by examining factors that may influence the participants' language choices between Brazilian Portuguese and British English and thus consider the role of issues such as social and economic success, contact with other members of the community and with the homeland, language attitudes and language domains (Baker, 2001). In addition to these issues, the participants themselves introduced identity as a factor which plays a major role in their choices of languages (*cf.* Chapter 7).

Therefore, I discuss issues of language and identity in this chapter and draw on work developed by sociopsychological and post-structuralist approaches for the discussion.

2.1 THE CATEGORISATION OF IDENTITY AS FIXED TYPES

Tajfel (1972, 1978 in Hutnik, 1991:48-49) is a social psychologist who advocated for the Theory of Social Identity and who focused on how members of different minority groups relate to each other when in contact. Tajfel (1978:5) has categorised minorities in three types:

a) One that expects to assimilate into the majority, but may fail because of barriers raised by the majority;
b) One that exercises pressures on individuals from the group who try to become part of the majority;
c) One that chooses to shed some of its cultural, historical, and social differences from the majority while at the same time retaining some of their special characteristics.

Giles & Johnson (1981) drew on the theory of social identity to explore the relationship between language and ethnicity. Their exploration of situational and personal factors affecting the salience of a person's ethnic belongingness was applied by Giles & Byrne (1982) to the conditions which facilitate members of minority groups to achieve native-like proficiency in the language of the majority group. Giles & Byrne (1982:22-25) focused on concepts of perceived ethnolinguistic vitality (how distinct a group is in terms of social status and media representation as well as number of members), perceived group boundaries (subjective assessment of group's vitality), and multiple group membership notions (belonging to different social categories). Groups with higher social status, bigger demographic characteristics and stronger institutional support have stronger ethnolinguistic vitality. Group boundaries refer to the use of language and other group characteristics to make the mobility between groups easier or more difficult according to the members' perspectives. Ethnic identity is salient when group boundaries make the mobility of members between one group and another difficult. Multiple group membership also affects the salience of ethnic identity. Ethnic identity is salient to individuals who either belong to very few other groups or are not offered higher status through the membership in these other groups.

In general, it seems that the situational and personal factors listed by Giles and Johnson (1981) are likely to make the ethnic identity of Brazilians living in London salient. The description of the Brazilian community in London presented in Chapter 1 section 1.1.1 indicates that the community may have a high ethnolinguistic vitality due to its demographic characteristics (the number of Brazilians in London may reach 100,000) and social institutional support (a variety of at least 36 services are offered in London through

the use of Brazilian Portuguese). In addition, the community has been seen in a positive way by the majority group due to the popularity of Brazilian culture through art expressions such as music, dance and sports and due to Brazil being a popular holiday destination. However, some group boundaries might exist in relation to the structure of English language not allowing Brazilians to express themselves fully and in relation to the fact that their Brazilian accent signals their foreignness. Furthermore, the mothers participating in this study also refer to cultural differences between the English and the Brazilian communities such as the way personal relationships take place in both communities (*cf.* Chapter 7).

Having said that, the boundaries mentioned do not seem to make the mobility of members of the Brazilian community into the English society impossible. It seems that Brazilians might display multiple group memberships not only in relation to their Brazilian ethnic identity but also in relation to the majority group. In other words, members of the Brazilian community are likely to be part of different social groups in both communities. Nevertheless, the status of their social roles in both communities varies from individual to individual.

The variety in the social conditions presented to the Brazilians living in London (see Chapter 1) could justify Giles & Byrne's (1982) proposal of conditions which facilitate members of minority groups to achieve native-like proficiency in the language of the majority group as an application of the Giles & Johnson's (1981) sociopsychological approach to language and ethnicity. However, the focus of this study is not on how proficient the participants are in the majority language nor in the minority language. Instead, as discussed in Chapter 1, I focus on how identity affects the participants' language choices. Therefore I look into other models of the ways minority groups relate to the majority group.

It is possible to trace a parallel between the three types of minorities presented by Tajfel and discussed above with the three ways members of minority groups relate to the culture of the society where they live as explained by Block (2002): (1) going "native", (2)

remaining "tourists" or, (3) becoming "cosmopolitans". Block (*ibid.*) bases his types of minorities on the work of Hannerz (2000), a social anthropologist who explores how globalisation affects the way people relate to cultural diversity when in contact with members of different groups. The minority group members who wish to go "native" are the ones who expect to be able to assimilate into the majority group. The "tourists" are the members who are against assimilation and therefore maintain superficial contacts with the local culture. Both Tajfel and Hannerz recognise there is a third type of individuals between these two extremes mentioned above. Having said that, the way individuals mix characteristics of the majority and minority societies is perceived differently by these researchers. Tajfel refers to this intermediary type as the one which sheds some of its differences from the majority group and retains some of their earlier characteristics and thus keep a sense of being different. Hannerz's (2000:104-105) "cosmopolitans" are individuals who manage to participate in the majority group without being readily identifiable as not belonging due to their involvement with a plurality of different cultures. Block (2002:3) subdivides Hannerz's cosmopolitan way of relating to the culture of the majority society in two types: "early cosmopolitans" (individuals who move to a foreign culture at a very young age and who are expected to adapt to the local society) and "expatriate cosmopolitans" (adults who have chosen to live abroad for a period of time and who choose to get involved in the local society).

Pergar-Kusčer & Prosen (2005:9) are two developmental psychologists who argue that the importance of interactions with others to one's identity is due to identity being the result of a social process, where individual characteristics are shaped according to the experiences one has with others. The fact that the Brazilian women in this research immigrated to London and entered a new social context made them reflect and redefine their social identity, a process common to immigrants (Ang, 2001:4). Using social identity theory helped me in accessing how these mothers make sense of their identities (see Chapter 7) at the time the data were collected.

This understanding of the mothers' collective goals in relation to the majority society and the types of minorities which represent their sense of identity was a useful starting point

to the understanding of the relationship between language and identity in this study. This study's participants have made me aware of the fact that the emotional significance of group identity seems to be the main reason for the use of Portuguese by this group of mothers within the Brazilian community. This emotional importance of group self-concept was used by Tajfel (1981:255) in order to describe social identity as:

> 'that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from their knowledge of their membership in a social group together with the values and emotional significance attached to that membership'.

Social identity is also a result of the comparisons individuals make between their groups with other groups. Tajfel (1978:14) argues that the search for a positive image being in the centre of the construction of social identity leads individuals to try to interact with the majority group free of the constraints caused by their diverse ethnic backgrounds. In other words, individuals try to assimilate in different degrees into the majority society.

Bauman (1991 in Ang, 2001:5) argues that assimilation can never be fully successful because the process of gaining cultural traits which are inherited by the majority community does not allow members of the minority group to be exactly like the members of the majority group. In contrast to Bauman, Berry (1990 in Liebkind, 2001:142) is a social psychologist who not only accepts assimilation as one of the possible ways members of minority groups relate to the majority group but adds a fourth type, marginalization. Marginalization is the relationship between groups where both the minority and the majority cultures are rejected by the members of the minority group. As a result, Berry (*ibid.*) presents a fourfold theory where intergroup contact can result in integration, assimilation, separation, or marginalization. However, marginalization is in reality a type of intergroup relation which is imposed on, not chosen by, some members of a minority group (Rudmin, 2003:18). Tajfel, Hannerz and Block focus largely on the identity choices made by members of minority groups and thus tend not to refer to the

phenomenon of marginalization[1]. Nevertheless, the other three types of intergroup relations correspond to the ones covered by Berry.

In spite of being frequently used in social psychology, fourfold theories, as the one advocated by Berry, have been criticised by a number of researchers such as Rudmin (2003). Rudmin's criticisms of fourfold theories are based on the fact that 'defining acculturation types by two cultures, two attitudes, two identities, or two languages does not result in 4 possible types but 16' (*ibid.*:3). Using logic, the number of possible types increases to 256 in cases where the types 'are defined by choices of three cultures...or defined by choices of two cultures and by whether the choices are freely made versus imposed' (*ibid.*:25).

Another criticism of social psychology is that the theories of acculturation tend to present the types of intergroup relations as fixed. The intergroup approach to second language acquisition (SLA) described by Giles & Byrne (1982), for example, has already been criticized for portraying identity as unitary and fixed (Norton 2000), a portrait which does not represent the reality of the multilingual individuals experiencing life in time of globalisation (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004:5). The data collected in this research support these claims and therefore I argue for the types of intergroup relations to be presented as part of a continuum, as discussed in the following sections.

2.2 THE CATEGORISATION OF IDENTITY AS TYPES IN A CONTINUUM

Norton (2000) draws on the work of Weedon (1988), a feminist post-structuralist, to argue the need for SLA theories to acknowledge the complexity of identity and the effect this complexity has on language learning. Weedon (1988:32) conceptualises subjectivity as a reference 'to the conscious and unconscious thoughts and emotions of the individual, her sense of herself and her ways of understanding her relation to the world'. In other words, subjectivity is how a person self-identifies in relation to the social contexts in which they live. According to Norton (2000:124-129), this self-identification consists of

[1] Having said that, Tajfel (1978:14-15) mentions individuals who have distanced themselves from their original groups but who are not totally accepted as members of the majority group. In the same way, Hannerz (2000:105) states that there are times when "tourists" want to become involved in the majority group but do not succeed.

three central characteristics: being multiple, a site of struggle and changeable. The multiplicity of identity is a consequence of the diverse roles that constitute an individual. As exemplified by Woodward (1997 in Fishman, 2001b:448), the multiple sources could be nationality, ethnicity, social class, community and gender. Norton also argues that the concept of identity needs to be understood in reference to the social structures reproduced in social interactions which are part of the learners' daily routine. As a consequence, Norton (2000:10-11) presents a notion of investment which assumes that individuals are motivated to learn a language because it will enable them to have more power in the negotiation of their identities in society. In other words, language influences identity as much as identity influences language. Moreover, as the social structures in which the exchanges take place vary, identity is constantly changing across time and space. This changeability of identity not only explains the multiplicity of identity which results from globalization but also the learners' attitudes in learning a language, which can be both positive and negative.

This contradictory relationship with learning the language of the majority group is also referred to by the mothers of Pakistani origin in Mills' (2004) study, which focuses 'on what makes someone identify with a mother tongue[2] and what that reveals of their sense of self' (p.162). To this group of women, being a mother meant fostering the use of their mother tongue with and by their children as much as fostering the values of their religion and other ethnic markers as well as promoting English for educational purposes (*ibid.*:187). Maintaining the use of their mother tongue signalled their attachment to their heritage group, their cultural and religious values. In addition, these women believed that these values and identity would be acquired by their children by the mere fact of speaking their mother tongue (*ibid.*:179), this being the reason why they considered it important to pass on their language to their children (*ibid.*:186). In other words, language is an essential part of these women's identity as individuals as much as mothers. In an earlier article about the same study, Mills (2001) focused on the importance of language in the maintenance of the children's sense of identity as being both British and Pakistani. The children emphasised the importance of the languages in their repertoire in linking them to

[2] 'Mother tongue' is the term chosen by the Pakistani heritage mothers to define the languages, other than English, in their repertoire (Mills 2004:114).

their heritage, family and community (*ibid.*:399), which characterises the fact that they experienced multiple identities (*ibid.*:400).

Like Mills, I am interested in finding out the importance of language in the construction of identity of a group of mothers (of Brazilian heritage) in England and how their positioning affects their children's identity and language. In addition, I focus on how identity influences the choice of language in actual interactions, especially the language choices made by the children.

Another study which covers the links between language and identity among children of ethnic background in the UK was conducted by Creese *et al.* (2006). They refer to the multiplicity of identities experienced by a group of Gujarati young people who study in complementary schools[3] in Leicester. According to Creese *et al.* (2006:25), there are three different identity positionings available to the students in Leicester complementary schools: heritage[4], multicultural[5] and learner. The first two identities refer to ethnic categorisations whereas the third one refers to how the complementary school contributes to an identity as a successful student in its own context as well as in relation to the mainstream school (*ibid.*:27). In other words, Creese *et al.* (2006) examine the role of the complementary school in the identity formation of these Gujarati students.

The children in my study also demonstrate valuing an identity as learners as observed in their community language school (CLS) lessons (*cf.* Chapter 10). Having said that, the learner identity they adopt seems to differ from the Gujarati children in Creese *et al.*'s (2006) study. The learner identity Creese *et al.* (2006:11-13) refer to is encouraged by the teachers, the complementary schools and the parents as a way of obtaining mainstream qualifications and being successful in the majority society. Despite the fact that the Brazilian mothers in my study also refer to the instrumentality of being bilingual (*cf.*

[3] The term 'complementary schools' is used by Creese *et al.* (2006:24) to refer to schools organised by community groups and which focus on language learning and maintenance and link the learning of language to aspects of culture and community.
[4] Heritage identity here refers to links with Gujarati culture, history and language in India, East Africa, England and in the local community in Leicester (Creese *et al.* 2006:32). In other words, Creese *et al.* are extending the concept of ethnic identity from links to the place of origin to include links to the changes the original culture may have gone through in different parts of the world.
[5] Multicultural identity is the one in which an individual can move between cultures and languages in a flexible way (Creese *et al.* 2006:36-40). This identity seems to correspond to the way "cosmopolitans" relate to the majority group as advocated by Hannerz (2000) and discussed in section 2.1 above.

Chapter 7), the learner identity emerging in my data seems to be created by the children themselves and, to be an integral part of their social identities in the Brazilian CLS, as discussed in detail in Chapter 10. It is relevant to remember that the age of the children in the Brazilian CLS lessons range from 5 to 12. It means that the children leave the CLS before they are old enough to take the mainstream qualifications. In addition, the CLS does not have any links with the mainstream educational system. In other words, the link between the educational instrumentality of being bilingual is not made by the professionals working in the Brazilian CLS. Instead, both the teachers and the parents involved in the Brazilian CLS focus on promoting the children's connections to their ethnic identity and heritage language.

Apparently, another difference between the studies conducted by Mills (2001, 2004), Creese *et al.* (2006) and myself is the fact that their child participants have one ethnic background whereas my child participants are of mixed-heritage[6]. According to Padilla (2001:119), mixed-heritage relationships make questions of ethnicity and the role of language even more complex. Adding to this complexity is the fact that, language practices and negotiation of identities are bound in power relations, as shown by Heller's work in the 80s and the 90s and discussed by Pavlenko & Blackledge (2004:11). Pavlenko & Blackledge (2004) are interested 'in how languages are appropriated to legitimize, challenge, and negotiate particular identities and to open new identity options for oppressed and subjugated groups and individuals' (p.13). They argue that 'languages may not only be 'markers of identity' but also sites of resistance, empowerment, solidarity, or discrimination' (*ibid.*:4). I understand the criticism of examining markers of identity as static features but argue that the fact that language is used to negotiate power means that language is marking identity whether it is to resist or challenge power, to show solidarity or discrimination, to legitimize or negotiate social positions. In other words, language is used as a marker of identity due to its symbolic power in representing identities which are multiple and changeable according to different contexts.

[6] "Mixed-heritage" is here used to refer to children whose parents (married or not, living together or in separate houses) belong to different ethnic groups. Although the focus of this study is on language and identity, I do not use a term to generally describe them in terms of language use. Yamamoto (2001:Chapter 3) designs a taxonomy based on parents' linguistic background to refer to families which involve 2 or more languages and which she generally refers to as "interlingual" families. However, I believe that the variety in the way and in the frequency different languages are used by the families in my study do not allow for a term which applies to all of them.

The move from perceiving identity as static to viewing it as changeable has not only affected the way individuals perceive themselves and the way they are perceived by others, it has also affected the terminology used to describe these new identifications. Harris (2004), in his unpublished doctorate thesis, argues against terms which refers to identity labels in an essential and hierarchical way and proposes that they should refer to the complex subject positions which link minority groups to both their place of settlement and their communities of origin. This dual link is a reference to Hall's (1992 in Harris, 2004:80) description of 'cultures of hybridity', in which people retain strong links to their places of origin at the same time as they adapt to the culture of where they live. Therefore, Harris (*ibid.*:244) proposes the term *Brasian* to refer to the young people of South Asian descent born or brought up in Britain, the focus of his study. In Harris's own words, this identity is a result of the fact that his respondents 'inhabit a number of ethnic and cultural subcommunities which they articulate together in ways which draw both on residual traditional elements informed by diasporic influences and on emergent local elements, with different emphases dominant at contingent moments' (*ibid.*:185-186). *Brasian* then seems to be also a reference to Bhabha's (1994:37) description of identity as 'neither one nor the other' but 'a third space' where "hybridity" is located and which enables the appearance of new and alternative identity options. Harris (2004:3) is led to conclude in his thesis that:

> 'the most important element in the 'cultures of hybridity' of the Blackhill youth is their Britishness which is integrated in intricate ways with both traditional and contemporary modes of being South Asian. Thereby, the emergence of distinctive *Brasian* identities is signalled'

This notion of "hybridity" as enabling the appearance of new identities is a consequence of recognizing the multiple and changeable characteristics of identity itself (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004:17). Therefore, the multiplicity of identity refers to both "hybridity", the creation of a new identity which results from the mix of other identities, as much as a variety of social roles an individual may have.

The notion of "hybrid" identities is also adopted by Alibhai-Brown (2001) in her book entitled *Mixed Feelings: The Complex Lives of Mixed-Race Britons,* where

she writes about the importance of how identity is viewed and labelled by individuals and by policy makers in the lives of people of mixed-heritage. Alibhai-Brown (2001:Chapter 4) discusses a variety of terms used to refer to people of mixed-heritage but chooses to refer to the participants in her research as 'mixed-race' people. Despite acknowledging that "race" is a racist construct, -Brown uses the term most of the participants in her study choose to talk about themselves. Ultimately, Alibhai-Brown is interested in 'challenging the notion that reduces identity to one single affiliation' (*ibid.*:99).

Although interested in challenging the same reductionist notion of identity, Harris is the one who applies the term *Brasian* to highlight the importance of Britishness he observes in his study, not his subjects themselves. Nevertheless, the importance of Britishness to the ethnic identity of second generation migrant children is also highlighted by the mixed-heritage children participating in my study. However, I follow Alibhai-Brown's footsteps and adopt the term used by the children themselves to define their ethnicity. The children participating in my study refer to their own ethnicity as 'English' (*cf.* Chapter 8). Having said that, it is clear that the term 'English', in the view of this group of mixed-heritage children, differs from its traditional meaning of referring to a monolingual and monocultural identity. Although referring to 'British', instead of 'English', Harris (2004:214-215) also observes 'a relatively new kind of social formation which has not fully matured into a structure which can be lucidly named' by the young participants themselves. For the group of children in my study, their English identity is a new social formation which comprises both their Britishness and their Brazilianness, as the discussions in Chapter 8 show.

The discussions in Chapter 7 show that the experiences the mothers of the mixed-heritage children in this study have in England inform and give meaning to their identity as Brazilians. Nevertheless, they self-identify as Brazilians. Following Ang's (2001:35) description of the gains "hybridity" brings to diasporic communities, the mothers' original Brazilian identification 'becomes an open signifier invested with resource potential, the raw material for the construction of syncretic identities suitable for living "where you are at" '. Nonetheless, 'hybridity is not only about fusion and synthesis, but

also about friction and tension, about ambivalence and incommensurability, about the contestations and interrogations that go hand in hand with the heterogeneity, diversity and multiplicity we have to deal with as we live together-in difference' (Ang, 2001:200), a reference to the place of struggle advocated by Norton (2000) and covered above. Considering that identity refers to the positions occupied by individuals in a social structure, the social identity selected by the individual to be displayed will depend on the context of the intergroup interaction (Rao, 1999:56; Papademetre, 1994:519). Thus, a Brazilian in London may be Latin, South American, Brazilian, Catholic, mixed-heritage, middle-class, female, a mother, a language learner, a professional, amongst others. In other words, identity is not fixed but socially constructed. Identity is a big box full of cards representing many different characteristics of a person. However, only the relevant cards are taken out of the box in specific social contexts.

Ethnic identity, one of the cards in the identity box, is only one of the multiple sources of social identity together with nationality, social class, community and gender (Woodward, 1997 in Fishman, 2001b:448). Ethnic identity can be understood by two sets of criteria: objective and subjective ones (Liebkind, 2001:140). Objective criteria are based on biological, geographical, linguistic, cultural or religious characteristics of a group. Subjective criteria are based on groups' belief in having a common ancestry. These two criteria led to the creation of two situations: one in which a group is born - ascribed criteria - and one in which a group selects the meaning of the ascribed situation to its identity - achieved criteria (Liebkind, 2001:141). Oommen (1997:38) criticises examining the basic concepts of group ethnic identity as a dichotomy between objective and subjective criteria. Instead, he supports the idea that subjective identities are only accepted because of the objective elements in them. An example of this false dichotomy is the fact that many of the mothers in this study mention they "feel" when someone is Brazilian by the way they look (see Chapter 7). Although the mothers are not able to explain this feeling, it could be said it takes place in consequence of objective criteria based on cultural characteristics which have been integrated into their behaviour. In other words, I highlight the importance of group's belief in belonging to the same ethnic group in consequence of sharing, at least some, objective criteria. As mentioned in Chapter 1

section 1.1.2, Brazil is a large country under the influence of different types of immigration, and thus, it is culturally diverse. It is the sharing of this cultural diversity which construes the Brazilian ethnic identity as a group. Thus, for the purposes of this study, a Brazilian person would be anyone born in Brazil who speaks Portuguese and who believes that their emotional and family links to Brazil are important to their ethnic identity.

Oommen's position against a dichotomy between subjective and objective criteria seems to be adopted by other researchers who see ethnicity generally as culture which results from shared activities such as language, religion, dress, food, gesture, race, social status or, ancestry (*e.g.* Eriksen, 1993). In other words, ' "culture" is used here to include everything that human society produces and shares, from languages, myths and belief to family patterns and political systems' (Pergar-Kusčer & Prosen, 2005:11). Human behaviour is the product of interaction between the individual's biological heritage and the learning experiences of the specific culture in which he or she happens to live (Robertson, 1989 in Pergar-Kusčer & Prosen, 2005:11).

In sum, the concept of identity I adopt in this study reflects a combination of contributions from both social psychology and post-structuralism, where identity is viewed as the way an individual sees themselves linked, in terms of knowledge and emotions, to certain structures in society. In other words, when discussing identity, we are always discussing social identity. Social identity, in turn, refers to a variety of sources such as religion, dress, class, gender, nationality, age, profession, language and ethnicity. In this sense, ethnic identity is only one aspect of social identity which changes according to time and space in relation to itself but also in relation to the importance of the other aspects of social identity as a consequence of different contexts. The salience of each of the markers of ethnicity may vary from group to group (Fishman, 1989:38). Having said that, I argue that language seems to be essential to the maintenance of group identity in the case of the Brazilian mothers in this study (*cf.* Chapter 7). Furthermore, 'the apparently monolithic or generalised character of ethnicity at the collective level [...] does not pre-empt the continual reconstruction of ethnicity at a personal level' (Cohen,

2001:120). It is this personal level of reconstruction of ethnicity on which I focus in this research.

2.3 INVESTIGATING IDENTITY

It is essential to keep in mind the practical limitations presented by the context when designing a framework to carry out an investigation. The time constraints in this study do not allow for a longitudinal study which could examine the possible stages and changes present in a minority-majority relationship. Therefore, it is impossible to see how and when both the mothers' and their children's views on their identity change. Instead, this study is a snapshot of how the mothers, and their children, self-identify at the time this research was conducted. Having said that, this study allows for the understanding of the influences the participants' self-identification had on their language choices. More specifically, it shows the relationship between identity display and language choice in different social domains (home and school) and between different members of the community (family, friends, teachers and classmates), as examined in Chapters 9 and 10.

Although focusing on identity in this chapter, I would like to make it explicit that I started this project by eliciting from the mothers the social factors that might influence their use of Portuguese (or not) with their children. This decision to draw a profile of the participants from their own perspective was a consequence of considering it important to understand how participants view their own ethnicity, as advocated by phenomenology of ethnicity (Fishman, 1989:29) and not wishing to choose to research the influence of a particular factor selected in advance. Instead of bringing my own views to this investigation, I tried to understand the participants' positionings on the salient factors influencing their language choices. It was the participating mothers themselves who introduced identity issues into this research as detailed in Chapter 7. Therefore, I decided to investigate further the identity issues raised by the participants and went on to ask the mothers and the children questions such as (see Modood *et al.*, 1997:291):

- How do you think of yourself?
- How salient is your ethnic background in your conception of yourself?

- What is the relative importance of different components of social identity (*e.g.* ethnicity and language) in your self-image?

I considered that these questions could be revealing as was the case for Moerman in his study of the Lues. As Lue individuals stated that their typical characteristics were cultural traits which were shared with other groups, Moerman was forced to conclude that '[s]omeone is Lue by virtue of believing and calling himself Lue and of acting in ways that validate his Lueness' (Moerman, 1965 in Weber, 1997:38).

Before presenting the framework adopted for the investigation on identity in this study, I would like to refer to the fact that 'when we discuss others, we are always talking about ourselves' (Krieger, 1991 in Ceglowski, 1997). Thus, I will position myself in relation to the three questions laid above.

2.3.1 Considerations of my own identity

I think of myself as very close to the stereotype of a Brazilian woman. Brazil is mainly composed of three heritages: native aborigine, black African and white European. Besides the Portuguese colonizers it is also possible to mention immigrants such as Germans, Italians, Japanese, Koreans, Lebanese, and Polish. As mentioned in Chapter 1, I am myself daughter to a coloured mixed-heritage father and a white mixed-heritage mother. I have four different traceable heritages: Brazilian native Indian, black African, white European and Middle-Eastern. My situation is a picture of the high degree of intermarriage in Brazil which produced 'a colour or racial continuum, and a long syncretic tradition in the field of religion and popular culture' (Sansone, 1997 in Govers & Vermeulen, 1997:280). From a social perspective, I have experienced life in different social classes in Brazil due to the fact that one of my parents comes from a working-class background and the other comes from a middle-class background. It means I have learned to appreciate cultural expressions from two groups and have close links to people in both. It is an experience full of mixture, contrast and contradictions which make me feel an integral part of the differences in terms of immigrants, traditions, heritages, colours, rhythms, food and social classes that make Brazil. The Portuguese language has played

an important role in unifying Brazil despite all the differences mentioned above. Therefore, I cannot deny its importance to my self-identity as Brazilian. I consider the Portuguese language and the Brazilian accent in speaking it important in defining who I am. These feelings have led me to be involved in different Brazilian organisations in London including the community language school where part of this research took place. My feelings as a Brazilian and my relationship with the Portuguese language led me to develop this study with a view to give a voice to the community and promote the maintenance of Portuguese within the community.

Having explained my feelings of ethnic identity, I move to explaining the framework I apply in order to investigate language and identity issues from the perspective of a group of Brazilian mothers living in London and their children.

2.3.2 Framework for investigating identity

As I aim at having an emic perspective of the participants' positioning in relation to language and identity, I adopt a theoretical framework which reflects their views. Therefore, I focus on the way the participants' construct their identities and on the components these identities have. In other words, I examine the participant's ethnic identity, which is an individual level of identification with a cultural community (Hutchinson & Smith, 1996b:5). I also refer to the ethnicity, group cultural characteristics (Hutchinson & Smith, 1996b:4), available to the participants in this research. They are at least two: Brazilian and English ethnicities.

The intergroup approach advocated by social psychology appeals to me for its contribution in terms of the different ways minority groups relate to majority societies. I considered Tajfel's (1978) theory of social identity to be useful in collecting the three types of information which build ethnicity according to Fishman (1996:63-69): 'being, doing, and knowing'. Fishman is a sociolinguist who sees language and ethnicity as features of identity which mark and keep members linked to their groups (1996:64-65). Fishman (1989:30) presented a sociolinguistic perspective on the relationship between language and ethnicity in which he names three aspects to ethnicity:

> 'Ethnicity is concerned not only with an actor's descent-related being (paternity) and behaving (patrimony) but with the meanings that he attaches to his descent-related being and behaving (phenomenology)'

In other words, paternity can be defined as the inherited characteristics of an individual (being), patrimony as one's acquired characteristics (doing) and phenomenology as the way an individual feels in reference to both paternity and patrimony (knowing).

Tajfel's instrumentalist stand is a useful framework in designing ways of collecting information about the participants' (both the mothers and their children) opinions about their ethnicity. Tajfel's three types of minorities (the ones who wish to assimilate, the ones against assimilation, and the ones adopting characteristics from both the majority and the minority groups) can enable the understanding of what the participants consider "was given" and "what was acquired" in the building of their ethnicity together with the meaning they attach to it.

However, I propose that the framework for investigating the possible types of identity (meaning the positions one occupies in a social context) in group contact be presented as part of a continuum, instead of as fixed. I also argue that this continuum should only cover the types of identification which can be adopted by the members of minority groups by choice, which are (1) going "native", (2) becoming (early/expatriate) "cosmopolitans", and (3) remaining "tourists", as presented by Block (2002) and discussed in 2.1. Therefore, I do not include the marginalization type of identification in the continuum proposed. Instead, at the extremes and in opposing positions of the continuum are the minority members who reject involvement in the majority society (the "tourists") and the ones who seek to assimilate into the majority group (the "natives"). In between the "tourist" and the "native" identifications are the ones who are willing to adopt some of the characteristics from both the majority and the minority groups (the "cosmopolitans").

More importantly is the fact that the continuum allows for the visualisation of the fact that these identifications are not static and can move along the two extremes. In other

words, one's identity changes depending on the time and on the place involved in the social context in which the individual is.

I suggest that, when the mothers self-identify as Brazilians, they create an environment where the children are exposed to features of Brazilian ethnic identity and to social networks where the use of Portuguese is encouraged. It is due to the importance of the mothers' roles to the children's self-identification that I started this research by focusing on the mothers' perspectives on language and identity (Chapter 7). However, the main focus of this study is the language choices made by the children. Therefore, the children's perspectives on language and identity are also investigated under the framework explained above and are discussed in Chapter 8. Furthermore, it seems that the power relations present in social contexts, as discussed by post-structuralist researchers, turn identity into a site of struggle and lead to both mothers' and children's varied identity positioning as well as varied patterns of language use as discussed in Chapters 9 and 10.

2.4 SUMMARY

Throughout this chapter I have argued the importance of exploring the ethnic identity of both the mother and the child participants in order to investigate the social factors that influence the language choice of this group of mixed-heritage children. As a consequence of the discussion presented, I propose a theoretical framework which combines the socio-psychological and post-structuralist approaches in order to understand how Brazilian mothers and their children feel about their ethnicity and how these feelings are reflected in their language attitudes.

As the aim of this thesis is to explore which social factors influence the language choice of a small group of mixed-heritage children growing up in London, in the next chapter I look at theories of code-switching which I consider helpful in the understanding of how the mothers' and the children's self-identifications are mirrored in the choice of languages they make when interacting in their community language school and with family and friends.

CHAPTER THREE

PERSPECTIVES FOR ANALYSING LANGUAGE CHOICE

In Chapter 2, I discussed the importance of exploring identity in order to investigate the language use of a group of Brazilian mothers and their children. On account of this discussion, I argued for combining socio-psychological and post-structuralist perspectives with the purpose of understanding how the participants feel about their identities and how these feelings influence their language attitudes.

The mothers' and their children's feelings in relation to their identity as well as their language attitudes to both Brazilian Portuguese and British English are explored through their self-identification as explained in detail in Chapter 5, where the methods applied in this study are discussed.

In this chapter, I look at theories of code-switching (CS) which can aid the understanding of the mothers' and the children's choices of language when interacting in their community language school (CLS) and with family and friends.

3.1 CHILDREN'S EXPERIENCES AT HOME AND IN SCHOOL

Home and school are the two contexts which play an important role in children's social and linguistic experiences. Both contexts socialize children to use language and pass on cultural knowledge and practices (Shin, 2005: 29-30) and are central to the development of children's identity (Spinthourakis & Sifakis, 2005:91).

These contexts and how they relate to each other have been studied by researchers who have argued for the value of home and community languages and literacies in children's learning development (Gregory *et al.*, 2004:1). A main focus of these studies is on the reading practices in the home of minority groups and on the importance for the educational system of the majority society to acknowledge and recognise these cultural practices in the schooling of children of minority backgrounds (*e.g.* Gregory, 1994; Heath, 1983; Kelly *et al.* 2001; Parke *et al.*, 2002; Wells, 1985).

The children in my study, unlike the ones in the studies mentioned above, are of mixed-heritage backgrounds. As explained in Chapter 1 section 1.1.1, Brazilian mothers in exogamous relationships have set up schools to expose their children to Portuguese language and Brazilian culture (see Chapter 9 section 9.1 for more information about these schools). It appears that these mothers were already aware of the importance of endorsing their culture and ethnic identity through the formal context of schooling, even though it was not in the mainstream schools. In fact, one of the Brazilian mothers in this study stated that,

> *'the school does not value [my child's] knowledge of Portuguese. When he started nursery, I took many story books and videos in Portuguese to his teacher. They were never used.'*[1]

This mother then decided to take her child to the Brazilian CLS to have her linguistic and cultural backgrounds regarded as important in her child's upbringing. As discussed in Chapter 2, these mothers were interested in the benefits the CLS could bring to their children's linguistic skills and identity development.

I focus my study on the connections between language and identity in the contexts of home and the Brazilian CLS, not the mainstream school. Nevertheless, the understanding of the connections between the cultural and linguistic experiences children have at home and in school, be it the mainstream or the community schools, is paramount.

3.1.1 Cultural experiences

Gregory *et al.* (2004:2) argue that learning is a cultural experience and thus advocate that attention be given to what takes place in the children's home and community so that these experiences are understood and incorporated into the children's learning in the mainstream schooling. It is important to take into account the children's cultural experiences at home due to the fact that children simultaneously experience the culture and the language of both the majority and minority groups (Kenner, 2004). Gregory *et al.* (2004:4-5) advocate that, as a consequence of this simultaneous experience of two social

[1] Efigênia's statement during her semi-structured interview.

groups, children 'syncretize the languages, literacies, narrative styles and role relationships appropriate to each group and they go on to transform the languages and cultures they use to create new forms relevant to the purpose needed'. This concept of syncretism relates to the concept of "hybridity" presented in Chapter 2 section 2.1.2. From an identity perspective, "hybridity" is the appearance of new and alternative identity options which result from the mix of other identities. "Hybrid" identities are also formed due to simultaneous experiences in two or more social groups.

As mentioned above, and also argued by Duquette (1995) in his study of the role of the home culture in promoting the mother tongue with young students in Ontario, the children's simultaneous experiences in both the minority and the majority social contexts should be bridged by their teachers. According to him (Duquette, 1995:39), the transmission of cultural knowledge is relevant to the development of social skills of the children which can be encouraged through home and community contacts and social involvement. This focus on the benefits of connecting the cultural and linguistic experiences the children have at home and at school interests me.

Although not looking into the teachers' roles in the transmission of cultural and linguistic knowledge, I refer to the relevance of the experiences the child participants in my study have in both their homes and their CLS to their identity and linguistic development as mixed-heritage individuals with links to both minority and majority groups.

3.1.2 Linguistic experiences

Children's linguistic experiences at home and in their communities are very rich, as recognised by researchers such as Luke & Kale (1997:14). Children experiment and develop ways of doing things with language and learn when they can speak. Children also learn the appropriate place to say certain things and how to address different people. This learning takes place through engagement with the cultural values of their communities. In other words, children learn how to be members of different cultural contexts by their experiences in language learning.

Martin (2003), for example, examines how bilingual children from a Punjabi community in England manipulate their languages differently across school and home settings, and more specifically looks at the influence of gender in their discourse strategies. At home, both boys and girls make use of linguistic and cultural resources from both the minority and the majority groups as both languages are legitimized. At school, however, girls agree to English being the dominant language in that context whereas boys use Punjabi not only to negotiate learning among themselves but to challenge their teachers. In Martin's (2003) study, the context of school means the mainstream school whereas the context of community means the participants' home and their Punjabi school. In my study, school refers to CLS and home refers to the context of family and friends. Another difference between the two studies is that Martin (2003) focuses on participants' challenging, or not, the legitimacy of languages as imposed by the dominant group. In other words, Martin focuses on the relationship between language and power. As mentioned in section 1.3 of the introductory chapter, my focus on CLS is due to its importance in the transmission of cultural knowledge and to the suggestion that its existence reflects the importance of language to a group's identity.

As summarised by Parke *et al.* (2002:216),

> 'If the heart of any community is its language and culture, then in the case of minority ethnic groups, community language schools must be the main arteries. Without organized meetings for maintaining established traditions, or indeed developing new ones, the community is in danger of losing its essence. The role of the community language school is crucial in keeping the community alive and together and in acculturating and initiating younger members of that community into the established linguistic and cultural practices. For most minority ethnic groups, the community language schools stand for the far-away places to which the members feel they belong. The schools embody the spirit of 'home' and provide the context to meet, talk, read, eat and party, here in Britain where the members also belong'.

The educational experience of minority groups also has an impact in the home. Lamarre & Paredes's (2003) study on how young trilinguals in Montreal acquired and used the different languages in their repertoire showed that schooling has an effect on the languages used at home. They presented examples of siblings who switched to the language of schooling to communicate among themselves as they grew up (*ibid.*:68). Nevertheless, their data showed home as the most important site for the development of

first language skills (*ibid.*:67). The use of their first language was also 'associated with an attachment to identity, loyalty to family, and membership in a community' (*ibid.*:76).

Day (2002) also looks at the effects of schooling on children from minority groups. More specifically, Day (*ibid.*) examines how the identity of a Punjabi-speaking boy changes over the year through his interactions in a mainstream school in Canada. She (Day, *ibid.*:5-7) examines how identity practices affect access to language and stresses the importance of power and affective dynamics of social relationships in learning. As Lamarre & Paredes (2003), Day (2002:49) witnesses the negative effect of schooling to the home language and culture. However, they are referring to the educational experiences of minority groups in mainstream schools. As mentioned above, I examine the connections between home and a Brazilian CLS in the language use and identity displays of a group of mixed-heritage children. In this context, I expect the effects of schooling to the heritage language and culture to be positive.

Before examining the connections between these children's language use and their sense of identity, I discuss approaches which have been used to the analysis of language choice.

3.2 APPROACHES TO LANGUAGE CHOICE ANALYSIS

In Chapter 2, I examined theories that covered the relationship between language and identity from a macro-level perspective. This examination resulted from the fact that the participating mothers reported to consider identity an important issue in their language choices. In this chapter I aim at looking at these mothers' and their children's language choices from a micro-level perspective. In other words, I examine approaches used to analyse the choice of language taking place in oral interactions "at home" and in the CLS.

Stroud (1998:321) classifies those who research micro-level code-swithcing[2] (CS) in two groups: (1) the ones who believe that language choice is negotiated in dialogue and (2) the ones who believe that particular choice of languages represent specific social

[2] The term 'code-switching' is here used in a broad way to refer to the use of two languages in the same conversation.

meanings. Torras & Gafaranga (2002) refer to these two types of micro-level research on CS as (1) the ones which provide an organisational explanation and (2) the ones which provide an identity-related explanation for the language choices

3.2.1 The Organizational Explanation to Language Choice

Auer (1984) adopted an organizational perspective on language alternation, Conversation Analysis (CA), which offered an alternative to the quantitative analysis of grammatical patterns in bilingual data as well as the macro-level sociolinguistic analysis of external factors affecting language choice (Li Wei, 2002:164). CA focuses on the 'sequentiality of language choice' in conversational interactions to make local interpretations of the meaning of CS (Li Wei, 1995:199). The sequential organisation of alternative choices of language is used as a frame of reference for the interpretation of meanings and functions of CS since every choice of language has an influence on subsequent utterances in the conversation (Auer, 1984:5). In other words, the meaning of CS must be interpreted by the participants themselves with reference to the language choice in the preceding and following turns (Li Wei, 1998:157). The preceding turns provide the contextual frame for a current utterance whereas the following utterances show how that preceding utterance was interpreted (Auer, 1995:116).

There are three fundamental points in the CA approach (Li Wei, 1998:162-163): (1) relevance, (2) procedural consequentiality, and (3) the balance between social and conversational structures. In other words, CA analysts must be able to demonstrate (1) the significance of a switch to the participants of the conversation, (2) whether and how the extra-linguistic context has determinate consequences for the conversation and, (3) how social factors are used in the structure of the conversation. In addition, all three points must be seen from the participants' perspectives. The three points above are used to understand the social meanings of the different languages which emerge through the choices made by the participants when interacting, the 'brought about' meaning (Auer, 1993). This emphasis on demonstrating the links between language choice and social meaning has led CA to be criticised for being a descriptive technique that focuses on how

the choice of languages takes place but does not manage to explain the reasons behind the participant's language choices (Li Wei, 2002).

Auer (1995:132) argues that the sequential embeddedness of code-alternation in conversation is relatively independent of its grammar and its social meanings. However, he is aware that this independence is only relative and thus states that there is a need to complement the CA approach with a theory which explains who switches in a given community, why and when (Auer, 1995:115-116). In other words, Auer acknowledges that his organizational explanation to CS lacks a macro-social perspective and openly refers to the social network approach (see Milroy and Li Wei, 1995; Milroy, 1987 for discussions on this approach) and the politics of language (see Heller, 1992, 1995a, 1995b for discussions on this approach) as complementary theories to his focus on the sequentiality of language choice.

Torras & Gafaranga's (2002) study seems to be an advance towards linking the micro perspective of CA to a macro perspective of social identities. They study the orderliness of language alternation in trilingual service encounters among university students in non-formal institutional situations in the area of Barcelona. They draw on CA to design a framework for analysing language choice which relates social identities to social action. Using their words, 'identity is an interactional accomplishment which labels membership in a categorization device' (*ibid.*:541). Therefore, their framework is called the Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA). Torras & Gafaranga (2002) relate social identities to medium selection, medium repair and medium suspension. In other words, they (*ibid*:545) claim that participants categorize themselves and one another in terms of language-related attributes, be it related to competence or ideology, and that this categorization is an act of identity in itself. However, Torras & Gafaranga (*ibid.*) only examine the choice of languages among participants who meet for the first-time. Although the participants may be displaying language preference through the language choices displayed, these choices can be also explained by the exploratory use of language as described by Myers-Scotton (1993) in her identity-related explanation to language choice which is covered below.

3.2.2 The Identity-related Explanation to Language Choice

According to conversation analysts, CS can only be understood in its conversation context and as part of the interactive process (Li Wei, 1998:162). Myers-Scotton (1993) finds it difficult to accept the view that social meaning is only locally created since, 'in general, members of the same speech community interpret the same interaction as communicating more or less the same social intention' (p.61). She believes that local negotiations are based on a common social backdrop of shared views of salient situational factors (*ibid.*:62).

Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai (2001:4) recognize that speakers' choices depend on the response of the addressee for the success of their interaction as advocated by the CA. They also agree that structural features of any conversation can constrain speakers to view certain potential choices as preferred and others as not. However, CA ignores two sources of choice: who the participants are and their tacit knowledge of the social messages carried by one linguistic choice rather than another (Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai, 2001:5). Moreover, CA also ignores the fact that the speakers' motivations are universally present in social interactions (*ibid.*).

The Brazilian mothers in this research mention identity as the macro-social factor which affects their language use with their children and thus, I focus on the macro aspect of the relationship between language and identity, as discussed in Chapter 2, to try to understand the CS by the mothers themselves as well as by their children. By asking what social factors influence the language choice of mixed-heritage children I initially positioned myself with the Social Factors Approach. This approach places linguistic choices within the larger community (Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai, 2001:2). The data discussed in Chapter 7 about the mothers' views on their use of languages appear to match the correlation between group memberships and language choices. However, the analysis of language in use by both mothers and children discussed in Chapters 9 and 10 illustrate the fact that the social factors approach does not explain all the language choices taking place. Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai (2001:3) agree that language choice is

affected by aspects of the societal background, however, the linguistic choices are not determined by these factors.

> 'While it is useful in a descriptive sense to know which factors apply in a given situation, a listing of such features has no value in explaining actual choices. Speakers need situational factors as input - as signposts of markedness. But speaker motivations, not social factors, direct choices' (Myers-Scotton, 1993:110).

In other words, speakers rationally assess the options in terms of a cost-benefit analysis and consider their subjective motivations and their objective opportunities when choosing which language to use (Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai, 2001:5).

Nevertheless, both the social factors and the conversation analysis approach have contributed to the understanding of CS. On one hand, the social factors approach has shown that there are predictable macro-patterns. On the other hand, the CA approach has raised awareness about the organization of everyday conversation. However, 'neither approach offers adequate explanations for individual variation in linguistic choices oriented to the behaviour of others' (Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai, 2001:5). Therefore, Myers-Scotton (1993) proposes a new approach to CS, the Markedness Model, which was recast by Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai (2001) as a rationally based model of linguistic choices.

Language choice is filtered at three different stages according to the Rational Choice Model - RCM (Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai, 2001:22): external, internal and rationality filters (see Diagram 2 below).

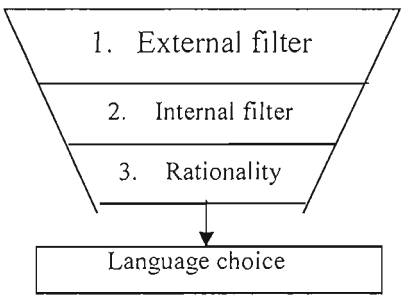


Diagram 2 – 'Language choice in a Rational Choice Model' based on Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai (2001)

The external filter comprises the external constraints on speakers such as their linguistic repertoires, large-scale societal factors and the discourse structure of their communities. The internal filter involves the speaker's experience of the meaning of the language choices in society. The rationality filter is a social mechanism in which speakers take account of their own beliefs, values, and goals with regard to the oral interactions. In other words, language choices involve an evaluation of the external factors present in the larger community as much as the internal ones present in the interactive process. In sum, the speakers' language choices 'reflect a goal to enhance interpersonal relations and/or material or psychological rewards, and to minimize costs' (Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai, 2001:6). In practical terms, the Markedness Model as a rational choice works as a bridge between the social factors theory and CA and, thus, fulfills my intentions of analyzing the language choice of a group of Brazilian mothers in London and their children at both macro and micro levels.

3.3 THE MARKEDNESS MODEL AND THIS STUDY

This study is a report on my learning experiences as a researcher as much as on the stories of the participants. I started my journey as a researcher from a macro-sociolinguistic perspective from which I expected to be able to draw a profile of the participants and have a picture of their social background in order to relate their language choices to social factors. Therefore, I began this study by looking at the participants' social situation, educational level and age. I further examined macro-sociolinguistic elements in the choice of language made by the participants and looked at their attitudes towards codes and speakers (Gibbons, 1987:128-129). Moreover, I approached the identity of the participants as a major factor in their code choice, as explained in Chapter 2. I also tried to understand the relationship between the social domains (home and CLS) and the participants' ethnicity in choosing their language. In this sense, the sociology of language helped in the design of this research.

Sociology of Language studies collects information about language choice in two ways: (1) by using census techniques to ask speakers what they do and (2) by using ethnographic techniques to observe speakers' behaviour (Gibbons, 1987:13). I used a

combination of both in this small scale study (see Chapter 4). I asked the participants about their socio-economic situation, their language attitudes and use, as well as observed the participants making their language choices, as explained in Chapters 5 and 6. As Gibbons (1987:32), I initially considered that ethnicity is one of the decisive factors in language choice. This link between language and identity discussed in Chapter 2 is also referred to by the Brazilian mothers in this study (see Chapter 7). They perceive the Portuguese language as a carrier of their culture and thus a marker of their Brazilian ethnicity, this being the reason why they expose their children to Portuguese. The children themselves refer to this macro-sociolinguistic perspective of language and identity when asked about their language choices as reported in Chapter 8. Although being primarily designed from a macro-sociolinguistics perspective, I would like to point out that this study would be incomplete if it ignored the micro-sociolinguistics perspective. The recognition that '...*both* macro-level situational factors and micro-level attitudinal factors must be included in any comprehensive model' of code choice is supported by Gibbons (1987 in Myers-Scotton, 1993:67). Therefore I collected data of the participants' use of language both at their homes and in a Brazilian CLS. The analysis of the speakers' oral interaction (see Chapters 9 and 10) showed that the social meaning of the choice of languages was being negotiated locally in both domains and thus reinforced the importance of combining micro- and macro-sociolinguistics.

Myers-Scotton (1993) collects evidence from everyday conversations in Africa, mainly Kenya and Zimbabwe, to show how CS 'is not mainly a transitional stage in a language shift from dominance in one language to another' (*ibid.*:1). She shows a multilingual Africa where the choice of language represents social meanings. Her data include interactions which take place in school, on the bus, at home, grocery, office, police stations, and in bars to mention a few. Consequently, the topics are varied as are the social classes of the people involved in the conversations and their relationships. This variety is intentional.

> '[I]t offers many examples of parts of conversations containing CS from many different language pairs; it thus provides an extensive and varied corpus for testing various claims about the motivations of CS' (*ibid.*:6).

In my case, the scope is smaller. Although some of the children have a third language to choose from as explained in the introduction, I focus on the language choice of mixed-heritage children between British English and Brazilian Portuguese. I also only focus on two domains: home and CLS. Despite not having limited the type of relationship in which the participants are involved, it seems to be more restricted than the ones in Myers-Scotton's case in consequence of the two domains selected for investigation. However, the social classes and the topics of the conversations are varied in both studies. The differences between the two studies are due to the formation of the countries under examination. Myers-Scotton sets her study in English ex-colonies in Africa. It means that the countries examined are multicultural and multilingual in the sense that different ethnic tribes with different languages have lived close to each other for a long time. Their languages tend to have an established use and symbolic meaning. I set my study in England, more specifically, London. Although also being a multicultural and multilingual place, it is so in the sense that foreigners have immigrated and kept their languages (in varied degrees) mainly for home use and rituals whereas English is the dominant language for education and official use. Having mentioned that, I would like to point out that there is use of the community languages for informal business and religion. However, I do not intend to cover all the different community languages spoken in London nor their uses. My focus is on the Brazilian community which only started to establish itself in London in the 80s. Moreover, this is the first study involving the Brazilians and their language choices. Therefore, there are no data to say whether the Brazilian Portuguese in London is going through a language shift process or not. Neither is this study a longitudinal one. It means I am not able to state whether Brazilian Portuguese is 'dying' or not within the community in London. I stress that the aim of this investigation is to examine which factors, situated in the larger community as well as in the conversation context, are presently influencing the language choice of a group of mixed-heritage children. Having mentioned that, I am aware the data collected in this investigation might give signals of how far there is a shift (or not) from Brazilian Portuguese to British English within the Brazilian community in London. Nonetheless, I consider that, in spite of the differences between the two studies here mentioned, the socio-psychological associations unconsciously made by the speakers when making

language choices as claimed by the Markedness Model will shed light in the understanding of the language use of the children in my study.

> 'An important argument of the markedness model is that code choices are understood as indexing rights-and-obligations sets (RO sets) between participants in a given interaction type' (Myers-Scotton, 1993:84).

This means that linguistic choices reflect the negotiations of appropriate and/or desired situational features established by the community itself for the type of interaction taking place. In other words, choice of language represents the types of attitudes and expectations participants have towards one another in a given situation (Myers-Scotton 1993:85). These established situational features, here called RO-sets (rights-and-obligations sets), depend on social meanings as much as on the interactional process (Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai, 2001:9).

The interpretations of the oral interactions in my study were initially based on the set of macro-sociolinguistic factors presented in Chapter 1: the participants' (a) social situation, (b) educational level, (c) age, (d) language attitudes as well as the influence of (e) home and CLS domains and (f) the topic of the interactions. However, the attitudes towards speakers and the ethnicity links were also examined by applying a microsociolinguistic perspective to the analysis. This analysis is done by considering the three RO-set maxims presented by the Markedness Model. They are (1) CS as unmarked choice, (2) CS as a marked choice, and (3) CS as an exploratory choice (Myers-Scotton, 1993:Chapter 5).

3.3.1 CS as unmarked choices

The use of CS as a sequence of unmarked choice takes place when the language changes every time there is a change in tone and/or in the situational factors. The language chosen will be the one established by the RO-sets and thus its use means acceptance of the *status quo* and acknowledgement of the indexical quality of the unmarked code. 'Unmarked choices (indexing an unmarked RO-set) are those that are more expected, given the salience of who the participants are and of other relevant situational factors' (Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai, 2001:9).

Myers-Scotton (1993:116) explains the example below by saying that English is used to show the seriousness of the subject and also to distance the speaker from the embarrassment of asking for money.

> ...Nina shida ya lazima sana ya pesa kwa sasa. Naomba sana unisaide.
> 'I have a great need of money right now. I ask you to help me.'
>
> (Switch to English). Well, this is the first time since I knew you, I think, to borrow money. I know money can break our friendship.
> (Scotton 1979:72 in Myers-Scotton, 1993:116-117)

The explanation of the use of CS as an unmarked choice is reinforced by the application of the three filters presented by the RCM and discussed in section 3.2 above.

In the external filter is the fact that both Swahili and English are part of the speakers' linguistic repertoire. In addition, in most societies, talking about money is a delicate issue. In the internal filter is the fact that the use of Swahili appears to signal a more personal relationship, in this case, friendship, whereas English signals a more distant relationship. In the rationality filter is the fact that although wishing to borrow the money, there is a worry about not having their friendship affected. It is considering the three filters that Swahili is the unmarked choice in introducing a request for help to a friend and the switch to English is also unmarked when the tone of the interaction is changed to a more formal one. English is also signalling the speaker's intention of borrowing the money without having it impinging on the friendship.

The data collected for my investigation presents examples of extracts where CS is an unmarked choice. In these extracts, children signal a change in tone and try to make themselves closer to the adult with whom they are interacting as a way of obtaining permission to carry out an activity (*cf.* Chapter 10). There is also the use of CS itself as the unmarked choice being used in the interactions among children (*cf.* Chapter 9). As stated by Myers-Scotton (1993:117), unmarked choices tend to symbolise dual membership and to be used among members of the same ethnicity group when CS itself is the unmarked choice.

3.3.2 CS as a marked choice

The use of CS as a marked choice has two meanings: (1) it is a negotiation against the unmarked RO-set and (2) it is a call for another RO-set. In Myers-Scotton's (1993) analysis of the Africa setting, this maxim is used to indicate emotions, social and educational status as well as to assert ethnic identity.

In the example below, English both emphasises the chairman's authority and excludes the member who does not agree with him and who only speaks Lwidakho (Myers-Scotton, 1993:134-135):

> **CHAIRMAN**. Galolekhanga ndi genyekhanga kuranje vyashara yivi um mweli gwa Januari.
> 'We should start this business in January'.
>
> **1st MEMBER**. Suviranga yeyo ningangani indahi.
> 'I think it's a good idea'.
>
> **CHAIRMAN**. 'Khushili khutoshitsa makhuva ga mapesa geru tawe. Nikhwenyi khuve vulahi, gadukhananga khuve ni tsishilingi tsielefu tsivili. Lwa khuli varanu ndi, vuli mundu alavuliza tsishilingi tsimya tsine.
> 'We haven't arranged about our money. If we want to be all right, we should have two thousand shillings altogether. Since we're five, each one will pay 400 shillings'.
>
> **1st MEMBER'**. Ah, tsefu tsivili? Yezo ni tsinyishi muno. Unyala khuva nu murialo kurio nivi?
> 'Ah, two thousand? That's too much. Who can afford that much?'
>
> **CHAIRMAN**. Mumanye khwenya mapesa manyisi.
> 'You know we need a lot of money'. (Switches to English) *Two thousand shillings should be a minimum. Anyone who can't contribute four hundred shillings shouldn't be part of this group. He should get out.*
>
> **1st MEMBER.** (not understanding English). Uvoli shi? Shimbulili vuhalhi tawe.
> 'What have you said? I haven't understood properly.'
>
> **2ND MEMBER**. *Yes, four hundred shillings is reasonable.* (Switches to Lwidakho) Gadukhnananga sha mundu ahana tsishilingi tsimye tsine ni khewenyi khuranjitsi vyashara yivi.
> 'It's probable that each person should contribute four hundred shillings if we want to start this business'.

The role of English as a marked choice of languages is confirmed by applying the RCM filters. Lwidakho is the common language among the men in the discussion above whereas English is only spoken by two of them. Choosing English empowers the chairman for the authority value of this language in the context of Kenya. The chairman

appears to want to signal how exclusive the group is as well as the importance of status and money for the group. He does that by using English, the language not understood by the member who believes the amount of money being asked is too high. In consequence of the change in the unmarked RO-set, this member is not only being excluded from the group due to his social and financial status but also in consequence of his limited linguistic knowledge of English.

In my study, there are examples of Brazilian adults using the marked maxim to indicate their social status and emotions (*cf.* Chapters 9 and 10). The marked maxim is used by the children when they wish to show distance from the adults, such as when they are being told off or want to show disappointment (*cf.* Chapters 9 and 10). The negotiation of RO-sets for both children and adults involve a negotiation in order to gain power.

3.3.3 CS as an exploratory choice

The use of CS as an exploratory choice happens when speakers do not have enough information about social identities or communicative intent. One of the examples given by Myers-Scotton (1993) of this maxim is when a man asks a woman to dance at a Nairobi hotel.

> **HE**. Nisaidie na *dance*, tafadhali.
> 'Please give me a dance.'
> **SHE**. Nimechokda. Pengine nyimbo ifuatayo.
> 'I'm tired. Maybe the following song.'
> **HE**. Hii ndio nyimbo ninayopenda.
> 'This is the song which I like.'
> **SHE**. Nimechoka!
> 'I'm tired!'
> **HE**. Tafadhali -
> 'Please'
> **SHE** (interrupting). *Ah, stop bugging me.*
> **HE**. *I'm sorry. I didn't mean to bug you, but I can't help it if I like this song.*
> **SHE**. *OK, then, in that case, we can dance.*
> (Scotton, 1988a:177 in Myers-Scotton, 1993:146)

The man approached the woman in Swahili, a neutral choice in the context above. However, he is not successful in his attempt while interacting in Swahili. The woman introduces English to the conversation. It is only after replying to the woman's comments in English that she accepts to dance with him. This example clearly illustrates how

knowledge of social identities can help communicative intent by using the three filters of the RCM to analyse the CS. Swahili and English were in the linguistic repertoire of both speakers. However, English is associated with higher social and educational status as discussed in section 3.3.2. As the goal of the man is to convince a stranger to accept his invitation to a dance, he chooses the most neutral language. The exchanges in Swahili are used by the woman to deny the invitation. She then switches to English, which is an example of marked CS to establish a distance from the man. In turn, he replied in English and stated the same social identity as the woman. Having knowledge about the man's social and educational identity, led the woman to accept his invitation. CS to English then enabled the man to have his communicative intents fulfilled.

The recordings in my study were almost all done in situations where the participants knew each other. Thus, the opportunities of seeing CS being used as an exploratory maxim are almost null. Having said that, it is possible to refer to one recording which was made in a public area and in which the child makes use of this maxim (*cf.* Chapter 10).

All in all, language choices are interpreted according to the speakers' projection of their own identity and their relationship with others in the interaction (Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai, 2001:9). The three maxims above - CS as unmarked, marked and exploratory choices - refer to macrosociolinguistic factors such as social status and ethnic identity. However, they offer a microsociolinguistic perspective to the analysis of language choice. It is so due to the fact that the maxims give an interactional meaning to the speakers' choices of language. In order to choose the language to be used, the speakers consider the social factors of the situation they are in, their intentions in the interaction taking place and the expected effect of the language they choose to use.

As mentioned in section 3.2, it is this bridge between macro and micro perspectives that interests me in this study. Here I focus on the social interactions carried out by a group of mixed-heritage children growing up in London in terms of macro-sociolinguistics (the social domains and social background) as well as in terms of micro-sociolinguistics (rights-and-obligations and sequential analysis).

Having said that, there is a need of extending the Markedness Model.

3.4 EXTENDING THE MARKEDNESS MODEL

A major criticism of the Markedness Model, according to the Conversation Analysts, is the fact that a researcher's perspective is applied to the interpretation of language choice. According to Li Wei (2002:167), social-motivation-based theories such as the Markedness Model emphasize the 'brought along' interpretation of language choices. This interpretation is made according to the societal values of languages, values which are indexed in the interaction. Li Wei (*ibid.*) advocates the better suitability of the CA approach due to its stress on the 'brought about' interpretation of language choices. This interpretation examines the meaning of the different languages used in conversation as emergent in consequence of the contextualization, an interactional meaning.

Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai (2001:6) explicitly address this criticism and explain that, as a Rational Choice Model, the correlation between language choice and the agent's intent to act rationally is based on available evidence. Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai (2001:15) state that their analyses are not simply their own interpretation of the data since they are based on the mechanism of the rational model. Therefore, their analyses examine the three filters where the information available of the external and internal factors as well as the rationality of the language is considered as evidence of the participants' interpretation of the language choices they make.

In fact, Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai consider that 'taking account of available evidence is the most fundamental feature of rational action' (2001:22). They consider as evidence the language which can be heard because, according to them, language choices tend to reflect external social factors as well as the individual choices of the participants (Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai, 2001:1). In other words, evidence is what the participants say in their interaction. This evidence is then analysed against the social factors affecting the context of the interaction. Nevertheless, the external factors considered for analysis are selected by the researchers according to their knowledge of the communities in question. In addition, the participants' beliefs and values also seem to be based on the researchers'

point of view since they are interpreted by an application of the researcher's knowledge of the social factors in the specific situation being analysed.

Although language choices tend to reflect external social factors, they also reflect the individual choices of the participants (Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai, 2001:1). Therefore, it is surprising that there is no evidence of the participant's individual perspectives other than the ones interpreted by the frames and RO-sets in the analyses presented by Myers-Scotton (1993) and by Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai (2001).

In addition to the emphasis on the researcher's perspective, Shin (2005:20) adds two other criticisms to the Markedness / Rational Choice Model of Code-switching: the vagueness of the data support to the interpretations presented and the uncertainty in determining which languages become marked / unmarked in certain interactions. I argue that these difficulties result from a lack of knowledge of the speakers' views on language and identity issues.

3.4.1 The 'brought from within' interpretation

The Markedness Model and the Rational Choice Model have made a major contribution to the study of CS for enabling a combination of both the macro and the micro perspectives in the analysis of language choice. However, there seems to be a link missing between these two perspectives: the participants' views on language and identity issues. Therefore, I argue that, in order to understand the interactional meaning of the use of different languages by the speakers, it is necessary to have information about their views, beliefs and values so proper judgement can be made of the participants' assumptions of the influence of their language choices on their interactive goals. It seems that by acknowledging the fact that the internal factors to a speaker are not static since motivations and situational incentives change according to time and place (Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai, 2001:4) has led the Markedness Model to try to explain individual variations of language choice. Having said that, the participants' opinions on language and identity do not seem to have been addressed. This overlooking of individual views seems to be a consequence of the belief that the interpretations of the social intention of interactions tend to be similar within members of a speech community, as discussed in

3.2.2. However, it cannot be denied that it is important to know the participants' views and feelings on the languages in their repertoire and on the identities available to them in order to understand their interactional choices from their own perspective and avoid the researcher's perspective being imposed on the interpretations being made. Therefore, I advocate that the internal factors guiding the language choices of speakers be addressed from an emic perspective.

I propose an extension of the Markedness Model where the participant's individual's perspectives are overtly addressed. It is not enough to interpret participants' evaluation of the external and internal filters by only examining the end result of their language choices. In order to understand the participants' values and the effects of the societal constraints on their identity, it is relevant to collect information about the participants' positionings. This information is what I call a 'brought from within' focus of the interpretation of language choices in conversational interactions. I argue that the Markedness Model be extended from looking at the external filter, the 'brought along' factors, in order to understand the rationality of the participants' language choices, the 'brought about'[3] factors, to including an analysis of the internal filter through the perspectives of the participants, the 'brought from within' interpretation.

As a consequence of applying the 'brought from within' interpretation in this study, I started this research by focusing on the mothers' feelings of ethnicity and their children's positioning in relation to the languages and identities available to them. I considered that exploring the participants' experiences "at home" and in the CLS would affect their own views on the language choice phenomena and thus, I decided that it would be useful to explore their views and experiences in order to understand how their choices are made and by what societal factors these choices are influenced (see discussion about the connection between language and identity in Chapter 2). In addition to considering the participants' views from a macro-sociolinguistic perspective, I considered it relevant to see their actual use of language. Language choice involves unconscious choices which might reveal differences between the participants' views of their language use and their

[3] Note that I refer to the 'brought about' meaning as ones negotiated in the interactions not created, as advocated by Li Wei (2002:167).

actual usage. Therefore, data were collected of the participants' oral interactions and a micro-sociolinguistic perspective view was added to the examination of these children's patterns of CS (*cf.* Chapters 9 and 10).

I also referred to other studies which specifically focused on the CS in schools and at home when applying the 'brought from within' interpretation to the language choices made by the participants in my research, as explained in the following sections.

3.4.2 Interpretations of code-switching in schools

Hancock (1997) and Ncoko *et al.* (2000) interpreted the CS in schools by focusing on children-children interaction. Hancock (1997) examined CS during class activities among a group of Spanish speakers learning English. According to Hancock (*ibid.*:218), the students' discourse varied depending on their wishes to signal in-group status or out-group listener's deference. Hancock (*ibid.*:220) called these discourse varieties 'off-record' and 'on-record' interactions, respectively. The former is a private exchange among the students whereas the latter is meant to be heard by the teacher or at least considered part of their group work performance. These types of CS are also represented in my data. As discussed in Chapter 9, both Benedito and Antônio make use of English to signal their in-group status when interacting with their classmates and Portuguese to accomplish tasks set up by their teachers. However, I argue that their CS between English and Portuguese is representative of the different identities they wish to portray, as explained in detail in Chapters 9 and 10.

Ncoko *et al.* (2000) studied the CS by a group of primary school children in South Africa and compared the interactions which took place in the classroom and in the playground. They found out that the context in which the interactions took place had an influence on the amount and type of CS used by the children (*ibid.*:231). The CS in the classroom was limited and played two main functions, of solidarity between classmates with the same ethnic background or defiance of the school regulations of only using English (*ibid.*:232-233). A lot more CS occurred in the playground and had seven different functions (*ibid.*:233-238): (1) include/exclude someone from a conversation, (2) explore the correct

language to be used with strangers, (3) directly quote someone, (4) identify with a group, (5) distance from a group, (6) emphasise a message, and (7) avoid committing to a single RO-set. In my data, it is also possible to see a difference in the amount and types of CS which take place during the lessons (a formal situation) and in the children's homes (an informal situation). Both Benedito and Josefa respect the CLS RO-set and only speak Portuguese to their teacher and me. Benedito, however, tends to switch into English when addressing his classmates, as mentioned above. Nevertheless, it is when interacting with family and friends that Benedito and Josefa resort to CS more often and with the variety of functions covered in Ncoko *et al's* (2000) study. Notwithstanding, these functions represent the children's attachment to different identities as discussed in Chapters 9 and 10.

Moore (2002) also analyses the roles and functions of CS in schools but, unlike the two studies above, focuses on the teacher-learner interactions. She examines the use of the L1 in the L2 classroom at elementary level in two educational contexts, French in Spain and French in Italy. Moore (2002:82) provides examples where the teacher interprets the use of L1 as a call for help from the student, and thus provides the missing lexical item in the second language. There are also examples of situations in which the children are allowed to openly request help in the L1 in order to be able to accomplish the task in the L2 (Moore, 2002:286-287). In other words, CS is used as a learning tool in both sets of examples, and thus advocated by Moore (2002:290-291) as an important strategy for teaching language. In spite of the teachers' incorporation of CS into their teaching techniques or not, students naturally resort to it in order to enhance their learning and performance in language lessons. Antônio's extracts in Chapter 9 show that he not only code-switches into English to get help in securing a good performance in his CLS lessons but also to preserve his identity as a good learner of Portuguese.

Martin *et al.* (2006) also examined the teacher-student interaction and, as Moore (2002), witnessed the use of CS to foster learning. In their case, however, they examined the use of English and Gujarati in two Gujarati complementary school[4] classrooms in Leicester,

[4] That is how Martin *et al.* (2006) refer to CLS in his study.

UK. English is used to give instructions as well as to monitor, check and assess understanding of Gujarati by both teachers and students (*ibid.*:11-12). Martin *et al.* (2006) connect CS to identity display (p.8) and state that it is an 'important way of expressing different or hybrid identities' (p.20). Although the children in my research also have hybrid identities (see discussions in Chapter 8) and make language choices that represent the varied aspects of their identities (*cf.* Chapters 9 and 10), the RO-set in the CLS is Portuguese. In other words, the children are allowed to use English in the CLS but their teachers only speak Portuguese at all times.

The possible effect of different contexts in language choice has been the focus of Janik's (1996) study. He tried to establish the domains in which Polish descendent secondary-aged students in Australia use Polish language. Janik (*ibid.*:13) concludes that attending a Saturday School[5] was a very influential factor in the students' successful acquisition of speaking Polish. In addition, Janik (*ibid.*:13) acknowledges the positive influence of language use with grandparents, parents and other relatives, confirming the statement in Australia 1991 census that Polish language is mainly used in the home domain (Janik, *ibid.*:8). As explained in Chapter 1, I also examine the language use of my participants "at home".

3.4.3 Interpretations of code-switching at home

The importance of the role families play in the maintenance of heritage languages has long been acknowledged (*e.g.* Fishman, 1965 and Strubell, 2001 in Yamamoto 2005:589). Hoffman (1985), in her article about her children's acquisition of German, Spanish and English in the UK, states that 'parental effort and support are essential' in their children's bilingualism/multilingualism (p.493). She describes her children's language patterns and the type of interference the languages have on each other. Hoffman also describes the socio-psychological factors which played a role in her children's acquisition of the three languages in their repertoire. She (*ibid.*:494-494) concludes that the establishment of her children's linguistic competence in German and Spanish is sufficient for all everyday practical purposes and for the interactions between the children

[5] That is how Janik (1996) refers to CLS in his study.

and the parents. Although not all the children participating in my research show enough linguistic competence in Portuguese, their passive and active knowledge result from their parents', especially their mothers', efforts in exposing them to the use of their heritage language.

Döpke (1986, 1992) is another researcher who examined children's bilingualism in families where German and English are spoken. More specifically, Döpke looked into the benefits of the 'one person-one language' strategy in developing children's bilingualism in Australia and found out that the interactive styles of parents are likely to influence children's bilingualism (Döpke, 1986:495). Therefore, she suggested that the parent who speaks the heritage language apply a similarly or a more child-centred mode of interaction than the parent who spoke the majority language (Döpke, 1986:499). By child-centred mode, Döpke means being responsive to the child's contributions to the conversations, maintaining a once introduced topic, and conversing with the child instead of controlling them. Döpke argues that applying a child-centre mode is a way of motivating the child to be active users of the heritage language. Although I do not focus on the parents' discourse strategies for using the heritage language with their children, my data show some of these strategies being applied. As in Döpke's (1992) examination of a child's motivation for choosing inappropriate language items when communicating with his mother, it is clear that the children in my research also differentiate between the languages in their repertoire and try to respect their parents' preferred language for interaction. The child in Döpke's (1992) study was between 2 and 2.5 years old, which led her to conclude that the child mixed the languages to which he was exposed due to 'immature linguistic abilities' (p.483). In other words, the child had difficulties in implementing his cognitive ability into his linguistic practice. In addition, the child had a preference to one of the languages instead of an inability to differentiate between the languages used in his family. The children in my research are older (5 to 12 years old) and should have more mature linguistic abilities than the one in Döpke's (1992) study. Nevertheless, they code-switch between English and Portuguese, which the data in my research reveal to be related to identity issues, as discussed in Chapters 9 and 10.

CS in children-parents interaction is also observed by Pan (1995) during book reading and evening meal activities in ten Chinese families in the USA. Her data showed that parents code-switch to move the conversation towards the heritage language whereas the children code-switch towards the majority language (*ibid.*:323). Therefore, she suggests that 'maintenance of minority home languages is particularly difficult in part because both parents' and children's language behaviour is subject to conflicting forces' (*ibid.*:326-327). The Brazilian mothers in my research refer to the difficulties of using Portuguese with their children (*cf.* Chapter 7) and mention practical and emotional issues involved in their language choices.

Tannenbaum & Howie (2002), who examined the language use in Chinese immigrant families in Australia, focused on the importance of emotional factors to language maintenance and concluded that children who were more likely to use their parents' mother tongue were those who had fewer negatively loaded emotions associated with their parents (*ibid.*:408). As detailed in Chapter 7, at least one of the Brazilian mothers in this study refers to this connection between language use and emotions.

This importance of family in maintaining the heritage language has also been acknowledged by Pauwels (2005). She highlights language use patterns in immigrant families living in Australia where children tend to choose the majority language over the heritage language when interacting with adults and especially with siblings and peers (*ibid.*:126). However, Pauwels (*ibid*:124-126) also acknowledges the use of the heritage language for intergenerational communication and refers to family as the main domain for the use of the heritage language. She states that children develop good receptive skills in the heritage language when exposed to it at home and that the more the exposure the better is the children's active command of it. As shown in Chapter 10, Brazilian Portuguese is used in many of the participants' households. However, the CLS is used by the participant families as a way of creating supportive contexts to the children's development of their heritage language, as stated by the mothers in their semi-structured interviews (*cf.* Chapter 7).

As explained in Chapter 1 section 1.3, I examined the children's language use in both their homes and the Brazilian CLS. I analysed the children's language choices by applying the Rational Choice Mode discussed in this chapter together with the 'brought from within' interpretation I proposed above. Moreover, I added the various functions of language choice as advocated by studies which specifically examined CS at home and in schools, as explained above. I related these functions of CS to the identity-related interpretation to which I submit. My analyses of the data collected are presented in Chapters 9 and 10.

3.5 SUMMARY

In this chapter I covered the importance of school and home contexts in children's cultural and linguistic experiences and examined two different explanations for their CS: the organizational and the identity-related explanations. I described the reasons for adopting an identity-related explanation in this study and detailed the usefulness of applying the Markedness Model and the Rational Choice Model of code-switching. Furthermore, I pointed out that there is a missing link between the micro and the macro perspectives which these models advocate and argued for the introduction of a "brought from within" interpretation of code-switch. I claimed that there is a need to focus on the speakers' views and beliefs about language and identity in order to properly interpret the language choices they make. I also linked the "brought from within" interpretation to other studies of CS at home and in schools. These studies presented useful functions of CS, which I linked to the portrayal of the hybrid identities of the participants in my study.

Having covered the theoretical background of this study, I examine the methodological implications of the discussions on identity and CS to the data collection in the following chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR
RESEARCH METHODOLGY

In Chapters 2 and 3, I set up the theoretical background for investigating the social factors that influence the language choice of a group of Brazilian mothers and their children, who are growing up in London. My theoretical positioning in these chapters influenced my selection of the research methodology which I found most appropriate for the purposes of this study.

My choice of methodology was based on my proposal to extend the Markedness Model of Code-switching (CS), as explained in Chapter 3. In order to understand the participants' values and the effects of the societal constraints on their identity, I considered it relevant to collect information about the participants' positionings on language and identity issues. The 'brought from within' interpretation I proposed in Chapter 3 includes an analysis of the speakers' experiences in relation to their self-identity and use of language in the English society from their own perspectives. The aim of this analysis is to understand how the combination of the speakers' experiences and societal factors affect their choice of languages.

As a consequence of applying the 'brought from within' interpretation in this study, I started this research by focusing on the mothers' sense of ethnicity and their children's positioning in relation to the languages and identities available to them. I considered that the participants' experiences at home and in the community language school (CLS) would affect their own views on the language choice phenomena and thus, I decided that it would be useful to explore their views and experiences in order to understand how their choices are made and by what societal factors these choices are influenced (see discussion about the connection between language and identity in Chapter 2).

In addition to considering the participants' views from a macro-sociolinguistic perspective, I considered it relevant to see their actual use of language. Language choice involves unconscious choices which might reveal differences between the participants'

views of their language use and their actual usage. Therefore, I collected data on the participants' oral interactions and a micro-sociolinguistic perspective view was added to the examination of these children's patterns of CS (*cf.* Chapters 9 and 10).

The five techniques selected according to the objectives of each of the data collection phases of this study are analysed in this chapter. They are semi-structured interviews (4.1), focus interviews (4.2), playful interviews (4.3), classroom observations (4.4) and home recordings (4.5). The analysis of these methods is carried out considering that they have different strengths and weaknesses.

4.1 SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

The semi-structured interviews were designed with the purpose of checking the political, social, demographic and cultural factors that may affect language maintenance as discussed in Chapter 1 section 1.1. These interviews were used to draw a profile of the Brazilian participants taking part in this research. This information was helpful in the following parts of the study as it gave clues about the kind of Brazilians living in London and their background, which might influence their identity and language choice.

As general limitations of the semi-structured interviews, it is possible to mention a dependency on the interviewer's skills. Thus, I piloted the interviews in order to get practise in conducting this type of interview. Another constraint was the logistic difficulty due to having given the participants the right to choose where they would like to have the interviews conducted. However, it made the participants feel more relaxed and more prone to taking part in this study. In addition, transcribing interviews, especially semi-structured ones, is time consuming. In spite of knowing the constraints mentioned, semi-structured interviews were chosen with the intention of learning how the participants make sense of their experiences.

This type of interview aims at encouraging people to talk at some length, which allows the participants the space to contribute new information they consider relevant (Gillham, 2005:79). Furthermore, 'the personal contact in the Latin population is highly valued'

(Debiaggi, 2002:111). This face-to-face encounter with the participants ensured access to mothers who were not confident with their literacy skills in Portuguese as much as it provided literate mothers with a chance of clarifying any doubts they had. I hoped then to have a more in-depth exchange with the mothers than through a questionnaire and I also expected that this exchange would allow them to contribute with issues related to the investigation which are relevant to them.

The emphasis in this phase was to identify (a) the reason(s) for the families to be here and; (b) how long for; (c) how old the off-spring are; (d) their school background; (e) where they were born; (f) if they have siblings; (g) the parents' nationality as well as their mother-tongues; (h) how much influence they are receiving from home and/or local cultures; (i) which languages they speak in the family, and education domains; (j) how often they travel to Brazil; (k) level of literacy in the home language; (l) whether they attend community language classes or not; and (m) the reason(s) for attending (or not). Therefore, I designed an interview schedule (Appendix 2) to cover these 13 aspects. These aspects were used in a pre-coding of the data analysis in this initial phase of the study in order to draw a profile of the families in relation to their socio-economical, educational and linguistic backgrounds. However, as I applied a qualitative approach to this investigation, discussion/inclusion of issues raised by any of the participants according to their judgement of relevance and importance was also allowed.

These interviews also worked as a selection of the participants to take part in the second phase of the research, the focus interviews, which is explained next.

4.2 FOCUS INTERVIEWS

In contrast to the first phase where I interviewed the mothers individually, I planned to use group interviews in this second phase due to the fact that they provide insights in the reasons behind participants' opinion (Morgan & Krueger, 1993:15-19). Frey & Fontana (1993:33) differentiate between types of group interviews in relation to their setting (formal/informal), question format (structured/semi-structured) and the role of the interviewer (directive/non-directive). I argue that these three aspects are better defined as

different characteristics which better suit varied contexts of group interviews and which can even be combined. Thus, focus group (FG) interview is the terminology I here adopt to refer to all types of group interviews henceforth.

A FG 'is a discussion involving a small number of participants, led by a moderator, which seeks to gain an insight into the participants' experiences, attitudes and/or perceptions' (Hennessy & Heary, 2005:237). FG can vary in relation to the length and the means of the interview as well as the number of people involved (Greenbaum, 1998:1-2). Despite this possible variation, the group interviews are focused in two ways: the topic selected for discussion and the formation of the group of participants (Gillham, 2005:60). As identity was a theme raised by all the mothers in the semi-structured interviews, the focus of these interviews were to (1) learn about the mothers' views on ethnicity, (2) understand their goals in relation to the majority society, and (3) check their attitudes to their L1 as well as their use of their L1 in the second phase of this study.

One limitation of FG is the risk of the researcher biasing the interview through their choice of cues and by accepting only the responses which reflect his/her own perspectives (Fern, 2001:94). A similar problem can take place during the interview when dominant participants might cause bias on the response of the other participants (Hennessy & Heary, 2005:239). Thus, FG requires a firm approach on the planning and conduction stages in order to avoid bias as much as possible. Moreover, there is a chance that the group members are not representative of a larger population (Bertrand, 1992:199), which limits any generalisation. However, FGs are never intended to provide results that are generalisable. Instead, they are intended to indicate a range of experience and attitudes (Powney & Watts, 1987:73).

One set of difficulties when preparing the FGs relates to getting the group together and ensuring their attendance at the interview (Krueger, 1988:46-47). Despite selecting place and time that were suitable to the participants, some interviews took place individually, some in pairs and some in groups of three. These changes in the group formation led me

to rename these interviews as 'focus interviews'[1]. In spite of the change in the terminology and in the number of mothers being interviewed at a time, the FG question format was still pertinent as a method and was kept in order to elicit the mothers' views and feelings on their own ethnic identity as well as their expectations about their children's ethnic identity. Bearing in mind that FG techniques were also applied to individual interviews in this study, it was not possible to address the dynamism of the interactions, as advised by Smithson (2000) and Hyden & Bulow (2003). Furthermore, I highlight that the purpose of the use of this technique in this research is to allow the individual opinions to come to the surface of the discussion. As a consequence of both these issues, all the interviews had transcriptions made for each of the participants. The five activities designed and explained in Chapter 5 were used as a pre-coding for the analysis of the data collected through the focus interviews which allowed for an understanding of language and identity issues through the perspective of the Brazilian mothers participating in this study.

Although focusing on the individuals, the application of the FG question format offered many advantages to this study. The fact that some participants were interviewed together reduced the costs involved in collecting data. The FG question format also allowed the respondents to more freely express their ideas, which provided with more in-depth insights into the feelings of the participants.

Although group discussion and individual interviews can also be used as methods for doing research with children, children differ from adults and thus require special methods. The adaptations needed in interviewing children are discussed in the next section.

4.3 PLAYFUL INTERVIEWS

As explained in Chapter 1, the aim of the third phase of the research is to be able to understand what children construe as markers of their identity, the influence the

[1] Not to be confused with the 'focused interviews' pioneered by Merton and Kendal (1955 in Hennessy & Heary, 2005:236). In spite of involving a small number of participants with something in common, focusing on the participants' subjective experiences, and having a moderator; 'focused interviews' were used in quantitative research to test hypothesis.

children's mothers have on them, how these two factors affect the children's language attitudes and ultimately how the children's language use is affected. I acknowledge 'that children have important perspectives to contribute about their lives' (Clark, 2004:142) and thus I try to understand how they view the world from their own perspectives and in their own terms.

In spite of having interviewed the mothers by applying a FG approach and the fact that other researchers (*e.g.* Scott, 2000) consider it a suitable method for interviewing children, I question its usefulness in relation to the group of children participating in this study. Ten[2] children were interviewed in relation to their ethnic identity and language attitudes to both English and Portuguese. According to the mothers, their children have a native-like competence in English; however, their competence in Portuguese varies from basic receptive knowledge to proficient receptive and productive skills. As the usefulness of their answers depended on their verbal abilities, the children were interviewed in their language of preference and were also allowed to code-switch. Being interviewed individually allowed the children to make these language choices freely and without peer pressure. Moreover, individual sessions allowed the adaptation of the conduction of the interviews according to the children's ages, which varies from five to twelve.

The difference in the children's age required a variation in the way the interviews were conducted as well as in relation to the materials used in the mothers' interviews. Creative methods involving the use of visual prompts, such as photos and drawing (*cf.* Brooker, 2001:166-7), and projective techniques (*cf.* Greene & Hill, 2005b:12-15) as well as story games (*cf.* Veale, 2005:268) have been considered suitable for researching children's experiences and perspectives. Visual stimuli are considered useful due to being a concrete representation, especially for children under 11 (Scott, 2000:102), as well as due to being 'an effective joint referent' (Westcott & Littleton, 2005:148). In other words, visual stimuli help in the construction of meaning between researcher and participants. Therefore, as detailed in Chapter 6 section 6.1, three of the four activities designed for the

[2] See Table 1 Appendix 1 for the participants' movements between the CLS and the non-CLS groups.

playful interviews involved the children in the description and/or production of pictures and drawings as well as telling stories.

As explained above, I investigated the children's ethnic identity and focused on the same questions their mothers were asked (see Chapter 1 section 1.3):

- How do the participants define ethnicity?
- How does ethnicity affect language attitudes?
- What is the link between language attitudes and language use?

Having said that, the children were not asked these questions directly. Instead, other materials such as games were used in order to suit the cognitive and linguistic competence of each child and to guarantee the interest of the children leading to the collection of useful information, as advised by Greig & Taylor (1999:131-132). The specific instruments for each of the questions above are detailed in Chapter 6.

In sum, each activity was designed to elicit the children's opinions and to allow for the understanding of their positioning in relation to both ethnic identity and language attitude issues. The focus of each activity was used as a pre-coding of the data, as detailed in Chapter 6 section 6.1.2. Each child's playful interview was transcribed for the individual activities in a selective way. In other words, the passages transcribed were the ones in which the children referred to the focus of the activities. However, notes which described what the children were doing and referring to in the other passages of the interview were taken. These notes worked as an index for future reference which enabled an understanding of the flow of the interviews.

Although case studies usually use observations as a starting point for interviews (MacNaughton *et al.*, 2001:131) I do the opposite. I used semi-structured interviews with the mothers to find out the issues that were important in their language choices from their perspective. As all the mothers signalled that ethnicity was a main factor in their relationship with Brazilian Portuguese, I designed focus interviews to have more in-depth information on the topic through the mothers' perspectives. These two initial phases gave

me the necessary background to explore the children's ethnic identity and language choices, also through interviews. It is only in phase four of my investigation that I used observations.

Combining interviews with participant observation allows data from each of these methods to help in the understanding of the other (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995:131). Thus I designed a fourth phase which collects language being selected and used in real situations, as explained in the next two sections.

4.4 CLASSROOM OBSERVATIONS

As argued by Mason (2002:85-6), observations of social interactions allow for the collection of data as they take place. Being able to collect data in its context is useful as it avoids dependency on participants' ability to report on their past actions. Thus, in this study, the classroom is a key context to be investigated and to be checked against the child participants' self-reports on their language attitudes and language use (see Chapter 8). I considered it relevant to observe the lessons in the CLS in order to investigate the connections between language and identity since it is one of the main domains, together with home, where the children are not only exposed to the Brazilian Portuguese language but are also able to use it actively. Therefore, the observations were used to answer two questions: (1) 'What are the patterns of language use in the Brazilian CLS?' and (2) 'What is the influence of ethnicity on language attitude and on language use in the CLS?' I aim at learning what the language patterns in the Brazilian CLS are as well as at understanding the factors which triggered these patterns.

Simpson & Tuson (1997:18-19) point out that observations demand a lot of time, effort and resources. However, there is no assessment of the impact of the length of the recording on what happens between speakers (Dunn, 2005:97-98). Therefore, I considered that a single observation of one CLS lesson for each child would suffice for my purposes of understanding the pattern of language choices in that context. I based the decision on the fact that the people involved in the interactions tend to be the same as do the purposes of their interactions. Having said that, it is assumed that the topic of the

interactions vary from lesson to lesson. It could be interesting to verify whether and how far the interactions vary according to the different topics covered in the CLS, however, the time constraints do not allow for this type of investigation. Notwithstanding, being involved with the school as a class assistant enabled me to know that the episodes recorded were usual classroom interactions.

Although observations can be a very intrusive technique of data collection (Simpson & Tuson, 1997:55), it is not so much the case in this study. As I was doing volunteer work as an assistant teacher at the CLS for two years at the time of the classroom observations, all the children knew me and were used to my presence in their lessons. It meant I kept my role in the CLS and had a participant observer role when I collected the data for this research. Having said that, in order to guarantee my role as a participant observer, I could not withdraw from the class activities and had to keep to my usual role of ensuring the students were on track both in educational and behavioural terms. It meant I had to make use of tape-recorders as a way of being able to have access to the students' use of language and language choices in a natural context. Not being able to withdraw from the class activities also meant that I could not take notes during the lessons. Instead, I took retrospective notes based on my memory of what had happened in the lessons and also on what I could hear in the recordings of the lessons.

The retrospective notes were written on an observation schedule (Appendix 4) which focused on the people involved in the conversations and selected extracts which exemplified interactions taking place between (1) the teacher and the whole group, (2) the teacher and the specific student participating in this research, (3) the focal[3] child interacting with their classmates and (4) with me. As explained in Chapter 3, I chose to examine the participants' language choice both at macro and micro levels. Therefore, I applied the Markedness Model (Myers-Scotton, 1993; Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai, 2001) approach to CS in the analysis of the data collected in the classroom observations. In order to understand the participants' values and the effects of the societal constraints on

[3] The term 'focal children' is here used to describe the children who are the centre of my analysis as done by Elaine Day (2002) in her book entitled *Identity and the Young English Language Learner*.

their identity, it is relevant to collect information about the participants' positionings. This information is what I call a 'brought from within' focus of the interpretation of language choices in conversational interactions. It means that both external (social) and internal (personal) factors to language choices are interpreted from the participants' perspectives. The extracts presented in Chapter 9 show the general language choice patterns between the participants and their different interlocutors in the CLS. In Chapter 9 I also discuss how these language patterns were triggered.

As '[b]oth the home and the school are commonly regarded as sites of socialization' (Mayall, 1994b:120), I also collected data about the children's language use and choice at their homes.

4.5 HOME RECORDINGS

The main difference between the classroom observation and the home recording techniques designed for this study is in relation to the presence/absence of the researcher and to the domains where they took place. The observations, as explained in 4.4, took place in the CLS where I participated as a teacher assistant. The recordings were carried out at the participants' homes in my absence and focused on (1) the patterns of language use and on (2) the influence of ethnicity on language attitude and on language use in their homes.

I considered that my absence in the homes would reduce the Observer's Paradox (Labov, 1972) constraint which could have affected the children and the mothers in the previous phases. Being by themselves would ensure the participants did not change their behaviour in consequence of being aware of being observed. Furthermore, having to record a number of children at their homes would entail in great logistic difficulties due to the human resources constraints of this study. Although the absence of an observer offers fewer demands in time and effort, it also entails disadvantages, which are mostly related to contextual information being lost. Therefore, the mothers were asked to fill in a form (Appendix 6) which requested contextual information about the interactions recorded.

The collection of data in these two domains, the CLS and home, were part of the last phase of this investigation which aimed at collecting data on the language choices being made by the participants in real life situations. Therefore, the recordings at home aimed at collecting information about the language patterns which represented the language negotiation that takes place at these families' homes. In order to ensure the representativeness of the speech data in this investigation, the situations for the recordings were selected with the participants. The mothers and I selected a sample of activities which were typical in their children's routine with the aim of recording language use in different events. There were up to seven events per family:

(a) Children alone,
(b) Children with father,
(c) Children with mother,
(d) Children with siblings,
(e) Whole family,
(f) Children with child visitors,
(g) Children with adult visitors.

Besides trying to check how far the participants' self-report on their language attitudes and language use reflected their actual choice of languages, this phase also aimed at drawing a relationship between the *who, what, where, when* and *why* factors and these children's language choices. Thus, this was another reason for sampling from predetermined situations. The recordings of the predetermined situations were transcribed in a schedule (Appendix 4) which covered the participants' interactions with the different members in their families and their friends. As the choice of coding method depends on the interests of the researcher (Dunn, 2005:98), the unit of analysis I selected for the transcriptions were based on the people involved and on the language used. In addition, the extracts representing the general language choice pattern used in interactions with the different interlocutors were selected and the Markedness Model (Myers-Scotton, 1993; Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai, 2001) approach to the CS was applied to the data analysis of the recordings at home.

4.6 SUMMARY

In sum, this chapter covered the advantages and disadvantages of the five methods selected as ways of looking at language choice by a group of Brazilian mothers and their children: semi-structured interviews, focus interviews, playful interviews, observations at the CLS and recordings at home.

The ways these five methods were applied in order to investigate the connections between language and identity are covered in Chapters 5 and 6 which follow.

CHAPTER FIVE
RESEARCH METHODS USED WITH THE MOTHERS

In Chapter 4 I discussed the advantages and disadvantages of the instruments selected to investigate the sense of ethnicity, the language attitudes to both Portuguese and English, and the language use made by a group of Brazilian mothers living in London and by their children. The usefulness of the five instruments selected for collecting data in this study was analysed from a qualitative approach perspective where the participants' experiences, feelings and beliefs were considered central to the understanding of their choices between the use of English and Portuguese languages.

In this chapter I show how the methodology in the previous chapter was used and discuss the process of making methodological choices for the activities designed for collecting data with the mothers: the semi-structured interviews (5.1) and the focus interviews (5.2). The methods used with the children are discussed in Chapter 6.

5.1 SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

As explained in Chapter 1 section 1.3 and Chapter 4 section 4.1, the emphasis of these interviews was on drawing a profile of the families involved in this project in relation to the five factors that might influence their language attitudes and choice: (1) searching for social and economic success, (2) contact with the speech community, (3) attitudes towards the language and the culture, (4) different domains of language use and, (5) amount of contact with homeland.

5.1.1 Design

I designed a schedule (Appendix 2) for the semi-structured interviews which was divided in four sections: (1) language outside home, (2) language use in the home, (3) children, and (4) personal details. *Language outside home,* the first section, aimed at identifying the domains where the Portuguese language can be used in London. Although it focused on the services used by the mothers, it helped to identify the domains that the children

could be exposed to the use of the community language, even if it was an indirect exposure. All the thirty-five domains included in the interview schedule (see Appendix 2 section 1) were found in *Leros,* the first and the most popular magazine written and published in London for the Brazilian community. This section also led to clues about the influence of home and local cultures on the children, at least, in terms of exposure. *Language use in the home,* section two, focused on the home domain use of language as it is considered one of the most relevant influences on the actual heritage of community languages (Baker, 2001:53). It covered who speaks what language to whom in the family context. *Children,* the third section, elicited information about the children's age, their country of origin, linguistic knowledge and social networks as well as the cultural influences to which they were exposed. *Personal Information,* the fourth and last section, collected information about the parents and covered social status, contact with the speech community and, contact with homeland.

5.1.2 Conducting the Interviews

I conducted the interviews with two groups of participants: (a) Brazilian mothers whose children were attending Portuguese classes at the CLS and (b) Brazilian mothers whose children were not attending any Portuguese classes. The CLS had a total of eighteen students grouped in three different classes according to their age and level of literacy at the time this research was carried out: (1) 5-8 year-olds illiterate in Portuguese only, (2) 5-8 year-olds literate both in Portuguese and English and, (3) 9-12 year-olds literate in both Portuguese and English. I selected two participants from each of the groups to ensure I had a global view of the influence of the school on the children's choices of language and a more representative sample. As explained in Chapter 1 section 1.3, nine CLS families were invited to participate according to the following four criteria:

(1) The mother being Brazilian;

(2) The father being of any other nationality but Brazilian;

(3) Children having a good relationship with this researcher; and,

(4) Family being available.

The CLS participants, as well as other private contacts of mine, referred me to other children in the family structure that would fit this research: Brazilian mothers and fathers of any other nationality not attending the CLS. Six families whose children were between 5-12 years old were chosen to match the children's age range in the first group of participants.

5.1.3 Data Analysis

As explained in Chapter 4 section 4.1, the interview schedule covered 13 aspects which were used as a pre-coding of the data analysis in this initial stage of the research. These aspects were investigated in the four sections of the interview schedule as explained in 5.1.1.

The data provided by each participant were initially recorded individually in the interview schedule. These data were then grouped in seven tables: (1) services used by the family, (2) family social status, (3) contact with Brazil, (4) information about the children, (5) the children's use of language, (6) the language used in the household, and (7) the exposure to Brazilian culture. These seven categories were used to construct a picture of the participants as a group. In a later stage, the information in the tables was related to the mother's comments which had been recorded in my fieldnotes and an individual profile for each mother and their families was drawn. This analysis is presented in Chapter 7.

5.2 FOCUS INTERVIEWS

The focus interviews aimed at gaining an insider's view about the mothers' sense of ethnicity, their collective goals, their language attitudes and use. Thus it was designed to allow for discussions where motivations behind opinions are made evident. Albeit being designed from a group interview perspective, some of the mothers were interviewed in pairs and even individually due to changes in their availability, as explained in Chapter 4 section 4.2. Nevertheless the relevant steps in the preparation of a focus group (FG) interview were followed for all the interviews be it in groups, pairs or individually and are explained below.

5.2.1 Preparation

Although there were four criteria in choosing the participants to take part in the semi-structured interviews as explained in 5.1.3, only two of those criteria were relevant to the focus interviews: their nationality and their gender. The nationality of the participants is important because the main focus of the research is the connection between language and identity (see Chapter 1) within a group of mixed-heritage children within the Brazilian community in London. Therefore, all the families participating in this study consisted of a Brazilian parent and another parent of any other nationality. Having said that, there were nineteen families taking their children to the CLS at the time data were being collected for this phase; however, the father was the Brazilian member in only two of these families. In other words, most of the families taking their children to the CLS consisted of parents where the mother was the Brazilian parent. Therefore, having selected the mothers to participate in the focus interviews provided me with a more representative picture of the familial context of the participating children. Another reason for only interviewing the mothers is the fact that researchers (*e.g.* Fern, 2001:35-38) suggest that gender influences the interaction of the participants as well as the quality of the data obtained, and thus male and female participants should be grouped separately for better results. As a consequence, Brazilian fathers in intermarriage were not invited to participate in these interviews due to their low numbers in the Brazilian community involved with the CLS and to avoid an imbalance in the group dynamics.

Besides certain homogeneity within the group, the setting of the interviews is also relevant in ensuring their success (Fern, 2001:18-19). Location should be close and familiar to the participants as well as easy to find. It is also important to think about the location from an internal perspective. Factors such as the room decoration (*cf.* Stewart & Shamdasani, 1990:47) and the room arrangement (*cf.* Hennessy & Heary, 2005:245) can affect the dynamics of the interviews. It was considering all the above that the community centre where the CLS lessons take place was selected to be used as the location for the interviews with the mothers whose children attend the CLS. The interview was planned to take place during the children's lesson time, making it easier for the mothers to attend. Furthermore, selecting this location and this time meant that the mothers were not

incurring on any extra expenses which would need reimbursement. In addition, the group dynamics were not influenced by the room decoration since the community centre staff removed all the objects at the end of every session for the beginning of the next one. The issues aforementioned were also considered when selecting a location for the interview with the mothers whose children do not attend the CLS. As the mothers live near each other, a room was rented in their local Town Hall.

Moreover, the participants' attendance was further encouraged by sending personalised invitations, phoning participants before the interview, re-sending invitations nearer the session, and phoning again one day before as a reminder, as suggested by Krueger (1988:98). However, instead of offering an incentive to the mothers, a gift was given to each one of their children as a thank-you gesture.

5.2.2 Design

Greenbaum (1998:4) states that it is vital to have a guide to ensure the effectiveness of the interviews. Thus, I adapted a guide from Krueger (1988:77-80) and Stewart & Shamdasani (1990:92-93) which comprises of eleven steps:

1. Offer participants refreshments and have a small-talk with them;
2. Thank participants for their attendance;
3. Distribute their attendance gifts;
4. State general purpose of the research;
5. Explain their selection;
6. Explain recording/confidentiality/reporting;
7. Establish ground rules;
8. Make introductions;
9. State specific purpose of this phase of the study;
10. Start the activities;
11. Thank participants for their contributions.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, the mothers themselves refer to the importance of the Brazilian Portuguese language to their ethnic identity in the semi-structured interviews.

Therefore, I re-state here that the objective of using focus interviews with the mothers is to further explore what ethnic identity means to them and how their identities are connected to the languages in their repertoire. These Brazilian mothers entered a new social context when they immigrated to England, which affected the way they define their identity. It is by trying to understand how the Brazilian mothers in this study define who they are that I explore their collective goals in relation to the majority society (a contribution to this research from social psychology as discussed in Chapter 2 section 2.1.1) in the focus interviews. Nonetheless, I am aware that this snapshot on how the mothers feel in relation to the English society might only give me a fixed and unitary view of their identities. Positioning myself along with the post-structuralist researchers who argue that identity is multiple and changeable (*cf.* Chapter 2 section 2.1.2), I designed five different activities to be used in the focus interviews with a view to guarantee a qualitative perspective to the discussions. By implementing a qualitative perspective, I hoped that the fluidity of the mothers' social identities as much as the links between their social identities to language were raised in the discussions.

The five activities were based on three main techniques used in FG to elicit the participants' opinions: projective, probing and control (Greenbaum, 1998:119-146). Projective techniques encourage the participants to make associations with other stimuli as a way of expressing their feelings towards a specific idea. Probing techniques are less abstract and allow for a more in-depth discussion of specific issues. Control techniques are used to control the negative effects of group dynamics. Group dynamics techniques are used throughout all the activities. In addition, I selected two projective techniques (forced relationships and sentence completion) to be used in this study. The first technique used, forced relationships, was designed with the expectation that it is not possible to categorise Brazilian nationals based on their appearance. I wanted to find out whether the participating mothers in this research consider the Brazilian identity to be based on culture rather than on "race", as discussed in Chapter 1 section 1.2.2. Thus pictures of ten women were presented to the mothers (Appendix 3.1). The mothers had to say where the women in the pictures were from and what factors led them to make their choices. The mothers were also asked to compare the different pictures. The discussion

on how the participants felt about relating physical appearance and geography to ethnic identity was also a lead-in activity on the markers the participants considered relevant to their own ethnic identity. As expected and discussed in Chapter 1 section 1.1.2, the participants' open discussion about the women on the pictures started to signal that they are a group linked to their place of origin, Brazil, and with a collective identity which link them to each other.

This ethnic-based orientation was further exploited in technique number 2. The second technique, sentence completion, focused on the Brazilian ethnicity and aimed at eliciting markers of ethnicity such as culture, religion, dress, food, gesture, social status, ancestry amongst others that make the participants feel Brazilian. I applied the sentence completion technique in order to find out whether language played a special role in these mothers' sense of ethnic identity, as they suggested in their semi-structured interviews. Thus I adapted the twenty-sentence-test designed by Kuhan & McPartland (1954 in Hutnik, 1991:79-88) which gives the sentences, 'I am' and 'I am not', to be completed by the participants. Their technique was frequently used in the late 70s in social psychology in order to elicit the social identity of an individual (Deschamps, 1982:91). As the definition of social identity I adopted is the one that highlights the emotional significance of one's group self-conception (*cf.* Chapter 1 section 1.2.1), I adapted their technique by leaving open to the participants which verbs they wanted to use to express their feelings of being Brazilian. The participants were asked to complete the statements 'I...' and 'I ... (not)...' five times each (Appendix 3.2) and then asked to discuss the items in their lists with the group. Having a list of markers of ethnicity, it was then necessary to find out the salience of these items (*cf.* Chapter 1 section 1.2.2). This salience was elicited through probing techniques which were applied to all the activities according to the participants' responses.

Besides the two typical FG techniques explained above, I also used the following: (3) Likert scale; (4) choosing the appropriate sentences; and (5) brainstorming. Activity three, the Likert scale, was used with the purpose of eliciting which of the following goals the participants have adopted for interacting with the majority group: a) wanting to

assimilate into the majority society but failing, b) rejecting assimilation, c) shedding some characteristics of the minority group and retaining others, or d) wanting to assimilate and succeeding. As discussed in Chapter 1 section 1.2.1, I expected that finding out about the mothers' collective goals in relation to the majority society would give me clues about their language use, such as the relevance of socio-economic success to their language choices. Therefore, the participants were presented with ten sentences (Appendix 3.3) to which they had to react by ticking one of the six answers: I totally agree, I agree, It depends, I disagree, I totally disagree, I'm not sure. The sentences were both read to the participants as well as hung on a flip chart while the participants ticked their chosen answer on their forms (Appendix 3.4). After going through all the sentences, the participants were invited to discuss their opinions with the rest of the group. The sentences were intentionally polemical in order to encourage discussion. It was by trying to clarify the concepts in the sentences and to explain their own ideas to the other participants that the mothers made clear what their opinions and feelings about both the majority society and the minority group were.

Activity four, choosing the appropriate sentences, is an extension of the Likert scale and also refers to the four collective goals mentioned above. This fourth activity focuses on the mothers' expectations about their children in relation to their goals within the majority group. I wanted to find out how far there was a difference in the way the mothers related to the majority society and the way the mothers expected their children to relate to the majority society. I expected this difference (or lack of difference) to signal whether the mothers considered it important for their children to be able to speak Portuguese and be exposed to Brazilian culture. The mothers were presented with six statements (Appendix 3.5). They should tick as many sentences as they considered to reflect their own ideas. Then they were asked to share their answers with the group.

As discussed in Chapter 1 section 1.2.3, language has a role in the development of ethnic identity which may vary in importance according to the meanings to it attached by the members of a community. Thus, the fifth and last activity, the brainstorming, looked at the role of language in the construction of the ethnic identity of these participants. The

participants were shown two posters, one has 'Portuguese Language' written in its centre and the other one has 'English Language'. The posters were shown to the participants who were asked to write the meaning of each of the languages to them on blank slips of paper and then to discuss their ideas with the whole group. These three techniques (Likert scale, choosing the appropriate sentences and brainstorming) are not part of the projective, probing or controlling categories covered by Greenbaum (1998) and described above. However, this study asks for answers about the participants' goals in relation to the English society as well as their attitudes to both the Portuguese and the English languages. Thus, these last activities were designed by me in trying to examine these two aspects of the research being conducted.

5.2.3 Data Analysis

The data analysis of the focus interviews involved organising the data in three different stages. In the first stage, I listened to the recordings of each focus interview and transcribed the mothers' opinions and comments in reaction to each activity described in section 5.2.2. The activities themselves were used as a pre-set code of themes to be analysed: general Brazilian identity markers, mothers' self-identity markers, mothers' societal goals, mothers' expectations of their children's identity and mothers' language attitudes. The transcriptions followed the order of the activities in the focus interviews and were done in a sequential way. In the second stage of the analysis, the data (which had initially been transcribed for the group of mothers who had been interviewed together) were reorganised and separated by individual participants. In other words, I opened a new document in my computer file for each mother and copied and pasted in this document only the opinions expressed by each particular mother. In the third stage, I wrote a profile of each mother covering how they think of themselves in relation to the majority society, how important their ethnic identity is to them and the importance of the different components of their social identities. This analysis was then added to the analysis of the semi-structured interviews (section 5.1.3 above) and a composite file was written for each mother.

Having explained the design and the analysis of both the semi-structured interviews and the focus interviews, I turn to the ethical issues which need to be addressed in conducting them.

5.3 Ethical Issues

Hammersley & Atkinson (1995:264-275) discuss four aspects of ethical issues which they consider relevant to ethnographic studies and which I shall take in turn in this section: informed consent, privacy, harm and exploitation.

The application of ethics begins with the procedures for contacting the participants. When first contacted, the potential participants should be able to decide on whether or not to participate in the study (Foster, 1996:105). When contacted for the semi-structured interviews, I explained to the families that I aimed at understanding the social factors that might influence the language use/choice made by their children. Further consideration of ethics took place during the semi-structured interviews. After my initial chat with the mothers, I explained I was going to carry out a conversation on their children. I also explained I was going to take notes, which they were going to be able to read at the end of the interview if they wished. Enabling the participants to read my notes was a way of being transparent with them and allowing them a chance of deliberating on my understanding of the information they had provided. I also explained at the beginning of the interviews that they were going to be asked to complete the last page of the interview schedule with some personal information. This procedure was adopted to guarantee I felt comfortable in enquiring about delicate issues such as wages and also guaranteed the participants felt comfortable in answering all the questions.

For the focus interviews, I explained to the mothers that the discussion was centred on ethnicity issues relating to their responses in the first phase. At the beginning of the focus interviews, I renewed my commitments to the mothers' right to confidentiality. I explained I had labelled the tapes and coded the worksheets in order to keep their identities confidential. In addition, the mothers themselves were asked to keep any information shared during the discussions confidential. This way we shared responsibility

for the ethical issues involved in group interviews. I also pointed out to the mothers the importance of respecting each other's opinions during the focus interviews due to the emotional load of the experience in discussing issues related to identity. It also meant I had to be careful about the probing used in order to find a balance between eliciting useful information without harming the participants (Hennessy & Heary, 2005:240). For the same reason, the controlling techniques were very demanding in order to ensure emotional harm was not caused by any of the participants. I can particularly refer to moments where the participants' social backgrounds were different and there was a possibility of one participant making the other feel diminished.

Another ethical issue is the potential exploitation of the participants. In basic terms, exploitation may take place in consequence of the fact that the participants usually get nothing in return for taking part in a study (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995:273). It is not totally the case as participants tend to have their own agenda. In this investigation, the mothers had two items in their agenda. First of all, they wanted the opportunity to be able to speak up, express their views and get support on their children's education and bilingualism. Secondly, the mothers were curious themselves to know where their children stood in terms of language attitudes and ethnic identity.

The methods I selected to interview the mothers who were willing to participate in this study were designed not only to fulfil the needs of the investigation but also the needs of the participants.

5.4 SUMMARY

This chapter was divided in two main sections. In the first section I covered the design of semi-structured interviews which were used to draw a profile of the 13 families participating in this study. In the second section I examined collecting qualitative data through the use of focus interviews. Five activities were used in order to elicit from the mothers their views on what it is to be Brazilian and the salience of the possible different items that make their ethnicity.

Considering that the mothers in this study are the main links their children have with Brazilian culture and Portuguese language, special attention was given to the mothers' perspectives on the relationship between ethnic identity and language use in this investigation. It is hoped that understanding the mother's positioning on language and identity will help the understanding of their children's positioning as well as their language choices. Thus, I look at the methods for collecting data about the children's view on their ethnic identity and at their language attitudes as well as their language choices in the next chapter.

CHAPTER SIX
RESEARCH METHODS USED WITH THE CHILDREN

In Chapter 5 I discussed the methods applied in phases 1 and 2 of this study for doing research with the mothers. In phase one, the semi-structured interviews, I investigated the political, cultural and linguistic background of the participating families. In phase two, the focus interviews, I explored the relevant markers of ethnicity from the perspective of the group of Brazilian mothers, their goals in relation to the English society, their expectations of their children's goals and their attitude to both Portuguese and English languages.

The aim of this thesis is to investigate what social factors affect the language choice of a group of mixed-heritage children. As the mothers of the children involved in this study refer to their Brazilian identity as a major factor in their use of Portuguese (their L1) with their children, I considered it necessary to look at the effect their ethnicity has on the children. Thus, in this chapter I cover the methods designed for doing research with the children in phases 3 and 4 of this investigation: the interviews with the children (6.1), the observations of the children's use of language at the community language school (CLS) (6.2) and, the tape recording of the children at their homes (6.3).

6.1 PLAYFUL INTERVIEWS

As explained in Chapter 1, I have three aims: to understand the salient markers of identity from the children's perspectives, to examine the influence the mothers have on the children and to examine how these two factors affect the children's language attitudes and use. Although having the mothers' perspectives on these issues, I collected further information from the children themselves since it is believed that interviewing children directly provides a more complete account of their lives (Scott, 2000:106-107). Despite home interviews being considered more intrusive than contacting children at their schools by some researchers (*e.g.* Hill, 2005), I chose this location for its informality and the control it gives children of the interview environment (Mayall, 2000).

The playful interviews were designed with the intention of drawing a parallel between the children's and their mothers' replies. Therefore I refer to the three types of techniques covered in Chapter 5 section 5.2.2 and used in the focus interviews with the mothers: projective, probing and control techniques (Greenbaum, 1998). Although using similar activities with the application of similar perspectives to the mothers' focus interviews, I decided to interview the children individually. As explained in Chapter 4 section 4.3, this decision was based on the children's different levels of competence in Portuguese, different personalities and ages, and in order to avoid peer pressure on their replies and language choices.

6.1.1 Design

I designed four activities to be used with the children. They were based on creative methods and I drew on imaginative processes in order to help the children describe and give meaning to their experiences (Veale, 2005:254) as well as to stimulate the children to engage (*ibid.*:270). The activities are: (1) Picture Grouping[1], (2) Draw and Write Technique, (3) Time Line[2], and (3) Spaceman.

The first activity, Picture Grouping, is an adaptation of the minimum context card form, a construct eliciting method designed by Bannister (1985:4-5), where elements are presented and the participants have to say how they are alike and/or different[3]. It is used in order to set the context of the interview for the children and to draw a parallel with the forced relationships activity used with the mothers (*cf.* Chapter 5 sections 5.2.2). I aimed at learning whether the children shared their mothers' perspectives on the importance of appearance as an identity construct. Due to their age difference, I adapted the forced relationships technique used with the mothers to a game-like activity with the children. The number of pictures used was limited to four (Appendix 5.1), instead of the ten used in the focus interviews with the mothers, and the children were told they were going to check how well I could draw. For that, they would choose one picture at a time and hide it from me. They would describe it orally and I would draw. The children could tell me

[1] Similar activities have been used by Milner 1983 and Wilson 1987.
[2] This activity resulted from a discussion with Helen Lucey, School of Education, King's College London.
[3] *Cf.* Veale (2005)'s study about the impact of violence on a group of children in Rwanda. It focused on the constructions of children's lives in different types of family structures and drawings were also used as a comparative analysis exercise.

how to improve my drawing during and/or after the description. This comparison between my drawings and what they could see in their pictures would enable me to see what constructs about appearance they had. Furthermore, this joint construction of meaning by researcher and participants leads to trust building and a more balanced power relationship between them (Westcott & Littleton, 2005:153-154).

In the second activity, the children were asked to think of someone they know who is Brazilian and then to draw this person using an outline worksheet (Appendix 5.2). The same is asked about an English person. The idea of asking the children to draw is adapted from the Draw and Write Technique, adopted by Williams *et al* (1989a, 1989b) when researching into the children's perceptions of health issues such as drugs. This activity also compares to the mothers' second activity: the sentence completion (see Chapter 5 section 5.2.2). The main difference is that the children have their drawings as a concrete starting point for their reflection on identity markers. Being a reality-based activity, it is believed to help the children in talking about characteristics of the two identities here being researched as well as their identification with either and/or both. However, the drawing is not important in itself but the descriptions, the explanations and the stories the children provide in connection to their drawings are. It is 'the verbal material recorded that provided the data for interpretation' (Veale, 2005:265). Both activities elicited criteria used by the children themselves to identify the different ethnicities being researched. The children were free to use their own personal constructs as well as the words to represent these constructs. In addition, they could also choose between responding in English and/or Portuguese languages.

The third activity, the Time Line, is included in parallel to the focus interviews where the mothers talked about the meaning of both Portuguese and English to them. The activity follows the same ideas from the previous ones where the children can have fun and use their creativity by drawing as well as having concrete material as the creation of a context. The Time Line activity was presented to the children with an example of my own life and the meaning of the languages to me. As shown in Appendix 5.3, my drawing shows when I was born, when I spoke my first word, when I started learning English,

places where / people with whom I can use Portuguese and/or English. I hoped that when explaining these pieces of information about themselves, the children's language attitudes and identity issues related to their choice of languages would be brought about. Similarly to Veale's (2005:263) use of drawings, I expected that the drawing of the Time Line would evoke different things for different children as well as lead them to have discussions which reflected the different realities they experienced in relation to language and identity issues.

To end the interview, it was important to choose an activity that summarised all the above. This was the reason for asking the students to imagine that they were talking to a spaceman, the fourth and last activity, and tell him who they were. It is an adaptation of the self-characterisation method, another construct eliciting method designed by Bannister (1985:4-5). Originally, the participant is asked to write a character sketch of themselves in the third person as if they were the principal character in a play. It is relevant that the children have an imaginary person as their audience for two reasons: (1) it stimulates their interest and (2) it avoids them describing themselves in a way that they imagine would please me in consequence of the close relationship we have. Here, the children were asked to imagine that they were talking to a spaceman and tell him who they were. In this activity, the children used both their personal constructs about identity (activities one and two) and their attitudes about language (activity three) when describing themselves to the spaceman. The main adaptation of this activity was the use of prompts related to their age, sex, height, skin colour, colour of eyes, hair, place of birth, school, family, leisure activities, address, place of birth, personality and, language. In addition, the children could have a choice of whom they would speak to: spaceman, alien, someone new on the phone, among others. Although this was not a role-play, it was important to particularize the activity by detailing the place, the people, the process, and the personal experience involved in it (Yardley, 1995 in Veale, 2005:268).

In general, the focus interviews with the mothers had to be adapted in order to be used with the playful interviews with the children. As a consequence of the adaptation, two activities were not used: (1) their goals in relation to the majority society, and (2) the

mothers' expectations in relation to their children's future identity. The children's interview was restricted to (1) eliciting the children's personal constructs about identity, (2) their attitudes towards Portuguese and English and (3) their description about themselves. As explained in this section, these changes were carried out in consequence of the children's cognitive development, life experience and interest.

6.1.2 Data Analysis

As explained in Chapter 4 section 4.3, the analysis of the playful interviews was a reflective process which had the research questions as a starting point. I started the analysis procedure by transcribing each interview[4]. The transcription followed the order in which the activities were presented to the children. The transcription was selective – focused on the discussion of the issues being explored in the investigation – and sequential – presented in the dialogue format between me and each child. The interviews generated the following seven key themes: (1) personal constructs of "race", (2) personal constructs of ethnicity, (3) language attitudes, (4) ethnic identity, (5) language choice, (6) domains, (7) attitudes to CLS. Therefore, the transcriptions were grouped according to these themes for each child. The data gathered in the playful interviews together with the information collected through the semi-structured and the focus interviews with the mothers were used to construct case profiles of each child.

This third phase of the data collection was the last one involving interviews and self-reports on social factors and language choice. As explained before, the first three phases of this study were used to collect an emic view of social factors affecting the language choice of a group of mixed-heritage children participating in this study and their Brazilian mothers. The families' social and economic situation was elicited through semi-structured interviews with the mothers (Chapter 5 section5.1). Another social factor examined were the goals these mothers have in relation to the majority community, the English society, as well as their concepts of ethnicity. These data were collected through focus interviews (Chapter 5 section 5.2). Being able to have a profile of the families through the mothers'

[4] All interviews were tape recorded with the use of a Dictaphone which was placed in between me and the children. I told the children about the use of tape recorders before the recordings started, as suggested by Bentley (1987 in Hill, 2005:72). The children were allowed to listen to the recordings in the cases they asked to do so.

perspectives, it was possible to move on to this investigation's main participants: the children. Although still very young to know about minority-majority goals, these children could contribute with their emic view on language attitudes and concepts of ethnicity. A set of activities were designed to exploit these two points through the individual interviews described in this section.

Having collected these different pieces of information on social factors, it was important to see how their influence on language choice takes place in real situations. I selected two real situations to observe the influence of social factors on language choice for these mothers and their children: home and school. These two settings have proved to be related. Gregory's (1996) study on literacy, Wells' (1985, 1988) study on language development, and Heath's (1983) study on story telling are examples of studies that believe in the influence of home practices in children's school performance. My belief is that these two settings mutually influence each other when it comes to language maintenance/shift. Therefore, I investigated the use of language in both the home of the group of mixed-heritage children in this study and the CLS lessons most of them have attended. However, I discuss them separately and start by covering the observations conducted in the CLS.

6.2 CLASSROOM OBSERVATIONS

As explained above, interviews were relevant for eliciting the participants' views, opinions and feelings and classroom observations were done to see how language choice takes place in the CLS. Being a teaching assistant in the CLS for two years before the research started enabled me to have access to the children through their mothers but also through the lessons. The children were used to seeing me in the school and in their classrooms. My presence in the lessons allowed me to have an insider's view of their language choices in the CLS domain. The language choices observed in the CLS were used to triangulate the information collected through the interviews with both the mothers and the children and also with the recordings at home as explained later in 6.3.

6.2.1 Design

Delamont (2002:130) covers four aspects of collecting data through observations which I considered useful in this study: (1) what to observe, (2) how to observe, (3) where and when to observe and (4) what to record.

(1) What to observe

As explained in Chapter 4 section 4.4, I aimed at collecting information about the language choices made by a group of mixed-heritage children in London. In this phase of the investigation, I observed the choices between the use of Portuguese and/or English made by these children in their CLS lessons when interacting with both their teachers and their classmates.

(2) How to observe

Bearing in mind the demands of my role as a teaching assistant and the fact I wanted to reduce the possible effects my visibility as a researcher could cause to the children's behaviour, I chose to tape-record the students. The children were tape-recorded during their lessons by the use of a Dictaphone with an external microphone. The Dictaphone was kept in a small backpack which was worn by the children and an external microphone was attached to the backpack's strap. This way, I ensured the children's freedom of movements which allowed them to participate in all the activities of the lesson and to behave as they would normally, an important issue in order to guarantee the representativeness of the data collected.

(3) Where and when to observe

The children were observed in only one of their CLS lessons. I considered that one lesson was enough to provide me with information about the patterns of the children's language choice since the CLS context tended not to vary. The participants tended to be the same in every lesson: the teacher, the teaching assistant and the students enrolled in that group. In addition, a general topic was chosen to be exploited throughout the year with sub-topics changing only once a term.

Although each lesson lasted a total of 120 minutes, the recordings focused on the first 90 minutes. It meant that one tape was used per lesson making the logistics of the recording simple since the students were interrupted only once during the lesson to have the side of the tape turned. Nevertheless, I stayed in the lesson until the end, which allowed me access to information about the whole lesson.

(4) What to record

As mentioned above, the tape recordings were continuous and recorded everything that was said in the first 90 minutes of a lesson at the CLS. I had no pre-coded categories except for the occurrence of language switch/mix. When transcribing the recordings, attention was given to the utterances where each language was used separately and/or mixed (see Chapter 8). As explained in Chapter 4 section 4.4, I transcribed the tapes and took retrospectively notes on an observation schedule (Appendix 4).

6.2.2 Data Analysis

Each child's recording at the CLS was transcribed in full. I then wrote notes on each transcription in terms of different characteristics of the interactions taking place such as the people involved (*e.g.* focal[5] child-teacher, focal child-children and focal child-researcher), the purpose (*e.g.* to tell on a classmate), the time (*e.g.* before the lesson, at break time), the stage of the lesson (*e.g.* start, end), and the type of activity (*e.g.* individual, whole group). These notes on the characteristics of the transcriptions were complemented by applying the Markedness Model of Code-switching (Myers-Scotton, 1993) as a Rational Choice Model (Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai, 2001) as discussed in Chapter 3. The three filters for rationalizing language choice (external and internal factors as well as rationality) and the three maxims for code-switching (marked, unmarked and exploratory) were used to analyze how the different characteristics of the interactions affected the languages used, the language attitudes displayed and the identities negotiated. This analysis of the connections between language and identity was also applied to the children's interactions at home.

[5] The term 'focal children' is here used to describe the children who are the centre of my analysis as done by Elaine Day (2002) in her book entitled *Identity and the Young English Language Learner*, as explained in Chapter 4 section 4.4.

6.3 HOME RECORDINGS

As mentioned in 6.1, I believe in the mutual influence home has on the CLS in relation to language maintenance/shift. In addition, Scott (2000:103) argues that the expression of personality, behaviour and attitudes are context dependent, which makes it relevant for the children to be observed in the CLS and recorded at home. I covered the possible home influences by interviewing the mothers (Chapter 5) and the children (Chapter 6 section 6.1). However, it is important to have data on these children's actual use of language at home as it is one of the main social settings where children spend their days (Mayall, 1999:115). Furthermore, the home context exposes children to the influence of other people's language use such as their siblings, relatives and visitors.

6.3.1 Design

Delamont's (2002:130) four aspects of collecting data used in the design of the classroom observations (see 6.2.1) are also applied to the design of the recordings at home since these two techniques – observations and recordings - are part of the last phase of this investigation and have the same purpose of observing language choices taking place in real life.

(1) What to observe

It is important to question the representativeness of the speech data collected in choosing what to observe as discussed in Chapter 4 section 4.5. The situations for the recordings in this study were predetermined with the help of the mothers and / or the children. We discussed the children's routine and selected a sample of activities that were typical in their daily lives. It means that the predetermined situations varied from family to family. The variety in the situations among the families was not a problem as long as I had a sample of different events which involved different members of the children's social networks at home. This way, I tried to get a sample of situations where the children would be exposed to the range of languages they speak and presented them with the possibility of choosing among the languages in their repertoire.

(2) How to observe

The representativeness of the data is also affected by the presence/absence of an observer. Albeit the expectation that the absence of an observer lessens the effects of the Observer's Paradox, I am aware that the fact that the recordings were being made for me could have influenced the type of data being collected. Therefore, the data collected via home recordings were triangulated with the data collected in the other phases of this study. In addition, as explained in Chapter 4 section 4.5, I asked the mothers to fill in a form which would provide information about the context of their home recordings to avoid contextual information being lost due to my absence (see Appendix 6). This way, I ensured that, in spite of being the only researcher in this investigation, a larger amount of data was collected within the same amount of time.

(3) Where and when to observe

These recordings were made at the children's homes without my presence. It meant that a number of recordings could be made within a short period of time also due to the fact that I had access to five sets of equipment. The tape-recording was made through different short sessions within a week in order to give the families an opportunity to get used not only to how the equipment works (Wells, 1986:2) but also to having it around. The reasons for not having the data collected for longer are: (a) the families had been involved in this research for almost two years, (b) I did not want to take advantage of their good will, (c) I was aware of their other commitments, (d) I did not want to take advantage of the school's good will, (e) time and human resource constraints.

(4) What to record

As mentioned in Chapter 4 section 4.5, there were seven possible events to be recorded by each family: (a) children alone, (b) children with father, (c) children with mother, (d) children with siblings, (e) whole family, (f) children with child visitors, (g) children with adult visitors. Each family decided on the maximum number of possible events based on their routine and selected situations where these events were common (see Chapter 8). The predetermined situations were recorded continuously, however, there was not a set length. The mothers were instructed to record a whole event for as long as it lasted. It

means that the length of these recordings varied from event to event and from family to family. This variation in the recordings is positive since it reflects the characteristics of the natural setting of the participants' interactions.

6.3.2 Data Analysis

The situations in which the recordings at home took place were listed for each child. Each situation was then transcribed in full and filed with the contextual information sheet completed by the mothers. The transcriptions of the recordings at home were analyzed in a similar way as the ones done in the CLS. The different characteristics of the interactions were considered in relation to how they affected the languages used, the language attitudes displayed and the identities negotiated. The analysis was also conducted by applying the Markedness Model of Code-switching (Myers-Scotton, 1993; Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai, 2001). However, the characteristics of the interactions at home involved different people. Instead of interacting with their classmates, their teacher and the researcher, the children were interacting with family and friends. The fact that different people were involved led to an expectation of a variety in the purpose of the interaction as well as in the type of interaction. Nevertheless, as in the recordings of the CLS lessons, I did not have any precoded categories except whether language choice was affected by a change in the characteristics of the interaction or not.

6.4 ETHICAL ISSUES

I discuss four ethical issues in doing research with children: informed consent, privacy, harm and exploitation (*cf.* Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995 and Chapter 5 section 5.3). Before I started the data collection with the children, I contacted their mothers and explained that similar issues to the ones discussed in their focus interviews were going to be raised with their children. Having talked to the mothers, the CLS committee and the mothers themselves were sent letters which explained the playful interviews, how they were going to be conducted and assured them of confidentiality. As children also have the right to be informed about the research in which they take part (Hill, 2005:64), they were sent letters where I explained about my visit to play games with them, as done by Fine & Sandstrom (1988 in Hill, 2005:69).

I followed similar procedures in contacting the families for the classroom observations. It means that the CLS committee was initially contacted and informed of the phase of the research being conducted. The mothers were first approached informally in order to have dates for the observations arranged. Then they were sent confirmation letters and informed consent forms to be signed.

The families were given explanations about the recordings at home at the same time they were contacted for the classroom observations. Both data collection procedures involved other people indirectly, such as the children's fathers, siblings and visitors in case of the home recordings. According to Wells (1985:30-31), it is also important to ensure that the people with whom the children interact should not be inhibited by the recording. In order to avoid a problem with the fathers' participation, a letter was written addressing both parents. Although I did not write any letters addressing the possible visitors and the other family members taking part in the recordings, the mothers were asked to explain the research to them and were also instructed to share their letters with them if they considered it necessary.

On the day of the playful interviews, the mothers were reassured that their own and their children's identities were going to be protected in the reports produced on this investigation findings. The children were told that I was collecting information for my 'school work'. Furthermore, due to the emotional load attached to languages, I was aware of the fact that sensitive issues could arise. In order to avoid harming the children emotionally, I did not force the children into speaking further on any matter that seemed to trigger emotional issues. Instead, I told the children about myself and my own experience of learning languages in order to create a trusting atmosphere and show they were not alone in any of the difficulties they faced. The occurrence of sensitive issues reinforced the need to hide the children's real identity when reporting the study, as promised. The children's privacy was also preserved by having them interviewed individually at their homes, as explained in Chapter 4 section 4.3.

For the classroom observations, I needed to manage my relationships with the teachers as well (Croll, 1986:89). I contacted the teachers face-to-face and sent them a letter explaining the research and asking for their permission for the observations to take place in their classrooms. They were assured the focus of the investigation was on the students and not on the teachers neither on the teaching methodologies being applied. The three teachers[6] whose lessons were attended by the children participating in this study agreed to the recordings. Since the focal children's classmates could be indirectly involved in the CLS recordings, their mothers were informed of the research, as suggested by Greig & Taylor (1999:149), and were ensured that their confidentiality would be respected.

In order to avoid exploitation, data collection should be viewed from an exchange perspective (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995). In the case of the interview with the children, they collaborated with my investigation on their language use and its connection to identity and in return they were provided with a fun session in which they were so willing to participate that most of them invited me to come back another day.

6.5 SUMMARY

This chapter was divided in three sections. In the first one I covered the design of interviews used to elicit the language attitudes and feelings of ethnicity of the 13 children participating in this study. In the second section I examined issues relevant to the observation of the children's use of language in the CLS. In the last section I explained how the recordings at home were made. In conclusion, the methods I selected to interview, observe and record the children who participated in this investigation were designed in order to answer my questions about the links between language and identity and also in order to ensure the participants' physical and emotional well being.

Having explained the instruments used for doing research with a group of mixed-heritage children living in London whose mothers are Brazilian and fathers are of any other nationality, I start to present the data collected in this study in the next chapter.

[6] Note that at the time the observations took place there were focal students in two of the groups only.

CHAPTER SEVEN
"REPLANTED TREES":
THE SELF-IDENTITY OF A GROUP OF BRAZILIAN MOTHERS IN LONDON

In Chapters 5 and 6 I explained the methods used for collecting information on language and identity issues from the perspective of a group of Brazilian mothers and their children, respectively.

I investigated the social factors that may influence the language choice of a group of mixed-heritage children in London. Believing that mothers play an important role in the linguistic and identification development of their children, I considered it relevant to start this study by looking at how the mothers of the child participants position themselves in relation to their language and identity experiences. The children's experiences are examined in Chapter 8.

In this chapter, I analyse the self-identity of this group of mothers, who are Brazilian women living in London. I report on the factors that may affect the maintenance of Portuguese among the Brazilian mothers participating in this study, their wish to encourage their children to use Portuguese and I also examine their views on identity issues.

7.1 FACTORS AFFECTING LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE

As explained in Chapter 5 section 5.1.4, the interview schedule (Appendix 2) used as a resource for the semi-structured interviews imposed a pre-codification of the data collected in seven categories. They are: (1) services used in Portuguese, (2) family social status, (3) contact with Brazil, (4) information about the children, (5) the children's use of language, (6) the languages used in the household, and (7) exposure to Brazilian culture.

In this section, I analyse the relationship of these seven pre-codification items and present a profile of the families participating in this investigation. I follow the three

categories of factors that affect language maintenance/shift according to Baker (2001:58-62), which were discussed in Chapter 1 section 1.1, in order to analyse the maintenance of Brazilian Portuguese in a group of nine families whose children attended the Community Language School (CLS) for a period of their lives[1]. They are the social (7.1.1), cultural (7.1.2) and, linguistic factors (7.1.3).

7.1.1 Social Factors

The families tend to be small with an average of two children per family: three families with only one child, five families with two children, and one family with three children. This average actually reflects the size of families in Brazil, which is 2.1 children[2]. Although the families in the research have children aged months old to 12 year-old, only the ones who are five and over were considered suitable participants for this study. This criterion is adopted as the CLS in question only takes children who are between 5 and 12 years old, as explained in Chapter 1 section 1.3. All these twelve children[3] are enrolled in English schools.

Each family's social status was based on where they live, their level of education and their jobs. The Brazilian families are not concentrated in a designated area of London. On the contrary, they are spread around the four corners of the city as discussed in Chapter 1 section 1.1.1. Modood *et al.*'s (1997: 186) classification of regions of residence is used in order to avoid disclosing the participants' actual area of living for ethical reasons. Thus, it is possible to say that two families live in greater London, two in inner London and five in outer London. In addition to the area of residence, the respondents' level of education was examined. The Brazilian educational system and qualifications differ from the English system. The English educational system could be said to have five levels: no qualification, GCSE, A-level, graduate and post-graduate. The main difference between the Brazilian and the English educational system is in relation to the lower levels. It happens because in the Brazilian system there is not a

[1] As shown in Appendix 1 Table 1, four other families whose children never attended the CLS lessons also participated in this study. The data provided by these children through their playful interviews and their recordings at home are referred to in Chapter 11, the conclusion. However, due to space constraints, I do not report on these families in Chapters 7 to 10.
[2] *IBGE* (2003), the Brazilian Institute of Statistics, http://www.ibge.gov.br/brasil_em_sintese/default.htm
[3] This number refers to all the child participants who attended the CLS for a period of their lives (see Appendix 1 Table 1).

national exam that would correspond to GCSE or A-level. In these stages, the students have exams designed internally by the schools that give them a certificate for completing years 1 to 8 and another for completing years 9 to 12. If the students wish to go to university, they have to take entry exams for each specific university. Therefore, for a matter of allowing comparison between the two systems, the mothers that completed year 8 are considered to have a GCSE and the ones who completed year 12 are considered to have an A-level. It is then possible to say that one mother has a primary school level of education[4], two have A-level and six have university level. The fathers' level of education is similar to the mothers: one has a primary school level, three have A-level and five have university level. In relation to their jobs (see Modood *et al.*, 1997:100), two mothers do not work, one mother is under the unskilled manual category, two are professional workers, one is in the intermediate and three are in the skilled categories. Five out of the employed mothers are self-employed. According to their jobs, the fathers can be classified as the following: one is in the manager category, three are professional workers, three are skilled, one is in the intermediate and one in the unskilled categories. Relating the pieces of information above to each other, it is possible to say that two families are working class, three are lower-middle class, two are middle class, one is upper-middle class and one is upper class.

7.1.2 Cultural Factors

The families seem to try to keep in touch with home by travelling to Brazil. Three mothers travel once a year, three travel every two years, one travels every three years and two travel every four years. The families' effort in keeping in touch with their home country reflects Soysal's (2000: 2-3) concept of a diaspora movement, which were covered in Chapter 1 section 1.1.2. The Brazilian families in this study live in a foreign country but are involved in activities that link them to their country of origin in terms of culture, politics and economics. These transactions can also be seen in some of the jobs the mothers hold. Some of these mothers work within the Brazilian community in London and some with the Brazilians that visit London for a short period of time.

[4] Primary school level in Brazil refers to years 1-4.

Except for two, the families tend not to have relatives in London. In general, their relatives come to London with low frequency. Three mothers do not receive relatives at all, one every five years, one every four years, two every two years, one once a year. This limited contact with family appears to lead these mothers to build community ties. As discussed in Chapter 1 section 1.1.1, there is a variety of services for the Brazilian community in London. In other words, there is a range of different ties which can be developed, *e.g.* political, religious, academic, artistic, sportive, business. Despite the diversity in the way the members of the Brazilian community can relate to each other, it seems they choose one main type of getting organised. The mothers in this research, for example, are mainly connected to the Brazilian CLS and tend to have no other ties with the community, except for friendship ties[5]. This limited tie to the community as a whole, together with the fact that these mothers use few services where it is possible to converse in Portuguese, makes their role to pass on their language to their children even more important. The mothers and their friendships are the only opportunities the children have to be exposed to the Portuguese language and the Brazilian culture, which might explain the mothers getting together to organise play-groups and literacy lessons.

The mothers have stated that attending Portuguese lessons have positively influenced their children's use of Portuguese as a whole. Except for two, the mothers also claim that their children read Brazilian comic books regularly. However, books and magazines are not as popular both for lack of interest of the families as well as lack of availability of these items to the age group of these children in England. Furthermore, except for one, the mothers say they used to sing nursery rhymes and tell their children Brazilian bed-stories when they were young. Nowadays, all these children are exposed to Brazilian songs and are also reported to enjoy listening to them. The CLS also works as a place for the dissemination of the Brazilian culture. The events they organise are part of the few ones available in London for these children. Except for one, all the families report going to their cultural events around twice a year.

[5] I deliberately invited families from the CLS to participate in this study. Therefore, it is natural that this group of mothers in particular mainly relate to the Brazilian community through the CLS. Having said that, one of the mothers also has political ties and another one has religious ties with the Brazilian community in London.

The mothers in this study report to have three main reasons to consider it important that their children speak Portuguese: a) identity, b) affective motivation and, c) instrumental motivation.

Identity

Edwards (1985: 3) states that language is essential to the maintenance of group identity. The mothers' reasons seem to reflect his statement, as shown in the quotes[6] below[7].

> *"I am Brazilian, I was not born here. My culture is Brazilian. So, Portuguese is important for the children to understand all of these."*[8]

> *"Portuguese is my language. And my children are half-Brazilian. So, I find it terrible when someone says 'My mother is Brazilian' but they cannot say a word in Portuguese. It reflects on me. I feel so embarrassed!"*

> *"You are not Brazilian if you cannot speak Portuguese. It does not make sense for the mother to speak Portuguese and the children not."*

This strong relationship between an individual and their sense of identity as defined by their mother-tongue is also present in the mothers interviewed by Mills (2004). Mills studies the perceptions of languages by a group of mothers of Pakistani heritage and concludes that language maintenance involves signals of identity through a sense of belonging to a group, a culture and a country, and thus, it is crucial for the mothers that their language is passed on to their children (*ibid.*:186).

Affective motivation

The mothers report that one of the reasons for them and their children to choose between Portuguese or English has to do with their emotional experience with both languages.

[6] This section only presents a selection of the semi-structured interview transcriptions. The selection was based on two factors: (1) representation of the mothers' different opinions as well as (2) the quotations' illustrative role in the discussion.
[7] The participants' confidentiality is respected by omitting their names after the quotes.
[8] Words in italics were originally uttered in Portuguese. Original extracts are not presented here due to the fact that I am now presenting a general profile of the families and to space constraints. However, I present both original utterances and their translations in section 7.2 in this chapter and chapters 8 to 10.

"I can show my emotions when I speak Portuguese."

Instrumental motivation

The instrumental motivation for the maintenance of the Portuguese language among these families becomes apparent at two levels:

(a) The mothers' worries about their children's professional future as well as about giving their children the option of living in Brazil;

"Speaking more than one language is an advantage in the modern world."

and (b) the need of speaking Portuguese to relatives.

"Half of their family is Brazilian, so it is important that they speak Portuguese."

Level (a) mentioned above, seems to be a parallel to Cohen's (1969 in Banks, 1996: 33) idea that instrumental reasons for ethnicity are economic and political rather than psychological. This belief in the educational and career potential benefits of being bilingual/multilingual, although vague, is shared by the mothers in Mills' (2004:184) study who also mention instrumental motivation at the second level as a reason for maintaining the use of their mother-tongue with their children (p.180).

Level (b) seems to be more related to being aware of the interactional level of instrumental motivation/needs. The children appear to be aware of this interactional need for both Portuguese and English. Two mothers reported their children speaking one language with the adults and another with the children, which shows that the mothers believe that the children look for patterns and feel motivated to use different languages according to the instrumental need of the situation.

The quotes above reflect the description of social identity adopted in this study (*cf.* Chapter 2 section 2.1.1). The mothers' social identity is that part of their self-concept

which derives from their knowledge of their membership in the Brazilian social group together with the values and emotional significance attached to that membership.

7.1.3 Linguistic Factors

The services mostly used by the families where Portuguese is spoken are the ones related to food (food shops, restaurants, bakeries and coffee shops). They also use travel agencies and the consulate services a reasonable amount. All the other services offered by *Leros*[9] are very restrictedly used by this group of mothers. In spite of this limited exposure to Portuguese in the Brazilian community, all the children are reported to understand both Portuguese and English.

The children's exposure to Portuguese tends to be greater in their households. As reported in the semi-structured interviews, two mothers mostly speak English to the children, three speak only Portuguese and four mix Portuguese and English. Just one father does not speak English to the children.

In addition to the language used in the household, Modood *et al.* (1997: 16) states that religion is one of the important defining characteristics for some minorities. This position seems to be seconded by other researchers who see ethnicity as a result from shared activities such as religion (*e.g.* Fishman 1989, Joseph 2004). However, it does not seem to be the case for this group of Brazilian mothers. Only one family goes to church or attend any religious ritual. Thus, it seems that the language used in religion is not very relevant for this group.

The language used by the children in an educational context, the CLS, is explored through participant observations and reported in detail in Chapter 9. For now, it suffices to know that two children have been at the CLS since it opened in 1997, eight started attending these Portuguese lessons in September 1999 and two in September 2000.

[9] A magazine written and published in London for the Brazilian community, *Leros* was used as a reference for the services listed in the interview schedule for the semi-structured interviews (see Chapter 1 section 1.1.1, Chapter 5 section 5.1.1 and Appendix 2).

In this section, I covered the social, cultural and linguistic factors that may be affecting the maintenance of the Portuguese language among a group of Brazilian mothers and their children. These factors help in drawing a profile of the families participating in this research and lead to further questions into the role of identity in their language choices. Therefore, in the next section, I present a description of the way the mothers of three of the children participating in this study, the focal[10] children[11], self-identify.

7.2 THREE BRAZILIAN MOTHERS[12]

As mentioned in Chapter 1 section 1.3, I decided to work with the families where the mother is Brazilian and the father is of any other nationality because they represent the majority of the families whose children attend the CLS lessons. There were nine mothers linked to the CLS participating in this study and the data above relate to them as a group. In this section, I focus on the data[13] provided by the mothers of three children. These focal children (and their mothers) were selected based on the fact that they were the ones attending the CLS for the longest period of time.

The analysis in this section follows the theoretical discussion about the links between language and identity in Chapter 2, where identity is considered an important issue when communities come in contact. I argued that sociopsychological and post-structuralist approaches be used as complementary paradigms in the understanding of language and identity issues. Thus, as explained in Chapter 5, I designed activities that would give me information about the ways these Brazilian mothers relate to the English society by applying the types of minorities advocated by Tajfel (1978). Tajfel's description of these types of minorities were matched to the terminology used by Hannerz (2000), which are (1) going "native", (2) remaining "tourists" or, (3) becoming "cosmopolitans". The minority group members who wish to go "native" are the ones who expect to be able to assimilate into the majority group. The "tourists" are the members who are against

[10]The term 'focal children' is here used to describe the children who are the centre of my analysis as done by Elaine Day (2002) in her book entitled *Identity and the Young English Language Learner*, as explained in Chapter 4 section 4.4.
[11] The focal children were selected based on the length of time they had been attending the CLS. The ones attending the CLS for the longest time were the ones selected to be the focus of my analysis. Also see Appendix 1 Table 1 for the participants' movements between the CLS and the non-CLS groups.
[12] The other six mothers whose children attended the CLS for a period of time in their lives are described in section 7.3 below.
[13] Please note that some of the data collected are presented in general terms in order to make the identification of the participants impossible.

assimilation and therefore maintain superficial contacts with the local culture. "Cosmopolitans" are individuals who manage to participate in the majority group without being readily identified as not belonging due to their involvement with a plurality of different cultures. Furthermore, Block (2002)'s subdivision of cosmopolitans into "early cosmopolitans" (who immigrate as children) and "expatriate cosmopolitans" (adults who spend a long period of time abroad) are also applied. Considering identity to be multiple and changeable (Norton, 2000), I proposed a continuum to interpret these types of self-identification based on intergroup relations (*cf.* Chapter 2 section 2.3.3).

In other words, I use the four types of identification as general descriptions of how the mothers self-identify and consider that these identifications might change in the direction of either extreme of the identity continuum. The changes in identification result from the interaction between the inherited characteristics (paternity), the acquired characteristics (patrimony) and the feelings and meanings attached to these characteristics by the individuals (phenomenology) according to the different social situations in which the mothers are involved (*cf.* Chapter 2 section 2.3.2 and Fishman, 1989 for more details about this sociolinguistic perspective on the relationship between language and ethnicity). It means that I select a general term to refer to these mothers based on the social profiles they provided in the semi-structured and in the focus interviews, despite being aware that their identities might vary according to social contexts.

7.2.1 Dorotéa[14], a "tourist"

Dorotéa moved to England in the 80s due to her job. She was already an adult but did not speak English at all. She spent a couple of years in London working with a group of Brazilians and then decided to establish herself in the UK.

Dorotéa found it difficult to pinpoint what makes her Brazilian. All she could refer to was the fact of feeling Brazilian. Dorotéa's difficulties in talking about her own ethnicity could be a result of her lack of involvement with the majority society. In spite of living in a country other than the one she is originally from, Dorotéa does not participate in the

[14] All the names in this thesis have been changed to protect the participants' real identities.

majority society. She works, lives and socializes with Brazilians. Speaking her mother tongue is referred to as important.

> *'Eu cresci no Brasil, né, entao eu falo Português desde pequena. Falar Português é importante porque é a minha língua.'*[15]
>
> [*I grew up in Brazil, so I speak Portuguese since I was little. Speaking Portuguese is important because it is my language.*]

Dorotéa has emotional links to Brazilian Portuguese and instrumental links to English. According to Dorotéa, she only uses English in situations she has no other choice, such as going to the GP and dealing with her daughter's school.

She never studied English formally but she manages to live in English society and to communicate her ideas whenever necessary. She reports having a strong Brazilian accent but reports using her limited language skills in her favour.

> *'(Eu não evito ter sotaque brasileiro quando falo inglês) Pelo contrário, até às vezes eu tento falar mais pra...assim...pra parecer que eu não sei muito. Dependendo do quê que é. Eu me esforço quando eu vejo que é uma coisa normal, natural. Quando eu vejo que é uma coisa complicada, então eu complico mais o inglês (risos)'*
>
> [(*I don't avoid having a Brazilian accent when I speak English) On the contrary, I sometimes emphasise (my accent) to pretend I can't understand (English) well. It depends on what it is. I make an effort (to speak English) when I see it is something normal, natural. If I see it is something complicated, I make my English even more complicated. (laughs)*]

Despite not making an effort to improve her own language skills, Dorotéa is proud of her daughter's bilingual skills.

[15] As this section discusses the links between language and identity from the participants' perspectives, all the quotes are here presented in inverted commas as transcribed from the mothers' original utterances. Words in italics were originally uttered in Portuguese. They are then followed by their translation in English, which are shown in between square brackets. Words in brackets are explanations which I added.

Her involvement with the local society is only at an instrumental level, such as being aware of what the local law expects from its citizens.

> *'Você tem que seguir o costume do local onde você vive, senão as coisas não funcionam'*
>
> [*You have to follow the local customs, otherwise things do not work.*]

She does not relate to English people and consciously avoids any involvement with them.

> *'Eu sei que eles são reservados, Então nem me aproximo.'*
>
> [*I know they are reserved people so I do not get close.*]

Instead, she is proud of having Brazilian ways of doing things reflected in her daily life. She especially mentions food and clothes.

In sum, Dorotéa fits Hannerz (2000:106) description of a labour migrant:

> 'For them going away may be, ideally, home plus higher income; often the involvement with another culture is not a fringe benefit but a necessary cost, to be kept as low as possible. A surrogate home is again created with the help of compatriots, in whose circle one becomes encapsulated.'

Like the "tourists", the labour migrants 'travel for the purpose of "home plus"' (Hannerz, 2000:104-5). Both the "tourists" and the labour migrants have limited experiences in the majority society.

Dorotéa has had limited access to education and to financial resources in Brazil. Therefore, she does not consider returning to live in Brazil since she manages to have access to a better lifestyle in London, and most importantly, she can offer this better lifestyle to her child. However, her relationship with the English society is one which tends towards the "tourist" extreme of the identity continuum. Dorotéa reports to experience a superficial contact with the local culture. According to Hannerz (2000:105), this limitation does not only happen by choice.

> 'Tourists are not participants...Even if they want to become involved and in this sense have a cosmopolitan orientation, tourists are assumed to be incompetent' (*ibid.)*

Thus, Dorotéa reports using Portuguese with her child as a consequence of her identity as Brazilian.

7.2.2 Durvalina, an "expatriate cosmopolitan"

In contrast to Dorotéa, Durvalina creates a deeper relationship with the English society. According to Block's (2002) description, Durvalina tends toward the left centre of the identity continuum and could be described as an "expatriate cosmopolitan". "Expatriate cosmopolitans" are adults with three characteristics: (1) they have chosen to live abroad for an extended period of time; (2) they know that whenever they want, they can return home; and (3) they have chosen to immerse themselves to a significant extent in their new cultural environment (*ibid.*:3).

Durvalina moved to England in the 90s to study English, met the man who became her husband and stayed. She refers to feeling Brazilian and mentions being born and raised in Brazil as markers of her ethnicity. For her, the importance of these two objective criteria is the fact that they influenced her in a subjective way.

> *'Vivi a maior parte da minha vida lá, amigos. Nascer, crescer, aprendi o que é a vida, o que é o mundo. Tenho olhares de brasileiro. Sou fruto do meu espaço geográfico. Fiz parte daquilo, sou aquilo.'*
>
> [*I spent most of my life there (in Brazil), friends. I was born there, grew up there, learnt what life is about and what the world is like there. I see things from a Brazilian perspective. I am a result of my geographic space. I was part of that, I am that.*]

According to Durvalina, this subjective influence of being born in Brazil is reflected on her as a whole.

> *'A maneira como eu ando. Tem todo um conjunto que descreve que você é brasileiro. Todo mundo sabe. '*

> [*The way I walk. There is a group of things that describes someone as Brazilian. Everybody knows.*]

However, she is aware that her behaviour does not fit the stereotyped image of a Brazilian. She does not like sunbathing, carnival nor regional music. It is her daily experiences of growing up in Brazil that make her feel Brazilian.

> *'Eu me acho brasileiríssima, mas não me encaixo no estereótipo do brasileiro...Eu me sinto brasileira por causa da minha raiz. Meu vínculo é de raiz. Eu sou uma árvore que tá passeando, mas minha raiz tá la, acidentalmente.'*
>
> [*I feel extremely Brazilian, but I don't fit the Brazilian stereotype...I feel Brazilian because of my roots. My attachment (to Brazil) is my roots. I am a tree being transported but my roots are in Brazil, by chance.*]

As commented by Ang (2001:151), identities are constructed and are always in process. However, they tend to be referred to as natural and essential by people when referring to their experiences. Durvalina, in the quotation above, suggests that her identity was socially constructed through her experiences of growing up in Brazil. She is aware that this feeling would be different had she grown up somewhere else. Still, it feels natural to identify with her roots.

This mother also reports being proud of her Brazilian background but the only effort she makes to be involved in the Brazilian community is taking her child to the CLS, as mentioned in section 7.1.2 above. This connection with the CLS has also enabled Durvalina to create strong links with other Brazilians who attend the CLS and extend their relationships to other contexts.

Like the other mothers, Durvalina does not believe it is possible to disguise the Brazilian accent so she does not avoid it. However, she avoids any of the Brazilian features she considers negative and considers it important to be part of the English society. This is the 'kind of cosmopolitanism where the individual picks from other cultures only those pieces which suit [them]' (Hannerz, 2000:103). This importance in being part of the

English society for Durvalina is related to her son being English. Although she wants her son to speak Portuguese and to know things about Brazil, she is aware that his experience in England will influence him differently. Thus, in the same way she wants him to be aware of her reality as a Brazilian person; she wants to be part of her son's life by being involved with the society where he is growing up.

> *'Essa importância é porque meu filho é inglês. Ele não tem a raiz brasileira que eu tenho. Para ele, a realidade dele é inglesa. É importante a gente fazer parte da sociedade inglesa porque é isso que ele conhece.'*
>
> [*It is important because my son is English. He doesn't have the Brazilian roots that I have. For him, his reality is English. It is important to be part of the English society because this is what he knows.*]

Although referring to being part of the English society in the quote above, Durvalina differentiates this participation from integration. In her view, integration would entail replacing her Brazilian identity by an identity as English, of which she disapproves. These mixed messages about integration could also be a result of what Block (2002:3) calls a 'critical experience'. Block believes that both types of "cosmopolitans", "early" and "expatriates", experience a destabilizaton of their self-identities when in contact with a new culture. The "expatriate cosmopolitans" in this study recognise that the local community influences them and that they have to adapt and do certain things in a different way. It is an integration that happens in consequence of their children mainly. So they acquire some characteristics from the majority society but they still feel as being and behaving as Brazilians. The 'otherness' reinforces their Brazilian identity. One difference between the "expatriate cosmopolitan" women in this study and the Taiwanese one in Block's study is their age. The Taiwanese woman lived in England when she was 18 whereas the Brazilian women all came to England in their mid-twenties. Having said that, they have all 'accommodated a different way of living but have not given up their own home culture' (Block, 2002), in other words, they have all acquired a "hybrid" identity.

This "hybridity" is mentioned by one of the mothers, Durvalina, as the feeling of being a replanted tree whose roots were once in Brazil. A similar metaphor was used by Tu Wei-ming (1994 in Ang, 2001:45) in his collection *The Living Tree: The Changing Meaning of Being Chinese Today.* However, Ang (*ibid.*) considers the metaphor of the living tree naïve in describing cultural China.

> '...A living tree grows and changes over time; it constantly develops new branches and stems that shoot outward, in different directions, from the solid core of the tree trunk, which in turn feeds itself on an invisible but life-sustaining set of roots. Without roots, there would be no life, no new leaves. The metaphor of the living tree dramatically imparts the ultimate existential dependence of the periphery on the centre, the diaspora on the homeland. Furthermore, what this metaphor emphasizes is continuity over discontinuity: in the end, it all flows back to the roots.' (Ang, 2001:44)

Clifford (1997:269 in Ang, 2001:45) also disregards the metaphor of the living tree as adequate to describe diasporas:

> 'The centering of diasporas around an axis of origin and return overrides the specific local interactions (identifications and ruptures, both constructive and defensive) necessary for the maintenance of diasporic social forms. The empowering paradox of diaspora is that dwelling *here*. But *there* is not necessarily a single place or an exclusivist nation.'

I would like to point out that the metaphor used by the "expatriate cosmopolitan" mother differs slightly from the one used by Tu Wei-ming (*op.cit.*). The metaphor here proposed is of a tree which grew and formed its solid trunk through roots which were fed and made strong in Brazil. The tree, together with its roots, has been replanted in England. It is in England that it changes and develops new branches. There is a dependence of the periphery on the centre indeed. However, the centre is not *there* anymore. The centre is a result of the interaction between the roots which were made strong *there* and the soil *here* that enables to keep the tree alive and continue to grow. This interaction between *there* and *here* takes place in all the families in this study, however, in different degrees and involving different aspects. The one aspect they all have in common is the fact that they all have children either born and/or being raised in England. The other main aspects influencing the self-identity of the women in this study and their relationship with their mother tongue are their emotional ties with Brazil.

Aparecida, an "early cosmopolitan" mother, refers to how her negative emotional ties with Brazil have led her to choose to speak English with her children.

7.2.3 Aparecida

Aparecida tends towards the centre right of the identity continuum, and could be described as an "early cosmopolitan" (see Block, 2002). It means she moved from Brazil to England as a child in the 80s. She moved with her family without speaking English at all but adapted to the new country, language and habits. Aparecida feels Brazilian in consequence of the way she believes a family should function and how she relates to children and animals.

> *'Isso eu me sinto brasileira...A avó tem que marcar hora para a criança. E a história dos animais. Para os ingleses, pessoas são menos importantes que bicho.'*
>
> [*In this aspect, I feel Brazilian...The grandmother (in England) arranges appointments to see the children. And the animals. For English people, people are less important than animals.*]
>
> *'O inglês é muito compartimentalizado. Esse lance de família, eu não entendo. Eu não entendo porque criança não pode sair no restaurante, porque não pode levar criança aqui e ali e não sei mais aonde.'*
>
> [*English people are very compartimentalized. This thing with family, I don't understand. I don't understand why children cannot go to restaurants, why children cannot be taken here, there and whereelse.*]

In confirmation of Padilla's (2001) statement, Aparecida has her feelings of being Brazilian reinforced by comparing her behaviour to what is considered English behaviour. Being aware that some of the English behaviour is different from the way she behaves, she likes telling people she is Brazilian. This way, the difference is dealt with in an explicit way.

> *'Eu quero que as pessoas saibam. Muitas vezes eu passo por inglesa...Perai, deixa eu só falar para você o quê que eu sou!'*

[*I want people to know. Many times I am taken for English... "Hold on, let me tell you what I am".*]

Although Hannerz (2000:105) states that cosmopolitans do not want to be too readily identified within locals, Aparecida seems to need to remind herself and others that although she has embraced the English culture, she 'know[s] where the exit is' (Hannerz 2000:103). She is taken for English due to her physical appearance and also due to her English being as good as a native speaker's. There are three contributing factors to her native like English. She moved to this country at a young age and was exposed to a lot of English as her house was the only place she would speak Portuguese. As mentioned in Chapter 1 section 1.1.1, the Brazilian immigration started in the 80s but were not in big numbers then. It meant that Aparecida only met other Brazilians in England as an adult. In addition, Aparecida 's mother had a negative attitude towards Brazilians. She was the fourth generation of European immigrants in Brazil and still felt anything European was better than being Brazilian. This feeling led Aparecida 's mother to expect their children to speak perfect English and not try to seek for the other Brazilian newcomers in England.

Aparecida does not report to having problems adapting to the new society and language when she first arrived in England. She remembers making an effort to speak good English due to pressures experienced from her mother as explained above. The fact that her mother was geared to being European and trying to avoid her Brazilian roots, seems to have made Aparecida at ease growing up in England.

The complexity of Aparecida 's situation, plus the fact that her family faced many emotional problems in relating to each other, made Aparecida more comfortable dealing with her emotions in English. This is one of her explanations for choosing to speak English to her own children. Aparecida 's case seems to exemplify Tannenbaum & Howie's (2002) findings on the association between language maintenance and family relations. They (*ibid.*:408) found that Chinese immigrant children in Australia were more likely to use their parents' mother tongue when they perceived their families to be cohesive and when they had fewer negatively loaded emotions associated with

their parents. This explanation, however, did not stop Aparecida from feeling guilty about not using her mother tongue when addressing her children. Like the mothers in Mills' (2004) study, Aparecida seems to believe that 'good mothering involves fostering the mother tongue' (p.187) among other cultural values. Being 'unable to find the time and resources to support the mother tongue, they feel that they failed as good mothers' (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004:14). This guilt has led Aparecida to get involved with the CLS in order to ensure her children would be able to speak Portuguese.

> *'Acho que o quê a minha mãe fez foi errado. Eu quero que meus filhos falem Português, mas não consigo. Acho que é por isso que me envolvi (com a escola).'*
>
> [*I think that what my mother did was wrong. I want my children to be able to speak Portuguese, but I don't manage (to communicate with them in Portuguese). I think that's why I got involved (with the Community Language school).*]

Aparecida also reports to having a network of Brazilian friends. This situation could be the result of the increase in the number of Brazilians immigrating to England where 100,000 of them are believed to be in London alone as mentioned in Chapter 1 section 1.1.1. Although Aparecida reports these ties were created naturally, she seems to be more involved with Brazilian organisations than all the other mothers participating in this research. Despite all her involvement with the Brazilian community in London, Aparecida refers to having a "hybrid" identity as shown below.

> *'Eu também me sinto inglesa, mas eu não me sinto nem totalmente brasileira nem totalmente inglesa.'*
>
> [*I also feel English but I don't feel totally Brazilian neither totally English.*]

Furthermore, Aparecida is proud of being Brazilian and wants to reinforce this aspect of her "hybrid" identity by telling others she is Brazilian.

> *'Dizer que sou brasileira mostra o orgulho de ser o que você é.'*

[*Saying I am Brazilian shows the pride of being what you are.*]

Aparecida also refers to two moments when she is uncomfortable with her "hybrid" identity. One is when other Brazilians see her as English. She reports it happens due to her reserved behaviour at times and also for, according to her, having some English accent when speaking Portuguese, especially over the phone. Having her own community seeing her as different makes her feel somewhat excluded and out of place. The other moment is when she feels guilty about not speaking Portuguese with her children, as mentioned above.

According to Ang (2001:16), this unsettled feeling experienced by Aparecida is a result of the concept of "hybridity" itself.

> '"hybridity" is a concept which confronts and problematizes all these boundaries, of the frontier, the border, the contact zone. As such, "hybridity" always implies a blurring or at least a problematizing of boundaries, and as a result, an unsettling of identities.'

Despite these unsettling feelings, Aparecida reports being proud of her background and rejecting the Brazilians who try to pass into the English society by denying who they are.

'Não acho que seja possível totalmente se integrar a sociedade. Integrar, esquecer o lado brasileiro por achar que inglês é melhor. Isso é errado. Deixar de ser quem você é para ser parte de uma sociedade...isso já não acho certo.'

[*I don't think it is possible to totally integrate into a society. To integrate, to forget your Brazilian side because you consider English better. This is wrong. Give up being who you are to be part of a society...this I don't consider right.*]

However, she recognizes it is possible to get involved with the majority society without losing sight of who you are, an experience she lived herself.

'O fato de você estar se envolvendo não nega a sua própria identidade, eu acho.'

[*Being involved does not deny your own identity, I don't think.*]

She even believes it is important to get involved with the society of the place where one lives.

> *'Acho importante se envolver, sim, saber quem é o seu* MP, *saber das leis locais, saber o quê acontece onde voce mora. '*
>
> [*I think it is important to be involved (in the local community), know who your* MP *is, know what the local laws are, know what happens where you live*]

Thus, Aparecida seems to fit into Tajfel's (1978) third type of inter-group relations (*cf.* Chapter 2 section 2.1.1): the one that opts to shed some of its cultural, historical, and social differences from the majority while at the same time retaining some of their special characteristics in order to maintain some sense of psychological distinctiveness. It seems that Aparecida 's "hybridity" is expressed at societal level. Aparecida has weak family ties in Brazil thus her societal ties with her country of origin are stronger. She feels Brazilian in terms of societal behaviour in general and of how people should be treated. She is also involved with Brazilian organizations in England. Aparecida, as an "early cosmopolitan" mother, has a "hybrid" identity and although she reports to considering the use of Portuguese relevant to her Brazilian ethnicity, she chooses to use the majority language with her children.

Considering the data provided by Durvalina and Aparecida, it appears that the "cosmopolitan" mothers share the feeling of being replanted trees whose roots were once in Brazil, thus they have "hybrid" identities. However, the fact that as an "expatriate cosmopolitan" Durvalina had her 'trunk' made solid in Brazil looks as if it has led her to have a stronger Brazilian identity and stronger ties with the Brazilian Portuguese language than Aparecida. As a cosmopolitan individual, Durvalina participates in the majority group but she differs from Aparecida, an "early cosmopolitan" mother, who has a weaker emotional connection to using Brazilian Portuguese to communicate with others, especially her children.

As discussed below, these three mothers have shed light to the understanding of the connection between their feelings of identity and language use.

7.3 DISCUSSION

The data presented in this chapter uncover the social, cultural and linguistic factors which may influence the choice a group of Brazilian mothers make about which language to be used with their children. This chapter demonstrates that the group of nine mothers who take their children to a Brazilian CLS is varied in their characteristics. The economic statuses of these families range from working to upper class. Economically and educationally speaking, these families' social backgrounds differ. However, these families are linked to each other by the importance the mothers give to the Brazilian Portuguese language in the construction of their identities, independent of their socio-economic situation. The mothers in this investigation are also connected by their efforts in promoting their mother tongue to their children. The importance of mother tongue maintenance to these Brazilian mothers is consistent with research on mothers of Pakistani heritage (Mills, 2004), where ensuring the maintenance of their languages among their children was related to being a good mother as much as it signalled the identity of belonging to a group and a culture (*cf.* Chapter 2 section 2.2.2). Nevertheless, mothers in both groups face challenges in managing their multiple identities.

In spite of self-identifying as Brazilians, the mothers in this study acknowledge some of their multiple identities and relate to the majority society in a complex and diverse way. Tajfel's (1978) Theory of Social Identity and Block's (2002) analysis of cosmopolitanism provided me with the theoretical background (Chapter 2 section 2.3) with which I was able to understand how the Brazilian mothers interacted with the English society. The focal mothers[16] in this chapter illustrate three possible ways of inter-group interaction types in the identity continuum. Dorotéa appears to relate to the English society in a way which tends to the "tourist" extreme of the continuum. In other words, she does not participate in the local society except for issues related to her

[16] As explained in 7.2, the focal mothers were selected based on the fact that their children were the ones attending the CLS for the longest period of time.

daughter. Her social and economic links are with the Brazilian community in London. She self-identifies as Brazilian and claims to only speak Portuguese to her daughter. Durvalina also self-identifies as Brazilian but relates to the local society in a different way to Dorotéa. Durvalina reports to select characteristics which she considers positive from both the minority and the majority societies, which leads her to be placed towards the "expatriate cosmopolitan" type in the identity continuum. Although still emotionally linked to her Brazilian roots, Durvalina claims to speak both Portuguese and English with her son. Aparecida, on the other hand, has stronger emotional links to the English society than Dorotéa and Durvalina. In contrast to the other two mothers, Aparecida grew up in England and culturally experienced English life from a young age, which leads her to be placed towards the "early cosmopolitan" type in the identity continuum. Like Durvalina, Aparecida has a "hybrid" identity; however, the boundaries between her Brazilian and her English identities are more blurred, especially emotionally speaking. In addition, Aparecida is the only focal mother to claim to only speak English to her children.

Consistent with the socio-psychological view of identity, the data in this chapter showed that the Brazilian mothers initially referred to their identity as unitary. However, following Cohen (1994), I probed into these mothers' personal level of reconstruction of their ethnic identity and perceived how moving to England affected the unitary view these mothers had of their identity as Brazilians. Durvalina and Aparecida acknowledge that their experiences in the English society have changed them as well as equipped them with multiple facets to their identities. In accordance to Weedon's (1988) Theory of Subjectivity (*cf.* Chapter 2), these two mothers refer to the multiplicity and changeability of their identities depending on time and space. Dorotéa however does not appear to have her Brazilian identity affected when in contact with the English society and does not refer to these issues of identity in the interviews. For further understanding of the multiplicity of Dorotéa's identity, I refer to her experiences through the language choices she makes when interacting with her daughter as reported in Chapter 9.

The other six mothers whose children attended the CLS lessons for a period of time in their lives can be analysed under the same three possible ways of inter-group interaction. Carmélia, like Dorotéa, tends towards the "tourist" type in the identity continuum in the sense that she does not make an effort to be involved in the English society. In spite of initially coming to England to study, Carmélia becomes a labour migrant in the way she relates to the majority group. England to her now equals "home plus higher income" (Hannerz, 1996:106). Her involvement with the local culture surrounds her work, her children's school and her housing association. These are three activities which have daily impact on her life. She does not show any 'willingness to engage with the Other' (Hannerz, 1996:103). Having said that, she has more involvement with the local community than Dorotéa. While Dorotéa works in a Brazilian organization with Brazilians, Carmélia is in touch with other members of the local society through work. In addition, she reports having an active involvement with her housing association. Furthermore, she communicates to her husband in English, who is culturally different from the majority society. However, her only involvement with the Brazilian community is through the CLS. It is through her talks with her children that her Brazilianess is part of her daily life. Carmélia also believes she expresses herself better in Portuguese, but as shown in Chapter 11, her use of Portuguese with her children seems to be limited to giving instructions.

Efigênia, Lindalva and Rogéria self-identify in a similar way to Durvalina, towards the "expatriate cosmopolitan" type in the identity continuum. Efigênia is one of the few participants who reports making an effort to be involved with the Brazilian community in London. She consciously made this decision because she realised her son started to lose his Portuguese when he entered school. Efigênia reports that the fact that her son does not speak Portuguese makes her feel distant from him. She believes that being able to speak a language enables you to understand the culture that goes with it. Furthermore, Efigênia believes the language used in her family will affect their relationship. Thus, her efforts of being involved in the Brazilian community and the CLS to offer her son more opportunities to learn her first language. In spite of her efforts to be involved with the Brazilian community in London, Efigênia also considers it important to be part of the

English society and does not avoid being influenced by it. Efigênia believes it is possible to integrate and still be Brazilian.

Lindalva is another mother who believes that it is possible to integrate into the English society and to continue to be Brazilian. She describes integration as

> *'Being able to experience your daily life without attrition with the culture where one lives and preserving one's own culture'*[17]

However, Lindalva had difficulties pinpointing markers of her Brazilian ethnicity, an illustration of the fact that ethnicity is an unconscious process, therefore, difficult to be brought to surface.

> *'I can't do it. I consider myself Brazilian to the end of times. I don't think there is a defined race in Brazil. Brazil is a beautiful country because it is mixed. I can't compare myself with another people. I'm Brazilian.'*

Further to feeling Brazilian, Lindalva refers to behavioural issues as markers of her ethnicity. She mentions kissing people on the cheeks when greeting them, having close family links as well as connections with Brazil, having a calm life style, and the role food plays in the Brazilian social life.

Rogéria also mentions behavioural characteristics as markers of her Brazilian ethnicity such as her way of relating to her children and friends.

> *'I'm extremely caring and tactile . I cook for my kids and spoon feed them. I cuddle them a lot.'*

> *'My house is always open to visitors. The other day a friend of my son's said, 'It is only your house that we are invited to eat. Your mum always has food for us'.'*

[17] Although all the focus interviews were conducted in Portuguese, due to space constraints, I only present the translated versions of all the quotes in section 7.3.

Rogéria recognises it is difficult not to be influenced by the local community. There is a need of being aware of how the majority group behaves in order to carry out your daily tasks.

> *'It is impossible not to be influenced by the English culture, the way we should behave on a bus, at the cinema, in a restaurant.'*

Furthermore, Rogéria, like Efigênia, reports that being able to speak Portuguese to her children is emotionally important for her. Her children are an extension of her and speaking Portuguese is part of her.

Raimunda and Túlia, two mothers whose self-identity tends towards the "early cosmopolitan" type in the identity continuum, had different experiences in growing up in a foreign country and the way they relate to the Portuguese language. Raimunda grew up in a bilingual environment where she would speak Portuguese to her family and another language to the other people in her social network. Therefore, she considers it to be important to raise her children with the same language pattern because of her ethnicity as a Brazilian person. She reports having kept her Brazilian ethnicity due to her mother's efforts of passing it on to her.

> *'If I were totally XXXX[18], I wouldn't be the way I am. This pride in being Brazilian comes from my mum. I am like this because of my mother.'*

Raimunda refers to the fact of being born in Brazil and speaking Portuguese as markers of her ethnicity, however she does not consider them the most important ones. She refers to the way she sees the world as well as the way she behaves and her identification with the Brazilian culture as inheritances from her mother.

Túlia also refers to the importance of her mother to her links with the Brazilian culture.

[18] Nationality hidden due to confidentiality issues.

> *'My mother has a great influence in my life. I speak to her on the phone everyday and we see each other once a week. She is the one who has led me to enrol my children in Portuguese lessons and the one who makes an effort to speak to them in Portuguese.'*

Like Raimunda, Túlia also refers to behaviour when describing her 'Brazilianness' such as her experiences in Brazil during her childhood and a way of relating to her family such as the closeness between the family members and the family's presence in her daily life. However, it seems Túlia's experiences in the majority society have led her to value being able to speak 'proper' English in order to be accepted.

> *'I tried to speak exactly how I heard it...When I said something wrong, people would laugh at me. So I'd think "Hmm, I have to speak correctly".'*

Túlia's learning of English seems to be full of emotional baggage. She met her husband when she first arrived in England and learned English as their relationship developed. They only speak English to each other and, although reporting to speak some Portuguese to her children, Túlia's recordings at home show that only English is used in their household. Having said that, the children are exposed to Brazilian culture through music and art.

All the nine[19] Brazilian women in this chapter have in common the fact that they were born in Brazil and speak Portuguese as their first language. They are all in exogamous relationships and have children who they are raising in England. Nevertheless, the way they describe and experience their ethnic identities vary, as expected by Hannerz (1996:102):

> 'There is now a world culture, but we had better make sure we understand what this means: not a replication of uniformity but an organization of diversity, an increasing interconnectedness of varied local cultures, as well as a development of cultures without a clear anchorage in any one territory. And to this interconnected diversity people can relate in different ways.'

[19] As explained above, 'nine mothers' refer to the three focal mothers and the other six mothers whose children attended the CLS lessons for a period of time in their lives. As shown in Table 1 Appendix 1 and explained in Chapter 1 section 1.3, thirteen families in total participated in this study. However, the other four mothers had children who never attended the CLS and were left out of this analysis due to space constraints.

7.4 SUMMARY

All in all, the data in this chapter suggest that the three focal Brazilian mothers connect their ethnic identity to the Brazilian Portuguese language. Therefore, they make efforts in exposing their children to the use of Brazilian Portuguese, be it via their own use of the language, their community ties, and their contact with their homeland and/or the CLS. Contact with homeland appears to be important with regard to their choice of speaking Portuguese. The mothers report on the positive impact of the trips to Brazil to their children's use of Portuguese. I also witnessed this impact over the 13 months of data collection. The mothers also reported on their links with the Brazilian community in London. Similarly, the community network seems to reinforce the mothers' effort to pass on their language.

These women's sense of identity appears to influence their language attitudes to their own mother tongue (Brazilian Portuguese) and the local language (British English), as well as the language in which they choose to interact with their children. How does the mothers' self-identification impact on their children's self-identity and use of Portuguese? I expect that the more the mothers tend towards the "tourist" type in the identity continuum, the more Brazilian the children will feel and the more Portuguese they will speak. I also expect the children to feel and speak more English in the cases where the mothers tend towards the "native" type in the identity continuum. Is it a realistic expectation? Are the children's identities influenced by their mothers? Are the children's attitudes to the Portuguese and the English languages influenced by their own sense of identity? How do the children feel in relation to their identities? These are the issues covered in the next chapter.

CHAPTER EIGHT
"WE ARE THE LANGUAGES WE SPEAK": THE SELF-IDENTITY OF A GROUP OF MIXED-HERITAGE CHILDREN

As mentioned in Chapter 1, this research covers thirteen case-studies of mixed-heritage families[1] and examines their children's sense of ethnicity, language attitudes to both Brazilian Portuguese and English, and language choice. In Chapter 7, I looked at how these children's mother self-identify in relation to the majority group, the English society. The present chapter focuses on the children and tries to answer the questions posed in Chapter 4 section 4.3:

- How do the children define their own ethnicity?
- How does the children's sense of ethnicity affect their language attitudes?
- What is the link between the children's language attitudes and language use?

In this chapter I also look at the connection of the children's views on ethnicity and on the use of the Portuguese language to the ones expressed by their mothers.

8.1 A GROUP OF MIXED-HERITAGE CHILDREN

As explained in Chapter 7 section 7.2, I focus the discussion of this thesis on the data provided by the three children who were attending the CLS for the longest period of time. Drawing a parallel between the focal[2] children and their mothers, the children are presented in the same order in which their mothers were presented in the previous chapter: Josefa, daughter of a "tourist" mother (8.1.1), Benedito, son of an "expatriate cosmopolitan" (8.1.2) and, Antônio, son of an "early cosmopolitan" (8.1.3).

As shown in Chapter 4, the research methodology, the 'focus interviews' used with the mothers were adapted to be used with the children and changed into 'playful interviews'. The adaptation was necessary in order to draw a parallel between the data both groups

[1] See Table 1 Appendix 1.

[2] The term 'focal children' is here used to describe the children who are the centre of my analysis as done by Elaine Day (2002) in her book entitled *Identity and the Young English Language Learner*, as explained in Chapter 4 section 4.4.

provided. Thus I present below the children's position in relation to (1) personal constructs about "race" and (2) ethnicity, (3) their attitudes towards Portuguese and English, (4) their self-identity, (5) their language choice, (6) the domains where they speak the different languages in their repertoire, and (7) their attitudes to the Community Language School (CLS).

8.1.1 Josefa, daughter of a "tourist"[3] mother

Josefa is the daughter of Dorotéa, one of the two mothers who take their children to the CLS and whose self-identity tends towards the "tourist" end of the identity continuum. Josefa lives with her mother and a Brazilian relative. It means that the language used in the household is Brazilian Portuguese. Josefa is a 6 year-old[4] child who was born in London where she is being raised. However, she travels to Brazil once a year to visit her relatives. She is orally fluent in both Portuguese and English.

She also reads and writes in both languages, however, her literacy skills are better in English. She started attending the CLS when it first opened in 1997. Josefa has friends who speak Portuguese in and out of the CLS. She speaks Portuguese to adults and goes to Brazilian cultural events once a term/semester[5]. She reads comic books and children's books in Portuguese. She also knows rhymes and Brazilian songs.

Having presented a profile of Josefa as pictured by her mother during the semi-structured interviews, I now discuss the data provided by Josefa herself during the playful interviews. Milner (1983) says that as early as three-and-a-half years old children are able to use "race" as a construct by describing skin colours and attributing values to them. So I turn to the examination of Josefa's personal "race" constructs.

[3] Note that the discussions in Chapters 2 and 7 establish that I view identity as multiple and changeable. The classification of the mothers' self-identities as "tourists", "early cosmopolitans" and "expatriate cosmopolitans" are used in order to flag the possible variety in one's positioning in relation to the two ends of the identity continuum I proposed (*cf.* Chapter 2 section 2.3.2).
[4] This age refers to how old Josefa was at the time of the first phase of this study which took place in 2000. The ages may differ from other parts of the discussion due to the fact this study had four phases conducted along 13 months.
[5] The frequency in which the CLS organises cultural events vary from year to year.

(1) Personal Constructs of "race"

Although being able to describe skin colour, Josefa makes no reference to this construct. The constructs of "race" she mentions are hair and eye colour.

> *'Hair down to here...like this...and black...'* [6]

Josefa makes reference to hair when describing all the four pictures. However, she only refers to eye colour when it is blue.

> *'Short hair. Very short. Blue eyes...'* [7]

Josefa has brown eyes and mentions eye colour as a feature only when it is a different colour from hers. It made me think of the possible racism Josefa may have experienced at school for having an olive skin-colour as told by her mother during the focus interviews.

> *'Josefa came home from school one day asking me what colour skin she was. She said, "Mummy, am I tanned?" I told her she could be white as well but if she wanted to be tanned it was okay. It worried me because she was only 4 and I had the impression she was being racist. She started to want to categorise everybody according to their skin colour. I tried to explain to her that it did not matter.'*

According to the extract above, Dorotéa, Josefa's mother, saw her daughter as a white child. This categorisation is a result of having grown up in Brazil where Josefa would have been considered white. This difference in ways of categorising one's colour reinforces the idea that 'race' is a social construct. It was then with surprise that Dorotéa saw Josefa referring to herself as tanned. This also made Dorotéa look at Josefa's experience in school as her being the perpetrator of racism whereas it seems Josefa was imposed the 'tanned' label by the other children in school. Becoming aware of one's minority status through others is pointed out by Ang (2001:37) as a common experience. Ang cites William Yan's (1996:65) example of being a third generation of a Chinese family growing up in Australia.

[6] These are the transcription conventions for the children's interviews: words in italics were said in Portuguese, words in English are in normal font, words in between brackets were added by me to ensure clarity.
[7] Original transcriptions in Portuguese are not presented in this chapter due to space constraints. Instead there is a discussion of language choice in Chapters 9 and 10, where originals in Portuguese are presented.

> "One day, when I was about 6 years old, one of the kids at school called at me 'Ching Chong Chinaman, Born in a jar, Christened in a teapot, Ha ha ha'. I had no idea what he meant although I know from his expression that he was being horrible. I went home to my mother and I said to her, 'Mum. I'm not Chinese, am I?' My mother looked at me very sternly and said, 'Yes, you are'."

Despite the fact that both Yan and Josefa seem to have had an identity imposed on them in consequence of their physical appearances, Josefa did not use constructs of "race" when differentiating Brazilian from English. Instead, she used constructs of ethnicity.

(2) Personal Constructs of Ethnicity

Josefa (J) used objective criteria such as place of birth and language spoken to define Brazilian/English.

R[8]: *How do you know she's Brazilian?*
J: *Because she lives there and she has got a Brazilian passport.*

J: *I have got a boyfriend.*
R: *Is he Brazilian or English?*
J: *He's English.*
R: *How do you know he's English?*
J: *Because he does not speak Brazilian*[9].

According to Hoffman (1985:483), children from the age of 2 years and 10 months can attach language to different speakers. Josefa is aware of this relationship between language and people, which influences her language attitudes.

(3) Language Attitudes

Josefa (J) is aware of the instrumentality of speaking different languages.

R: *Do you like speaking Portuguese to (your XXXX*[10]*)?*
J: *Yes, because if I didn't speak Portuguese to (my XXXX)she wouldn't understand me. And because I stay with her a lot, I speak*

[8] 'R' stands for researcher.
[9] The language spoken in Brazil is Portuguese but it is common for people who do not live there to refer to it as Brazilian language.
[10] Names mentioned by the participants are omitted in respect to their confidentiality.

Portuguese to my mother as well.

Josefa (J) also reports having positive attitudes towards both Portuguese and English.

R: *Do you like speaking Portuguese?*
J: *Yes, a lot, a lot, a lot.*
R: *Do you like speaking English?*
J: *Yes, a lot as well.*
R: *Which one do you speak most?*
J: *Portuguese.*

Although living in England, attending regular school and communicating in English to her father, Josefa reports to speaking more Portuguese than English. Although it sounds contradictory, this situation appears to be a consequence of her mother's tendency to self-identify as a "tourist". Josefa's mother's way of life as a "tourist" probably exposes her to more Portuguese than English in her daily life.

(4) Ethnic Identity

Josefa describes herself as English. It seems to be because she was born here.

R: *Then he (the E.T.) asks, 'Josefa, where are you from?'*
J: *I'm from England.*

Looking at sections (4) and (2), Josefa seems to think of herself in the same lines as the participant in Alibhai-Brown's (2001) study.

> "A girl who looked white said: 'Sometimes I think of myself as being English and sometimes I think of myself as being more Afr...well kind of African, it depends on the situation a lot. And sometimes I think of myself as neither really, just being like tanned, a tanned British person." (*ibid.*:111)

Josefa and the girl in Alibhai-Brown's study feel English for being born and growing up in England. However, they are aware of the visibility of their minority status. The young girl openly refers to the non-whiteness of their skin colour. Josefa does not do the same during the interview. It seems to be due to their difference in age which would provide

Alibhai-Brown's participant, who is a teenager, with more developed concepts of "race". As explained in sections (2) and (4) above, Josefa uses place of birth and language spoken to define ethnicity. She is also aware of the expectation that being from England means being white and speaking English. Josefa reports she feels English. However, she does not fulfil all the requirements she has set which fit that label. Despite being very clear about where she is from, the language factor seems to confuse Josefa in relation to her ethnicity. In the extract below, Josefa was going to refer to the Portuguese language first but changed her mind. She seems to realise that her answer would go against her own criteria of language spoken reflecting ethnic identity for classifying others.

R: (the E.T. asks) *'Josefa, which languages do you speak?'*
J: (2p) *Por...En-English*
R: (the E.T. asks) *'Do you only speak English?'*
J: *And Portuguese.*

The adoption of objective criteria for defining ethnicity seems to undermine Josefa's positive attitudes towards speaking Portuguese as well as the fact that she has a mother whose self-identity tends towards the "tourist" end of the identity continuum. However, these positive attitudes towards Portuguese seem to influence her language choice.

(5) Language Choice[11]

Josefa chose to speak Portuguese throughout the interview. She also chose Portuguese to be the language I used to address her. I am aware of the fact that Josefa knows me from the CLS which may have influenced her in these choices. This fact indicates that Josefa relates different languages to different people. I examine the recordings of language in use and also how far this connection between language and people are held true in Chapters 9, Language and Identity through Interactions in the CLS, and 10, Language and Identity through Interactions with Family and Friends. Nevertheless, it is already possible to see that Josefa seems to relate language to domains.

[11] Language choice in this chapter refers only to the language the children select for using during the 'playful interviews'. Chapters 9 and 10 examine more closely the actual language choice the children make when interacting with others both at school and with family and friends.

(6) Domains

Language use at home tends to change over time in consequence of specific events (Lamarre & Paredes, 2003:68). In Josefa's case, the language practices in her household were affected by the arrival of a Brazilian relative. As the relative cannot speak English the use of Portuguese was ensured, as explained in the extract below.

R: *So you didn't speak Portuguese to your mother before your XXXX*[12] *started living with you?*
J: *I did but I spoke a bit of English as well.*
R: *And now don't you speak English to your mother?*
J: *No.*

Josefa has a very close relationship with her dad but she did not want to include him in her story. This exclusion looks as a consequence of the fact that Josefa was relating to the activities in the 'playful interview' to the part of her life which evolves around Portuguese and Brazilian culture. Josefa's dad is not part of it as he has always spoken English to her. Josefa's mother reports he does so because he finds Josefa responds more promptly in English.

R: *Are you going to put your dad in this story?*
J: *No.*
R: *Which language do you speak to him?*
J: *English.*
R: *All the time?*
J: *Yes. I speak Portuguese all the time with my mum and I speak English all the time with my dad.*
R: *And what language does he speak to you?*
J: *English.*
R: *Do you like when he speaks in English to you?*
J: *Yes.*
R: *How do you feel when he speaks in Portuguese to you?*
J: *Different.*

Independent of the reasons why Josefa's father chooses to speak to her in English, in spite of being fluent in Portuguese, it has led Josefa to make a connection between people

[12] Relative's description omitted in order to ensure confidentiality to the family.

and language. Josefa's dislike of the breaking of this connection was also referred to by Hoffman (1985) when writing about the language acquisition of trilingual children. Hoffman (*ibid.*:485) describes her son's concern about the language people used to communicate with him and presents an example of his complaint when Hoffman herself selected a different language when talking to somebody else. Like Hoffman's son, Josefa seems to designate the use of different codes to different people and is very careful not to mix them. In the extract below, she does not remember a word in Portuguese but avoids speaking English to me. It is only when I tell her that she can speak English that she does so.

J: *My XXXX*[13] *has a house there (in YYYY*[14]*) and every...I don't know the name...every...*
R: *Every holiday*?
J: *No.*
R: Holidays.
J: *No.*
R: *Speak English. If you don't know, you can speak (English).*
J: *Every* year.
R: *Every year.*
J: *Yes. Every year I go there.*

Josefa also appears to be influenced by the topic of the conversation when choosing languages. Josefa spoke Portuguese throughout the interview but asked to record some information in English.

R: *Where were you born?*
J: *Here in England. Should I write it in Portuguese or English?*
R: *You can choose.*
J: *English.*

As shown, Josefa seems to choose between Portuguese and English languages naturally as the people, domains and topics change. Her bilingualism has been supported by her family and by the CLS.

[13] Reference to type of relationship omitted due to confidentiality issues.
[14] Country omitted due to confidentiality issues.

(7) Attitudes to CLS

Josefa shows positive attitudes to the CLS by choosing to use a heart sticker to refer to it when designing her Time Line[15].

R: *When did you start going to the Brazilian school?*
J: *A long time ago.*
R: *Do you speak Portuguese there?*
J: *Yes.*
R: *Who do you speak Portuguese to there?*
J: *Everybody... So I'm going to put a heart.*

Josefa's interview has shown she is fluent in both English and Portuguese. It seems that there are many factors intertwined in Josefa's establishment of bilingualism. First of all, Josefa's parents used the one parent-one language strategy. In addition, there was the instrumental need of speaking to a member of her family in Portuguese only. Furthermore, Josefa's parents value education very much and consciously invested in her bilingualism. Her CLS attendance is an example of her parents' efforts. Although her father did not speak Portuguese to her, he was supportive of her bilingualism. He would drive her to the CLS and pick her up. He was also proud of her language skills, as reported by Josefa's mother. This scenario ensured Josefa has positive attitudes towards both languages. She also enjoys her contacts with Brazil as well as being part of the Brazilian community in London, interacting in Portuguese and attending the CLS.

Josefa's self-identity, as summarised in Figure 1 below, is influenced by a variety of constructs. She became aware of the relevance of skin colour to Englishness due to her experience as a visible minority. However, Josefa only refers to place of birth and language spoken in order to work out the ethnicity of others. As being born in England clashes with speaking Portuguese, Josefa tries to leave this skill out of her self-identity. As exemplified in section (4) above, this way she validates her feelings of being English which resulted from her emotional attachments to her experience of growing up in

[15] See Chapter 6 section 1.1.1 for an explanation of how drawing their Time Line the children were expected to explain their language choices, language attitudes and sense of identity.

England.

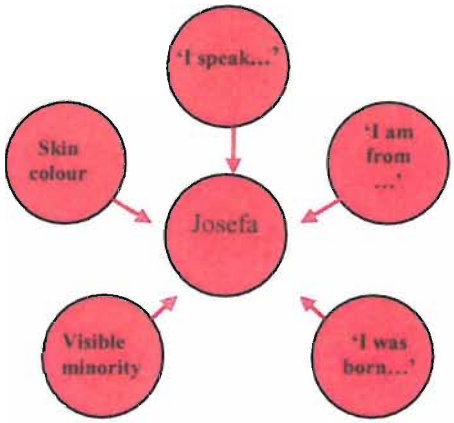


Figure 1 – Josefa's identity constructs

As mentioned in Chapter 1 section 1.1, the difficulty in being categorical about the influences on identity and language is that it is impossible to isolate one factor. Language and identity are influenced by a group of factors which influence each other. In Josefa's case, she has high competence in the languages in her repertoire as well as positive attitudes towards them; however, she seems to focus on the objective criteria of her ethnicity (place of birth and language of higher competence), like her mother.

In agreement with Hoffman's (1985) findings, the more familial and societal support children have, the better their language skills seem to be. As shown in table 2 below, the fact (a) that Josefa is an infant bilingual[16] (acquired both languages simultaneously), (b) that she has regularly attended the CLS since 1997 and also (c) that she is part of a Brazilian social network has empowered her with fluent Portuguese.

Name	**Josefa**
Age	6
Born / raised	London
Speaks	English + Portuguese
Mother spoke to child in Portuguese since	baby
Type of bilingual	infant
Writes	English + Portuguese
Attended CLS	1997-2004
Uses Portuguese out of CLS	Yes
Exposed to Brazilian culture	Yes

Table 2 – Josefa's personal and linguistic information

[16] See McLaughlin (1978 in Hoffman 1985:480) for a detailed discussion on infant and child bilingualism.

All in all, Josefa has positive attitudes towards language in general as a result of being surrounded by an environment where different languages are used by people she likes. This positive attitude seems to be a result of both her parents' ethnicity and attitudes to the languages to which the children are exposed. Differently from her mother, Josefa does not seem to have her language attitudes directly affected by her own sense of ethnicity. In her case, her ethnicity tends to be related to the language she finds easier, uses more often and of which she has better knowledge. It is a match between language of preference and language of dominance.

Josefa's positive language attitude allows her to be exposed to more opportunities to use the languages in her repertoire. How far Josefa actually uses the languages to her presented in these opportunities is discussed in Chapters 9 (Language and Identity through Interactions in the CLS Language) and 10 (Identity through Interactions with Family and Friends).

8.1.2 Benedito, son of an "expatriate mother"[17]

Benedito is a 6 year-old[18] boy who was born and is being raised in London. He understands, speaks, reads and writes both Portuguese and English. Benedito has friends who speak Portuguese at his mainstream school and at the CLS, which he started attending in September 1999. Benedito is used to speaking both Portuguese and English in his household, where it is common to have Brazilians staying for long periods of time. Benedito attends the cultural events organized by the CLS. He has been exposed to rhymes, songs, comic books and books by his mum.

Having presented a personal profile of Benedito as provided by his mother, I discuss how he presents himself in relation to language and identity issues.

[17] Note that the discussions in Chapters 2 and 7 establish that I view identity as multiple and changeable. The classification of the mothers' self-identities as "tourists", "early cosmopolitans" and "expatriate cosmopolitans" are used in order to flag the possible variety in one's positioning in relation to the two ends of the identity continuum I proposed.

[18] This age refers to how old Benedito was at the time of the first phase of this study which took place in 2000. The ages may differ from other parts of the discussion due to the fact this study had four phases conducted along 13 months.

(1) Personal Constructs of "race"

Benedito mentioned hair length, facial features and eye size when describing the pictures in Activity 1[19] of the Playful Interview. However, none of these characteristics can be said to be constructs of "race" in this situation. The characteristics were relevant in answering my question, 'What can you see?' But they were not used by Benedito as differentiators of "race". Benedito does not use any of these physical features to describe Brazilian and English people. Rather he uses constructs of ethnicity.

(2) Personal Constructs of Ethnicity

Although I was speaking Portuguese to Benedito at the time, he refers to remembering the fact that I spoke to him in Portuguese in the past in order to be able to categorise me as Brazilian.

> *'You are Brazilian. I remember you speak Portuguese.'*

Benedito again mentions language spoken as a marker of ethnicity when referring to his drawing of a Brazilian person.

> *'He speaks Brazilian[20].'*

Benedito is fluent and happy to speak Portuguese. However, his language attitudes have not always been the same.

(3) Language Attitudes

As a very young child, Benedito did not like Portuguese that much.

> *'When I was small I didn't know Portuguese and I didn't like when my mum spoke to me in Portuguese.'*

The statement above is related to his ability of performing well in Portuguese, as

[19] In this activity, the Picture Grouping, the children were asked to describe pictures of women in order to allow for an understanding of their constructs of "race". See Chapter 6 section 6.1.1. for a detailed explanation of this activity.
[20] The language spoken in Brazil is Portuguese; however, many of the child participants refer to it as Brazilian at times. In Benedito's case, it could also be related to trying to differentiate between Brazilian Portuguese and European Portuguese, to which he is also greatly exposed as explained later in section (7).

suggested by Benedito himself. As he grows older, he understands Portuguese better and feels more confident in using it.

'When I was 3, I liked it when my mum spoke in Portuguese to me.'

When I first interviewed his mother, in 2000, Benedito had been attending the CLS for a few months only. At that time, he could only sing a couple of songs in Portuguese and had restricted usage of the language. Nevertheless, his mother reported speaking in Portuguese to him all the time. Nowadays, Benedito reports that he enjoys speaking Portuguese. It seems that Benedito's (B) positive attitudes to both languages which are part of his life are a consequence of being surrounded by supportive attitudes to his bilingualism.

R: *But do you prefer speaking Portuguese or English?*
B: *Portuguese.*
R: *Which one do you find easier?*
B: *English. Which one do you find easier?*

Despite having positive language attitudes towards speaking Portuguese, Benedito ethnic identity as an English boy has not been affected.

(4) Ethnic Identity

Benedito self-identifies as English as a result of having been born in England.

R: *Where are you from?*
B: *I'm from...I forgot*
R: Where are you from?[21]
B: England.

R: *How do you know you're English?*
B: *How do I know? Because I was born in England.*

As mentioned by Benedito himself in section (2) above, identity is not only related to

[21] As mentioned earlier, language choice by the children and by the people they interact with are only analysed in Chapters 9 and 10.

place of birth. According to him, there is also a relationship between identity and language spoken. Thus, as Benedito self-identifies as English, he mentions speaking English and only then he refers to being able to speak Portuguese.

'English and Portuguese'

In contrast to Josefa, who avoids referring to her ability of speaking Portuguese when defining her ethnicity, Benedito mentions both languages when defining his, as shown in the extract above. However, like many of the children in this study, Benedito seems to first present the language which reflects his self-identity. Notwithstanding, when questioned about the relationship between the languages in his repertoire, Benedito signals that being able to speak Portuguese does not interfere with his identity as an English person.

R: *I thought you were Brazilian.*
B :(p[22]) *I speak two languages.*
R: *But are you Brazilian or English?*
B: (5p) *I don't know.*
R: *Do you think you're English?*
B: huh-huh
R: *Who told you you're English?*
B: *I think I'm English.*

(5) Language Choice

As shown in the extracts in sections (1) to (4), Benedito chose Portuguese to be the language used by me and by him during the interview. It seems that his selection of languages was based on his knowledge of my background and on the connection between me and the CLS. He used Portuguese as the base language throughout the interview; however, there were occasions when code-switching/mixing took place.

(6) Domains

As explained above, Benedito chooses language according to the domains. He links

[22] Pause

languages to people.

'I speak English to my friends.'

He is aware that different people would be met in the same places leading him to use different languages in the same domain.

'I speak Portuguese to a Portuguese girl at school...She has a Brazilian sister as well.'

(7) Attitudes to CLS

Benedito reports having positive attitudes towards the CLS but does not include it in his Time Line activity.

'I like the Brazilian school but I don't want to put it in my drawing.'

Benedito's interview has shown he is fluent in both English and Portuguese. His bilingualism was established as a consequence of different factors. First of all, Benedito's parents used the one parent-one language strategy. Secondly, there was the instrumental need of speaking Portuguese to the many Brazilians who have lived in his house and who are part of his mother's social networks. In addition, Benedito's mother invested in his formal education in Portuguese and enrolled him in both the European Portuguese and the Brazilian Portuguese community language schools. Furthermore, Benedito's father understands Portuguese and has travelled to Brazil with the family a couple of times, showing acceptance of the Brazilian culture and language. This scenario ensured Benedito has positive attitudes towards both the Portuguese and the English languages. He enjoys his contact with Brazil, interacting in Portuguese and attending the CLS.

Overall, Benedito' self-identification has been influenced by the way his mother self-identifies. As explained in Chapter 7, Durvalina tends towards the "expatriate cosmopolitan" end in the identity continuum in her self-identification. She is aware of the influences of the place where she lives on her life. However, Durvalina feels Brazilian due to being born in Brazil and the experience of growing up there. In the same

way that Durvalina is attached to her place of birth and the language with which she grew up, Benedito, as illustrated in Figure 6 below, is attached to his place of birth and the language which he first learned.

Figure 2 – Benedito's identity constructs

Therefore, Benedito feels English, a feeling which is not threatened by his appearance since he is not a visible minority. In the same way as Josefa, Benedito' ethnicity appears to be related to the language he finds easier, uses more often and of which he has better knowledge. However, due to the familial and societal support Benedito has to his bilingualism (see Table 3 below), he has positive attitudes towards the Portuguese language and the Brazilian culture.

Child's name	**Benedito**
Age	6
Born / raised	London
Speaks	English + Portuguese
Mother spoke to child in Portuguese since	Baby
Bilingual	Infant
Writes	English > Portuguese
Attended CLS	1999-2004
Uses Portuguese out of CLS	Yes
Exposed to Brazilian culture	Yes

Table 3 – Benedito's personal and linguistic information

8.1.3 Antônio, son of an "early cosmopolitan"[23] mother

Antônio is a 9 year-old[24] boy who was born and is being raised in London. Having said that, he lived in Brazil when he was 2-3 year-old, a period in which he attended a nursery school. Antônio understands Portuguese and English orally. He also speaks, reads and writes in both languages. However, English is the only language used in Antônio's

[23] As explained in sections 8.1.1 and 8.1.2, the discussions in Chapters 2 and 7 establish that I view identity as multiple and changeable. The classification of the mothers' self-identities as "tourists", "early cosmopolitans" and "expatriate cosmopolitans" are used in order to flag the possible variety in one's positioning in relation to the two ends of the identity continuum I proposed in Chapter 2 section 2.3.2.

[24] This age refers to how old Antônio was at the time of the first phase of this study which took place in 2000. The ages may differ from other parts of the discussion due to the fact this study had four phases conducted along 13 months.

household.

Antônio started attending the CLS when it first opened in 1997. However, he does not speak Portuguese at home. As explained in Chapter 7 section 7.2.3, it was a choice made by his mother, Aparecida, due to the emotional links she has with English. Nevertheless, Aparecida wants Antônio to learn Portuguese as it is her first language. In addition, Aparecida wants Antônio to appreciate the Brazilian culture and literature. Antônio has friends who speak Portuguese, both Brazilian and European. He goes to cultural events organized by the CLS and visits his mother's Brazilian friends regularly. Antônio has been exposed to Brazilian culture through rhymes, music, children's stories, comic books and books.

Having discussed the personal information about Antônio as presented by his mother, I turn to his own report on issues of identity and language.

(1) Personal Constructs of "race"

The extract below shows that Antônio (A) refers to ethnicity in terms of "race", an awareness which leads him to mention skin and eye colour as important constructs.

R: *Just by looking at them, can you tell me where they are from?*
A: *This is English and this is Brazilian.*
R: *What was the clue that told you that?*
A: *What does it mean?*
R: *What did you see that told you where they are from?*
A: *The hair, the hair colour, and the skin colour.*

Antônio mentions other features of ethnicity besides "race".

(2) Personal Constructs of Ethnicity

Antônio also refers to place of birth and parents' background as constructs of ethnicity.

R: *But how is he (your friend) English if his mother isn't?*
A: *Because his dad is English. He's half English and half Brazilian.*

Antônio's markers of ethnicity are the same ones used by one of the interviewees in Alibahi-Brown's (2001:111) study.

> "Another interviewee said: 'I don't think of myself as black, exactly, I think of myself as half-British, half-Jamaican, though essentially I feel myself to be British because I was born here'."

This young person also refers to their skin colour, their parents' place of origin and their place of birth to define their identity. Their statement, together with Antônio's, not only tell us about the positive "hybridity" of the identity they are adopting but also about the way they play with the different parts that make their identity according to the situation they are in. Furthermore, Antônio not only uses these criteria to define others but also to define himself.

(3) Ethnic Identity

In the extracts below, Antônio self-identifies as "hybrid". He refers to being both English and Brazilian.

R: *What if he (the alien) asks who you are?*
A: *I'm Antônio. I'm 10 years old*[25]*. And I like sports.*

R: *What about if he (the alien) asks where you are from?*
A: *I would say England and Brazil.*
R: *Both? How can you be from two different places at the same time?*
A: *My mum and dad. My mum is Brazilian and my dad is English.*

Having said that, Antônio seems to have more cultural links to his Brazilian ethnicity than to the Portuguese language. Antônio himself mentions inheriting this cultural ethnicity from his parents. However, English is not only his preferred language but also the one he uses more often.

[25] As explained above, there might be a difference in the children's age in the different phases of the research as it was conducted along 13 months. The 'playful interviews' were conducted in 2001.

R: *And what would you say if he (the alien) asks you what language you speak?*
A: *English.*
R: *Only?*
A: *I speak Portuguese.*
R: *But you wouldn't tell him.*
A: *I would but I usually speak English.*

This stronger cultural allegiance to Brazilianness than to the Portuguese language seems to have been passed on to Antônio by his mother who feels in a similar way as explained in Chapter 7 section 7.2.3. His language choice and attitudes appear to be influenced by his mum's own way of choosing her preferred language.

(4) Language Attitudes

Although being fluent in Portuguese and English, Antônio reports liking English more due to finding it easier.

R: *How do you like it?*
A: *I like speaking English.*

R: *How do you like speaking Portuguese?*
A: *I don't know.*
R: *I will not get sad if you say you don't like it. You can say if you like it, if you like it a lot, if you don't like it, if you like it only a bit, I find it difficult. Anything about the way you feel.*
A: *I find it difficult.*

(5) Language Choice

Although having a positive attitude towards Portuguese, Antônio prefers using English and claims his preference to English openly.

R: *If you have to choose between Portuguese and English, which one do you choose?*
A: *English.*

English is also Antônio's natural choice when he needs to produce some writing.

R: *Do you want me to help (you with your Time Line) by asking you questions?*
A: (30p) *Can I write in English?*
R: *huh-huh.*

In spite of his choice, Antônio is aware of the influence of domains when choosing between languages and is able to choose the appropriate language to the context in which he is.

(6) Domains

Aparecida reports that Antônio's experience of being fluent in both languages and having English as the home language when living in Brazil led him to think that '*children spoke Portuguese and adults English*'. Nowadays, he is aware that English is not only his home language but the language of the majority group in England. He is also aware that he should speak Portuguese in the CLS.

R: *Which language do you speak at home?*
A: *English.*
R: *Where do you speak Portuguese?*
A: *At the school on Saturdays.*
R: *Only there?*
A: *Yes.*

Antônio's interview has shown that he is fluent in both English and Portuguese. Antônio's bilingualism has been established as a consequence of varied factors. In spite of English being the language of Antônio's household, Antônio lived in Brazil for the period of a year. In addition, both his parents have made efforts to keep ties with the Brazilian community and the Portuguese language when living in London. This exposure to Brazilian culture and Portuguese language has taken place through the social networks Antônio's family has with Brazilians in London, the contact with relatives and friends in Brazil, Antônio's father's interest in Brazilian literature and Antônio's mother's involvement in the CLS. This scenario ensured Antônio positive attitudes towards both languages. Nevertheless, Antônio's linguistic competence in English is better than his

competence in Portuguese. This is acknowledged by Antônio himself who reports to consider the English language easier than Portuguese. This feeling of expressing himself better in English has made Antônio to be emotionally more linked to English and to using it more often than Portuguese. Nonetheless, Antônio chooses language based on domains. These patterns are the same ones used by his mother, who tends to self-identify towards the centre right of the identity continuum as an "early cosmopolitan".

As shown in Figure 3 below, Antônio openly refers to his parents' influence not only on his bilingualism but also on how he self-identifies. Antônio refers to the languages he speaks as well as to his parents' places of origin in defining who he is. Antônio also refers to skin colour as a construct of his identity. As mentioned earlier, Antônio uses constructs of "race" to differentiate between Brazilian and English. Following Antônio's own criteria, his appearance does not fit into the stereotypical features of a Brazilian. In spite of it, Antônio reflects on his ethnic identity and categorises himself as being both Brazilian and English. Like his mother, Antônio claims to have a "hybrid" self-identity. Both Antônio and his mother feel more attached to the English language. However, he cannot deny his links to Brazil which were established by his social networks as well as by his language skills, which are summarised in Table 4 below.

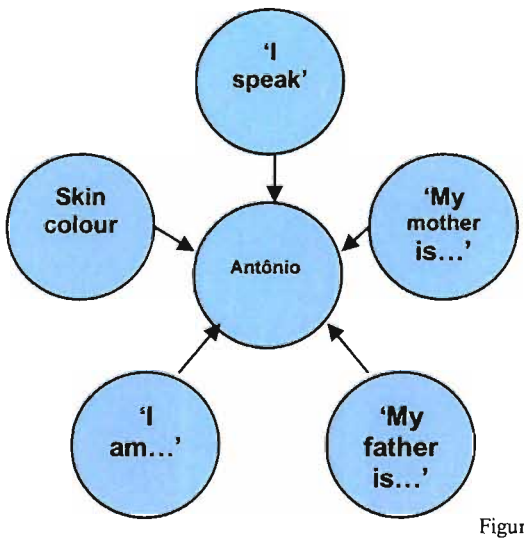


Figure 3 – Antônio's identity constructs

Child's name	Antônio
Age	9
Born / raised	London
Speaks	English + Portuguese
Mother spoke to child in Portuguese since	didn't
Type of bilingual	child
Writes	English + Portuguese
Attended CLS	1997- 2001
Uses Portuguese out of CLS	Yes
Exposed to Brazilian culture	Yes

Table 4 – Antônio's personal and linguistic information

In sum, Antônio has positive attitudes towards both the Portuguese and the English languages. Antônio's attitudes seem to result from the positive input his parents give him about language and culture despite the fact that English is the language in their household. Antônio claims not only to have adopted his parents' language attitudes but also his mother's perspective on ethnic identity. Both Antônio and his mother self-identify as "hybrids". The way Antônio's "hybrid" identity takes shape differs from the experiences his mother had.

8.2 DISCUSSION

Consistent with Oommen's (1997) emphasis on the complementary role of subjective and objective criteria in the formation of ethnic identity (see Chapter 2 section 2.1), the focal children in this investigation provided data which indicate that both objective and subjective criteria of identity are present in the way they self-identity. However, contrary to my initial expectations, these data also indicate that the children do not necessarily self-identify in the same way as the mothers.

Josefa, for example, self-identifies as English, whereas her mother, as Brazilian. In fact, Josefa's mother's self-identification tends towards the "tourist" end of the identity continuum. It means that although being born in England to a Brazilian mother and a father of any other nationality, Josefa is regularly exposed to Brazilian culture and the use of Portuguese language through her mother and her social networks. As a consequence of this exposure, Josefa is an infant bilingual who speaks both Portuguese and English fluently. In addition, Josefa demonstrated to have positive language attitudes to both languages in her repertoire and to feel comfortable in the contexts where they are used.

Nevertheless, Josefa seems to try to separate the domains where each language is used, which could be an indication that her mother's emphasis on the objective criteria of her identity is leading Josefa to consider place of birth and language spoken (with higher competence) as the definers of her own ethnic identity.

Benedito also signals that his mother's reference to objective criteria in defining her ethnic identity has influenced him and refers to place of birth and language spoken to define himself as English. Despite referring to objective criteria in her identity, Benedito's mother tends towards the left centre of the identity continuum, an "expatriate cosmopolitan". In other words, she values her Brazilian identity but also considers it important to participate in the English society. Moreover, Benedito's mother values the integration of what she considers the majority group can offer in terms good habits and behaviour into her lifestyle. It means that Benedito's bilingualism is supported by attending European and Brazilian Portuguese lessons, as well as some links with the Brazilian community in London and some trips to Brazil. However, both Portuguese and English are spoken in Benedito's household and links with both Brazilian and English communities are valued.

Antônio's mother also values links with both Brazilian and English communities. Her strong ties with both communities lead her to make an effort to expose Antônio to Brazilian culture and Portuguese language through the Brazilian CLS and other social networks. This effort is made consciously in order to compensate for the fact that English is the only language used in their household. This pattern of language use in Antônio's household is a consequence of his mother's emotional links to English. As explained in Chapter 7 section 7.2.3, she tends to self-identify towards the right centre of the identity continuum, as an "early cosmopolitan". This familial context appears to have enabled Antônio to be consciously aware of the subjective and objective criteria playing a role in the construction of his identity and he is the only child to refer to himself as both Brazilian and English. All the other children describe themselves as English although also referring to other social, cultural and linguistic factors in their lives which lead them to have hybrid experience of ethnicity.

All in all, the data in this chapter go against the expectations I set in Chapter 7 section 7.4 in relation to the effects of the mothers' influence on their children's self-identity. The children do not feel more Brazilian in the case their mothers self-identified towards the "tourist" extreme of the identity continuum explained in Chapter 2 section 2.3.2. Nevertheless, the reports in this chapter confirm that the children tend to speak more Portuguese the closer the mothers place themselves to the "tourist" extreme of the identity continuum. This practical effect of the mother's self-identification in the children's use of language appears to be related to the amount of Portuguese to which they are exposed by the mothers themselves and by other people in the mothers' social networks.

These two factors have led me to conclude that being mixed-heritage does not affect these children's sense of being English. However, as discussed in Chapter 2 section 2.2, 'English', in these children's perspectives, is far from having a unitary and fixed meaning. On the contrary, being English links these children to the objective criteria of where they were born and the language they speak best, to the subjective criteria of the meaning they attach to their experiences in both the English and Brazilian communities as well as to their experiences with both English and Portuguese languages.

8.3 SUMMARY

The data in this chapter show how the focal mixed-heritage children self-identify. I provided some descriptive detail on the children and examined how they positioned themselves in relation to language and identity issues. I argued that these children experience ethnicity in a "hybrid" way. I also identified the facts (inherited characteristics) and the feelings (meanings attached to the inherited characteristics as learned by experience in both the majority society and minority community) which interact in the identity construction of each of these children.

Is the self-identity of the other 10 children participating in this study formed in a similar way? The data collected and discussed in Chapter 11, the conclusion, show that it is. Now I wonder how the focal children's sense of identity and language attitudes influence their

choices of language in practical terms. Therefore I examine their oral interactions when in the CLS in the next chapter, Chapter 9, and at home in Chapter 10.

CHAPTER NINE
LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY
THROUGH INTERACTIONS IN A COMMUNITY LANGUAGE SCHOOL

In Chapter 7 I established a possible connection between language choice and identity from the perspective of a group of Brazilian mothers living in London, UK. The mothers' feelings of Brazilianness led them to value their use of Portuguese which, in some cases, was the only language reported as being used with their children. In other cases, the feelings of "hybridity" (as discussed and defined in Chapter 2 section 2.1.2) created a space for using English with the children. In Chapter 8 I covered the influence of the mothers' self-identity on the way their children self-identify. In spite of the fact that the children tended to feel their identities to be different from their mothers - the children self-identified as English whereas the mothers as Brazilian - all the children described their 'Englishness' as being a combination of the objective criteria of where they were born and the language they speak best with the subjective criteria of the feelings they attached to their experiences in both the Brazilian and the English communities in London, to which they were exposed by their mothers.

In this chapter I look at the effects of identity on the children's language choices in interactions which took place at a Brazilian Community Language School (CLS) in London and examine the motivations which may have triggered their code-switch (CS) as well as the role of the CS in their conversations.

According to the Markedness Model (Myers-Scotton, 1993) discussed in Chapter 3, the speakers choose among the languages in their repertoire based on three possibilities: CS as unmarked, CS as marked and CS as an exploratory choice. These three choices are based on the rights-and-obligations (RO) set determined by the context where the languages are used. This approach to CS has been recast by Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai (2001) who argue 'that even though most choices reflect some societal pattern, speakers make linguistic choices as individuals...and are rationally based'. They proposed that language choice is rationalized by the speakers through the use of three filters: 1. external

factors to the speakers, 2. internal factors to the speakers and, 3. rationality according to the location of the language choice (see Diagram 3 below).

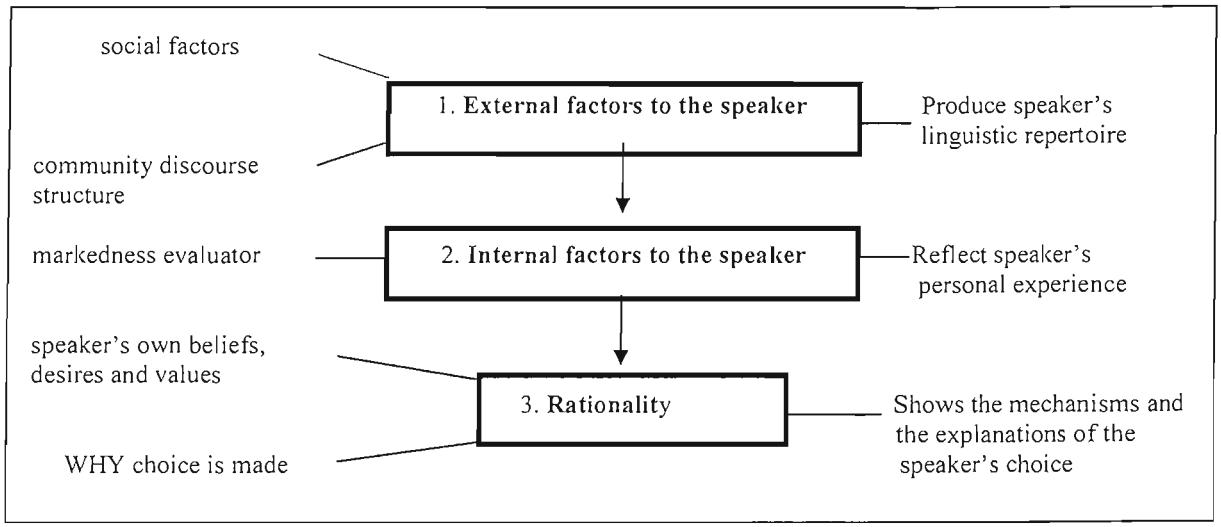


Diagram 3 - 'The three filters in a rational choice' based on Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai (2001)

In other words, the external factors to the speaker are the social factors that determine the languages to which a speaker is exposed and might be able to use. The internal factors refer to the speaker's successful and failing experiences in choosing the best language to be used in a certain context. The speaker's rationality for their language switch is based on how much their choice of language will help them to achieve their goals in the conversation. The three filters for rationalizing language choice (external and internal factors as well as rationality) and the three maxims for CS (marked, unmarked and exploratory) are used in the analysis of the connections between language and identity through the children's interactions in the Brazilian CLS.

9.1 THE BRAZILIAN COMMUNITY LANGUAGE SCHOOL

As mentioned in Chapter 1 section 1.1.1, Brazilian mothers have felt the need to provide a space for their children to speak Portuguese to other children and have set up a variety of community groups with this purpose[1]. However, only the CLS participating in this study focuses on developing the children's oral as well as literacy skills in Portuguese.

[1] These groups can be found on the Brazilian magazines published in London (e.g. *Leros, br@sil.net, Brazilian News)* and the Brazilian Embassy webpage (www.brazil.org.uk).

The school was organized in three different groups at the time I collected data for this study[2]: stage 1 for children aged 5-8 to develop oral skills, stage 2 for children aged 5-8 with oral skills to be able to develop literacy skills, and stage 3 for children aged 8-12 to develop literacy skills even further. The lessons at the CLS in question took place on Saturdays and were 2-hour long with a break for a snack. There were about ten children in each group. The children participating in this study were recorded during the first 90 minutes of their lessons, which was attended by me as a teaching assistant (*cf.* Chapter 5 for the methods applied).

9.2 PATTERNS OF LANGUAGE IN THE BRAZILIAN CLS

Thirteen children participated in this study. However, this chapter focuses on the language choice of the three children who attended the CLS for the longest period of time: Josefa, Antônio and Benedito. Josefa and Benedito were in the same class, stage 2, with the same teacher. Antônio was in a separate class, stage 3, which was meant for older children. However, the level of English between both groups was similar. It means that both groups worked with the 4 skills – listening, speaking, reading and writing – but used different topics and activities to better match the interest of their different age groups. Having said that, both teachers conducted their lessons in a similar way, they were both teacher-centred. By no means is this research set to judge the teaching methods being applied at the school. I might refer to the teaching methods only in order to describe the situation in which the language exchanges took place and how it might have affected the choice of languages made by the children. For example, it is clear that in the older group there are many more parallel exchanges between the students than in the younger group. As shown later in this chapter, the amount of parallel exchanges between the students affects the children's language patterns.

9.2.1 Josefa

As explained in Chapter 7 section 7.2.1, Josefa's mother, Dorotéa, tends to self-identify towards the "tourist" end of the identity continuum (*cf.* Chapter 2 section 2.3.2). It means she values her Brazilian identity so much that her whole life is organisedaround the

[2] The data collection for this study started in April 2000 and lasted 13 months.

Brazilian community, except for contacts with the majority society in which she has no choice but to be involved, as she mentions in the extract below.

> *'I speak with my neighbour who takes care of my daughter and who is English. I speak with a person at work who is English. And only when I need to [go to] the dentist, the GP, my daughter's school.'* (Dorotéa, Focus Interview)

Dorotéa is an economic migrant with primary school education who values education highly and makes an effort to offer her daughter the best available. Dorotéa enrolled Josefa in the CLS at the age of 4[3], when it first opened in 1997. Dorotéa also reported solely to speak Portuguese to Josefa and to take her to Brazil once a year. Dorotéa considers it important for Josefa to be both bilingual and bicultural, as illustrated in the quote below.

> *'[I consider it important for her to feel Brazilian] because I am Brazilian. I take her to Brazil almost every year. I think it is important for her to feel at home when she is there. With the people, the place, with the friends she makes there, on the beach, with everything.'* (Dorotéa, Focus Interview)

The home and the CLS input have enabled Josefa to be competent in Portuguese. In addition, Josefa also appears to value the objective criteria of her place of birth and language of higher competence on identity, even though she is aware of the influences of both the English and the Brazilian culture and the English and Portuguese languages in her life (*cf.* Chapter 8). Josefa is an only-child who was born and is being raised in London. She understands Portuguese and English well and two other languages to a limited extent. She speaks Portuguese and English fluently. She reads and writes in both languages, however, her literacy skills are better in English. When in a Brazilian environment, Josefa only speaks Portuguese and shows that she is proud of her high linguistic skills in the Portuguese language, as shown in her recordings at the CLS. The transcripts show that Portuguese is the only language used in the CLS classroom on the

[3] The children's ages may vary from a phase to another as the research was conducted along 13 months. It means that Josefa was 6 in 2000 (phase 1 – social profile of each family drawn by the mothers in individual interviews and phase 2 – exploitation of the connections between language and ethnicity from the mothers' perspective), and 7 in 2001 (phase 3 – exploitation of the connections between language and ethnicity from the children's perspective and phase 4 – recordings of language in use in the CLS and at home).

day of the recording. This is the language used by the teacher to address the students and vice-versa as well as myself. As mentioned in 9.2 above, the lesson is teacher-centred which does not allow for interaction among the children. The lack of interaction between the children could be one of the reasons the main identity portrayed by Josefa is of a learner.

1. Josefa as a learner of Portuguese

Example (1) below shows an interaction between the teacher (T) and Josefa (J) in the beginning of the lesson, where Josefa seems to make use of silence in respect to the RO-set of the context, Portuguese as the unmarked choice, and in order to signal her identity as a Portuguese learner. This example is divided in three moments: a) the teacher starts by carrying a small talk with the whole class, then b) the teacher moves on to doing the register and introducing a new student and, finally, c) the teacher presents the first activity of the lesson.

(1) The start of the lesson (Portuguese/Silence)[4]

1 T: *Quem gosta de pipoca?*
[*Who likes popcorn?*]

(Josefa is not answering any of the questions, which are asked to the whole group)

(The teacher shows on the board that Josefa's name and the new student's name, although pronounced in the same way, are spelled differently. The teacher then addresses Josefa directly.)

2 T: *A Josefa t'aqui?*
[*Is Josefa here?*]

3 J: *Sim.*
[*Yes.*]

4 T: *Qual o nome dela?*
[*What's her name?*]

5 J: *Ana.*

[4] The transcription for this extract and all the extracts in this investigation are presented according to the following transcription codes:
- Normal Times New Roman font = utterances originally in English
- *Italics Times New Roman font* = utterances originally in Portuguese
- [in square brackets] = translations into English
- (in brackets) = added explanations about context
- (???) = inaudible
- underlined = code-mix/code-switch within one utterance
- (p) = pause

6 T: *Josefa, explica pra Ana como é o Adivinha O Que É.*
[*Josefa, explain the riddles activity to Ana.]*

7 J: *Ela tem que falar um monte de coisa e você tem que adivinhar o que é.*
[*She (the teacher) has to say a lot of things and you have to guess what it is.*]

8 R: *Como é que eu adivinho?*
[*How do I guess*?]

9 T: *A XXXX*[5] *tem que falar o nome de coisa.*
[*XXXX (the teacher) has to say the name of the thing.*]

10 T: *O que é o que é?*
[*What is...?*]

The teacher starts the lesson by having an informal talk to the students, (*Quem gosta de pipoca?* [*Who likes popcorn?*], line 1). Even though it is an informal exchange, the teacher is showing that Portuguese is the appropriate choice of language in the CLS and thus the one valued by her. However, bilingual children tend to use the majority language among themselves (*cf.* sections 9.2.2 and 9.2.3 below). Josefa shows she is aware of the fact that the oral exchanges in the beginning of the lessons are not valued as part of the learning process and thus makes use of silence to withdraw from the conversation without breaking the RO-set neither damaging her identity as a good student. It is only from line 2 on (*A Josefa t'aqui?* [*Is Josefa here?*]), when Josefa is personally addressed by the teacher, that she starts to participate. The teacher notices that Josefa participates more when addressed individually and starts to direct the questions at Josefa, (*Josefa, explica pra Ana como é o adivinha o que é.* [*Josefa, explain the riddles activity to Ana.*], line 6). Having ensured Josefa's participation, the teacher continues with the guessing activity, (*O que é o que é...?* [*What is...?*], line 10), with the whole group.

As mentioned earlier, Josefa's linguistic repertoire is composed of both the English and the Portuguese languages as a result of being born and raised in England and also of being exposed to the Portuguese language by her mother from a young age. These factors are part of the external filter which will be the first level of rationalizing Josefa's language choice. In addition, Josefa has experienced the fact that Portuguese is the language mainly used and highly valued in the CLS, internal filter. Thus, Josefa chooses

[5] Teacher's name is omitted due to privacy issues.

to respect the RO-set for believing it will enhance her desire of being considered a good learner by the teacher. In the exchanges where Josefa believes not to be related to the lesson, she uses silence to distant herself. However, she participates avidly when the exchanges are directly linked to the learning process.

In example (2), the teacher (T) starts the riddles game which is open for any of the students (S) to participate. Josefa (J), tries to be the first one to answer almost all the riddles and tries to portray herself as a good learner.

(2) Guessing riddles (Portuguese)

1 T: *O que é o que é que tem uma casa mas não paga aluguel?*
[*What is it that has a house but does not pay rent?*]

2 J: *Eu sei, eu sei. A coisa que tem uma coisa (?)*
[*I know, I know. The thing that has a thing (?)*]

(many children shouting at the same time)

3 T: *O que é que o pai e a mãe têm, mas os filhos não têm?*
[*What is it that the father and the mother have but the children don't?*]

4 J: *Trabalho.*
[*Work.*]

5 T: *O que é que o pai e a mãe têm mas os filhos não têm?*
[*What is it that the father and the mother have but the children don't?*]

6 J: *Casa.*
[*House.*]

7 T: *O quê que tem na mãe, no pai que não tem no filho? Vou escrever aqui, ó, vou dar uma dica bem grande.*
[*What is it that there is in the mother, in the father which there isn't in the son? I'll write here. Look, I'll give you a big clue.*]

8 J: *Orelha* (laughs)
[*Ear.*]

9 S: *Cabelo*
[Hair.]

10 T: *O quê que tem nessa palavrinha que tem nessa e não tem nessa?*
[*What is there in this word which the other word doesn't have?*]

11 J: *A.*

12 T: *A letra 'a'! Muito bem, Josefa. Mais um ponto pra você. Uh, Josefa está ganhando com 3 pontos!*

[*Letter A! Well done, Josefa. One more point for you. Ooh, Josefa is winning with 3 points!*]

The teacher establishes the RO-set of the conversation by asking an initial question for the activity in Portuguese, (*O que é o que é que tem uma casa mas não paga aluguel?* [*What is it that has a house but does not pay rent?*], line 1). Although being an open question to anybody in the class, this time Josefa tries to answer it immediately, (*Eu sei, eu sei. A coisa que tem uma coisa?* [*I know, I know. The thing that has a thing (?)*], line 2). Josefa seems to be trying to ensure nobody else answers the question before her and 'steals' her identity as a good learner. She does it so quickly that she does not even have the time to think about her answer and uses very abstract terms, 'thing', in trying to describe an object. It could also be that Josefa believes she knows the answer but does not know the word in Portuguese and tries to provide the teacher with a definition. Being descriptions a very difficult task for young children (Moore, 2002:288), Josefa is not successful and her effort of negotiating meaning in the unmarked code is totally ignored by the teacher. However, it does not lead Josefa to switch into English to be able to express herself properly. Instead, Josefa reiterates the RO-set between herself and her teacher as being Portuguese, (*Trabalho.* [*Work.*], line 4), in order to project her own identity as a good learner and maintain a good relationship with the teacher.

In example (3), the concern of portraying herself as a good learner can be seen again. There Josefa (J) challenges the teacher's (T) suggestion of having their snack in the backyard.

(3) Negotiating where to have their snack (Portuguese)

1 T: *Vou por uma mesa lá fora pro nosso lanche.*
[*I'll put a table outside for our snack.*]

2 J: *Não quero comer lá fora!*
[*I don't want to eat outside!*]

3 T: *Nós vamos fazer um pique-nique lá.*
[*We are going to have picnic there.*]

The teacher explains to the whole class that she is setting the table outside so they can have their snack, (*Vou por uma mesa lá fora pro nosso lanche.* [*I'll put a table outside for our snack.*], line 1). Josefa expresses her unwillingness to have her snack outdoors, (*Não quero comer lá fora!* [*I don't want to eat outside!*], line 2). Although a CA[6] model would expect this refusal to go outside to be expressed using the marked code - in this case, English - Josefa chooses to use the unmarked code, Portuguese. By using the RO-set more appropriate to the interaction with her teacher, Josefa sounds less threatening and is still seen as a good learner. The advantage of choosing the unmarked language to express a differing positioning is that it maintains the emotional distance between the speakers and tends to elicit a more sympathetic response. In this case, although insisting on her initial proposition of having the snack outdoors, (*Nós vamos fazer um pique-nique lá.* [*We are going to have picnic there.*], line 3), the teacher does not tell Josefa off for being difficult. In addition, Josefa's personal experience shows her that Portuguese is the language of the RO-set in the CLS. Despite self-identifying as English, Josefa not only acknowledges being able to speak Portuguese but is also proud of her linguistic skills (*cf.* Chapter 8 section 8.1.1). Thus being in a school environment, it is her identity as a learner which is important and which leads her not to CS. In the CLS, Josefa seems to be trying to create a formal context to portray herself as a learner during all times. As covered in example (1), Josefa does not seem to enjoy taking part in activities which are not clearly related to a learning context. Josefa's behaviour appears to be a trial to ensure that the learning context be a formal one, where there will be an audience for her performance as a learner as also shown in the next example. In Extract (4) below, Josefa distances herself from the small talk and starts a private conversation with me (R).

(4) Asking to be interviewed (Portuguese)

The teacher, the children and I go to the backyard for our snacks. It is break time and the children are free to do whatever they want for about 20 minutes. However, the teacher tends to sit with the students for the first part of the break to ensure that they all have their snacks. In this occasion, the teacher was talking to a student who was attending the lesson for the first time. Although the teacher initially directed the questions about family to the

[6] Conversation Analysis Model for analysing language choice (*cf* discussions in Chapter 3).

new student, all the other children interacted with the teacher and added comments about their own families. That is when Josefa decides to start a private conversation with me.

(Josefa turns to the researcher)

1 J: *Eu quero falar uma coisa.*
[*I want to say something.*]

2 R: *Pode falar.*
[*Go on.*]

3 J: *(?)*

4 R: *Pra eu fazer pergunta pra você?*
[*Do you want me to ask you a question?*]

5 J: *É.*
[*Yes.*]

6 R: *Então tá bom. Deixa eu pensar. Quem mora na sua casa?*
[*Okay, then. Let me think. Who lives in your house?*]

7 J: *Ah?*
[*Uh?*]

8 J: *Quem mora na sua casa?*
[*Who lives in your house?*]

9 J: *Minha mãe e YYYY*[7].
[*My mom and my YYYYY.*]

10 R: *Ah, é?*
[*Really?*]

11 J: *É.*
[*Yes.*]

In example (3), when Josefa initially refused to go out, it seems she was not really disputing the teacher's authority. Instead, she was aware it would be a less formal situation which would probably hinder her role as a good learner. As in example (1), here Josefa only starts to take part in the conversation when directly addressed, lines 1-4. In line 6, (*Eu quero falar uma coisa.* [*I want to say something.*]), she makes it clear that she wishes to have a one-to-one conversation with me and asks to be interviewed. Josefa's attitude could also be interpreted as a result of the Observer's Paradox (Labov, 1972) since she was wearing a tape-recorder and knew that she was being recorded. Nevertheless, Josefa

[7] Family member omitted to guarantee participants' confidentiality.

has always addressed me in Portuguese. Furthermore, by asking to be interviewed, Josefa creates the formal situation which she appears to be afraid not to take place if outdoors and creates an audience for her performance in Portuguese.

It is also interesting to notice that Josefa rarely interacts with her classmates in the CLS. The fact that the teaching is centred on the teacher and that Josefa withdraws from interacting with her classmates enable her to avoid the use of the majority language during the CLS lessons. Nevertheless, the four extracts which show Josefa interacting in the CLS illustrate her perspective on language and identity connections as demonstrated in Diagram 4 below, Josefa's rational choice of language at the CLS.

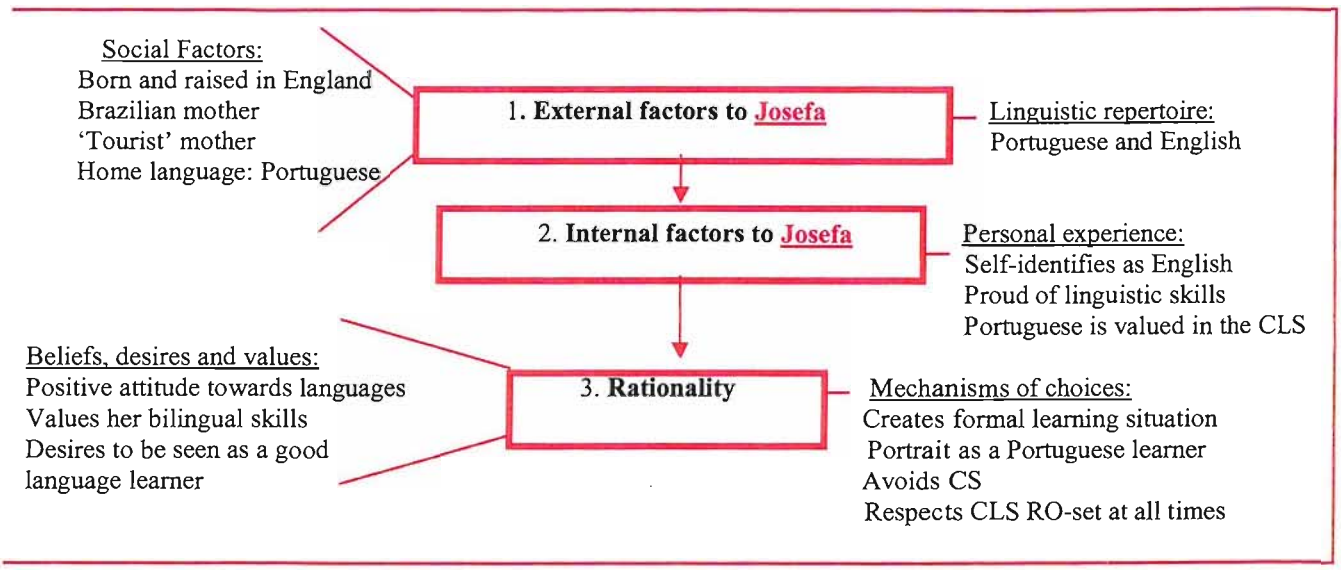


Diagram 4 – Josefa's rational choice of language at the CLS

Josefa seems to be saying that Portuguese is the only acceptable language in the CLS. In spite of self-identifying as English (*cf.* Chapter 8 section 8.1.1), Josefa is "hybrid" in her ability to use different languages and fit into different cultural contexts situations. However, Josefa does not appear to mix the two contexts, the CLS and the majority society. On the contrary, Josefa strives for an identity not only as a learner of Portuguese but also as a good learner through her respect to the RO-set in the Brazilian CLS.

Despite being in the same class as Josefa, Benedito seems to experience the link between language and identity in a different way.

9.2.2 Benedito

As explained in Chapter 7 section 7.2.2, Durvalina's (Benedito's mother) self-identification tends towards the "expatriate cosmopolitan" type in the identity continuum. Belonging to a middle class family in Brazil, she came to England in her early 20s to study English in the 90s and stayed due to marriage. She reports having a university degree and working as a photographer in England. Durvalina values the significance of Benedito being exposed to some of the experiences she grew up with as a Brazilian person as well as some of the English experiences she has had by living in England.

> *'[Benedito] is a child who was born with these two realities. He was born in these two worlds. So, he is part of both worlds. It is not that I consider it important or that it is important to me that he has both characteristics. It is part of him because his mother is Brazilian. He has his mother who influences his life. And he is English, which influences his life. So this is part of his reality.'* (Durvalina, Focus Interview)

These experiences not only include social and cultural values but also the Portuguese and the English languages. Therefore, Durvalina reports speaking Portuguese to Benedito and she cherishes his experience in the Brazilian CLS. Although being born and raised in England, Benedito had a good passive command of Portuguese due to being used to be addressed in Portuguese by his mother as well as the many Brazilians who have shared their accommodation along the years. However, his active competence in Portuguese was almost none when he started attending the CLS. He started attending the CLS in 1999, at the age of 6[8]. The home and the CLS input have enabled Benedito to be competent in Portuguese and he is now fluent in both Portuguese and English, as acknowledged by Durvalina below.

[8] The children's age may vary from a phase to another as the research was conducted along 13 months. It means that Benedito was 6 in 2000 (phase 1 – social profile of each family drawn by the mothers in individual interviews and phase 2 – exploitation of the connections between language and ethnicity from the mothers' perspective), and 7 in 2001 (phase 3 – exploitation of the connections between language and ethnicity from the children's perspective and phase 4 – recordings of language in use in the CLS and at home).

'There is a Brazilian boy who has just arrived at Benedito's school. The school headmistress has invited Benedito to be the boy's interpreter because he does not speak a single word in English. Benedito is so proud of himself.' (Durvalina, Focus Interview)

As mentioned in Chapter 8, Benedito considers that the place where he was born has a special value to his identity and thus he self-identifies as English. Benedito's mother also considers her place of birth important in defining her identity. In addition, Benedito acknowledges that his mother's background and his knowledge of Portuguese add to his identity. Benedito also shows to be aware of how he can play with the languages in his repertoire in a way that it reflects his multiple identities as his interactions in the CLS show below. Although the teaching method adopted in the CLS is teacher-centred and does not allow the children to interact with each other as explained in 9.2.1, Benedito creates these opportunities. However, Benedito's parallel interactions with his friends appear to be limited to his best friend, situations in which he speaks English. He only interacts in a formal way with the other children and thus uses Portuguese to them in respect to the RO-set in the CLS. Benedito's patterns of language use in the CLS show him to be displaying two different identities: (1) of a good student who can use Portuguese and (2) of a member of the boys' in-group who uses English with his friends. Benedito speaks English when he wants to portray his identity as a member of the boys' in-group and Portuguese when he wishes to portray his identity as a learner of Portuguese. Benedito's language choice reflects these two aspects of his identity in the extracts that follow.

1. Benedito as a learner of Portuguese

Benedito differentiates between formal and informal situations in the CLS more in the sense of public and private domains, as discussed in Chapter 3 section 3.4.2. In other words, Benedito speaks Portuguese, the unmarked RO-set for a good learner of Portuguese in the CLS, in all public exchanges, be them formal or informal. Therefore, Portuguese is respected as the unmarked choice throughout the dialogue Benedito has with his teacher as exemplified in Extracts (1) and (2) below.

(1) Refusing to do an exercise in public (Portuguese/silence)

1 T: *O Benedito vai falar pra mim como é que eu escrevo abacaxi.*
[*Benedito is going to tell me how I spell pineapple.*]

2 B: *Eu não quero.*
[*I don't want to.*]

3 T:*Vamo, Benedito!*
[*Come on, Benedito.*]

4 B: *Não!*
[*No!*]

5 T: *Eu sei que você sabe.*
[*I know you know.*]

6 B: *Não!*
[*No!*]

(Teacher gets close to him and seems to be speaking only to him)

7 T: *Qual é a outra letrinha? 'a'*
[*Which is the other letter? 'a'*]

8 B: *'t'*

9 T: *Não. Abacaxi.*
[*No. Pineapple.*]

10 B: *'b'*

11 T: *Isso! Muito bem.*
[*Yes! Well done.*]

(Teacher goes back to the board and speaks to the whole class.)

12 T: *a-ba..e depois, Benedito?*
[*pine...and after, Benedito?*]

(Other children help. Benedito is completely silent.)

Benedito's use of Portuguese in the CLS reflects not only his respect to the RO-set but also his wishes of being identified as a good language learner. Benedito tends to volunteer to participate in the learning activities (*cf.* Extract (2) below). However, in Extract (1) above, Benedito refuses to spell the word *'abacaxi* [pineapple]' in Portuguese in front of the whole group. Although being invited by the teacher to help to answer her question (*O Benedito vai falar pra mim como é que eu escrevo abacaxi.* [*Benedito is going to tell me how I spell pineapple.*], line 1), Benedito refuses to take part in the activity (*Eu não quero.* [*I don't want to.*], line 2). This behaviour seems to be linked to Benedito's awareness that writing is his

weakest skill when using Portuguese, as signalled by the teacher as she tries to encourage him to answer her question once again (*Eu sei que você sabe.* [*I know you know.*], line 5). It means that between lines 1 and 6, Benedito refuses to spell the word in public. It is also relevant to notice that these refusals are made in Portuguese following the CLS RO-set. In other words, Benedito is not being helpful with the teacher but is trying to save his image as a good learner of Portuguese by avoiding to CS into English to distance himself from the situation. By choosing to speak Portuguese to refuse participation in the activity, Benedito also signals that he is only uncomfortable with the spelling activity not with speaking Portuguese itself. The teacher seems to understand what is happening and tries to help Benedito individually. Therefore, the teacher approaches Benedito and prompts in his ear the next letter to be spelled (*Qual é a outra letrinha? 'a'* [*Which is the other letter? 'a'*], line 7). The teacher's tactics seem to work as Benedito decides to take a risk and give the teacher a letter, line 8. As his answer is wrong, the teacher stays by him and prompts him with the whole word again (*Não. Abacaxi.* [*No. Pineapple.*], line 9). The fact that the teacher is standing close to Benedito seems to make him believe it is a private exchange as his mistake does not put him off from trying again, line 10. He is then successful in his attempt to spell the word given by the teacher and is praised by her (*Isso! Muito bem.* [*Yes! Well done.*], line 11). One would expect Benedito's achievement to motivate him to try to finish spelling the word. However, it does not happen. As the teacher moves back to the board and asks Benedito to spell the whole word (*a-ba..e depois, Benedito?*[*pine...and after, Benedito?*], line 12), Benedito resorts to silence and protects his identity as a good learner by avoiding a situation which could lead him to make mistakes in Portuguese in public. Benedito's wishes to perform well in the CLS could also be related to his friendship with one of the other learners. The two boys have been best friends since the age of 3. When they first met, the other learner was already a bilingual child having high competence in both Portuguese and English. Benedito started speaking English at the age of 5 and has higher competence in English.

Extract (2) seems to show this positive competition between the boys which motivates Benedito to respect the RO-set in the CLS and to portray himself as a good language learner.

(2) Volunteering to answer teacher's questions (Portuguese)

1 T: *XXXX*[9]*, qual o outro pássaro típico do Brasil que você conhece?*
[*XXXX, what is the other typical Brazilian bird you know?*]

2 B: *Eu sei.*
[*I know.*]

3 OL[10]: *Coruja.*
[*Owl.*]

4 B: *Deixa eu falo.*
[*Let me say it.*]

5 T: *Fala.*
[*Go ahead.*]

6 B: *Papagaio.*
[*Parrot.*]

The teacher approaches the other learner (OL) with a question in line 1, (*XXXX, qual o outro pássaro típico do Brasil que você conhece?* [*XXXX, what is the other typical Brazilian bird you know?*]), which Benedito volunteers to answer before the other learner has a chance to respond, (*Eu sei.* [*I know.*], line 2). As the teacher does not encourage Benedito to provide his answer, he again asks for permission to contribute, (*Deixa eu falo.* [*Let me say it.*], line 4). Benedito finally gets permission from the teacher (*Fala.* [*Go ahead.*], line 5) and thus answers her question (*Papagaio.* [*Parrot.*], line 6).

The two examples above show interactions between the teacher and the students where Benedito only speaks Portuguese. I now turn to two examples in which Benedito also uses English to interact with his classmates.

2. Benedito as a member of his friends' in-group

After the speaking activities where typical Brazilian animals and their eating habits were discussed, the children were given pictures of animals to be coloured. All the children were sitting around a big table. The teacher and the assistant went around the table checking whether the students were doing their work. This time was also used by the

[9] XXXX is used to hide the other child's name and thus protect his confidentiality.
[10] OL = other learner

teacher and the assistant to interact in Portuguese with each child individually. The interaction was based on the children's colouring activity but accommodated for any other topic that rose. Although Josefa used times like this to concentrate on her work and only interacted with the teacher and the assistant, Benedito took activities like this as an opportunity to interact privately with his classmates, as illustrated in Extract (3) below.

(3) Threatening a classmate (English)

B: You stole my cup, anyway. Then you're gonna give me this.

?: Let me help you.

B: You stole my cup, anyway.

?: ???

B: No. You stole my cup, anyway. Now I need that. If you don't give me back I'll need this.

The way Benedito plays with private/public contexts and CS is clear in the next example, where he switches into Portuguese to tell on a classmate.

(4) Telling on a mate (English/Portuguese)

One of the boys was throwing his pencils at the other students. The teacher had already warned this boy twice about his bad behaviour. On the third occasion this boy disturbed the others, the teacher punished him by excluding him from the group. The boy was asked to stop his task and sit on the sofa instead of at the table with the other students. The boy obeyed the teacher initially but started to disturb the other students again as soon as the teacher was busy providing individual help with the activity. Benedito, however, spots his classmate's attitude and alerts the teacher indirectly, as shown in Extract 4 below.

1 B: I hate this. What about you?

2 ?: ???

3 B: No, up here. Question, question, question.

4 B: *YYYY*[11] *tá debaixo da mesa.* (singing aloud)
[*YYYY is under the table*]

5 T: *YYYY, vai pro sofá!*

[11] Name omitted to ensure identities are kept confidential.

[*YYYY, go to the sofa!*]

In line 1, (I hate this. What about you?), Benedito addresses one of his classmates in English, which is the marked code for the CLS. However, it is the code Benedito considers unmarked for his private conversations with friends, as stated in his playful interview. The interaction between Benedito and his classmate is carried on in English (see lines 2 and 3). In line 4, however, Benedito sings aloud in Portuguese describing what another classmate is doing, (*YYYY tá debaixo da mesa.* [*YYYY is under the table*]). Benedito's choice to use Portuguese when talking about a classmate who is misbehaving seems to signal he is making a public statement and, more specifically, directing his utterance at the teacher. Benedito's rational choice of language proves him right in relation to the appropriateness of his use of Portuguese as he is successful in catching the teacher's attention. The teacher hears Benedito and tells off the student who is misbehaving, (*YYYY, vai pro sofá!* [*YYYY, go to the sofa!*], line 5).

In spite of self-identifying as English, Benedito is influenced by his mother's way of self-identifying. Despite being born and raised in England, Benedito was exposed to Portuguese from an early age by his mother and the Brazilian people in her network. Durvalina values being Brazilian and speaking Portuguese (*cf.* Chapter 7 section 7.2.2). It means that Durvalina has made an effort to speak Portuguese to Benedito and has enrolled him in the Brazilian CLS. Having said that, Durvalina is open to the influences of the English society and language in her daily life and acknowledges the importance of both societies in the construction of Benedito's identity. As a consequence, Benedito appears to face both ethnic identities as part of whom he is under the umbrella of being English and focus on the social meanings of the language choices he makes in specific situations. The data covered in this section on Benedito's language choices when in the CLS indicate that he plays with two social identities: of a good learner and of being part of his friends' in-group. Benedito uses Portuguese in the CLS to portray his identity of a good learner whereas English is used to portray his identity of being part of the in-group of friends. It means that Benedito is not only aware of the difference in the status of both codes but that he also uses their status difference to achieve his interactional goals. Benedito's goals vary from interaction to interaction but, in general, it can be said that he

makes language choices depending on whether he considers his conversations to be public or private. All public conversations appear to be in Portuguese whereas all private conversations appear to be in English. This way, Benedito respects the unmarked language choice to speak to the teacher (Portuguese) and to his friends (English when in private and Portuguese when in public interactions such as whole group activities which involve his teacher and/or the teacher assistant). In other words, Benedito uses the three filters in a rational choice of language, as illustrated by Diagram 5 below.

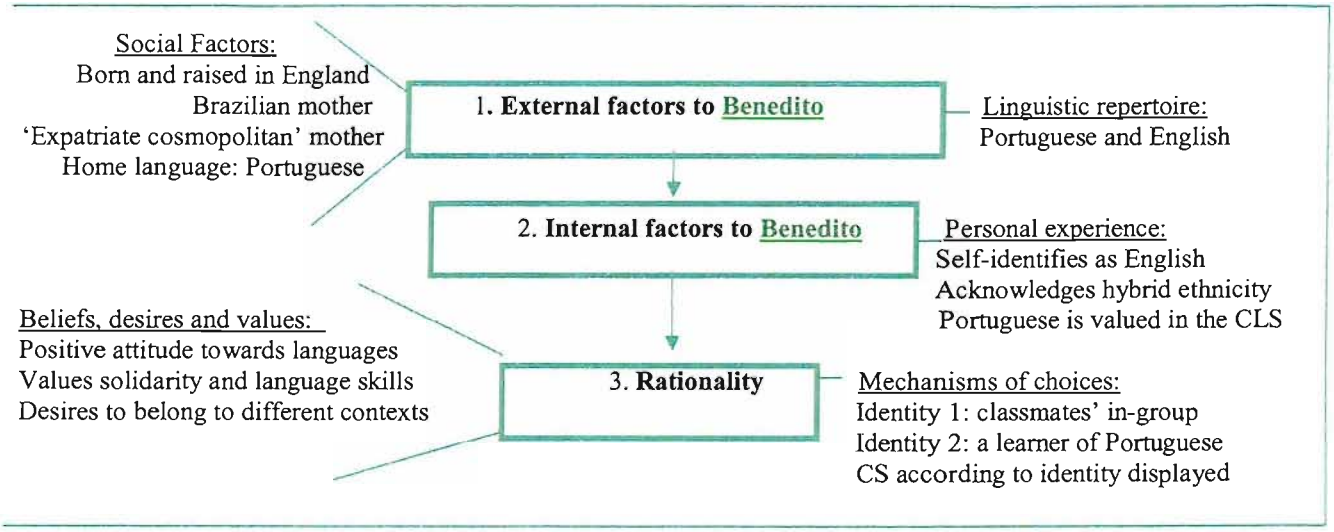


Diagram 5 – Benedito's rational choice of language at the CLS

Although being in a different class from Benedito, Antônio presents a similar way of making language choices in the CLS.

9.2.3 Antônio

As explained in Chapter 7, Antônio's mother, Aparecida, moved to England in the 80s as a child. In spite of both Antônio and Aparecida tending to self-identify towards the center of the identity continuum (*cf.* Chapter 8 section 8.1.3 and Chapter 7 section 7.2.3, respectively), English is the language spoken in their household. Having said that, it is Antônio's and Aparecida's experiences of having "hybrid" identities which have made Antônio aware of how languages can be used according to the multiplicity of his ethnicity. Despite being born and raised in London, Antônio lived in Brazil when he was attending nursery. He understands Portuguese and English orally. He also speaks, reads

and writes both languages. Antônio started attending the CLS when it first opened in 1997 at the age of 7[12]. Despite not speaking Portuguese at home, Aparecida wants Antônio to learn it, as stated in her semi-structured interview:

> *'Portuguese is my language. I also want Antônio to experience the Brazilian culture. The Brazilian literature, for example, is so rich. I want him to be able to enjoy it.'*

Antônio's patterns of language choice in the CLS reflect his "hybrid" identity. Like Benedito, Antônio uses his language choices to portray two identities when at the CLS. Antônio speaks English when he wants to portray his identity as belonging to his friends' in-group and Portuguese when he wishes to portray his identity as a learner of Portuguese. However, these two identities do not seem to be portrayed in neatly separate contexts as it is the case for Benedito (*cf.* section 9.2.2).

1. Antônio as a learner of Portuguese V a member of the children's in-group

In example (1), the students arrived for their lesson but had to wait for the teacher for about half an hour before the start of the lesson. As the teacher assistant, I took the students to the classroom where they talked to each other until the arrival of the teacher. During this time, all the students interacted with each other in English. Being aware of the fact the recording was taking place, Antônio (A) explains to me (R) why English is being used.

(1) Acknowledging language domains and competence (English/Portuguese)

1 A: Is this recording everything? But that's no use, is it? Because everybody is speaking English and the lesson hasn't started.

2 R: *Não tem problema. Não é um teste pra saber se você fala português.*
[*It's not a problem. It's not a test to know if you speak Portuguese.*]

3 A: *O que é?*
[*What is it?*]

4 R: *É só pra saber quando você fala português, só isso. Não é pra saber se você fala*

[12] The children's age may vary from a phase to another as the research was conducted along 13 months. It means that Antônio was 9 in 2000 (phase 1 – social profile of each family drawn by the mothers in individual interviews and phase 2 – exploitation of the connections between language and ethnicity from the mothers' perspective), and 10 in 2001 (phase 3 – exploitation of the connections between language and ethnicity from the children's perspective and phase 4 – recordings of language in use in the CLS and at home).

português. Não é que se você fala mais português é melhor. Não tem problema. Você pode falar inglês quanto você quiser.

[*It's only to know when you speak Portuguese, that's all. It's not to know if (you speak Portuguese). It does not mean that if you speak more Portuguese it is better. It doesn't matter. You can speak English as much as you wish.*]

5 A: *Ah!*

6 R: *Ou português.*

[*Or Portuguese.*]

7 A: *A aula não começou ainda.*

[*The lesson hasn't started yet.*]

8 R: *Eu sei. É que a professora ainda não tá aqui. Vamos esperar por ela.*

[*I know. It's because the teacher hasn't arrived yet. Let's wait for her.*]

Antônio's classmate pointed out to him that their conversation was being recorded and that Antônio was acting wrongly by speaking English. Trying to challenge his classmate, Antônio addresses me in English, (Is this recording everything?, line 1). Antônio's choice of language does not respect the domain/addressee factor, and thus, goes against a social factor model on CS which would predict his choice here to be Portuguese. By using English before the start of the lesson, Antônio asserts his identity as a member of his friends' in-group, the majority society. Antônio not only chooses the marked choice to address me but he also explains the reason for doing so, (Because everybody is speaking English and the lesson hasn't started, line 1). This way the conversation is kept in the informal context, not as part of the lesson. In addition, it includes his classmate, the person to whom the question was directed. A marked language choice in formal contexts, in this case the choice of English during the lesson, could be selected to show defiance (*cf.* Chapter 3 section 3.4.2). As Antônio applies a marked CS in an informal context, before the beginning of his lesson, he is made less accountable for using an aggressive tone. Moreover, this choice of language also seems to show that his utterances are directed at his classmate who questioned his behaviour and insinuated it was wrong. Furthermore, Antônio switches to Portuguese, (*O que é?* [*What is it?*], line 3), after being addressed by me in Portuguese, (*Não tem problema. Não é um teste pra saber se você fala português.* [It's not a problem. It's not a test to know if you speak Portuguese.], line 2). As there is no change in the context that would explain Antônio's change to Portuguese in his reply in line 3, his CS from a

marked way to an unmarked way signals Antônio is asserting his multiple identities of an English boy and of a learner, respectively. Antônio's experience shows that Portuguese is the unmarked choice at the CLS and that I always address him in Portuguese, my preferred language. However, he is aware that I never reprimand him for whatever language choice he makes but for his occasional misbehaviour in class. It allows Antônio to use English without causing any problems to our relationship. However, by noticing there was some aggressiveness in his tone and that it was actually a result of being teased by his classmate, at whom Antônio's aggressiveness was aimed, Antônio complies by using Portuguese, (*A aula não começou ainda.* [*The lesson hasn't started yet.*], line 7). Antônio is aware of the norms and values of language use with me and considers them. That seems to be why he reinstates himself by using my preferred RO-set. This change in language choice not only shows convergence but also makes Antônio change the way he portrays himself. Antônio's behaviour seems to relate to the fact that he attaches the use of Portuguese to formal situations (*cf.* Chapter 8 section 8.1.3) where he says the CLS is the only place where he uses Portuguese.

In the second example below, Antônio tries to avoid English due to respecting the CLS RO-set. In this extract, the teacher has to stop the lesson because Antônio is being disruptive by having a parallel talk to one of his classmates. The teacher addresses the whole class to point out that the disruptions will probably affect her plans to play outdoors. Antônio changes the situation around by pointing out that although they, the students, were there on time; they had to wait for about half an hour for the beginning of the lesson because the teacher was late.

(2) Blaming the teacher (English/Portuguese)

1 T: *A gente ia fazer uma atividade lá fora, mas acho que não vamos mais ter tempo.*
[*We were going to have an outdoors activity but I don't think we are going to have any time for that.*]

2 A: Yeah, but that was only because we started at twenty-five to...

3 T: *Não entendi nada.*
[*I didn't understand anything.*]

4 S1: *Ele disse...*
[*He (Antônio) said...*]

5 T: *Ele vai falar pra mim.*
[*He (Antônio) is going to say it to me*]
6 A: *Porque nós... nós... ah... vinte e cinco pras duas.*
[*Because we... we... ah... twenty-five to two.*]
7 T: *Por que?*
[*Why?*]

The teacher notices the boys are not paying attention to the lesson and makes them aware of it, (*A gente ia fazer uma atividade lá fora, mas acho que não vamos mais ter tempo.* [*We were going to have an outdoors activity but I don't think we are going to have any time for that.*], line 1). The teacher uses Portuguese in addressing the whole group, the unmarked choice for the CLS. Antônio however chooses to speak English when blaming the teacher for the delay in the start of the lesson, (Yeah, but that was only because we started at twenty-five to two, line 2). His strategy of challenging the teacher in English seems very risky as the content of his utterance is already loaded against the teacher. However, his language choice seems to signal distancing from the teacher's initial accusation. The teacher, on the other hand, seems to be offended with the remark itself and especially with the use of English when addressed by Antônio. Thus, she exercises her authority by demanding him to say it again in Portuguese, (*Não entendi nada* [*I didn't understand anything.*], line 3) and (*Ele vai falar pra mim* [*He is going to say it to me*], line 5). The teacher's use of Portuguese reminds Antônio of the RO-set in the CLS. Antônio understands that speaking Portuguese would please the teacher and thus bring him more benefit. Antônio then decides to comply with the teacher's request and switch into Portuguese.

In spite of displaying his English identity when choosing to speak English in the CLS, there are times that this language choice is used in order to reinforce his identity as a learner of Portuguese.

2. Antônio as a learner of Portuguese

The topic of the lesson was Geography and the teacher was covering the names of the states in Brazil and their capitals. As a follow-up activity, the teacher asked the students

to tell the group about the places they had visited in Brazil, things they had done there and how they liked it. Antônio chooses to talk about a holiday resort he visited in the Northeast of Brazil.

(3) Describing a holiday (Portuguese/English)

A: *Quando eu foi pra Natal eu foi no cachoeiro e tem os os* slides, slides? *Escorrego. Mas é de...*rock..*é é de pedras, natural. E você paro no piscina natural lá.*
[*When I went to Natal I went to a waterfall with* slides, slides? *Slides. But it was of...*rock*...of of rocks, natural. And you ended in the natural swimming pool there.*]

Antônio has established he is taking part in the lesson and acknowledges it is a class activity to describe his holiday. Thus, he uses Portuguese as much as he can. However, Antônio uses two words in English in his description 'slides' and 'rock'. As discussed, Antônio's exposure to Portuguese is more limited than Josefa's and Benedito's. Therefore, it could be said that his use of these two English words are sentence fillers due to his inability to find the right words to express himself in Portuguese. However, Antônio uses an enquiry tone in the first case and pauses in the second one. These two strategies show he is not only trying to search for the right words in Portuguese but also asking for help. Although there is no help from the teacher or any of his classmates, Antônio's strategy works considering that it enables him to remember the correct words and thus use them properly. Another aspect highlighted by Antônio's search for the right words to be used in Portuguese is that he only code-switched into English to ask for help in relation to unknown lexical items. In other words, this code-switch did not affect Antônio's identity as a learner of Portuguese in the CLS lesson.

As shown in example (4) below, Antônio uses CS not only to negotiate the use of the correct vocabulary but also culpability. The children had finished their snack break and were getting ready to continue their lesson. I realized however that there were snack wrappers on the floor near Antônio and another student (S1) and challenged both boys in Portuguese about cleaning the floor.

(4) Negotiating culpability (Portuguese/English)

1 A: *Ele jogou no eu.*
[*He threw it at me.*]
2 R: (???)
3 A: *É.*
[*Yes.*]
4 S1: *Não fui eu.*
[*It wasn't me.*]
5 A: *Ele jogou. Eu tenho a*...whatever it is called...
[*He threw it. I have the*...whatever it is called...]
6 S1: *Não tem.*
[*(You) don't have it.]*
7 R: *Só estão fazendo sujeira.*
[*You are making a mess.*]

During the whole negotiation of who was the one who had made the floor dirty, both boys addressed me in Portuguese while trying to blame the other one for the mess. The fact that the RO-set in a formal context is respected when the boys are trying to gain my sympathy shows their use of language to try to demonstrate emotional closeness to me and to cause me to sympathise with them. Having said that, Antônio code-switches into English in line 5, (*Ele jogou. Eu tenho a*...whatever it is called... [He threw it. I have the...whatever it is called...]). Here Antônio's switch to English is used to discuss discourse form. Antônio is probably expecting to get some feedback from me and/or his friend and improve his production in Portuguese. This CS also shows Antônio's limited active knowledge of Portuguese, as a consequence of having limited domains to speak Portuguese, a situation Antônio acknowledges in his individual interview and reported in Chapter 8 section 8.1.3. In this extract, besides portraying an identity as a learner, Antônio also tries to ensure his identity is perceived as of a well-behaved learner. In the next extract, Antônio seems to be choosing between the portrayal of his image as a learner of Portuguese and as a member of his friends' in-group.

As explained in 9.2 above, the CLS lessons were teacher-centred. Nevertheless, Antônio's recordings show him interacting with his classmates often. These interactions

characterise negotiations between learners and create opportunities for the use of their preferred language, English. These opportunities lead to a situation where code-switching between Portuguese and English takes place. In addition, Antônio self-identifies as English but acknowledges that his ethnicity is "hybrid" due to his parents' different heritage backgrounds. Furthermore, Antônio has a mother who considers her Brazilian ethnicity very important in spite of only speaking English at home. In order to compensate for the lack of language exposure in the home, Antônio's mother surrounds him by other situations where he is exposed not only to Portuguese but also to Brazilian culture. This exposure presents Antônio with a situation where he is always dealing with both the Englishness and the Brazilianness of his ethnicity on top of his different social identities as a learner and as a mate as shown in examples 1, 3 and 4. Diagram 6 below shows a summary of the issues involved in the three rational filters used by Antônio to make language choices when in the CLS.

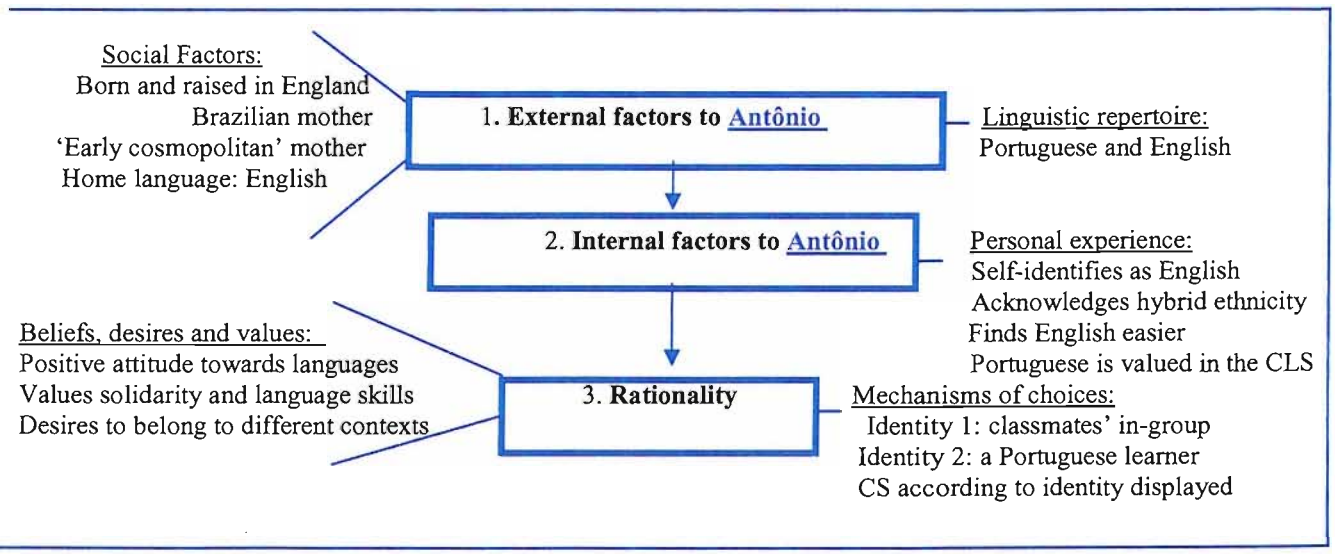


Diagram 6 – Antônio's rational choice of language at the CLS

9.3 DISCUSSION

As explained in Chapter 1, this study intended to have an emic view of language and identity issues from the perspective of a group of children whose mothers are Brazilian and who are growing up in London. Therefore the mothers (*cf.* Chapter 7) and the children (*cf.* Chapter 8) were interviewed. The information provided by the participants in

the interviews was then triangulated by the recording and the observation of the participants's use of language in two different contexts. This chapter focused on the observation of the children when interacting in their Portuguese lessons in the Brazilian CLS. Besides being able to check how far the participants' testimony corresponded to their actual use of language, the observations allowed for a better understanding (1) of the factors that triggered the different language patterns as well as (2) of the role of the CLS in the maintenance of Portuguese in the Brazilian community in London.

As shown in this chapter, these children's choices of languages reflect their social motivations for CS. These children consider themselves to be English for being born in England and having native-like competence in English. However, they acknowledge the influences they get from their Brazilian mother in terms of culture and language. The children are comfortable in the "hybridity" of their identities, which they express by the language choices they make. Their language use is closely connected to the identity they wish to portray in each situation. However, their ethnic identity does not come into play in the CLS. Instead there are two main social identities which seem to be considered relevant by these children: a) of a learner and b) of an in-group member. The recordings in the CLS confirmed the children's testimony that they speak Portuguese during their Brazilian Portuguese lessons, especially when addressing their teachers. The recordings also confirmed that, although in the CLS, the children tend to address their friends in English. The unmarked code for the identity of a learner is Portuguese whereas the one for the identity of an in-group member is English. These children's language choices are then triggered by the aspect of their social identity they wish to display at the moment of their interactions. Nevertheless, the CLS appears to have an important role in the maintenance of Brazilian Portuguese among these children.

9.4 SUMMARY

This chapter illustrates the patterns of language use in a Brazilian CLS through the experience of the three children who have attended their lessons for longest. All in all, these children choose language in a rational way according to the goals they have in each of their interactions. In other words, the link between language attitudes and language use is not a straight forward. Having positive language attitudes enable the children to feel at

ease speaking Portuguese but they do not choose languages only because they like speaking it. As illustrated in this chapter, the choices made by the children in the CLS were based on the type of identity they wanted to display and on the purpose of their interactions.

Hypothesizing that the children's use of languages in the home also affects their language choices at the CLS and vice-versa, I turn to Chapter 10, where I examine the patterns of language use at the participants' home, how these patterns relate to their identity and how they might influence the CLS patterns here discussed.

CHAPTER TEN
LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY THROUGH INTERACTIONS WITH FAMILY AND FRIENDS

In Chapter 9 I examined the language choice of three mixed-heritage children during their Portuguese lessons at a Brazilian community language school (CLS) in London. The data showed that each of these children adopts a different language pattern in the CLS. One of them speaks only Portuguese at all times when in the CLS, another child speaks Portuguese with the teacher and English with his classmates and the third child speaks both English and Portuguese with the teacher and his classmates. Despite their different patterns of language choices, all three focal[1] children appear to make their linguistic choices based on the same principle: according to the social identity they wish to portray in each situation they experience in the Brazilian CLS. In general, the children use Portuguese to reflect their identity as a language learner and English for their identity as a member of the children's in-group. More specifically, the children select language according to their expectations in relation to the result of the interaction in which they take part, as discussed in Chapter 2.

The way these children relate their choices of language to their self-identification is further explored in this chapter which looks at their oral interactions with family and friends. As most of these recordings were done at home, I refer to these data as generally collected "at home" but specify the context of each interaction represented in this chapter when doing the analysis. As mentioned in Chapter 3, I consider it important to examine the language choices the children make "at home" due to the fact that, together with school, it is a main place for their socialization (Lamarre & Paredes, 2003). Besides, I believe the two settings, home and school, mutually influence each other when it comes to language use (*cf.* Chapters 3 and 5). Therefore, in addition to looking at the home context specifically, in this chapter I compare the language choices made "at home" with the ones made in the CLS. As explained in Chapter 2, one of my aims in this study is to be able to understand the relationship between the way the child participants choose

[1] The term 'focal children' is here used to describe the children who are the centre of my analysis as done by Elaine Day (2002) in her book entitled *Identity and the Young English Language Learner*, as explained in Chapter 4 section 4.4.

language and how their choices are linked to the portrayal of multiple identities in the different domains of school and home.

10.1 PATTERNS OF LANGUAGE USE WITH FAMILY AND FRIENDS

The situations recorded "at home" were selected by the families themselves (*cf.* Chapter 5). Thus the situations vary from family to family in type and in number in order to reflect the moments where the different family members and their friends usually interact. None of the families were asked to perform any activity which is not already part of their routine. On the contrary, they were presented with a list of different people in their social networks and asked which activity they usually perform together. In some cases the activities were chosen by the mothers only, some were chosen by the children only and other situations were chosen by both mother and children.

The children whose language use is analysed here are the same ones who were the focalchildren in Chapter 9 in order to allow for a comparison of language use/choice in both the CLS and the home contexts. They are Josefa, Benedito and Antônio.

10.1.1. Josefa

The children's types of self-identification are a result of the combination of (1) the facts which construct their ethnicity and (2) how they feel about these facts (*cf.* Chapter 8). Although being fluent in both Portuguese and English and being aware of her parents' ethnic backgrounds, which differ from the majority society, Josefa appears to use the facts of being born in England and of having English as her dominant language to self-identify as English.

Josefa seems to have inherited this objective perspective on language and ethnicity from her mother, Dorotéa, whose self-identification tends towards the "tourist" end of the identity continuum (*cf.* Chapter 7). Nevertheless, Josefa appears to link a situation and/or a person to a language and an ethnicity in a given context (*cf.* Chapter 8 section 8.1.1) and, respects the RO-set[2] of all the interactions that take place in such context. Josefa

[2] RO-set, term coined by Myers-Scotton (1993) to refer to the use of appropriate codes in a given situation with certain people. See

uses Portuguese only, the unmarked code choice, during her individual interview with me (*cf.* Chapter 8) and when at the CLS (*cf.* Chapter 9). Nonetheless, this macro-perspective in choosing language according to domains is influenced, and even changed, in consequence of factors present in the micro level of the interactions (*cf.* Chapter 9 section 9.2.1). When at the CLS, Josefa pursues the identity of a good language learner and thus respects the RO-set in the Brazilian CLS by choosing to speak Portuguese, an unmarked choice, at all times. The same cannot be said about her unmarked RO-set "at home", which is also Portuguese.

1. Josefa as an independent girl V dependent daughter

In the transcription[3] below, Josefa (J) is walking to the tube station with her mother (M) after attending her CLS lesson. The mother takes some of Josefa's snack and starts eating it. Josefa is unhappy because she did not like the snack her mother prepared for her to be eaten at break time in the CLS and has not had it. As a consequence, Josefa is in a foul mood. In addition, Josefa is not happy with the fact that her mother has taken food from her lunch box.

(1) Mother is eating child's snack (English/Portuguese)

1 J: Don't get nothing. Get nothing! No! I just wanna go home.

2 M: *Mas eu quero comer.*

[*But I want to eat.*]

3 J: I'm upset.

4 M: Why?

5 J: *Porque não comi nada.*

[*Because I haven't eaten anything.*]

6 M: *Então vamos comer.*

Chapter 2 for a further discussion on this issue.

[3] The transcriptions in this investigation are presented according to the following codes:

- Normal Times New Roman font = utterances originally in English
- *Italics Times New Roman font* = utterances originally in Portuguese
- [in square brackets] = translations into English
- (in brackets) = added explanations about context
- (???) = inaudible
- underlined = code-mix/code-switch within one utterance
- BLOCK LETTERS = speaker's emphasis, or shouting
- (p) = pause

[*So let's eat.*]

7 J: *Não , mas eu não quero.*

[*No, but I don't want to.*]

8 M: *Vamos comer em casa então.*

[*Let's eat at home then.*]

9 J: *Não gostei do macarrão.*

[*I didn't like the pasta.*]

10 M: *E as cenouras?*

[*And the carrots?*]

11 J: *Não gostei também.*

[*I didn't like them either.*]

In example 1 above, Josefa reacts to the fact that her mother has taken her food by complaining about it in English (Don't get nothing. Get nothing! No! I just wanna go home, line 1). Josefa is being rude and is using the marked code to address her mother. The combination of these two aspects of Josefa's language choice could be counter-productive for her interaction with her mother. However, both Josefa and her mother seem to believe that the use of English entitles Josefa to adopt a more independent and assertive attitude towards her mother. Complaining about Dorotéa's actions in English is Josefa's way of emotionally distancing herself from her mother at the same time that it makes her less accountable for her rude remarks. Choosing the marked language seems to work as Dorotéa does not react disapprovingly to Josefa's rudeness. Instead, Dorotéa replies in Portuguese (*Mas eu quero comer.* [*But I want to eat*], line 2) to state her own wishes. Portuguese is the unmarked choice for Dorotéa and seems to be used here in an emphatic way to signal that her needs are more important than Josefa's demands. Josefa seems to understand her mother's statements and changes tactics. She still uses English (I'm upset, line 3) to express her unhappiness but tones down the way she addresses her mother. Dorotéa appears to understand that Josefa has adopted a new approach and chooses Josefa's preferred language, English, to signal closeness when asking why Josefa is upset (Why?, line 4). Josefa then shows she understands her mother is trying to reach for her and accepts this by using Portuguese, her mother's unmarked language; (*Porque não comi nada.* [*Because I haven't eaten anything*], line 5). This way, Josefa is no longer portraying herself as independent from her mother. Josefa uses Portuguese to be emotionally closer to her

mother and to signal that she wants to be protected. The focus of the exchanges then moves from Dorotéa's needs to Josefa's needs. Having established her needs are important and having convinced her mother to focus on them, Josefa feels comfortable in adopting Portuguese as the language of the rest of the interaction.

The fact that bilingual children often use different languages in conversation with familiar adults who they know are able to speak the same two languages has been long acknowledged (*cf.* Arnberg, 1984 in Pan, 1995:315-6). The question here is why Josefa uses both English and Portuguese in an "at home" context and only Portuguese in the CLS context (*cf.* Chapter 8). How can the change in Josefa's pattern of language choice between the CLS and home be explained? Why did not she speak English to her classmates at the CLS either although she was aware they were fluent speakers of the majority language? Why did not she speak English either to her teacher or to me?

As both contexts (Josefa's "home" and the CLS) have the same RO-set, a possible explanation for the different patterns of language choice is the internal factors present in the different interactions (*cf.* Chapter 2). In the CLS, Josefa's goal was to be perceived as a good learner, thus the use of Portuguese at all times with the teacher and myself and the lack of interaction with her classmates except for class activities in Portuguese. "At home", Josefa seems to be choosing between a different set of identities: the identity of an independent girl, which is linked to her experiences of growing up in the majority society, and of a dependent daughter, which is linked to her experiences of receiving guidance and protection from her family. The search for these two identities leads her to switch between Portuguese and English when interacting with family members.

The change in Josefa's pattern of language choice according to the two domains, "home" and learning environments, are illustrated in the second example below where Josefa asks Dorotéa to interview her. This second extract is similar to Extract 4 presented in Josefa's interactions in the CLS, Chapter 9 section 9.2.1, where Josefa seems to have purposely created an environment where she can show how fluent she is in Portuguese. It could be argued that Josefa is aware of the tape-recorder and is performing to the tape. However,

this behaviour of trying to portray herself as a good learner of Portuguese in any occasion has been mentioned by Dorotéa in her semi-structured interview.

> *'Josefa likes showing she can speak Portuguese. She asks people to speak to her in Portuguese.'*

(2) Asking to be interviewed by her mother (Portuguese/English)

1 J: *Mãe, você pode dar umas perguntas para eu falar, sabe?*
[*Mum, can you ask some questions for me to answer?*]

2 M: *O que você aprendeu hoje na aula?*
[*What did you learn in your lesson today?*]

3 J: *Espera. Igual, 'quantos anos você têm?'.*
[*Wait. Like this, 'how old are you?'.*]

4 M: *Josefa, quantos anos você têm?*
[*Josefa, how old are you?*]

5 J: *Sete...e meio*
[*Seven...and a half*]

6 M: *O que é que você vai fazer no seu aniversário?*
[*What are you going to do on your birthday?*]

7 J: *Eu vou perguntar a você, mamãe...*
[*I'll ask you, mummy...*]

8 M: *Hmmm.*

9 J: *...se minha amiga chamada XXXXX, eu tenho muito dela, se ela...pode vir com eu, para eu, você e ela ir* iceskating. On a Saturday I wanted to go there. After, I want her to sleep and I want her to play.
[*...if my friend XXXXX, I like her a lot, if she...can come with me, so I, you and she can go* iceskating. On a Saturday I wanted to go there. After, I want her to sleep and I want her to play.]

10 M: *hmm...*

In the extract above, although interacting with her mother out of school, Josefa tries to create a formal situation where she can show how good her Portuguese is as evident in lines 1 (*Mãe, você pode dar umas perguntas para eu falar, sabe?* [*Mum, can you ask some questions for me to answer?*]) and 3 (*Espera. Igual, 'quantos anos você têm?'.* [*Wait. Like this, 'how old are you?'.*]). It appears to signal that Josefa is aware that making the interaction more informal can

prompt her to speak English. Josefa is successful in keeping to the unmarked code for interactions with her mother and in the CLS, Portuguese, in lines 1 to 7. However, in line 9, Josefa uses the word 'iceskating' in English. Although this code-switch could be related to not knowing how to say that word in Portuguese, it appears the switch is more related to Josefa's experiences in the majority society. In other words, iceskating is an activity Josefa performs with her English friends in a situation where she is portraying her identity as English. Therefore, she uses the unmarked code of that situation, English.

It is relevant to note that signalling these identity choices through code-switching between Portuguese and English is an unconscious process for both Josefa and her mother. They both believe they only speak Portuguese to each other; however, their experience and understanding of the norms and values of language use are unconsciously accessed by rational calculations about the rewards of selecting one language over another.

In the third extract below, Josefa and Dorotéa are walking along a road when Josefa sees some boys playing with their dog. Josefa shows to be afraid of dogs and asks her mother to protect her.

(3) Running away from a dog (Portuguese/English)

1 J: *Ah, mãe.*
[*Oh, mother.*]
2 M: *Não, não vai fazer nada.*
[*No, it's not going to do anything.*]
3 J: *Tá correndo.*
[*It is running.*]
4 M: *Não faz nada. Tá lá.*
[*It is not going to do anything. It's over there.*]
5 J: Can we go in the park?
6 M: *Não.*
[*No.*]
7 J: One go on there, one go on there, one go on there.
8 M: *Hoje não que a mãe tá cansada.*

[*Not today because I am tired.*]

9 J: One go on each, I promise.

10 M: *Não.*

[*No.*]

11 J: One on each *para falar com ela, a XXXXX. A gente não tá amigas.*

[One on each *so I can speak with her, XXXXX. We are not friends with each other yet.*]

Josefa shows she is afraid of dogs as soon as she hears boys playing with a dog and the dog barking. As shown in line 1 (*Ah, mãe.* [*Oh, mother.*]), Josefa positions herself as a vulnerable and dependent girl by asking her mother to protect her. Thus, she resorts to the use of Portuguese. Dorotéa tries to calm Josefa down by explaining the dog is not going to do anything to her, (*Não, não vai fazer nada.* [*No, it's not going to do anything.*], line 2). Josefa insists that she needs her mother's support by explaining that the dog is running, and thus could go towards her (*Tá correndo* . [*It is running.*], line 3). As Dorotéa insists the dog is too far away and will not be able to do anything to them, (*Não faz nada. Tá lá.* [*It is not going to do anything. It's over there.*], line 4), Josefa realises that playing the dependent girl is not solving her problem. Josefa then decides to change strategy and portrays herself as an independent girl who can find a solution for her problem. Therefore, Josefa uses English to suggest that they should go to the park, (Can we go in the park?, line 5). By going to the park, Josefa would ensure she was away from the dog. Josefa tries to negotiate this change in their route with Dorotéa in English, maintaining her English identity. As Dorotéa does not want to go to the park and refuses to give in to Josefa's wishes, (*Não* . [*No.*], line 6), (*Hoje não que a mãe tá cansada.* [*Not today because I am tired.*], line 8), (*Não* . [*No.*], line 10), Josefa changes strategy. Josefa again decides to play a more fragile and dependent role and justifies her wishes of going to the park to make friends with the new CLS student she spots in the park and who she had met in her lesson that morning. As shown in line 12 (One on each *para falar com ela, a XXXXX. A gente não tá amigas.* [One on each *so I can speak with her, XXXXX. We are not friends with each other yet.*]), Josefa switches into Portuguese then.

In the fourth example below, Josefa and Dorotéa are in the park. Dorotéa is chatting to the new girl's mother, who is also Brazilian. They speak to each other in Portuguese

while the new girl stays by them having a snack and Josefa plays on the swings by herself. Josefa wants her mother to help her in the swings by pushing her and shouts to get her mother's attention. Meanwhile, the father of the new girl, an Englishman, arrives to pick her up.

(4) Trying to get her mother's help (Portuguese/English)

1 J: *Mãe, me ajuda!*
[*Mother, help me!*]
2 (no reply)
3 J: Mummy, help me!
4 (no reply)
5 J: *Mamãe,* help! *E agora no outro.*
[*Mummy,* help! *And now on the other one.*]

The first time Josefa tries to get her mother's attention, Josefa identifies herself as a vulnerable child and uses her mother's unmarked language, Portuguese, (*Mãe, me ajuda!* [*Mother, help me!*], line 1). However, the mother is so entertained by the conversation with her friend that she does not reply at all, line 2. While waiting for the reply, the new girl's father approaches his family and addresses them in English. Josefa then tries to get her mother's attention once more but this time she uses English, (Mummy, help me!, line 3). Although unsystematic, this ability of intentional switch due to lack of reaction by the addressee has been noticed in children from the age of 2 (*cf.* Döpke, 1992:479). In addition to being a response to the lack of reaction from the addressee, in this case Josefa's mother, Josefa's use of English illustrates CS as an inclusive strategy (*cf.* Ncoko *et al.*, 2000:233). Here Josefa appears to be trying to ensure the Englishman can understand her. Although addressing her mother, enabling the Englishman to know she is asking for help could make her mother more responsive. In either case, it is clear Josefa is playing with the languages in her repertoire to have her goals met. Having no reply from her mother or the Englishman, (line 4), Josefa shouts for her mother in Portuguese and shouts for help in English in the same sentence, (*Mamãe,* help! [*Mummy,* help!], line 5). Josefa manages to direct her plea to both her addressees in one single utterance. The use of Portuguese places Josefa as a dependent daughter who needs assistance; however, she also displays a degree of independence by selecting to use English when shouting 'help'.

The use of English has multiple meanings here. It is addressed at a stranger with the intention of being understood by him. By being understood, Josefa expects to cause her mother to feel forced to react to her plea and help her. It could also lead the stranger to help her with the swings, which would symbolise having the ties of dependency in relation to her mother cut and the links with the outside world being created.

The four examples above show that there is a difference between the identities Josefa portrays at the CLS and "at home". At the CLS (see Chapter 9), the relevant image for Josefa is her identity as a good Portuguese learner. Thus, she ensures that she uses only the Brazilian Portuguese language at all times. As the other children interact among themselves in English, Josefa avoids interacting with them in order to protect her learning identity. The recordings "at home" have evidence of both Josefa and her mother using English and Portuguese to communicate with each other. "At home", Josefa's selection of language exemplifies the negotiation of power that takes place between herself and her mother. By choosing Portuguese, Josefa complies with her mother's preferred language and respects the RO-set of the situation. By choosing English, Josefa defies her mother's authority and the RO-set. This way, Josefa manages to portray her dual social identity being explored "at home": of a dependent daughter and of an independent girl.

Figure 4 below shows that Josefa displays only one identity, of a good learner of Portuguese, in the CLS which leads her to the use of Portuguese only. However, the societal factors surrounding Josefa have equipped her with two languages, Portuguese and English. It is "at home" where Josefa's personal experiences of two different social identities (dependent versus independent) take place and where she chooses to use both languages in her repertoire. Portuguese is Josefa's mother's preferred language and the one considered unmarked to be used "at home". Josefa is positioned with less power than her mother when she complies with the use of Portuguese as the home RO-set. The usage of Portuguese shows Josefa as a vulnerable child who is seeking protection. English is linked to the world outside home and shows Josefa is growing up and becoming independent. Therefore, it appears that whenever Josefa's goals are to express her needs she chooses to speak Portuguese; whenever Josefa's goals are to show autonomy from her mother she challenges the home RO-set and chooses to

speak English.

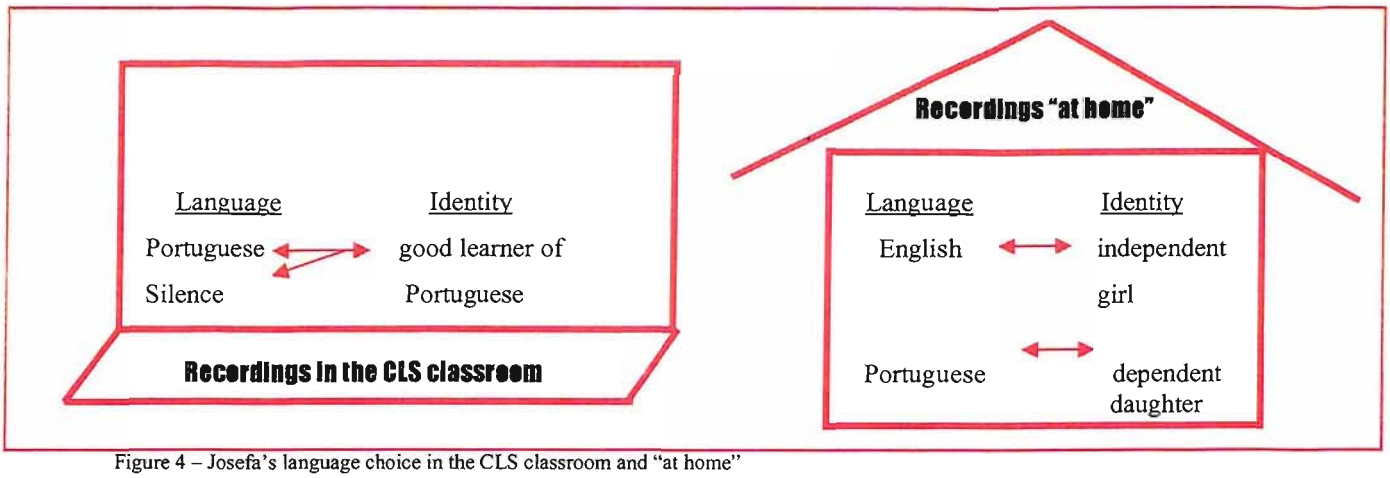


Figure 4 – Josefa's language choice in the CLS classroom and "at home"

As mentioned in Chapter 9, Benedito attends the same class as Josefa. However, while Josefa portrays only one identity in the CLS (of a good learner of Portuguese), Benedito portrays two different identities at the CLS (of a good learner of Portuguese and of belonging to his friends' in-group). Nevertheless, Benedito portrays similar identities to Josefa in the way he makes his language choices "at home".

10.1.2 BENEDITO

Like Josefa, Benedito uses the criteria of language spoken and place of birth to self-identify as English (*cf.* Chapter 8 section 8.1.2). Benedito was born in England and, although being fluent in Portuguese and English, his first language as well as his dominant language is English.

Benedito's mother's identity is socially constructed as Brazilian for being born and growing up in Brazil but is also affected by the English culture which she daily experiences by living in London (*cf.* Chapter 7). By self-identifying from a "hybrid" perspective, Durvalina constructs less rigid barriers between the Brazilian and the English cultures.

> '*...what I find easier to be done in the way English people do, I will certainly do the English way. I like the practicality of things, you see.*' (Durvalina, Focus Interview)

In spite of self-identifying as English, Benedito is influenced by Durvalina's "hybrid" identification perspective. Although stating during his playful interviews that he speaks English to his friends, Benedito is proud of his bilingual skills and acknowledges being able to use two languages with some of his friends, which was illustrated in the recordings of his interactions in the CLS (*cf.* Chapter 8 section 8.2.2). Benedito chooses English in his private interactions with his classmates and thus ensures his identity as a member of the English boys group since this is the unmarked code in their interactions, as acknowledged by himself in his playful interview. However, as discussed in Chapter 8, the unmarked RO-set in the CLS is Portuguese and Benedito ensures he chooses this language when interacting with the teacher or in any public interaction with his classmates. This way, Benedito guarantees that his identity as a good learner of Portuguese is protected.

Benedito initially applies his CLS pattern of language choice to the situations "at home", as shown in the Extracts 1 and 2 below.

1. Benedito as an independent boy

In the extract below, Benedito (B) is playing at home with his best friend (Fr), who also attends the CLS. Although both children are bilingual, they only interact in English when in private exchanges.

(1) Playing with friends (English)

1 B: Do you wanna play 'Who wants to be a millionaire?'
2 Fr: I'll read it.
3 B: No way, I'm the one that reads the answers. Do you want me to be the one who reads the answers?
4 Fr: Let me do that.
5 B: No.

In Chapter 3 section 3.3.1, I discussed the use of a marked language to signal different opinions and to distance from interlocutors. In the example above, it does not happen.

Benedito uses English, the unmarked choice among the children, to disagree with his friend (No way, I'm the one that reads the answers. Do you want me to be the one who reads the answers?, line 4). In this example, the boys are equal in terms of their power relationship, therefore they do not need to use a marked choice of language in order to portray distance. Having said that, it is also relevant to note the value the different languages have to the different interlocutors. Portuguese is valued by the mothers as an important marker of their ethnicity (*cf.* Chapter 7), whereas the children, despite their positive attitudes to both languages, are more attached to English (*cf.* Chapter 8). In other words, the children's choices to use the marked language when interacting with their mothers highlights emotional distancing due to the value the mothers attached to their first language. The same emotional distancing is not marked by language choice in interactions among children who have positive attitudes to both languages. Nevertheless, Benedito's choice of language tends to reflect the connection between specific people to specific languages. In general, Benedito speaks Portuguese to Brazilian adults in his mother's social networks and English to his own friends. Durvalina herself reports on Benedito's ability of attaching a language to a person.

> *'In a more intimate relationship, (Benedito) speaks Portuguese (with Brazilians). He has done it since he was little; he identifies people according to the language (they speak)'*
> (Durvalina, Focus Interview)

Choosing language according to the interlocutor was a pattern adopted by Benedito at the CLS and is replicated by him "at home" as exemplified in Extract 2 below.

2. Benedito as an example of "hybridity"[4]

Extract (2) is a continuation of Extract (1), where Benedito (B) was playing 'Who wants to be a millionaire?' with his friend (Fr). In this part of the recording, Benedito's mother (m) and his friend's mother (FrM) join them in the game. The boys follow the same

[4] As discussed in Chapter 2, "hybridity" is here seen from a post structuralist perspective as a location which enables the appearance of new and alternative identity options (Bhabha, 1994). These options derive from the recognition of the multiple and changeable characteristics of identity itself (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). This concept of "hybridity" challenges the notion of linking identity to only one affiliation (Alibhai-Brown, 2000) and recognises the integration of links to traditional and contemporary modes of an ethnic heritage with the experiences in a new culture (Harris, 2004).

pattern of interaction shown in the CLS. They interact in English between themselves but choose Portuguese to interact with adult native speakers of Portuguese as well as with each other as long as their negotiation benefits from including the adults.

(2) Playing with best friend and their mothers (English/ Portuguese)

1 B: You are asking the audience.

(FrM, m and Fr speaking to each other far from the microphone)

2 B: Ai, ai, they think it is C. You won a lot of money. *Ele não pode usar esse*
[Ai, ai, they think it is C. You won a lot of money. *He can't use this (lifeline).*]

3 FrM: *Só o telefone.*
[*Only the phone.*]

4 B: *Não , agora você vai ser o moço.* (speaking to m)
[*No, now you'll be the man.*]

5 Fr: *Não, eu vou ser o moço.*
[*No, I'll be the man.*]

6 B: *Não, agora você vai ser o moço.* (speaking to m)
[*No, now you'll be the man.*]

7 m: *Eu sou o moço?*
[*Am I the man?*]

8 B: *Não, o XXXX, não.*
[*No, not XXXX*]

9 Fr: *Eu vou, sim*
[*I didn't want to.*]

10 FrM: *Atenção. A pergunta vale 22 mil.*
[*Attention. The question is worth 22 thousand.*]

11 B: *Oh, lê.*
[*Oh, read.*]

12 Ma: *Qual destes é o rio mais longo?*
[*Which one is the longest river?*]

13 B: *Eu sei, eu sei, eu sei.*
[*I know, I know, I know*]

14 FrM: *Eufrates, Amazônia ou Nilo?*
[*Eufrates, the Amazon or the Nile?*]

15 Fr: *Amazônia, Amazônia.*
[*The Amazon. The Amazon.*]

16 B: *Eu acho esse.*

[*I think it is this one.]*

17 FrM: *Eufrates?*

[*Eufrates*]

18 Fr: *Amazônia* .

[*The Amazon.*]

In line 1, (You are asking the audience), Benedito addresses his friend in English, the unmarked code between them, to acknowledge the fact that his friend is asking the mothers for help. Benedito listens to all the negotiations about the right answer taking place between his friend and the mothers. Benedito then addresses his friend in English in the first part of line 2 to give some feedback on their discussions of the right answer, (Ai, ai, they think it is C. You won a lot of money. *Ele não pode usar esse* [Ai, ai, they think it is C. You won a lot of money. *He can't use this (lifeline).*]). Benedito resorts to Portuguese in the same line to address the mothers, the unmarked code between them, and reminds them of the rules of the game. Benedito's friend's mother tries to justify her son's action by explaining he is only using the phone, line 3. The boys turn their attention to negotiating in Portuguese who will be the next person to be the presenter in the game, lines 5 to 9. As discussed in Chapter 3, it is another example of switching into Portuguese in order to include a third party in the conversation, in this case, the mothers. As the boys do not manage to agree on who is going to be the presenter, the friend's mother decides to take over and starts acting as the presenter herself, (*Atenção. A pergunta vale 22 mil.* [*Attention. The question is worth 22 thousand.*], line 10). She uses Portuguese and the boys try to answer her question following the RO-set established by her, lines 13 to 18.

In the interactions in the CLS (*cf.* Chapter 9 section 9.2.2), the adult was the teacher and the children were Benedito' classmates, including his best friend. There, the identities being contrasted by the different language choices were the one of a good learner of Portuguese and the one of belonging to the boys' in-group. Benedito chooses language in a similar way when interacting with adults and children "at home", and thus displays multiple facets of his identity. However, it is not the identity of being a good learner that is relevant "at home" but the identity of belonging to two different ethnicities, English and Brazilian. Albeit being born in England and feeling English, Benedito is aware that

being able to speak Portuguese connects him to a Brazilian identity, as discussed in Chapter 8 section 8.1.2(4).

Benedito moves smoothly from one language to another and plays with the identities attached to these languages in a way that shows him being comfortable with both languages and both identities they display.

> *'I like it when people speak to me in Portuguese'* (Benedito, Playful Interview)

In the extract above, Benedito uses Portuguese with his mother and his friend in respect to the RO-set for interactions which take place among Brazilian people. Benedito uses English when respecting the fact that the RO-set for interactions among English people require the English language to be used. Nevertheless, Benedito is aware of the power negotiations that take place through language choice, as illustrated in Extract (3) below where Benedito negotiates his identity as an independent boy over his identity of a dependent son.

3. Benedito as an independent boy V a dependent son

Benedito (B) showed his mother (m) a new game he learnt at school, noughts and crosses. The mother did not recognise the game by its name in English. Therefore, Benedito explains the rules of the game to her in English. His language choice for explaining the game seems to be connected to the fact that he is recalling the explanation to him given by his friend in English. This connection appears to reflect both a language choice resulting from quoting the original explanation (Ncoko *et al.*, 2000:235) as much as from the links Benedito has with the majority society where he experiences an identity as belonging to his friends' in-group. After the explanation and the demonstration, Durvalina realises she knows the game and is very keen on playing it with Benedito. The extract below shows the interaction between mother and son after he has lost a few rounds of the game.

(3) Playing with his mother (Portuguese/English)

1 B: I'll win this one. Block you.

2 m: *Presta atenção.* Block you.
[*Pay attention.* Block you]

3 B: *Ha-ha, ganhou!.*
[*Ha-ha, you've won!*]

4 m: *Porque não pôs aqui para eu não ganhar?*
[*Why didn't you put it here so I wouldn't win?*]

5 B: *Ah, ganhei, ó.*
[*Ah, I've won, look.*]

6 m: *Ele ganhou um.*
[*He won one.*]

7 B: *Eu sou bom nisto.*
[*I'm good at it.*]

8 m: *Não. Cê é bom nada. Você ganhou só uma. Eu ganhei um punhado.*
[*No. you're not good at all. You've just won one. I've won a few.*]

9 B: *Você ganhou duas vezes.*
[*You've won twice.*]
(laughs)

10 m: *Ganhou de novo?*
[*You've won again?*]

11 B: Three, four. It might be a draw.

12 m: *Você tá ficando fogo.*
[*You're getting good at it.*]

13 B: You know when I get mad that's how good I get.

14 m: *Você tá ficando fogo.*
[*You're getting good at it.*]
(laughs)

In the extract above, although losing, Benedito tries to establish being in control over the game by using English to address his mother (I'll win this one. Block you, line 1). Durvalina points out to him it is not really the case yet and warns him in Portuguese to concentrate more on the game. In the same utterance (*Presta atenção.* Block you. [*Pay attention.* Block you], line 2), Durvalina switches into English. Durvalina's use of English here is an incorporation of the expression used by Benedito when teaching her the game. This way, she puts herself in line with Benedito by using the language he finds easier. This strategy

seems to work since Benedito acknowledges the game has been won by the mother in Portuguese (*Ha-ha, ganhou!* [*Ha-ha, you've won!*], line 3). The conversation is carried on in the unmarked choice for interactions "at home", Portuguese, the whole time Durvalina is winning the game (*cf.* lines 4 to 10). However, Benedito's language choice changes when he turns the game over (Three, four. It might be a draw, line 11). Durvalina sticks to her preferred language (*Você tá ficando fogo.* [*You're getting good at it.*], line 12). Benedito confirms his new role as a good player and his independence by commenting on his skills improvement in English (You know when I get mad that's how good I get, line 13). As this interaction takes place in a playful atmosphere, Durvalina does not feel really challenged and compliments Benedito again in Portuguese (*Você tá ficando fogo.* [*You're getting good at it.*], line 14), the unmarked code for her. Both of them laugh at Benedito's achievement. In sum, Benedito and Durvalina mostly interact in Portuguese. The times Benedito wishes to express his identity as an independent boy who is doing well in the game without his mother's help are exceptions. In those situations, Benedito speaks English to distance himself from his mother and from the identity of a dependent son.

This pattern of language choice to symbolize independence from the control of parents can also be found in Josefa's interactions with her mother (*cf.* section 10.1.1 above). However, this is a pattern which cannot be found in these children's interactions in the CLS with their teacher. Both Benedito and Josefa only use Portuguese to interact with their teacher. However, Benedito resorts to silence when there is power negotiation with his teacher (*cf.* Chapter 9 section 9.2.2). Resorting to the unmarked code in the CLS would mean damaging his identity as a good learner, thus it is avoided. Resorting to the unmarked code "at home", English, signals that the power relations with their mothers are being questioned and a new RO-set is being requested. However, their identities as their mothers' children are never at risk. English has a different symbolic value when Benedito interacts with his friends. By using English to play with his friends, Benedito is expressing his identity as part of the boys' in-group. This link between the usage of English and the outside world is also found in interactions which take place "at home", as shown in the example below.

4. Benedito as a learner of the mainstream school

In the extract below, Benedito is doing a piece of homework set by his mainstream school. His mother is helping him. In general, they interact in Portuguese. However, Benedito finds it easier to do his homework in English recalling explanations given by the mainstream teacher in English. It is a similar process to the one illustrated above when Benedito used English to instruct his mother on how to play noughts and crosses.

(4) Doing Maths homework with his mother (Portuguese/English)

1 m: *Quando você vai ter teste?*
[*When are you going to have your test?*]

2 B: *Eu acho* tomorrow.
[*I think it is* tomorrow]

3 m: *Cadê o caderno?*
[*Where's your notebook?*]

4 B: *Aqui.*
[*Here.*]

5 m: *Cadê seu lápis? Lápis de escrever. Você guardou aqui?*
[*Where's your pencil? Your writing pencil. Have you put it here?*]

6 m: *Isso é a família do (???) Você sabe o que é pra você fazer aí? Sabe? É para você pegar os números que estão aqui dentro e juntar e fazer 20. Por exemplo, aqui têm* nineteen.
[*This is the (???) family. Do you know what you have to do here? Do you? It's for you to use the numbers, add them and have number 20. For example, here is* nineteen.]

7 B: Nineteen to one.

8 m: It makes twenty, huh-huh. *Põe no caderno para não furar. Qual mais?*
[It makes twenty, huh-huh. *Put it on top of the notebook so you don't make a hole (on your worksheet). What else?*]

9 B: Eighteen to two. *Olha, fiz uma letra.*
[Eighteen to two. *Look, I've made a letter.*]

10 m: *Qual?*
[*Which one?*]

11 B: *Agá.*
[*H*]

12 B: *Durvalina, estou* in section B. I don't know what to do in B. B, B, B. Durvalina, I don't know what to do in B.
[*Durvalina, I'm* in section B. I don't know what to do in B. B, B, B. Durvalina, I don't know what to do in B.]

13 m: B. *Têm que ler, né, Benedito. Aqui, o quê que tá escrito aqui?*
[B. *You have to read it, Benedito. Here, what is written here?*]
14 B: Take four away from each number. (calculates in English in low voice) Six.
15 m: *Não*.
[*No*]
16 B: (calculates in English in low voice) Seven.
17 m: *Não*.
[*No*]
18 B: Eight.
19 m: Eight.

Portuguese is the unmarked code to be used at home between Benedito and his mother. This is the language mainly used in lines 1 to 6. In line 6, (*Isso é a família do (???) Você sabe o que é pra você fazer aí? Sabe? É para você pegar os números que estão aqui dentro e juntar e fazer 20. Por exemplo, aqui têm* nineteen. [*This is the (???) family. Do you know what you have to do here? Do you? It's for you to use the numbers, add them and have number 20. For example, here is* nineteen.], English is introduced by the mother when she refers to Benedito's worksheet in order to explain the exercise to him. Benedito carries on the exercise in English, line 7 (Nineteen to one.). Durvalina confirms he has done the exercise correctly in English in line 8 (It makes twenty, huh-huh. *Põe no caderno para não furar. Qual mais?* [It makes twenty, huh-huh. *Put it on top of the notebook so you don't make a hole. What else?*]) and switches to Portuguese to make comments not directly related to the Maths exercise. Benedito carries on the same pattern of talking about the exercise itself in English and side comments in Portuguese in line 9, (Eighteen to two. *Olha, fiz uma letra.* [Eighteen to two. *Look, I've made a letter.*]). In line 12, (*Durvalina, estou* in section B. I don't know what to do in B. B, B, B. *Durvalina,* I don't know what to do in B. [*Durvalina, I'm* in section B. I don't know what to do in B. B, B, B. Durvalina, I don't know what to do in B.]), Benedito shouts for help in Portuguese. However, the use of English is triggered by the fact that he refers to the exercise he needs help with in the way it is written on the worksheet, section B. Durvalina herself refers to the section in English but guides Benedito on what to do in Portuguese, line 13 (B. *Têm que ler, né, Benedito. Aqui, o quê que tá escrito aqui?* [B. *You have to read it, Benedito. Here, what is written here?*]). Durvalina also uses English to confirm to Benedito he has the right answer for the exercise, (Eight, line 19). However, she uses Portuguese in lines 15 and 17, (*Não.* [*No*]), to point out his answer is wrong. Durvalina's use of English in lines 8, 13 and 19 appear to illustrate the mothers'

difficulties in ignoring their children's use of English as commented on by another mother.

> '*You see, I speak Portuguese to them all the time but they only reply in English. It makes me very tired. Now that you are here, it's easy. But if there is somebody else who speaks English, I end up speaking English as well.*' (Rogéria, home recording, having dinner with children and a Brazilian friend)

All in all, this extract of Benedito doing his Maths homework with his mother illustrates the use of the majority language linked to experiences outside home. As illustrated on line 14, (Take four away from each number. (calculates in English in low voice) Six.), even Benedito's thinking process is carried out in English as he counts to himself. The fact that Benedito was reading out instructions which were in English may have led Benedito to make the calculations in English. However, Benedito's choice of language matches the 'self-address' type of code-switching, one subcategory of the 'off-record' discourse advocated by Hancock (1997:228-229) and discussed in Chapter 3 section 3.4.2. Benedito uses English to signal that he is not interacting with his mother, which is reinforced by the low voice he uses when talking to himself. Benedito speaks in normal volume when addressing his mother but still gives what he believes to be the right answer in English. It seems that Benedito's use of English is connected to his experiences in the majority society by attending a mainstream school.

As explained in section 10.1, the situations "at home" here presented vary from family to family. This variation is a reflection of the diversity in the way the families expose their children to social networks where Portuguese can be used. The diverse situations may also present the children with the possibility of portraying different social identities. Having said that, both Benedito and Josefa generally use Portuguese and English "at home" to display the tension between their dependent and independent identities. However, Benedito's recordings show that his social networks include people other than his mother with whom he can interact in Portuguese. It means that in addition to choosing between a dependent versus an independent role, Benedito is presented with the possibility of making language choices that can also portray his "hybrid" social

experiences of his Englishness in the outside world (friends, mainstream school, TV programmes and games) and of his Brazilianness at home (familial links), as shown in Figure 5 below.

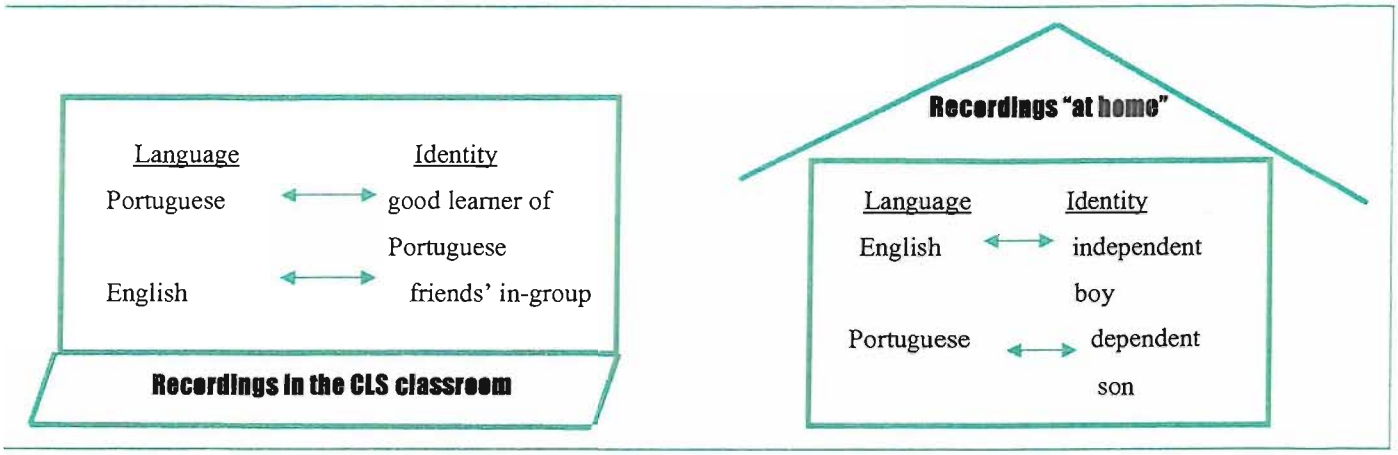


Figure 5 – Benedito's interactions in the CLS and "at home"

Antônio, in contrast, presented a limited social network in his recordings in relation to links with his Brazilianness "at home". In spite of attending the CLS and being in contact with Brazilians as reported in Chapter 8, the frequency of these contacts were not considered often enough by him and his mother to be included in the home recordings. As mentioned in section 10.1, the families were asked to record activities which were considered part of their routine in order to collect data that were representative of people in the family and friends which they would meet on a regular basis.

10.1.3 ANTÔNIO

In contrast to Josefa and Benedito, Antônio openly refers to having a "hybrid" identity as consequence of having parents with different ethnic backgrounds (see Chapter 8 section 8.1.3). However, out of the three focal children, Antônio is the only one not to be exposed to the use of Portuguese "at home" as he (A) reports to me (R) in his playful interview.

R: '*Where do you speak Portuguese*?'
A: '*At the school on Saturday.*'
R: '*Only there*?'
A: '*Yes.*'

Having said that, it seems relevant to note that Antônio mostly interacts with me in Portuguese as shown above. Antônio's choice of language to interact with me appears to be a reflection of his language use pattern in the CLS. As explained in Chapter 4 section 4.4, Antônio knows me from the CLS where I am the teaching assistant in his lessons. Nevertheless, English is the language Antônio uses more often. As explained in Chapter 7, Antônio's mother, Aparecida, has English as her language of affection and adopts it in the family home. English is also Antônio's preferred language and the one he considers easier as he states in his playful interview:

'I find Portuguese difficult.'

Having said that, Antônio has positive attitudes to both Portuguese and English languages (*cf.* Chapter 8). When at the CLS, Antônio chooses between two identities, classmates' in-group or as a learner of Portuguese, and uses the languages in his repertoire to display either of these identities (*cf.* Chapter 9 section 9.2.3). At home, Antônio only uses English, the unmarked code for his family, as shown in the extracts below.

1. Antônio as a member of the majority society

In the first extract below, Antônio (A) goes to the room where his father (Fa), who has just woken up, is listening to the radio. Here this extract is relevant because it confirms that the unmarked code in the household is English, as mentioned by both Aparecida and Antônio in the previous phases of this investigation.

(1) In the bedroom with his dad (English)

1 Fa: What's in there?
2 (no reply)
3 Fa: I said, what's in there?
4 A: There is a tape-recorder in the bag.
(laughs) (I imagine the father made a face)
5 Fa: What is she recording it for?
6 A: (???)

7 Fa: She doesn't want to listen to my crap conversation, does she?[5]
8 A: I don't know.
9 Fa: We have to be careful with what we talk about.
10 A: (laughs)
11 Fa: No?
12 A: Dad, it is recording everything you are saying right now.
13 Fa: Exactly.
14 A: It is to see when we speak Portuguese during the day.
15 Fa: But we don't.
16 A: I know but if I'm speaking to my grandparents or if I'm singing a song to XXXX.
17 (mother shouts for Antônio)
18 A: WHAT? Coming.

In Antônio's case, the use of the English language takes place as the norm of the interactions "at home", as already mentioned. Nonetheless, Antônio hints at the fact that he uses Portuguese to some people at home: his grandparents and his sister[6], line 16. However, his grandparents do not live in England. Antônio's comment here in reality gives us insights about what he considers to be family. It is a Brazilian concept of family which includes extended members. Antônio is exposed to the Brazilian culture through his mother, their contacts with the Brazilian community in London and with Brazil. Antônio is also exposed to Brazilian Portuguese through his mother's Brazilian friends, the CLS in London and trips to Brazil. However, Portuguese is not used in Antônio's household at all. It means that the contrast between being a dependent son and an independent English child which was flagged by Josefa and Benedito does not apply to Antônio. Antônio portrays himself as a member of the majority society and of his English speaking family in all the interactions at home. Therefore the term English child has a different meaning when applied to Antônio. In Josefa's and Benedito's case, using the English language in interactions with their mothers portray themselves as English children who are becoming independent due to their connections with the majority

[5] The data collection issues raised by Antônio's father are important. As explained in the ethical issues I considered in designing the methods for researching with children (Chapter 6 section 6.4), the fathers were sent a letter with explanations about the research. However, the mothers were the ones contacted face-to-face in many occasions throughout the research. This father's reaction shows that there would have been benefits in contacting both parents face-to-face and directly involving both parents in this investigation as I discuss in the conclusion (Chapter 11 section 11.1.3).
[6] Antônio's sister was only a few months old at the beginning of this investigation. Therefore, she is not part of this study, as explained in Chapter 1 section 1.3. However, she appears in some of the recordings a year later when she is starting to speak.

society. In Antônio's case, speaking English and being English is the only identity available to him at home. As a consequence, the negotiations of power between Antônio and his mother are not symbolised by language choice. These negotiations are actually carried out as if they were both monolinguals, as illustrated in Extract (2) below.

Aparecida shouts for Antônio to go down to the kitchen, where she is. As soon as Antônio gets in the kitchen, Aparecida starts complaining about the tea which had been spilled on the table and insinuates Antônio had done it. Antônio answers back as he does not believe he is the one to blame for the mess.

(2) Arguing with his mother (English)

1 M: Look, there's tea all over this, all over this table.
2 A: What?
3 M: TEA all over your books and your table.
4 A: What did I do?
5 M: You were here.
6 A: No, that had already happened because (p) nobody knocked the tea over.
7 M: (???)
8 A: No.
9 M: (???)
10 A: I don't know.
11 M: Get something to clean the table then.

As in Antônio's interaction in Extract (1) with his father, the whole conversation with Aparecida is carried out in English. In Josefa's and in Benedito's cases, the interactions with the mothers would involve the use of Brazilian Portuguese. However, in Antônio's case, English is the preferred language by the mother who reports in her semi-structured interview to only address her children and her husband in this language. Aparecida's report is confirmed by Extract (3) which shows that English is also used in Antônio's household when affection is being displayed. Antônio shows he is annoyed by his mother's accusations about spilling tea on the table and refuses to clean it. Aparecida feels touched by his reaction and invites him to stay so they can have breakfast together. Antônio gives in to Aparecida's display of affection and allows her to cuddle him.

(3) Having breakfast with mother and sister (English)

1 A: I'm going downstairs.
2 M: Come on, let's have some breakfast.
3 A: No, you didn't even say good-morning to me.
4 M: Come here (laughs) Good-morning, my darling. (mother kisses Antônio)
5 A: You've got egg breath. Hah-hah, no cuddles for you. (talking to his sister)
6 M: Would you like a glass of water? (talking to daughter)
6 S: Me, baby?
7 M: You, baby.
8 S: Baby.
9 M: What are you having for breakfast, baby? Porridge?
10 S: bah-bah.

Extract (3) also shows Aparecida interacting with her little daughter in English. Antônio addresses his sister in this extract only once. Although having mentioned in his playful interview that he addresses his sister in Portuguese, this recording shows Antônio speaking to her in English.

The extract below illustrates again the fact that Antônio (A) does not speak Portuguese to his sister (S), but sings to her as he mentions in line 16 of Extract (1). In Extract (4) below, Antônio is asked to take care of his little sister while Aparecida tidies up the house. Antônio and his sister, who is months old, are playing by themselves in a separate room.

(4) Playing with his sister (Portuguese/English)

1 A: *Tinha um balão, tenho ainda.*
[*I had a balloon. I still have it.*]
2 A: *Espertalhão, é ainda.*
[*Clever still is*]
3 S: Book
4 A: Good girl. Did you say book? Good girl.
5 A: Do you want your book back now?
6 S: Back.

There are no verbal exchanges in Portuguese between Antônio and his sister except for

when he is singing to her, lines 1 and 2, as explained by himself when talking to his dad in the first example. The use of Portuguese when singing rhymes seems to be related to his personal experience of having attended a nursery school in Brazil between the ages of 2 and 3, a period in which Antônio and his family were residing there.

As lines 3 and 6 show, Antônio's sister has just started to speak so she uses single words to communicate. All her communication trials are in English which are followed or triggered by Antônio's replies in English, lines 4 and 5. The use of the majority language among siblings has been recorded in other studies (*e.g.* Pauwels, 2005; Lamarre & Paredes, 2003) and has been acknowledged by the mothers participating in this study during the semi-structured interviews.

In sum, Antônio's recordings show him interacting with different members of his family "at home". In all occasions Antônio and his relatives only use English among themselves, except for when Antônio sings rhymes to his sister. As discussed in Chapter 7 section 7.2.3, Antônio's mother, who describes her self-identity as "hybrid", has strong emotional links to her Englishness. One sign in support of that is the fact that she adopts only English when interacting with her husband and children although they have a good command of both English and Portuguese. Nevertheless, both Antônio's parents have positive attitudes towards both languages and both cultures (see Chapter 7) and are very keen on Antônio's exposure to the Brazilian culture and use of Portuguese. They have social networks that involve other Brazilian nationals. Antônio is reported to interact in Portuguese with the Brazilian nationals, however, the family did not make any recordings of such interactions, except for the time of the playful interview with me, when Antônio spoke mostly in Portuguese, as described in Chapter 8 section 8.1.3.

Figure 6 below shows that Antônio differs from both Josefa and Benedito in relation to his language choices at home. Antônio adopts the use of English at all times "at home" and displays the identity of an English child, which in his case means being comfortable in belonging to the majority group, whereas Josefa and Benedito switch between Portuguese and English used as a resource in order to portray dependent/independent identities. Having

said that, both Antônio and Benedito switch between Portuguese and English at the CLS positioning themselves as a good learner or as members of their friends' in-group.

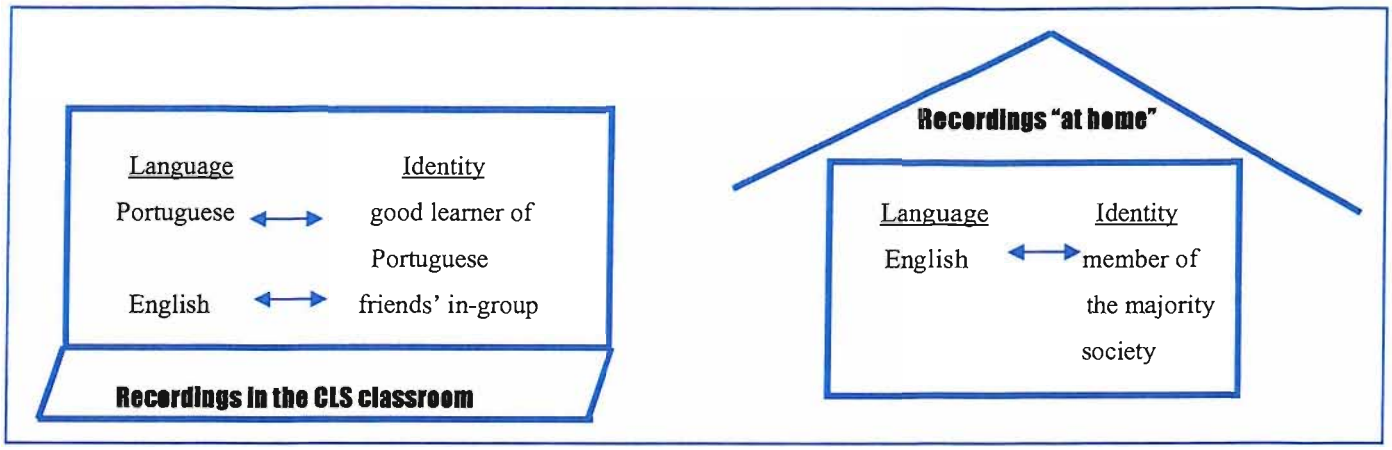


Figure 6 – Antônio's interactions in the CLS and "at home"

10.2 DISCUSSION

In Chapter 7 the mothers referred to the importance of speaking Portuguese to their identity as Brazilians. They also mentioned considering it important to ensure that their children were exposed to the use of the Brazilian Portuguese language. Therefore, the mothers reported making an effort to be in touch with their families and friends in Brazil through regular trips there as well as to have ties with some aspects of the Brazilian community in London.

As a consequence, the children are influenced by these experiences of being exposed to the English culture in England and to the Brazilian culture both in the community in England and in Brazil. The children's experiences not only involve aspects of the culture of both societies but also the different languages used by their members (see Chapter 8). As a result of these experiences, the children tend to describe themselves as being English at the same time as they acknowledge their varied linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Moreover, this varied cultural and linguistic experience is valued by the children as positive and useful. Therefore, the children display positive attitudes towards both the English and Portuguese languages. Nevertheless, the children's positive attitudes towards the languages in their repertoire do not determine the language choices they make.

"At home", Portuguese is mainly used by the children in interactions with the adult Brazilian Portuguese speakers, as demonstrated in this chapter. Nonetheless, the children's choice of using either English or Portuguese "at home" is connected to identity issues. The use of Portuguese with family members tends to signal a social identity as a dependent child whereas the use of English tends to signal a social identity as an independent child who is also a member of the majority society. As argued in Chapter 9, the children's language use in the CLS is determined by the social identity flagged by each language in that context. The choice to speak Portuguese is made when the children wish to portray themselves as good learners of Portuguese, and English is spoken when there is a wish to be perceived as part of their friends' in-group. Nevertheless, the CLS plays a major role in these children's use of Portuguese. The CLS is the only place where the children speak Portuguese among themselves. In other words, the children's linguistic and cultural experiences in the CLS appear to provide support to the mothers' effort of ensuring that their children speak Brazilian Portuguese and are in touch with their Brazilian cultural heritage.

10.3 SUMMARY

In this chapter, I set out to examine the language use of the focal mixed-heritage children participating in this study when interacting in their "home" context. Josefa, Benedito and Antônio were recorded in interactions with family members and friends. Although displaying a different pattern of language choice "at home" from the pattern shown in the CLS (*cf.* Chapter 9), the focal children also rationalise the language choices they make according to the type of identity they wanted to display and on the purpose of their interactions. There is a lot more code-switching between Portuguese and English languages by Josefa and Benedito, whose interactional goals seem to be the display of greater or lesser dependency on their mothers. Antônio's language pattern differs from the other two children. As stated by both Antônio and his mother in their interviews, English is the only language adopted in his household. Therefore, except for one occasion, Antônio's recordings "at home" do not show any use of Portuguese. For him, the use of English is the natural choice as a member of his family and of the majority society.

Having analysed all the data collected for this study in Chapters 7 to 10, I refer to how they answer the research questions set in Chapter 1 and discuss the contributions this research brings to the study of language and identity in the next chapter, the conclusion.

CHAPTER ELEVEN
CONCLUSION

11.1 Contributions

This thesis makes a significant contribution to the study of language and identity in a number of different ways. Firstly, this thesis is innovative in the way it draws on both socio-psychological and post-structuralist approaches as complementary paradigms. More specifically, Social Psychology guided the design of data collection in relation to aspects of ethnicity construction and drew light on the importance of 'given' and 'acquired' characteristics to the participants' identities through the elicitation of their own perspectives.

Another original aspect of this thesis is the perception of diaspora as not necessarily leading to 'foreignness within nation' (Soysal, 2000) neither to 'sameness-in-dispersal' (Ang, 2001). Albeit the concept of diaspora refers to a group's link to their place of origin, this connection does not automatically damage the links one may have with the local society in which they live. This perception has enabled me to show that living in diaspora does not exclude feelings of "hybridity" and vice-versa. This stand has been important in the understanding of identity formation and its effects on language choice of the mothers and children participating in this study.

In particular, this thesis demonstrates that self-identification operates on a continuum in which speakers use language to place themselves in varied positions at different times according to their interactive goals. In other words, language is used as a marker of identity due to its symbolic power in representing identities which are multiple and changeable according to different contexts. This perception of language has made it possible in this thesis to present situations where identity turns into a site of struggle and which leads both mothers and children to varied identity positionings as well as varied patterns of language use in order to mark aspects of their identity which are more suitable to the negotiation of power taking place at the time of the interactions.

A further achievement of this thesis is that it has found a way of demonstrating the relationship between language and identity by combining macro and micro levels of analysis. More precisely, this thesis introduces a 'brought from within' interpretation of language choice to the Markedness Model of Code Switching (Myers-Scotton, 1993; Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai, 2001). In other words, this thesis argues that the internal factors guiding the socio-psychological associations unconsciously made by the speakers when making language choices need to be addressed overtly so proper judgement can be made of the participants' assumptions of the influence of their language choices on their interactive goals. Another contribution of this thesis is the methodology developed in order to allow the speakers' usually unconscious associations to be 'brought from within'.

All the claims outlined here are expanded below in reference to the nine research questions set in Chapter 1 section 1.3:

(1) What are the factors influencing the self-identity of a group of Brazilian mothers living in the UK?
(2) What is the influence of this group of Brazilian mothers in their children's self identity?
(3) How do this group of mixed-heritage children experience language and identity?
(4) What are the effects of the way these children self-identify on their attitudes to English and Portuguese languages?
(5) What are these children's language patterns in their interactions in the CLS?
(6) What role does the CLS play in these children's use of language?
(7) What are the links between these children's language attitudes and language use?
(8) What are the connections between language and identity in the home context of these children?
(9) How do the language patterns at home and in the CLS compare to each other?

These nine questions are discussed with reference to the focal[1] children as well as illustrations from the other 10 children[2] (and their mothers) who participated in this investigation.

11.1.1 The self-identity of a group of Brazilian mothers in the UK

As discussed in Chapter 7, the metaphor of being "replanted trees" applies to the understanding of the way the Brazilian mothers in this study reported to self-identify at the time of the semi-structured interviews. Being born in Brazil (Y1) and speaking Brazilian Portuguese as their first language (Y2) allows the mothers to see themselves as Brazilians. This identity is then affected in different degrees when they move to England (X1) and learn to speak English (X2). This new identity, which results from the interaction between their experiences in growing up in Brazil and speaking Portuguese (Y) and their experiences in England and speaking English (X), is what I call 'replanted' identity (Y+). It is important to note that, as shown in Chapter 7, there is variety in the way the mothers get involved with the majority community. The mothers' self-identity can be generally referred to as of four types: "tourist", "expatriate cosmopolitan", "early cosmopolitan" and "native". However, these four types of self-identification are only signposts in the identity continuum proposed in Chapter 2 section 2.3.2. The mothers' self-identification depends on how much their 'Brazilianness' is affected by the 'Englishness' of their experiences of living in London in different situations and at different times. In other words, the way the mothers self-identify is multiple and changeable according to context. Nevertheless, a general picture of the mothers' perspectives on their ethnic identity is drawn. This picture results from the mothers' reports on the importance of ethnicity to their social identities.

As described in Chapter 7 section 7.2.1, Dorotéa is a mother whose perspectives on ethnic identity tends towards the "tourist" end of the identity continuum. She came to England as an adult to work in a place where Portuguese was the only language she was required to master. Dorotéa has strong emotional links to her Brazilian ethnicity and

[1] The term 'focal children' is here used to describe the children who are the centre of my analysis as done by Elaine Day (2002) in her book entitled *Identity and the Young English Language Learner*, as explained in Chapter 4 section 4.4.

[2] Appendix 1 Table 1 shows that a total of 13 children participated in this study: 13 in the playful interviews, 12 in the recordings at home and 3 in the CLS observations. Out of these 13 children, only 2 never attended the CLS lessons.

limited involvement with the English society. Dorotéa reports to have an emotional link with the use of Portuguese and only an instrumental involvement with the English language. Dorotéa has strong links with Brazil and a superficial openness in relating to the local culture.

Durvalina, on the other hand, has a more balanced relationship with the English society. As described in Chapter 7 section 7.2.2, Durvalina also moved to England as an adult, however, she came with the purpose of learning the English language and the English lifestyle. Durvalina values her socio-cultural experiences in Brazil and considers Portuguese important in expressing herself and her feelings. Nonetheless, Durvalina is open to participating in the English society and to adopting some English characteristics to her behaviour. This way, Durvalina's perspective on her ethnic identity reveals to be towards the "expatriate cosmopolitan" place in the identity continuum.

In contrast to Dorotéa and Durvalina, Aparecida moved to England as a child. Aparecida's English is native-like and she is many times taken for an English person as reported in Chapter 7 section 7.2.3. Nevertheless, Aparecida has strong links to the Brazilian ethnicity and makes conscious efforts to be involved with the Brazilian community both in London and in Brazil. These strong feelings towards both the Brazilian and English ethnicities connects Aparecida to an "early cosmopolitan" perspective in the identity continuum.

11.1.2 The mothers' influence on their children's self-identity

The data in this study suggest that the way the mothers react to their contact with the majority community influences their children's sense of ethnicity. However, it does not mean the children will necessarily feel as belonging to the same ethnic group as their mothers. The influence these children receive refers to the fact that they tend to position themselves in relation to the identity continuum in the same way as their mothers. In other words, if a mother generally places her self-identification towards the middle of the continuum where a combination of the characteristics of both ethnic groups are valued, the child will also tend to position themselves in the middle of the continuum. The same

applies to the mothers who tend to place their self-identities in the other places of the continuum as shown below.

Dorotéa, a mother who tends to position herself towards the "tourist" end of the identity continuum (*cf.* Chapter 7 section 7.2.1), appears to have influenced her child, Josefa, into describing herself as English since she was born in England and since she speaks English. Josefa avoids referring to her ability in speaking Portuguese (*cf.* Chapter 8 section 8.1.1(4)), which signals her awareness of the fact that adding this criterion to her description would go against the objective criteria of ethnicity she herself selected to describe others: place of birth and language spoken. However, Josefa's temptation to include the Brazilian Portuguese language as a criterion to describe herself appears to be an indication that although claiming allegiance to only one aspect of her identity, Josefa in reality feels "hybrid".

Benedito also refers to place of birth and language spoken to determine the identity of others and his own. As a consequence, Benedito self-identifies as being English for being born in England and speaking English. However, contrary to Josefa, he does not avoid stating he also speaks Portuguese. Benedito does not seem to feel that his identity as an English person would be threatened by the fact that he mentions being able to speak two languages. The fact that Benedito adds a characteristic to his English identity without considering it to be endangered signals that his mother (who tends to position herself around the "expatriate cosmopolitan" place in the identity continuum) has influenced the way he self-identifies. As shown in Chapter 7 section 7.2.2, Benedito's mother feels Brazilian but does not avoid interacting with the majority community or adopting some of its way of life.

In contrast to both Josefa and Benedito, Antônio self-identifies as being both English and Brazilian in spite of having been born in England and of having English as the language of his household. Antônio justifies this label by adding his parents' backgrounds to the set of objective criteria for determining his ethnicity. The way Antônio self-identifies is an indication that his mother (who tends to place herself around the "early cosmopolitan"

identification in the identity continuum) has influenced him. She self-identifies as being "hybrid" but has strong links to the English society and English language (*cf.* Chapter 7 section 7.2.3). Despite demonstrating positive attitudes towards the Brazilian culture and the Portuguese language, Antônio also has strong links to his English identity. Nevertheless, Antônio's mother seems to have been successful in highlighting the importance she gives to both identities in their lives.

All in all, the focal children have one dominant and often one preferred language. Nevertheless, the children recognise that speaking other languages is an additional feature of who they are. They are X for being born in country X1 and for speaking language X2. In addition, they speak language Y2 which make them X+, "hybrid". In other words, these data show the participants self-identify as English children who speak other languages and consequently have a different cultural experience to the majority group due to having a parent (or both parents) who is (or who are) not English. This way of self-identifying applies to all the other 10 children in this study as illustrated in the sections that follow.

11.1.3 The children's experiences of identity and language

This study shows that these mixed-heritage children experience identity and language through participating in both the minority community and the majority society. The data present examples of participation in the minority community through trips to Brazil as well as links with the CLS and social networks in London. The data also refer to social network connections with the majority society and with friends in the mainstream school. Tajfel (*cf.* Chapter 2) claims that the interaction between the minority community and the majority society highlights the identity differences between groups that come together. This claim is illustrated by Josefa who seems to gain awareness of her skin colour through the eyes of children who belong to the majority group (*cf.* Chapter 8 section 8.1.1 (1)). However, in the same way as the children in Alibhai-Brown's (2001) study cannot be categorised as black, Asian or white; the children in this study have complex identities in relation to their appearance. Benedito, Antônio and Clodovil are the only three children out of the thirteen participating in this study who are not visible minorities. All the other

ten children are olive-skinned to different degrees. This experience as visible minorities seems to lead five of them (Josefa, Antônio, Ariovaldo, Petrúcio and Diola) to be aware of skin colour as a construct and use it when describing others and/or themselves. It is relevant to understand that becoming aware of the differences between groups can be either a positive or a negative experience to both adults and children. An illustration of identity conflict in this study is given by João. João self-identifies as 'Brazilian most'. According to his own constructs – place of birth and first language spoken - João is Brazilian, as he states in the extract[3] below, in a conversation with an "imaginary alien".

R: Who are you? What do you say?
João: I'm João. I'm a bit English...I was born in Brazil...blah-blah-blah
R: Are you English or Brazilian?, he (the alien) asks you.
João: I'm Brazilian most.
R: How can it be?
João: Well, I was born in Brazil but I came to England and learned English.
R: Which language do you speak?, he (the alien) asks you
João: Brazilian and English.

João's conflict of identity seems to take place in consequence of the complexity of the ethnic facts about his identity and his ethnic feelings. Although João is nowadays more fluent in English than in Portuguese, he feels the need to mention speaking Portuguese first to reinforce the Brazilian 'most' identity. After all, he was born in Brazil. However, Portuguese is not the language João feels at ease with and neither is it the language he chooses to speak during the playful interview. Another sign of João's complex identity is how he refers to being English: 'I'm a bit English', a qualified response which suggest lack of confidence on his remarks (Hoare, 2000:331). I take Hoare's suggestion further. In this case, the qualification of João's description of himself seems to reflect the conflict between how others see him and how he feels, a perception of the misfit between fixed

[3]The transcriptions in this investigation are presented according to the following codes:
- Normal Times New Roman font = utterances originally in English
- *Italics Times New Roman font* = utterances originally in Portuguese
- [in square brackets] = translations into English
- (in brackets) = added explanations about context
- (???) = inaudible
- underlined = code-mix/code-switch within one utterance
- BLOCK LETTERS = speaker's emphasis, or shouting
- (p) = pause

identity label and "hybrid" personal experience (Ang, 2001:11). In sum, João has a "hybrid" identity. However, he seems to be experiencing an identity conflict as his markers of ethnicity do not clearly match the way he feels. It seems that one of the reasons he feels in a conflicting situation is the fact that he felt he had to replace the Portuguese language by the English language in order to be accepted in the majority group[4].

This importance of language in gaining access to social relationships has been emphasized by Heller (1987 in Day, 2002:52) and is seconded by another child's comments below.

Odair: That's when I was born. *I didn't know how to speak when I was born. Then I went to school. This is me.*
R: *Why do you look unhappy?*
Odair: *Because I couldn't speak and I did not have any* ...friends.
R: *Was that at school?*
Odair: *Yes. Then this is me feeling OK.*
R: *You could speak then.*
Odair: *Yes.*
R: *Which language is it?*
Odair: *English. Now it is me very happy. I learned how to speak really well here.*

Day (2002:52) refers to the same needs of speaking "properly" in order to make friends in her study of Hari, a Punjabi boy in the U.S.A. Hari started to prefer the dominant language, English, in order to be accepted among his school friends. Nonetheless, the children in my study seem positive about their own identity, be it "purist" or "hybrid", when there is a match between facts about their ethnicity and their sense of ethnicity. An example of a child whose ethnic facts and ethnic feelings match is Sebastiana, a trilingual child. Sebastiana uses her place of birth – YYYY[5] - and the language she considers more

[4] In another part of his playful interview, João mentions that when he first came to England he became friends with a boy in his school. That happened when his knowledge of English was still limited. As João learned English, he realised the boy was a bully. João's present ability to speak English fluently will not stop him from being bullied at school as it is an endemic problem in the English schools. However, his knowledge of the English language will enable him to recognise bullying is taking place and not mistake the (negative) attention as friendship.
[5] Country omitted due to confidentiality issues.

natural to use – YYYY[6] – to self-identify as YYYY. In spite of being fluent in three languages (YYYY, Portuguese and English), Sebastiana self-identifies as YYYY. This view of ethnicity which has a propensity towards the "tourist" end of the identity continuum (*cf.* Chapter 2 section 2.3.2) is adopted by Sebastiana's mother. Sebastiana's mother is Brazilian but grew up in YYYY before moving to England. Sebastiana is emotionally linked to YYYY and the YYYY language in the same way as her mother is emotionally connected to Brazil and the Brazilian Portuguese language. Having said that, both Sebastiana and her mother are aware of other influences to their ethnicity in addition to their place of birth. They both mention languages, their mothers and their experiences in the cultures to them available as other constructs of identity.

11.1.4 The effects of the children's self-identity on their language attitudes

In general, the mixed-heritage children participating in this study label their identity as being English (*cf.* Chapter 8). However, they also signal that this self-identification is not a whole picture of who they are. Therefore, the children refer to their place of birth, to the languages in their repertoire as well as to their parent's backgrounds. The children also acknowledge the different social networks to which they are exposed: the majority society and the minority community. The strength of the links and the frequency of their contact with the different social networks available to these children vary from child to child. Nonetheless, all children demonstrate positive attitudes to the languages in their repertoire. Having positive language attitudes, however, differs from having emotional language links. For the children in this study, their active knowledge in different languages contributed to a feeling of plurality which seems to have led them to see their ethnicity as placed in the middle of the identity continuum (*cf.* Chapter 2 section 2.3.2). In the same way, the children with lower language competence felt less attached to the language in question and had weaker feelings towards the identity linked to that language. Clodovil is an illustration of a child with lower competence in Portuguese which leads to a weakening of his feelings of a "hybrid" identity, in spite of his positive attitudes to both the English and the Portuguese languages. Clodovil feels comfortable if people speak to him in Portuguese and he considers his passive knowledge of the

[6] Language omitted in respect to family's identity confidentiality.

language to be good. However, Clodovil is aware that his limited active competence and accent hinders his communication in Portuguese.

R: And do you understand your mother's friends when they speak to you in Portuguese?
Clodovil: Ah, yeah.
R: Do you reply in English or in Portuguese?
Clodovil: Ummm...They don't know any Portuguese when I speak.
R: They don't understand you.
Clodovil: Yeah, because they think it's not a Portuguese word then they (???)
R: Oh! And how do you feel?
Clodovil: Umm...not really sad.
R: Not sad but not good.
Clodovil: Ah...
R: Or what?
Clodovil: Ah...it just makes me say English.
R: Oh, okay.

The children's better competence on the different languages relates to a closer attachment to the languages, and therefore, a sense of identity held by that language. This relationship between language competence and language attachment to ethnic identity explains the fact that these children tend to self-identify as English in spite of acknowledging to be "hybrid" in terms of their experiences in two, sometimes more, cultures.

11.1.5 Language patterns in interactions in the Brazilian Community Language School (CLS)

In general, the data in Chapter 9 showed that in the CLS the children use Portuguese to portray their identities as learners and English to portray their identities as belonging to their friends' in-group. More specifically, Josefa interacts only with her teacher and the teaching assistant during her lessons. In addition, the data show that Portuguese is the only language used by Josefa in the CLS. Benedito also uses only Portuguese to address his teacher; however, he interacts with his classmates as well. Having said that, Benedito's use of Portuguese with his classmates is restricted to the formality of the

teaching/learning situations. Benedito is also recorded addressing his classmates in English in situations which are not directly related to the lesson and which he seems then to consider informal interactions with his friends. Antônio also uses Portuguese to address his classmates during the interactions which he considers to be formal and English for the informal interactions.

In addition to this general pattern of choosing between the use of Portuguese and English, code-switching in the CLS also plays the role of creating private and public contexts for the children's oral interactions (see discussions in Chapter 3). Both Benedito and Antônio provided illustrations of using Portuguese to participate in interactions which involved the teacher, the teaching assistant and even the other students as part of their class activities. Benedito and Antônio also provided examples of using English when addressing their friends only and thus trying to exclude the teacher and the teaching assistant from their private exchanges. In other words, the children chose language to flag which perspective of their social identities they were displaying and who they were addressing. Moreover, Antônio's exchanges in the CLS also provided examples of code-switches into English being used as learning aids. It means that Antônio resorted to using English in order to elicit information which would help him to continue his communication in Portuguese. This use of English has been found in formal interactions between Antônio and his teacher as well as with his classmates. In these cases, the use of English did not affect Antônio's identity as a learner of Portuguese; on the contrary, English reinforced the learner's identity.

11.1.6 The role of Community Language School in language maintenance

In general, the recordings showed that in the CLS the children mainly interact with the adults in Portuguese and with the other children in both languages. The use of Portuguese is encouraged among the children when taking part in learning activities. As reported by the children and by the mothers, the CLS is the main context where the children might interact among themselves in Portuguese. In fact, for some of the children, the CLS is the only context where they speak Portuguese as pointed out by João in his playful interview.

R: Who do you speak Portuguese to?
João: I speak Portuguese to (p)
R: Do you speak Portuguese?
João: Well, I speak Portuguese at the Brazilian school.

For this reason alone, the role of the CLS in the maintenance of Brazilian Portuguese deserves to be highlighted. However, it is important to mention that the CLS is also providing the children with a pleasant experience, as shown by Extracts A and B below which were recorded during Gervásio's and Sebastiana's playful interview, respectively.

A. Gervásio: ... (my dad) said he wants to come to the Brazilian school.
R: To our school on Saturday?
Gervásio: Yes.
R: That's very nice. But you haven't been there lately, have you?
Gervásio: No. I've been to XXXX[7] and XXXXX with my dad.
R: Do you want to come back?
Gervásio: Yes.
R: What is fun about it?
Gervásio: I like it. I like when we play games.

B. R: *Has it been long since you last went to the Brazilian school?*
Sebastiana: *Yes.*
R: *Are you going to go back?*
Sebastiana: *I don't know.*
R: *Don't you know if you want to?*
Sebastiana: *I want to but it's because if XXXX[8] is not with me she cries.*
R: *What did you do there that was nice?*
Sebastiana: *I don't know. I liked everything there.*

The two extracts above show that the CLS has provided the children with enjoyable activities which they can relate to the use of Portuguese language and to the experience of Brazilian culture.

The CLS has also had a positive influence on the children's language competence as

[7] Name of countries omitted to preserve the participants' confidentiality.
[8] Person's name omitted due to confidentiality issues.

acknowledged by the mothers. Benedito's mother, for example, stated during her semi-structured interview that, *'The school made his Portuguese flow'*. This impact of attending the CLS lessons on their competence in Portuguese is also acknowledged by the children, as illustrated below by an extract from Odair's playful interview.

> Odair: Then I went to the Brazilian school. But I couldn't speak very good. *I didn't speak well. After I* studied *I got it.* After I started to enjoy it. It was fun. *Now I like it very much.*

But what are the links between the children's competence in Portuguese, their language attitudes and eventual language use?

11.1.7 The links between children's language attitudes and language use

As shown in Chapter 7, the Brazilian mothers in this investigation consider the Portuguese language as an important marker of their ethnicity. From their point of view, it is important that their children can speak Portuguese and learn about Brazilian culture. These are relevant issues to the mothers because they want to allow their children to be able to interact with their Brazilian relatives and to understand their cultural baggage. The mothers believe that an understanding of where they are from is of an emotional and an instrumental relevance. Being bilingual and bicultural can equip the children with more options in their future professional lives. The mothers also believe that they could have a closer relationship with their children for being able to express themselves better in Portuguese and show their emotions more easily. Thus, the mothers not only make an effort to speak Portuguese and expose the children to Brazilian culture at home but have also enrolled their children in a Brazilian Portuguese CLS.

As discussed in Chapter 8, the mothers' efforts seem to have paid off as the children report a positive attitude towards both the Brazilian Portuguese language and the Brazilian culture. However, almost all the children also report finding Portuguese more difficult than English. I wonder what the meaning of 'difficult' is in this situation. It seems to me that by referring to English as easier than Portuguese, the children are actually referring to being aware that they have better competence in English. As illustrated by Clodovil in section 11.1.4 above, his low competence in Portuguese leads

him to avoid speaking it. In spite of his positive attitudes towards Portuguese, he is aware that his competence would hinder his communication.

Therefore, I argue that having positive attitudes alone does not directly influence the use of Portuguese by the children. Having positive language attitudes can make the children more interested in learning the language, however, they need to be able to perform at a certain level to be able to choose Portuguese when interacting. This level being reached, the children make language choices based on the social identity they consider relevant, a rational choice according to the goals they have in each of their interactions, as illustrated in Chapters 9 and 10.

11.1.8 Language and identity connections in the children's home context

As explained in Chapters 7 and 8, the focal children were selected as the ones attending the CLS for the longest period of time. As a result of this formal input of Brazilian Portuguese, it can also be said that these focal children tended to be the ones with higher competence in Portuguese in the four linguistic skills: speaking, listening, reading and writing. It means that Josefa, Benedito and Antônio were less likely to use English due to competence restrictions than the other children. Instead, as shown in Chapter 10, the three children in this study appear to choose language according to its connections to identity issues when interacting with family and friends. Both Josefa and Benedito use Portuguese to symbolize their identities as dependent offspring and English to portray their identities as independent children. The same does not apply to Antônio, who uses English in all his interactions at home, except for when he sings to his sister. Nonetheless, Antônio's language choice appears to be linked to identity issues, in contrast to Josefa's mother, who values her Brazilian identity over adopting some English characteristics, and from Benedito's mother, who values her Brazilian ethnicity although not disregarding the positive influences of the English ethnicity, Antônio's mother self-identifies as Brazilian but tends towards the "native" end of the identity continuum (*cf.*. Chapter 2 section 2.3.2). It means she has been strongly influenced emotionally by the majority society in terms of identity and language which has led her to only speak English in her household. Therefore, Antônio's choice of speaking only English with family and friends relates to

his identity as belonging to the majority group in spite of his cultural links with Brazil and its culture. Josefa and Benedito self-identify as English but, in relation to Antônio, have stronger links to the Brazilian Portuguese language which have been passed on to them via their mothers.

The other eight mixed-heritage children[9] who participated in this study and also attended the CLS lessons for different periods of time tended to have lower competence in Portuguese in at least one of the four linguistic skills. Romualdo and Petrúcio, for example, had very limited formal and informal input in Portuguese which has severely restricted their competence in Portuguese.

> 'English is easy but I can speak a little bit of Portuguese and I can understand a little bit. I understand better than I speak it.' (Romualdo, Playful Interview)

It means that English is the main language used to address them in their household.

> '[I speak English to] my mummy and my friends, my daddy and my brother...I never speak Portuguese to mummy. Only to my Brazilian teacher.' (Petrúcio, Playful Interview)

Gervásio and Odair also had limited formal and informal input in Portuguese. According to their home recordings and exemplified below, their mother appears to only speak to them in Portuguese when giving instructions.

1 Mom: *Don't do it.*
2 Gervásio: Odair is taking my thing.
3 Mom: *Play with this one.*

This is also acknowledged by Odair during his playful interview.

> 'Sometimes she says *"go there, put this here" and I understand what she says'.*

Nevertheless, both Odair and Gervásio are aware of the emotional importance of

[9] Out of the 13 children who participated in this study, 11 attended the CLS lessons for a period in their lives.

Portuguese to their mother and use the few words and expressions they know in Portuguese to soften her when making requests as illustrated below.

1 Mother: You have so many things to finish.
2 Odair: Can I have a drink of water, please? *I want juice, mummy.*
3 Mother: *Orange?*
4 Odair: Sunny delight.
5 Mother: I don't know how you can drink these things.

Making language choices to show proximity and empathy can also be done by the mothers as in lines 11 and 12 of the extract below where Maricota is trying to convince her mother of giving up her ballet lessons.

1 Maricota: Mummy! I am just going to do ballet today.
2 Mother: *Sorry?*
3 Maricota: Mummy! I am just going to do ballet today.
4 Sister: Good girl!
5 Mother: *I didn't understand.*
6 Maricota: *I am just going to do ballet today.*
7 Mother: *Really? Why?*
8 Maricota: *Because that's what I want.*
9 Mother: *Ok, mummy is going to speak to your teacher today. And if I have to pay 40* pounds[10] *again you are going to have to do it once more. Why don't you like it?*

[10] I have witnessed a tendency for the use of 'pounds' in English by members of the Brazilian community when speaking Portuguese. In the same extract, it is possible to see the influence of the language used at school in the sister's choice of language in line 4. Having said that, it is also clear that Maricota's mother is making use of strategies to ensure that the outside influence is lessened and to guarantee that Portuguese is used by the girls, lines 2 and 5. These strategies are rarely seen in the other households. The example below illustrates the fact that some mothers, in spite of wishing their children to speak Portuguese, just accept that English is their preferred language. In the following extract, Hermenegilda speaks Portuguese to Diola, who replies in English. Their whole conversation is carried out with the mother speaking Portuguese and the child speaking English.

1 Diola: Mom, you broke my cup!
2 Mother: *Me? When did I do it?*
3 Diola: You stepped on it and you didn't see.
4 Mother: *Sorry.*

The same phenomenon takes place in the interactions between Ariovaldo and his mother. Having said that, both Ariovaldo and Diola also use set words and expressions in Portuguese to show emotional closeness to their mothers, to convince them of giving in to their requests and to lessen the effect of disagreeing with them, as illustrated below.

1 Mother: *Check if there is some ice-cream*
2 Ariovaldo: *No, I don't want it.*
3 Mother: *And yoghurt?*
4 Ariovaldo: *No, I don't want anything.*

10 Sister: *You can make new friends.*

11 Maricota: *But I don't like when you are* late.

12 Mother: *I won't be* late.

The illustrations provided by these other children show that the children's level of competence plays a role in their language choices. The children's use of Portuguese is influenced by their social networks, by their contact with the Brazilian community in London, by the frequency they travel to Brazil and by their mothers' use of Portuguese with them and the strategies they adopt in ensuring the children's use of Portuguese. Nevertheless, even the children who are less able to speak Portuguese are aware of the language and identity connections and unconsciously resort to choosing different languages to achieve different goals in their interactions at home. Furthermore, formal input through attending lessons in the CLS also influences the children's level of competence as discussed in Chapter 9 and revisited below.

11.1.9 Comparing the language patterns at home and in the CLS

All in all, the focal children reported in this study appear to make language choices both in the CLS and "at home" according to the social identity they wish to portray. It does not mean, however, that all focal children aim at displaying the same identity in both contexts. On the contrary, their social identities vary from situation to situation and so does their pattern of language choices as shown in Table 5 below.

		Child		
		Josefa	Benedito	Antônio
CLS	**Language choice**	Portuguese	Portuguese English	CS with both teacher and classmates
	Social identity	learner	learner in-group	learner V friends' in-group
Home	**Language choice**	CS: Portuguese and English		English
	Social identity	dependent V independent		Member of majority society

Table 5 – Languages and the social identities they portray

Josefa considers only one social identity as important when in the CLS, the one of a learner. Thus she respects the RO-set[11] of this context and only speaks Portuguese to her

[11] Rights-and-obligations sets, as discussed in Chapter 3, are the types of attitudes and expectations participants have towards one another in a given situation. They vary according to social meanings and the interactional process.

teacher. Josefa is aware that Portuguese is the unmarked choice to be used with her classmates in private exchanges, thus she avoids interacting with them in order not to damage her social identity in the view of the teacher (see Chapter 9). Josefa's language choices change when "at home". Her ability to speak Portuguese is not a question in this context. "At home" Josefa is more worried about her power relations with her mother. As a consequence, the focus of her language choices is on showing herself as dependent or an independent child. In general, it means that Josefa chooses Portuguese when she wants to converge to her mother's expectations and to place herself as dependent. Josefa chooses English when she wants to diverge from her mother's expected choice of language and to show being independent.

Benedito presents a similar pattern of language choice to Josefa "at home". Benedito does not have his Portuguese speaking skills questioned either and, similarly to Josefa, he considers power relations when interacting with his mother. Benedito chooses to speak Portuguese to exhibit a more dependent social identity and English to reveal a degree of independence or autonomy. However, Benedito gives more importance to two other identities when at the CLS – those of being a learner and of being part of his friends' in-group. As a learner, Benedito addresses his teacher and even his classmates in Portuguese. As belonging to his friends' in-group, Benedito addresses his classmates in English in private conversations (see Chapter 9).

Antônio chooses between the same two identities as Benedito when at the CLS. Antônio makes language choices in order to portray himself as a learner and as part of his friends' in-group, often in one same event. Despite making language choices in order to portray these two identities, Benedito does not resort to code-switching within the same event with the same person during lessons in the CLS. Antônio, on the contrary, code-switches with his interlocutors as he positions himself differently to them in the same oral exchange. Having said that, Antônio only code-switches between English and Portuguese at the CLS. "At home", Antônio uses English at all times, even when he is questioning his parents' authority.

The diversity in the way Josefa, Benedito and Antônio make linguistic choices confirms Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai's (2001:3) claim that aspects of the larger societal background affect language choices but do not determine them, as discussed in Chapter 3. Independent of the choices these children make, they use the languages in their repertoire (external factors), evaluate the effects of using each language in the interaction taking place based on their personal experiences (internal factors) and choose to use the language that, from their point of view, enhances their goals to be achieved in each of the interactions (rationality) here presented. Furthermore, the analysis presented in this investigation adds to the Rational Choice Model advocated by Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai (2001) as it is based on a 'brought from within' focus (*cf.* Chapter 3 section 3.4). In other words, I provide evidence of the children's and their mothers' views on language and identity as a link between the macro and the micro perspectives in the analysis of the language choices they make. This information allows for an emic understanding of the participants' assumptions of the influence of their language choices on their interactive goals.

All in all, the children in this study refer to their experiences of identity and language at two levels: feelings and facts, as illustrated in Diagram 7 below. The interaction of these two aspects of their experiences influences how they self-identify, a point already made by Fishman (1996) when he generally referred to ethnicity as 'being, doing and knowing', as discussed in Chapter 2. The originality of this thesis' findings is the fact that it has managed to pinpoint four objective criteria influencing these children's self-identification in relation to the facts surrounding their identities (their place of birth, the languages they speak, how well they speak these languages and, their parents' background) and four subjective criteria which affect their feelings in relation to their identities (their mother's self-identity, the children's own experience in both the majority society and the minority community, how they feel about their level of competence in using the different languages in their repertoire and, their father's attitude to the languages and to the identities available to the children).

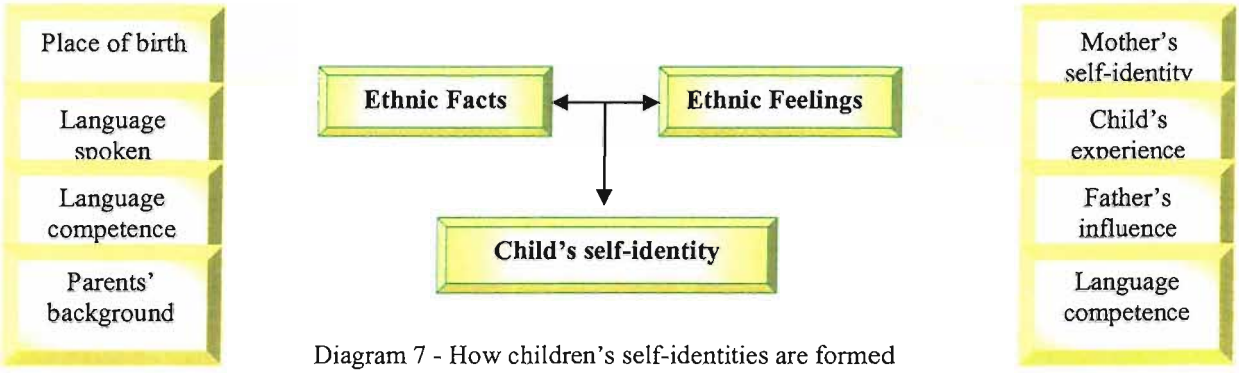


Diagram 7 - How children's self-identities are formed

11.2 Limitations

This study focussed on the influence of a group of Brazilian mothers on their children's self-identification and language choices. Not involving the fathers directly in this study has proved to be a limitation. Although the fathers were not interviewed, their shadows were made present throughout the project by the mothers and the children. There were signals that the fathers played a role on the amount of Portuguese being used at home as well as the amount of exposure the children had to Brazilian culture.

Furthermore, there were indications that the fathers emotionally influenced the children language attitudes and sense of ethnicity. In spite of speaking English to their children, the fathers of the focal children were supportive of their bilingualism. However, this same attitude was not true of all the other fathers at all times, as acknowledged by one of the mothers. During the semi-structured interviews, Hermenegilda reported that Gervásio was very close to his father, which led him to reject Portuguese.

> *'(Gervásio) says to me, 'Mummy, dad does not like when we speak like this.'*

Tannenbaum & Howie's (2002:49) study also refer to children facing conflict of loyalties. In their case, the conflict takes place due to the fact that immigrant parents may expect their children to acculturate in order to succeed in the new culture whilst also expecting retention of traditional values. As Gervásio's parents are immigrants with different ethnic backgrounds, he is expected to show allegiance to both cultures as explained by his mother in the focus interviews.

'My oldest son is crazy about football. He was invited to play for XXXX[12]. When he came home and told us, I said he should tell his coach he was Brazilian to ensure he doesn't stay as substitute. His dad, of course, told him to say he is XXXX[13].'

Although the example above happened with his brother, Gervásio seems to have been emotionally affected by it. His mother's strong feelings of Brazilianness and the father's initial prohibition of the use of the mother's first language in their household did not only affect Gervásio's ability to speak Portuguese but also his emotional relationship with this language. Gervásio's emotional attachment to his father and his father's influence on his language attitudes and choice can also be discerned when Gervásio reports having a change in attitude towards speaking Portuguese. As shown below, Gervásio acquires more positive attitudes towards Portuguese when his father demonstrates positive attitudes to it.

Gervásio: Yes, and my dad wants to learn Portuguese.
R: Really? So you're teaching him now.
Gervásio: Yes. He said he wants to come to the Brazilian school.

In other words, the data in this study indicate that the fathers also play an important role in the building of their children's linguistic skills and of their children's sense of identity.

A further limitation was that this study was restricted to two domains: the Brazilian Portuguese CLS and the children's homes. The recordings of the language negotiations could be expanded to include other possible types of interactions in the children's social network, such as attending parties, socialising at friends' homes, going on day trips and doing cultural programmes.

Another limitation is that this investigation had a relatively short time span. It means it was not possible to identify changes in the way the children self-identify and relate to the different languages in their repertoire as they grow older. Neither was it possible, in

[12] Name of Football Club mentioned by the participants is omitted in respect to their confidentiality.
[13] Fathers' nationality omitted in order to keep the family's identity confidential.

longitudinal terms, to confirm whether Brazilian Portuguese is being maintained within the Brazilian community in London.

All in all, small scale studies such as this limit the possibility of making general recommendations (Greig & Taylor, 1999:7), however, some possible implications can be put forward.

11.3 Implications

The application of a 'brought from within' interpretation of language choice argued for in this investigation implies that the analysis of language use needs to be integrated with research methods which allow the participants to express their views on language and identity on their own terms.

As discussed in 11.1.1 above, the interviews with the mothers indicated that there are two forces working on the formation of their identity: their socio-cultural experiences in Brazil and their socio-cultural experiences in England. Therefore, the mothers' age at the time they immigrated and the purpose of their immigration seem to influence the strength of their links with Brazil and their openness in relating to the English society. The data I presented suggest that the links the mothers hold with their homeland and their speech community in London result from their needs of being in touch with their linguistic and cultural "roots". These contacts with Brazil and the Brazilian community in London seemed to imply that emotional and cultural aspects are more important to the language and identity issues of these families than the search for socio-economic success in the majority community. The data in this study are suggestive of the work described by other researchers (*e.g.* Hannerz, 2000; Block, 2002) in which the phenomenon of globalization has affected the formation of identities and tends to create a new and "hybrid" sense of ethnic identity. It means that although interacting with the majority society in different degrees, it is beneficial for these mothers' emotional being to be able to speak their languages with their children, a need that should be acknowledge by the people surrounding them as much as by members of society at large.

Similarly, the interviews with the children signalled that their self-identity is influenced by both the facts and the feelings which surround the languages in their repertoire and the different identities available to them. The combination of the paternity and the patrimony issues involved in the identity of the children in this study showed that the use of a label, such as 'English', based on facts such as birth or main language spoken hide the feelings which are part of their ethnic identity. 'Mixed-heritage' seems to be a term which can be more appropriately applied to all types of "hybrid" identities, independent of where exactly they are positioned in the 'tourist-native' identity continuum, and which avoids impositions in relation to the relevance of linguistic and racial constructs, as discussed in Chapter 2. It seems that one way of avoiding the imposition of linguistic and racial constructs onto children like the ones in this study is to create spaces where discussions on issues of language, culture and ethnic identity can be held in a safe and constructive environment.

Furthermore, this study has established that feelings of identity can generate either positive or negative experiences. The result depends on how far there is a match between the ethnic facts and the ethnic feelings affecting the children's self-ascriptions of identity. Therefore, both families and teachers should ensure that they overtly explore these two categories with the children in order to promote positive sense of identity.

Moreover, the diversity in the way the focal children make linguistic choices illustrates that language is used for fulfilling different objectives the children have in a varied set of interactions, be they emotional or practical objectives. The recordings in both settings, home and the CLS, illustrate how effective the children are in using language to portray their different social identities. Teachers and parents should consider exploring the meanings of the children's choice of languages in order to better understand their social positioning.

11.4 Final comments

I hope these findings will encourage the bilingual mothers in this study and those who read it to reflect openly on their experiences in both societies and in both languages. This

way they will be able to make conscious and practical decisions about language and identity issues in which they want to raise their children. Furthermore, I hope this study will bring awareness of the objective and subjective factors which influence the identity formation of both immigrant mothers and mixed-heritage children so positive factors of their identities can be reinforced by professionals who come in touch with them such as teachers and researchers. In addition, I expect the methods I designed especially for examining issues of language and identity with immigrant mothers and mixed-heritage children to be useful for research with other communities. Moreover, I am hopeful that this study will lead to a better understanding of the links between language and identity issues. Thus, I wish my work will encourage families to continue in their efforts of passing on their languages and culture to their offspring through the building of strong social networks links with the homeland and the minority community. I also await support to be given to the formal teaching of minority languages through community language schools.

Appendix 1

	Number of Families			Number of Children		
Phase of the investigation	**Total**	**CLS**	**non-CLS**	**CLS**	**non-CLS**	**Total**
1 – Mothers' Semi-structured Interviews	13	8	5	10	6	16
2 – Mothers' Focus Interviews	12	9	3	12	3	15
3 – Children's playful Interviews	10	5	5	6	7	13
4 – Recordings at home	9	4	6	4	8	12
4 – CLS Observations (final written up case studies)	3	3	0	3	0	3

Table 1 – Participants' movements between the CLS (group in which children are attending the Community Language School) **and the non-CLS groups** (group in which children are not attending the Community Language School)

Appendix 2: Interview Schedule in English[1] (semi-structured interviews)

1. Language use outside home

1a. Tick all the services below that you use in London where you communicate in Portuguese:

Health:		
	consultant	
	counselling	
	dentist	
	GP	

House:		
	accommodation	
	builder	
	cleaners	
	decoration	
	plumbing	

Law/ Politics:		
	consulate	
	embassy	
	political parties	
	solicitor	

Shops:		
	bakery	
	book shop	
	butcher's	
	clothes shop	
	coffee shop	
	sports shop	
	food shop	

Miscellaneous:		
	astrology	
	au-pair/nanny	
	baby-sitter	
	bank	
	church	
	freight	
	phone services	
	photographer	
	sewing	
	shipping	
	sports trainer	
	tarot reading	
	beauty parlour	

Others ( )

Which?_____

_____

[1] All resources were used in Portuguese, however, due to space constraints, only the versions in English are presented in the appendices.

2. Language use in the home

Please note that this questionnaire considers the number of three children per family as standard. If it does not apply to your family, please answer as follows:

- *If you have only one child, refer to he/she as the oldest child and cross out the middle and the youngest children;*
- *If you have two children refer to them as the oldest child and the youngest child and cross out the middle child;*
- *If you have more than three children tick here ( ) and only provide information about the first three.*

2a. Tick the language mostly used

Other?

by the Mum to talk
- to the Dad.....Portuguese ( ) English ( ) _____
- to the oldest child:.....Portuguese ( ) English ( ) _____
- to the middle child:.....Portuguese ( ) English ( ) _____
- to the youngest child:.....Portuguese ( ) English ( ) _____

by the Dad to talk
- to the Mum:.....Portuguese ( ) English ( ) _____
- to the oldest child:.....Portuguese ( ) English ( ) _____
- to the middle child:.....Portuguese ( ) English ( ) _____
- to the youngest child:.....Portuguese ( ) English ( ) _____

by the Oldest child to talk
- to the Dad:.....Portuguese ( ) English ( ) _____
- to the Mum:.....Portuguese ( ) English ( ) _____
- to the middle child:.....Portuguese ( ) English ( ) _____
- to the youngest child:.....Portuguese ( ) English ( ) _____

by the Middle child to talk
- to the Dad:.....Portuguese ( ) English ( ) _____
- to the Mum:.....Portuguese ( ) English ( ) _____
- to the oldest child:.....Portuguese ( ) English ( ) _____
- to the middle child:.....Portuguese ( ) English ( ) _____
- to the youngest child:.....Portuguese ( ) English ( ) _____

by the Youngest child to talk
- to the Dad:.....Portuguese ( ) English ( ) _____
- to the Mum:.....Portuguese ( ) English ( ) _____
- to the oldest child:.....Portuguese ( ) English ( ) _____
- to the middle child:.....Portuguese ( ) English ( ) _____
- to the youngest child:.....Portuguese ( ) English ( ) _____

3. Children

Please answer the questions below in relation to your children. Note that this questionnaire considers the number of three children per family. If it does not apply to your family, please answer as follows:

- *If you have only one child, refer to he/she as the oldest child and cross out the middle and the youngest children;*
- *If you have two children refer to them as the oldest child and the youngest child and cross out the middle child;*
- *If you have more than three children tick here ( ) and only provide information about the first three.*

	Oldest child	Middle child	Youngest child
3a. How old are they?			
3b. Where were they born?			
3c. Where were they brought up? *(If in England, go to question 3f)*			
3d. Did they study in Brazil? *(If not, go to question 3f)*			
3e. If yes, which years did they study there? (for example, years 1 and 2)			
3f. Which year are they now? (for example, year 5)			
3g. Which languages can they understand orally?			

	Oldest child	Middle child	Youngest child
3h. Which languages can they speak?			
3i. Which languages can they read?			
3j. Which languages can they write?			
3l. Do they attend Portuguese language classes?			
3m. Why or Why not? *(If not, go to question 3o)*			
3n. If yes, how long have they been attending?			
3o. Do they have friends that speak Portuguese?			
3p. Do they attend church services in Portuguese?			
3q . Do they speak Portuguese to any of your friends that live in London?			

	Oldest child	Middle child	Youngest child
3r. Do they go to any Brazilian cultural events? *(If not, go to question 3t)*			
3s. If yes, how often?	( ) once a month ( ) once a term ( ) once a semester ( ) once a year	( ) once a month ( ) once a term ( ) once a semester ( ) once a year	( ) once a month ( ) once a term ( ) once a semester ( ) once a year
3t. Do they read any Brazilian comic books?			
3u. Do they read any Brazilian books?			
3v. Do they read any Brazilian magazines?			
3x. Do they know any Brazilian rhymes?			
3z. Do they know any Brazilian songs?			
3aa. Do they know any Brazilian children stories?			

4. Personal **All the information you provide is completely confidential!!!**
Your name and address will be kept in secret!!!

4a. When did you move to England? Year _____

4b. Why did you move to England? _____

_____

4c. Do you work? Yes ( ) No ( )

4d. What do you do? _____

4e. What's your weekly earnings?
less than £144 ☐ £284 - £396 ☐
£145 - £202 ☐ £397 - £554 ☐
£203 - £283 ☐ more than £554 ☐

4f. What's your marital status?
single ☐ *(go to 4j)*
separated/divorced ☐ *(go to 4j)* married/living as married ☐
widowed ☐ *(go to 4j)* re-married/living as married ☐

4g. What is your partner's nationality? _____

4h. Does he/she work? Yes ( ) No ( ) *go to 4l*

4i. What does he/she do? _____

4j. What's his/her weekly earnings?
less than £144 ☐ £284 - £396 ☐
£145 - £202 ☐ £397 - £554 ☐
£203 - £283 ☐ more than £554 ☐ don't know ☐

4l. Which borough do you live in? _____

4m. Have you got relatives in London? Yes ( ) No ( ) *go to 4p*

4n. Which? _____

4o. How often do you see them? _____

4p. Do your relatives from Brazil visit you in London? Yes ( ) No ( ) *go to 4r*

4q. If yes, how often?
twice a year ☐ every 2 years ☐ every 4 years ☐
once a year ☐ every 3 years ☐ every 5 years ☐ other ☐

4r. Do you take your children to Brazil? Yes ( ) No ( )

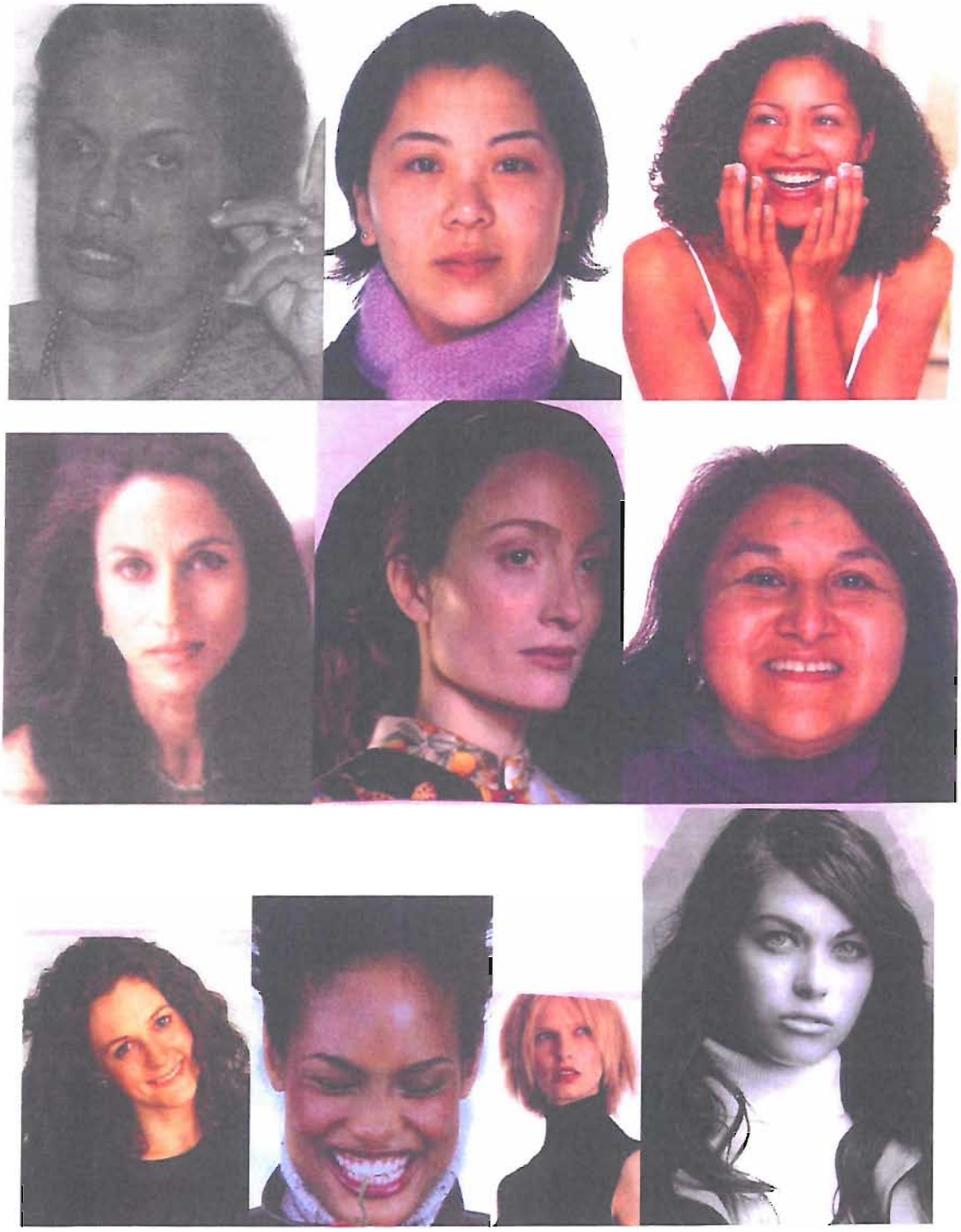
4s. If yes, how often?
twice a year ☐ every 2 years ☐ every 4 years ☐
once a year ☐ every 3 years ☐ every 5 years ☐ other ☐

Thank you very much for your help!

Appendix 3 - Focus Interview Resources

3.1 Eliciting mothers' constructs of "race"

Look at the pictures and tell me whether you think these women are Brazilian or not. Please say what makes you think they are (not) Brazilian.



3.2 Eliciting mothers' constructs of ethnicity

Write sentences below stating the characteristics which makes you Brazilian.

I ...

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

I (...) not ...

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

3.3 Eliciting mothers' goals in relation to the majority society (Likert scale sentences[2])

b. I do not like telling people that I am Brazilian.

g. I try to avoid having a Brazilian accent when I speak English.

j. Being part of the English society is important.

f. I would like to be more involved with English people, but I feel rejected by them.

i. I admire the Brazilians who are totally integrated in the English society.

c. I think it is possible to integrate in the English society and still be Brazilian.

h. I do not want to forget the Brazilian way of doing things.

e. I am proud of the fact that being Brazilian is reflected in my every day life.

d. I avoid being influenced by English culture.

a. I make an effort in being involved with things related to the Brazilian community in London.

[2] Note that the sentences are here presented in an 'order', which shows a move from a sense of Englishness to a sense of Brazilianess, having an intermediate phase between them. It is done here in order to allow a check on the balance among the three situations. However, when presenting them to the participants, the sentences are going to be mixed (as shown by the lettering) to ensure that the participants' comments truly reflect their way of thinking, even if it means getting contradictory answers.

3.4 Eliciting mothers' goals in relation to the majority society (Likert scale form)

You are going to listen to ten sentences. Tick your opinion in relation to them:

a) I agree totally ( )
I agree ( )
I'm not sure ( )
I disagree ( )
I disagree totally ( )
It depends ( )

b) I agree totally ( )
I agree ( )
I'm not sure ( )
I disagree ( )
I disagree totally ( )
It depends ( )

c) I agree totally ( )
I agree ( )
I'm not sure ( )
I disagree ( )
I disagree totally ( )
It depends ( )

d) I agree totally ( )
I agree ( )
I'm not sure ( )
I disagree ( )
I disagree totally ( )
It depends ( )

e) I agree totally ( )
I agree ( )
I'm not sure ( )
I disagree ( )
I disagree totally ( )
It depends ( )

f) I agree totally ( )
I agree ( )
I'm not sure ( )
I disagree ( )
I disagree totally ( )
It depends ( )

g) I agree totally ( )
I agree ( )
I'm not sure ( )
I disagree ( )
I disagree totally ( )
It depends ( )

h) I agree totally ( )
I agree ( )
I'm not sure ( )
I disagree ( )
I disagree totally ( )
It depends ( )

i) I agree totally ( )
I agree ( )
I'm not sure ( )
I disagree ( )
I disagree totally ( )
It depends ( )

j) I agree totally ( )
I agree ( )
I'm not sure ( )
I disagree ( )
I disagree totally ( )
It depends ( )

3.5 Eliciting mothers' expectations about their children in relation to the majority group

Tick as many of the sentences below which reflect your thinking in relation to your children's future:

a) I would like my children to be considered English if they have a chance. ( )

b) I would like them to be English when in England and Brazilian when in Brazil. ( )

c) I would feel sad if my children did not consider themselves Brazilians. ( )

d) Being English gives them a better status. ( )

e) I don't mind them feeling English as long as they know things about Brazil. ( )

f) I would prefer my children to marry other Brazilians. ( )

g) It makes me happy when my children show interest in Brazilian culture. ( )

h) It is important that my children keep some of the Brazilian characteristics and acquire some of the English ones as well. ( )

i) I think it is natural that my children feel English. ( )

Appendix 4: Observation schedule

Child's name: _____ Situation: _____

Site: _____ Recording date: _____ Today's date: _____

People	Language	Transcription	Comments

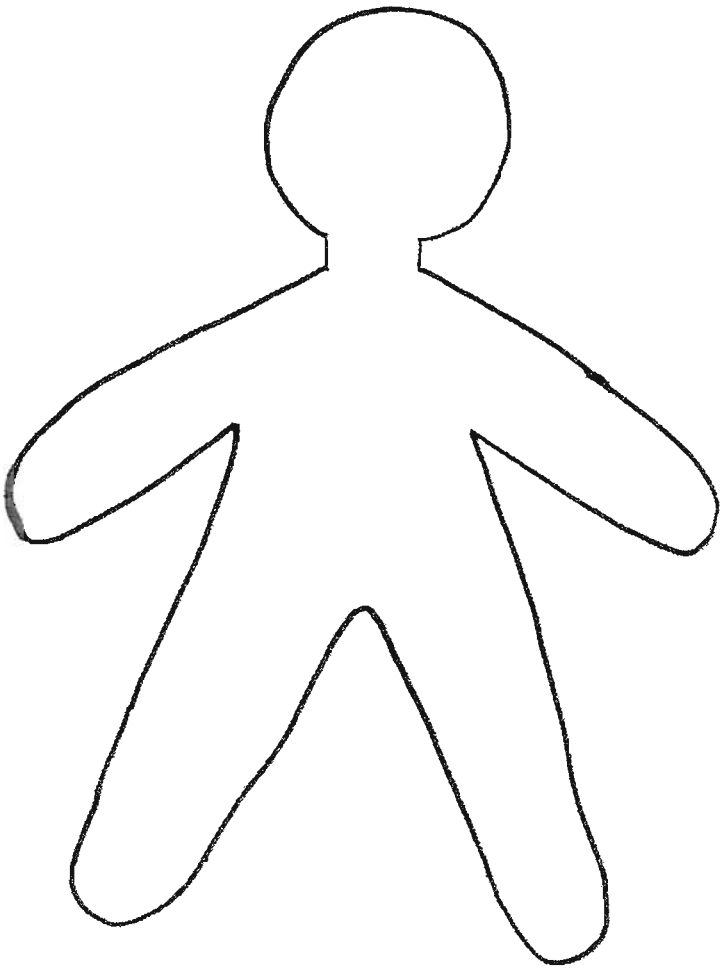
Appendix 5: Playful Interview Resources

5.1 Eliciting children's constructs of "race"

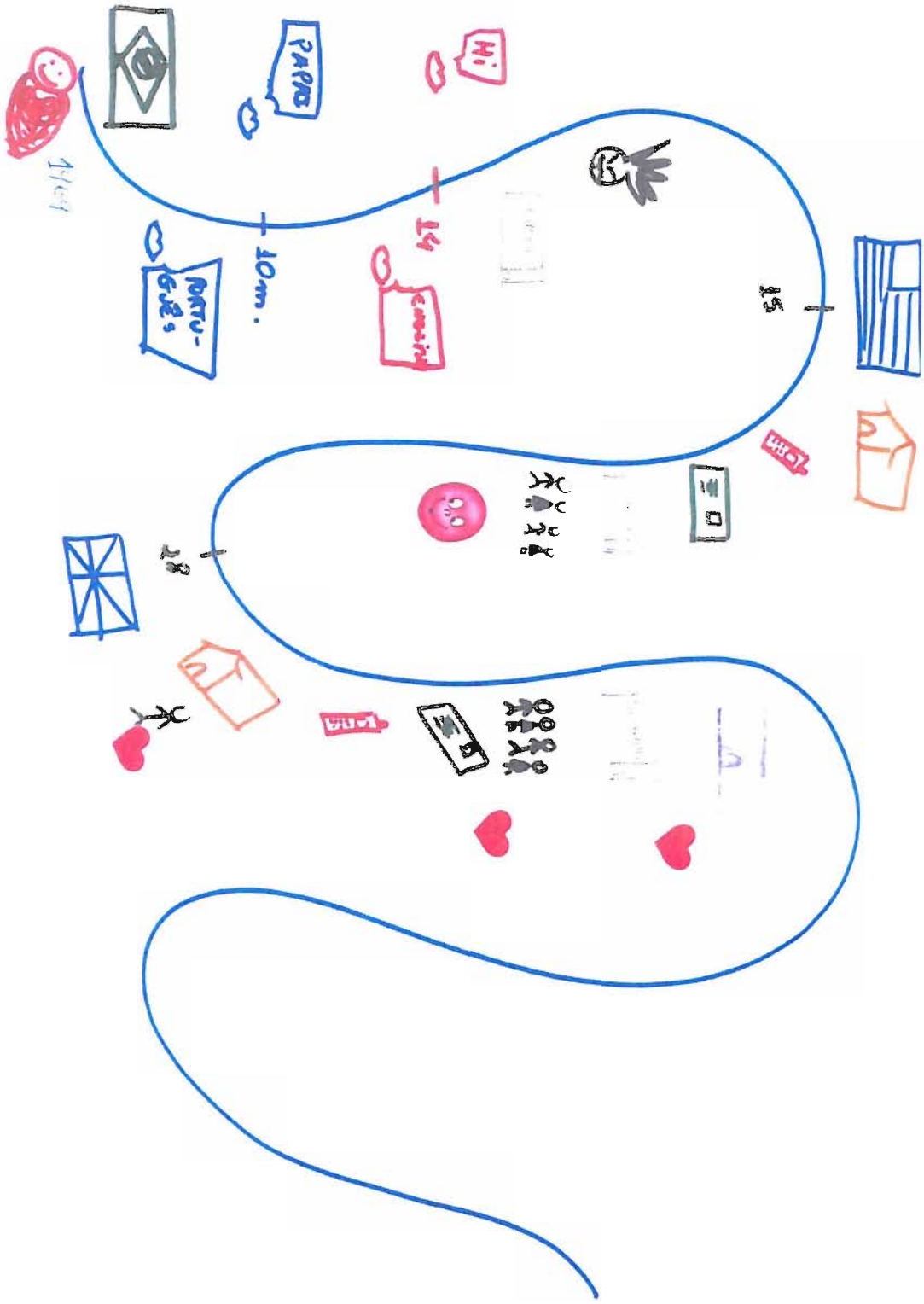
Here are four pictures. Put them in any order you wish, but do not let me see them. Then describe them so I can draw them. Please tell me how well I can draw by telling me to make changes to my drawings.

5.2 Eliciting children's constructs of ethnicity

Now I would like you to do some drawings for me. I have two worksheets to help you. Draw someone you know who is Brazilian and someone you know who is English.



5.3 A model for the children's stories on their linguistic experiences



Appendix 6: Contextual Information Form in English[3] (recordings at home)

Please fill in the form below for every recording you do with your child.

Child's name: _____

Date	Time	Situation	People	Feelings	Reasons

[3] All resources were used in Portuguese, however, due to space constraints, only the versions in English are presented in the appendices.

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