University of Southampton

Faculty of Humanities

School of Modern Languages

Socializing for Success: A Critical Sociolinguistic Ethnography of High Socio-Economic Status Multilingual Families in the UK Brexit Context.

by

Marie-Anne Mansfield

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

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This thesis ethnographically examines two instances of high socio-economic status, multilingual, multinational families resident in the UK, in the aftermath of the 2016 Brexit referendum. For each, I explore the discursive creation and presentation of 'our family', enacted in 'our home', and the (language) socialization of the family's children into this, through the lens of Bourdieu's (1993) notion of habitus. I draw upon both verbal and visual fieldnotes, resulting from an eighteen-month ethnographic study that used participant observation as its principal method. The fieldnotes included not only records of interactions and observed speech, but also notes of paralinguistic communication and the participants' engagement with material objects. My analysis is inspired by Goffman's (1959) dramaturgical approach. Through it, I reveal how the habitus of each family was characterised by (language) ideologies and practices that reflected the ideals of the neoliberal self (Urciuoli, 2008), and those of cosmopolitanism. I consider how the ways of being of the participant families, and family members, were discursively / semiotically constructed through their everyday rituals, language / semiotic practices, and interactions, moment to moment. I further explore the mechanisms by which the children were socialized, in and through language and the families' broader semiotic repertoire, into 'our family', and how this notion was (co-)created, contested, and negotiated with, and by, them. Taking a critical stance, I explore the essential role of (language) socialization within the family in the socio-economic stratification of society. I reveal how the participants' belief in the deterministic potential of the dispositions and orientations into which they were socializing their children, the forms of capital at their disposal, and the sense of agency afforded by their Bourdieusian habitus, created an enacted belief that through the 'right' choices and (language) socialization practices today, 'our family' can (will?) win tomorrow.

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List of Acronyms

ABRSM:	Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music.
CE:	Common Entrance
CV:	Curriculum Vitae
CRE:	Commission for Racial Equality
ECRI:	European Commission against Racism and Intolerance
EHRC:	Equality and Human Rights Commission
ERGO:	Ethics and Research Governance Online
EU:	European Union
FLP:	Family Language Policy
GCSE:	General Certificate of Secondary Education
ISEB:	Independent Schools Examination Board
KGB:	Komitet Gosudarstvennoy Bezopasnosti. Trans.: Committee for State Security
LAMDA:	London Academy of Music and Dramatic Arts
LMLS:	Language Maintenance / Language Shift
LS:	Language Socialization
OV:	Objective Vulnerability
RP:	Received Pronunciation
SES:	Socio-Economic Status
SV:	Subjective Vulnerability
TEU:	Treaty on European Union
UCAS:	Universities and Colleges Admission Service
UKIP:	United Kingdom Independence Party

Declaration of Authorship

I, Marie-Anne Mansfield

I declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and have been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

Title: Socializing for Success: A Critical Sociolinguistic Ethnography of High Socio-Economic Status Multilingual Families in the UK Post-Brexit.

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
4. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
6. Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
7. Parts of this work have been accepted for publication as:

'The role of multilingualism in the construction of social identity in a high social class family'. Sociolinguistic Studies. Special Issue: Family Language Policy and Family Sociolinguistic Order in a Neoliberal Context. Expected publication date: August 2022.

Signature: Date:

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Chapter 1 General Introduction

1.1 Overview

In this research I have investigated ethnographically two instances of multilingual multinational families, the Azerguis and Vasechkins, resident in the UK in the aftermath of the 2016 Brexit referendum. (The names of all participants are pseudonyms). I have made use of extensive fieldnotes, including my written records of observed conversations and interactions, and visual images, mainly photography, gathered during 18 months of participant observation (Bloch, 1991) of the two families. These have then been analysed drawing on the theories of Bourdieu (1979, 1984, 1986, 1993), using a dramaturgical approach inspired by Goffman (1959, 1967, 1981), and taking family, specifically what I term 'our family', as the analytical category. Through this research I aim to elucidate how high socio-economic status (SES) families and individuals operate, and what ideologies and practices they use to define and sustain their status. Theoretically, this thesis engages with research areas that have paid attention to language and family, Language Socialization (LS) and Family Language Policy (FLP), and related concepts such as families' aspirations, multilingualism and transnationalism and conceptions of the future. It makes a methodological contribution through its use of long-term participant observation in a sociolinguistic study, and its consideration of non-verbal forms of human semiosis alongside verbal communication.

1.2 Rationale

This study developed from both academic and personal interests. I was brought up in a multilingual household, in a multilingual part of Britain, with maternal grandparents in another multilingual part of another country. My close family spoke several languages. To me it was simply normal. In the two photographs of my family below, Ninnie Charter, later Ninnie Rica, provides the link connecting the generations.

Image 1: Charter Family, Kervail, Brittany, France, 1921

In the first photograph she is not visible, being still in her mother's womb. We see her parents, and her four siblings, born before World War One. They are stiff, posed, and in their best clothes. All six were multilingual, speaking both Breton and French. However, the war broke the family's connection with Breton. From that time on the family spoke only French in the home. Ninnie was not taught Breton.

Image 2: Rica Family, Kerfany, Brittany, France, 2001

In the second photograph Ninnie is there, the only monolingual, surrounded by her family. We see her husband, René, a speaker of French and Breton. There are also the children and their spouses, and the grandchildren. The members of the two younger generations are all

multilingual, and speak at least two 'elite' languages. None of them speak Breton[1]. These photographs of my family, and the languages unseen within them, suggest a number of themes that have also emerged from my research, such as neoliberal language ideology in the discarding of Breton. My experience within my own family has led to a conviction that language is inextricably bound to conceptions of self. It has also led to my academic interest in language, family, and transnationalism. I have chosen the family as my research site as I believe it to be of academic importance. It is the primary place of (almost) every person's socialization into the (stratum of) society of which their family is part, and their primary social affiliation (Ochs, 1993; Curdt-Christiansen, 2018). It is the place where the codes required both to access and to leverage privilege are learned. It has been ill-served by epistemologically weak definitions (Gavriel-Fried and Shilo, 2015), and under-attended to by sociolinguists, with the important and notable exception of researchers in the areas of FLP and LS. This study makes a contribution towards the elucidation of both the role of, and the mechanisms of, the discursive and semiotic construction of the family.

I position this study in the field of critical ethnographic sociolinguistic research. In alignment with Heller (2011: 34) I take as my objective "describing, understanding and explaining the role of language in constructing the relations of social difference and social inequality that shape our world.". Accordingly, I consider both the socio-political / economic context of the research, and the relationship between that which is revealed by this study, and the creation and perpetuation of social inequality. The initiating events of the story I tell here is the Brexit referendum of 2016, and its aftermath. This study is timely in that it captured the participants' different understandings of, and responses to, this event, as they were evolving.

At the start of the study both families were resident in England, in the UK. They moved there in the late 1990's or early 2000's, at the height of the 'Cool Britannia'[2] period in the UK. At that time discourses in the UK celebrated its outward looking global role as hegemon of the Commonwealth, partner to the USA in the Special Relationship, and powerhouse within the

[1] Although I have subsequently tried to learn a little Breton.

[2] The "Cool Britannia" phenomenon, beginning in 1996, was the flourishing on a global scale of the so-called creative industries such as British art, fashion and music, particularly 'Britpop', and its linkage by the incumbent Labour Government to the modernisation of the Labour Party and British nationality. The term continued in general usage for almost a decade. (Navarro, 2016).

EU (Rzepnikowska, 2019). The young adulthood of those born in the 1970s, including the parents in this study's participant families, had been marked by a level of unprecedented potential mobility in Europe. The Iron Curtain[3] had collapsed, opening Eastern and Western Europe to one another. For the nations within the European Union (EU), the right of their citizens to live and work in other member nations had been enshrined in the fabric of their nation's common membership of the EU since the agreement of the Maastricht Treaty[4] in 1992. Sociologists heralded a new period where the individual's sense of self was less contingent upon group affiliations such as nationality, and where borders were truly permeable in a globalised world (Bauman, 2013). Parallel to, and interacting with, this was a new economic context, that of neoliberalism (allegedly) triumphant.

However, even as 'Cool Britannia' was celebrating its unique position in the world, the post-Brexit UK was foreshadowed. The 2004 enlargement of the EU to include an additional ten Eastern European countries resulted in freedom of movement for those from several countries whose economies were, at that time, less robust than those of some of the Western European members, including the UK. This resulted in a rhetoric that framed Eastern Europeans as a threat to the employment opportunities and livelihoods of British workers (Rzepnikowska, 2019). Meanwhile, Anti-Muslim, often generalised as anti-North African / Near-Asian, feeling had been fed and magnified by the rhetoric surrounding the war in Iraq, and the aftermath of 9/11 2001 and the London terror attacks of July 7th 2005. In response to the economic collapse of 2008, and the resultant downward spiral of the UK economy, the then Labour government pledged to cut migration, reinforcing the discourse of migrants as a threat to the welfare and livelihoods of the (white) British (Rzepnikowska, 2019). In doing so, they prefigured the stridently anti-migrant rhetoric of UKIP[5] and the increasingly hard-right Conservative party. Whilst much of this rhetoric focused upon the prevention of new migrants moving to the UK, there was an implicit, and occasionally explicit, hostility created

3 The political, military, and ideological barrier erected by the Soviet Union after World War II to seal off itself and its dependent eastern and central European allies from open contact with the West and other non-communist areas (Britannica, 2020)

4 As a result of the Lisbon Treaty, which entered into force on 1 December 2009, the Maastricht Treaty is now known, in updated form as, the Treaty on European Union (2007) (TEU).

5 United Kingdom Independence Party, a right-wing political party formed with the sole and specific intention of getting the UK to leave the EU.

against those migrants that already called the UK their home. At a policy level much of this was enshrined in the 'hostile environment'[6], particularly after the passing of the 2014 Immigration Act into UK law. Moreover, a report commissioned by the United Nations Refugee Agency found that the portrayal of migrants in the UK was the most negative and polarised in Europe (Berry et al., 2015). The European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) (2016:18) criticised British tabloid newspapers, for "offensive, discriminatory and provocative terminology". As Virdee and McGeever (2018) observed, the UK had often defined itself against what they term internal others, meaning those resident in the UK that are non-White, non-Christian, and / or non-English. Racism was leveraged by right-wing discourses that portrayed all migrants as the "bearers of alien customs and practices …. sufficient to place them beyond the boundary of what it meant to be British" (Virdee and McGeever, 2018:1808). Importantly for this study, in these forms of racism, *culture and language* took the place of the pseudo-biology of race. By 2006 race and immigration were recorded as the most important issues facing the country (CRE[7], 2007). On 23rd June 2016, by a small majority of 52% to 48% of votes cast, the British voting population opted for Britain to leave the EU. In many quarters, the toxicity of the EU Referendum campaigns, and their aftermath, have led to a deepening and hardening of anti-migrant attitudes (Benedi Lahuerta and Iusmen, 2021). In the period between the adult participants' decision to move to the UK, and this study, both the attitudes towards, and the potential for, migration to the UK changed dramatically. For many the impacts of this event are ongoing.

The participants' understanding of the impact of Brexit on them, and their options and choices in the face of it, were informed by their dispositions, orientations and the forms of capital at their disposal. For that reason, I have chosen to explore these stories through the prism of habitus, the set of subjectively constituted, but objectively observable, socialised

[6] A raft of controversial immigration enforcement policies embedded in the core of public services, spearheaded by Theresa May during her tenure as Home Secretary (2010 to 2016). These have been collectively described as structural violence. (Uthayakumar-Cumarasamy, 2020).

[7] Commission for Racial Equality, non-departmental public body in the United Kingdom which aimed to address racial discrimination and promote racial equality. The Commission was replaced by the Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC) in 2007.

norms or dispositions that guide practice and belief (Bourdieu, 1993). This essential concept is explored further in section 2.4. This study is relatively unusual in that both participant families are of high SES. Sociolinguistic research into multilingualism has tended to focus upon the disadvantaged (Lawson and Sayers, 2016). However, as Barakos and Selleck (2019), and Thurlow and Jaworski (2017) state, the debate can be furthered by studying those towards the other end of the socio-economic spectrum. I align with Nader (1972) in my belief in the importance of 'studying up', considering it particularly relevant to a *critical* sociolinguistic ethnography.

1.3 Research Aims and Questions

The central aim of this research was to investigate two instances of multilingual multinational families, resident in the UK, post Brexit. I aimed to elucidate the role of language in their discursive and semiotic construction, and presentation, of 'our family', enacted in 'our home', and the mechanisms of socialization into this of / with the children. The study focuses upon how the way of being of the participant families, considered through the lens of habitus (Bourdieu, 1993), is constituted by their everyday situated (language) rituals, practices, and interactions. Not only the outcomes of the analysis, but also the final aims and research questions of the study emerged from the fieldwork. The findings and conclusions reflect the concerns and practices of participants themselves, namely their attempts to guarantee the future success, and hence happiness, of 'our family', through the creation of, and socialization of children into, the 'correct' habitus. Exploring this raised the following research questions:

1. *How is 'our family' discursively and semiotically created, negotiated and presented moment to moment?*

Although the Vasechkin and Azergui families' ways of being were socially and historically situated, they were unique, and recognisable to them and to the careful observer as their own version of 'our family'. Through their interactions with both those outside the family, and with each other, the family members continually (re-)created and presented themselves, and the societal groups of which they were part, including their unique version of 'our family'. This study considered these processes through the prism of habitus, and elucidated the mechanisms through which they were carried out.

2. *What do any identified (language) ideologies and attendant socialization practices reveal about the nature of 'our family's' habitus?*

Through close observation and analysis of the interactions, context, and communicative practices, both verbal and non-verbal, of the two families, (language) ideologies and (socialization) practices were identified. This study considered which issues of language mattered to the participants. I revealed which languages / forms of language were valued, and through / into which the children were socialized. I also explored the practices and activities that revealed / were associated with their language ideologies. Examples included the desirability of language mastery at 'native speaker' level, the privileging of elite languages, and the inherent value of (elite) multilingualism. I further analysed how they revealed the dispositions that are constitutive of their habitus, and in turn explored its characteristics. The agency of the children was considered throughout, and examples provided. Moreover, I highlighted the children's role in contesting and negotiating both language ideologies and practices, and in the co-creation of 'our family'.

3. *What is the role of future orientations in determining present day habitus, ideology, and practice?*

I align with Bryant and Knight (2019) in considering future orientations to be a determining factor in present day language ideologies, practices and dispositions, and hence habitus. The participants' conception of their future prompted them to acquire / socialize the children into elite languages as a form of cultural capital, and multilingualism *per se* as both a form of cultural capital and a characteristic of habitus. I consider that narratives of the past were (re-) created in the service of both future orientations and present-day ideologies. These included accounts highlighting characteristics valued within 'our family', including those relating to multilingualism. The present is the moment where past and future converge, and can be acted upon. I explore how that temporal relationship was revealed in the interactions and practices of the participants. I also reveal how, if the previously imagined future could no longer be anticipated, some of the participants were forced to reconsider their present.

1.4 The Participants

This study tells the stories of two multilingual, multinational / transnational families, the Azerguis and the Vasechkins. The Azergui parents were Badis and Sakina, in their late 40s /

early 50s. Badis had Algerian, British and French nationalities, whilst Sakina was both Algerian and French. Their four children were their elder son Aderfi, born in 2001, their elder daughter Illi, born in 2004, the younger son Igider, born in 2010 and the younger daughter Lunja, born in 2012. The children had Algerian, British, and French nationalities. At the start of the study Badis was the Chief Investment Officer for a bank, whilst Sakina was a nutritionist, but focused her energies first and foremost upon her family. Between them the family members spoke Berber, English, French and a little Spanish. The Vasechkin family comprised Andrei and Oksana, in their late 40s / early 50s, and their three children, Mariana, born in 2005, Feliks, born in 2008, and Elena born in 2013. The five family members were all Russian. Andrei was also French, as were Feliks and Elena. Oksana was also British and Estonian, as were all three children. Andrei was a science professor, whilst Oksana worked as a senior finance analyst. Between them the family members spoke English, French, German, Italian, a little Mandarin, Russian and Spanish.

I knew both families socially prior to this study as Feliks and Igider attended my sons' school. Language and multilingualism had been frequent topics of conversation that I had both witnessed, and been party to. I first noticed Andrei and Oksana at the school gate, in 2102, switching smoothly between English and Russian depending upon their interlocutor. My first one-to-one conversation with Saskina Azergui, in 2015, included a long discussion about the challenges of attempting to raise our children as multilinguals. Phrases such as "with the youngest one, forget it" (from her), "exhausting" (from me), and "stubborn refusal" (both of us) still stick in my mind from that day, as does the sense of relief in realising that I was not the only person finding the process difficult. I saw, and was intrigued by, both families' engagement with their own multilingualism, and the presence of their reflexive meta-narrative regarding language. Moreover, the future participants were instrumental in the development of my ideas as to what I wished to address through my research. I did not first conceive of my thesis and then select the participants, but instead I first met the participants, and they inspired me to observe them ethnographically. Their way of being and their relationship with language commanded my attention. As I explore in my analysis, multilingualism and specific bounded languages were a permanent, acknowledged presence for these families, as they were for my own. The choice of families was key to this study, as not only were the family members the participants, but also the family was the chosen ethnographic site.

1.5 Structure of the Thesis

I now turn to how this thesis is structured. Analysing the language ideologies, socialization practices, and ways of being of two instances of 'our family' has required the juxtaposition of an understanding of the historical and socio-political context navigated by the participants, fieldwork material, and a solid theoretical and conceptual framework. Accordingly, in chapter 2, I set out the theoretical orientations that underpin this work and define key terms, clarifying how they were used for the purposes of this study. I begin with a consideration of language, addressing in turn the definition of language used here, the role of (elite) multilingualism, and the fields of sociolinguistics which have focused upon the family, namely FLP and LS. The extent to which I align with these is then explored, as is the importance to the study of both the critical paradigm (Tollefson, 2018) in LS, and of linguistic anthropology (Kroskrity, 2010). In order to make sense of the nexus where structure and agency meet for the participants, and understand how their dispositions determined how they interacted with the world, I drew upon Bourdieu's (1993) notions of habitus and field, explored in section 2.4. His concepts of forms of capital (1979) and the linguistic market (1977) are also considered, as they are required for the development of my argument. I address the key characteristics of habitus / forms of cultural capital for the purposes of this study, namely globalisation, transnationalism, mobility, forms of cosmopolitanism, and the neoliberal self (Urciuoli, 2008). I then consider the family, specifically the notion of 'our family', the chosen unit of analysis for this thesis. The need for research focusing upon the family is asserted and defended. I provide definitions, for the purposes of this study, of family and home. I also make the essential differentiation between the concept of family, and the specific instance of 'our family' as investigated here.

In chapter 3, I consider the methodology of the study. I highlight how, through the use of ethnographic participant observation, it was anchored in the exploration of parental interactions with, and in front of, their children. My fieldnotes comprise records of observations, including spoken interactions, my impressions, feelings and reflections at the time, and visual images. I go on to explore the selection and recruitment of the participants, the evolution of the research aims and questions, and the construction of the ethnographic field, before outlining the methods and duration of the fieldwork. In section 3.5.2, the essential role of reflexivity both during the fieldwork and the analysis phases is addressed.

Chapter 4 closes with a consideration of the analysis and writing methods, informed by the work of Goffman (1959, 1967, 1981).

The following six chapters make up the analysis, and are divided into two sets of three. Chapters 4 to 6 consider the Azergui family, whilst chapters 7 to 9 provide the equivalent analysis for the Vasechkins. Drawing upon the work of Goffman (1959), I take a dramaturgical approach. Accordingly, I begin in chapters 4 and 7 by presenting the participants. I explore the participants' transnationalism, and the legacy of socio-historical conceptions of, and attitudes towards, notions of their national and cultural affiliations. I then present the setting created by and for the participants. I guide the reader through their homes, highlighting elements of language materiality (Cavanaugh and Shankar, 2017) that perform a semiotic function in the presentation of self and / or socialization of the participants. In chapters 5 and 8, I describe and analyse interactions in which ideologies, dispositions, future orientations, socialization practices and / or self-conceptions are shown. I elucidate the relationship between these and a habitus which I identify as neoliberal and cosmopolitan. The attendant forms of capital, largely afforded by the participants' high SES, are also revealed. Particular focus is given throughout to how the newer members, the children, were socialized into 'our family', and how this was constructed, contested, and negotiated with and by them. The children's agency, and their role as subjects in their own right, are considered. In the final chapters of each group of three, chapters 6 and 9, I show how the families' habitus in the present, and their conceptions of / orientations towards the future, are mutually constitutive. I then reveal how the practices and choices made within, and by, each family serve to protect / bring about their respective desired futures. Finally, I explore how, and if, Brexit and its aftermath shifted the imagined and desired futures of the two families, and the impact of this shift on their (language) ideologies and practices.

In chapters 10 and 11 I discuss and summarise the findings, and the resultant contribution I have made. In chapter 10 I consider the stories of the Azerguis and the Vasechkins together, exploring both the commonalities and differences between them. I then reflect upon the role of the invisible third family in this study, my own. The thesis concludes with chapter 11, in which I begin by revisiting the development of this study. I then elucidate the key aspects of my approach that together constitute a methodological contribution to the field. Following this, I highlight my theoretical contribution. I then close by suggesting ideas for further research, informed by a reflection upon the limitations and constraints of this study.

Chapter 2 - Theoretical Framework

2.1 Introduction

In order to position this study, I have had to engage with literature from a number of areas. For clarity, I have divided these into the following sections:

- Theoretical approaches to language and semiosis.
- Consideration of the family, my chosen analytical category and ethnographic site.
- Ways of being considered through the lens of Bourdieu's notions of habitus, field, and forms of capital (1979, 1993).
- Discourses regarding nationalism, the 'other', and language.

This chapter explores my approach to these themes, the way in which I engage with them, and their place in the story I wish to tell. I will address each in turn, highlighting links and interrelations as they arise. I begin with theories of language and semiosis.

2.2 Language and Semiosis

Language is central to this story, and its role is complex and multifaceted. It informs notions of discourse and ideology, and my methodology. I begin this section with a consideration of what constitutes language for the purposes of this study. I then explore the neoliberal commodification of language, and those research areas which have engaged most strongly with the study of language in the family, namely FLP and LS.

In line with Goffman (1959), with whose approach I engage more fully in chapter 3, I consider that language is multimodal. It may include words, voluntary or involuntary articulated sound, inflection, gesture, bearing, and even the material surroundings, including clothing and other objects. As Cavanaugh and Shankar (2017) have highlighted, there is value in considering the linguistic and the material in the same analytical frame. Indeed, they have coined the term 'language materiality' to describe the emerging field of research into how the linguistic and the material converge. This idea echoes, and was foreshadowed by, Goffman's dramaturgical model (1959), where he highlighted the importance of setting and appearance, both of which he considered dependent upon material objects to index meaning. Whilst I define language as encompassing all human semiotic activity, my analysis required that I also considered language as a bounded and nameable unit, labelled variously 'English',

'Russian', 'French', 'Italian' and so forth. I adopt Blommaert's (2010) term 'artefactualized languages' to differentiate these from language-as-semiosis. It is in this artefactualized form that language is most clearly ascribed differing values in the linguistic market (Bourdieu, 1977).

Some scholars have observed that, with the emergence of late modernity, its attendant characteristic of globalisation, and the parallel economic structure of neoliberalism, languages may be vested with an inherent exchange value in the global marketplace (Heller, 2003; Pujolar 2016). This is not a new idea, however. As Bourdieu (1977, 1986) highlighted, (artefactualized) language is a form of symbolic capital, which in turn may be interchangeable with material capital. The artefactualized form of (some) languages has become a form of cultural capital in its own right, and it is largely these that have become commodified throughout the world (Heller 2010). The relative commodity value, dominance, and / or ranking of a language, and the attendant power relationships and ideological conflicts created, significantly impact FLP (Canagarajah, 2013), considered below. The global spread and increasing dominance of English (and a small number of other languages) has a major impact upon choices made by multilingual families (Curdt-Christiansen 2009, 2016; Garrett, 2011), and fundamentally influences their language socialization practices. Furthermore, within each artefactualized language there are distinct forms, which can also be positioned within the linguistic market (Blommaert, 2009). For example, forms of English including those termed 'Queen's English', 'Received Pronunciation (RP)' (Milroy, 2001), and 'U' or 'non-U'[8] (Ross, 1954), have long been identified, and differing status and value ascribed to them. However, within and across the bounded, nameable artefactualized languages in the linguistic repertoire, there are also indexical distinctions. Semiotic activity carries not only functional, but also cultural, social and political meanings. The indexicality of language is key to its role in the discursive construction of society, the presentation of self, and the (self-) ascribing of one's place in society. There is a normative dimension to situated language use (Silverstein, 2006; Agha, 2007; Blommaert, 2010) that facilitates the translation of semiotic differences into social inequalities. Those with access to, and control of, the forms of

[8] U' is used to denote what are considered to be upper class terms, as opposed to non-'U' for forms used by those of other, lower, social classes, for example "spectacles" (U) versus "glasses" (non-U) (Ross, 1954).

semiosis to which high value is attributed, have greater access to the forms of capital and attendant power that such forms confer.

Heller and Duchêne (2012), drawing upon Bourdieu, proposed the concepts of 'pride' and 'profit' to describe the two ways in which language may be commodified. They asserted that language is no longer framed in political or national terms. Instead its role as a form of capital dominates. Language commodification is manifest in two, frequently competing, ways either as a source of profit, a manageable, standardized technical skill (Heller, 2010), or as a source of pride, a sign of authenticity and differentiation (Coupland 2003; Heller, 2010). Both forms lead to competition as to who may define what is considered a legitimate and commodifiable language, and who controls access to linguistic resources (Heller and Boutet, 2006). The relationship between pride and profit is largely presented by Heller and Duchêne as a dichotomy. For example, a heritage language (pride) may be abandoned in the pursuit of the English language skills that might increase the learner's employability (profit). Nonetheless, as Muth and Ryazanova-Clarke (2017) observed, the shift to profit has not fully replaced the pride discourse of language, and the important symbolic role it holds for many. A significant impact of language commodification is the tension that it creates between linguistic practices and ideology (Heller, 2010), and hence how it informs and legitimizes language socialization. The tension between pride and profit discourses has been observed in the ideology, policies and practices of the participants, and is explored in the analysis (section 8.3.2.2). However, as I discuss (section 10.2.3), the roles of elite languages and of elite multilingualism *per se,* as both a form of capital and a characteristic of habitus, complicate the pride / profit dichotomy.

In general, little linguistic ethnography and / or applied linguistics research has attended to the family. However, the fields of LS and FLP have made it their area of focus, and are therefore highly relevant to this study. I first consider FLP. Whilst this is a younger area of research than LS, it is the place where I began my exploration of the literature on language in the family. This, largely European, field of study investigates the "explicit and overt as well as implicit and covert language planning by family members in relation to language choice and literacy practices within home domains and among family members." (Curdt-Christiansen, 2018: 420). "Explicit and overt" means the conscious involvement and investment in facilitating language and literacy development. "Implicit and covert" refers to the default language practices of a family that are determined by ideological beliefs. The

sociolinguistic approach has allowed FLP to be used as a frame through which to understand family language ideologies, and hence wider societal views and attitudes towards multilingualism, language and languages, the relationship between child and carer (King, 2016) and, in turn, child language development (Canagarajah, 2013). A particular focus on ideology is found in the work of Curdt-Christiansen (2009), Song (2010), and Bae (2015), who have explored how language ideologies are formed, and which ones pervade various societies. Indeed, it is the focus upon the link between language and ideology that ties this study to the field of FLP. However, the significant focus in FLP upon Language Maintenance / Language Shift (LMLS) issues (Fishman, 1964) and the perceived conflict between dominant and heritage languages, has meant that issues of linguistic repertoire / semiotic repertoire have not generally been considered. FLP research appears to consider power predominately in terms of the relative (political) power of different (artefactualized) language communities. Therefore, it can elide the stratified nature of society along other lines. Accordingly, I did not position my work within the field of FLP, but instead turned to LS in order to consider language as praxis, and the vital role linguistic repertoire plays in the gaining and maintaining of power, and perpetuation of inequality. Nonetheless, I believe that FLP concerns regarding the global spread and increasing dominance of certain languages, particularly English, are well founded. The global dominance of a small number of languages has had a major impact upon the choices and practices of multilingual families (Curdt-Christiansen 2016), including the participants in this study. The impact of the linguistic market (Bourdieu, 1977) is not limited to considerations of LMLS and FLP. It also affects the LS strategies of multilingual families, and their understanding of the relative power and status afforded by the various elements of their linguistic repertoires. LS appeared to me to suggest ways of researching language that did not necessarily (exclusively) prioritise artefactualized (forms of) language. Rather, it seemed to enable a fuller consideration of the role of language(s) in the discursive creation of societal structures.

LS, descending from Hymes (1963), and made explicit by the work of Schieffelin and Ochs (1984), owes its heritage to the American anthropological tradition, and examines “how young children and others become communicatively and culturally competent within their homes, educational institutions, and other discourse communities, both local and transnational, and how language (in its many varieties and modes) mediates that process.” (Duff, 2017.p.ix.). Learning to think, act, and speak in the ‘correct’ way for one’s specific

social, historical and cultural context is essential to function successfully in any community. How this is done is the concern of LS. It considers language learning to be both a sociocultural and cognitive process that takes place over time and space, and throughout the life of an individual language community member. LS's value to my research lay both in its use of ethnography as the *sine qua non* LS research methodology, and its focus upon 'enabling understanding' (Schieffelin and Ochs, 1984) of, and placing language in, its (rightful?) place at the heart of enculturation. LS sees language and culture as inextricably interwoven, a position with which I align. Language is regarded as a "dynamic social practice" that is constantly "contested" and "in flux" among its users (Duff and Talmy, 2011: 96). LS therefore provides a theoretical and methodological framework for understanding how linguistic and cultural competence, and hence habitus, is developed through everyday interaction rituals (Goffman, 1959).

LS has been rightly criticised for being largely descriptive and not critical (Duff and Talmy, 2011). However, it is now the case that it has moved into an evaluative phase. LS lends itself powerfully to the consideration of how social strata are perpetuated. As García-Sánchez (2016) notes, it can serve as a paradigm to explore how processes of marginalization emerge from inequalities in the ideologies and structures that shape socialization. I have engaged with the literature relating to LS as I believe that it brings unique value in considering how newer family members are socialized into the family way of being. I align with the overall approach of (critical) LS research, and its foregrounding of the role of language in socialization. I also align strongly with a central tenet of LS which holds that children are not simply passive subjects of socialization. Indeed, they are sometimes the ones who socialize others, adopting the role of expert, rather than novice, in socializing interactions (Ochs and Schieffelin, 2017). However, I believe that there is often a lack of scrutiny in the LS literature as to *what* newer members of a community are being socialized *into*, and the agentive role of children in the *co*-creation of the group way of being. I take the position that the creation of the family into which the newer members are socialized is an ongoing reflexive project that involves both the adult and child family members in agentive roles. I also believe that the focus of LS research upon verbal, usually spoken, interactions, to the exclusion of other forms of semiosis and socializing practices, is a limitation. Accordingly, in my desire to consider the fullest range of human semiosis possible in a single study, I diverge somewhat from existing LS scholars. From a methodological standpoint I align with the LS approach

which is, like this work, rooted in longitudinal ethnographic research. However, I make use of different methods to much LS research, eschewing the use of interviews in favour of long-term immersive participant observation, as I believe it better serves this particular study.

2.3 The Analytical Category and its Space : Family and Home

In this section I engage with the concepts of family and home, and the ways in which I consider them to be mutually constitutive, but different. I believe that for newer members of the family it is the primary place of their socialization into the (stratum of) society of which the family is part. It also (usually) forms the primary social affiliation of the family members (Spolsky, 2012; Curdt-Christiansen, 2018). For my study I have taken the family as my ethnographic site (section 3.2). I therefore need to define the notion of family as I use it here. As was noted in the introduction, the definition of family has rarely been adequately addressed (Gavriel-Fried and Shilo, 2015). The definitions that largely prevailed in the twentieth century reflected the societal norms and economic practices of the societies in which they were developed. In line with the principles of modernity, these definitions served the prevailing social capitalist world order of the time (Gavriel-Fried and Shilo, 2015). The traditional (Western) ideal of family entails a heterosexual married couple and their own biological children, enacting traditional gender roles where the father was the primary breadwinner, and the mother the primary carer (Collins, 1998). Although outmoded and lacking value epistemologically, such simple traditional definitions are important to bear in mind, as they form part of the discursive backdrop in which the participants created their own ideas of family. For the purposes of my ethnography I have developed a definition of family, drawing on Demo, Allen and Fine (2000), and Holtzman (2008); family is any two or more persons who are, at any given time, related to each other by birth, marriage, adoption, or choice, and who share experiences, emotional and social ties, and varying responsibilities.

I consider that the family is historically and socially situated, and that the family is discursively and semiotically created in and through everyday language practices. As a group it has its own ideologies, culture, and habitus, and is concerned with its own self-creation, social reproduction, preservation, and status. Familial instability and / or flexibility appears to be an inherent trait of late modernity (McGoldrick et al., 2015). Marriage is not necessarily for life, and co-habitation, or multi-household families / partnerships are now often practised as alternatives to marriage. Additionally, the widely accepted space / time compression of

late modernity (Dawson, 2013, Block, 2015) applies to the family. This is perhaps particularly so for those families, such as the participants of this ethnography, that cross national borders, be that either in space, e.g. transnational families, or time, e.g. migrant families. Technological advances enable rapid travel and almost instantaneous global communication. (Block, 2014). Furthermore, societal strata, from the global to the individual household, are now intertwined to an unprecedented extent (Block, 2014). This has affected the ways a family functions and is understood by its members.

In order to understand the task of discursive / semiotic construction of families undertaken by their members, it is essential to differentiate between *the* family, and *a* family, or specifically, '*our family'*. Both the family and 'our family' are discursively created in everyday practice and ritual, but 'our family' has a unique meaning to its members. Each individual family discursively creates 'our family', and each individual member their own version of it. The participants' discursive and semiotic creation of 'our family', the ideologies, practices and rituals, and their presentation, contestation and negotiation are the central research focus of this study. In parallel with the discursive semiotic creation of 'our family', the participants discursively / semiotically create its space, namely 'our home'. It is to this that I now turn.

An association between home and family has been noted by many researchers (Bowlby et al. 1997, Mallett, 2004), however, the nature of this relationship is contested. Whilst some authors suggested that the link between home and family is so strong that the terms are almost interchangeable (e.g. Crow, 1989), I do not align with this position. I believe home and family to be mutually constitutive, but distinct. The majority of scholars appear to accept that 'home' is a multi-layered, multi-dimensional concept (Mallett, 2004). As such, the physical dwelling or shelter is simply one aspect of it. Home may often be conflated with / related to concepts such as house and / or family. Indeed, it is frequently unclear whether home refers to place(s), space(s), feeling(s), practices, and/or an active state of being in the world, or an amalgam of some or all of these concepts (Mallett, 2004). The meaning of home in this study must therefore be established. Following Saunders and Williams (1988), I distinguish between house and home. 'House' refers to the place, that is the physical building, which may actually be an apartment, its setting, gardens, drive, etc.. 'Home' is considered here as a discursively / semiotically constructed space. It is "simultaneously and indivisibly a spatial and a social unit of interaction" (Bowlby et al.,1997: 82) and the setting in which forms of familial and broader social relations are constituted, enacted and

reproduced. Both house and home are here considered in terms of a single-family dwelling. Whilst such a conception is almost exclusively Western orientated, it is sufficient for this study, focusing as it does on families resident in the UK and Europe. Some scholars, particularly those in the fields of feminist theory and queer theory have problematised traditional conceptions of home and family (Wardhaugh, 1999; Bowlby et al., 1997). Nonetheless, they concede that the traditional conceptions have currency in the Western popular imagination. Therefore, they are relevant to this ethnographic study, as it is the traditional conceptions that the participants appeared to hold, present, and embody, and into which the children were accordingly socialized.

In this study I consider the use of language as a communicative practice, one that enables the search for, and the demonstration of, meanings in human relationships. As Cavanaugh and Shankar (2017) observe this includes relationships not only between people, but also those between people and their immediate environment, and the made objects within it. In the context of this study, the most important such relationships are those with / that create the home. Indeed, several scholars have studied the 'dynamic processes and transactions' that transform a 'dwelling unit . . . into a home in the context of everyday life' (Després, 1991:101), both routine daily and weekly activities, as well as seasonal events, such as birthdays. As for the notion of family, in the analysis I differentiate between the home as a concept, and the instances of 'our home' of the participants.

The home is obviously, indeed etymologically, a domestic space. However, as some scholars note (e.g. Coolen and Meesters, 2012), the division between the domestic and work / social space, or between the private and public realms, was never clear or neat. This has been made abundantly clear during the COVID-19 pandemic, when homes became, more than ever, spaces for work, education, and (limited) socialising. Houses were never exclusively private and/or restricted spaces. As Young (2010) noted, for centuries public spaces within the home, for work or socialising, have been central to the creation of habitus and the creation and demonstration of symbolic capital. That they continue to be so is relevant to my analysis. Accordingly, I make use of Goffmanian (1959) notions of back stage versus front stage areas to denote the truly private versus (quasi) public spaces within the home. It is material goods upon which the Goffmanian stages are constructed, and which are used as props. Through interaction with these, in a form of language materiality (Cavanaugh and Shankar, 2017), the human subject communicates to their audience. Such communication may serve a socializing

function. It may also enable others to classify the subject in terms of their place in society, through an assessment of their way of being, to which I now turn.

2.4 Ways of Being and Becoming : Characteristics of Habitus and Forms of Capital

I view the dispositions, future orientations and ways of being of the participants through the lens of Bourdieu's notions of habitus and field (1993), and consider the participants' resources, including linguistic resources, in terms of his ideas of forms of capital. I explore these theoretical elements here, considering first Bourdieu's concepts themselves, then turning to specific examples that are relevant to this thesis.

Bourdieu (1993) conceived of power as being culturally and symbolically created, and constantly re-legitimised through an interplay of agency and structure. He asserted that this takes place largely through habitus, which he conceived of as a set of socialised norms or dispositions that guide practice and belief. The concept of habitus is essential to this study as it is the nexus in which structure and agency meet. Bourdieu theorised that habitus was subjectively constituted, but objectively observable. He further stated that habitus is expressed and reproduced in various social and institutional arenas, which he termed fields, in which people compete over the distribution of capital. Bourdieu envisaged resources as capital in various forms (1986): financial capital and wealth; cultural capital gained through all forms of education, and symbolic capital, the acknowledgment by others of individual status. Fundamental to his notion is the idea that these different forms of capital are mutually convertible. For this study I have considered particular elements as forms of capital / characteristics of habitus that I deem to be embodied in / presented by the participants. These, which I now explore in turn, are (elite) multilingualism, cosmopolitanism, the neoliberal self, and transnationalism / geographic mobility.

As discussed in the following section, many in the UK post- Brexit believed that being British was contingent upon speaking English as one's first language. At the same time, it was the case that for some in the UK, multilingualism was both normal and desirable, and that multilingual parenting was 'good parenting' (King and Fogle, 2006). As the work of both Blommaert and Verschueren (1998) and of Blackledge and Pavlenko (2001) suggest, discourses regarding the desirability of multilingualism are more prevalent amongst migrant and transnational people, such as the participants of this study. However, as has been

considered above (section 2.2), not all languages are believed to have equal value. The multilingualism under consideration here is first and foremost elite multilingualism. For the purposes of this study I understand elite multilingualism as including only dominant (forms of) languages, those associated with prestige and high economic commodity value. It is a form of multilingualism that is fostered in, and by, high SES social groups and / or educational institutions (Codó and Sunyol, 2019), as it is understood to have value in a globalised (employment) world.

This brings me to a consideration of globalisation, which forms the socio-political backdrop for this study. Globalisation entails interconnected political, economic, social and cultural processes and phenomena, and is defined by Giddens (1991: 64) as "the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa." It is an essential characteristic of the system in which the families participate, and one without which such families would not exist in the form in which they do. It enables both their synchronic and diachronic transnationalism and mobility. Whilst the movement of people from nation to nation is hardly a new phenomenon, globalisation has brought with it not only an additional complexity to such movement, but also an interconnectedness and mobility of other elements too, such as information and consumable products (Block, 2008). In order to address change, sociolinguists including Heller (2011) and Coupland (2003) have moved from a focus upon the sedentary and the bounded, to a consideration of trans-contextual networks, of flow and movements. The participants in this study embody, and are significantly affected by, globalisation. The adult participants have moved multiple times, both within and between countries. In almost all cases this was as a response to employment or education opportunities, and enabled by the political context of the time, explored in chapter 1. It was, in part, the demands of carrying out an ethnographic study in the context of globalisation that caused me to construct a field that is conceptual, rather than coterminous with any bounded geographical region (section 3.2). The multilingualism of the participants is both a result of, and an asset in, their globalised world. As Block (2008) points out, globalisation and language are inextricably linked.

I now turn to cosmopolitanism, a notion that Beck (2012) suggests may sometimes be little more than globalisation by another name. Indeed, the term cosmopolitan has been used in different ways by different scholars, drawing on traditions from both sociology and

anthropology. For the purposes of this thesis I understand cosmopolitanism as implying an openness, interest, tolerance, respect and ease of engagement with the 'other', in the form of exotic/foreign cultures, places and people (Maxwell and Aggleton, 2015). Drawing on both Beck (2012), and Werbner (2008), I suggest that a spectrum of cosmopolitanism can be discerned. In its most 'banal' form, to use Beck's term, cosmopolitanism may be simply globalisation rebranded. It entails foreign travel for work or pleasure and an appreciation of the aesthetic of other cultures. Nonetheless, it can carry with it a push for homogeneity, for making the 'other' more like us. In this form there are neo-colonial overtones (Werbner, 2008), and one may discern echoes of the fashions, such as orientalism (Behdad, 1994), that swept through Europe in previous centuries. At the other end of the cosmopolitanism spectrum is a reflexive, morally charged form that encompasses empathy, tolerance and respect for other cultures and values. It is "an ethical horizon – an aspirational outlook and mode of practice" (Werbner, 2008: 2), and entails "the transcendence of the particular and blindly given ties of kinship and country'" (Cheah 2006: 487). It is important to note that whilst traditionally cosmopolitanism has been associated with high SES, in line with Werbner (2008) I do not consider that this has to be the case. The notion that a cosmopolitan disposition is *necessarily* antithetical to the 'national outlook' is suggested in some treatments of cosmopolitanism, and made explicit by Beck (2012). Parry (2008), with whom I align on these points, argues against this. He strongly challenges the notion that such cosmopolitanism is value neutral and equally accepting of all cultures on their own terms. Furthermore, I follow both Werbner (2008) and Cohen (1992) in my belief that cosmopolitanism does not imply rootlessness. Rooted cosmopolitanism (Cohen, 1992) is a notable feature of many post-colonial high SES individuals. Characteristic of this is what Cohen (1992: 483) described as "multiple patriotisms" and "plural loyalties", which are 'not easily harmonised'. Linking cosmopolitanism to a Bourdieusian framework, I follow Maxwell and Aggleton (2015) in suggesting that, for some, cosmopolitanism may be considered a set of practices linked to a habitus, rather than simply a form of cultural capital (Igarashi and Saito, 2014), or even a form of capital in its own right (Bühlmann et al., 2013). Maxwell and Aggleton point out that individuals may develop a predisposition to view the world through the lens of cosmopolitanism, rather than only acquiring and leveraging cosmopolitanism as a form of (cultural) capital.

As I reveal in the analysis, I have concluded that cosmopolitanism is one of the defining characteristics of the participants' habitus. Another such is their embodiment of neoliberalism in the neoliberal self (Urciuoli, 2010). Where globalisation provides the socio-political backdrop for this study, neoliberalism (Harvey, 2005) provides the economic context. That has given rise to what Urciuoli (2008) terms the 'neoliberal self', a way of being which foregrounds what are considered to be (professionally and economically) desirable traits. These include, but are not limited to, entrepreneurialism, independence, and flexibility. As such the context of neoliberalism impacts directly the discourses that prevail in high SES families as to how they and their members should be and act. I have reflected upon my use of the term neoliberal to categorise certain ideologies and dispositions. The focus on, for example, prestigious education and elite multilingualism pre-dates the advent of neoliberalism for many groups and cultures. Socialization into such notions is socially and historically situated, and specific to the context which any given group co-constructs / operates within. Nonetheless, I use the label neoliberal for these, as the ideologies and attendant practices in question contribute to the construction and perpetuation of the neoliberal context. Moreover, their adoption allows the individual to fit better, and so fare better, in the world of neoliberalism. I believe that they are, therefore, characteristic of Urciuoli's (2008) neoliberal self.

The discourse of transnationalism as it pertains to geographic mobility (Andreotti et al, 2013) and space/time compression (Block, 2014) is also one that I have identified as having been embodied by the participants. The transnational family (King, 2016) and the transnational social class (Andreotti et al,. 2013) are concepts with which scholars have engaged in recent years. Of particular relevance to the critical nature of this study is the link between (geographic) mobilities and power. Access to desired mobility, and freedom from undesired mobility is not equally distributed. As Tesfahuney (1998: 501) asserts, "differential mobility empowerments reflect structures and hierarchies of power and position by race, gender, age and class, ranging from the local to the global". To this list I add financial resources, and the amount of agency individuals believe that they hold, which in turn is a characteristic of habitus / form of capital, originating primarily in the family. Accordingly, I consider the specific form of transnationalism and geographic mobility embodied by the participants in terms of how it is not only constitutive of their habitus, but also a product of it.

As I have repeatedly stated, the participants are high SES individuals. The social stratum in which they position themselves / are positioned could be considered through multiple lenses, such as notions of high social class (Savage, 2000), or elites (Marcus, 1983). However, I use the term high SES as I believed it to be the most appropriate in this instance. Whilst social class is found throughout the world, its specific glosses are often particular to a country, culture, and / or society. Indeed, key studies that have made use of social class as an analytical category have tended to focus on specific nations, such as France (e.g. Le Wita, 1994) or the UK (e.g. Willis, 1977). I therefore considered that social class carried with it national and society specific connotations that risked eliding the transnationalism embodied in the participants. The term elites, on the other hand, lends itself well to transnational considerations. However, it is a term that is suggestive of such divergent groups, such as the super-rich, political leaders, or simply those that attend / have attended public school, that it risked being epistemologically ambiguous. More importantly, it is a term eschewed by the (adult) participants of this study. Every one of them explicitly expressed discomfort at being described as elite during the discussions we had regarding them agreeing to be part of the research. From an ethnographical standpoint I believe that whether the participants recognise themselves in my descriptions / terminology is something that I should consider, although not always be swayed by. In this instance I chose to reflect the participants views of themselves, and I rejected the term elite in favour of the term high SES. Nonetheless, I agree with the approach taken by many of those who study elites. Specifically, I position my work in alignment with the approach outlined by Shore and Nugent (2002), in that I aim to elucidate how elites / high SES groups and individuals operate, and with which ideologies and practices they define and maintain their status.

Habitus provides a valuable paradigm through which to consider high SES. Furthermore, it allows the consideration of a broad semiotic repertoire in its creation and presentation. Studies such as that by Henry and Feuerstein (2021) have identified how observers ‘read’ non-verbal clues to determine the SES of both the children and adults around them. Language materiality also plays a key role. A specific example of this, to which the analysis sometimes refers, is the high SES differentiation between dining, and simply eating, and the role of the material in supporting that differentiation. The capacity to dine, as opposed merely to feed, has been identified as a marker of modern bourgeois self-control and internalised self-discipline (Elias, 1978). These in turn both index high SES habitus (Young, 2010), and are

desirable characteristics of the neoliberal self (Urciuoli, 2008). The ritual of dining demands that the subject interacts with material culture in a specific way. A space, often a whole room, is (ostensibly) dedicated to dining, in which the subject demonstrates their knowledge of the right 'codes' through their assembling of the appropriate goods in the right combinations for this purpose. This is identified as 'correct' taste (Young, 2010), and indexes Bourdieusian (1984) distinction, and in turn, the 'correct' habitus.

Those aspiring to high(-er) SES endeavour to master the elaborate codes required to pass in such groups (Blommaert, 2005; Young, 2010). Even before one reaches adulthood, access to, and thriving within, elite education is enabled by the correct socialization (Scherger and Savage, 2010). Articles, books, and even courses exist to educate those who did not learn these codes within the family sphere in childhood. Aspiration, internalised codes and the associated self-discipline are held up as a virtue to cultivate. The interplay of the legacy of these traditional British middle-class ideals of modernity[9] (Young, 2010) with the construction of the neoliberal-self (Urciuoli, 2008), is part of the structure with which the participants interact. It creates a context in which self-control, self-improvement and an easy familiarity with the 'right' ways of doing things, are a powerful form of capital. In a society where many strive to acquire the financial and cultural capital required to obtain high SES, the result is that establishing a social position, and protecting it, is an ongoing task. This task takes place in a Bourdieusian field. As has been observed by social historians (e.g. Young, 2010), the outcome of this lies almost entirely in the hands of others. It is they that will, or will not, decide to allow a person to affiliate with them or not, depending upon their perception of their acceptability and suitability. Success or failure will be determined, in large part, by a person's habitus, and the forms of capital that they can leverage. Accordingly, the task for parents in families of, or aspiring to, high SES becomes that of ensuring the socialization of their children into the 'correct' codes, and the 'correct' habitus, and enabling their acquisition of the necessary forms of capital required for the aspired to future. As Knight has identified (2012, 2015), both past (cultural) group narratives and future

[9] It should be noted that this assertion may only apply particularly / exclusively in the Western, particularly Anglo-Saxon, world. Young's (2010) work focuses upon the UK, Australia and the United States.

aspirations inform responses to present day events. In this way a determinative relationship between habitus and socialization in the present, and aspirations for the future, is forged.

Finally, I consider how the notion of habitus, explored above, entwines with language. I also address the role of future orientations in that relationship. Many scholars have elected to view the relationship between language and habitus through the prism of (linguistic) ideology (Piller, 2001; Heller, 2010). By using linguistic ideology as a bridge between linguistics and sociology, these researchers have been able to link their explorations of language use to considerations of power and social inequality, in effect embracing Tollefson's 'critical paradigm' (2018). Giampapa (2001) makes the point that in the era of globalisation the simple 'language equals identity' formula is no longer sufficient for analysis. Research into language ideologies considers how particular ways of using languages index and (re)produce socio-cultural dispositions, hence habitus, and the beliefs and assumptions that are held about language (Irvine and Gal 2000). I take Kroskrity's notion (2000:21) as the basis of my conception of language ideologies. This states that language ideologies "… represent the perception of language and discourse that is constructed in the interest of a specific social or cultural group". As Norton (2000) explains, a person's self-conception is anchored in how he / she understands his or her relationship with the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and the person's conception of and aspirations for the future. The parents' understanding of their relationship to the world is transmitted to their children in daily practice and ritual, socializing them into common family goals. Accordingly, I believe that the adoption, contestation, and enactment of (language) ideologies is fundamental to the creation and presentation of both individual and family habitus. As Blackledge and Pavlenko (2001) noted, characteristics that have little to do with language, such as moral values, are attributed to language varieties and their speakers. Furthermore, as Gal and Woolard (1995) observe, language ideologies are almost never about language alone, but are socially and historically situated. Investment in a language, for or by the parents / children, is both investing in the acquisition of material and cultural capital, and perpetuating / enacting / socializing others into ideologies that value multilingualism (Norton, 2000; Heller and Duchêne, 2012; Codó and Sunyol, 2019). These together create a way of being, a habitus. I believe that there is a mutually constitutive relationship between habitus and language ideologies, and between both of these and the presentation of self. Elucidating that relationship is an aim of this research.

2.5 Language as a Marker of 'Otherness' : Nationalist Discourses and Multilingualism

In this section, I explore the literature that addresses the issues surrounding the participant families due to the changing socio-political and economic environment following the 2016 Brexit referendum. Virdee and McGeever (2017) identified two contradictory, but inter-locking, visions that informed the Leave narrative in the Brexit campaign, and ultimately brought about its victory. The first was a deep nostalgia for empire, but one that ignored the destructive legacies of colonialism and racism, both past and present. The second was a more insular, 'Powellite'[10] narrative of retreating from a globalising world that is no longer recognizably 'British'. They contended that what made these visions compelling was that they tapped into the long-standing narratives and beliefs about immigration and national belonging. Throughout the thesis I use the terms British and English with care, as they are neither geographically nor culturally / politically interchangeable. Virdee and McGeever (2017) identified that a resurgence in political Englishness, as opposed to Britishness, was a key driver of Brexit. They further highlighted two defining characteristics of nationalistic political Englishness. The first was the marked link between English national feeling and the longing for Empire. The second lay in the structural decline that Britain had undergone during the neoliberal era, resulting in a politics of nationalistic resentment. The overall effect was that Englishness had been reasserted through a "racializing, insular nationalism" (Virdee and McGeever, 2017: 1804). Overall, 53% of those in England who voted in the referendum, voted Leave. However, 79 per cent of those who identify as "English not British" voted Leave, as did 66 per cent of those who identified as "more English than British" (Ashcroft, 2016). The new, insular, Englishness was shown not only in the (successful) rhetoric of the Brexit Leave campaign, but also in large-scale survey data that show the extent to which the main drivers of political Englishness are Euroscepticism and concern about immigration (Jeffery et al. 2016). Indeed, Virdee and McGeever in 2017, only 18 months prior to the start of my fieldwork, asserted that it was the 'immigration question' that defined the conversation

[10] Enoch Powell British Member of Parliament, whose (in)famous "Rivers of Blood" Speech in 1968 of was made to a meeting of the Conservative Political Centre in Birmingham, United Kingdom, and is frequently referenced by those on both sides of the UK immigration debate (Hillman, 2008). His speech strongly criticised mass immigration to the United Kingdom and the proposed race relations bill. It became known as the "Rivers of Blood" speech, although the expression did not appear in the speech, but is an allusion to a line that he quoted from Virgil's *Aeneid*.

around what it is to be English. They pointed out that English nationalism had taken on a notably defensive character since the 2008 financial crisis. It was no longer defined by past imperial prowess or a sense of superiority, but rather by a deep sense of loss of prestige. The decline of the British empire, they argued, had not led to the overcoming of the English imperial complex, but instead to its transformation into a defensive and exclusionary position. The English, they suggested, now perceived themselves to be under siege, and it was time to pull up the drawbridge. Those that were 'not-English' and / or 'not-British' were therefore increasingly less welcome.

The dominant, majority group in Western societies frequently considers that the ideal society is monolingual, monoethnic, mono-religious, and mono-ideological (Blommaert and Verschueren, 1998). Research has shown that, at the time of the study, a significant proportion of the UK population saw foreign language and culture as potential barriers to existing UK resident migrants being considered British, and in turn to being welcome in the UK. Consider the following data from the YouGov (2019)[11] Cambridge Globalism survey[12].

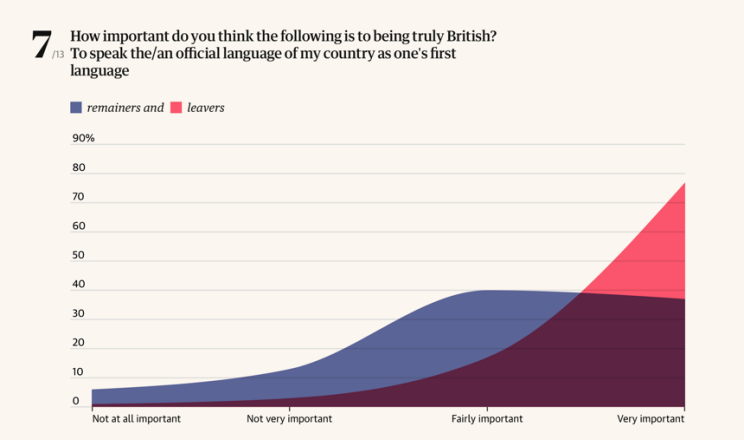

Figure 1: Importance attached to speaking the official language of the nation as ones first language

(YouGov, 2019; YouGov and Guardian, 2019)).

[11] The data in the two graphs are from the YouGov (2019) survey. Graphical representation used here was published by YouGov and Guardian (2019).

[12] The data are presented in terms of the opinions of Remainers (Blue) and Leavers (Red), that is those that voted Remain in or Leave the EU in the Brexit referendum. Where the graphs are reproduced in black and white, the opinions of Remainers are presented in the darker of the two, non-overlapping shades, the Leavers in the lighter.

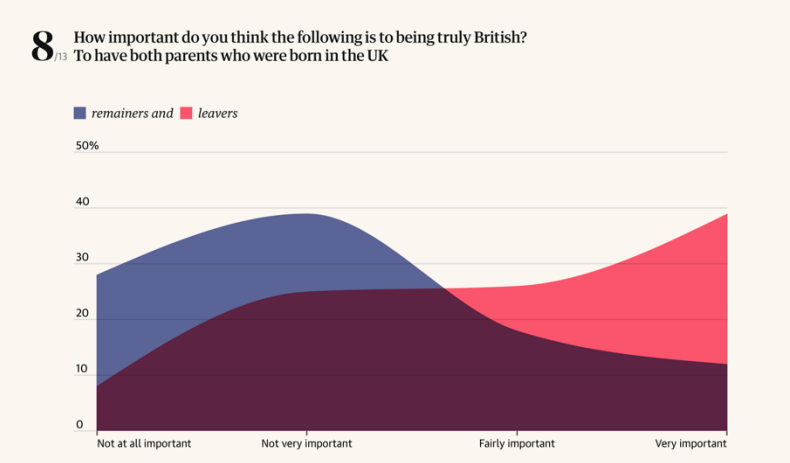

Figure 2: Importance attached to having two parents born in the UK in order to be British

(YouGov, 2019; YouGov and Guardian, 2019)).

Of particular importance for this thesis, which has language, multilingualism and multinationalism at its heart, is that the above figures show a clear belief on the part of significant portions of the UK population that not only could even second generation migrants not be considered British, but also speaking English *as one's first language* was pre-requisite to being considered so. Furthermore, amongst leave voters[13], the language issue was considered to be 'very important' by *double* the number that thought having two parents born in the UK was 'very important'. One might reasonably infer therefore, that speaking accented English, no matter the degree of mastery, would preclude being accepted as British by those holding this view. As Blackledge and Pavlenko (2001) asserted, a dominant ideology of homogeneity in a heterogeneous society raises issues of social justice, as such an ideology may exclude and discriminate against those who do not / cannot fit the norm.

As Rzepnikowska (2019) noted, racism intensified following the Brexit referendum, building upon the racism that existed before. Benedi Lahuerta and Iusmen (2021) explored the resultant (sense of) threat experienced by Polish citizens resident in Southampton, a mere twenty-minute drive from the Hampshire houses of my study's participants. Benedi Lahuerta and Iusmen determined both the Subjective Vulnerability (SV) and Objective Vulnerability

[13] 52% of those that voted in the Brexit referendum.

(OV) of their respondents. These were respectively defined as the sense of (racist / xenophobic) threat felt by, and the actual threat to, an individual. They concluded that Poles (and it may be perhaps inferred, some other EU nationals) felt subjectively more unwelcome after the Brexit referendum. They were more likely to feel that their national origin, foreign names, language skills and choices, and accent, were now a (greater) problem in the UK. Benedi Lahuerta and Iusmen asserted that this SV was closely linked to the ontological insecurity experienced by migrants, and was generated by both real and symbolic threats resulting from the Brexit referendum result. Importantly, they recorded that increases in SV were more substantial than those in OV, highlighting that experiencing feelings of anxiety, distress and insecurity was not necessarily linked to having suffered direct hate or discriminatory incidents at individual level. The legal status uncertainty created by Brexit, along with the realisation that "belonging is suddenly contingent" (Benedi Lahuerta and Iusmen, 2021: 297), contributed to the fear and heightened sense of fragility, and thus, SV, experienced by EU nationals, and potentially other foreign nationals, resident in the UK.

For those who are discernibly, audibly and /or visibly 'foreign', their acceptance by the English is not guaranteed. They may desire / attempt to become members of English society, but as noted above (section 2.4), the outcome of this lies almost entirely in the hands of others. I align with Blommaert (2005) in my belief that the ability of a subject to have others accept them *as they choose to present themselves* is a form of power. Whether a subject has this power is largely determined by their habitus (Bourdieu, 1993), and the forms of capital that they can leverage, including in this instance linguistic capital.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has laid out the conceptual frameworks that underpin my argument in this thesis and defined key terms. In it I also explored literature and theory relating to the impacts of the Brexit referendum. I started with an exploration of theories of language, beginning by highlighting that in this study language is taken to include all forms of human semiosis, including language materiality. I stated my alignment with theories of language commodification. I then positioned this study in the context of FLP and LS, the two main areas of sociolinguistic research that focus upon the family, my chosen analytical category and ethnographic site. I then expounded the way in which I understood the concepts of both family and home for the purposes of this thesis. I continued with an exploration of the

Bourdieusian theories that underpin my analysis, and in that context considered specific themes that are important to my argument, namely elite multilingualism, cosmopolitanism, the neoliberal self, and transnationalism / mobility. In this I considered how I conceive of the link between present day habitus and acquisition of forms of capital, and future orientations. I noted the role of language ideologies, practices and socialization in this link. I closed the chapter with a consideration of the literature and theories relating to the UK Brexit context. In light of the theoretical framework discussed in this chapter, I will next explain the methodological approach adopted in this study.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will elucidate my methodology, introduce my research participants, and consider the ethical implications of my work. The raw material for this study was made up of fieldnotes, photographs, and field documents such as children's drawings and texts, and family home movies. These were gathered in a longitudinal sociolinguistic ethnography (Heller et al., 2018) of one and a half years' duration, between January 2019 and July 2020. The research participants were recruited through personal networks, and were chosen primarily for their multilingualism and transnationalism. This research is a sociolinguistic ethnographic study, originating in the applied linguistic fields of FLP and LS, and drawing, necessarily, upon social theory, as outlined in my literature review. A study that aligns both with sociolinguistics and ethnography raises questions for adherents of both disciplines, creating as it does an inevitable tension between the conventions and standards of both fields. Therefore, in the following section I explore my choice of methodological approach, and consider how I respected the demands of both sociolinguistics and ethnography. I then describe my construction of the field, and choice of ethnographic site. I will then consider my role as ethnographer, exploring my positionality and reflexivity in the process. Following this, I will explore how my focus upon the semiotic repertoire, as opposed to the specifically linguistic repertoire, or even language, determines how the ethnography is carried out. I explain the nature of the observations I have needed to make and the mechanisms I have used for doing so. Finally, I will consider the analysis of my observations, before summarising the key points of this chapter.

3.2 Ethnography as Research Method in a Sociolinguistic Study

I begin with a consideration of my focus upon language. As I have outlined above (section 1.2) an interest in language in its broadest sense was the starting point for this study. I align with Rorty (1989) and Deleuze and Guattari (1994) in my belief that not only does language mediate our relationship with reality, but it also constitutes aspects of that reality. It is used in the discursive construction of concepts such as home, family, and the socio-political structures that provide the context of this study. Language not only enables the understanding and analysis of culture, but is also constitutive of culture. Therefore, I believe that the focus

upon language is appropriate for this study of ways of being a (multilingual) family. I reiterate the nature of language as it is conceived of in this study, namely as that which encompasses the whole of the (human) semiotic repertoire and communication. I have not limited the study to artefactualized languages, nor even to exclusively verbal communication. I have made use of copious fieldnotes in which I have attempted to capture the mood, expression, gesture, body language, vocal inflection and language materiality that accompanied, enriched, and in some instances replaced a spoken interaction.

My belief in the value of ethnography in the field of sociolinguistics, and its place as the *sine qua non* of LS research, led me to choose ethnography as my research method. Nadai and Maeder (2016) have considered how an ethnography may be successfully anchored in social (in this instance sociolinguistic) theory. They state that in this instance one must first define the research object theoretically, then find locations and social situations where, according to theoretical assumptions, that object may be found. Then one must be prepared to follow the participants' leads and extend the research as far as possible. This is the approach that I have taken here, although as I note previously (section 1.2), it was the participants, before they were participants, that inspired the choice of research topic. Ethnography is both the written representation of (selected aspects of) a culture (Van Maanen, 2011), and the method, the "intense research experience" (Clifford, 1988: 25), that enables such a written representation to be created. In this consideration of my methodology, I focus upon its latter aspect. Ethnography's role as the methodological tool *par excellence* in anthropology is undisputed, but it has additionally won many diverse devotees and advocates in other fields, including socio- or applied linguistics, such as Blommaert (2018) and Heller (2016). Ethnography, since Malinowski's 1922 (1984), monograph on the people of the Trobriand archipelago of the Western Pacific, had been understood as the process of spending a prolonged period of time in a social and cultural context alien to the ethnographer, with which he /she become gradually familiar. The ethnographer aimed to live as the 'natives; do, and, over time, to understand their viewpoint, and their "vision of the world" (Malinowski, 1984: 25), enabling an interpretation of fieldwork based upon the shared experiences and common knowledge of the participants and the ethnographer. More recently, a broader approach to ethnography has evolved in many disciplines. Ethnographers no longer need to travel to a remote tribe. Indeed, this approach, with its neo-colonial overtones, is disfavoured in many academic circles. There are now several, well regarded, instances of ethnography in one's own 'tribe'. The concept of

the ‘native ethnographer’, such as Ablon (1977) and Kondo (1990), is now well established, and the very concept of ‘othering’ the studied group, and particularly any connotations of colonialism, and studying the ‘savage’, is now considered deeply problematic. My ethnography fits in with this younger tradition as I was arguably largely of the ‘tribe’ that I have elected to study, as I discuss more fully in chapter 10. Furthermore, time and financial constraints, in this instance specifically those associated with my position as a PhD candidate, and a mother of two primary school-age children, meant that long stays in a geographically remote ‘field’ were unrealistic. Nonetheless, for this ethnography I observed the participants for one and a half years, and followed them into and through many dimensions of their lives, and many of their spaces, often at their instigation and invitation. Whilst I did not move in with them during this time, something that would have been undesirable for them, and unmanageable for me with my other life commitments, on average I saw the participants several times a month each, and often several times a week, totalling several hundred hours of observation. Nonetheless, my ethnography, like all ethnographies, is necessarily partial. It is my subjective, and inevitably incomplete, view of what has occurred in the ‘field’ during a specific period of time. However, as Falzon (2005), and Hannerz (2003) point out, the notion of a complete ethnography is something of a myth. Indeed, one of the demands upon the ethnographer is to identify and accept this partiality, and to set meaningful boundaries as to what is researched and presented.

Many scholars, with differing theoretical orientations, including Rampton (2006), Blommaert (2018) and Heller et al. (2018) have championed the use of ethnography in sociolinguistics as a powerful means to explore real-world problems. This requires the researcher to take a critical approach, such as that advocated by Tollefson (2018), and outlined by Heller et al. (2018). I position my work in the critical, sociolinguistic, ethnographic tradition of Heller (2013), Pietikäinen et al, (2016) and Pujolar (2016). As such, I take as my objective the “describing, understanding and explaining the role of language in constructing the relations of social difference and social inequality that shape our world.” (Heller 2011: 34). Informing the critical stance taken in this study is the notion of ‘studying up’. Nader put forward three reasons for ‘studying up’ in her 1972 essay in which she coins the term. These were the energizing and integrating effect for the researcher, scientific adequacy, and the democratic relevance of the discipline. The first of these considers the motivations of the ethnographer, and the value of studying up in meeting my desire to contribute to an elucidation of the

mechanisms and causes of power imbalance in social structures, and to research families whose experience perhaps mirrored my own. Nader's second reason, that of scientific adequacy, refers simply to the issue that if only one end of a spectrum is studied, then the picture that is created is necessarily incomplete. Several studies that consider multilingual education, and / transnationalism have considered those of high SES, such as those of Codó and Sunyol (2019) and Andreotti et al. (2013). However, the areas of sociolinguistic ethnography / ethnography of families have historically been heavily weighted towards the study of those of lower SES. This thesis makes a contribution in addressing those towards the other end of the socio-economic spectrum. The third reason for 'studying up', according to Nader, is the need to elucidate how those in society with relative power / privilege / higher status obtain and maintain it. It is this reason that makes 'studying up' so relevant to the critical stance that I take in this study. The issues that Nader identified as being unique to 'studying up' are interesting for me to reflect upon at this stage. Many of these were not in fact a problem for me. Access to the participants was facilitated by my own privilege, as the participants are in many ways my peers (but see section 10.3.2). I was welcomed in as one of them, something that my children unknowingly enabled (section 10.3.4). I was honest with them as to the research objectives and the nature and content of my fieldnotes. All of my photos were taken in their presence (specifically in the presence of adult participants) or provided by them in the knowledge that they could be included in the thesis. I do not believe that the research was in any way weakened by this honesty. Overall, I believe that the conjunction of ethnography and critical sociolinguistics provided a uniquely rich methodological approach for this study.

3.3 Constructing the Field and Selecting the Site

It is clear that there is no ethnography without a 'field' inhabited by some sort of 'natives'. In this, an ethnography performed as sociolinguistic research, the question is what field is appropriate to the tracking of a theoretical concept originating in sociolinguistic theory? This work does not make use of the 'single tribe' approach, but rather aims to understand the social structures that are revealed in everyday interactions and rituals. As a sociolinguistic ethnographer, I derived my research objects and field(s) from my theoretical questions, which, as discussed above (section 3.2), were anchored in sociolinguistic theory. Once the research object had been defined theoretically, and appropriate locations and situations found for its study, then the ethnographic field had to be constructed. As Nadai and Maeder (2016)

discuss, this construction process must be guided by theory on the one hand and the imperatives of fieldwork on the other.

The transnational nature of the participants was central to the way I conceived of and constructed the field, and selected the site. Gille and Ó Riain (2002) observe that globalisation, a key characteristic of late modernity, challenges ethnography, as it destabilizes the embeddedness of social relations in particular communities and places. Furthermore, Basch et al. (1994) highlight that many mobile people (they specifically refer to migrants) build Bourdieusian fields that cross geographic, cultural and political borders. As Falzon (2016), and Massey (2005), assert, if we are to spatialize globalisation, we must consider its variety, its openness, its unbounded nature, and the essential relationship that it has with the temporal. As several scholars have identified (e.g. Falzon, 2016; Bashkow, 2004), the conventional model in ethnography of "bounded islands of cultural distinctiveness afloat in a sea of transnationalism" (Falzon, 2016: 4), remains problematic. I consider that this was particularly the case for my ethnography due to the transnationalism of the participants, that is, as I reveal, part of their self-conception. I align with the idea that space is socially produced, and that this had consequences for the definition and selection of my site and the creation of the ethnographic field. I drew upon the work of Hannerz (2003), via Coleman and Collins (2006), in believing that anthropology, and hence ethnography, is about social relations, and only derivatively about place. Hine (2000) additionally advocates a move from the concept of the field as a bounded site, to a notion of an ethnographic field of relations, whilst Falzon (2016: 58) notes the value that comes from liberating ethnography from the idea that any field of ethnographic research could be "coterminous with, or the same thing as, a geographically bounded location or area". I agree with this position, and therefore conceived of my site not as a geographical place or space, but rather as the family, as defined in chapter 2. This is a social construction, but it is one that allowed me to consider my site as the aforementioned field of relations. It should be noted that although two families were studied, I did not conceive of the those as two sites, but rather as two instances of one site.

The question then became: which families, social situations, and spaces to choose? Several key ideas informed the construction of the field. As Cook et al (2016) observe, there is both serendipity and pragmatism in selecting / constructing a field site that includes spaces with which the ethnographer is already familiar. Geographical proximity and ease of access were important considerations as it was essential that I was able to spend a great deal of time with

the participants. Therefore, families were chosen whose primary residence was within an hour's drive of my home. They were people with whom I had a sufficiently warm relationship for them to allow me the required access, and who I believed would be able to adjust to my frequent and prolonged presence in their lives without excessive difficulties for either of us. The participants were recruited through personal networks; some of our children had in the past attended the same school. The families were, importantly, chosen due to their transnationalism, demonstrated diachronically through their life trajectories, synchronically through connection with geographically dispersed extended family, and through their multiple nationalities. I consider that the agency and role of children as co-constructors of habitus and ideologies, and their acquisition, rejection and negotiation of the prevailing family and social ideologies is an important aspect, as is their role in the socialization of siblings. Socialization is not an exclusively intergenerational practice in families (Kheirkhah and Cekaite, 2018). I therefore selected families with at least two children of school age, resident in the family home. The two families also complied with the criteria that I believed would enable me to explore my research questions, namely:

- The parents were not British by birth and were multilingual, with a language other than English as their first language.
- There were at least two children in the family.
- The non-English language was used, to whatever degree, in the family and the home.
- There was regular contact with the extended non-English speaking family.
- All participants were of similar high socio-economic status.

(Extract from Participant Information Sheet (Appendix A)).

I followed Canagarajah (2008), and Cabral (2018), in considering the historical context in which the sociolinguistic repertoires and language ideologies of the families / parents evolved. Although the participant families were all resident in the UK at the start of the study, I explored the transnational aspect of their lives. That was done both diachronically, in terms of their migration trajectories, and synchronically, in terms of their ongoing contact with extended family and other individuals and institutions in other countries. It included their use of trips to countries of origin, and connections with relatives still resident in those countries. Overall, I aimed at every stage to incorporate into my ethnography the situated ways in which multilingual family linguistic repertoires develop in different social and

historical contexts over time. This enabled me to co-construct with the participants not only a multimodal image of their "language ideologies, learning experiences, experiences of migration, [but also] the individual and social influences in the repertoire" (Obojska and Purkarthofer, 2018).

The spaces in which much, but importantly not all, of the ethnography was carried out were the then current family homes of the participants. These were spaces created by the families, but which to me, in my role as ethnographer, were in effect found objects. However, I additionally accompanied the participants to family events, play dates, dinner parties, on days out and to the school gate to collect their children. I carried out observations at both schools. However, the majority of school site observations were at the boys' school. This was in part due ease of access, as my sons attended that school for part of the file work period, so I was permitted to be on site. Additionally, the richness of the material provided was notably greater at the boys' school. This was a result of both its smaller size, meaning that the parents were generally all waiting in one location, and the much longer period of time spent by parents chatting to one another as they waited for their children in the school yard, rather than in their cars. I also followed the participants into the technological and virtual spaces afforded by Facebook, Twitter, Skype and FaceTime.

I also explored the biographies of the participants, and their stories to that date, which led them to the place and time in which I observed them. I often allowed myself to be guided by the participant as to which situations and which interactions were chosen to observe. Although I entered the field with a strong theoretical orientation, I endeavoured throughout to maintain a sense of the spaces, interactions and rituals as being artefacts constructed by the participants, but as being found objects to me, the ethnographer, in line with the approach advocated by Candea (2016).

3.4 The Participants

The families whose members were the research participants were known to me socially prior to the commencement of this ethnography. Although their children attended some of the same schools, the two families did not know each other as their children were in different years. They were approached based primarily upon their fit with my research criteria, outlined above. I provided each family with participant information sheets (Appendix A), and made time to sit with all (adult) family members either individually or in small groups, as

they preferred, in order to explore any concerns or questions with them. They were encouraged to take two weeks to discuss amongst themselves whether or not they wished to participate. The families raised no concerns. All adult participants signed a consent form (Appendix B) each. A consent form was signed on behalf of every child[14] participant by one of their parents[15]. The details of the two participant families are provided below.

Name	Age	Nationality	Education	Profession	Languages Spoken
Andrei	Late 40s	Russian, French*	Post-Doctoral Degree	Science Professor	Russian French English Italian Spanish German Mandarin
Oksana	Early 40s	Estonian Russian British*	Master's Degree	Financial Controller	Russian English French German Italian Spanish Estonian
Mariana	13	British Estonian Russian			English Russian French
Feliks	11	British Estonian French Russian			English Russian French
Elena	6	British Estonian French Russian			Russian French

Table 1: The Research Participants - Vasechkin Family[16]

[14] All participants under the age of 18 in the three months prior to the start of the fieldwork period.

[15]As all the children in the study were legally a) under the parental responsibility of their parents and b) not subject to a parental responsibility dispute between the parents, this was sufficient. (UKGov, no date).

[16] Notes:

Name	Age	Nationality	Education (Adults)	Profession (Adults)	Languages Spoken
Badis	Late 40s	Algerian French British*	Baccalaureate + 5 years	Chief Investment Office	French English Berber Spanish
Sakina	Late 40s	Algerian French	Baccalaureate + 5 years	Nutritionist (Former Marketing Manager)	French English Berber Spanish
Aderfi	17	Algerian British French			English French
Illi	15	Algerian British French			English French Spanish
Igider	7	Algerian British French			English French Spanish
Lunja	5	Algerian British French			English French Spanish

Table 2: The Research Participants - Azergui Family

The chosen families happened to comply largely with the traditional ideal family (section 2.3). This was neither intentional, nor was an attempt made to avoid it. The two households were made up exclusively of family members, but in several instances, family members resident elsewhere were important actors in the life and socialization practices of my research participants. Additional family members, carers, tutors, family friends, children's playmates

- All names are pseudonyms.
- Ages are as at the start of the fieldwork period.
- Nationalities marked with * are those that the individuals acquired in adulthood.
- Languages spoken are listed in descending order of proficiency for each adult, and include those learned during the fieldwork period.
- Language proficiency is as assessed by the speaker themselves.

all figured in the cast of characters that populated the household, temporarily, and often repeatedly, alongside the resident members of the family. The terms 'participant family' and 'participant families', unless otherwise qualified, refer to the group(s) made up of the family members, resident in each of the two households, that participated in my study.

Research participants are essential to any ethnographic study, however in this instance they were key to several stages, and determined the direction of the research itself. As I have previously noted (section 1.2), they were instrumental in the development of my research aims, and were effectively co-creators of the final research questions. This is in line with the ideas of Nadai and Maeder (2016), who have asserted that the yardstick for a sociological / sociolinguistic ethnography has to be whether the research questions make sense to the participants. They ask "Does a research question strike relevant issues of the field? Does the research tackle a problem with some significance for the members' everyday lives? Do the field members also recognize themselves at least partially in the findings of such a study?" (Nadai and Maeder, 2016: 246). In order to answer yes to these questions, I needed a willingness to adapt my research to new questions and issues emerging from the field. I have done so, evolving and refining my questions as I better understood what was important to the participants.

3.5 Ethical Considerations

ERGO[17] approval was awarded on January 7th 2019 (ERGO number 47012). Working through this process enabled me to reflect upon and to discuss the ethical implications of this ethnography with my supervisors. Appropriate ethics training was undertaken, and I familiarised myself with all relevant best practice guidelines, as they were issued from the University of Southampton, or from international bodies such as the Association of Social Anthropologists of the UK and Commonwealth. Following the award of ERGO approval, all potential participant individuals that I had previously identified were given full details of what participation would entail, and provided with written participant information sheets. They were given at least two weeks to consider and discuss among themselves whether to become part of the research. Translations of the participant information sheets were provided where appropriate / required, and in each case were provided by multilingual members of the

[17] ERGO: Ethics and Research Governance Online, the University of Southampton centralised ethics management system.

participants' own family. A sample permission form, and further information regarding its use, is provided in Appendix A. Observations began in January 2019, and were completed in July 2020. The disruption caused by the COVID-19 pandemic was relatively minor as most of the observations were complete by the time that the UK began its first lockdown, at the end of March 2020.

Whilst planning the research, and creating the participant information sheets and consent form, I was able to consider the specific ethical issues raised by my research project. These were the need to protect the anonymity of my informants, the confidentiality and appropriate storage of their data, the effective use of pseudonyms and the potential need to discuss confidential data with my supervisors, the rights of, and risks to my informants. The inclusion of individuals who did not speak English, and of children required specific thought. The support, and nearby physical presence of English speaking, adult family members at all times when interacting with those who may not understand me or my information, or with minors, was deemed by me to be essential. On the rare occasions that I was the only adult in the room with the child participants, always in twos or threes, the door remained open, and one of their parents was within earshot at all times. As visual material was key to my ethnography, appropriate anonymisation of images of children, and specific permission with regard to other images had to be planned for, and obtained. Furthermore, when capturing images of the home environment, care needed to be taken not to compromise the anonymity of the participants, by, for example, accidentally photographing texts with names and / or addresses or other identifying information. Similar care had to be taken with images of social media pages.

As I was 'studying up' (section 3.2), the participants were people of high education, and high SES. Moreover, they were people that I considered peers, and who considered me in the same way[18]. Therefore, the researcher / participant power relationships were not as large a factor as they might have been. However, I was cognisant of the participants' desire not to disappoint me, particularly in the early stages of the ethnography, before my presence had become 'normal'. I was also very aware that family members with less power, such as visiting relatives, and children, might feel coerced into participating. Accordingly, I allowed space for these individuals to remove themselves from my presence if they so desired.

[18] That this was the case was established as part of the research (section 10.3.1).

3.6 My Role as Ethnographer

3.6.1 Participant Observation

Bloch (1991) referred to the need for what is now termed participant observation, when he wrote about "cognitive non-linguistic ethnographic understandings that are as crucial to our enterprise as they are difficult to produce using contrived linguistic techniques" (such as the interview). As Falzon (2016) asserted, Bloch was making an argument for the importance of participant observation as the sole means of achieving key ethnographic understandings. Largely, but not wholly, agreeing with Bloch's view, I have embraced participant observation as the fundamental cornerstone of my ethnography, but remained open to other methods of gathering raw material such as photography. Where I wished to clarify, or to understand something more fully, this was done through spontaneous conversation with the participant(s) in the moment, rather than through interview. I have been friend, mother's-help, guest, assistant, the drinker of vast quantities of tea, and not an inconsiderable amount of wine. I have been a chauffeur (although never after the wine), a reader of stories, a domestic sous-chef, and in one instance, seminar leader at a conference in Scotland. I have joined the participants in their homes, in the car, at the school gates, on day trips, and on outings for pancakes or waffles with their children. I have attended and supervised play dates, attended dinner parties, lunches, two christenings, birthday celebrations for children and adults alike, accompanied some to London, some to Scotland, met their colleagues, friends and extended families, attended a book launch, observed their Skype and FaceTime calls, studied their social media accounts, watched their home movies, photographed their homes, and looked at their children's drawings and texts.

Family mealtimes can be what Kheirkhah and Cekaite (2015: 20) termed "multiparty intergenerational interactional sites", which play an important role in LS (also Blum-Kulka, 1997; Fogle, 2013) Mealtime conversations are therefore particularly rich contexts for the study of multilingual socialization. In addition to family mealtime talk, children's interactions with adult family members, and family friends, and with siblings and peers, both in the presence of, and away from the adult caregivers[19], are recurrent communicative sites where

[19] As noted above, on occasions where I was with the children only, there were always at least two children present, and the adult carer was in the next room, through an open door.

both LS and FLP are enacted, and have therefore figured heavily in my observations. Adult caregivers, friends, and siblings socialize children into community and social group language practices, such as choosing appropriate topics, rules of turn taking, ways of telling stories, and rules of politeness (Fogle, 2013). In addition, the capture of narratives, and family histories, and the exploration of family photographs and texts has been an important part of this ethnography.

As Shah (2017: 45), highlights, participant observation is not merely a method, but is a "form of production of knowledge through being and action". It is, she asserts, praxis, a process through which theory is "dialectically produced and realized in action". I align strongly with this assessment. Shah identifies four key elements of participant observation, namely long duration, revealing social relations of a group of people, studying all aspects of social life, marking its fundamental democracy, which Shah (2017) terms 'holism', and the dialectical relationship between intimacy and estrangement. As has been highlighted, not only by Shah, but by others such as Heller (2010), and Blommaert (2018), engaging in participant observation, and in ethnography more broadly, is a political act, one that enables hegemonic conceptions of the world to be challenged. By exploring the lives of others, giving them due weight and consideration, participant observation facilitates the understanding of the relationships between history, ideology, social structures and action. It is therefore a vital process in understanding why things change or remain the same, and in thinking about how power imbalances can be addressed, and authority challenged. As I align with Heller (2010) in conceiving of my ethnography as critical, and socially situated, this political dimension of participant observation is vitally important.

Observation of people's relations does not necessarily depend upon continual face-to-face interaction. As several scholars observe (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997; Amit, 2000; Coleman and Collins, 2006) this understanding destabilizes the model of participant observation and its inherent bias towards bounded sites, and draws ethnographic attention to how such relations are lived (Garsten 2010; Rouse 2009; Falzon 2005). The use of technology such as Skype, FaceTime, social media platforms such as Facebook, and the role of the extended family had a significant effect on the interactions that were captured as part of this study. Moreover, these speak to the context of globalisation, and the transnationalism of the participants. Throughout this ethnographic study I have been used for children to practice their hosting skills upon. I have been performed for, and avoided. My approval has been sought, and

dismissed. I have frequently been a sounding board, and sometimes a mirror held up to what is happening in the family. I have been a means of increasing the participants' own self-awareness of their ideologies and practices, and they, in turn, have increased mine. I am in several ways of the tribe that I elected to study, as previously stated, and as I discuss more fully in chapter 10. I was considered to be one of them by the participants, and this was a view that I shared. My presence amongst the participants was more easily accepted, as I was someone who was known to them socially prior to the beginning of my ethnography. Furthermore, I chose the families, in part, because they were people with whom I believed I could spend a great deal of time without excessive difficulties arising. I enjoyed their company, and thought very highly of them all. It is important for me to be aware of this fact, and to reflect upon it, as my positive feelings towards them necessarily inform how I saw their actions, ideologies, and motivations.

3.6.2 Positionality and Reflexivity

Reflexivity "urges us to explore the ways in which a researcher's involvement with a particular study influences, acts upon and informs such research" (Nightingale and Cromby, 1999: 228)[20]. In recent times, a broader approach to ethnography has evolved in many disciplines, one that has shifted its focus from the strange to the familiar. There are now several, well regarded, instances of ethnography of one's own 'tribe' (e.g. Ablon, 1977; Kondo, 1990). As Shaw (2018: 10) noted, studying one's own tribe entails being "simultaneously an onlooker in the stalls and a member of the cast", an appropriate metaphor for my Goffmanian dramaturgical approach (section 3.7.1). Shah, however, has presented a warning for, and potential critique of, this style of ethnography. She observed that by working with people who are similar to us, we risk perpetuating the existing hegemony and world view (2017). The ethnographer who studies their own tribe risks working from theoretical premises that ultimately only demonstrate their own assumptions. I believe that this risk is very real, but may be avoided by attending carefully to issues of positionality, to which I now turn.

[20] Please note, I do not cite Nightingale and Cromby here in order to position this work within social constructivism, but simply to draw on their insights specifically with regard to reflexivity.

As Jenkins (1994) highlights there is no such thing as a completely objective observer. The subjective, and partial, nature of all ethnography, and indeed all research, needs not be a weakness, but must be admitted, and where possible, understood. Any entrants into the field bring with them their own world view, their specific and incomplete knowledge of the world, and their own attitudes and ideologies. The participants' view of me was also important. As noted above, the participants considered me to be like them. Several of them explicitly indicated as much. This allowed me great access and ease, but presented its own challenges in terms of what they would, or more likely, would not, highlight to me, and what I most easily identified. Furthermore, as I was in many ways of their number, they were, to some degree at least, cognisant of my approval, or lack of it. As Agar (1995) puts it, the ethnographer must ask themselves, "Who are you to do this?". He observes that the ethnographer moves into the field with considerable baggage, the worldview of a particular culture and the, often implicit, assumptions that go with it. In the case of this ethnography, that raised specific issues as my culture is, to a degree, that of the participants. Therefore, I had work to do in attempting to identify blind spots that I carried with me and to mitigate the risk of missing elements that I considered self-evident or 'normal'. As Agar (1995: 91) asserts, the issue is not so much whether the ethnographer is biased, as objectivity is a myth, and, as he asserts, "a label to hide problems". Rather, the work is to bring as many of those biases to consciousness as possible, to work with them as part of the methodology, and to acknowledge them when drawing conclusions as part of the analysis. Furthermore, the ethnographer must always be aware of the process of co-construction of knowledge into which they enter with their participants, and the reality of its situated and negotiated nature (Coffey, 1999; Geertz, 1988).

3.7 Capturing and Telling the More of the Story : Addressing the Visual in Semiosis

I am aware in carrying out this ethnography that many of the traditional, even seminal, ethnographic works involve only the written word, as a way of capturing either the spoken word, or the observed rendered into the spoken / written word. I have been concerned with the importance of semiosis that does not depend upon vocal cords. My research is informed by the work of Bourdieu and his twin concepts of habitus and field (section 2.4). These necessarily incorporate the embodied, the visual, objects, the home environment, and myriad other, non-verbal, identifiers that communicate the status and position of the participants.

Furthermore, during my observations I have seen the role of the physical in communication, particularly with children, the oh-so-important newer members of the family whose socialization lies at the heart of this ethnography. Facial expressions, gestures, whole body movements, eye movements, reference to objects, all feed into complex and rich communication. To focus only on the text, or on the spoken, is to miss the phenomenal richness of human semiosis, and to miss vital elements that address my research questions.

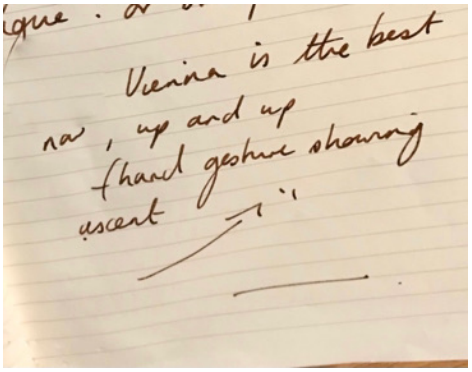

Image 3: Notes from conversation with Sakina Azergui and one other, showing my attempt to capture hand gesture.

Notes of gestures, glances, steps, and non-verbal utterances have been essential, and I continue to wrestle with my inadequate drawing skills for ways of capturing in my fieldnotes the extensive unspoken communication and modelling that takes place amongst the participants. The embodied nature of semiosis, and its overspill into the physical environment around the interlocutors, is an essential part of this story. As such I have had to introduce multiple ways of capturing observations, using visual ethnography. This is deemed a subfield of cultural anthropology, and is considered to encompass all pictorial and visual manifestations of culture, and their capture in the still or moving image. It is often understood through a basic dichotomy: the visual as an object of inquiry, or the visual as a medium of inquiry (Hockings et al., 2014). Ruby (1989:9-10) further differentiates between "the study of visual manifestations of culture—facial expression, body movement, dance, body adornment, the symbolic use of space" and "the study of pictorial aspects of culture from cave paintings to photographs, film, television, home video, and so on". Where this study makes use of visual ethnography, it concerns itself primarily with the visual as an object of inquiry. The media through which the visual is studied are photographs taken with my mobile phone and word descriptions. These are a powerful form of ethnographic description.

Several scholars note the absence of a theoretical framework for visual anthropology (Hockings et al., 2014; Piault et al., 2015), focusing instead upon its methodological contribution. Most notably however, MacDougall (1997) articulates the ontological and epistemological dimensions of visual anthropology / ethnography. From an ontological perspective he highlights the need for an understanding of what the image represents. Is it, as some argue, a physical imprint of an object or event, which could then be studied in the future from the image alone, or merely indicative of some aspects of the object? The image could even be considered a subjective interpretation that expresses more about the ideologies and responses of its maker, than the object it purports to show. I align with MacDougall (1997) in suggesting that the situation lies somewhere between these possibilities. I neither stage tableaux, nor orchestrate action to photograph, but I do, as ethnographer, reflexively choose which images to capture, select the frame, and curate the selection of images presented here. As I discuss in chapter 11, since the completion of the fieldwork for this study I have been working to develop my skills and range of tools in visual ethnography. I make very modest claims for my photographs in this study. Nonetheless, in taking and choosing (some of) them, I aim to engender at least a shadow of the response that the object itself might engender, as this is directly relevant to my claims as to what the object indexes.

3.8 Analytical Methods

3.8.1 Inspiration not Theoretical Orientation: Goffman's Dramaturgical Model

In order to complete my analysis, and to tell this story, I have drawn upon the work of Goffman (1959, 1974, 1981), including the notion of analysing interaction that is widely used in LS (section 2.2). However, I have also taken a dramaturgical approach inspired by Goffman's theories of presentation of self (1959), which I explore here.

In his dramaturgical model (1959), Goffman highlighted the importance of setting and appearance, and the role of material objects to index meaning, As discussed in chapter 2, the idea that objects and language can together form a semiotic whole is key to this study. Accordingly, I considered that an approach inspired by the dramaturgical model would be the most appropriate to the analysis in this thesis. I underline however, that I have not adopted Goffman's dramaturgy as a theoretical orientation. Accordingly, I address these notions here, not in chapter 2. Rather, I have used his main dramaturgical concepts, namely the presentation of self through performance and impression management, the front stage,

backstage, frames of meaning and keying, and used these as a method to analyse the observed multimodal semiotic communication of the participants.

I define these concepts as follows:

- Self-presentation: The conscious or unconscious process through which people try to control the impressions other people form of them.
- Impression Management: The goal directed conscious or unconscious attempt to influence the perceptions of others by controlling information in social interaction.
- Frames: The organizational premises with which individuals organize and ascribe meaning to their social experiences, rather than having to construct their reality from scratch at each interaction.
- Keying: Transforming the meaning of a frame to something patterned on, but independent of that frame, for example substituting a serious frame for a humorous one, or a danger into a manageable challenge.
- Front stage: The place / space where social performance takes place.
- Backstage: The area where the subject can relax, interrupt the performance and abandon the character that he/she plays.

(Goffman, 1959, 1974, 1981).

Goffman has influenced many scholars who have embraced his ideas and taken them forward in their linguistic ethnographies. I have taken as inspiration his seminal work in the field of human social interactions, and hence consider my approach Goffmanian. However, I have also considered the work of those, sometimes very different, scholars who have developed / challenged his ideas. This was done in order to better understand the criticisms of and gaps in Goffman's work that those scholars have identified, and to refine my methodology accordingly. My exploration included the works of Heller et al (2018) (section 3.2), those in the field of LS (Ochs and Schieffelin, 2017: Curdt-Christiansen, 2018) (section 2.2), and those who foreground the normative, cultural, social and political dimensions of language (Blommaert, 2005, 2010; Coupland, 2003; Silverstein, 2006; Agha, 2007) (section 2.2). I have also engaged with those such as MacIntyre (1982), Glover (1988) Gambetta (2009) and above all Manning (2020) who have specifically considered / problematised Goffman's notion of the presentation of self. I discuss this here.

As Manning observes, Goffman's dramaturgical ideas have been variously assumed to be working towards either a theory of personal identity, a theory of communication or a "rational choice explanation of the costs and benefits to performers as they signal their intentions to others" (2020: 229). Scholars have debated which (combination) of these Goffman intended. I do not engage with theories of personal identity, nor even with the concept. Rather, I simply make use of the dramaturgical concepts defined above as tools to better understand social communicative practices and strategic interaction. Nor do I take the theatrical analogy beyond its limits. Theatrical performances are make-believe, the audience treats a performance as real, but knows that it is not. In contrast, the presentation of self through performance and impression management is quite real. This is, as Manning (2020: 237) states "because what people do is either constitutive of the performance itself or an accurate symbolization of an underlying competence or legitimacy". I align with Manning in seeing and using Goffman's dramaturgy as a way of explaining behaviour. Embedded in this understanding is the notion that communication and signalling are goal oriented. In this study I analyse the interactions and communicative practices of the participants to reveal their socialization and self-presentation goals. In so doing I elucidate their (language) ideologies and the version of 'our family' that they co-create, and how this is done.

3.8.2 Raw Material, Analysis, and Reliability

The raw material for this study took the form of extensive fieldnotes. These included those resulting from participant observations in both domestic and public spaces (including social spaces and the children's schools), notes of participant interactions with each other and their peers, notes of face-to-face conversations with the research participants, my impressions and reflections at the time, screenshots of online interactions with them, and photos, videos, and a small number of sketches created by me and / or the participants. These were gathered in a longitudinal sociolinguistic ethnography (Heller et al, 2018) of one and a half years' duration, between early January 2019 and the end of July 2020. The research phase resulted in approximately 230 hours of observation fieldnotes and 120 hours of informal conversations with the various members of the families.

My fieldnotes were very fragmented. This was in part due to the choppy (Goffman, 1981) nature of the talk I was often observing, particularly perhaps that involving children. It was also a result of the manner in which the observations were captured. I elected not to use

recordings in order to minimise any sense of formality or overly strong sense of being watched for the participants. Moreover, many of the interactions that I observed / was party to occurred in places such as homes with children running around playing, out of doors, in busy cafés, in cars, or at the school gate. None of these settings lend themselves to the effective use of recording equipment. I therefore wrote notes as I went, in the car after a conversation, on my mobile 'phone whilst standing out of doors, and on very many occasions, when I needed to get something written down before I forgot it, in the loo at the homes of the participants. The notes included not only the participant's speech, but also extensive notes on para-linguistic elements, indications (sometimes very subtle) of assent or dissent amongst those present, other things that were happening in the room / house, and my feelings and responses. With these I aim to provide what Geertz (1993) termed thick description, that captures the complexity, richness and possible contradictions inherent in what is observed. The notes were made variously on my laptop, iPad, mobile phone, in notebooks and on sheets of paper that I had to hand. In order to manage this diverse collection, I printed the electronic notes, and attached them, with any loose sheets of physical notes, into a master fieldwork notebook, of which there are now three. Screenshots of the participants' social media feeds were also printed and stored in the same notebook. All physical notes, including screenshots, were anonymized / pseudonymized, and stored in a locked fire safe in my home. Also stored there were the DVDs and external hard drives that held a participant family's home movies. These last were returned to the participants at the end of the study, after I had taken a selection of screenshots from them, which were anonymized for storage. All of my photographs were anonymized and stored in electronic format, backed-up in the University of Southampton's OneDrive system. The name key for the pseudonymization was stored in electronic format in a password protected document, also stored in the university OneDrive system.

In order to analyse the raw material, I considered strips of speech in their social context and the ethnographical conditions in which they were produced, and drew upon the Goffmanian concepts defined above (section 3.7.1). The notion of narrative, defined as a stretch of talk that conveys both a sequence of past events and the teller's perspective on what is reported (Gordon, 2015), was also used. As Goffman (1981) notes, talk is frequently choppy, and may span several speech events. The analysis of language strips is presented here in conjunction with vignettes and visual images. Drawing on Kesselring (2020), I understand the vignette as

a text within a text, offering context-sensitive interpretations of the social world, seen through the lens of the author's research questions, and professional and personal background. Moreover, their use allowed for the presentation of 'setting' (Goffman, 1974). This is essential to an understanding of what is being indexed in the moment, mitigating what Goffman termed the "dangers of non-contextuality" (1981: 34). Furthermore, it enabled me to allow the participants to guide me, and reveal to me what is important within the frame that I as the ethnographer have created, whilst maintaining the link to theory, and to socio-political and historical context demanded in a critical sociolinguistic study.

Ethnographic studies require a particular approach to addressing the issue of reliability. I have aimed to show the trustworthiness of this study through demonstrating my positionality, reflexivity, and process. I have aimed to be transparent both to the reader, and to the participants, as to how I have both obtained and analysed images and interactions. The participants themselves have been made aware of which strips and images have been included, and of the arguments of the thesis. I have not asked them to read the thesis itself, although the Vasechkin parents have recently indicated that they might like to when it is "all done"[21]. Where I have drawn heavily on my beliefs in my interpretation or analysis of a particular interaction, I have confirmed / triangulated my understanding with the participants themselves. Examples are considering the use of a specific idiomatic phrase to be unusual in a particular language (section 7.3), or concluding that a participant uses a word or phrase in an unusual way (section 11.6.4).

3.9 Conclusion

In this chapter I have outlined the methodological framework for this study. I have considered the use of ethnography as research method, and indeed as methodological approach. I then described the construction of the ethnographic field, the choice of 'family' as ethnographic site, and the selection of the participants. I then addressed ethical considerations, and my role as an ethnographer, including considerations of reflexivity and positionality. I then explored the important role of non-verbal semiosis, and in particular concerns relating to the role of the visual in this work, before turning to the methods of analysis. In this section I considered the manner in which I was not only drawing upon a

[21] Post fieldwork, fieldnotes addendum: 15th February 2022.

consideration of interaction, but also taking inspiration from Goffman's dramaturgical approach. I highlighted the ways in which I was using this, and stressed the limits of that. In the last section I explored the nature of the raw material for the study, and how it was collected and analysed. Finally, I closed with a consideration of the important issue of how I ensured the reliability and trustworthiness of the research.

Chapter 4: 'Our Home': Discursively Constructing the Space for 'Our Family'

4.1 Introduction

In this, and the following two chapters I analyse the discursive construction of the Azergui family habitus, and its family members' (collective) response to the socio-political event that was Brexit. I begin by introducing the family, and by setting the scene, in line with my dramaturgical approach, inspired by Goffman (1959). I first provide a brief history of 'our (Azergui) family', before introducing the main setting for this story, that of the home. I then consider in turn the concepts of 'our home' and 'our family'. I conclude (section 4.2) that the Azergui's conception of home was essentially *the place where they came together to be a family*. Moving into the next chapter, I then explore the role of the family in the acquisition of, and socialization into, the 'correct codes', prior to, and in parallel with, schooling. Accordingly, I consider the ways of being that are specific to the Azerguis and how they create and present themselves. I explore the roles of values (section 5.2), language and multilingualism (sections 4.2, 5.3 and 5.4), and national / cultural heritage (section 5.4). The agency of the children, and their role in negotiating socialization and habitus are considered throughout. Attention is paid to how family rituals, practices, and the ideologies that inform them, were discursively constructed, presented, and sometimes contested. Throughout, I consider semiosis, not only the linguistic and the paralinguistic, but also language materiality as mechanisms of / contributions towards socialization. The demands of analysis again require the artificial separation of each of these themes. Nevertheless, it should be noted that many speech events perform more than one role, and that the reality of human interaction is often complex, messy, and contested. Finally, in the third of the chapters exploring the Azergui family, I consider their orientations towards the future, and their relationship with education and other life choices. I then turn to the impact of Brexit, their responses to it, and what these revealed about whether the family's vision of the future had altered, and why.

4.1.1 The Azergui Family

The Azergui parents were Badis and Sakina. At the start of this study, they had been married for 19 years, and had four children together, Aderfi, Illi, Igider and Lunja, all of whom hold Algerian, British, and French nationalities.

Image 4: The Azergui family celebrating Lunja's 9th birthday.

Left to right, Illi (17), Badis, Igider (11), Lunja (9), Sakina, Aderfi (20).

The Azergui's had multiple houses / apartments, and multiple places that they referred to as 'home'. I first met them in 2015, prior to the commencement of this ethnography. They had recently moved to Hampshire, renting a large town house in one of its most desirable small cities, as their children had joined schools nearby. They retained their apartment in a prime location between South Kensington and Holland Park, in West London, which had belonged to them since 2002. Additionally, they owned a ski chalet in Switzerland that they also referred to as 'home'. Towards the end of the fieldwork period, disillusioned with the UK, its politics, and Brexit, and tired of the UK's poor climate, they emigrated to Barcelona. They maintained their properties in London and Switzerland, although it was not clear for how long they intended to keep their London flat.

Badis was until 2020 the chief investments officer for a bank, and during the fieldwork became an independent investments advisor. Sakina, previously a marketing manager, qualified as a nutritionist after becoming a mother. However, her primary focus was on her family. Badis and Sakina were both French and Kabyle Algerian, raised in France, as were their parents. Badis had also obtained British nationality. They met at a wedding, in the late 1990s. In fact, they met at two separate weddings, in Paris, where Badis and Sakina grew up. The weddings both entailed the union of families from the Kabyle area in Algeria from which Badis' and Sakina's families came. As Sakina put it "they were from my family's village"[22].

[22] Fieldnotes 3rd March 2019, Azergui kitchen, Hampshire.

The guests included the wider Parisian / French Kabyle community. Badis was taken with Sakina the first time they met, whereas Sakina was less keen, finding Badis "arrogant"[23]. It was at the second wedding that they connected, and subsequently became a couple. The manner of their meeting shows the importance, and impact on the present day, of their historical family cultures and nationalities. At that time Sakina lived in Greece performing a work placement, in her capacity as a marketing manager for an international, Paris based, company. Badis was already living in London, where he had moved to continue his banking career, and spoke fluent English. Sakina quickly moved to London to join him, and they married in 1999. Their first child, a son, Aderfi, was born in 2001, followed by their first daughter, Illi, in 2004. There was then a spell during which they raised their young family, before deciding to add to it. They had another boy, Igider, in 2010 and a second girl, Lunja, in 2012. The four children were Algerian, British and French. They remained in London, with frequent extended trips to the second home they acquired in Switzerland, until 2016. They had also travelled a great deal, for work, study, and holidays, and continued to do so, pandemic allowing.

The extended family was small. Sakina's parents were dead, and her only sibling, a brother, lived in France with his own family, which included his teenage daughters. Badis' elderly parents lived in Paris, and the family stayed with them there from time to time, often on the way to, or from, another destination. Every few years the family visited the village in Algeria from which their families, specifically Sakina's and Badis' grandparents, came. They maintained links with both the extended family and the wider community there. At the close of the fieldwork they had not visited for more than four years, in part due to the pandemic. Both Badis' and Sakina's grandparents came to France from Algeria in the time known as the *après-guerre*, referring to the period of positive growth and relative optimism in France following the World War II. Sakina's grandfather, Aksil, had in fact come to France previously, to fight in the war, becoming an army cook. For him, as for so many, it was a formative and traumatic experience. Sakina noted drily that "they used the colonials in the first wave"[24] so the mortality rate was particularly high in Aksil's regiment. After the conflict

[23] Fieldnotes 3rd March 2019, Azergui kitchen, Hampshire.

[24] Fieldnotes 3rd March 2019, Azergui kitchen, Hampshire.

he returned to Algeria, where he married, before moving to France for good with his new wife and starting his own family. Aksil was not of high SES. He was, amongst other things, a professional boxer in France. The Azergui parents did not come from a long line of hereditary wealth and privilege. However, both parents were well educated, to master's degree level. Moreover, Badis' success in the finance sector brought with it very high economic rewards. The family members possessed and presented the glosses and codes of cultured, high SES individuals, as I explore below.

I now consider the Kabyle / Berber heritage of the family. The religious / political cultures of the various Berber / Arab / other peoples of Algeria vary greatly. The Berber tribes were the indigenous people of North Africa, greatly pre-dating the Arab peoples and the adherents of Islam, in that region. It is the case that over time Islam did become central to the many of Berber peoples, although the incorporation of the Berber tribes into the Islamic world was "not pain free by any means". (Maddy-Weitzman, 2006: 71). It should be noted here that the Berber people are not a homogenous group, and that the Berber culture is varied and nuanced. The Kabyle region in Algeria, from which the Azergui parents' families come, was a remote and exclusively Berber speaking region. In the early / mid Twentieth Century the Kabyle Berbers came to be seen as problematic in some quarters in Algeria, when the nascent nationalist movement proclaimed Islam and the Arabic language to be the exclusive components of Algerian nationalism, in opposition to the 100-year-old French colonial rule. France, partially in response to this, promoted the notion of the Kabyle Berbers as being European, and of being only nominally attached to Islam. This led to further marginalisation of the Kabyle Berbers in Algeria, and encouraged a Kabyle Berber political culture that, to a notable extent, eschewed both Islam and Algerian nationalism as characteristics. Although the Kabyle Berbers had initially been the leaders in the anti-colonial fight against the French, they were marginalised both during that struggle, and afterwards, following the formation of the post-colonial state of Algeria. Present day Kabyle / Berber discourse is considered to be "profoundly sympathetic to Western liberal-humanist values, specifically the promotion of human rights, democracy and freedom, within a pluralist, multicultural order, and strongly condemnatory of the predominant monocultural order based on Islam and Arabism"[25]

[25] Note that liberal here is used in the (British / English) political sense of 'believing in or allowing a lot of personal freedom, and believing that society should change gradually so that money, property, and power are shared more fairly', rather than

(Maddy-Weitzman, 2006: 72). The members of the Azergui family appeared to me to align with this discourse. Additionally, a lived experience of multilingualism has been noted as a characteristic of the Kabyle community (Armbruster and Belabbas, 2021), something that I observed as being embodied in the Azergui family. Finally, the Azerguis did not actively practice any religion; I did not observe them even referring to religion at any point in the fieldwork.

The older two children attended elite private primary schools in London. The schools in question were day schools, fee-paying and academically selective. In early 2016, in year 10, aged 15, Aderfi became disenchanted with his school, and requested a move. A prestigious private school in Hampshire was chosen by him. Although Aderfi was to board, the family took on a large rental property in a desirable part of Winchester, a small Hampshire city, in order to remain close to him (section 5.1). The other three children joined private schools in the area as day pupils. By the end of the period covered by this study the family had emigrated to Barcelona. Aderfi had already left the UK in September 2019, having accepted a place at a university in Canada to study biological sciences. At the time of writing (2022) he was back with his family in Europe, studying remotely, due to the pandemic. Illi, who had just completed her GCSEs[26] when the family moved to Spain, joined the British school in Barcelona as a day pupil, in order to continue her education in the British system. The younger children joined the American school, also as day pupils. They began following the American school curriculum and structure.

Unlike many of the mothers whose sons attended Igider's school, I met Sakina at a café, not at the school gate. Her younger son joined the school my son attended later than many of the rest of his cohort. He was already nearly seven. Prior to this age the children at the school had to be walked in to the classroom by their parent / carer, and were almost literally handed back into their waiting arms at the end of the day. By the time the children were aged seven school drop-offs and pick-ups were a little more relaxed. After school activities and breakfast clubs

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the economic sense of 'believing in or allowing a lot of freedom for businesses to buy, sell, and make money without many rules or limits, and with low taxes' (Cambridge Dictionary, no date).

[26]The General Certificate of Secondary Education, an academic qualification in a particular subject, in England, Wales, and Northern Ireland. Examinations for these are typically taken at the age of 16, and the syllabus is taught as part of the national curriculum from ages 14 to 16. Students generally sit the examinations for between 5 and 10 subjects, with mathematics and English being compulsory.

had begun, meaning that not all children came and went at the same time. Parents no longer necessarily passed the endless hours in each other's company whilst waiting for their children. However, the seemingly obligatory mothers' coffee mornings were still very much a fixture. It was at one such gathering that Sakina and I met, in a Hampshire café in late 2015. Three years later, in the same café, I invited her to participate, with her family, in this study.

Sakina and I often switched between French and English when speaking. When we first met we were in a large Anglophone group of mothers, and so spoke English to one another. That habit built until the first time just the two of us went for tea together, when we switched to French, although by that stage it felt a little odd. This is a phenomenon recognised in the literature, referred to as person-language bonding (Grosjean, 2010), which makes it difficult for acquaintances, friends, and / or family members to switch from the language that they habitually use with each other, to another. Soon after meeting, Sakina and I discussed our struggle to speak as much French as we would like with our respective children, in part due to issues of person-language bonding. We had both developed the habit of speaking English with our younger children more that we would have liked. Between the two of us, Sakina and I drifted back and forth between English and French. One of us would snap into the other language in order to make a certain point, or use a certain word, and the other would follow. I present speech extracts in the language in which they were spoken.

4.1.2 Everyday Life

At the beginning of the study, Aderfi, the eldest child then 17, attended a full boarding school. This meant that he could only come home for holidays, and for two Saturday nights each term. As such he was a rare presence in the family home. When not in school, he always chose to go straight to London, and did not spend time in the Hampshire house, something I explore below (section 4.3). Later he left the UK to go to university in Toronto. Badis, the father, was often away, as his work required him to travel frequently to the middle East. At other times he needed to stay in London. This was typical not only of this family, but also of their peers. The jobs held by the primary earner, usually the father, often entailed extensive international travel and long hours. The salaries associated with such jobs made the families' lifestyles possible. However, the situation put great pressure upon the other spouse, usually the mother, to be not only primary, but often sole, carer much of the time.

4.1.2.1 School days - Pre-Pandemic (months 1 - 15 of the Field Study)

Having gotten herself up, Sakina would conduct the morning routine for herself, Illi, Igider and Lunja. Aderfi was in boarding school. Sakina then drove them all to school, Igider to one, the girls to another. Although all the children attended schools in the local area, none were within easy walking distance. Sakina's day was then taken up with domestic administration, (remotely) managing three, later four, dwellings, researching trips, holidays, and tuition support, and latterly, planning and co-ordinating the move to Barcelona. Time for exercise, and friends, and other work, including nutrition guidance, was found amongst these tasks. The afternoon school run would often entail up to two hours of zigzagging across Winchester, and waiting for children to appear. The evenings typically involved homework supervision and support, preparing and eating dinner, and finally, relaxing. Once Igider reached year 4, age 8, his school week included Saturdays, and so a form of this routine applied six days a week. Time was also made, even on a Sunday, for additional lessons for the children, not only in academic subjects including French, and later Spanish, but also music and public speaking. The children had taken several exams in these, following the well-regarded ABRSM[27] and LAMDA[28] grade systems. On most Wednesdays Sakina went to the London apartment, joining Badis there if he was working in London. On these occasions the children's former nanny would take over the afternoon and evening logistics for the children in Winchester, and if required dog-sit Archie, the family's cockerpoo.

4.1.2.2 Holidays

For holidays, and also for weekends worthy of the name (when Saturday school finished early or did not take place), the family inevitably went to London, if they were not travelling further afield. They took long international holidays, frequently spending over two weeks a year skiing from their own Swiss chalet, and travelling for a total of a month or more to other destinations. I observed that the parents would frequently split the children up between them if they felt that would enable them to better meet the children's needs. As Sakina herself

[27] Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music. These exams, at the higher grades, are recognised by the Universities and Colleges Admission Service (UCAS), which oversees UK university admissions. They can therefore assist in winning places at UK universities.

[28] London Academy of Music and Dramatic Arts, again recognised by UCAS.

observes, the children are "like two families" [29] due the age difference between the older and younger pairs. Pressures of school and exams added to the need to divide the family on occasion. Nonetheless, the family would ensure that the big summer holiday was an adventure that they all took together.

4.1.2.3 The Pandemic (months 16-18 of the Field Study)

With the advent of the pandemic, much changed. By the time the UK went into its first lockdown in late March 2020, the Azergui family had decided to emigrate to Barcelona (section 6.4.2). They had purchased an apartment in the centre of the city. Sakina was directing its fit-out by the developer, and had given written notice to the children's schools. The process continued despite COVID-related restrictions. Even prior to the introduction of remote learning caused by the pandemic, Sakina had decided to educate her children at home for the 2020 Summer term, and they left their respective schools at Easter. Sakina stated that she had lost confidence in the schools which her children attended (section 6.3). The family also desired greater flexibility as they finalised their move. Various online resources were brought into play to support this enterprise, some UK based, others from the USA, some in groups, and some private, all incurring a fee. By this time Aderfi had finished school completely, and was attending university in Toronto. He was able to begin his first academic year there as normal in the September of 2019, but by the Easter of 2020 he was back in the UK, studying remotely. He was in the London flat, refusing to spend time in Hampshire (section 4.3). In July of 2020, when COVID-related restrictions were sufficiently eased in the UK and Spain, international movers could be booked, and the Barcelona apartment was ready, the family moved. Sakina and I have kept in touch, as have Igider and my younger son, Yves, with WhatsApp and video calls. ("Ugh, you know that thing when your mum walks in and wants you to say hi to *your* mum? *Sooo* annoying. She's doing it now[30]").

4.2 'Our Home': A Place for 'Our Family' To Be

In this section I analyse the physical and conceptual elements that are 'house' and 'home' (section 2.3). and examine how they relate to 'our (Azergui) family', its attendant habitus,

[29] Fieldnotes 16th June 2019, Azergui kitchen, Hampshire.

[30] Post fieldwork, fieldnotes addendum: 18th August 2021.

and the children's socialization into it. The focus here is almost exclusively on their properties in the UK. Their rented Hampshire house, which was their primary base, and the place where the family often reunited (with the notable exception of Aderfi, of which more later), is the one where most of my observations of this family took place. I visited them in the London flat on four occasions. I have only seen the property in Switzerland in photographs on Sakina's telephone. My experience of their newly purchased apartment in Barcelona is limited to seeing it in the background of video calls. In order to consider the house / home, this part of the analysis engages with elements of the semiotic repertoire that are neither verbal nor paralinguistic. Rather, it focuses upon what Cavanaugh and Shankar (2017) term 'language materiality' (section 2.2), specifically that in, and of, the home. Objects were engaged with both as pedagogical resources, for example textbooks and educational posters, and for pleasure, such as art, or DVDs. The consistent presence of particular (kinds of) objects, such as paintings and literary works, served to normalise specific ways of being for the children, a form of socialization. In Goffman's terms, spaces within the home may be considered either back or front stage in the family's presentation of self. Each entails its own (assumed) audience. Through its presence, location, and use, the material supports or undermines the image that the family members present to others, to each other, and even to themselves. Moreover, through the continual exposure of the children to a home environment containing the material elements under discussion, these become valuable tools in the socialization of the children. The engagement with the ever-present material objects becomes effectively a form of family ritual. I observed that on several occasions Sakina employed the notion of place, using the terms "home / chez nous", "here / ici"[31], or "in this house / dans cette maison", as proxies for "in our family" (section 5.4.3). The conflation of the family, with the family's residence(s), is an interesting discursive device, that suggests that ideas of home, and ideas of family, are intertwined and created alongside one another.

Vignette 1: My first research visit to the Azergui house in Winchester, Hampshire, March 3rd 2019.

The house is on a private road, and is large and detached. I park outside the house, recognising Sakina's car. I walk up the short path from the kerbside to the front porch, and

[31] When we were in the Azergui house or apartment.

press the button for the bell, hear nothing, and so knock and call in through the slightly open front door. Sakina comes into the hallway, and invites me in. This house is rented, so the kitchen and bathroom suites, wallcoverings and flooring were not chosen by the Azergui family. However, the furniture and other contents belong to them. There is an elegant mirrored console table in the hallway, with large hardback books on art, design and fashion upon and underneath it. A small indoor trampoline, used for exercise, sits near the bottom of the stairs. In the back half of the hall temporary book shelves line the walls, filled with books. More books run along the bottom of the wall along the skirting boards, and there are even some still in boxes behind the trampoline, alongside wrapped up pictures. Yet more books are to be found in the sitting room, works of history and novels, in French and English. Moving upstairs as I tour the house, we pass yet more books on the little half landing. There are full freestanding bookshelves in every hall and landing space in this three-story house, no matter how narrow.

4.2.1 Indexing Socio-Economic Status

Multiple facets of the Azergui's Hampshire property indexed the high SES of its inhabitants. The estate agents of Winchester claimed that it was one of the most desirable places in which to live in the UK. It was certainly one of the more costly. The street where the Azergui's rented a house was particularly sought after. This was due in part to the relative quiet to be found there, as it was pleasantly far from main roads and the train line. It was a green area, with an extensive park nestled at the end of the loop created by the private road. The houses were very large, and almost none of them had been divided into flats, a fate that had befallen most of the large houses in other parts of the city. It was well placed to access the prestigious private schools in the area. Both house prices and rents were high. That this was a 'good area' was shown in the condition of the homes and their gardens, and the size and value of the cars parked outside. It was also suggested by Sakina's relaxed attitude towards leaving her front door a little open when expecting guests, despite being alone at home.

Their London apartment, near Kensington and Holland Park, was in one of the most fashionable, well-regarded, and expensive areas in that expensive city, but there the family were, inevitably, more security conscious. The flat was very generously sized, particularly for such a densely populated, and expensive, area. Each of the four children had their own bedroom there, the parents had a bedroom / bathroom suite, and there was space for a sitting

room and a dining room / study too. The decoration had not been done very recently, but the apartment was stylish, and the materials used throughout were of good quality. Furthermore, both the London and Winchester properties were beautifully furnished. There were books, art and a very good piano (in Winchester) which all four children knew how to play. The sitting rooms in both properties were arranged for conversation, not for watching a screen. There were areas not simply for eating, but for dining. These are the classic glosses of high SES (section 2.4). However, these properties, like the family that lived in them, presented something both more, and other, than purely high SES. It is upon these additional elements that this analysis now focuses.

4.2.2 A Place for Learning and Culture

4.2.2.1 The Books

Throughout this chapter I focus upon the house in Winchester, unless otherwise specified. Several items within the home could be considered pedagogical, and so assisted in the acquisition of other forms of capital. I begin with a consideration of the books. The most striking thing about the Azergui's books was their sheer number. Every room that had a bed or a chair had its collection. They were also noticeably almost all 'good' books, meaning that they were critically acclaimed, and / or deemed classics. Several were also inherently beautiful. Glossy reference works on art, fashion and design covered the console table in the hallway. Elsewhere there were volumes on history, philosophy, science, and art. There were works of fiction, both classics and modern soon-to-be-classics. The taste of the adults in literature appeared refined. Additionally, the books were clearly read. They were gently worn, and I noticed that between visits some newer volumes had moved around the house as they were picked up, read, and put down. Sakina in particular was full of interesting recommendations of books to read, her own copies of which she put into my hands whilst telling me about them. There were books in French, and books in English, albeit more of the latter. There were also a few texts in, and about, Spanish. There were no texts in Berber, although both Sakina and Badis were able to speak it. There were, however, many works that explore Berber and Kabyle culture and language, all in French.

Image 5: Volumes about Algeria and the Kabyle.

I do not infer anything particular from this. I observe that there is more interest in these regions in the francophone publishing world, due to the specifics of France's colonial past. Such books are often only available in French. Overall there was seemingly no pattern to which genre (e.g. fiction / art / nutrition) was in which language, other than an apparent preference for reading a work in its original language where possible. The very fact of being surrounded by such a quantity and quality of volumes performed a socializing function. The children received the message that to read, and to read widely, was 'normal', and something that was done in their family. Moreover, the displays of books in not only back stage, but also front stage spaces socialized the children into the ideology that possession of, and by implication the reading of, such books was considered desirable, even admirable. The display simultaneously indexed this ideology, and displayed the family's upholding of it, to visitors to the home.

Image 6: Frontstage (left) and backstage (right) book storage.

The storage and location of the books was itself suggestive of ideologies not only around learning, and literacy, but also culture. In the backstage space that was the study, the books were largely those read to extract knowledge. There were reference works, books on nutrition, well-being, finance, and the parents' other professional interests. Some of these were used to support the learning of school subjects, but others addressed other fields of learning, including the French language over and above the school syllabus, and Spanish. Family members used these to maximise their academic / professional knowledge, and hence acquire exam certificates, high grades, and professional accreditations, all elements of Bourdieusian capital. They were more haphazardly arranged; the priority apparently was to fit in as much as possible. The bookshelves were functional rather than aesthetically pleasing. By contrast the sitting room, a front stage space, held mostly non-fiction works, the majority of which were recently published. The books were stored fairly neatly, but not obsessively so, in good quality wooden bookcases. There were ornaments and other decorative objects alongside them. They were the sort of texts one might read for pleasure, or out of general curiosity. Also, in the sitting room and the hallway were little bundles of the cream bound Gallimard Press books, with their distinctive red and black font. These were tied with attractive vintage looking twine, and presented as decorative, almost iconic, objects in their own right. As Gallimard is possibly the most well-regarded publisher of classic and literary texts in France, this showed that a high value was attached to the literary and the intellectual, as well as the aesthetic.

Image 7: Gallimard classics as decorative objects.

I conclude that the differences in both location and presentation of the different sorts of books suggested a belief that reading for pleasure was to be more highly regarded than reading purely to acquire knowledge. The former projected a sense of who the family members considered themselves to be, and perhaps desired to be, as well as how they wished to be seen. It was suggestive of their habitus. The latter served to support the acquisition of capital, in anticipation of a future where knowledge and qualifications would be needed. Educational posters, aimed at the younger children, also supported this process.

4.2.2.2 Study and Certificates

There were educational posters on the walls of the kitchen, showing parts of the body, the solar system, and some basic mathematical concepts. These were all in English.

Image 8: English language educational posters in the kitchen.

I noted that all children's pedagogical resources in the house, unless they related specifically to language learning, were in English. Such items were also found (only) in other back stage areas, such as the study, the landings on the higher flights of stairs, and the dining room. Whilst this last would typically be considered a front stage, quasi-public space in the home, the Azergui family used it exclusively as a homework space for the three children that lived in the house during term time. (The eldest child, Aderfi, boarded at his private school). This arrangement pre-dated the pandemic, and was unrelated to it. More educational posters covered the walls of the dining, again only in English, and the table was strewn with school books, as was the buffet against the wall. When they dined, as opposed to simply eating, the Azergui's did so in London, or as the guests of other families in those families' homes. Visitors did not use this room. I conclude, therefore, that the strictly educational items, located as they were in back stage areas of the house, were not valued for their role in

presenting the self to others outside the family, but were seen prosaically as tools. Nonetheless, their number, standard and breadth indicated that education and knowledge were highly valued, at least by the parents, and that considerable resources were deployed in their acquisition. Giving over the largest room in the house, the dining room, exclusively to the children's studies underlined the importance of education for, and to, them. However, note the furniture in the image below. Despite the purpose of the room changing, the contents and layout continued to be those of the traditional dining room. The material culture required to create a space for dining, and hence to index high SES (section 2.4) was maintained.

Image 9: The dining room, a permanent (pre-pandemic) homework station.

That educational achievements were prized was further indicated by the certificates, awards, and examples of work which covered cupboard doors in the kitchen. The style of this display was relaxed and domestic rather than ostentatious or formal. This seemed to me in keeping with the traditionally back stage nature of the space.

Image 10: A view of the kitchen breakfast area
with the younger children's work and certificates on the pantry cupboard doors.

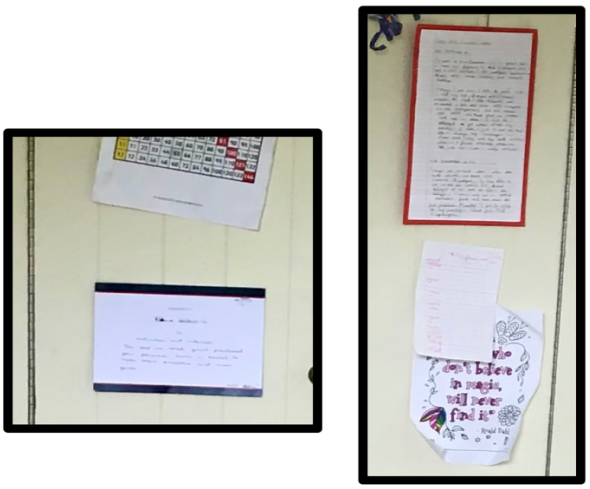

Image 11: Some of the certificates and pieces of work on display.

Papers were held to the doors with Blu-Tack, at odd angles, and sometimes overlapping. Nothing was framed. The Azergui kitchen was ambiguous in Goffman's terms. It was a predominately back stage space. However, it was one into which guests were frequently welcomed. I observed that it was children, and mothers with whom Sakina was particularly friendly, that were invited into the kitchen. Nonetheless, the room maintained its sense of intimacy. When a guest was welcomed in, it was not that the kitchen had become a front stage space, but rather that the guest had been invited into the private domain. I analysed the display of certificates with this in mind. It was not a public show, and in over 25 visits to the house, no family member made an attempt to draw my attention to these items. Rather, it was a private display for the family, although others might have witnessed it. The Azergui

children saw their achievements displayed, in this not-entirely-back stage space. Therefore, this display was also a socializing act. It was both a declaration of parental pride and pleasure in the work and achievements of the children, and a form of positive feedback. The message for the children was that what they have done was something positive, of which the parents wished to remind themselves, and the family as a whole.

4.2.2.3 Artistic Pursuits and Wellbeing

I have considered the role of books and reading in terms of a cultural, as opposed to exclusively a pedagogical activity above. I now turn to the role of music, art and wellbeing.

In the Hampshire sitting room, the handsome modern sofas and trunk coffee table were squeezed closely together in order to make space for the grand piano that sat in front of the window.

Image 12: The family's grand piano.

All four children had learnt to play the piano, with varying degrees of enthusiasm and mastery. In addition, Illi was an accomplished singer. They were actively encouraged to practice, and to take music examinations, as well as to work towards graded certificates in dramatic performance, speaking of verse and prose, and public speaking. However, as was invariably the case in this family, the children's wishes were respected. In the event that one of them displayed an ongoing, serious resistance to continuing with an extra-curricular activity, they were allowed to stop. Art was present in all the family's properties. In the London apartment the artworks were carefully displayed, the paintings elegantly framed and positioned on walls, the sculptural objects thoughtfully arranged on tables and other surfaces.

In Winchester, there was a sense of impermanence in the way that paintings were displayed (section 4.5). Pictures were leant against walls, resting on shelves, and even sometimes on the floor. Impermanence was not the same as carelessness however, and the pieces were still shown to their advantage. I was surprised to learn that two of the framed pieces in the sitting room were by Illi, then 15 years old. Sakina seemed proud when pointing out that the pictures I admired were done by her daughter. Illi's creativity was encouraged and respected by the family, as was evidenced by her works being displayed in front stage areas of the home, alongside those created by professional artists. However, she was not pursuing art at A-level[32]. Rather, she was taking the type of subjects more aligned to a future in business or commerce. I concluded that the Azergui family considered the creation of art to be a desirable, praiseworthy activity, but one that had to sit alongside a more business oriented professional career. In this we see the ideology that art appreciation and cultural leisure pursuits are valuable and desirable balanced with neoliberal ideologies and pragmatic future orientations. The elder children appeared to have been successfully socialized into these orientations, as it was they themselves that had chosen subjects for GCSE, A-level, and in Aderfi's case, a degree, that will serve to enable high SES careers.

I noted that Sakina took the mental wellbeing, and the personality development, of her children very seriously, and saw it as central to her role as a mother. During Aderfi's two-year preparation for A-levels, Badis frequently took the younger three children to Switzerland so that they could have a (skiing) holiday. Sakina remained in London with Aderfi to support him. In Sakina's words: "I will feed him, nag him, push him, take care of him, challenge him, tear him down, build him up, you know, be a mother.[33]". In 2021 she performed a similar support role for Illi as she revised, remaining in Barcelona with her whilst Badis holidayed with the rest of the family. The children have been introduced to self-care, and meditation. (Note the book by Thic Nhat Hanh[34], and the meditation CDs visible in Igider's room in the following image).

[32] A-levels: Advanced level examinations taken in the UK school system, typically in 2 to 4 subjects, at the age of 18.

[33] Fieldnotes, 8th March 2019.

[34] A Buddhist monk whose dharma-informed works on mindfulness for both adults and children are international bestsellers.

Image 13: Wellbeing texts and CDs.

The children were supported in developing a healthy relationship with food, and a positive body-image. Sakina often baked for her family, both whole-foods and those that might be regarded as 'treats', such as chocolate cookies. She was equally likely to prepare whole-food cakes for adult guests that came to the house for coffee, such as matcha tea cake, or chia seed cakes, served alongside bowls of almonds, and raspberries. Good quality bought croissants were also made available for children and guests. That could be understood as indexing French culture, but as croissants have become staples in high SES brunches, this was not necessarily the case.

For the Azerguis, kindness towards others, and care of the self, were highly valued. Indeed, I concluded that the family's focus on good manners (section 5.2) was having been motivated at least as much by a desire to treat others well, as it was by adherence to social norms. Moreover, being comfortable in one's own skin was put above pushing to achieve particularly quickly, or in line with others' expectations. Sakina spoke very openly, with Badis, when he was present[35], listening and nodding, about allowing her children the time they needed to find their path in life. Education mattered greatly, and significant resources were expended to achieve it (sections 4.5 and 6.3). The children were encouraged to work hard, take on extra-curricular activities, and achieve in areas such as music and drama. However, this was not at the expense of the child's happiness and sense of self. Sakina and I had discussed how we considered this to be slightly at odds with the worldview of many of her peers in the UK. Igider, a good singer, was invited to audition for one of the

[35] Badis was present for 2 out of the 5 instances of this topic being discussed that I recorded in my fieldnotes.

'professional' choirs that his school maintained. Success would have required him to start boarding, at age 7. This for Sakina, Badis and Igider was out of the question, so he did not pursue the opportunity. The prestige, and perceived advantage for later school applications, associated with these choirs was very significant. Sakina reported that Azergui's choice was incomprehensible to many at the school, but was one about which the family had been very confident and clear, and remained so.

4.3 The Children's Agency: Creating Their Spaces

The agency of the Azergui children, and the reflective space and respect afforded to them by their parents, was a characteristic that I observed on many occasions, several of which I highlight in this thesis (sections 4.3 and 5.2). The children appeared to have asserted their preferences when it comes to the choice, display, and location, of their personal possessions. Most obviously, I noted that there was no dedicated space in the Winchester house that Aderfi had made his own. A bed was available for him in the bedroom on the top floor, but that room was full of games and toys belonging to the younger children. There were no posters, books, decorations or personal objects that suggested his presence anywhere in the house. "He doesn't come here if he has a choice. He doesn't like this place. He doesn't like the school, or this town[36]. When he is free he goes to London." Sakina and Badis accommodated Aderfi's preference, and made sure that whenever possible the family, or at least part of it, went to London when Aderfi was not at boarding school. Almost all of his personal possessions, including all of those decorative items with which he liked to surround himself, remained in London.

In the three younger children's bedrooms, their agency was revealed in the decoration of their rooms, and their selection of the objects contained therein. For example, the more strictly educational of the children's books, namely the text books, encyclopaedias, dictionaries, and those specifically written to support the UK national (school) curriculum, were relegated to the landing shelves. The children's bedrooms contained only their favourite books, the majority of which were in English. These included both fiction and non-fiction.

[36] I note that although the Hampshire base of the Azergui's is technically a (small) city, no family member refers to it as such.

Image 14: Igider's shelf of favourite books, next to his den-bed.

Igider happily shared his sleeping-den with the Diary of a Wimpy Kid[37], or works on natural history or Ancient Greece because they interested him. However, the book bought for him about Latin did not make it through his bedroom door.

Image 15: Children's educational books relegated to the landing.

In the children's bedrooms there were only a small number of books in French, but there were games, posters and other decorative objects with French text as well as English. Both the parents and children agreed that these had been chosen, and in many cases displayed, by the children themselves.

[37] A hugely successful humorous children's book by American author Jeff Kinney.

Image 16: Igider's bedroom wall. Books and decorative objects in both French and English.

Image 17: French language / cultural objects found in the children's bedrooms.

The sign on the door reads "Ici dort une princesse"[38].

The children did not completely eschew French and / or 'French-ness'. In all cases, although there was a dearth of books in French, the children's rooms contained many decorative objects either in French, and / or indexing French culture. These included posters, quotes, door-signs, a model Eiffel Tower, and a Marsupilami[39] toy owned by Igider. Although the children, particularly the younger pair, resisted speaking French (section 5.3), they did not

[38]Trans.: "A princess sleeps here".

[39] The Marsupilami was a yellow animal comic book character in Belgium, France, and other francophone countries. He was created by the Belgian cartoon artist Farquin in 1952, and is still hugely popular. The Marsupilami never achieved equivalent success in the English-speaking world, despite a short-lived American cartoon TV series in 1993, and so is relatively unknown in English speaking countries (De Bliek, 2018).

appear to reject it outright. The children all showed a preference for reading books for pleasure in English. However, the family's multilingualism was present in their spaces too. It is to the presentation of multilingual language materiality that I now turn.

4.4 The Place of Multilingual Language Materiality

The multilingualism of this family pervaded the Azergui's dwellings, even when no word was spoken by them. It was something they themselves foregrounded, and with which they engaged. I have attempted to capture the ubiquity of their multilingual language materiality graphically. The following illustrates the presence of each language in the Winchester house, in the hall, sitting room, study, kitchen, dining room, landings and bedrooms.

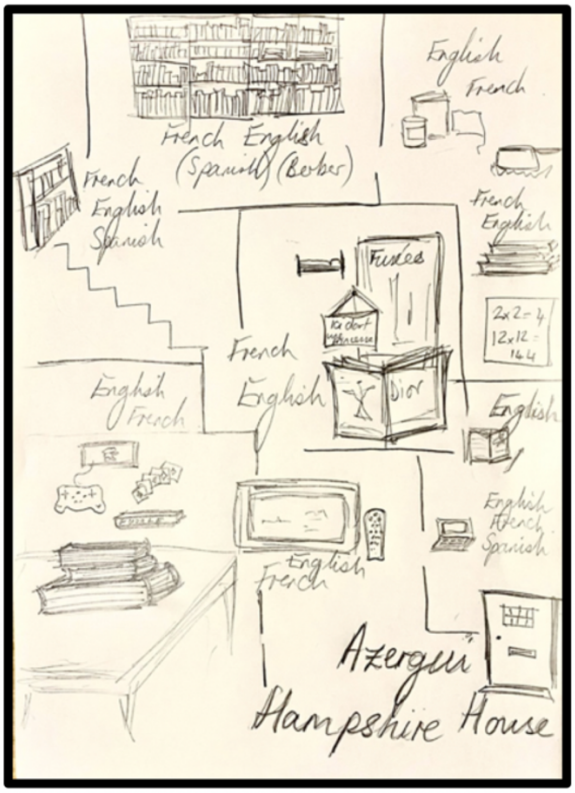

Image 18: My sketch of the languages experienced in the Azergui house.

Multilingualism was everywhere here. It was seen on the labels of food packaging, on scribbles on post-it notes, and heard in the idle chatter directed towards the dog, Archie, or the sounds of business meeting video calls that came from another room. Through these I saw that the family chose to buy specifically French groceries in addition to the locally sourced ones. That they spoke French with some friends or colleagues may not, of course, have been their choice, but rather have been determined by the linguistic repertoire, and / or preferences

of their interlocutors. However, the language(s) spoken to Archie the dog was something over which the family members had control. That they did so in French suggested that that language had a place in their domestic sphere, alongside the English that was the children's preferred language to use with one another and their parents. Greetings cards and postcards in French and in English were displayed, reminding the observer of the family's multilingual and transnational habitus, represented by friends and family in other countries, and leisure trips abroad. Electronic devices were configured in English or French depending upon their purpose and their primary user. Badis almost always selected French. Sakina often would, whilst the children rarely did so, if ever. DVDs, CDs and computer games could be found in either, or both, languages. The adults and older children engaged with these items flexibly. The default, or original, language was accepted by them. If a film was made in French, it was watched in French. As previously stated, the younger children resisted the use of French. If Illi was provided with a DVD whose primary, original language was French, but which had the option to go to the settings menu and choose English dubbing, she would do so. If Igider was offered the choice between playing a computer game in English or playing it in French, he did not consider that to be a choice at all. He always selected English.

4.5 What is Home?

In section 2.3, I explored theoretical conceptions of home, and its relationship with the physical space that is the house, city, or country. Whilst there are occasions when these terms were used interchangeably by the family members, I concluded that they made a clear distinction between their multiple houses, and 'home'. Aderfi, for example, from the age of 14, adamantly refused to spend time in Winchester when it could be reasonably avoided. He did not consider it to be his home. In acceding to his wishes on this point, his parents again demonstrated the respect that they afforded the children's views. When the family wished to come together as a six, this happened in London, Switzerland, or at a holiday destination. If the family wished to celebrate together, be that Christmas, birthdays, or achievements, this too would be somewhere other than Winchester. The advent of the pandemic brought lockdowns and restrictions that resulted in periods when they could not be together, sometimes for several weeks at a time. As a family that greatly valued spending time with one another, that was painful. Accordingly, Winchester became even less a place where they wanted to be. However, the unpleasantness of separation, and Aderfi's preferences, were not the only factors in this. Hampshire clearly felt uncomfortable for the parents too. I consider

this in detail in the chapter 6, where I explore the evolution of the Azergui's relationship with the UK.

When discussing Aderfi's preference for London, I asked Sakina if London was seen as more of a 'home' for the family. She replied: "I don't know. Yes. London or Switzerland. Not here (Winchester)."[40]. At that time, near the beginning of the fieldwork, the family had been resident in Hampshire for two years, but the comment indicated that they did not feel entirely at home there. Moreover, this statement was interesting in that it suggested that there was more than one place, indeed more than one country, that they might have considered 'home'. Neither of the possible candidates for 'home' were the countries of origin of the parents, and no extended family were to be found in either London or Switzerland. I consider that two facets of the family's habitus were indicated by this. Firstly, the family's transnational, mobile, and cosmopolitan nature was demonstrated. Secondly, the importance of the six of them as a family unit, to the gentle exclusion of others, was suggested. *Home was where they were with each other*. In this important way, the house in Winchester, although the primary dwelling for Sakina and her three younger children for five years, never became their 'home'.

In addition to the absence of objects that reflected Aderfi, the presentation of the contents of the Hampshire house itself also suggested the family's unsettled relationship with Winchester. Some things were never unpacked, although the family was there for five years.

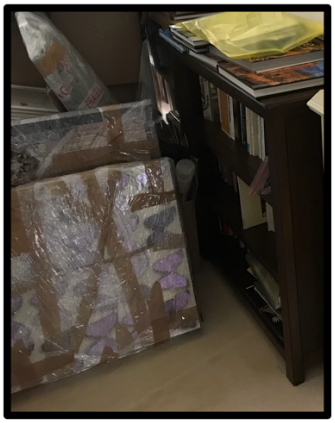

Image 19: Wrapped pictures and boxes of books.

[40] Fieldnotes, March 3rd 2019 Azergui house, Hampshire.

Many pictures were propped up casually on shelves or against walls, rather than hung with care, as they were in London, and in Barcelona. Several remained tucked in the hallway, still in bubble-wrap, against boxes of books, also waiting for a more permanent home. The above image was taken in March 2019, almost four years after the family came to Winchester, and nine months before they decided to move to Barcelona. The quantity of books clearly in temporary homes, straining to be contained in this space, contributed a sense of impermanence. Furniture, particularly in the sitting room, did not fit comfortably, and yet was not replaced, although financial resources were easily available to do so. The pieces were of high quality, and reflected the family's taste, so this was perhaps not surprising. Nonetheless, the overall impression was of a home that was cared for and kept in order, but also of transience, and of not quite fitting it all in.

I have shown that the significance of home, as opposed to simply 'our house', was understood by the family. Nonetheless, 'house', 'home', 'here', 'la maison', 'chez nous', 'ici', were all deemed serviceable terms, deployed by all of the family members with little precision. There were subtle exceptions. I noted "this place" being used by Sakina nine times, always and only when being critical of Winchester, Hampshire, or the UK. When speaking French, the word 'ici'[41] was used, and it was inflection and tone of voice that did the work of imbuing the term with negative connotations. At no point in during the fieldwork did I hear any family member be critical of London specifically. Rather, their comments suggested that they thought that London had partially escaped the deterioration that they saw generally in the UK, which I discuss in chapter 6. Before this, in the next chapter, I will analyse the nature of 'our family' as presented by the Azerguis.

4.6 Conclusion

In this chapter the notions of 'our home' and 'our family' were both explored, and taken to be mutually constitutive. 'Our home' was, in effect, the place that was created by and for 'our family'. However, in order to structure the analysis each was considered as a distinct notion. I focused here upon the physical and conceptual elements that are 'house' and 'home' and examined how they related to 'our (Azergui) family', its attendant habitus, and the children's socialization into it. These sections engaged primarily with elements of the semiotic

[41] Trans.: "here".

repertoire that were neither verbal nor para-linguistic, focusing instead upon language materiality (section 2.2). They revealed the important semiotic role of material culture, specifically that in and of the home, in habitus creation and presentation, and in socialization. Specific examples were analysed, including the role of different kinds of books, and of art works, including those created by family members. Material objects not only provided a backdrop to the family's activities, but also indexed meaning in and of themselves, as did the way in which they were displayed, and their location in either Goffmanian front or back stage parts of the home. I analysed how aspects of French, Algerian and Berber national and cultural affiliations, and membership of (transnational) social and family networks were indexed by the contents of the family's dwellings. Also considered were the indicators of professional success, learning and education, and Bourdieusian taste and distinction. Furthermore, the analysis revealed how the agency of children, and the contested / negotiated reality of the socialization process, were also informed by and revealed in language materiality. The children asserted control over which objects were in their own rooms, and how and if they were engaged with. This was most clearly seen in the refusal of Aderfi to keep any noticeable number of his personal belongings in the Hampshire house. Attention was drawn to the way in which some participants themselves discursively conflated the notion of family, with that of the family's residence(s), thus supporting the assertion that ideas of home, and ideas of family, were intertwined and created alongside one another. It was concluded that the Azergui family's conception of home was not inextricably bound to a physical place, but rather to the space where they came together to be a family.

Chapter 5: Discursively Constructing 'Our Family'

In this chapter I continue my exploration of the Azergui family by considering the discursive construction and presentation of family, through the prism of habitus. Socialization practices, and the ideologies that underpin them are revealed through analysis of semiotic examples, both in (images of) language materiality, and in speech events. Attention is paid not only to the adults' ideologies and socialization practices, but also to how the children accept, contest or negotiate these.

5.1 Family Ties

Despite, or possibly because of, the mobility and geographical reach of the family, proximity to one another was highly valued. As I have noted in the previous chapter, home for the Azergui family was where the six of them came to be together. When Aderfi changed school, at his instigation, from his day school in London to his boarding school in Hampshire, the whole family moved to Winchester in order to be near him. Even though he was boarding and, as it turned out, not coming back to the Winchester house, being near to him was important. However, the demands of Badis' work meant that in addition to travelling extensively to the Middle East, he often had to remain in London during the week. When still resident in the UK, the family frequently reunited in London. Sakina went there mid-week, every week, joining Badis when he was there. The children often were there at weekends to be with both parents together, and of course it was in London where the other family members could see Aderfi when he was not in school. Badis wished to change his job in order to ensure that the family could spend more time together. Sakina commented: "We will not continue like this, he [Badis] agrees, we do not see each other, we are apart like this too much"[42]. Similar comments were made by her on three other occasions. At Badis' level of seniority, where a maximum of one or two suitable jobs may have become available in any given country in any given year, this was a difficult undertaking. Ultimately Badis elected to adjust his career path, investing in a period of study to obtain the requisite accreditations in order to work as an independent investment advisor. This gave him much desired

[42] 8th February 2020, Azergui sitting room, Hampshire.

geographical and professional freedom. Now in Barcelona, Badis and his family once more live together full-time, at least until Aderfi is able to return to Canada.

It was clear to me that in the Azergui family relationships were treated seriously, and not to be undertaken lightly. Sakina appeared to be dismissive of casual (romantic) connections. In the following extract she referred to her own past.

Strip 1: Suddenly I was in London, getting married, going to have children.

London Restaurant, 5th June 2020, Present: Sakina and Marie-Anne.

AA01 Sakina: My brother was surprised. He said 'You never were
AA02 interested in this, in boyfriends, and now you are going
AA03 to marry and have children.' I said yes of course. This
AA04 is what these things are for.
AA05 Marie-Anne: But he was really surprised?
AA06 Sakina: Yes. Because it was quick. I wasn't interested in boyfriends. Then suddenly I was in London, getting married, going to have children.

A form of this conversation took place four times during the course of the ethnographic study, and the subject was alluded to on three additional occasions. It was part of the story of the family's formation, and of Sakina's move to the UK. I concluded that this was an important narrative for Sakina. The seriousness with which she took relationships and the total commitment to the creation of family with the right person, to the point of surprising her own sibling, was part of her self-conception. It was something into which she attempted to socialize her children. The repeated telling of her own story to, and in front of them, was one mechanism by which this was done. I observed that her view of relationships extended to those in which her children may have found themselves. As evidence I present the following two extracts, about her elder daughter Illi, and her eldest child Aderfi, then in his final school year and preparing for A-levels.

Whilst in the UK Illi attended an all-girls school. She expressed a wish to change school for her sixth form years[43]. She was particularly keen to attend a particular co-educational boarding school.

Strip 2: These would not be real relationships.

Azergui kitchen, Hampshire, October 17th 2019, Present: Sakina and Marie-Anne.

AA07 Sakina: I think it is because her friends are talking
AA08 about this. I don't think it is a good idea, but we will
AA09 visit the school. She wants to look at it.
AA10 Marie-Anne: You want her to stay where she is?
AA11 Sakina: No. I think she may need to move. But not this
AA12 place. Boarding, being away from home, with boys….
AA13 Marie-Anne: You're not keen on the boys bit of it?
AA14 Sakina: She is too young to think about these things.
AA15 These would not be real relationships.
AA16 Marie-Anne: What does Badis think?
AA17 Sakina: He agrees. We think the same.

Again, we see here an example of the consultative relationship of the parents with their children. Although generally opposed to Illi's choice of school, Sakina and Badis did not discount it out of hand, but undertook to visit it (AA08 and AA09). I focus here, however, upon the phrase "real relationships" (AA15). I believe that it is indicative of a strongly held belief as to the purpose and nature of "real" (non-platonic) relationships, in line with the story that Sakina told about herself, above (strip 1, lines AA01 to AA06). I concluded that Sakina's attitude towards not embarking upon relationships at a young age was not driven by a squeamishness about her children having sex, although this was never directly stated. Rather, I conclude that Sakina held the belief that relationships were something to take seriously, and

[43] Age 16 to 18, two academic years that are the preparation for A-levels, and possible university entrance.

embarked upon with a view to finding a partner for life, with whom one would have children. Casual boyfriends and girlfriends were deemed merely a pointless distraction. The term "real relationship" appeared again in Sakina's comments regarding Aderfi, below (AA26).

Strip 3: He will not marry these girls so there is no point.

Azergui kitchen, Hampshire, 3rd April 2020, Present: Sakina and Marie-Anne.

AA18 Sakina: He has some girls around, I think they chase him.
AA19 He is shy, but they like him. He looks interesting and
AA20 different, with his dark skin and eyes. I think they like
AA21 this. They think he's cute. They text him. He does not
AA22 know what to do with this. He shouldn't pay attention to
AA23 it.
AA24 Marie-Anne: He needs to concentrate on his A-levels?
AA25 Sakina: *Shrugs*
AA26 These aren't real relationships. He will not marry one of
AA27 these girls, he is too young for that. So this is not
AA28 something to focus on. There is no point.

The final lines (AA26 - 28) again suggest Sakina's attitude to relationships. This extract also reveals something of her narrative about what kind of boy / man Aderfi was. He was shy (AA19), he was the one being chased, not the one doing the chasing (AA18), and a little naive regarding what to do in the face of romantic attention (AA21-AA22). I had not seen Aderfi in any context that allowed me to form my own view as to whether this was accurate, although I had no reason to believe it was not. Regardless, it is telling that this was the view that Sakina wished to share with me of her son. She had no desire to portray him as a ladies-man or as successful with girls. These notions would not have been in line with her view of what was a positive image of her son. Referring again to the extract, lines AA25 to AA28 clarify the attitude revealed here. Following Sakina's first statement I responded with an assumption. I understood Aderfi's relationship as problematic because of the risk of distraction from important exams, revealing my own attitude. Sakina did not engage with this

interpretation, but clarified her position (AA25). For Sakina the issue was to do with the nature of the relationship. Its (lack of a) future rendered it pointless (AA28). In this we see not only an aspect of her ideology as it pertained to relationships, but also an example of her belief that the present must serve the future. Sakina was aware that Aderfi was in a relationship and her belief was that the girl was the driving force in this. As Sakina saw no future in it, she considered it pointless. However, in keeping with the parents' respectful approach to guiding their children (sections 4.3 and 5.2), Sakina did not intervene. Nonetheless, Aderfi, and his siblings, heard many of the same comments about relationships from their mother as I did. Expressing her opinions, and narrating her own story, were both mechanisms by which Sakina socialized her children into her view of what non-platonic relationships are, and should be for. Sakina's assertion that Badis agreed with her, which was supported by my observations[44], made this the *de facto* Azergui parent / family view. Whether their children accept, contest, or negotiate this ideology, remains to be seen.

5.2 The Azergui Family Codes

Here I consider the ways of being, and social codes that were specific to the Azerguis, and their conception of themselves and their family. I also reflect upon the relative priorities that they gave to such 'expected' behaviours and practices.

5.2.1 Understanding of Privilege

The Azergui's peer group, which consisted of the families whose children attended the same elite schools, was a privileged one. Arrogance and entitlement were potential vices. I was struck by the care the Azergui parents took to ensure that their children understood their own privilege, and that they did not develop a sense of entitlement. This was in marked contrast to many of their peers in the elite schools that the children attended. Sakina had commented[45] that when Aderfi returned home after a period of boarding at his elite school, she needed to help him re-set his attitude. She pointed out to him when the views that he articulated, and what she termed his "voice", were not in line with those of the family. For example, she

[44] At no point did Badis discuss this topic in my presence, nor was it raised in front of him. I note, however, that on five multiple he re-(stated) his view that Sakina and he were of a mind on all important issues regarding the children.

[45] Fieldnotes, 16th May 2019, Azergui Kitchen, Hampshire.

recounted an instance of Aderfi speaking in such a way that implied that he was entitled to success and privilege, and could assume that it would be forthcoming. She stated "I had to tell him 'No, that is the college, that is their voice, that is not real'"[46]. As we can also see in Sakina's comment about Badis when they first met (section 4.1.1) "I did not like him, I thought he was arrogant", a strident ego was at odds with what this family considered desirable.

Confidence, however, was encouraged. The children's opinions and wishes were engaged with, and valued. This is revealed in their ability to determine how their rooms looked and what they contained and in the acceptance of Aderfi's refusal to spend time in Winchester (section 4.3). It was also shown in the parents' willingness at least to consider Illi's preferred school for her sixth-form years (section 5.2). When the family decided to emigrate, the children were part of the conversation. They were consulted as to which cities they felt they would be happy living in, and they were taken on trips to Barcelona to experience it before a final decision was made. The parents, particularly Sakina, were of course steering these conversations, and 'selling' Barcelona to the children, but at no point did they act unilaterally. The children's agency was respected, and actively encouraged. The older pair of children came across to me as gently, pleasantly confident as exemplified by Aderfi's conversation with me in vignette 2, below. They maintained conversations with me, introducing topics of interest to them, engaging with my opinions, and expressing opinions of their own on such key issues as Brexit, the best pizza places in London, and tie-dye T-shirts. They made eye contact, and were unfailingly, warmly, polite. The younger children were being socialized to do likewise, not only by the example of, and corrections from their parents, but also by the behaviour modelled by their siblings. As they saw the gap between their values, and those presented in much of the UK discourse, media, and political leadership widening, I consider this aspect of their family's way of being as directly relevant to the deterioration of their relationship with the UK. I explore this in the next chapter.

[46] Fieldnotes, 16th May 2019, Azergui Kitchen, Hampshire.

5.2.2 Courtesy

Vignette 2: My first visit to the Azergui Kensington apartment, London, May 16th, 2020.

Present: Marie-Anne and her son Yves, Sakina and Badis and their children Aderfi, Igider and Lunja.

Image 20: The Azergui's apartment, West London.

Sakina meets us on the street, and shows us into the family's ground floor apartment. My son, Yves, who insisted on coming along to see his friend Igider, bounds in to the sitting room to find him, and the two of them start choosing computer games to play.

Image 21: Sitting room in London, with Lunja, my son Yves, and Igider.

Calls of "Eh, tu dis bonjour?!"[47] follow both Igider and Yves from their respective mothers. Two cursory mumbles of "hello" are begrudgingly thrown back to us, with the very briefest of eye contact. Sakina looks at me with a half-smile, and we both shrug. Passing the dining room, I meet nineteen-year-old Aderfi in person for the first time, as he will never willingly remain in Hampshire when not in school. He greets me politely, and self-assuredly, making the requisite brief small talk, before returning to his studies on the computer. Badis comes in to the kitchen specifically to greet me, and we speak for a short time about the planned move to Spain.

As is described in the vignette, when Yves and I arrived at the flat, Sakina (and I) prompted the boys to greet one another and us, doing so in French. In that prompting were two implied requests, namely, to observe hosting / guest protocol, and to speak French. In response they issued a greeting "hello", but had done so in English. That was deemed sufficient, just (note the shrug). The more important, to Sakina and me, of the two requests had been met. By prompting the children in this way, we reminded them of what (we believed that) they should do upon re-meeting those with whom they were acquainted. Such reminders were a socialization ritual that I had seen on multiple occasions when the younger children, Lunja and Igider, had guests / met their parents' guests.

The older two children's socialization into the use of 'please' and 'thank-you' was more complete[48], as was their grasp of the conventions of hosting and greeting. We see in the vignette that Aderfi needed no prompting to introduce himself to me. Moreover, he lingered briefly, engaging me in the small talk that was deemed polite in such situations, both in this family, and in the high SES group of which they considered themselves to be members. When I met Illi in the house in Winchester she demonstrated a similar awareness of, and adherence to, such norms of polite behaviour. In London, Badis, although working in another room, made a specific point of coming to the kitchen to greet me. He remained there chatting with Sakina and I, and with the children coming and going, until a work telephone call required his attention. I have concluded that the family members highly value kindness,

[47] Trans: "Hey, are you (singular) going to say hello?"

[48] Fieldnotes, 9th May 2020, 16th May 2020 (Azergui house, Hampshire), 5th July 2020 (Azergui apartment, London).

respect, and good manners. I further concluded that they attached more importance to these than they did to the specifics of their FLP, as I explore in the following section.

5.3 The Negotiated Roles of Languages

In the remainder of this chapter I consider the place of nationality, specifically British (English), French, and Algerian, and of artefactualized languages (Blommaert, 2010), namely English, French, Berber and Spanish, in the discursive construction of the Azergui self-conception of themselves, and their family. I begin with an exploration of the use, or not, of the two dominant languages of the household, English and French. The children, unless otherwise prompted, spoke English exclusively to their peers, siblings, and even parents. Sakina and Badis used both English and French with one another, but the (younger) children's resistance to French resulted in English becoming commonly used, even between the parents. I have noted the following patterns, all of which were created in, and therefore (in part) by, my presence, and so should be considered in that light. Sakina meandered in and out of French, but would eventually switch back to and stay in English on most occasions. I have concluded that this had become her dominant, preferred language. She stated that "After so many years English is my usual language. I speak it to my friends, my family, I read in it….". Badis, who had an accent that I considered to be strongly French, would speak English in the presence of guests in the home, including me. I understood this to be a courtesy gesture. He would generally stay in French once the switch from English had been made by me or Sakina. The children had 'no accent', that is they had an RP accent (section 2.2), when they spoke English. Their accents when they spoke French reflected their respective ability / comfort with the language, Aderfi had the merest trace of an English accent when speaking in French, Illi more so, and the youngest children sounded distinctly English. I have wondered, but cannot determine, if this was sometimes deliberate, and part of their resistance to the use of French. Aderfi did like his father in taking his lead from his interlocutor, with the notable difference that when he turned to speak only to his mother, he would switch back to English. In this I saw that they had the habit of speaking English to one another. Illi would first reply in the language in which she was addressed, but would switch to English almost immediately. Igider and Lunja resisted the use of French almost completely. I here present a typical example of an exchange involving Igider.

Strip 4: The PS4 isn't working[49] [50].

Azergui kitchen, Hampshire. 3rd April 2019. Present: Sakina and her son Igider, Marie-Anne and her son Yves.

AA29 Sakina: *Tu veut un* cookie*? Au chocolat ou*

AA30 *chocolate chip*? (Do you want a cookie? Chocolate kind or chocolate chip?)

AA31 Igider (age 10): Yes, chocolate chip.

AA32 Sakina: Please.

AA33 Igider: Please. (Reaches for cookie)

AA34 Sakina: *Tu demand a Yves s'il en veut? (Are you going to ask Yves if he wants some?)*

AA35 Igider: Yves, do you want a cookie?

AA36 Yves: (my son, age 10):Yesyesyesyesyes….. please.

AA37 Cookies!

AA38 Igider(with a mouthful of cookie)**:** The PS4 isn't

AA39 working.

AA40 Sakina: *Ça ne marche pas? (It's not working?)*

AA41 Igider: It's not working.

AA42 Sakina: *Ben , demande à Papa de t'aider. (Well, ask Papa to help you.)*

AA43 Igider: What?

AA44 Sakina: Ask Papa, he's in the office.

[49] PS4: PlayStation 4, A computer game console manufactured by Sony.

[50] "Ben" is the (French) phonetic rendition of a vocalisation akin to "hum", or "well", in English.

The first thing to note from the strip of speech above is that in the face of two 'errors' made by Igider, namely the lack of the word "please", and the use of English where French might be preferable, the mother chose to correct immediately the manners, not the linguistic choice (AA32). Possible alternative replies might have been to repeat the sentence in French, with "*s'il te plait*"[51] added, or to simply reply with "*s'il te plait*" alone. I have observed similar exchanges with the other children, mainly the younger two, such as when Igider and my son Yves failed to greet Sakina and I in the vignette above. The choice to focus on manners and / or etiquette over language choice in the rituals and socialization practices of the family was consistent, and in line with the value attached to courtesy, discussed in the previous section. I observed that in this family, greater importance was attached to the acquisition and presentation of the 'correct' codes of behaviour and speech, than to the specifics of which languages were used within the family. School studies and education were also prioritised over the use of French. As has been noted in the previous chapter (section 4.2.2.2), the children's educational resources found in the home, unless they specifically related to language learning, were all in English.

Returning to the strip above, Sakina then made the switch to French for her next 'correction' of Igider's manners (AA34). He was reaching to serve himself when she asked him if he wasn't going to offer his friend some cookies. In the context and the timing of the exchange, also based upon the facial expressions that accompanied it, I concluded that this was a gentle admonishment of Igider for attempting to serve himself before offering some to his guest. Igider, who was, quite naturally for 10-year-old boy, more focused on cookies than manners, took the cue to an extent only, inviting Yves to help himself, whilst simultaneously taking his own cookie and starting to eat it. Note that although his mother used French to enjoin her son to offer cookies to his guest, Igider made the offer in English, although both he and Yves were able to speak (some) French, and both were exposed to it within their own family contexts. My observations of the family[52] led me to conclude that Igider, and indeed all the children, actively resisted the use of French. Furthermore, Yves and Igider, despite being able

[51] Trans: "please".

[52] Fieldnotes 17th February 2019, 4th March 2019, 11th March 2019 and 24 (!) other dates, outside the school Igider attended when he was collected in the afternoon. Also, 3rd April 2019, 30th May 2019, 12th December 2019 and 4 other dates in the Azergui Hampshire house, 18th February 2020 and 5th June 2020 in the London apartment.

to speak some French, and understand a great deal more, would ally with one another against their mothers to resist its use yet more strongly. I provide evidence to support this below.

In line AA38, above, Igider continued, in English. This time he stated that the PS4 was not working, with the clear implication, understood by all present, that he expected his mother to do something about it. Sakina made an attempt to move the exchange into French, offering Igider the appropriate form of words for his statement, in French, under the guise of reflecting back to him what he has said (AA40). Igider resisted this gambit, repeating himself, and remaining in English. I believed that this was quite deliberate on the part of Igider, and that he was fully aware that his mother wished him to speak French. That was suggested by his facial expressions during this part of the exchange, commented upon in my fieldnotes. By line AA42, Sakina appeared to have accepted that Igider would not speak French in this exchange, but persevered in speaking it to him. She did not wish to deal with the PS4, so she suggested that Igider ask his father to help him. At this point Igider appeared to escalate his resistance to French, claiming not to understand. It is possible that he genuinely did not hear clearly. However, my impression in the moment, captured in my fieldnotes, was that he had. I believed that he was actively resisting French, supported by Yves in the background. This was not the only time that these boys united in the face of language negotiations with their mothers, as I show below. Sakina then restated her comment in English, adding further information to it. It is interesting to note that when Igider wanted something – the cookie – he was able to understand French. When he was no longer after something, but was being told to go to his father for help, he apparently did not. This was a pattern I saw repeated on other occasions[53].

I also concluded that Yves and Igider allied in the face of their mothers' desire for them to speak some French, supporting one another in their resistance, thereby increasing their own agency. I believed that Yves presence was supporting Igider in his refusal to speak French in the above exchange. Sakina later the same afternoon confirmed that she did too. The following exchange also suggests that.

[53] 3rd April 2019, 12th December 2019, 7th January 2020, Azergui Hampshire house, 18th February 2020 in the London apartment.

Strip 5: That's sooo not happening!

Azergui kitchen, Hampshire. 30th May 2019. Present Marie-Anne and her son Yves, Sakina and her son Igider.

AA45 Marie-Anne: (*addressing Yves)* You can speak French you

AA46 know, Igider understands it.

AA47 Sakina: (to all) Ah, now that is a good idea!

AA48 Yves: (*little snort / laugh)* Yeah, that's *sooo* not

AA49 happening!

AA50 Igider: No way! (to Yves) Let's go!

AA51 Sakina and Marie-Anne *(exchange looks, both smiling resignedly)*

AA52 Sakina (*shrugs)*

Despite exchanges such as the one above, my presence in the Azergui household was typically not used as a resource to encourage the use of French. Sakina and I drifted in and out of French and English with each other and with our children. Neither observations, nor, inquiry, nor careful self-reflection, have led me to conclude that the amounts of French and English spoken by the Azergui parents with their children was increased by my presence, or by the Azergui's awareness of my research interests. I asked Sakina directly how she felt about the use (or lack of use) of French by her children, and she was phlegmatic. Her experience of the relative levels of French among her children mirrored mine. The first one spoke it well, the second not so well. Sakina also had a third and fourth child, and her view was that by child four, when it came to using the heritage language, one might as well "forget it!"[54]. However, she was comfortable that the French was "in there"[55] somewhere, and that if and when one of her children needed or wanted it, they would not find it difficult to achieve the required mastery. Nonetheless, a French tutor was provided for the children to maintain

[54] Fieldnotes, 15th March 2019, Azergui kitchen, Hampshire.

[55] Fieldnotes, 15th March 2019, Azergui kitchen, Hampshire.

the development of their French. This was done in a formal and structured way that included grammar, and made reference to, although did not follow, the UK's academic French curriculum. This took French out of the exclusively familial context, and put it in a group with musical instruments, public speaking and (other) academic subjects. French was therefore treated (in part) as one of several valuable commodities, providing cultural capital, recognised by potential future schools, universities and employers, in which it was worth investing in the present. That treatment would not have gone unnoticed by the children, who would hence have been socialized into this notion. In the terms coined by Duchêne and Heller (2012), they took a source of pride, and made it additionally into a source of neoliberal profit. I have observed that the confidence level of all members of the Azergui family in their ability to acquire languages as needed, as adults or children was very high. I consider this to be part of the habitus of this family. The children not only had some valuable linguistic skills, and the resources to acquire more, but essentially they had been, and were being, socialized into *the belief that they could*. With the move to Barcelona came the project of learning Spanish. At no point was this presented by any member of the Azergui family as an issue or a barrier. They now, early 2022, have some Spanish, and are learning more. However, despite living in Catalonia, they are not tackling Catalan at this time. As Sakina said, "We will start with Spanish because it is the *most important*, then we will see.[56]" (Italics are mine). A neoliberal awareness of the linguistic market, and of the relative commodity value of different languages is demonstrated here.

5.4 National and Cultural Heritage

5.4.1 The Place of Berber, and Kabyle and Algerian Heritage

I have concluded that the Azergui parents had pride in their Kabyle and Algerian heritage. However, the parents have not taught any Berber to their children. I consider that this again demonstrates their awareness of the linguistic market. Both parents are able to speak Berber, although neither consider that they have mastery of it. Both assert that their French and English are far stronger, and more comfortable to use. When I enquired whether Berber is used in the family Badis answered in the negative. Sakina provided a little more information, making clear that they had no intention to teach the children any Berber as they saw no

[56] Fieldnotes, 12th May 2020, Azergui sitting room, Hampshire.

reason to. Here the family's language choices align with neoliberal ideologies, where the linguistic market determines language policy and practice. Their choice also reflects an orientation towards a global, high SES future for the children, one in which Berber serves no purpose. The language was only used between Sakina and Badis on very rare occasions, "perhaps if we need to say something in front of the children but don't want them to understand"[57]. Otherwise it was reserved exclusively for use with elderly relatives during visits to Algeria, and only then when French would not serve. In this, its fate mirrored that of many minority heritage languages (Fishman, 1971). Nonetheless, both parents were proud of their Kabyle heritage, and would volunteer information regarding their Algerian / French nationalities, and their Kabyle heritage, with only gentle prompting. Of the huge number of books in the house, the only shelf to which Sakina specifically drew my attention was that containing the volumes about Algeria, the Kabyle, and Berber culture. These books were in the downstairs hallway, a Goffmanian frontstage area in the home. However, the style of décor in their dwellings was what I believe to be resolutely high SES European. I saw no Berber artefacts on display in the Azergui's properties. In the dining room in Winchester there was a collection of impressively sized desert roses from Algeria. These beautiful naturally occurring sand formations are created when a liquid is introduced to hot sand in desert conditions. When I admired them Sakina pointed out, a little amused, "Ils sont beaux, mais c'est le pee-pee des chameaux qui les fait"[58][59]. I remind the reader that the dining room was a backstage area in this house, mainly frequented by the children. This perhaps suggests that they were the intended audience for these striking reminders of Algeria. The children, however, did not appear to consider their Algerian heritage at all, neither rejecting nor embracing it. Rather, it receded into the background. The children's names, unusual in the countries in which they lived, were Berber. They provided a faint constant reminder of the family's ancestry. Otherwise, this aspect of the children's heritage seemed brought to mind only when family trips took them to Algeria, or if events, friends or relatives in Algeria were brought into the conversation. Sakina and Badis made a point of making sure that the

[57] Fieldnotes, 18th February 2020, hallway of the Azergui apartment, London.

[58] Trans: "They are beautiful, but they are made by camels' wee."

[59] Fieldnotes, 3rd March 2019, Azergui dining room, Hampshire.

children visited what the parents still termed "our village" in Algeria from time to time. In the later stage of the fieldwork period this became impossible due to the travel restrictions imposed because of the pandemic. Badis and Sakina continued occasionally to fulfil the role of representative for their families in Algeria, for example when Sakina attended the funeral of a member of the Kabyle community in France. This was a considerable undertaking at the time, as the pandemic had begun, and many travel restrictions and quarantine requirements were in place. That she did this despite the difficulties, suggested that the extended Algerian family remained important to her. I have noted that both Badis, and particularly Sakina, used the terms "my family's / our / my village" when referring to their families' place of origin in Algeria. I never observed the children using these terms. An example of Sakina's use of the phrase is presented above (section 5.1.1), when she recounted how she met Badis. Aspects of transnationalism, ideology, culture, and family came together in the nature of their meeting. They were both guests at the Paris weddings of people with whom they were not very well acquainted, on two occasions, only because they were representing their families from the village in Algeria. Furthermore, temporality was central to the formation of their relationship. Their connections to their ancestral family home, and to their families' past, determined that Sakina and Badis would have an opportunity to meet in their (then) present, whereupon they ultimately decided to build a future together.

5.4.2 'French-ness'

The Azergui family members presented some identifiable aspects of their various nationalities, for example in the books that they owned (above), and their food choices (below). However, it was rarely emphasized by them. I discuss here one occasion when Igider's status as a French national was foregrounded by others, and how this moment was navigated.

When Igider was in year 2, age 7, the school which he attended with my son, Yves, held a 'French Day.' This was prior to the commencement of this ethnographic study, but Sakina and I co-reconstructed the story in a subsequent conversation[60]. The pupils were all invited to dress up, there were French themed activities in the hall, French games in the playground, French songs were sung, and French food was served. This latter was a (to me) bizarre

[60] Fieldnotes, 3rd April 2019, Azergui sitting room, Hampshire.

combination of stereotypical foods: snails, baguettes[61], under-ripe camembert cheese, madeleines[62] and Orangina[63], things that would not typically be served together in any part of France. It was interesting to observe the different levels of engagement from the children and staff members, as well as their understanding of what constituted 'French-ness'. I remember noticing that among all the predictable berets, stripy tops, chains of plastic onions worn around the neck, T-shirts with the Eiffel tower on the front, and tricolour themed outfits, Igider simply wore smart clothes, a blazer and chinos. As part of my research I asked Sakina about this. Her first comment was that Igider did not enjoy dressing up. She then pointed out "He is French, so he could go as himself. This is what he would wear, perhaps in Paris. So this was fine.[64]". Her tone throughout was not one of justification or discomfort, but was extremely matter of fact. In the school's communication with parents about the day, it was made clear that a stereotypical, almost 'Disney-fied' version of 'French-ness' was expected to be performed, authenticity was not. I was struck that Igider and Sakina had opted out of the false 'French-ification'. Rather than complying with the (assumed) intention of the school, and performing English-performing-French, they had resisted. They simply presented themselves, which happened to include French. I concluded that this was characteristic of this family, who consistently presented a complex yet clear strong sense of self unifying French / Algerian / British / cosmopolitan aspects. My son who is, like me, French among other things, also side-stepped the blue-white-and-red-with-garlic extravaganza. He simply added a Breton[65] smock, worn frequently by him as a practical warm layer, and given to him by his Breton grandmother, over his usual jeans and t-shirt. Like Igider, he had never previously eaten snails, and like Igider, his peers assumed that he had, because he was French.

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[61] The traditional long French bread loaf.

[62] A small buttery sponge cake, given quasi-mythical status as a traditional French food by the writings of Proust in his novel À la Recherche du Temps Perdu (1913).

[63] A sparkling orange drink.

[64] Fieldnotes, 3rd April, 2019, Azergui kitchen, Hampshire.

[65] Meaning from Brittany, a region in North-West France.

5.4.3 The Role of Food

As has been observed several times above, food, its preparation, eating, the choice of items and the rituals that surround it, are extremely important and rich indicators of many sociological characteristics. Due, in part, to Sakina's training as a nutritionist, healthy food was important to the Azergui family. In addition to the high SES indexed by / through their food choices that have been identified above, the Azerguis' diet also suggested their (trans)nationalism and cosmopolitanism. Here I am considering specifically the rituals of eating, not those of dining (section 2.4). On one occasion, serving dinner for her children and their guests, which included my son, Sakina commented "On mange à la Française ici, eh. Ça va?"[66][67]. I knew what she meant. There would be a starter, which would be largely plant based. The main course would include cooked vegetables, a starch, and an animal protein, in this case roast lamb. There would be pudding. The meal was what I understand as quintessentially (but not exclusively) French, high SES, home cooking – salad, roast lamb, sauté potatoes and green beans, and a meringue with raspberries. By not only preparing such food, but also explicitly commenting upon its 'French-ness', Sakina was strongly indexing, and presenting, a facet of her (family's) sense of self. This comment also provides an example of Sakina's oft used device of conflating the family's place, with the family itself. In the above strip "Ici (here)" signifies 'in our family'.

As she chopped the salads for the starter, including a plate of watermelon pieces, she commented further, "watermelon is not a pudding in this house"[68][69]. This emphatic statement of what was done there, in that house, again suggested an awareness that in her food choices she was presenting a way of being that was different to what might be considered 'normal', or predictable in the UK, one that was specific to her family. The Azergui habit of consuming watermelon as a 'savoury' salad gently suggested the Algerian / Kabyle facet of their nationalities and culture, over the European. Sakina believed that this is not done in the UK

[66] Trans: "We eat in the French style here, eh. Ok?"

[67] Fieldnotes, 16th June 2019, Azergui kitchen, Hampshire.

[68] Fieldnotes, 16th June 2019, Azergui kitchen, Hampshire.

[69] The comment was made in English.

or in France. However, this alignment with both French and Algerian / Kabyle ways of doing (food) things was not the whole story. The family ate a very wide variety of cuisines, both at home and in restaurants. For example, to celebrate Sakina's 50th birthday in the summer of 2020, the family dined at a Japanese restaurant in London. In addition, during the first UK lockdown caused by the pandemic, when for many of us food was frequently the most interesting thing that would happen all day, Sakina went to great lengths to provide her family with interesting dishes. They included Japanese sushi, Swiss fondue, Chinese steamboat, mail-order delicacies from specialist vendors selling Greek, Turkish, Italian, Mexican, etc. food. It is clear from this, that for this family, to eat *exclusively* "à la Française" was not desirable. Their food choices frequently indexed a cosmopolitan disposition. In general, however, no specific individual nationality was strongly presented by the family members. When explicit national labels were used, the most commonly applied to the children was 'English'. Indeed, I concluded that the children considered themselves as primarily English, and that their parents shared that view. I explore this in the following chapter.

5.5 Conclusion

In this chapter the Azergui family's ideologies, including those related to language, were revealed, as were the mechanisms of socialization. The role of food was specifically addressed. I explored how through the daily semiotic rituals of modelling and correcting behaviour, telling family stories, and presenting opinions the parents, particularly Sakina, socialized the children into their beliefs and values, foregrounding courtesy and an understanding of their own privilege. Several practices, reflecting underlying ideologies, were framed (Goffman, 1974) as 'things we do in 'our family'. In this way, the parents socialized their children not only into ideologies but also into habitus. The analysis revealed how the cultural capitals and attendant habitus acquired and presented in the present were informed by aspirations for the future. I revealed how the use of the French language was contested by Igider in particular, sometimes aided and abetted by my son, Yves. I concluded that the Azergui family's prioritization of courtesy resulted in an acceptance of the use of English by the children, so long as they demonstrated 'good manners'. Consideration was also given to how the past not only informed this enterprise, but also was re-written by it, as key family stories and narratives were foregrounded and framed in the service of the families' present-day habitus and future orientations. I concluded that the parents presented

themselves as Algerian, English, French and, above all, transnational. In contrast, the children presented themselves, and were presented by their parents as, predominately English.

Chapter 6: Cosmopolitanism, Education, and 'Our Family's' Future

6.1 Cosmopolitanism: Ethical and Rooted

Badis and Sakina presented and articulated nationalities that correlated with their passports. Algerian, French and British were all present. However, I observed that their cosmopolitanism was presented more frequently, and more strongly, than any or all of these nationalities, although it did not subsume them. Rather, a nuanced multi-layered picture developed. As I have explored in section 2.4, I consider that there is a spectrum of cosmopolitanism. Several cosmopolitan class glosses that I observed in the Azergui family would, in isolation, suggest only what Beck (2012) has termed a 'banal' cosmopolitanism. Examples of these were the family's delight in different cuisines, the holiday destinations that enabled exposure to other peoples, and the reference works about countries, peoples, and art forms of other nations and cultures. In addition, there was, of course, the family's multilingualism. However, further analysis revealed a deeper, more complex form of cosmopolitanism embodied by the Azergui family members.

I consider that the family's collective linguistic choices, as they relate to artefactualized languages (Blommaert, 2010) were informed by their cosmopolitan disposition. The choice of English as the family's dominant language was not, I believe, (merely) a reflection of their neoliberal ideologies. English is the most profitable (Heller and Duchêne, 2012) language, but it was also the language of the Azergui's main country of residence, and the country where the children were born and raised. It was also a, perhaps the, *lingua franca*. The neo-imperialist overtones of the global domination of English are inescapable (Phillipson, 1997). Nonetheless, English also provides a medium of communication to a significant proportion of the world's population, particularly that portion with whom the high SES Azergui family were likely to come into contact. I did not conclude that the family members were merely presenting the ethnocentric, 'everyone speaks English' globalisation-as-homogeneity discourse. This view is supported by the importance that they attached to learning Spanish, in preparation for / subsequent to their move to Barcelona. Whether the acquisition of Catalan would follow remained uncertain (section 5.3).

I now explore how I concluded that the nature of the Azergui family members cosmopolitanism was central to their responses to the socio-political event of Brexit. I consider here the two key characteristics of the cosmopolitanism presented by this family. Firstly, I believe that their cosmopolitanism went far beyond the banal (Beck, 2012). It encompassed the ethical, tolerant dimension, particular orientation and mode of practice of Beck (2012) and Werbner's (2008, 2015) more complex and developed notions of cosmopolitan disposition. Secondly, it was a *rooted* cosmopolitanism (Werbner, 2008), one that co-existed with local, specific, community attachments. I explore first the rooted nature of the Azergui cosmopolitanism. When the fieldwork started, the Azergui family had lived in the UK for 19 years, although Badis moved to London a few years prior for his job. During that time, they had developed connections, friendships, and a sense of community in London. They frequented and supported local eateries and shops. They had, and maintain, deep friendships with people in both London and Hampshire, and a good relationship with their London neighbours. When the time came to educate their children, they eschewed the French Lycée, local to them in South Kensington, choosing instead the British (private school) education system, of which more later (section 6.3). The children were raised to embrace their Englishness, with no real suggestion that they would leave the UK at any point. Prior to the Brexit referendum, Sakina shared with me her opinion that the UK was the "best country"[70]. The family supported local charities, in London and Hampshire, amongst others. Sakina volunteered at several of her children's schools, and served on committees at her daughters' school, organising events. Some of these experiences were not positive. On occasions Sakina felt rejected by other committee members / volunteers, something about which she was relatively phlegmatic: "I have no agenda, I just want to help. If they do not want my help, that is fine."[71] My understanding of this, based upon my own experiences and my own socialization into this world, is that it is not uncommon for newcomers to the group to find that their input is only welcomed if they adhere to the roles and tasks that the existing group members wish to allocate to them. I observed that some of the mothers of the private school community can be controlling. Secondly, it is possible that Sakina was, in fact, being

[70] Prior to the commencement of this ethnography, hence no fieldnote nor date. I corroborated this recollection with Sakina on 3rd April, 2019, (Azergui kitchen, Hampshire).

[71] Fieldnotes, May 16th 2019, Azergui kitchen, Hampshire.

denied membership of their group altogether. As Young (2010) and Blommaert (2010) identified (section 2.4), high SES social tribes do not welcome new members easily, and acceptance by them is contingent upon presenting the correct forms of Bourdieusian (1984) distinction. I concluded that the parents were aware that they themselves did not, and might never, (wish to) have full membership of the social group that was comprised of their British upper-middle class peers. However, they believed, correctly in my view, that their children could and did. Sakina stated explicitly, albeit prior to the disintegration of the family's relationship with the UK, that her children were English (line AB05, below). At the start of the fieldwork period it appeared to be understood by all family members that the UK would remain the children's home. This was evidenced by Sakina's comments that she did not want to have to get a visa to visit her children here, implying that the children would remain in the UK, even if Badis and Sakina later moved to "somewhere with sun"[72].

I now turn to my assertion that the Azergui cosmopolitanism encompasses a particular (ethical) orientation and 'mode of practice', in line with Werbner's (2008) outlining of the concept (section 2.4). On multiple occasions[73] Sakina articulated the view that she was uncomfortable with what had been, and was, happening socio-politically in the UK. She considered the then current government to be "racist, venal, and incompetent"[74]. Its rhetoric as it related to migrants, intolerance, and issues around race in particular, concerned her, as did the apparent racism and intolerance of some of the general population. In 2019 she ascribed some of this to the culture specifically in Hampshire. "London is still ok, you can go there, it still feels nice[75]". Of course, it could be said that since Sakina and her family were (partially) foreign, and brown-skinned, and (in the case of Badis and Sakina) had audibly 'foreign' accents, this concern around racism in the UK was self-serving. However, Sakina articulated concern and empathy for, and compassion towards, others with whom she did not

[72] Fieldnotes, 28th March, 2019, sitting room of a friend of Sakina's, Hampshire.

[73] Fieldnotes 28th March, 2019, sitting room of a friend of Sakina's, Hampshire, and 26th November 2019, 8th February 2020, Azergui sitting room, Hampshire.

[74] Fieldnotes, 2nd June, 2019, sitting room of a friend of Sakina's, Hampshire.

[75] Fieldnotes, 2nd June, 2019, sitting room of a friend of Sakina's, Hampshire.

appear to identify, such as black people and Poles[76]. Furthermore, she expressed concern for those outside the UK who were made to suffer for being 'other', such as the victims of the Trump[77] administration's border control policies.[78] Badis appeared to me to share Sakina's disposition in this regard, although I had no specifically political / socio-political conversations with him. As discussed in section 4.1.1, a prevailing discourse of the Kabyle Berber community is the embracing of liberal humanist[79] values such as human rights, democracy and freedom. It is possible, indeed probable, that this informed the family's habitus.

At the start of the fieldwork, the Azergui family were, I believe, strongly connected to the UK. Whilst Sakina and Badis frequently commented that they might want to live somewhere warmer when they were old, they made it clear to me that they were settled for the foreseeable future. They intended to remain in the UK for at least as long as it took for the children to complete their education, at least twelve more years. They were also clear that their children would remain here. In a conversation prior to both the family decision to move to Spain, and her son Aderfi's move to university in Toronto, Sakina explained to me that even though she thought that she and Badis might possibly leave the UK one day, she was (at that time) intending to get UK citizenship.

[76] Fieldnotes, 2nd June, 2019, sitting room of a friend of Sakina's, Hampshire.

[77] President Donald Trump, 45th President of the United States of America, 2017-2021. His administration implemented a number of highly publicised and controversial border control policies focused on the border with Mexico, including child separation and "Remain in Mexico" policies (Keck and Clua-Losada, 2021).

[78] Fieldnotes, 2nd June, 2019, sitting room of a friend of Sakina's, Hampshire.

[79] Note that liberal here is again used in the (British / English) socio-political sense of 'believing in or allowing a lot of personal freedom, and believing that society should change gradually so that money, property, and power are shared more fairly', rather than the economic sense.

Strip 6: I do not want to have to get a visa every time I visit my children.

Azergui sitting room, Hampshire, 15th March 2019. Present: Sakina, Marie-Anne, and another, non-British, mother from our sons' school.

AB01 Sakina: I do not want to have to get a visa every time I
AB02 come back to visit the children.
AB03 Marie-Anne: You think they'll live here?"
AB04 Sakina *(with a shrug, a resigned expression on her face):*
AB05 They are English. They will want to stay.
AB06 Marie-Anne: That's really interesting. Mine have said they
AB07 might want to move to France, particularly Henri, for
AB08 university at least.
AB09 Sakina: C'est bien ça. Tu as de la chance. (Trans: That's
good. You are lucky.)

There are a number of things to note in this exchange. First of all, Sakina appeared to be convinced that her children would remain in the UK, and specifically stated that they were English. Secondly, she appeared to me to be somewhat saddened by this. Thirdly, it is interesting that she considered her children to be English although they had multiple nationalities. However, not only were the children English (and I note the consistent use of the word English, never British by all the participants (section 2.5)) but also they appeared to identify themselves / were identified by their parents as such. Fourthly, Sakina appeared to consider it desirable, that the children move away from the UK, at least for a time (AB05 and AB09). The reasons for this were not articulated by Sakina, but perhaps were taken as understood between us, as we both understood that the other valued their family's multinationalism / transnationalism. Lastly, I noted the switch to French when Sakina told me that I was lucky that my children were considering moving abroad. I observed that Sakina typically changed languages in order to use a particular word or idiom, or in response to her interlocutor. The example above did not fit either of those two patterns. Rather, I conclude that the switch reflected what she was saying. Her statement regarding leaving the UK was semiotically amplified by her switch away from English.

6.2 Peer Group / Societal Ideologies

I believe that the Azergui family members' (supra)national sense of self were not only tied to their state citizenships, important as those were. The Azerguis were in a meaningful sense global citizens. Following Beck (2012) and Werbner (2008) I consider that ethical cosmopolitanism, including that of the Azergui family members, encompasses an *a priori* respect for other cultures. The Azergui's disposition therefore brought them into ideological conflict with what was understood (by them, and by me) to be the ethnocentric nationalism that is on the rise in the UK. Whilst I consider that Parry (2008) is correct in asserting that the nationalist outlook is not necessarily antithetical to ethical cosmopolitanism, I suggest that the stridently racist, anti-migrant tone of some discourses in the UK, was, and is. Moreover, the form of nationalism presented in political rhetoric (sections 1.2 and 2.5) appears to be explicitly at odds with transnational cosmopolitanism.

Furthermore, the increased hostility towards people of colour, EU nationals, the French particularly, and 'others' more broadly, made the Azergui family members personally uncomfortable. Sakina, and several of her peers at the schools, commented that, in the immediate aftermath of the Brexit referendum, they felt an increased discomfort with speaking a language other than English with their children in public[80], and that they were being judged for doing so. Some, including Sakina, stated that even when speaking English, their accent prompted what they considered to be unfriendly or judgemental looks from strangers by whom they were overheard.

[80] Sakina on 17th October 2019 . Mothers at Igider's school – German mother (4th March, 2019), Polish mother (4th March, 2019), Czech mother (4th March, 2019), French mother (7th May 2019),

Strip 7: I think I sound like you.[81]

Azergui kitchen, Hampshire, June 16th, 2019. Present: Marie-Anne, Sakina, and on other mother from our sons' school.

AB10 Sakina: It's strange to me. I have spoken English for so
AB11 long. When I speak, I hear myself differently, I think I
AB11 sound like you *(addressing me)*. But then I see their
AB12 faces, and I know I sound different. Particularly here
(referring to Hampshire, as opposed to London).

None of the Azergui family members mentioned being victims of racially motivated physical or verbal aggression. However, the comments noted here, and those below (this section) regarding fitting in in Hampshire, suggest that the Azergui's sense of SV in the UK (Benedi Lahuerta and Iusmen, 2021) (section 2.5) had increased. I concluded that the Azergui's family's increasing discomfort with the discourses and events in the UK, was magnified by living in Hampshire for much of the year. Aderfi, as has been discussed in the previous two chapters, refused to spend time in Hampshire when he was not obliged to because he was at boarding school there. Throughout the study I noted that in Hampshire Sakina preferred to meet at her, or her companion's, house, whilst in London she preferred to go out. Although the area in which she lived in Hampshire is very affluent, Sakina did not consider it to be well served by places to eat and drink[82]. More importantly, she did not particularly enjoy the meetings in cafés. I attributed this to a sense that she described, or alluded to, on multiple occasions, of feeling observed and somewhat judged. For example, she commented "People notice too much where you go [in Hampshire]. They know me too much, they even know my car"[83]. Her number plate, whilst not personalised, was particularly noticeable and memorable, and it is true that I found her car easier to identify than almost any other parked outside the school. At other times, the subject of 'fitting in' in Hampshire would come up. She observed

[81] Note: I (almost always) have an English RP accent when I speak English.

[82] Fieldnotes, 16th May, 2020, walking in Holland Park, London.

[83] Fieldnotes, 16th January 2020, Azergui sitting room, Hampshire.

"My accent does not fit. My dark skin and my dark hair, they do not fit"[84], or simply "[The neighbours] think my children are too loud. They are all old people here. Even if they are not old[85]". I commented to Sakina that two parents of children at Igider and Lunja and Illi's schools had called me a 'frog', a derogatory English term for a French, or francophone, person. This was the first time this had happened to me in more than a decade. Her response: "What do you expect? They[86] are like that."[87] There were not many such comments[88], but they all were made in the latter stages of the study, 2020.

A discomfort with Hampshire, specifically Winchester, was also articulated by Badis. He and I sat next to one another at a dinner party at a third party's home in Winchester, in which the Azergui family had their Hampshire home. Our conversation turned to a discussion of the kinds of places where we enjoyed being. I commented that I did not feel particularly comfortable in places or contexts where things felt closed or parochial. (I reflexively must plead guilty to possibly leading the witness here, but the conversation was 'natural', and not carried out with the goal of obtaining a particular opinion.) He looked at me, paused for a few seconds, before leaning in, conspiratorially (my husband and I were the only non-Winchester residents amongst the ten people in the room), for the following short exchange.

[84] Fieldnotes, 10th March 2020, Azergui sitting room, Hampshire

[85] Fieldnotes, 10th March 2020, Azergui sitting room, Hampshire

[86] Referring to the families in question.

[87] Fieldnotes, June 8th 2020, Zoom call.

[88] I recorded 6 instances in my fieldnotes.

Strip 8: Whisper it, Winchester is Parochial.

Dinner party at the home of mutual acquaintances in Winchester. August 24th 2019. Present: Sakina, Badis, Marie-Anne, Will (my husband), 3 other couples.

AB13 Badis (*softly, making direct eye contact*)**:** Like where for

AB14 example?

AB14 Marie-Anne : Um, well, like Winchester really.

AB15 Badis (*smiles wryly, nodding, then looks back to the table*)**:**

Hmmm…. Yeah. Me too.

6.2.1 Cosmopolitanism versus Ethnocentrism?

Since the 2016 Brexit referendum EU passports have taken on an important commodity value. Families with one British, and one non-British, parent, who had previously not concerned themselves with obtaining more than one nationality for their children, are now busily contacting consulates and filling in forms. English (British) families are leveraging Irish and Italian grandparents. Those of us, such as the Azerguis, who have access to more than one nationality, and therefore more than one passport, including the desirable EU passport, are seen as 'lucky'. I present here a representative conversation from the yard in front of the Igider's school, between myself and Hannah, the mother of one of Igider's classmates.

Strip 9: A blue passport, and one that actually works.

School Yard, October 17th 2019. Present: Marie-Anne, Hannah, 3 other mothers of boys in Igider's school year.[89]

AB16 Hannah: They're French and British. Lucky sods (referring
AB17 to the Azergui family). What about you guys?
AB18 Marie-Anne: Yup. Well not Will (my husband), but that's
AB19 easily fixed. He'll need to swot up his French mind, but
AB20 he can do that.
AB21 Hannah: What about the boys? (Referring to my sons) What
AB22 are they?
AB23 Marie-Anne: Yeah, they're both too.
AB24 Hannah: Pah. So they get to have a blue passport and one
AB25 that actually works.

EU passports are, for several of those British people seeking them at least, merely a commodity, indexing a prevailing neoliberal ideology, rather than a cosmopolitan one[90]. This is also suggested by the reactions of those who have been thwarted in their attempts to obtain EU passports. As an example, I present an exchange observed between Badis and David, the (exclusively) English father of one of Igider's school friends, when he was collecting his son from the Azergui house following a playdate. The conversation had turned to David's application for Czech nationality, and a Czech passport, on the basis of his being married to a Czech woman.

[89] "Swot up", used in the strip, is a slang term meaning to study / revise.

[90] One of the pieces of anti-EU rhetoric of Brexit was that they banned the traditional blue passports of the UK, and that when the UK was 'free' of the EU, blue passports could be brought back (Gamble, 2018).

Strip 10: It's not as if I'm an immigrant.

Azergui hallway, Hampshire,3rd April, 2019. Present: Marie-Anne, Badis, David. Nearby: Yves, Igider, and David's son Leo.

AB26 Badis: So this is resolved now?

AB27 David: (with considerable rancour. His lip curled. Jaw

AB28 tightened.) No. They don't want me.

AB29 Badis: Oh!

AB30 David: No. It's ridiculous. It's not as if I'm an

AB31 *immigrant*, and I don't want to *move* there.

This exchange indexes not only the peer group's neoliberal disposition that attaches a commodity value to an EU passport, but also, I suggest, the English exceptionalism and ethnocentricity that may be often found in the English peers of the Azergui family, and upon which they themselves have commented (for example in Sakina's response to the 'frog' comment in section 6.2). I noted that David was angry and indignant at his application being refused. Moreover, in the context I understood the word "immigrant" (AB31) not as referring to someone who might live in the Czech Republic but not be Czech, but as a more abstract term. His vocal inflection on the word suggested to me that he was using the term in a derogatory way. Whatever "immigrant" might (negatively) connote for David, he was stating that he was not one of those things. It was striking to me that he made that comment whilst speaking with, and in the home of, immigrants. I have discussed above how I consider that the family's rooted, ethical cosmopolitanism brings them into ideological conflict with many of the prevailing narratives of the UK media and government. The above exchange demonstrates that it was also potentially at odds with the narratives and discourses presented by (some of) their English peers. Badis' expression throughout this exchange remained very even, with a polite smile. After it he gently ended the conversation, guiding David and his son to the door. I concluded that Badis did not think highly of David's position on this subject.

At least some of the peer group's ideologies regarding multilingualism were discerned through careful observation. When conversations about the Azergui's linguistic repertoire

took place, either with or without members of the family present[91], the overall sentiment expressed by their peers was just how *lucky* they were. I explore this further in section 9.2, in my analysis of the Vasechkin family. However, I note here that among the Azergui peer group there were instances when families at the schools who had languages other than English in their linguistic repertoire, attempted to discard them, not in favour of English, but in favour of other, elite 'second' languages, in addition to English. For example, I observed a Czech mother (married to an English father) telling Sakina that she was researching options to send her son for a week in a (French-medium) school in France. She wanted him to do this, rather than spend a week in a school in the Czech Republic, in order for him to learn a more "valuable" language[92]. French holds a particular status in the UK, as it is a requirement for access to the most prestigious forms of elite education from age 13, being part of the Common Entrance (CE) syllabus[93]. It is to this topic that I now turn.

6.3 Elite Education

Another characteristic of the family's habitus was the nature of, and value attached to, their education. Elite education provided a key element of cultural capital that the Azergui children were in the process of acquiring. I consider here the education choices of the Azergui family, demonstrating that they index not simply a high socio-economic habitus, but a cosmopolitan and transnational one. Maxwell and Aggleton (2013) identified an English / UK ethnocentrism that saw English education, by which they meant English elite private education, as being (among) the most prestigious in the world. Furthermore, despite the increasingly globalised context in which the students of such schools would be expected to succeed, both the institutions themselves and the families of the pupils lacked 'global imaginations' (Kenway and Fahey, 2014:189). They suggested that the same was true of prestigious English universities. This contradiction was attributed to the values and orientations of those within the upper-middle and upper classes who chose to educate their

[91] 17 recorded instances in my fieldnotes.

[92] Fieldnotes, outside the school Igider attended, 17th February 2019.

[93] Common Entrance (CE) is the set of examinations controlled by the Independent Schools Examination Board, taken at age 13. Success in these is a requirement for access to most elite private schools in the UK that take students at the age of 13 and above only. Whilst some schools accept other modern languages, such as Spanish, for CE, in place of French, the very prestigious private schools often do not (ISEB, no date).

children in the English private sector. That suggested that they were either confident that their children would succeed even in the global context, or simply failed to envisage a future for them beyond the boundaries of the UK. This is an attitude that Sakina also saw within the UK school system, as shown in strip 12, discussed below. Nonetheless, the Azergui parents appear / appeared to share the view that English (elite) education is among the most prestigious in the world.

Strip 11: British education is the best.

Azergui Kitchen, Hampshire, 8th March 2019. Present: Marie-Anne and Sakina[94].

AB32 Marie-Anne: Why didn't you choose the lycée?

AB33 Sakina: When in Rome…. And British education is the best.

AB34 Excellent. (*Referring to private education, not the state system.)*

I believe that Sakina's reply here shows not only the rooted nature of her cosmopolitanism, with its local community attachments, but also a genuine belief, at that time, in the status and excellence of English private education. Note that the phrase "When in Rome…[95]" is, I believe, a particularly English idiom. When I later[96] enquired as to whether Sakina would use this phrase when speaking French, Sakina commented that she would not, that it was not (she felt) something the French say. When speaking about choosing to do things in England as the English might choose to do them, it is interesting that she used, what she and I consider to be, a very English phrase. This is the second instance presented here where Saskina used linguistic semiotic tools, in addition to the words themselves, in order to underline her meaning. The first is discussed above, in section 6.1 (AB09). Subsequent comments, such as those reported below (this section), and the family's schooling choices in Barcelona (section

[94] Note that "lycée" here refers to a French medium / French system school in London.

[95] It is not exclusive to the English, however. It is attributed (in its original Latin form) to medieval scholar Ambrose of Milan, *si fueris Rōmae, Rōmānō vīvitō mōre,* literally 'when in Rome, live as the Romans do' (S.A.U., no date). It is, however, a commonly used form of words in English in the UK.

[96] Same day, 8th March 2019, Azergui kitchen, Hampshire.

6.4.2), suggest that their confidence in the British education system waned as their relationship with the UK waned. Not only had the Azergui parents, with Aderfi, chosen a non-UK university for him, but Badis and Sakina also elected to switch their two youngest children into the U.S. education system when they moved to Barcelona. This was despite the availability of a well-regarded British school there, which 17-year-old Illi attends. As Sakina pointed out "it is too late to change for her, she has done GCSEs, so she must do A-levels"[97]. In these choices the Azergui parents demonstrated their continued attachment to elite education, but largely moved away from the British education system. Through these statements and choices, they presented what I consider to be a highly transnational cosmopolitanism. In addition, their choices enabled the family to easily make further geographical moves if desired, whilst maintaining educational stability. British and American schools may be found the world over. Furthermore, they showed their allegiance to English language medium education, and maintaining the children's 'native' English language mastery. This was a move that was likely, at least in part, to have been driven by a neoliberal understanding of the linguistic market.

The disillusionment that Sakina developed with life in the UK, discussed below in section 6.4, appears to have influenced her, and her family's, opinion of British education. For example, at the start of this study, when deciding to which universities to apply, Aderfi rejected the idea of applying to Oxford University out of hand, as, according to Sakina "the place reminds him too much of Winchester, and he will not tolerate that"[98]. At the time Sakina appeared rueful that he would not consider such a prestigious university. Her comment was delivered with a shrug, raising her hands, arms open, her head tilted, and the corners of her mouth down turned. However, almost two years later, Sakina was clear that she would not encourage her other three children to consider that option.

[97] 16th May, 2020, Azergui kitchen, Hampshire

[98] 8th March, 2019, Azergui kitchen, Hampshire

Strip 12: They do not understand that the rest of the world is there now.

Walking in Holland Park, London, 5th June 2020. Present: Sakina and Marie-Anne[99].

AB35 Sakina: These people, these schools, they only see the
AB36 UK, Oxbridge, whatever. They do not understand that the
AB37 rest of the world is there now. They are behind. They are
AB38 in for a shock.

As it turned out, in 2020 when Aderfi was unable to attend his first choice of university having dropped one grade at A-level, the family had to investigate alternatives. The potential choices that they explored reached far beyond the usual UK options. Aderfi refused to consider any UK university outside London. There are many big cities in the UK that might appeal to a city-loving young man, with interesting nightlife, restaurants, culture. However, none appealed to Aderfi. He ultimately elected to study in Toronto. This was a striking choice, as international study at undergraduate level remains relatively uncommon for those who have been schooled in the UK[100]. Aderfi elected not to take a second choice UK university, although he was offered places at several well-regarded ones.

I consider that this choice encapsulated many aspects of the Azergui family habitus presented in the previous two chapters, and the interplay of the agency and structure that constitute it. The family had the financial, cultural, and social resources to enable their son to travel between Europe and Canada with relative frequency and ease, several times a term. They were able to provide a (rented) home for him in Toronto, and ensure that the required support was in place for him there. They showed their transnational nature, global orientations, and their cosmopolitanism in the very act of considering universities on a global scale, not simply those in their country of residence. This was in contrast to the societal and peer group norms in the UK at that time (Kenway and Fahey, 2014). High social class / neoliberal ideologies

[99] Note that the term "Oxbridge" refers to the pair of top UK universities traditionally, the University of Oxford and University of Cambridge.

[100] The exceptions were those students that were language students passing a period abroad as part of their course, and those that were part of the EU Erasmus programme, access to which is now lost to British students due to Brexit. These two groups together comprised over three quarters of the total 7.2% of students from schools in England that graduated in 2016 / 2017 having spent at least part of their undergraduate period abroad. (UUKI, 2021)

relating to the value of elite education were central to the creation and resolution of the situation. The family's characteristics of mutual respect and care were demonstrated through the parents respecting Aderfi's choices, and the research and work that they put in to ensuring that he was supported. Throughout, they demonstrated their agency, the considerable capitals at their disposal, their skills in leveraging these, and the transnational nature of their Bourdieusian (1993) field. These elements were revealed even more clearly in their response to what for them was the major socio-political crisis of a generation, Brexit.

6.4 Future Orientations and Agency

6.4.1 Brexit: Crisis and Response

The fieldwork phase of this ethnography began in January 2019, two and a half years after the UK referendum in which 51.7% of those who voted indicated that the UK should leave the European Union (Electoral Commission UK, 2016). At that time there was still, for some, 'hope' that the referendum result could and would be reversed. Failing that, many believed that a 'soft' Brexit[101] could be ensured, where freedom of movement and the associated economic connections might be maintained. As we now know, this did not happen. Sakina Azergui was deeply saddened, and indeed shaken, by the referendum result. At that time, she had been resident in the UK for almost two decades, Badis for longer still. Their four children were all born here. The children considered themselves English, and had been described by both of their parents as such, for example in line AB05, section 6.1 above . The children and father all held British passports, in addition to their French and Algerian ones. The exit of the United Kingdom from EU institutions, in what has been termed in popular discourse a 'hard Brexit'[102], ending freedom of movement and many economic and relational ties between the EU and the UK, was against the will of many of the UK population. The family members that I observed were all opposed to Brexit. As Bryant and Knight (2019) identified for some, our ownership of the future was felt to have been taken away in this single referendum, and the chosen implementation of its results by the then incumbent UK government. Many of us had conceived of a future that involved, and was in part contingent upon, a particular form of

[101] Soft Brexit was one that would entail the UK remaining in at least in the Economic Union, and potentially many other EU institutions (Whitman, 2017).

[102] Hard Brexit was one that would entail the UK leaving most, if not all EU institutions (Whitman, 2017).

European cosmopolitanism, one that entailed the UK being part of the European project. Bryant and Knight further identified that Brexit caused many to question not only their future, but to re-evaluate their past beliefs as to the nature of the socio-political environment in the UK.

This in turn resulted in an important change in the nature of their relationship with the UK. I believe that for the Azergui family their conception of the future was contingent upon the UK's ongoing membership of the EU, although like many of us, they did not realise it until the situation altered. I believe this was in part due to the rooted and ethical nature of the cosmopolitanism that was embodied by the Azergui family, discussed previously. Their rootedness caused them to interreact strongly with their local community and its discourses. Their ethical orientation eschewed a political viewpoint based upon racism, parochial standpoints, and closed borders, even when they personally were not necessarily impacted by these. I suggest that for some, the Azergui family members included, the result of the Brexit referendum and its aftermath created a time of crisis, which following Bryant and Knight (2019: 43) I define here as a period when our "parameters of life" have changed to a degree where our (desired) future is no longer imaginable. Bryant and Knight further assert that we anticipate the future in order to alleviate our anxiety with regard to it. I suggest that such anticipation directly causes many to develop and present habitus in the present for ourselves and our children. This is, I believe, an attempt to manage, or even to 'win' the future. When the previously imagined future can no longer be anticipated, we are forced to reconsider our present / desired habitus, and adjust our (socialization) practices accordingly. In this section I analyse the changes that were revealed in the narratives of the Azergui family members, in their habitus, and in their socialization practices. I will explore how and where these may have been tied to a re-construction of their anticipated future, in the aftermath of Brexit. I will also address how the Azergui family members demonstrated their agency in leveraging their habitus and forms of capital to meet the challenges they encountered.

Looking carefully through my fieldnotes, I can plot the evolution, specifically the deterioration, in the family's relationship with the UK, particularly on the part of Sakina. I present here a series of strips of speech as evidence of this. Beginning in March 2019, this extract is from a conversation that took place in the home of a mutual, non-British, acquaintance, Eris. We discussed the possibility of leaving the UK, in part as a response to Brexit, which at that time had not been finalised. The conversation took many turns, but

overall the impression given by each of us was of still wishing to be in the UK. Sakina in particular, having lived in France, Switzerland, and Greece, and with very strong ties to Algeria, felt that that it was still the right place for her family.

Strip 13: I think this is the best country in the world to live in right now.

Sitting room of Eris, another non-British mother from our sons' school, March 28th, 2019. Present: Sakina, Marie-Anne and Eris.

AB39 Sakina: There are things that are wrong, but there is so
AB40 much wrong in other places too. I think this is the best
AB41 country in the world to live in right now.
AB42 ***Sakina:*** *Makes a small shrug, tilting her head slightly,*
AB43 *with a small wry half smile / half frown.*
AB44 Marie-Anne: And Brexit?
AB45 Sakina: *A small head shake*
AB46 Sakina: (*Speaking very slightly faster, with even but*
AB47 *firm intonation)* It will resolve. It is too stupid to
AB48 happen, it will be stopped.

However, by June that year, Sakina seemed less sure that things were going to be as she hoped in the UK.

Strip 14: Now no, it is not.

Sitting room of Eris, another non-British mother from our sons' school, June 2nd, 2019. Present: Sakina, Marie-Anne and Eris.

AB49 Sakina: This was the best country (referring to the UK),
AB50 tolerance, life, culture and so on. But now, no. It is
AB51 not. London is still ok.
AB52 Marie-Anne: Would you leave?
AB53 Sakina: *Tilts her head, wrinkles her nose. Looks slightly*
AB54 *to her right.*
AB55 Sakina: Yes. Perhaps. I don't know. We will see. It is
AB56 bad.

By September of the same year, Sakina's view had shifted further. This time she and I were together in her sitting room, discussing yet again what we both saw as the downward spiral of UK relations with the EU and its citizens. The opinion that she articulated was more emphatic still.

Strip 15: This Brexit thing, it is a disaster.

Azergui Sitting Room, Hampshire, 17th October 2019. Present: Sakina and Marie-Anne.

AB57 Sakina: This Brexit thing, it is a disaster. This country
AB58 has gone wrong. And the weather is too much. There is no
AB59 sun. I need the warmth. The UK will not get my third age.
AB60 (*Wraps her arms around herself, rubbing her upper arms.*
AB61 *Shakes her head gently, and looks to the side and*
AB62 *downwards, frowning softly.)*

Sakina's gesture in line AB60 is important. I consider that it supported both of the points that she was making. It could have been interpreted as a defensive action, self-protective, but was simultaneously suggestive of being cold, even though we were sitting in a pleasantly warm,

centrally heated house. On three other occasions[103] I noted that Sakina conflated her discomfort with the socio-political environment in the UK with her dislike of the cold, damp weather we often experience here. The two elements seemed to have become interwoven into one compelling reason to leave; the UK was not a pleasant place to be. I have selected these excerpts as they show the evolution of Sakina's views. Moreover, they reveal the reflexivity that Sakina often showed in her conversations, specifically lines AB49 and AB59. As she later shared with me, she had already been researching the standard of living, the educational and professional opportunities, and the property markets in various major cities prior to the conversations represented by lines AB49 - AB62. Sakina and Badis made clear to me that Badis was fully party to each and every decision. As I have discussed in the previous chapter, the Azergui parents appeared deeply bonded, and the family unit was foregrounded and discursively reinforced through their collaborative decision making.

However, it was to Sakina that the mental load (Gaillard, 1993), and the actual research, planning and logistics, fell. Again, agency and the ability to take action are shown to be very important to Sakina. She commented explicitly on how undesirable it was to live on an island if things were going wrong.

[103] 15th Mar 2019, Azergui sitting room, Hampshire, 2nd June 2019, Eris' sitting room, Hampshire, June 8th 2020, Zoom call during Covid-19 related lockdown in the UK.

Strip 16: You do not want to be on an island if things get nasty.

Azergui Sitting Room, Hampshire, 17th October 2019. Present: Sakina and Marie-Anne.

AB63 Sakina: (*Firms her jaw, lifts her chin, looks straight*
AB64 *ahead, out of the window that is behind me)* There are issues
AB65 in Europe too, of course, it is not good there sometimes,
AB66 but if it goes wrong it is better to be there than here.
AB67 You will have more options, you can drive, get out. You do
AB68 not want to be on an island if things get nasty.

The issue of being trapped on an island if things become problematic was referred to on four occasions. These beliefs were articulated prior to the pandemic, and so were unrelated to it. Rather, I concluded that they were indicative of the increasing SV (Benedi Lahuerta and Iusmen, 2021) felt by Sakina. I also believed that the comments revealed the importance she attached to personally being able to take action to protect herself and her family in the event of a threat to them. As I have previously observed, Sakina demonstrated a comfort with her own self, and her own opinions. Apart from being very pleasant to be around, this comfort was, I believe, indicative of a confidence in the resources that she had at her disposal and in her ability to address the challenges that may be presented to her. Her energies were therefore channelled into action, not dramatic speech. I conclude that Sakina, and indeed the Azergui family as a whole, had great confidence in their own agency. This was, I suggest, an essential characteristic of the Azergui family habitus. Behind these comments Sakina was researching, planning, and tackling the problems that she saw head on. The children were included in the process slowly and carefully. They were fully aware of the plan prior to Sakina sharing it with even her closest friends. The four of them would have been witness to her resolution, her work, her agency and her discretion. This provided a series of socialization moments for them as they observed from close quarters how ‘our family’, in the person of Sakina, was responded to, and managed, a perceived crisis.

The Azerguis mainly considered major European cities as potential next destinations. The following conversation took place before the Azerguis had finalised their plans to emigrate,

and before Sakina had shared with me that they intended to do so. In the following interaction Eris, again present, raised the possibility of leaving the UK.

Strip 17: I would look for somewhere more open.

Azergui Sitting Room, Hampshire, 3rd June 2019. Present: Sakina, Marie-Anne and Eris.

AB69 Eris: I have been looking at places back home.

AB70 Marie-Anne: Would you move to Brno?

AB71 Eris: Yes, perhaps. My money here is the same as there now.

BAB72 And if there is no work in Brno, there is Vienna, only an

AB73 hour's commute. Or Prague. Or Budapest.

AB74 Sakina: Vienna is the best now, up and up (*hand, and full*

AB75 *arm, gesture showing a sharp rise*)

AB76 Marie-Anne: Would you go there?

AB77 Sakina: I'm not sure it is right for us, Austria is …

AB78 Marie-Anne: … a bit right-wing?

AB79 Sakina: Yes. (*pause*) I would look for somewhere more …

open.

The topic of conversation, and Sakina's engagement with it, suggested to me, even in the moment, that leaving the UK might be something under serious consideration. I recorded in my fieldnotes that this was the first time I wondered if the Azergui family might leave the UK. In this excerpt, Sakina demonstrated at least some awareness of the options open to her, and a degree of knowledge about them (line AB74). I also recorded in my fieldnotes that I wondered if she had been researching options, which it turned out she had. I highlight here Sakina's discomfort with politically conservative countries, indicated by her lack of enthusiasm for Austria as a destination for her family (lines AB77 and AB79). I remind the reader that the Azergui family have brown skin, so issues of racism are potentially of acute relevance to them. Some consideration was also given to Canada as a possible destination for the whole family. As is suggested by the following strip it was discounted due the perceived stiff competition for access to elite education, particularly on the Western seaboard.

Strip 18: The competition for schools is really hard there[104].

Azergui Sitting Room, Hampshire, 3rd June 2019. Present: Sakina, Marie-Anne and Eris.

AB80 Marie-Anne: What about Canada? They seem really liberal.
AB81 And Vancouver looks great.
AB82 Sakina: Perhaps, but the competition for schools is very
AB83 hard there, there are a lot of Chinese and they are so good.

We see here the importance of access to elite education in Sakina's deliberations, discussed in section 6.3. It should be noted that this conversation took place before Aderfi's A-level results prompted a change in his destination university from on in London, to one in Toronto.

6.4.2 The Move to Spain

In January 2020 Sakina announced that the family were leaving the UK. She gave written notice to the children's schools that they would not be attending after the end of the Lent (spring) term of 2020, and began to tell the people around her that they had purchased a flat in Barcelona, and would be emigrating in the summer. The scale of that undertaking was significant. The family had been resident in the UK for over two decades, and quite apart from any other considerations, they had accumulated significant amounts of paperwork. This included documents related to nationality, banking, savings, insurance, taxation, and the myriad other administrative elements that make up the lives of six multinational, transnational, affluent people. All of this, which was in Winchester at that time, had to be sifted through and electronically scanned, destroyed, or sent to Spain as appropriate. The family's possessions had to be packed, with due consideration given to their destinations. The transnational nature of the Azerguis was inevitably a complicating factor. Some items were destined for Barcelona, others for either the chalet in Switzerland, or for the home of Badis' parents in Paris. Still more were to be disposed of, to charity shops, interested friends, or failing those, the household waste recycling centre. Nothing from Winchester went to

[104] Note that the term liberal is again used in this strip to be mean open and tolerant, and does not refer to economic liberalism.

London, as that property was already fully furnished. This period saw a very tired Sakina, working almost alone to care for her children and manage this logistical challenge, as Badis was often trapped in Switzerland, France, or simply London, by the restrictions imposed due to the global COVID-19 pandemic. With the exception of a weekly cleaner, who did not come during the periods of lockdown, Sakina had no other regular practical help at this time.

The shift in the way Sakina discussed the UK has been noted above, and there were other adjustments to her practices at this time. She noticeably began to 'draw in the roots' that she had made in the UK, particularly in Hampshire. The school yards, places where seemingly interminable hours were spent waiting for children, and then waiting again for them to assemble their belongings, were often a place for much (snatched) conversation. They were a fascinating space for the ethnographer. Much of the gatekeeping, judging, acceptance and rejection of this particular tranche of the high SES world of these families took place here. It was a very polite space. A slight half turn of the shoulder, or a lack of eye contact, was enough to slam the metaphorical door in someone's face. I noticed that Sakina ceased to join any of the groups of mothers waiting for their children. She would often stand alone, by choice, sometimes looking at her phone in order to avoid making eye contact or conversation. One or two mothers who had become her friends, me included, would still speak with her there, usually one to one. In this space of carefully curated allegiances this was quickly noticed, and the mothers of her peer group rapidly ceased to engage with her. Upon their own arrival in the school yard, these mothers would no longer search out her eyes, but instead somehow always happened to be looking elsewhere. Sakina herself commented upon this change.

Strip 19: They must think I'm really anti-social.

Azergui sitting Room, Hampshire, 8th February 2020. Present: Sakina and Marie-Anne.

AB84 Sakina: They must think I'm really anti-social. I'm just
AB85 not interested in all that school nonsense now, I do not
AB86 want to be there.

Sakina's already well-established habit of only socialising in her, or her companion's, house

when in Hampshire, meant that she could easily restrict her social contact to those individuals with whom she intended to remain friends after the move to Spain.

By this time, winter 2019 / 2020, Aderfi had already started at university in Canada, suggesting that the possibility, and attractions, of international education were understood by the family. Badis and Sakina had incorporated a sense of multinationalism and transnationalism in their habitus, and that of their children, as has been shown above. They now made a noticeable and conscious effort to stress that aspect, and its value. Sakina recounted to me a conversation that she had with Illi.

Strip 20: You will be special.

Azergui sitting Room, Hampshire, 8th February 2020. Present: Sakina and Marie-Anne.

AB87 Sakina: I told her, when you (*describing addressing Illi*)
AB88 want to go to university or get a job, you won't be like
AB89 95% of all the others, you will not just have English,
AB90 you will have been in other countries, you will have been
AB91 to school in other countries. If you want to come back
AB92 here (UK) for university, it will help, you will be
AB93 special. She likes this idea.

In line with the collaborative and respectful way that the Azergui family worked together, the parents were careful to engage with the children about the move, and not to present them with a *fait accompli*. The children were each taken to see Barcelona, to see what it had to offer. Sakina, accompanying them on these trips, noted that she was making a very conscious effort to 'sell' the city to them. She highlighted its positives, carefully drawing attention to the aspects that would appeal to her cosmopolitan, city-loving children. Moreover, the parents were clear with their children that they were open to the children returning to the UK for university, and that they would support them in maintaining key relationships and connections with their UK resident friends.

There was also a shift in the family's language practices. Previously, whilst there had been a significant amount of French spoken in the family home, English was the language of choice

with, and for, the children, as has been discussed. This remained the case, but there was a subtle but observable new emphasis on the value of multilingualism, and an increased investment of resources in the learning of not only French, but also Spanish (section 6.3). For example, the children had more time with their online French tutors, and online Spanish tuition was added to the home-schooling curriculum. The children witnessed their parents learning, and learning about, Spanish too. There were also conversations with, and witnessed by, the children underlining both the value of language learning and how straightforward an undertaking it was. Evidence is provided by Sakina's reported comment to Illi above, and the following exchange.

Strip 21: So you're learning Spanish now.

Azergui kitchen, Hampshire, May 12th, 2020. Present: Sakina, Marie-Anne and Illi (age 16) who is tie-dyeing shirts on the floor.

AB94 Marie-Anne: (*to Illi)* So you're learning Spanish now

AB95 Illi: (*A little shrug, hardly looking up from her*

AB96 *activity)* Yes, of course.

AB97 Marie-Anne: That's impressive

AB98 Illi: *Small smile, another little shrug*

AB99 *Marie-Anne glances at Sakina, who also makes a small*

AB100 *smile and similar shrug.*

I concluded that through their smiles and shrugs both Illi and Sakina, whilst accepting the compliment offered by my use of the word "impressive", were gently refuting the implication that learning Spanish was a significant undertaking.

At the time of writing (early 2022) the family still had the apartment in London, and visited from time to time (pandemic allowing). The family members have each made a noticeable effort to maintain relationships with those resident in the UK that are important to them, for example Igider's frequent online gaming sessions with my son Yves (section 5.1.2.3). The parents have supported their children in this, arranging visits with friends when the Azerguis

visit London. They do not know at this stage if the children might choose to return to the UK as adults. Both Badis and Sakina are sure that they will not return[105], other than to visit.

Strip 22: It is not certain.

London Restaurant, 5th June, 2020, Present: Sakina and Marie-Anne.

AB101 Marie-Anne: Do you think the children will move back to
AB102 the UK? For university, or for life generally?
AB103 Sakina: Who knows? For now Aderfi and Illi want to come
AB104 back to London to see their friends all the time. This
AB105 is normal. But the world changes. We shall see. It is
AB106 not certain.

6.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I considered the nature of the Azergui family's cosmopolitanism, concluding that they embodied an ethical, rooted form. I further argued that for this family their cosmopolitanism was not simply a form of cultural capital, but a characteristic of their habitus. I then reflected on the tensions and discomfort inherent in the divergence between the ideologies of the Azergui family members and those of some of their peers, and wider British society and media. I suggested that this divergence was in part attributable to / constitutive of their transnational cosmopolitan disposition. This was followed by a consideration of the value they attached to elite education, and how this too provided evidence of their transnational orientations, and also of their agency and the forms of capital at their disposal. I finally turned to an analysis of the Azergui family's response to Brexit.

I revealed how the Brexit referendum and its aftermath created a time of crisis, where their extant (desired) future was no longer imaginable. These findings are in line with those of Knight in his study of the Greek financial crisis (2012). I explored how this led to the family members questioning not only their future, but re-evaluating their past beliefs as to the nature

[105] Fieldnotes, June 8th 2020, Zoom call during the COVID related lockdown in the UK.

of the socio-political environment of the UK. I concluded that this too was in part due to the rooted and ethical nature of the cosmopolitanism that was embodied by the Azergui family. In particular I revealed the deterioration of Sakina's relationship with the UK, and the parallel increase in SV (Benedi Lahuerta and Iusmen, 2021) felt by her, for both herself and her family. I concluded that for the Azergui family members, as for many others (Knight, 2012), future orientations directly inform the development of habitus in the present, and attendant socialization practices. I suggested how when the Azergui family's previously imagined future could no longer be anticipated, they reconsidered their present / desired habitus, and adjusted their (socialization) practices accordingly.

Chapter 7

7.1 Introduction

In this, and the following two chapters, I consider the Vasechkin family. These chapters replicate the structure of the preceding three. I begin by setting the scene, and providing the reader with the information that is required to support the analysis. First I introduce the Vasechkin family, providing an overview of how 'our (Vasechkin) family' was formed, and of their daily lives. In line with my approach inspired by Goffman's dramaturgy (1959), I then turn to the setting, specifically the Vasechkin's house, both the physical dwelling itself, and the elements that make it the family home. In chapter 8 the analysis focuses upon the family itself, its habitus, and the ideologies and practices that are constructed, socialized and negotiated. Again, the place of values (section 7.2), language and multilingualism (section 7.3), and national / cultural affiliation (section 7.4) are explored, as is the agentive role of the children. The acquisition of what the Vasechkins understood as the 'correct' social codes and ways of being, and what these were, is revealed. As before, I consider the multilingual, multinational / transnational aspects of this upper middles class family, and the role of temporality. Accordingly, I consider here the ways of being that are specific to the Vasechkins, and how they created and presented themselves. Finally, in the third of the chapters exploring the Vasechkin family, I consider their orientations towards the future, and its relationship with education and other life choices. I then turn to the impact of Brexit, their responses to it, and what these reveal about whether the family's vision of the future has altered, and why (not).

7.1.1 The Vasechkin Family

The Vasechkin family as I observed it comprised Andrei (early 50s) and Oksana (40s) and their three children together, Mariana, Feliks and Elena. The family was resident in Hampshire.

Image 22: The Vasechkin family in costume for their home-movie production of "The French Lady: A Sherlock Holmes Mystery", written by Andrei Vasechkin.

Andrei and Oksana were both Russian, raised in the former Soviet Union, in St Petersburg. They had been introduced by a mutual friend in Paris, whilst Andrei lived and worked there as a science professor, and Oksana lived and worked in Vienna, in the financial management department of a pharmaceutical firm. At the time of the fieldwork they still practiced these professions. Their international careers had already prompted them to learn languages other than Russian. Andrei had acquired fluent French, and a level of English that allowed him to teach, and to publish academic papers in that language. Oksana had acquired fluent English, having studied in the US following the completion of her first degree in Russia. She spoke German and French acquired whilst living, working and socialising in Vienna, and later in Geneva. The assessments of proficiency in each language provided in this thesis are those of the participants themselves. Andrei and Oksana married in 2004, whilst still living in separate countries, Oksana having moved to Geneva by that time. They bought a home together in Hampshire, UK, when they both found positions in England, with Oksana expecting their first child, Mariana, born in the UK in 2005. In this we see the highly mobile, transnational

nature of this family. They met despite living in different (albeit geographically close) countries, and moved to yet another country for them to build their life together. The UK was Andrei's second country of residence, and Oksana fifth. The new Vasechkin family also briefly lived in Italy between 2007 and 2010, during which time Feliks was born, in Russia. Elena was born in 2013 in the UK. The five members of the family were Russian by birth. Andrei had additionally become a French citizen, and Oksana and the children were also British, and Estonian through Oksana's maternal grandparents. Oksana obtained British nationality shortly after moving to the UK, as she considered a British passport to be "useful"[106]. The children were British through being born in the UK, and latterly through Oksana being British. The younger two children are also French through their father. (Mariana was born before Andrei had acquired French nationality.) There were also several other family members that were frequently staying in the home. These included Alexander, the French/ Russian adult son of Andrei from his first marriage to a French woman. There was also Thomas, the Russian teenage uncle of the three children, half-brother to Oksana from her father's second marriage. Thomas was educated in a British private school, and so at that time was a frequent resident in the family home in Hampshire. Then there was Anna, Oksana's mother, resident in Russia, but a frequent visitor to, and helper in, the family home. Occasional visitors included Olga the Russian nanny, Charles the older brother of Thomas, also educated in Britain, and Boris, the father of Oksana, resident in Rome until just before the end of the fieldwork. He has now returned to Russia. Additionally, there are family members that I did not meet, but who reappeared year after year in the family's summer home movies (section 8.1.1); an uncle, cousins and the paternal grandparents, all Russian, some with complex linguistic repertoires, and all very much a part of this family's life. The entire family spoke Russian. All except Anna spoke some English, and for Mariana and Feliks it was the dominant language. I observed / was told about their peers and teachers commenting upon being unable to discern any difference between levels of English mastery of the Vasechkin children and that of their fellow students. For Andrei, Oksana and Elena, Russian appeared to remain dominant. Andrei, Oksana, Alexander, Mariana, Feliks and Thomas all spoke some French. Andrei and Alexander spoke it fluently, both working and teaching at university level in French. Alexander completed his post graduate studies in

[106] Fieldnotes, 26th January 2019. Vasechkin kitchen.

French medium education. Italian was spoken by Oksana, Charles, Thomas, Boris and Andrei. These last two said that they speak it with great confidence. In addition, Spanish, German, beginner's Mandarin and a little Estonian formed part of the family's linguistic repertoire.

The family home was in a market town in mid-Hampshire. It was in a 'good' location, meaning one that was quiet, well served by excellent private schools, where there was little crime, and large houses with large gardens. House prices here were relatively high, although less so than in nearby Winchester. The Vasechkins also made use of the homes of their extended family, particularly the villa that Oksana's father had shared outside Rome with his (now former) second wife, and the Vasechkin family dacha[107] in Russia. Every summer the family returned there, reuniting with the extended family. Many of their home movies (section 8.1.1) were filmed there. During the research period, Andrei obtained an academic post in China, which he held alongside his professional commitments in the UK and in Russia. As such he began to spend extended periods in China, in addition to his ongoing professional visits to Russia. The family also took many international holidays a year, often successfully weaving these into Andrei's attendance at conferences, for example in Cuba. With the advent of the pandemic, travel became problematic, and professional and leisure trips almost stopped. These began again during periods when travel restrictions eased.

Neither Andrei nor Oksana came from a hereditarily privileged background. Indeed, the socio-political historical context of the Soviet Union in the latter part of the Twentieth Century specifically precludes the presence of privilege in what might be termed the Western sense. Moreover, no one in either family was a Communist Party member, a member of the military, or KGB[108], and so Oksana and Andrei did not have access to the forms of privilege, or to the special academic institutions, associated with these. However, they were both accomplished mathematicians in school. That was highly valued in the Soviet system, and so brought with it some status, and access to more prestigious educational opportunities. Andrei

[107] A small Russian house in the countryside that is used especially in the summer (Britannica Dictionary, no date).

[108] Komitet Gosudarstvennoy Bezopasnosti. (Trans.: Committee for State Security), The foreign intelligence and domestic security agency of the Soviet Union.

and Oksana were academically successful. Oksana was educated to masters' degree level, whilst Andrei held a doctorate. The high value of education that was characteristic of Soviet socialization (Grenoble, 2003), remained central to the parents' world view (section 9.3). The three children attended elite schools in the South of England. Feliks attending a boys' private school that had both day and boarding pupils. The girls both attended a girls' private day school. These were both fee-paying and academically selective. Mariana, at age 11, had briefly attended a private girls' boarding school. However, it did not suit her, so she returned to the equally prestigious day school that she had left. Towards the end of the period of fieldwork, Feliks won places at three of the most prestigious private boys' boarding schools in the UK, one of which he later attended.

I met Oksana and Andrei, separately, at the boys' school gate in 2012 when our sons, then aged 4, were pupils there. Andrei often collected his son after school. This was unusual, school runs there were almost exclusively the domain of mothers. Our sons started in the first year, called Reception. All the parents were new therefore, and we made some effort to get to know one another. I have observed that more often than not at the school gate the British, monolingual English speakers are less likely to speak to the 'foreigners'. I believe, and indeed have been told by some mothers at the school, that this is because they (as monolingual English speakers) consider the 'non-native' English speakers harder to understand, and therefore less easy to chat to. I consider that this is a subtle form of native-speakerism (section 8.3.2). My experience is that the additional effort, if any, that is required is very small. I judged Oksana to be ebullient and confident, with the gentlest of accents, and outstanding English. She quickly overcame any reservations on the part of her English interlocutors, and was warmly included in their number at the school gate. As a reserved, foreign, man, lacking confidence in his English, Andrei was never part of the huddles of chatting adults in the school yard. Rather, he stood to one side, where I would often go to find him to talk to. I was almost always the only one to do so. As an introverted, multilingual, part-foreigner myself, with a background that includes a bachelor's degree in electronic engineering, and many years in the male-dominated telecommunications sector, chatting one-to-one with a Russian / French male physicist felt entirely comfortable. I observed that regardless of language or nationality, fathers were not much spoken to by the mothers at the school gate, unless they knew them well socially. Any father who ventured into this mothers' space was often quietly, politely, ignored. The exceptions to this were at sports matches, or

on Saturdays[109], when the presence of fathers was normal, even expected. I quickly became friendly with both parents. Prior to the commencement of the study I had been invited to meals in their family home and was struck by how much the children were included in the family's socialising, which was often anchored around the sharing of a meal. Indeed, as Ochs and Shohet (2006) observed, family mealtimes play an important role in socialization. Mealtimes appeared central to the Vasechkin family rituals, and particularly their socialising within, and outside of, the family. Birthdays were celebrated with barbecues, an elaborate tea followed a christening, and long, leisurely lunches, usually, but not exclusively, in the home, were the cornerstone of their interactions with friends.

I speak very little Russian, and could not understand much of the spoken exchanges between the participants when they switched to that language. When I needed translations, they were provided by the family members themselves. All of them, except for the very young Elena, did this for me at different times. When Russian was spoken I could sometimes comprehend or infer some meaning from attendant semiotic elements such as vocal tone and gesture, and from context. In my fieldnotes I have noted a complete lack of understanding on my part for approximately 25% of the instances when Russian was spoken. Throughout the text I have presented speech extracts in the language in which they were spoken.

7.1.2 Everyday Life

The daily life of the Vasechkin family varied somewhat depending upon whether Andrei was at home, or on a trip. When he was in the UK he helped with the practicalities of taking care of the children. His UK place of work was geographically closer to the schools than that of Oksana, and his routine was often more flexible. Accordingly, he would often be better placed to collect the children from school. Moreover, unlike his wife, he was an enthusiastic cook and so would often prepare the children's evening meal.

7.1.2.1 School Days - Pre-Pandemic (Months 1 - 15 of the Field Study)

The elder two children were moderately self-sufficient. Once they had been woken by either Oksana or Andrei, they would dress, get breakfast, and ready themselves for their day without help. Oksana would therefore focus on Elena, helping her carry out the necessary

[109] Their school had classes six days a week, Monday to Saturday.

morning tasks. The children would be taken to school, often by Oksana, driving a route that took her via Feliks' school to the girls' school and then on to her place of work, just under an hour away. After school the children would be collected by Andrei if he was home. If he was abroad, then the nanny would pick up the children and supervise them until Oksana returned from work. When the nanny was unavailable, or later when she no longer worked for the family as Elena had started school, Oksana would necessarily do it all. Evenings involved homework supervision and support, perhaps some instrument practice, and preparing and eating dinner, before finally relaxing. Feliks had school on Saturdays, and so a form of this routine applied six days a week. The children engaged with a large number of extra-curricular activities offered by their schools. At the start of the study they generally did not have additional, non-school, activities in the evenings or at weekends. The one exception was the weekly Russian lessons for Mariana and Feliks. This changed when Feliks was preparing for his final exams to enable him to go to his private school of choice, at the age of 13. A clutch of tutors was engaged to ensure he got the results that he needed. These tutors covered French, Latin, and science, whilst Andrei tutored Feliks in mathematics.

7.1.2.2 Holidays

The Vasechkin family relished international travel, and took several holidays outside the UK every year, pandemic notwithstanding. The opportunities provided by the family dacha, the maternal grandfather's apartment in Rome, or his villa in the Lazio countryside, and the conferences that Andrei would be invited to attend, offered scope for family trips. In addition, there were annual ski-trips to the Alps and summer holidays somewhere on the North Mediterranean coast.

7.1.2.3 The Pandemic (months 16-18 of the Field Study)

With the advent of the pandemic, much changed. Even prior to the UK entering its first lockdown in late March 2020, travel to China had all but stopped. Andrei was therefore almost permanently in the UK. Both he and Oksana had to work from home. For almost the entire period between March and the end of the summer term of 2020, all schoolchildren in the UK were at home, carrying out their lessons via Zoom, or similar. Elena's young age meant that she needed considerable parental support during school hours, and Oksana and Andrei together had to find a way to weave this into their own working days. However, the family showed their transnational mobility despite the constraints. When restrictions allowed, trips were snatched, be they for work, leisure, or to visit family. Andrei in particular made

judicious use of work meetings, and multi-hop journeys where direct flights were unavailable, to enable the travel he needed and / or desired.

7.2 'Our Home': A Place for 'Our Family' To Be

The remainder of this chapter explores the physical and conceptual elements that are 'house' and 'home' (section 2.3). It considers how they relate to 'our (Vasechkin) family', its attendant habitus, and the children's socialization into it. I begin with a vignette, presenting my first research visit to the Vasechkin home. An analysis of what this reveals follows after.

Vignette 3: Arriving at the Vasechkin's home, 6th April, 2019.

I make the slightly awkward turn into the tarmacked drive, and park behind the two cars already there, one with Italian licence plates. My family is with me as we have all been invited for lunch. Oksana often describes the house as "ugly", an indication of both her direct idiom, and of her opinion. It is perhaps true that it is a building that few would consider attractive. It is a relatively modern, detached dwelling, and has no character features that an estate agent would focus upon. It has been extended multiple times, and so is an irregular shape, with no symmetry, and uneven proportions. However, it is large, and detached. I ring the bell, which plays a tinny Christmas tune. It is April. The door is answered by Oksana. She rolls her eyes at the sound of the doorbell. It seems the children like to program it with little tunes for a joke, or perhaps to irritate their parents. I am invited into the hallway. The clutter of family life is around us. Piles of shoes, most of them belonging to the children, lie on the floor to the left of the door. Coats, and boxes containing gloves, hats, and other outdoor accessories, are stored in cupboards to our right. Before me is a hall table strewn with the items necessary for daily comings and goings: bags, keys, a school tie, a mobile phone, some change, a school jumper, and some papers, covered variously in English and Russian writing. I hand gifts to my hosts, wine and flowers, and follow them to the kitchen. Passing through the hallway I glance right and left at the items that line the walls. These include paintings and drawings, some purchased, some created by Andrei, and a framed image showing the chivalric orders of the crusades, with French text.

Image 23: Two pieces of wall art on display in the Vasechkin home, the piece on the left is by Andrei.

Image 24: An historic map of the crusade routes showing the chivalric orders, displayed on the wall of the sitting room.

Almost before a word has been spoken I am aware that I am in the presence of multiple languages and broad intellectual interests. Each of these is given space in the family home. The material objects speak for the family, telling of the importance they attach to education and the arts. Their presentation in the entrance hall, the most public of domestic spaces, suggests their importance. Multilingualism, education and culture are permanently displayed, front stage.

We move to the kitchen to be offered drinks before lunch, passing the open door to the study. The kitchen contains not only a spacious cooking area with a central island, but also contains a table that can sit twelve comfortably. However, we are not eating in the kitchen today, but in the dining area.

Image 25: The collection of predominately Russian ornamental plates.

The kitchen is served by a utility, laundry and mud-room area that is even bigger than it. These are back stage spaces. The habitus indexed by the materiality around us remains mostly consistent, but expands to include further aspects of multinationalism, Russian culture, and some political interests. Cookery books are in both English and Russian, as are the piles of correspondence and administrative paperwork next to them.

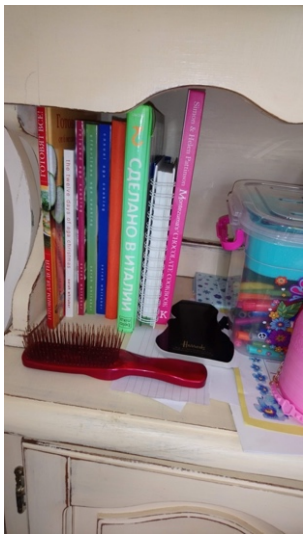

Image 26: Cookery books in English and Russian on the kitchen dresser.

Some of the children's school certificates and artworks are on the dresser shelves, a common sight in many households. More unexpectedly however, the fridge is covered with maps and notes, held in place with sticking tape, that show the then current military positions of the combatants in the then ongoing conflict between Kirgizstan and Tajikistan, in which Andrei is greatly interested. There are decorative plates on the kitchen wall, many with Russian text, some showing Russian landmarks, such as the Winter Palace in Saint Petersburg, and one made by the elder daughter several years ago. A bottle of wine is open on the kitchen unit, ready to accompany our lunch. It is from Georgia, and the pre-lunch nibbles laid out before us include caviar bought in Russia by the Vasechkins during a recent trip to visit relatives. On the counter sits a bowl of hard-boiled eggs, decorated in the Russian tradition for the upcoming Easter celebration.

Image 27: Hard boiled eggs decorated for Easter, a Russian tradition, displayed on the Vasechkin kitchen counter.

Oksana's mother, Olga, brought the required special stickers and transfers with her when she last came to visit. They are sold only in Russia, and only at this time of the year. Olga had decorated these eggs with her grandchildren, an annual family ritual.

Armed with drinks, we move through to the large conservatory. This is also sometimes pressed into service as a dining area, and opens out to the back garden and to the Hampshire hills beyond. The garden is generously sized for a town garden, with lawns, mature beds and a small orchard. There is also a children's treehouse, an outdoor dining

area, and a large heated swimming pool. It is too early in the year to use it yet, so its bright blue cover remains firmly in place. When lunch is ready to be served we move to the dining area, a dedicated space in the very large sitting room. Going through the study I pass walls covered in paintings and drawings, including those created by Andrei, and shelves lined with books in Russian, English, and some in French or Italian. The table is laid with stylish, and seemingly high quality, matching cutlery and plates. The wine glasses are elegant. The family's musical instruments are tucked in one corner. There is a practice keyboard, Feliks' clarinet, and Mariana's harp. Andrei's guitar is out of sight for now. The chessboard is on the side table, near to hand.

Image 28: The keyboard, and chess board, always near to hand.

Later that afternoon I explored the upstairs, guided by Oksana. The house had five large bedrooms, two bathrooms, and a very large playroom in the extension, taking up the entire footprint above the double garage. The part of the analysis which follows focuses upon 'language materiality' (Cavanaugh and Shankar, 2017) (section 2.2). I consider here the semiotic role of material culture, in the (re-)production of habitus, and in socialization.

7.2.1 Indexing Socio-Economic Status

I now turn to some elements that indicated particular attributes of the family's habitus. I begin with a consideration of the ways in which the house indexed high SES. As has been previously stated, the house was large, detached, and in a good area. Moreover, it was well maintained. The street in which it was located was only moderately busy, and it was not a main road, with all the noise that would have brought. The neighbouring houses were also well maintained, with carefully tended gardens. Parked in front of them were predominately

mid-range / high end family cars, such as the larger Volvos, and Range Rovers. The house itself contained elements that were indicative of both affluence and refinement, indexing high SES (section 2.4). These included the swimming pool, a study, and dedicated areas for dining, not just eating.

Image 29: Swimming Pool, Vasechkin Family Home. My sons and Feliks.

Image 30: The Dining Area, Vasechkin Family Home.

The sitting room was arranged for conversation, not for only watching a screen. There were books (in several languages), art on the walls, and musical instruments. These are classic glosses of high SES (Block, 2014). Moreover, the family members' appearance, their clothing, shoes, and accessories, were all in line with what I considered, based upon my own socialization, to be high SES norms at that point in space and time. However, again, this property, like the family that lived in it, presented something both more, and other, than purely high SES. The material culture seen in this home indexed rich, nested, group

membership, where high SES was present, but, I concluded, not foregrounded. There were many aspects of the Vasechkin house's contents that I believe were not typical of a British home. Rather, I consider that the house and its contents most strongly displayed multilingualism / multinationalism, anchored in 'Russian-ness', a cosmopolitan social class, and the intellectual and cultural strength of its residents. It is upon these elements that this analysis focuses.

7.2.2 A Place for Learning and Culture

The books, journals and articles, and even decorative objects found in the home all pointed to a lively interest in the world, and a neoliberal and cosmopolitan desire for education and self-improvement, informed by the multiple nationalities to which the Vasechkins laid claim, and the countries they visited. Guests could witness this presentation of cosmopolitanism, and autodidactic, and hence neoliberal habitus. Children were socialized into this, the Vasechkin version of 'normal', and habitus was accordingly (re-)produced. As has already been stated, the books on display in the home were in several languages and covered a wide diversity of topics and cultures.

Image 31: A selection of the children's books, in several languages.

The family's book collection included volumes not only in English and Russian, but also in French, and Italian. This linguistic diversity was not reserved for the adult's books. In the above image we see children's books in Russian on the left, English on the right, and on their sides on the bottom-right are some slim volumes in Italian. The Vasechkin children did not have bookshelves in their bedrooms. Their books were stored with those of the adults, in the

study and sitting room, with a few kept on the bedside tables. I noted a copy of *Le Petit Nicholas*[110] in the original French in Feliks' bedroom. When I asked him whether he had read it, he assured me that he had. I do not know if he read the book, but in light of his mother's low opinion of his French, discussed below, I think perhaps he had not. Whether he had tackled the book, or whether he simply felt that he should say that he had, his claim suggested to me that he held the ideology that multilingualism and intellectual endeavour were desirable, even impressive. I reflected afterwards in my fieldnotes that I had asked him in front of his parents, and wondered if that had influenced his response.

Image 32: A selection of books in the study
including a French dictionary, a French / Latin dictionary, books on history and on Asian culture.

A handful of the books in the study had been written by Andrei. At the time of writing he had authored, and had published, two collections of short stories, and two, soon to be three[111], works for children.

[110] A hugely popular French children's book about a schoolboy and his friends, by René Goscinny, first published in 1959.

[111] At the time of writing, June 2022.

Image 33: Books written by Andrei Vasechkin.

The presence of these books in the home, the celebratory lunches that have been held to mark their publications, along with Andrei's artworks framed and mounted on the walls, reminded the children that such things were done by their father. This reinforced a sense of what may be achieved by members of 'our family', thus laminating such a disposition, and hence, habitus.

Whilst there was no equivalent material evidence of Oksana's achievements in the house, her use of anecdote and conversational devices allowed her to remind her children that she too was cultured, intellectual, and academically successful. Examples of this were found in several strips of speech, analysed below (section 8.3.2.1, strip 24 and section 9.3, strip 35). She would speak frankly in front of, and to, the children about her prize-winning school mathematics and her ability to speak multiple (elite) languages. Furthermore, she would offer her informed opinions on the classics of Russian, English, and other, literatures. Breadth and depth of education and culture were stressed throughout the home, both through the spoken word and through language materiality.

Image 34: Didactic wall decoration - Roman Emperors in the loo.

Even in the downstairs loo, the Vasechkins, or their guests, could pass time usefully, learning the names of all the Emperors of the Western Roman Empire, shown in a framed poster next to the sink.

7.3 The Children's Agency: Hosting and Social Skills

Vignette 4: A barbecue in the Vasechkin's garden, June 14th 2019.

> *We are sitting crowded around the larger of the two garden tables, on the lower terrace, children and adults together, chatting. Sunshades and sunglasses offer some protection against the streaming sun. The children have already cooled off once in the swimming pool that adjoins the terrace. The table is covered with plates, glasses, Russian salads, and condiments with labels in Russian. The wine is Italian, a variety discovered by the family when in Sicily. Behind me Andrei tends to the barbecue, which groans under the weight of an incredibly generous amount of prime beef cuts. We discuss food, wine, literature (Russian, English and French), chess, politics, our children's education, both present and future, and, of course, languages. These are frequent topics of conversation at the Vasechkin table, and the children are expected to be present, witness, and where possible participate. Once we have finished the main course, French cheeses appear. After eating is done, the plates are cleared, and tea and coffee are provided for those that want them. The tea is served in what Oksana describes as "Russian style". There is no samovar, but she allows a pot of tea to steep, and get very strong, simply adding newly boiled water to it to refresh it, and to make it the correct strength to drink. The coffee is*

made in an Italian coffee machine. More wine is poured. Elena, only six years old, loses interest in the adult proceedings and wanders away. Whilst Feliks and Mariana continue to participate in the conversation with the adults, Elena plays with the unripe apples that litter the grass of the little orchard that sits alongside the pool. I ask her, in English, what she is holding. She replies "яблоко[112]". Feliks leaves the table, and quickly reappears with 'Mafia', the classic Russian social game. He distributes the cards, and explains to me and my family how it is played. Elena is summoned back, and we all play the game.

This vignette shows a number of themes. The setting afforded by the material objects was demonstrated in the pool, the dining area, and the cutlery, flatware and glasses. High SES, but also international, cosmopolitan orientation was indexed by the specially sourced Italian wine, the Russian and French food, and the hot beverages. 'Russian-ness' was foregrounded by the condiments, the serving of the tea, the choice and presentation of the salads, the choice of game, and of course, by Elena's one word.

However, I particularly focus here upon the way the parents included their children in their social occasions[113], and how the children developed / demonstrated their social and hosting skills. The family conversations, with their occasional asides in Russian depending on the comings and goings of children, indexed intellectual, international, well-educated and affluent people. The children were invited, and indeed expected, to participate in these meal-time conversations with the adults. Should they choose, the children were free to leave and play once eating was done, whilst the adults continue to chat. It was in such settings that the children absorbed many lessons. These included suitable topics of conversation for the dinner table, how to host and interact with guests, table manners, etiquette and social conventions, all in line with the family's habitus, and SES, both actual and aspired to. These were socialization moments. The children were being supported in the acquisition of social capital and cultural capital, and the development of some of the attendant dispositions that constitute habitus.

[112] Trans.: "Apple"

[113] Fieldnotes, March 30th, June 9th, November 10th, 29th December 2019, July 19th 2020. Vasechkin Home.

I now consider the playing of a social game, in this case ‘Mafia’. This is, Andrei and Oksana informed me, a typically Russian thing to do. The family owned many such games, in Russian, English, and one or two in French and German.

Image 35: Part of the family collection of board games on an open shelf in the sitting room.

Note the multiple languages.

I observed that the children were encouraged to play such games, not only with each other and their peers, but also with their parents and adult guests. These were moments that socialized them into how to spend time in the company of adults, and what was appropriate to say and do in the social networks of their parents, that might mirror their own, future networks. Feliks or Mariana often undertook the role of host on such occasions, setting things up and carefully explaining the rules to guests. Additionally, I noted that the games chosen to play with guests were always those that contain a strategic, tactical, or memory dimension. They were games that allowed the family members to demonstrate their intellectual prowess, and the Vasechkins were very good at them indeed. Mafia, involving tactics, deduction, and even psychology, was the family’s favourite. It was invented in Russia, and has achieved global success. It can be played in any language that suits the players. I observed them playing it on multiple occasions, variously in English, Russian, or a mixture of the two. I also joined in many times, almost always losing.

I now consider further evidence that the children were successfully acquiring the desired hosting behaviour. The first of the two occasions presented here took place on September 14th 2019, when I observed a play date between Elena and her school friend Carrie. This was the first, and indeed only, time that I observed Elena interacting exclusively in English. Oksana,

who was also present, addressed her in English too, out of consideration for the non-Russian speaking guest. I observed Elena, with minimal prompting, both carrying out hosting duties such as offering snacks and beverages, and participating in complex games of imagination in English. I consider that this moment showed aspects of socialization, and habitus. Firstly, and perhaps most obviously, it demonstrated Elena's mastery of English. The games in particular required complex speech, a broad vocabulary and speedy responses. She did not falter once, nor have to pause to find a word. Secondly, her skills as a hostess were already discernible. She offered biscuits and squash to her guest, waiting until Carrie had helped herself before taking her own food. She showed Carrie where to find things, such as toys, and made an attempt to explain my presence: "She [Marie-Anne] is here because it is interesting when I speak English". She seemed to wish to ensure that Carrie and I were introduced to one another, and were comfortable with each other's presence. Furthermore, Elena seemed to have successfully taken her mother's cue to speak only English when hosting a non-Russian speaker.

The second occasion I present here concerned a moment when I was watching Feliks and Elena together, with no other guests. Andrei and Mariana were not in the house that day, and Oksana had gone to another room to speak with her mother, who was staying with the family at the time. I noted that Feliks was aware that he was the senior Vasechkin in the room at that moment, and took the role of host upon himself. When Elena headed to the play room, he invited me to join them (I had permission from Oksana to do so), and showed me the way. Whilst Elena was playing with a marble run, she accompanied her actions with chatter in Russian.

Image 36: Elena and Feliks play with the marble run.

Unprompted, Feliks began to translate for me, explaining what Elena was doing or translating directly: "She said 'На старт, внима́ние, марш!' That means 'Ready, Steady, Go![114]"

Here again it seemed that the Vasechkins had successfully imbued their child with the preliminary skills required to be a good host in their social group. Through his actions, I felt that Feliks was attempting to put me at my ease, make me feel welcome, and demonstrate good manners by making sure that I understood what was being said. I concluded that the children had been / were being socialized by their parents to provide these translations, without prompting, to non-Russian-speaking guests as part of being 'polite / good' hosts. For this family that included assisting guests in navigating the Vasechkin multilingualism.

[114] The literal translation is "To the start, attention, march!". I note that Feliks provided the correct idiomatic, cultural translation.

7.4 The Place of Multilingual Language Materiality

As has been previously stated, the multilingualism of this family was something that they themselves foreground, and with which they engaged. It was present throughout the home, even before a word was spoken. Again, I have attempted to capture the ubiquity of multilingualism in the home graphically.

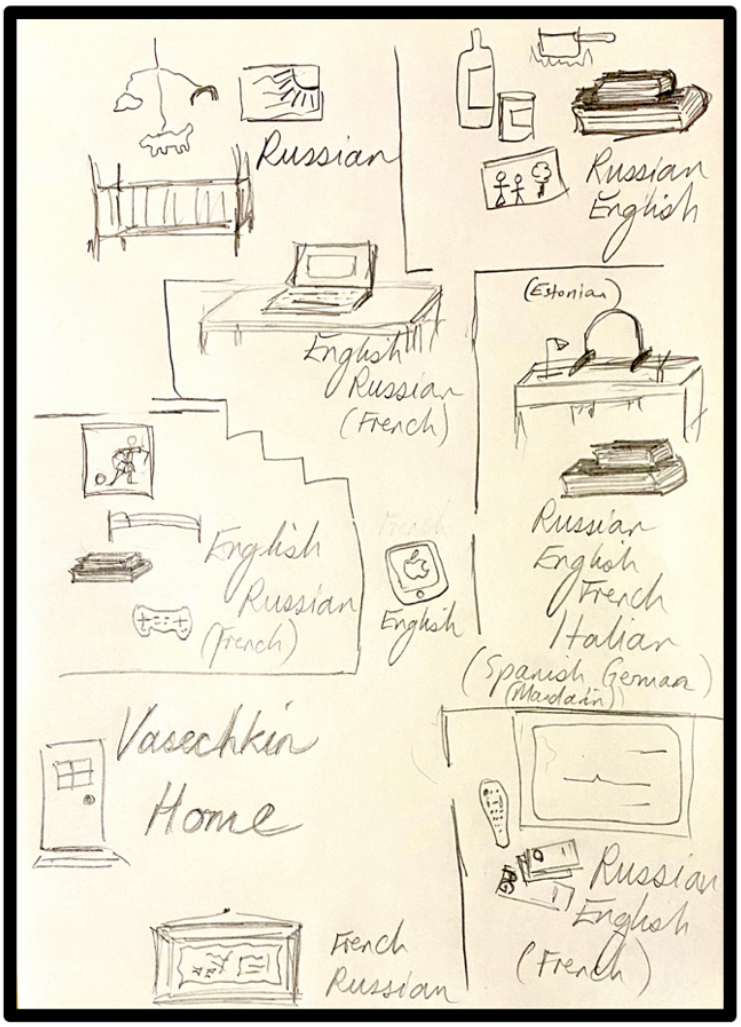

Image 37: My sketch of the languages experienced in the Vasechkin home.

The family's multilingualism was seen on the labels on wine bottles and food packaging. It was on the cards and notes in the kitchen, the cuttings taped to the 'fridge, and the papers in the hall. Decorative objects sported text in various languages, and alphabets. There were books, both fiction and non-fiction, in Russian, English, French and Italian, and reference works in and about Spanish, German, and Mandarin. Estonian was notable by its absence,

(section 9.4.1). Devices were configured in both English and Russian, and 'phones, iPads and computers were equipped with both Latin and Russian alphabets. Following the family members into the virtual world, I notice that Oksana's Facebook page was predominately in Russian.

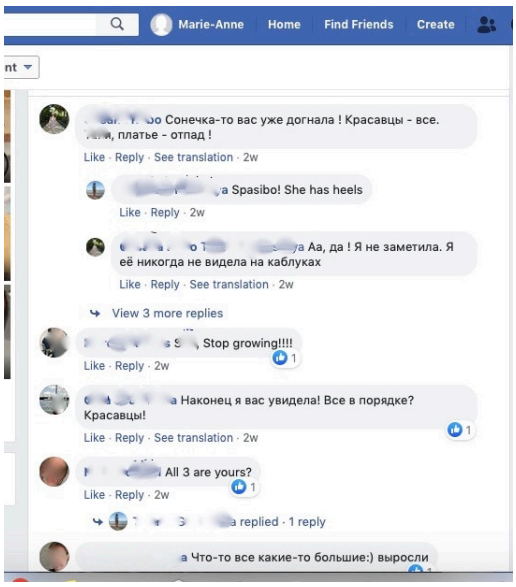

Image 38: A screenshot of Oksana's Facebook feed, showing both Russian and English.

Note that in the above Oksana was writing from her mobile phone, which does not have the Cyrillic alphabet. Nonetheless, she used both Russian and English, transliterating the Russian into the Latin alphabet, such as Spasibo![115]. Mariana favoured English online, the language of her peers, although there were some, very rare[116], posts in Russian. The other family members had almost no online presence.

7.5 What is Home?

As we saw in the vignette, Oksana considered the house "ugly", and indeed nothing in the way the Vasechkin family spoke about the property suggested to me that they were attached to the building itself. It was a purely pragmatic choice of property to buy when they moved to the UK. Its location was chosen as it balanced the geographical constraints of the parent's

[115] Trans.: " Thank-you!"

[116] Fewer than 1% of her posts made during the fieldwork period were in Russian.

places of work, the need to be near excellent schools, and the requisite affordability of a house of this size. Moreover, the Vasechkins did not describe this property as an investment, implicitly or explicitly, but rather as a house that met their requirements as a family with three children. Nonetheless, although the family made considerable use of the Russian dacha and Roman apartment of the extended family, it was only this Hampshire property that was referred to as 'home'. Accordingly, decorating and refurbishment decisions seem to have been made solely on this. The impression given was that the house itself was not important to the family. Rather, its value as 'our home' was a vessel for the family and their belongings. Whilst several of the houses of the children's peers at the school, that I have had the opportunity to visit, had a generic, interior-design magazine, following-the-(design-)rules quality, the decoration of the Vasechkin home and its contents were unabashedly personal and idiosyncratic. I saw Andrei's drawings and images that reflected his historical interests on the walls, and Oksana's taste in art and her aesthetic choices throughout. The family's transnationalism, and their 'Russian-ness' were both present in the wall-hung plates, the ceramics, and of course, their books. These included volumes about countries in which they had lived, or to which they had travelled, and texts in the languages of those countries. There were few items that do not speak of their owners, their interests, tastes, and nationalities. The Vasechkin's home was one that could only ever have been created by them.

7.6 Conclusion

In this conclusion I not only consider what has been revealed about the Vasechkin family, but also draw out themes that were observed across the two families, based upon what has been discussed in this chapter. These are discussed further in chapter 10. Following an introduction of the Vasechkin family, I considered their construction of 'our home' and its role in the creation, presentation and socialization into 'our family'. Again, the notions of 'our home' and 'our family' were both explored, and taken to be mutually constitutive. This chapter focused upon language materiality , revealing the physical and conceptual elements that are 'house' and 'home' and how they related to 'our Vasechkin family', its attendant habitus, and the children's socialization into it. They revealed the important semiotic role of material culture, specifically that in and of the home, in habitus creation and presentation, and in socialization. It was revealed how the Vasechkin family strongly presented their transnational nature, and their 'Russian-ness' through the objects in their home. Specific examples were analysed, such as books and art works, including those created by family members. Objects

in the children's home environment, functioning as a form of language materiality, served to normalise and hence help socialize the children into specific ways of being. Nuances of ideology were revealed through a close-grained analysis of where in the home objects were to be found, whether these were front or back stage Goffmanian spaces, and if and how they were presented, emphasised, engaged with, and / or even showcased. 'Our home' was above all the place that was created by and for 'our family'. It was also a place for the acquisition and presentation of learning and culture, and for hosting friends and family. The manner in which the children revealed their agency, and their socialization into being 'good hosts' was revealed. As for the Azergui family, the Vasechkins surrounded themselves with indicators of professional success, learning and education, indexing Bourdieusian taste and distinction. It was shown again how family members' engagement with the materiality of the home served a socializing function. As such these objects became more than a form of capital. They also constituted and revealed the family's / family members' habitus.

Chapter 8

In this chapter I continue my exploration of the Vasechkin family by considering the discursive creation and presentation of self and family, through the prism of habitus. Socialization practices, and the ideologies that underpin them, are revealed through analysis of semiotic examples, both in (images of) language materiality and in speech events. Attention is paid not only to the adults' ideologies and socialization practices, but also to how the children accept, contest or negotiate these.

8.1 Family Ties

The Vasechkin family members conceived of 'our family' in a way that was complex, geographically far-reaching, and fluid. The Vasechkins included in their self-conception an extended cast of members, past and present. Oksana's father, Boris, was twice divorced, and his two sons from his second marriage were little older than Mariana. At Feliks' school, the photographer that visited annually always photographed siblings together, if they were both / all pupils there. Feliks' photographs showed him with his young uncle, Thomas. Both Thomas and his older brother, Charles, were frequent visitors to the home, as they were educated in England, whilst their parents, Boris, and his second wife, lived in Rome. During the shorter school holidays, and at exeats[117], the two boys treated the Vasechkin home as their own, and were cared for by Oksana and Andrei. Additionally, Andrei's son, from his first marriage to a French woman, often visited, and was very much considered part of the family.

[117] Formally authorised home visits from boarding school.

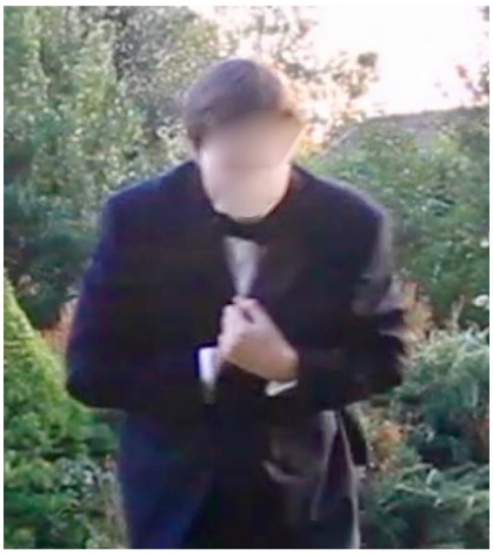

Image 39: Alexander Vasechkin, as Professor Moriarty, in 'The French Lady'.

Cousins, aunts, uncles, and others, from unions past and present, maintained contact through visits, email, or Facebook. The family supported one another across national borders. For example, Andrei's cousin, resident in Argentina, translated Andrei's children's books from Russian into English, as Andrei was not sufficiently confident to do so himself ("My English is not good enough for stories", section 8.3.2.2). I conclude that the Vasechkins' notion of 'our family' encompassed a very broad group of people. Moreover, the transient nature of some relationships appeared woven into their self-conception, as were the realities of transnational, and hence multilingual connections. Andrei and Oksana did not live in the same country as one another at the beginning of their relationship, and for some time even after they were married. Boris lived in Russia with his first wife, in Italy with his second, and has now returned to Russia with his new partner. Boris' sons, in Russia at the time of writing (2022), spent much of their childhoods in England. Mariana envisaged a (permanent) move to the US, to study and then to practice medicine. Andrei's first son, Alexander, was raised in France, has studied in the US, and in 2022 worked in Switzerland. The family was cast wide, across four continents and many more countries. However, where possible, they would reunite once a year, at a minimum. For Andrei's side of the family at least, this usually occurred in summer, at the family dacha. It was here that the (at least) annual family home-movie was usually made.

8.1.1 The Home Movies

Vignette 5: Watching the Vasechkin Macbeth, 19th July 2020.

> *Andrei, my husband Will, my son Yves, and I are sitting together on the sofa, squeezed together in order to all see the small computer screen. My other son Henri, and Mariana, are perched on the arms of the sofa, and Oksana stands behind us. Feliks is in the nearby armchair. Little Elena clambers over her siblings and father, sometimes watching the movie, sometimes hiding, as pride, curiosity and self-consciousness about her own performance move through her. We are watching the Vasechkin version of Macbeth, heavily abridged, a little modified, and in Russian. My family know the story, which is useful as this production is in Russian and we understand nothing. Andrei, in his capacity as script writer, had made a point of emulating the archaic literary style of the English original, in his Russian text. As we watch Feliks' scenes, Mariana dissolves into giggles. Oksana explained that Feliks was not completely convincing in his delivery of quasi-Shakespearian Russian. Mariana is more emphatic "It's terrible!". Feliks grins, pointing out "It was really weird Russian".*

Every summer, the family made a home movie of / based upon a famous story. These were written by Andrei, with roles specifically tailored for each member of the (extended) family. Grandmother, aunts, uncles, close family friends, adults and children worked together on the film, acting all the parts, and carrying out all filming, sound recording and music scoring / playing. This was primarily done at the family dacha, sometimes with additional material filmed at the Vasechkin home in Hampshire, or at holiday locations. Over the years these plays have been written and performed in Russian, French, one in Spanish, and most commonly in recent years, English. Works have ranged from Mary Poppins to Macbeth.

Image 40: Some of my collection of Vasechkin home-movies, on CDs and flash drives.

All family members, regardless of their proficiency in the chosen performance language, learnt and performed their lines. Andrei stated that he hoped that this helped the children with their languages. The choice of language each year was determined by which one he felt the children would most benefit from working in at that time. It was sometimes a linguistic challenge for those involved. The uncle and grandmother made contributions despite (what I was told was) their relatively limited English, and Feliks laboured with literary Russian. These films encapsulated several key facets of the Vasechkin way of being. They were a creative and multilingual endeavour. The scripts, music score, costumes and such sets as there were, were all created by the family, and all performance and technical roles were fulfilled by them, with at most one or two close friends. (There has been one exception. My family, all four of us, took part in the most recent film at the time of writing, a Sherlock Holmes mystery. My sons and husband played the innocent victims of a complex plot. I turned out to be the murderer.) The films were a cultural, even intellectual pursuit, drawing upon both classic children's stories and literary works. They foregrounded the family's multilingualism. Moreover, they were instructive. Lines were learnt, instruments played, languages practiced, and performances honed. These films, for me, encapsulated the cosmopolitan, transnational, multilingual, and neoliberal essence of the family's habitus.

I believe that it would be wrong, however, to interpret these plays as purely a learning or an intellectual exercise. They were an important ritual for this family, a way of encompassing the extended family, spread for most of the year over several countries and sometimes continents, together in a creative project. All family members available at the time would

participate, with varying degrees of enthusiasm. The creation of these films helped to pull this complex and geographically far reaching family together. It was a ritual that was at least as much about love and family as it was about language and literature. For example, one film, 'The French Lady', was written specifically to include Alexander, the eldest son's, new girlfriend Michelle, as the eponymous French lady, the murder victim.

Image 41: Alexander's partner, Michelle, as the eponymous French Lady.

Whilst the film was predominately in English, Michelle spoke exclusively in French for her short, single, death scene. The film was made at the family's home in Hampshire, rather than at the dacha, and was a Sherlock Holmes mystery[118] written, as all the plays were, by Andrei. I concluded that it was, in effect, a gift to the young woman from the family, and an indication of their acceptance of her. It was deeply characteristic of this cosmopolitan, multilingual family, that they, a predominately Russian household, welcomed a French woman into the fold, through the creation and performance, largely in English, of a quintessentially English play.

[118] It was not the same film as that in which my family participated.

8.2 Vasechkin Family Codes

8.2.1 A Disposition Towards Confidence and Agency

The vignette and speech strip that I present here concern a memory of Feliks'. I have selected this moment as it is an example of a moment of socialization into specific family ideologies.

Vignette 6: Reconstructing stories, Vasechkin family home, April 6th 2019.

Oksana, Feliks and I sit in the kitchen, following the lunch that out two families have had together. My husband is losing at chess to Andrei in the sitting room, and the children, other than Feliks, have melted away to play in the family swimming pool. I hear voices carried from outside, Mariana giving Elena instructions in Russian, and addressing my sons in English. I note, not for the first time, that uniquely in the family, Elena is addressed almost exclusively in Russian by the other family members. In doing this, Mariana is upholding the family's stated policy of speaking only Russian to the children in the pre-school years in order to establish a base of Russian before English begins with school. The talk has turned to a memory of an event that took place at the end of Feliks' school year 2, in 2015, when he was nearly seven years old. The event being discussed was a special assembly at Feliks' school. As part of this, Feliks described how challenging he had found the start of his reception year, as he spoke no English at all, and accordingly didn't really know what was going on, and struggled to make friends. Oksana had forgotten this and is remembering alongside him. I ask Feliks about what he presented, about his memory of the story.

Strip 23: It was hard. I didn't understand anything.

Vasechkin kitchen. 6th April, 2019, after lunch. Present: Oksana, Marie-Anne, Feliks, Elena.

VA01 Feliks: Yes, of course, I said about only
VA02 speaking Russian, I didn't speak English.
VA03 Oksana: (Pulls a humorous / guilt face) I didn't
VA04 remember this (referring to the assembly)
VA05 Marie-Anne: Can you remember what you said about it?
VA06 Feliks: (laughs) Yes it was hard. I didn't understanc
VA07 anything.
VA08 Oksana: (*smiling)* It's true! I don't know how they
VA09 took him. Somehow, they must have thought he was
VA10 clever.
VA11 Marie-Anne: It's really impressive that you coped so
VA12 well.
VA13 Feliks *(smiles):* "It was ok. It didn't take long to
VA14 learn English".
VA15 Oksana (still smiling, eyebrows raised) I remember,
VA16 that Christmas, no-one invited him to playdates,
VA17 because he couldn't speak to them! Mariana was
VA18 invited, even at the beginning, but no one invited
VA19 Feliks. Then he found friends because he likes
VA20 football, and he is nice.

The first thing to note is how an experience that could be framed in any number of ways, including something to brag about, a trauma, a mistake, a story of stoicism or suffering, was in fact presented as somewhat amusing, and not overly significant. In the faces that Oksana pulled during the conversation (VA03), she was indexing guilt, but re-keyed (Goffman, 1974) to be humorous, thereby suggesting that she was aware of alternative ways that this narrative could be constructed, but in fact was happy with what occurred and with Feliks' experiences of it. Her claim (true or false) that she did not remember Feliks' presenting this memory also indexes a lack of significance attached to it[119]. Feliks co-constructed the story with her as a funny anecdote, smiling and laughing throughout the telling (VA06, VA13) in a way that I interpreted as sincere, thereby suggesting that there was no serious challenge or problem. Nonetheless, the fact that, aged 7, he presented this as his strongest memory of school when aged 4, does suggest that it was significant, even if it was "ok" (VA13). Of particular note is that Feliks asserted that it "didn't take [him] long" to learn English. In so doing he indexed his linguistic ability, a can-do attitude, and agency. The parents' decision, regarding the languages with which they did or did not equip Feliks pre-school, is an example of multilingualism, interwoven with neoliberal ideology, in practice. The acquisition of skills, the overcoming of challenges, the "can-do" mindset, development of the self to meet the market needs, pragmatism and agency (Urciuoli, 2008) were all demanded from Feliks in this scenario. This moment is of interest also because here we see the co-construction of a new narrative story in the family. What the events signified, and how the family related to them, was still in the process of being created, in this instance by Feliks and Oksana. The two themes that are foregrounded by this narrative were the neoliberal pragmatism that the family members demonstrate in their language ideologies and practices, and the confidence inherent in their enactment of them. Moreover, we can see Oksana's low-key, amused responses to Feliks' story as a socializing moment, reinforcing that this was deemed a reasonable, and possible, approach in this family. With each child they adopted the same approach, one equated with high levels of success in heritage language maintenance (De Houwer, 2007),

[119] "I don't know how they took him" (VA09-VA09) refers to Feliks being accepted to what was a highly academically selective school, despite speaking (almost) no English.

namely that of an exclusively Russian speaking pre-school home environment. The family members demonstrated an unquestioning belief that the children were capable of making the adjustments required to start school, and of mastering English quickly and comprehensively enough. This was evidenced by them repeating the same approach for each of their children. Understanding the history of the family as a whole, the trajectories of its older members, and the role that various languages have played, as outlined above, shed light upon the reasons for this confidence. The parents knew that English could be successfully 'mastered' from a starting point of Russian, because they themselves had done it, something to which they alluded[120]. As conversations with my participants established[121], the parents, as children, only spoke Russian[122]. They then learnt some English German and French at school, and upon moving into international careers, acquired the languages required by their professions, and their chosen countries of residence. English, French and German were acquired for finance roles in Austria and Switzerland; French, English and the beginnings of Mandarin for an international academic career in physics. Russian, then English, were the starting points for the children. Other languages followed as needed, for example, French in school and Italian for holidays. The value attached to this, and the sense that it was something that their family members *could* and *should* do, was also suggested by the fact that despite Feliks' proficiency in Russian and English, and his successful navigation of the latter's acquisition, he was still described as not "good at languages", as I discuss below. The children were being imbued with this neoliberal, profit orientated (Heller and Duchêne, 2012, Urciuoli, 2008), approach. However, I conclude that this also reflected their cosmopolitanism, where languages and multilingualism were *simultaneously* a source of profit *and* pride. In this family languages were learnt because they were required, an inherently neoliberal approach. However, multilingualism *per se* indexed an intellectual cosmopolitanism, suggested by the fact that it was frequently framed by the adults in the same terms as knowledge of classic literature, an appreciation of ballet, or the playing of chess[123]. These were being presented as things 'our

[120] Fieldnotes, 26th January 2019, Vasechkin family home.

[121] Fieldnotes, 26th January, 9th March, 26th September 2019, Vasechkin family home.

[122] Oksana also knew a tiny amount of Estonian, discussed in section 9.4.1.

[123] Fieldnotes, 19th July 2020

family' does, and can do. As such they were not only forms of cultural capital, but characteristics of habitus.

8.3 The Negotiated Roles of Language

8.3.1 Vasechkin FLP

The specific patterns of language use in a family will contribute to the family and family members sense of self, and in part determine their habitus. The FLP is determined by past experiences, habits and narratives, and by the ideologies that inform them. Moreover, it is influenced by the orientation the family members have toward the anticipated, hoped for, future. Due, I believe, to Andrei's discomfort in speaking English when he had the option to speak Russian (or French), the children were often addressed by him in Russian. At the school gate, a liminal space which can occasion interactions between family members as if they were in a domestic context, or a public one, Andrei invariably addressed his children in Russian, and remained in Russian even when they chose to respond in English, which they always did at the school gate, and did approximately 60% of the time in their home, in my presence [124]. I concluded that Andrei spoke Russian automatically to his children, and rarely broke into English with them unless non-Russian-speaking English speakers were directly participating in the conversation. Oksana, however, spoke Russian or English depending on the context. I noted that, except when speaking with Elena (discussed below, this section), she invariably conducted conversations in English if they were taking place in front of English-speakers, be they in the home, restaurants or shops, or at the school gate. I was the only exception to this, once the fieldwork had begun. However, she only began speaking Russian, not English, to the children in my presence once my fieldwork had started. I concluded that because I then had a stated interest in multilingualism, she no longer thought it rude to speak Russian in front of me. Interactions where Oksana was disciplining her children, or correcting their behaviour, or asserting her will, appeared to take place in English, as I explore below. Oksana was quick to switch to English from Russian if her child interlocutor replied to her in English. Indeed, English use in the home appeared to me to be

[124] Calculated from fieldnotes.

increasingly habitual, and I observed it on multiple occasions. However, as it was being done in my presence it was difficult to establish beyond doubt if this was done out of habit, or out of courtesy to the non-Russian speaker. When I enquired about this point, the two older children agreed that they predominately speak English with each other and with their mother, and when replying to their father. Indeed, both children articulated the view that their Russian is deteriorating, a view corroborated by their parents. I also observed during the course of the ethnography that English was increasingly used by Oksana when addressing her children. I concluded that the Vasechkin family, Oksana in particular, generally spoke more Russian when I was present. Feliks commented to this effect to my son, Henri, who relayed the observation to me: "Feliks' told me that his mum speaks loads more Russian when you're there you know. Had you worked that out? He thinks it's funny."[125] I had "worked that out", thanks mainly to the elder children's reactions to their mother when she spoke Russian. In the main they would, before responding, glance at her, and there would be a short pause before they replied (Feliks usually in English, Mariana usually in Russian, at first). Sometimes the child also subtly changed their expression, perhaps mildly amused, perhaps mildly non-plussed, perhaps mildly irritated. I concluded that this was caused by a small amount of surprise on their part at being addressed in Russian. Furthermore, when the children were reprimanded, or were instructed to do something, I consistently noted that the use of English engendered a much more compliant response. I witnessed five occasions[126] in the home when Oksana had to become very firm with one of her older children in order to get them to comply with her wishes. In each case, obedience was only forthcoming when Oksana switched to English. Feliks and Mariana often did not comply to requests made in Russian, if it did not suit them to do so. One such instance occurred when Mariana was asked to stack the dishwasher[127]. At first a request was made by Oksana in Russian, and Mariana replied in

[125] After the end of the fieldwork, fieldnotes addendum, 1st October 2021, in the car.

[126] Fieldnotes, 14th June 2019, 10th November 2019, 19th July, 2020 Vasechkin kitchen, 2 instances, Vasechkin kitchen, 29th December 2019, my home.

[127] Fieldnotes, 19th July, 2020 Vasechkin kitchen.

Russian, clearly not accepting the task[128]. Oksana reiterated the request, clarifying that it was Mariana's turn, that it was appropriate for her to help. Mariana refused again, this time responding partially in English, appearing to make a joke of her refusal. Oksana told Mariana for a third time, to stack the dishwasher. This was still in Russian, but the tone was now emphatically that of an instruction. Mariana switched back into Russian, perhaps to appease her mother, and adopted a more wheedling voice. She was still not complying. At this point, an exasperated Oksana switched to English, with a forceful, though not raised voice: "Mariana, you will **do** the dishwasher" Mariana appeared to take the language switch as a cue that the exchange had escalated to a point where it would be wise to follow the instruction. She complied immediately, albeit with the apparently obligatory eye rolls and resistant body language of the coerced adolescent. Mariana, like her brother, invariably did as instructed upon being told to so in English.

Nonetheless, my observations have led me to conclude that Russian dominated, (almost) to the exclusion of all other languages, in the children's pre-school years. The two older children remembered a time when Russian was their only language, as was evidenced by Feliks' memory discussed above (section 8.2.1). I observed that Elena, at the start of this research, clearly understood very little English. All her primary carers were (intentionally) Russian speakers, some exclusively so. Her linguistic inputs, until she was nearly 5 years old, were almost exclusively in Russian. These were provided by her parents and siblings, her maternal grandmother who spoke no English, and the Russian nanny. I witnessed how, even once she started school, Elena was embraced in an exclusively Russian bubble within the home. This FLP strategy was actively supported by the older siblings, who, as has been stated, generally addressed one another in English. However, throughout all my observations they addressed little Elena exclusively in Russian. I concluded that Elena's status as the baby of the family contributed to the ongoing maintenance of her Russian beyond the age at which her siblings were encouraged, even in the home, to switch towards English. When there were guests present who could not understand Russian, as long as none of those guests were Elena's peers, she was still addressed in Russian by her family. She was the only member of

[128] I understand very little Russian. I later asked Oksana what was said, and matched it in my fieldnotes to the semiotic clues such as body language and tone that I had observed and noted in the moment.

the household for whom that was the case. My observations indicated that for this family, Russian was, amongst other things, the language of early childhood, of bed-time stories, and of grandmothers and nannies.

Image 42: DVDs, stored on bookshelves, and in open baskets in the Vasechkin sitting room.

The family's collection of DVDs included many in Russian and English, and a small number in French. However, DVDs aimed at very young children, shown in the right-hand image, were exclusively in Russian, in line with the FLP noted above.

English was the language of school and the workplace for all family members, except sometimes for Andrei when he was not in the UK. It was used for academic papers and homework, but for the older children it was also the language of reading for pleasure, and for communicating with each other and with friends. Indeed, English had become the dominant language of choice for both Mariana and Feliks, and it seemed almost certain that it would be for Elena. Russian was, nonetheless, a language with high (commodity) value attached to it by the family. Russian language tutors were retained by them, and the children were being prepared for Russian GCSE, to be taken at the early age of 15 years. I conclude that the choice to raise the children as monolingual Russian speakers until school age, and the willingness to accept the dominance of English beyond that, reflected multiple facets of language ideology. Firstly, there was the pride (Heller and Duchêne, 2012) associated with intergenerational transmission of the heritage language, and in the cosmopolitan acquisition of multiple (elite) languages. Secondly, there was the neoliberal profit (Heller and Duchêne, 2012) associated with acquiring mastery of elite languages such as Russian and English. Thirdly, there was the confidence, characteristic of the neoliberal self (section 2.4), that when

the time came, the acquisition of (excellent) English would be entirely possible for a Vasechkin child, even if they had only spoken Russian until age 5. I concluded that the strategy aimed to ensure high levels of mastery of both Russian and English. This would result not only in the acquisition of important linguistic capital, but also in the children having a habitus characterised by the Vasechkin family's cosmopolitan disposition and orientation towards an international future.

8.3.2 'Native' Mastery of Elite Languages

I now turn to a consideration of the two predominant language ideologies I observed in this family, namely 'elite multilingualism is an asset' (Heller and Duchêne, 2012; Codó and Sunyol, 2019) and 'native speakerism' (Holliday, 2018). I analyse moments when these were presented / indexed in language practice, and consider how these may indicate characteristics of the family's habitus. As part of the analysis I identified several socialization practices used by the family. These included: giving positive feedback to a child when they demonstrate the desired ideology / practice, criticism when the child fails to demonstrate the desired ideology / practice, direct statements of belief, the telling of family stories and anecdotes, and teasing. Of these, I concluded that the last two socialization mechanisms were the most commonly used, based upon my observations. For clarity, I address not only practices, but also ideologies separately. It is important to note, however, that multiple ideologies were often simultaneously presented, socialized and discursively constructed.

8.3.2.1 Mastery of Elite Languages

I consider here the role of *elite* multilingualism (section 2.4). The Vasechkins were not the only branch, nor the first generation, of their family to embrace (elite) multilingualism. Family members had travelled extensively since the advent of Perestroika[129] enabled widespread mobility for those Russians that could afford it. In order to do / in doing so they acquired multiple (elite) languages. Many conversations I observed within the family included a reference to the linguistic repertoire of the family as a whole. This was the case

[129] Perestroika can be translated in multiple ways, 're-structing' and 'reconstruction' being two of the most common. The name for the policy of economic and governmental reform instituted by Premier Mikhail Gorbachev in the Soviet Union in 1985 - 1990 (Holmes, 2013).

even before I began my fieldwork. Indeed, it was part of what inspired this study. Oksana's maternal grandparents were Estonian and, in line with Soviet ideology (Grenoble, 2003) and language practices, rapidly acquired Russian in the 1950s, making use of it in all state-related and public spheres. As has been stated in the introduction, Oksana's father, a business owner, with sufficient wealth to grant him geographical mobility, moved to Italy after the opening up of the former Soviet Union in 1989/1990, and learnt to speak Italian confidently. Frequent visits by the family to see him there would have reminded the children of their family's transnationalism and multilingualism. Both Andrei and Oksana acquired varying levels of French, Spanish, Italian and German, in addition to Russian and English. Andrei's first son, Alexander, raised in Paris and a regular visitor to the family home in Hampshire, had French as his first language, with a command of both Russian and English that allowed him to study and work in those languages. Andrei's cousin, resident in South America, was a linguist and translator by profession, and "speaks lots of languages"[130]. However, I noted that 'translator' was not held up as a profession to aspire to. There was a sense that multilingualism was a desirable, and valuable, form of capital, or characteristic of habitus, *in conjunction with other expertise / professional interests.* It was not deemed sufficient unto itself. Oksana and Andrei frequently made reference to the (elite) languages which they spoke, she matter-of-factly, he demurring somewhat. The first strip of this section (strip 24) is an example of the explicit claims to (elite) multilingualism made by the parents. At a family lunch, following Andrei's listing of the languages he spoke, namely Russian, French, Italian, English, German, and Spanish (he was yet to start learning Mandarin), Oksana noted her own language skills.

[130] Oksana's phrase, fieldnotes, 9th June 2019, Vasechkin garden.

Strip 24: I speak all of them too.

Vasechkin dining area, 19th March, 2019. Present: Oksana and Andrei and their three children, Marie-Anne and Will and our two children.

VA21 Oksana: Yes, I speak all of them too.

VA22 Marie-Anne: I didn't realise. You learnt German and

VA23 French during your time in Switzerland?

VA24 Oksana: Yes, and I speak Spanish too. Probably better

VA25 than Andrei.

VA26 Andrei: I only speak Russian and French well, the rest

VA27 are… *holds hands up, open arms, shrugs.*

VA28 Marie-Anne: Your Italian seems good.

VA29 Andrei: My Italian is nice, yes. But not really good.

Andrei and Oksana continued to acquire new, international languages as the opportunity arose. Moving to Italy enabled the learning of Italian, and a role in a Chinese university prompted the acquisition of some Mandarin by Andrei. When asked, both Andrei and Oksana were clear that these languages were not required primarily for their professional roles, suggesting that neoliberal considerations were not the only factors for the adults in choosing to acquire languages. This again shows the nuanced way that the pride / profit dichotomy plays out amongst the high SES speakers of elite languages. The neoliberal notions of the self as a product that must be continually improved and developed were well served by the acquisition of new languages, even when the specific language was not required at that time. Moreover, the adults' ongoing investment in language acquisition aligned with a cosmopolitan language ideology, and in turn cosmopolitanism. Pride and profit were both served, they were not at odds. I conclude that the family members' (international) multilingualism demonstrated both control of valuable resources (neoliberal), and was a characteristic of their social class membership (cosmopolitan). The above example also demonstrates the place of statements, and the recounting of the parents' past in the (re-

)production of habitus in the present, and in the socialization of the listening children in readiness for the desired future.

I now present a collection of three strips, 25, 26 and 27, that together create a second small story narrative across multiple speech events. The narrative concerns the desirability of international multilingualism, and the levels of linguistic mastery, specifically amongst the child members of the Vasechkin family. Thomas, the children's teenage uncle from their maternal grand-father's second marriage, was also very keen to recount tales of his linguistic skills when he visited the family on his way back to his English boarding school.

Strip 25: I'm really good at languages.

Vasechkin kitchen, mid-afternoon tea, 26th January, 2019. Present: Oksana, Thomas, and Marie-Anne.

VA30 Thomas: (*Looking away, head angled up, feigning*
VA31 *casualness, leaning back in chair*) "Oh I'm really good at
VA32 languages. I speak loads already: English, Russian,
VA33 French, Italian, Spanish…"
VA34 Marie-Anne: "Wow. So are some of these from school, or…?"
VA35 Thomas: "No, I just speak them all, you know?"

There was a slight element of disingenuous presentation here. Thomas's exposure to French and Spanish was in fact (almost) exclusively from school, as Oksana later explained to me. I concluded that he understood multilingualism to be desirable in and of itself; he considered it impressive, and a source of pride. He wished to claim it for himself. Later, when only Oksana and I remained in the kitchen, Oksana informed me that Thomas was not quite as good a linguist as he believed himself to be, although she did not elaborate upon her definition of 'good'. I concluded that both Andrei and Oksana had very high standards when judging linguistic ability, as I discuss elsewhere (strip 27 below, section 8.3.2.2 strip 28 and 29). It is important to note that Oksana left Thomas' story uncontested in the moment, in front of the children. The presentation of themselves, and of Vasechkin family members more generally, as accomplished linguists, was allowed to stand.

Strip 26: She doesn't even realise I'm Russian.

My home, drinks before lunch, 29th December 2019. Present: Oksana and Andrei and their three children, Marie-Anne and Will and our two children.

VA36 Mariana: (considerable pride in her voice, high head,
VA37 chin angled up, small smile) My English teacher just
VA38 loves me. She doesn't even realise I'm Russian!
VA39 Andrei and Oksana: (both smile)
VA40 Oksana: (lightly puts her arm around Mariana.)

Implicit in the above strip was the notion that as Mariana was Russian, her English should therefore have been weak, as she was not monolingual (VA38). She was drawing on the ideology, still current amongst many parents and educationalists in the predominantly monolingual UK, that multilinguals will not speak any of their languages as well as a monolingual. By drawing upon this ideology, and then making herself an exception to it "she doesn't even realise…", Mariana was presenting herself as particularly talented linguistically. English was in fact her dominant language, so Mariana's presentation was somewhat disingenuous, and specifically constructed to highlight her linguistic prowess. The response to Mariana's assertion, by her parents, present at the time, was small and unspoken, but noticeable (VA39 and VA40). My interpretation of the parents' gestures was that they indexed pride, and were providing positive feedback to Mariana's presentation of a family language ideology. I concluded that Mariana shared this interpretation through her subsequent body language: her head remained high, and she looked around the room at those present (myself, her parents, her siblings) and raised her eyes just a little. Through their actions the parents socialized and reinforced notions that a) linguistic ability, specifically (international) multilingualism, was something to be proud of, and b) Mariana was particularly able. In so doing they laminated both the family language ideology that multilingualism was desirable, and Mariana's presentation as a skilled multilingual. In contrast, Feliks' was presented, by both himself and his parents, as not "good at languages".

Strip 27: His French is horrible.

Vasechkin kitchen, pre-lunch March 30th 2019. Present: Feliks, Oksana, Andrei and Marie-Anne.

VA41 Marie-Anne *(to Feliks):* So I guess you're good at
VA42 languages too?
VA43 Feliks: *(little laugh and a smile)* No
VA44 Oksana: No, not at all, he only speaks English and
VA45 Russian. I mean his Russian is good. He will do an early
VA46 GCSE…
VA47 Marie-Anne: And I guess French from school?
VA48 Oksana: No, his French is horrible!
VA49 Feliks: *(laughs again, and nods.)*

In this, the third strip of the narrative, lines VA44, VA45, and VA48 provide additional insight both into the high standards to which the family strived in their multilingualism, and into what multilingualism indexed for them. I interpreted Feliks' smiles, VA43, and his laughter, VA43 and VA49, as rueful, and expressing mild embarrassment at this discussion of what is presented in the family as his lack of linguistic skills. The family's expectations of their own multilingualism were such that Feliks can be considered not "good" at languages, and was criticised accordingly. This is despite the fact that, at 12 years old, Feliks was able to speak and write English at a level commensurate with his exclusively English peers, Russian at close to GCSE level, and also (just about) manage the required standard of French demanded by his highly academic school. This is interesting, as it suggests that something more than simply language as a (neoliberal) commodity was indexed here. French had particular value at this stage of Feliks' education, as it was a requirement for admission to an elite private school at age 13. I note elsewhere (section 9.3) a great focus upon elite education for the children, both in the present and the future. In response to Feliks' stated weakness in French, his parents invested in a French tutor for him twice a week, to ensure that it was at the standard required by the school that he joined in September 2021. However, the investment in French was notable, and in contrast to Oksana and Andrei's level of concern

regarding what they considered to be his other academically "weak" areas, Latin and religious studies. These were also mandatory for school admission at age 13, but were explicitly dismissed as unimportant by both parents. This suggested that the family valued French more. Feliks had two important international languages to a high standard. Furthermore, he himself stated that he did not consider French to be a valuable addition to his language repertoire, in the context of his aspirations for the future, discussed below. Nonetheless, it was important in this family in part, I conclude, because it would add to the overall quantity and quality of the *cosmopolitan* multilingualism enacted by the family as a whole.

8.3.2.2 Native Speakerism – Teasing as Socialization, and Child Agency

In the following pair of speech strips, we see exchanges concerning Andrei's English. This was an oft repeated narrative within the Vasechkin family, one that assumed the role of a socialization ritual, and was interesting for the ideologies that it indexed, and the mechanisms for socialization and child agency that it demonstrated.

Strip 28: Dad's English is really bad!

Vasechkin kitchen, 19th July 2020, post lunch. Present: Andrei and Oksana and their three children, Marie-Anne and Will and our two children.

VA50 Andrei: I do not like to speak English with my

VA51 children, they laugh at me. Also my wife!

VA52 Oksana: Your English is horrible,

VA53 Mariana: (laughing) Dad's English is really bad!

VA54 Feliks: Yeah!

I found this exchange particularly interesting because I considered Andrei's English to be strong. It was sufficient for him to teach physics at university level and to publish academic papers. However, he participated in this good-humoured teasing. I noted that all the family, except little Elena, also present, problematized Andrei's level of English. I concluded that the older children had already adopted the belief in the importance of speaking a language like a 'native'. In this conversation they both presented and laminated the idea for themselves, and

contributed to Elena' socialization into it. This exchange revealed the socializing value of teasing, and the language ideology of 'native speakerism' (Holliday, 2018), which upholds the idea that so-called 'native speakers' are the best examples, models and teachers of English. Holliday (2018) suggests that this ideology goes beyond conceptions of purely linguistic proficiency and include the notion that 'native speakers' also represent the ideals of English culture (Holliday, 2018). It is, therefore, a particularly relevant ideology to consider in the context of the current socio-political backdrop in the UK.

I have observed other evidence of 'native speakerism' in the Vasechkin family. For example, Oksana recounted[131] an exchange with Mrs White, Feliks' year 2 teacher and head of the pre-prep department at his school. Mrs White had told Oksana that there were issues with Feliks' English, particularly his pronunciation, that needed addressing. The teacher asserted strongly that more English in the Vasechkin home was needed in order to address this. Oksana explained to me that she had demurred, pointing out to Mrs White that since neither she, nor her husband, were English, nor had English accents, there was "absolutely no point" in asking them to teach Feliks to pronounce, for example, "th" (pronounced in English RP as either θ or ð, depending upon the word), and that it "was the school's job". Accordingly, the family did not change their FLP in response to Mrs White's concern. As Oksana pointed out, the "school can do the English." Both Andrei's ongoing teasing by all members of the family, and Oksana's telling me *in the presence of her children* about her exchange with Feliks' teacher, were socializing moments. One used gentle teasing within the family, the other used the telling of an anecdote. I noted that teasing of those members of the family that would typically be considered to have more power, such as the father, by those with less, such as the children, was characteristic of the exchanges within the family. I concluded that it was used as a tool for socialization, both when the children joined in and when they only observed it. Nonetheless, anecdote and the creation of the family's own narratives and small stories were the most frequently deployed socialization mechanisms for this family[132]. Stories relating to

[131] I was not present for the original exchange. Oksana told me this story, in front of her children, 26th January 2019, in the Vasechkin kitchen.

[132] Fieldnotes, January 26th, March 30th, April 6th, November 10th, July 19th 2020 and 12 other dates, Vasechkin home. 29th December 2019, my home.

the parents own trajectories, indexing neoliberal and cosmopolitan ideologies and practices were told and retold. These were all framed (Goffman, 1974) as 'things we do', and hence as 'things our family does'. The children were thus socialized into family ideologies and attendant dispositions. Their habitus was thus developed, one that it was hoped would maximise the probability that the children would successfully achieve their, and their parents', aspirations.

The conflict between the Vasechkins' presentation of themselves as multilingual, and the exacting standards that they held for themselves, is illustrated in the following extract. Andrei was discussing the future release date of his third fictional book for children, and referred to a delay with the translator. I have read the first two books, and know that they are in English.

Strip 29: My English is not good enough for stories.

Vasechkin kitchen, 19th July 2020, lunch. Present: Andrei and Oksana and their three children, Marie-Anne and Will and our two children.

VA55 Marie-Anne: So you don't write these in English? You
VA56 write them in Russian and get them translated then?
VA57 Andrei: Yes, my English is not good enough for stories.
VA58 I mean, I write academic papers in English, ok, but that
VA59 is fine because everyone's English is terrible, but it is
VA60 not good enough for this.

Putting to one side the claim that the level of English in Andrei's academic community was "terrible"(!) (VA59), it is worth noting here that his English was sufficient to maintain a successful academic career through the medium of spoken and written English, despite it being his third strongest language, after Russian and French. This exchange highlighted the very high linguistic standards the Vasechkin family set themselves. I conclude that the apparent contradiction between the Vasechkins' claim to multilingualism, and their criticism of their own linguistic skills reveals the dual role that speaking multiple languages has for them. On the one hand it is a form of capital, and one that they wished to develop further, and of which they did not (yet) feel sufficient mastery. On the other hand, it was also a

characteristic of habitus and as such was presented strongly, and proudly. This last strip of speech also alludes to the normalcy of multilingualism in Andrei's professional peer group, and hence (part of) the family's peer group. From day one of their lives, the children were immersed in a world of multiple languages. In line with the observations of Canagarajah (2013) and Li Wei (2012), intercultural communication was the norm for the Vasechkins, and early multilingual encounters took place within the family unit, and within the home. Moreover, in this instance, such encounters included only elite languages (Bourdieu, 1977). Indeed, it was only when the children first ventured beyond the home to attend school, that the realisation came that such multilingualism and multiculturalism was not necessarily 'normal' for their peers.

It is important to note that the elder two Vasechkin children had what they, and their parents, understood to be the most valuable linguistic commodity in the (Western) world, and certainly in the UK, namely a 'native' level of a high social class variant of British English. This inevitably informed their language ideologies and practices, as they were starting from a position of linguistic privilege. In addition, during my observations, none of them articulated a desire to work in a role specifically requiring the use of any language other than English, or to live in a non-Anglophone country. Mariana stated that she wished to be a doctor, and to attend University in the UK or, preferably for her, the United States, for which she had no need of Russian, French, or any language other than English. Feliks said that he anticipated attending a university in the UK, and that he did not enjoy languages nor intend to pursue them as a career. Nonetheless, they persisted in the learning of (elite) languages other than English, encourage by their parents. Moreover, when the conversation turned to the topic of language skills in general, family members generally volunteered statements stressing their high level of linguistic ability, as has been seen above (although note Feliks' comment, section 8.3.2.1, "His French is horrible"). The family's multilingualism was presented not only in their everyday language practices, but also in their interactions with the objects found throughout the home, as was noted in the previous chapter.

8.4 National and Cultural Heritage

8.4.1 Being Russian / Multinational / Multilingual

Englishness, 'Russian-ness', and internationalism were all enacted, both front and back stage in the home (Goffman, 1959) (section 3.8.1). Friends of the children coming to visit found that many of the DVDs, books, and board games were in Russian, and I observed child guests being surprised by, and commenting upon, this[133]. Moreover, family ideologies were indicated by the objects that are chosen for inclusion or display in the home. For the Vasechkins, multilingualism was present not only in speech, but also in family music / film choices, posters, décor, the books arrayed on shelves, board games, birthday / Christmas / other cards, and even the language / keyboard settings of various electronic devices in the home.

8.1.4.2 Jewishness, Chess, and Intellectual Strength

Several themes may be identified through the narratives that are told, often more than once, about the family's past, even into previous generations. The narratives served to highlight / enact certain characteristics of the family, and to present them for others. Moreover, the ritual of telling such stories to, and in front of, the children was a socializing moment for them. Through these stories the parents transmitted notions of what it meant to be members of 'our family'. In line with considerations of temporality, a relationship may be traced between these (re-)tellings of stories from the past, aspirations for the future, and the creation of habitus in the present. I will now analyse specific examples, considering both individual speech events and groups of speech events that together constitute ongoing talk (Goffman, 1981) (section 3.8.2) about the topics under consideration.

Oksana was of Jewish descent, and I concluded that she attached great importance to her Jewish heritage, as she frequently told stories that highlighted it. She spoke of not giving her son the same name as his grandfather, as "Jewish [people] do not give their children the

[133] Fieldnotes April 6th 2019, September 14th 2019, Vasechkin home.

names of people still alive[134]". On more than one occasion[135] she told a story of World War II, in which her least "Jewish-looking" aunt was always sure to be the one to answer the door when the soldiers came, to avoid problems. Oksana did not practice the Jewish religion, and was baptised into the Christian Church of England at the same time as her daughter Elena. However, I noted that she was proud of her, and her family's, membership of the "Jewish race", as she termed it. I believe that this was in very large part due to the explicit link that she made between being Jewish, and possessing an impressive intellect.

Strip 30: The Jews are the cleverest.

Vasechkin dining area, 19th March 2019, lunch. Present: Andrei and Oksana and their three children, Marie-Anne and Will and their two children.

VA61 Oksana: The Jews, of all the races, they are the
VA62 cleverest. At maths, chess, science, so many Jews
VA63 excel. Perhaps at maths the Chinese are better, but of
VA64 the white races, it is the Jews.

I concluded that Oksana foregrounded her family's Jewish-ness in order to assert a claim to high intelligence, for herself and her children. Furthermore, such comments subtly referenced the narrative of the Jewish people as 'chosen', and therefore special. This is, I consider, a form of distinction (Bourdieu, 1984). Particular reference was made on three occasions[136] to the of chess at the very highest levels domination by Russian Jews. The following example is representative.

[134] Fieldnotes, 29th January 2019, Vasechkin kitchen.

[135] Fieldnotes, 19th March 2019, and (at least) one occasion I recalled from before the study began, no date noted.

[136] Fieldnotes 19th March 2019, 6th April 2019, 19th July 2019, Vasechkin home.

Strip 31: The champion was definitely going to be a Jew called Misha.[137]

Vasechkin dining area, 19th March, 2019, lunch. Present: Andrei and Oksana and their three children, Marie-Anne and Will and their two children.

VA65 Andrei: When the (world champion chess) final was
VA66 between Botvinnik and Tal, the joke was that we were
VA67 certain who would win. The champion was definitely
VA68 going to be a Jew called Misha.

In order to understand the weight attached to the (erstwhile) Jewish dominance of Russian chess, it is important to note that chess had very high status in Soviet culture (Hudson, 2013). Both Oksana and Andrei observed how one's high levels of ability in chess was considered to prove one's great intellectual prowess and possession of a significant aptitude for mathematics and science.

[137] The Russian diminutive form of Mikhail, the given name of both finalists, Botvinnik and Tal, who were also both Jewish.

Strip 32: If you were great at chess, they would give you a place at a top school.

Vasechkin dining area, 19th March 2019, lunch. Present: Andrei and Oksana and their three children, Marie-Anne and Will and their two children.

VA69 Andrei: For many of the best schools, if you were
VA70 great at chess, they would give you a place. You did
VA71 not need to take the [entrance] exam.
VA72 Oksana: They knew you were good enough. You could not
VA73 play chess like that if you weren't clever enough.
VA74 Marie-Anne: Seriously? You could get into a top
VA75 school just on your chess?
VA76 Andrei: But of course!

Returning to Oksana's narrative regarding her family and their intellectual prowess, she told of how her (Jewish) uncles attended the hugely prestigious St Petersburg chess school, and received tuition under Botvinnik, one of the greats of Russian chess, and the teacher of several Russian Grandmasters, and of world champions.

Strip 33: Botvinnik taught my uncles.

Vasechkin dining area, 19th March 2019, lunch. Present: Andrei and Oksana and their three children, Marie-Anne and Will and our two children.

VA77 Oksana: My uncles went to that school. Botvinnik
VA78 taught them, they knew him. They played with those
VA79 people. I mean my uncles weren't as good as them, but
VA80 they went there.

Oksana also specifically linked the playing of chess and the family's Jewish heritage, to the family's way of being during her childhood.

Strip 34: It was like Fiddler on the Roof.

Vasechkin dining area, 19th March 2019, lunch. Present: Andrei and Oksana and their three children, Marie-Anne and Will and our two children.

VA81 Oksana: It was like that. Like Fiddler on the Roof you

VA82 know it?

VA83 Marie-Anne: Yes, with Topol?

VA84 Oksana: Yes, it was like that, all there, playing

VA85 chess and violin, it was like that, Russian Jews, that

VA86 is exactly how it was. That was my family.

Here again I conclude that the presentation of family of Jewish heritage, with the tropes of violin and chess, was done in order to claim membership of / affiliation to the special, 'cleverest' Jewish people. Through these stories, all recounted in the presence of the Vasechkin children, Oksana presented a view of her family's past that informed their notions of themselves in the present, and was suggestive of aspirations for the future. The children did not play the violin, nor were they deemed to be particularly good at chess. Oksana stated that the way Feliks plays chess was "…horrible! His chess is not nice! We would not talk about his chess in Russia"[138]. Nonetheless, the underlying theme of these stories, namely the inherited nature of a powerful intellect, by her, and hence her children, was relevant to them. The narrative of the past was informing the ideologies and practices of the present, and setting expectations for the future. The children were being socialized into the beliefs that they possess impressive intellects, and that elite academic institutions and glittering careers were therefore theirs for the taking. I conclude that this moment fed and laminated not only a set of aspirations for the future, but also their habitus in the then present that increased the probability that such aspirations would be met. I concluded that the Vasechkin family believed that the acquisition of intellectual capital would not be sufficient to achieve a desired future. Being clever was not enough, and additionally believing one is clever was still not enough. One must believe that such options, and such success, can, and even should,

[138] Fieldnotes 26th January 2019, Vasechkin kitchen. Present: Marie-Anne and Oksana.

belong to the members of 'our family'. The creation of a suitable habitus, that is the development the of requisite orientations and dispositions, was essential. This was the work of the then present moment, and the goal of the socialization endeavour. When this story was told, the three children listened. I noted their responses, which were non-verbal, and in line with their ages and personalities. Little Elena showed minimal interest. Feliks simply smiled. Mariana smiled, and sat a little taller, her chin a little higher. She looked proud. I concluded that the socializing moment had been effective. The message was being absorbed by the children that they were particularly clever and academically able.

8.5 Conclusion

In this conclusion I again not only consider what has been revealed about the Vasechkin family, but also draw out themes that can be seen across the two families, discussed further in chapter 10. The Vasechkin family's ideologies, including those related to language, were presented and socialized through their daily semiotic rituals of teasing, positive feedback, telling family stories, presenting opinions, and through the family members' engagement with the material objects that made up, and were contained within, their home. I explored instances of language ideology that are here termed neoliberal, specifically 'native speakerism' (Holliday, 2018) and the value of elite languages. I also highlighted the importance of multilingualism *per se* to the Vasechkin family. I concluded that the linguistic repertoire of the Vasechkin family members is simultaneously a source of pride and profit, as it is for the Azergui family (section 5.3). Accordingly, I believe that for transnational families of high SES with a repertoire of elite languages, the pride / profit dichotomy of language commodification (Heller and Duchêne, 2012) is not a dichotomy at all, but a nuanced merging of both benefits.

I revealed that the Vasechkin family foregrounded the values of intellectual excellence, academic ability and personal agency. These were different to those highlighted by the Azergui family, showing each family's unique way of being. Despite the differences I observed in the socialization priorities of the two families, several important commonalities were revealed in the analysis. In both cases, the children had 'native' mastery of English, whilst the parents did not. Accordingly, regardless of legal status, the children could pass (Piller, 2002) for English, something that I believe all the participants considered desirable.

The parents could not. Contrasting Mariana's proud assertion "She doesn't even realise I'm Russian" (section 8.3.2.1) with Sakina's somewhat rueful "I think I sound like you" (section 6.2), reveals that both adult and (some) child participants (partially) understood that this was something in which the children succeeded, where the parents failed. In socialization terms, the children were the experts, whilst in Bourdieusian terms, they had a valuable form of cultural capital that the parents did not have, and (probably) never would. It is important to note that whilst I have often focused on family habitus, I have not lost sight of the fact the families are made up of individuals, with their own unique ways of being. I concluded that the habitus was somewhat different in each generation, even within the way of being of 'our' family, sharing 'our' home.

Chapter 9: Cosmopolitanism, Education, and 'Our Family's' Future

9.1 Cosmopolitanism: Globalisation and High Culture

As Werbner (2008) identified (section 2.4), cosmopolitanism comes in many forms. That which was displayed by the Vasechkin family is what perhaps many think of when they hear the term. It is, as Beck (2012) points out, almost synonymous with globalisation, consisting primarily of a transnational way of being. Both the Vasechkin parents were employed in the UK, but Oksana was employed by an international company, and Andrei was also employed by universities / research bodies in China and Russia. The posts he held outside the UK together made up 80% of his contracted hours. Even the research work that he carried out in the UK, was done as part of an international consortium. Their friends, and of course their family members, were almost exclusively transnational, multinational and multilingual. Furthermore, despite having lived in England for over fifteen years (at the end of the fieldwork), in a part of central Hampshire that was predominately populated by British, monolingual English speakers (G.O.N.S, 2022), the Vasechkin parents socialised almost exclusively with transnational / multinational individuals.

Vignette 7: Hasta Siempre….19th July 2019.

> *It is now nearly six in the evening. Lunch began at 12. There are five of us in the room, Andrei, Oksana, myself, my husband Will, and Stavros, Andrei's friend and colleague, who holds both Greek and Swiss passports, and a doctorate in physics. Our children, my two, the three Vasechkin children, and Stavros' two, are upstairs, variously playing games, watching YouTube, and reading. We have eaten Italian delicacies bought by Andrei and Oksana on a recent trip to Rome to visit her father and some of us have drunk Italian wine. The men have now switched to whisky, whilst I, who will be driving later, and so am not drinking alcohol, and Oksana, who drinks little, drink tea. The chessboard has come out, and several games have been played. Andrei won them all. We have discussed politics, food, Brexit, engineering, and spies. Now the guitar has appeared from somewhere, and the three men present, are taking it in turns to play. Stavros' turn comes, and he begins to pick out the tune of Hasta Siempre Commandante, a Cuban song*

celebrating the life of Che Guevara. I know the words (just), as do Andrei and Stavros himself, and we three start singing. Oksana and Will look on, a little amused. As I sing, I am struck by incongruousness of the scene. Here are a Russian / French science professor, a Greek / Swiss assistant professor, and a French / British woman, singing (badly) a Cuban Communist revolutionary song, in Spanish, which we each learnt, separately, in Cuba. Each of the three 'singers' consider Spanish to be their 4th strongest language at best. Nonetheless, we all (mostly) understand what we are singing. We are observed by other family members who between them share French, British, Russian, Greek, Swiss and Estonian nationalities. We are in a house in an affluent, predominately (English) monolingual town (G.O.N.S, 2022) in central Hampshire, England. It seems odd, and at the same time also entirely appropriate for an afternoon spent in the company of this family.

The above vignette encapsulates many of the characteristics of the Vasechkin family habitus. It revealed their multinationalism and multilingualism. Education was indexed in the professions of the guests, the nature of their conversations, and their linguistic repertoire. All the adults present were educated to at least master's degree (equivalent). The classic high SES (Block, 2014) glosses of musical instruments, culture, and fine dining were present, but with the Vasechkin twist. It was the adults playing the guitar, and the food was bought in its country of origin by the family members themselves. Russian (Jewish) culture was present in the chess, and the manner of serving tea. International travel, cultural exploration, and political awareness were all suggested by the choice of song. The group was representative of the family's (adult) social networks, which comprised people who shared these key characteristics of the family habitus. The children repeatedly saw their parents engaging with people that the parents deemed to be like them. I suggest that these social events, many of which included / were witnessed by the children, acted as a socialization ritual for them. Specifically, in the instance described above, this meant exposure a multinational, multilingual and cosmopolitan, well-educated, and scientifically and politically literate social network. This informed the children's understanding of what was normal, and who 'our family' was. In turn these beliefs were constitutive of both their habitus, and their vision of their own (adult) future.

The Vasechkin parents had between them lived in several countries, Russia, Switzerland, Austria, France, Italy, and the UK, with multiple multi-week stays in China and elsewhere. Mariana had already indicated that she wishes to both study and work outside the UK, in the US[139]. The five family members each possessed between two and four passports. The parents did not participate in local organisations, even those related to the children's schools and /or family hobbies. I concluded that the Vasechkin family sat lightly in their British context. Moreover, I believe that they presented a cosmopolitanism that was akin to transnationalism / globalisation (Beck, 2012) (section 2.4) that was characterised by a highly pragmatic relationship with their country of residence. I further concluded that their transnational orientation, and limited engagement with the local, was a (the?) central factor in their relatively phlegmatic attitude to the outcome and consequences of the Brexit referendum (section 9.4.2). I also note that Andrei and Oksana were raised in the Soviet Union, and reached adulthood as the Berlin Wall came down, the Iron Curtain lifted, and the USSR dissolved. Their socialization and dispositions were informed by their Soviet socialization (Grenoble, 2003), and those momentous socio-political events. For many in the UK Brexit may have been the most significant political event in their country of residence in their lifetime. For Andrei and Oksana, it is likely that it was not.

9.2 Peer Group and Societal Ideologies

A sense of one's place in society not only lies within the stratum of SES. Rather, it is nested like a set of Russian dolls amongst that of both larger and smaller groups, including 'our family', school peer groups and family social networks. Whilst I focused upon the family in this study, I also considered the wider social context and the demographic to which they appeared to belong. In this section I explore two contact points between the Vasechkin family and their peer group at the children's schools.

At the school gate, a liminal space that was part school, part domestic sphere, ideologies and practices collided. Those of the family and its members, of the adult and child peers. And of the school and its staff were presented, negotiated and contested. Feliks' school was one of the best regarded prep-schools in the area. It was a single sex establishment, with students

[139] Fieldnotes 19th July 2020, Vasechkin home. At that time Mariana was15 years old.

from the ages of 4 to 13 years old, combining as it did a pre-prep department from age 4, and a prep-school from age 7. It was a feeder school to one of the more prestigious single-sex (boys) private schools[140] in the country, as well as having many students who go on to other, big name boys' schools, such as Eton and Radley. As such it often attracted affluent high SES parents who valued (single-sex) education, status, and who were ambitious for their children. Several families that I encountered had moved to the area from London specifically to enable their sons to attend the school as day pupils.

The Vasechkin girls attended an equally prestigious private girls' school, that catered for students between the ages of 2 and 11 in its junior department, and 11 to 18 in the highly academic senior department. The Vasechkins were far from uncommon in having children in both schools. It was perhaps the standard combination for those that chose single sex education, in South / Central Hampshire. Time spent at the schools enabled me to investigate a subset of the ideologies of the Vasechkin's peers. The highly competitive environment of the school revealed a great deal about parental aspirations and future orientations, and the resultant practices and dispositions. Families were assessed by one another, and judgements made. In some instances, those were stark and harsh.

When conversations about my participants turned to the topic of language,[141] in their presence or not, the overall sentiment of the (monolingual) British parents was "he [Feliks] is *so lucky*[142]*"*. For the monolingual majority, the work of raising multilingual children is invisible, a point highlighted by the work of Okita (2002). The other parents saw the Vasechkin children's multilingualism (almost) exclusively in terms of the advantage that it offered. There was, I noted, a more or less explicit undertone of it being an unfair, unearned, advantage. In the context of a group of people most, if not all, of whom were relatively privileged and advantaged, that struck me as interesting. Not only that, but it was made explicitly clear that Feliks is deemed was particularly "lucky" because his elite

[140] That educated boys from the ages of 13 to 18.

[141] In approximately ten percent of the observations made at the two schools, as calculated from fieldnotes.

[142] Fieldnotes, 3rd May 2019, outside the school Feliks attended. Similar comments noted on 5th March 2019, 14th May 2019, and 3 other dates, at Feliks' school, and 16th May 2019 in the car park of the school Mariana and Elena attended.

multilingualism might increase his chances of getting into his first choice of prestigious private school. In over 15 total hours of observations of snatched parent conversations in the boys' school yard, in which this topic was raised in 10% of recorded conversations[143], the advantage understood as being conferred by elite multilingualism was always framed in terms of access to next stage schools, rather than access to specific job opportunities in later life for example. There was a notable difference in the nature of the comments made regarding those who spoke elite languages, and those that spoke other languages. The latter were envied for their multilingualism *per se*, seen as an asset in and of itself, but only to a limited degree[144]. The former were considered doubly blessed. Not only did their offspring have two languages, but they were useful ones. The Vasechkins were clearly put in the doubly blessed category by their peers. I concluded that for the Vasechkin's peer group, the ideology of multilingual parenting as good parenting (King and Fogle, 2006) had two important caveats. Multilingual parenting was good parenting only if the languages in question were worth having, that is elite, and only if the opportunity cost[145] of acquiring them, in terms of other skills and qualifications potentially not acquired, was not unacceptably high.

As noted above in section 8.3.2, school staff also sometimes revealed their own ideologies as they pertained to their multilingual students. The teachers' attitudes seemed to be out of step with recent scholarly thinking on multilingualism (Paradis, Genesee, and Crago, 2010), in that they expressed a view that it was detrimental to the academic development of the child. Both of the participant families and many of their multilingual peers, including myself, encountered that ideology enacted by some of the school(s)' staff. The Vasechkin parents, however, were not dismayed when challenged by teachers regarding the amount of English that Feliks heard and spoke at home. I concluded that this demonstrated not only the

[143] Calculated from fieldnotes.

[144] Fieldnotes, 5th March 2019, 14th May 2019 outside the school Feliks attended.

[145] Opportunity cost is defined as the (economic) cost of an action measured in terms of the benefit foregone by not pursuing the best alternative course of action. Law, J. (2009).

confidence that the Vasechkin parents had in their FLP but also the value that they considered elite multilingualism to bring.

9.2.1 Social Events

During the course of the fieldwork stage of the ethnography, I was able to observe many occasions when the Vasechkin adults socialised. These were both small scale gatherings with simply one or two guests, such as that described in the vignette above (section 9.1), and larger events where they invited tens of people, such as celebratory lunches, Andrei's book launch, and a birthday party for Oksana. I noted a number of elements that I consider distinctive, and particular to this family's way of being. They appeared to eschew the approach to dinner parties frequently associated with British people of the SES presented by the Vasechkins (Mellor et al, 2010). That entailed using the dinner party as a networking event, with the aim of converting social networks into cultural capital to maintain SES. The Vasechkins, however, consistently appeared to invite, and be invited by, a core of people whose company they enjoyed, and with whom they appeared to share ideologies and cosmopolitan dispositions, rather than (exclusively) SES. I became one of their number. As has been noted above (section 9.1), almost all of the people with whom the Vasechkin adults socialised were not (only) British. This reflected the transnational nature of Andrei and Oksana's professional environments; they simply met a lot of people who were of different nationalities. However, even when that was allowed for, there appeared to be a high probability that someone who became friends with Andrei and / or Oksana would themselves have been trans/multi-national, and multilingual. Furthermore, as has been noted elsewhere (section 9.1), they would almost certainly have been highly educated, and have shared the diverse cosmopolitan interests previously identified. The adults' social networks were both indicative and constitutive of the family's cosmopolitan habitus, and social capital (Bourdieu, 1986). The children's friends, in contrast, reflected the demographic of their respective schools, as well as the personalities / interests of the particular child. They were of similar SES, attended the same schools, and were largely, but not exclusively, white British (English) monolinguals (school French lessons notwithstanding). However, when the Vasechkin children were present at their parent's social events, as they almost always were, they were immersed in a social milieu that was almost exclusively transnational and cosmopolitan, and

predominately multilingual. I suggest that through this the children were socialized into a sense of what their future social networks would (should?) resemble.

9.3 Elite Education

I now turn to another central characteristic of the family's habitus, and one of the reasons and mechanisms for the acquisition of different types capitals for their envisioned future, namely accessing 'good education', and performing excellently therein. Both parents were proud of their own success in education. They recounted that they were excellent pupils, and achieved impressive grades in their school assessments. Andrei, in his academic career, continued this pattern of specifically academic excellence. He was awarded an important international research prize, and commented, both to me and to his children, that this prize had historically been awarded to several people who later became recipients of the Nobel Prize in that field. Moreover, I concluded that the prestige of the academic institutions in which the adults had been educated was important to them. The pedigree of their respective educational establishments was commented upon, although not always favourably.

Strip 35: I went to a good school.

Vasechkin dining area, 19th March, 2019. Present: Oksana and Andrei and their three children, Marie-Anne and Will and their two children.

VB01 Oksana: I went to a good school. I had to get very

VB02 good marks for them to take me into my classes, and I

VB03 did. I had some of the highest marks.

Oksana and Andrei were raised in the Soviet Union. The schools that offered an education approximately equivalent to that of secondary school in the UK were known as среднее образование, 'middle schools'. The term 'higher school' was reserved for degree awarding academic institutions, equivalent to Universities (Brodinsky, 1992). The medium of education in all middle schools was Russian. English and German were taught to Oksana and Andrei as foreign languages. All education was state education, and it was deemed to be of a very high standard (Brodinsky, 1992). Under the Soviet system there were no fee-paying schools, such an idea being at odds with communist political ideology. However, selective classes and institutions did exist at that time, even for those not within the Communist Party,

military or KGB. Places at these were awarded based on test performance (Brodinsky, 1992). Therefore, for the majority, prestigious academic institutions could only be accessed through a combination of high ability and hard work. I concluded that both of these values remained in Oksana and Andrei's dispositions, and were being transmitted to the children. I have noted, however, that out of the two desirable qualities of hard work and innate ability, it is the latter that was most prized by the Vasechkins. Accordingly, it was this aspect that was dominant in the family's presentation of themselves, as was indicated in section 8.3.2.1 ("I'm really good at languages"). This is in line with my conclusion that Oksana was claiming innate inherited intellectual ability in her foregrounding of her Jewish descent in section 8.1.4.2 ("Jews --- are the cleverest"). Moreover, the following strip suggests that Andrei was comfortable with conceding that his children did not work as hard as he had done. In contrast, at no time did I hear any member of the Vasechkin family suggest that one of their number was not intelligent. Any perceived academic weakness on the part of the children was instead framed as being due to a lack application to their studies.

Strip 36: In Russia you had to try.

My home, before lunch, 29th December 2019. Present: Oksana and Andrei and their three children, Marie-Anne and Will and our elder son Henri.

VB04 Andrei: It is so different now, in England. For me, in
VB05 Russia, you had to try. If you could win prizes, you did
VB06 it. It was good to be the best. Here it is different. He
VB07 (*Feliks*) does not work the same way. It is important for
VB08 him to be happy, not to be the best. It is like that.

It is interesting to consider the linguistic delivery of Andrei's observation that Feliks did not prioritise being the best. The above speech was made in a very light voice, evenly paced throughout. Andrei's face was relaxed, and he smiled a little at line VB08. He opened his arms in an expansive gesture, with a small shrug at line VB07. At lines VB07 and VB08, his voice still measured, emphasized the words "important" and "happy", but gently, with no rancour that I detected. Whilst Andrei spoke, Oksana seemed at ease, with a half-smile. Feliks demonstrated no discomfort at what was being said, but appeared to be paying very

little attention, looking instead at his sister Mariana's mobile phone. I concluded that Andrei was comfortable with the situation, and that he and Oksana were happily complicit in allowing Feliks to be less driven than Andrei believes his generation in the Soviet Union to have been. The suggestion that Feliks was not striving to be the best was interesting when considered in the light of his academic achievements, and the school choices that had been made by, and for, him. He was, at that time, in one of the most academically demanding and selective prep schools in the area. He was in the top academic class in the year group and had been put forward to sit the examinations for an academic scholarship to his next school[146]. He had been awarded academic prizes at his then current school, and had won places at all three of the elite schools to which he applied.

On another occasion, the topic of Feliks' future school[147] was under discussion. In the speech strip below Andrei advocated the choice of the more famous of the private schools at which Feliks had won a place.

[146] He did well in those exams, but was not awarded a scholarship. Both parents subsequently told me that they hadn't really expected him to, and were content with his performance (no date, post fieldwork), and I believed them.

[147] For pupils aged 13 – 18.

Strip 37: It is good that he goes to this famous school.

Vasechkin kitchen, 19th July 2020, post lunch. Present: Andrei, Oksana and their three children, Marie-Anne, Will and our two children.

VB09 Andrei: It is good that Feliks goes to this famous
VB10 school, people have heard of it. Even in Russia,
VB11 people know this school.
VB12 Oksana: No-one has heard of your school. The school
VB13 you went to was disgusting!
VB14 Andrei: With an open handed gesture, small shrug
VB15 Darling, ok, but my university was good.
VB16 Oksana: Yes, your university was ok. *Grins and looks*
VB17 *at me.*

Ideas of excellence, and prestige, were very much a part of the Soviet education system, and the socialization of Soviet children, such as Oksana and Andrei once were (Brodinsky, 1992). Academic excellence was deemed very valuable to Soviet children, and their families. A culture of competition, excellence, and 'being the best you could be' pervaded, as has been previously noted (strip 36). From strip 37 above I concluded that the prestige and reputation of an academic institution was deemed very important to the Vasechkin parents, and that the acquisition of a famous and well-regarded *alma mater* for the Curriculum Vitae (CV) was considered a valuable piece of capital. In lines VB09-VB11 Andrei highlighted the desirability of attending a school that people had heard of, prompting Oksana to tease her husband that his own (middle) school had not been well regarded (VB12 and VB13). There was a suggestion that in meeting her, and Andrei's, aspirations, Feliks would exceed Andrei's (school related) achievements. I concluded that Oksana was proud that her son would, in that regard at least, do better than his father. In line VB15 we see that Andrei conceded the point that his school was not prestigious, but immediately asserted that his university (higher school) was 'good'. I conclude that he was reclaiming for himself the cultural capital that the family members associate with having attended a prestigious school. The educational achievements and *alma mater* of each of the other members of the children's generation, be

that Andrei's much older son from his first marriage, or Oksana's young half-brothers, were then brought into conversation for consideration. A verbal list was presented that included a highly prestigious technical university in France, an Ivy league university in the USA, and some of the most prestigious English private schools. Versions of this conversation took place from time to time[148], and had done so for many years. The children had been socialized into the notion that members of 'our family' won places at, attended, and did well at prestigious educational establishments, through the ritual of the conversations about the past endeavours of family members. In the adoption and presentation of this ideology, the family members aligned with both neoliberal notions of personal achievement, and the high SES attribute of accessing elite education. Up to that time the three children had complied very successfully with this aspiration, winning places at some of the most prestigious and academically selective private schools in the UK. Such places were obtained through a combination of performance in academic tests, performance at an interview, and the strength of a reference from the previous school, an important element of which was the child's CV[149]. Such child CVs typically highlighted drama and music awards, sporting achievements, suitable interests and hobbies, prizes, awards, tournaments and competitions entered, extra-curricular courses taken and activities undertaken, membership of theatre groups, orchestras, bands or choirs, positions of responsibility held, such as prefect or school librarian, and other measurable skills, including the speaking of elite languages[150]. The accrual of capital to date, demonstrable through the CV, and the development of a suitable habitus, demonstrated at interview, were therefore key to accessing prestigious elite education in the British / English private school system. The role of socialization in the family was therefore key to the life trajectory of a child. Without the right habitus and attendant cultural capital access to the kind of educational establishments that could provide the next layer of socialization, and further opportunities for the acquisition of further capital, was likely to be denied. Furthermore, without the necessary habitus in the family, the child

[148] I observed three during the fieldwork, 19th March 2019, 9th June 2019, 19th July 2020. I had also noticed it on at least one occasion prior to the commencement of the fieldwork.

[149] In this instance the CV completed by the school and including information provided by the parents.

[150] This list is taken from the guidance sheet provided to parents by the school Feliks was attending at the beginning of the study.

and its parents were also unlikely to be able to access the opportunities to acquire the requisite forms of capital to access such institutions.

Feliks winning places at all three of the prestigious private schools to which he applied demonstrated the success of the parents' socialization. Not only that, the ultimate choice of school that Feliks went on to attend showed that he had been imbued with another element of his parents' ideology. With them, Feliks chose to attend the most famous and prestigious of his options. He openly stated that he believed he would hate it, but agreed to try it for one academic year. His parents made clear to me that if he felt the same way in a year, then they would of course move him. In this act we see both family ideology in action, and alignment across the two generations. By Feliks' own admission, and that of his parents, he agreed to attend a school he did not like, for one year at least, so that in the future he would be able to say that he went there. He too believed a prestigious *alma mater* to be desirable. An explicit link was also made between the past and present focus on elite education, and the possession of cultural capital in the future. Andrei and Oksana intended that the children should go to British universities, with Oxbridge, or failing that other Russell Group universities, as the only options under consideration. As Oksana put it "Where else? they are good, nowhere else is better really, the US is not much better and is very expensive"[151].

9.4 Future Orientations and Agency

The following photograph was taken in Andrei's study.

[151] Fieldnotes, 14th September 2019, Vasechkin garden.

Image 43: A photograph of Andrei with Russian Premier Vladimir Putin, and a school photograph of Mariana.[152]

The photographs shown in the image above were of course material objects. However, the one on the left gained particular significance through the story and meaning that it represented, and of which it may have reminded the observer. Andrei's status in the (Russian) scientific community was such that he was one of the advisors to the Russian Science Minister. On a small number of occasions[153], when President of Russia, Vladimir Putin, engaged with some of the detail of the Science Minister's remit, Andrei was invited to meet with Putin to brief him. The photograph in image 43 was taken at one of these occasions, in the early spring of 2019. The figure with his back to us is Andrei. The first time I met with the family after Andrei had obtained this photograph, he brought it to the dining table to show me, and my family who were also present. He handled it carefully, suggesting that this was not merely a snapshot memento of an interesting day, to be passed around casually. Rather, the photograph was treated as a valuable object in its own right. I recorded in my fieldnotes that I understood Andrei's actions not as 'showing interesting things to the ethnographer', but emphatically as 'sharing proud moments with friends'. He pointed out: "I like this photo, it is

[152] Please note that this fieldwork was completed the year before the war in Ukraine.

[153] I am aware of three such meetings.

nice, because you see he [Putin] is looking *at me*, he is listening to what I am saying"[154]. The image above shows it in its (then) usual home next to a school photograph of Mariana. Neither of those photographs were framed, but both were protected by the glass fronted bookcase in which they were displayed. The juxtaposition of the two images was striking, the Russian premier, and the schoolgirl. I believe that the two photographs and the manner / location of their display communicated to the children that people like the Vasechkins, members of 'our family', (could) achieve a great level of importance in their field, and so associate with those in eminent positions. This example of language materiality (Cavanaugh and Shankar, 2017) encapsulated the role of temporality, being both a narrative of the past, a reflection of present status, and a possible future aspiration. Those photographs, and thus the meaning that the family attached to them, were permanent features in the family's home. Accordingly, they were part of the family's setting and habitus.

In the same bookcase were copies of what is becoming a series of children's books authored by Andrei. The heroine of these, let us call her Mercedes, was modelled on Mariana[155]. At the launch event for the first book of the series, Mariana stood at the front of the room before the assembled guests and read an extract. She did this because, as the audience was informed, she was the original Mercedes. Feliks stood alongside her, and also read a few a short section. Both of the elder two children not only witnessed their father's achievement, but were also an integral part of it, hosting, and speaking in public at the launch[156]. Andrei portrayed Mercedes as confident, intelligent, scientifically and culturally literate, curious, and independent. She showed agency, initiative, and a can-do attitude. She embodied not only a form of cosmopolitanism (section 9.1), but also the neoliberal self (Urciuoli, 2008). In the creation of Mercedes, Andrei had literally written a profile of how his elder daughter could (should?) be.

[154] Fieldnotes, 19th March 2019, Vasechkin dining area.

[155] Andrei told me that prior to the start of the fieldwork, some time in 2018. I confirmed this with him 10th November, 2019 (recorded in fieldnotes).

[156] The book launch was in June 2018. I confirmed my recollection of Mariana's and Feliks' participation with both Andrei and Oksana, 10th November, 2019 (recorded in fieldnotes).

9.4.1 Present-Day Habitus as Enabler of Future Success

I now consider the acquisition of some specific forms of capital in the then present, that were both constitutive of present-day habitus, and enabling of future aspirations for the Vasechkin family members. Oksana was, among other things, Estonian. Her children inherited this nationality through her. However, although she identified herself as Estonian on occasion, she did not claim the language as part of her linguistic repertoire. Rather, she appeared to disown it, as is seen in lines VB20-VB22 below.

Strip 38: Estonian is useless.

Vasechkin garden, July 19th 2020, post-lunch. Present: Oksana and Andrei and their three children, Marie-Anne and Will and our two children.

VB18 Marie-Anne: Do you also speak Estonian? I mean, you
VB19 are, so presumably that's in there too?
VB20 Oksana: No…. I mean…, yes, I have a few words, but I
VB21 don't speak it. My parents did not speak it to me,
VB22 there was no point in speaking it to me, it's useless.

The first thing to observe from this strip is the reflexive moment that it provided for me. There was an ideological contrast here, as I, as ethnographer, had assumed that Oksana would speak at least some Estonian, because she was an Estonian national. I thus demonstrated the ideology that language indexes nationality[157]. Furthermore, following this conversation I reflected on this, and recorded in my fieldnotes that I had slightly felt that as an Estonian national Oksana should have wanted to speak Estonian, simply because I would have. In general, my own language ideologies seemed less representative of the neoliberal commodification identified by Heller and Duchêne (2012) than those of the Vasechkin family members. I am aware of the strength of the ideology of the linguistic market amongst my peers and in my society, and it is one that I also hold to some degree. However, it does not

[157] Language indexes many things, of which nationality is only one.

strongly inform my choices of languages to learn. My own linguistic repertoire includes, at varying standards of competency, three languages which are spoken by fewer than a million speakers globally, and which offer me no potential for profit. The choice to tackle these languages was informed, in part, by an emotional connection to the regions from which these languages come[158]. Oksana, however, demonstrated what I have termed a neoliberal stance, although I do not ascribe Oksana's attitude to Estonian as having been informed (exclusively) by neoliberal ideologies. As I have previously stated, there will have been multiple layers of historically and socially situated ideologies that informed each participant's language choice. In this instance the subordinate position of Estonia and Estonian during Oksana's Soviet upbringing would have been important (Grenoble, 2003). Identifying which ideologies were purely related to neoliberalism and cosmopolitanism, and to what extent, was not possible. However, it appeared from her phrasing "… it is useless" that neoliberal notions of language commodification underpinned Oksana's language ideologies, at least in part. Furthermore, her willingness to articulate this view in front of her children socialized them into the (language commodification) notion that Estonian was valueless, and that was why it was not worth acquiring. This was in contrast to the elite languages which were learnt, and claimed with pride by both Andrei and Oksana. However, I noted that Oksana did not eschew her Estonian nationality. She explicitly stated that it provided a valuable commodity, particularly in a post-Brexit era, namely an EU passport to sit alongside the British and the Russian ones, for herself and her children. She presented this as a self-evidently pragmatic and sensible approach[159]. As Urciuoli (2008) highlighted, the creation of the neoliberal-self entails effectively productising the self, and working to increase one's commodity value. The Estonian language was not deemed to be an asset, but an Estonian passport was, as Estonia was part of the EU. These views were explicitly stated by Oksana on multiple occasions[160]. Furthermore, she specifically contrasted the (lack of) value of a Russian passport, "useless for

[158] For example, I have tentatively, and without much success, started learning Breton, as it was the language of my maternal great-grandparents.

[159] Fieldnotes, 19th July 2020, Vasechkin home.

[160] Fieldnotes January 26th, March 30th, April 6th, November 10th, July 19th 2020,Vasechkin home. 29th December 2019, my home.

anywhere except Russia and Cuba"[161], with that of the Estonian, hence EU, passport. In her embracing of the (profitable) Estonian nationality, whist rejecting the (valueless) language, Oksana revealed her adherence to neoliberal ideologies of productising the self, and working to increase the commodity value of that self (Urciuoli, 2008; Heller and Duchêne, 2012).

9.4.2 Brexit: Crisis?

Bryant and Knight asserted that some people's "authorship, ownership, of the future was rudely repossessed" (2019: 89) by the result of the Brexit referendum, resulting in new anxieties, and the sense that their futures were "hostage" or "in suspension". This was due to having their conception of the future interwoven with a notion of European cosmopolitanism, cultural freedom, and freedom of movement which was contingent on Britain's (seemingly sure) future membership of the EU. The Vasechkin family appeared to me to have experienced no such anxieties. I have concluded that this was because they did not consider that their aspirations had been impacted by Brexit. An important reason for this was the fact all the family members held EU passports. However, this was also the case for the Azergui family, who were, nonetheless, significantly affected by the result of the Brexit referendum (section 6.4). I discuss this further in section 10.2.4. I concluded that the relative lack of concern regarding Brexit on the part of the Vasechkins was a result of the family members' global cosmopolitan orientations and future aspirations, and their lightly-rooted, pragmatic relationship with the UK.

As has been previously noted (section 9.1), Andrei and Oksana were both Russian, raised in Soviet times before the advent of Perestroika. The freedom of movement afforded by the 1992 EU legislation was not, therefore, the only, nor even the primary, socio-political change that enabled their geographic mobility as adults. Moreover, both parents had been able to access international roles and education opportunities that did not depended on the EU, nor the UK's place within it. Andrei, who until his thirties held only a Russian passport[162], had worked throughout the EU and UK, and during the fieldwork period he had obtained a post in China. Oksana, prior gaining British nationality, studied for her master's degree in the US,

[161] Fieldnotes, 19th July 2020, Vasechkin home.

[162] As noted in section 7.1, he then acquired French citizenship and a French passport.

and worked in Austria and Switzerland. The Vasechkin family's proven access to international opportunities, and their multiple passports, meant that the loss of freedom of movement for British nationals did not impinge upon them personally. I rarely observed it being discussed by them. In over 200 hours of combined observations and conversations, Brexit and its implications came up twice. Neither conversation lasted more than five minutes. The first involved Oksana stating blandly "It is stupid"[163]. The second, between Andrei and his colleague Stavros, at lunch in the Vasechkin family home, consisted of a reflection of the impact of Brexit on funding of, and recruitment for, scientific research. Both considered that it would cause difficulties. Andrei stated "It will be bad; things will be damaged by this"[164]. However, I did not conclude that they were personally alarmed by this. Both were members of international research consortia, and both had (part-time) faculty positions at research institutions outside the UK. It appeared that the Vasechkins', and their colleagues', sense of agency, and the hopes and expectations that they held for the future, were not tied to what was happening socio-politically in Britain. Their habitus was transnational. Their freedom of movement remained assured by their possession of several passports, and their professional status. At the close of the fieldwork, Andrei was working in China, and the family were selecting their educational establishments based upon their global, not British, reputation, as has been noted above (section 9.3. Moreover, Oksana and Andrei informed me[165] that prior to the Brexit referendum they had already had some tentative conversations about leaving the UK, perhaps to move to Italy, when the children completed their schooling[166]. Whilst many (transnational) families were caused to revise their beliefs and practices after the Brexit referendum (Bryant and Knight, 2019), this did not appear to me to be the case for the Vasechkin family. I concluded that the family habitus, and attendant (language) socialization practices, continued to serve the Vasechkin's envisaged future, even in a post Brexit world. Accordingly, the upheaval that was Brexit and its ongoing

[163] Fieldnotes, 19th March, 2019, Vasechkin kitchen.

[164] Fieldnotes, 19th July, 2019, Vasechkin sitting room.

[165] Not with the children present.

[166] Fieldnotes, 19th July 2020, Vasechkin home.

aftermath, whilst important, did not precipitate discernible changes in their family ideologies and practices. The Brexit referendum took place two and a half years before the beginning of this study, and so I have no notes from that time. However, the observations and comments captured in my fieldwork suggest that the referendum and its aftermath did not cause the family to adjust their plans or their conceptions of the future. Oksana and Andrei, both stated that they did not see Brexit as significant for them personally[167]. The children expressed no opinion. Rather than feeling compelled to adjust their course in the face of this socio-political event, the Vasechkin family simply continued in the process of socializing their children into the cosmopolitan and neoliberal habitus, that would, they hoped, enable their desired future.

9.5 Conclusion

In this conclusion I again not only consider what has been revealed about the Vasechkin family, but also draw out themes that can be seen across the two families, based upon what has been discussed in this chapter. These are discussed further in chapter 10. I have shown how the Vasechkin family presented a form of cosmopolitan that is akin to globalisation, with a way of being that was both transnational and lightly rooted in the UK. I further explored how an interest in high culture was an important element in both their forms of capital, and their habitus. The analysis demonstrated how the Vasechkin parents' social networks and activities both presented, and socialized their children into, a transnational habitus, and indexed membership of a transnational high SES group. I concluded that these activities also served to equip the children with the forms of cultural and social capital required to achieve future membership of a similar group, in their turn. I then addressed the role of elite education. I highlighted its great importance to the family as a very valuable commodity in and of itself. I also noted that it was understood to be not only a form of cultural capital and a characteristic of high SES habitus in the then present, but that it was also an investment in future cultural capital and habitus. The children would each be able to claim a prestigious *alma mater* when they were adults. Finally, I concluded that unlike the Azergui family, the Vasechkin family did not consider their aspirations to have been impacted by Brexit, and accordingly did not (need to) adjust them. I suggested that this was indicative of, and partially

[167] Oksana: 19th March, 2019, Vasechkin kitchen. Andrei: 19th July 2020, Vasechkin sitting room (from fieldnotes).

caused by, the family members' global orientations and future aspirations, and of what has been revealed by the analysis as their lightly-rooted, pragmatic relationship with the UK. The Vasechkin family members also did not indicate any increase in SV (Benedi Lahuerta and Iusmen, 2021), unlike Sakina Azergui. Accordingly, I concluded that rather than feeling compelled to adjust their course in the face of the socio-political event that is Brexit, the Vasechkin family continued in the process of socializing their children into the family's existing (desired) habitus, focusing upon the development of the neoliberal self, and upon elite education. For both families, the analysis revealed how the cultural capitals and attendant habitus acquired and presented in the present were informed by aspirations for the future, and how both of these in turn informed, and were informed by, the participants' understanding of the past.

Chapter 10. Reflecting Upon Two Stories, and a Hidden Third

10.1 Introduction

Spending the eighteen months of 2019 and the first half of 2020 immersed in the lives of the two families considered in this thesis was a fascinating and enriching experience. The research participants whose stories are presented here were exceptionally supportive and welcoming. They invited me into their homes, their cars, their celebrations and their lives, sharing with me some of the narratives, moments and rituals, both big and small, that made up their families' lives. Their insight, reflexivity, and enthusiastic engagement with the study have been invaluable in allowing me to observe and understand the ways in which they co-create, negotiate and navigate their habitus, and their unique conceptions of 'our family'. In this chapter and the one that follows, I will draw together elements of my arguments, and discuss them. I begin in section 10.2 with a consideration of some of the themes, commonalities and differences in the two families' stories, enabling me to reveal their unique ways of being a family. I structure this section so as to specifically answer my stated research questions. I will then consider the largely invisible third family that has been part of this study, my own (section 10.3), before moving on to chapter 11 where I summarise this thesis, its finding and contributions, and present my final thoughts.

10.2 Commonality and Difference: Two Different Ways of Being

10.2.1 What Does it Mean to Belong to 'Our Family'?

In this section I answer the first research question: *How is 'our family' discursively created, negotiated and presented moment to moment?*

The Azerguis and the Vasechkins embodied two different ways of being a family. The Azergui family members presented themselves as a unified and stable entity, and the six of them were the primary source of concern and support for one another. Financial resources were provided exclusively by Badis' significant professional success in the banking sector. In chapter 5, I revealed how the Azergui family demonstrated awareness of and reflexivity about their privilege, and how Sakina in particular worked to prevent her children developing a sense of entitlement. I further demonstrated how the Azergui parents held the ideology that

romantic partnerships were expected to be for life. This view was modelled by the parents, and the children were being socialized into it, particularly by Sakina. Through my analysis I revealed Sakina's belief that as the mother of a family she was the pillar that supported the family's vision of itself and of its future. The analysis additionally demonstrated how she enacted this.

However, family instability and flexibility appear to be inherent traits of late modernity (McGoldrick et al., 2015). The analysis revealed how the Vasechkin family exemplified and discursively created a less traditional model of being a family. Some family members had been married more than once, including Andrei, the children's father, Oksana's half-brother, Charles, and her father, Boris. Generational lines had blurred. The Vasechkin children had a half-brother older than two of their uncles, one of whom attended school with Feliks. Furthermore, it was shown how the division of parental responsibilities was more fluid. Andrei Vasechkin undertook many of the tasks associated with childcare when he was in the UK. However, when he was away, which by the close of the fieldwork period was for an average of four weeks out of every five, Oksana had to do everything, alongside working full time. Whilst financial resources were primarily provided by the parents' salaries, much use was made of family assets and social / professional networks. Overall the analysis revealed that the Vasechkin family's habitus and forms of capital were far more strongly interwoven with those of their (family) networks than was the case for the Azerguis.

In chapters 5 and 8, I elucidated the values, ideologies and characteristics of habitus that were displayed by each family in their presentation of themselves, and in their socialization practices. Several were observed in both families, as was revealed in the analysis. These included many of those that I consider to be characteristics of cosmopolitanism and / or neoliberalism, such as a transnational disposition, and the value attached to elite languages. These are discussed more completely below. However, the ideologies and facets of habitus that were foregrounded as most important, and as almost defining a member of 'our family', were different. In chapter 8 the analysis revealed that the Vasechkin family focused primarily upon intelligence and academic / professional excellence, whilst that in chapter 5 showed how the Azergui family particularly emphasised courtesy and a reflexive awareness of their

own privilege. The analysis explored the links between these priorities and the habitus, facticity, and future orientations of each family.

10.2.2 In What Way are We Cosmopolitan? Globalisation and Ethical Rootedness

In this section, and the following, I answer my second research question: *What do any identified ideologies and attendant socialization practices reveal about the nature of 'our family's' habitus?*

I have concluded that both families' habitus may be termed cosmopolitan. I understand cosmopolitanism as implying an openness, interest, tolerance, respect and ease of engagement with the other, in the form of foreign cultures, places and people (Maxwell and Aggleton, 2015). In section 2.4 I suggested that a spectrum of cosmopolitanism could be identified. At one end lies a form of cosmopolitanism akin to globalisation by another name, at the other is a reflexive, morally charged cosmopolitanism. The former encompasses mobility, transnationalism and appreciation of the aesthetic of other cultures, whilst nonetheless maintaining a pull towards homogeneity. The latter enshrines empathy, tolerance and respect for other cultures and values. Furthermore, I take the stance that cosmopolitanism is not *necessarily* antithetical to a national outlook, but may be deeply locally rooted, demanding what Cohen (1992: 483) describes as "multiple patriotisms" and "plural loyalties". In chapter 9 I revealed how the Vasechkin family members sat lightly in their national context, and concluded that they embodied a cosmopolitanism to be found towards the rootless, globalisation end of the spectrum. I concluded that cosmopolitanism was an essential form of (cultural) capital for the Vasechkin family, and one that strongly informed their habitus. In contrast, in chapter 6, I identified the rooted, reflexive nature of the Azergui cosmopolitanism, concluding that it was to be found towards the other end of the spectrum to that of the Vasechkin family. The analysis revealed that the Azergui family members had developed a predisposition to view the world through the lens of cosmopolitanism. Linking cosmopolitanism to a Bourdieusian framework, the analysis concluded, in alignment with Maxwell and Aggleton (2015), that for the Azergui family, cosmopolitanism constituted a set of practices linked to a habitus, rather than simply a form of cultural capital. I further

concluded that this difference in the nature of the two families' cosmopolitanism was central to their very different responses to Brexit, discussed further below (section 10.2.4).

One characteristic of the cosmopolitanism of both families is their multilingualism. However, this thesis concluded that multilingualism, in this instance elite multilingualism (Heller and Duchêne, 2012) was more than an element of cultural capital. In chapters 5 and 8, I revealed that multilingualism and multiple artefactualized languages were a permanent, acknowledged presence for the two families. The many ways in which the children were exposed, day-in-day-out, to multiple languages, and to multilingualism *per se*, through practice, discourse, and objects were pointed out. It was demonstrated how the multilingual and multinational nature of the participants was foregrounded by them themselves, and not imposed by the study. The analysis highlighted how investment in a language entails both investing in the acquisition of material and cultural capital, and an investment in the ideologies and dispositions that multilingualism confers, that together create a way of being. Accordingly, it was concluded that for both of these families, multilingualism was not simply a form of cultural capital, but a characteristic of their habitus.

10.2.3 When Pride and Profit Converge: Neoliberalism and Language in High Socio-Economic Status Transnational Families

In this section I continue to answer the second research question: *What do any identified ideologies and attendant socialization practices reveal about the nature of 'our family's' habitus?*

The participants were immersed in, and reproduced, presented, or contested, the discourses of the neoliberal context. Most relevantly for this study, the advent of neoliberalism has given rise to what Urciuoli (2008) terms the neoliberal self. This is an identity where the self is effectively productised, and what are perceived as desirable traits are deliberately acquired and foregrounded. These include, but are not limited to, self-development, entrepreneurialism, independence, and flexibility. Neoliberalism has thus become an agentive factor that has determined the social discourse and ideologies, including language ideologies, that envelop the participants, and are negotiated, enacted or contested by them (Urciuoli, 2008; Martin Rojo, 2019). However, there are multiple layers of historically and socially

situated ideologies that inform language choice, of which neoliberalism is but one aspect. The Vasechkins' relationship with Estonian, for example (discussed below), is surely informed by the subordinate position of Estonia and Estonian during the Soviet upbringing of the parents (Grenoble, 2003). Nonetheless, the term neoliberal is used here to describe such ideologies because they are both in alignment with the neoliberal context, and constitutive of a 'self' that is more likely to thrive in such a context. As was stated above, the analysis in chapters 5, and 8 identified practices, ideologies, and characteristics of habitus that were accordingly termed neoliberal and, it was concluded, were central to the habitus of the participants. These included a sense of the self as a marketable commodity to be improved and developed. Particular attention was paid to analysing this last element in the context of current literature on the commodification of language, and the pride / profit dichotomy identified by Heller and Duchêne (2012). I also revealed the value ascribed by the participants to their multilingualism. In the case of the Vasechkin family, I further showed how that was reconciled with their support for the hegemony of 'native' elite English. I concluded that this apparent dichotomy was created by their neoliberal privileging of elite languages, whilst simultaneously foregrounding their cosmopolitan transnationalism above their nationalities. In order to accommodate the nature of the habitus enacted by the participants that included neoliberal ideologies, but was not tied to nationality or a specific linguistic culture, a refinement of Heller and Duchêne's (2012) pride / profit dichotomy of neoliberal language ideology was required. I demonstrated that there was a clear neoliberal sense of profit in the language ideologies of the participants, and an awareness that (elite) languages are an asset, in line with the findings of Heller and Duchêne (2012) and Codó and Sunyol (2019). Furthermore, the analysis identified the participants' view that a form of multilingualism that includes elite languages, and necessarily includes English, enabled access to other forms of profit, such as elite education at the prestigious private school of one's choice. That cultural capital enables access to, and success in, elite education has been noted by Scherger and Savage (2010). Through this study I have indicated how language is an essential element of such cultural capital.

Moreover, I also revealed that in the case of elite multilingualism the individual artefactualized languages and multilingualism *per se* are both sources of both pride *and* profit. Both families had non-elite languages in their family histories, but in neither case were

these still considered heritage languages for this iteration of 'our family'. As was revealed in the analysis, Oksana's own socialization as a child had included the dismissal of Estonian as 'useless', in line with Soviet language ideology of the time (Grenoble, 2003). Oksana knew very few words of Estonian even as a child, and never spoke it to her own parents or grandparents. She therefore considered Russian, not Estonian, to be her heritage language. Both Sakina and Badis spoke French with their own parents, and their grandparents. Accordingly, for the Azergui family I observed in the UK, French was the heritage language. Berber had already passed almost completely out of use. Both families therefore had (predominately) elite heritage languages, that were simultaneously a source of pride and profit. At the same time, the non-heritage languages were also a source of both profit and pride in that they indexed transnational cosmopolitan group membership. Furthermore, elite multilingualism is itself a valuable commodity. As Bühlmann (2020: 243) put it, to "wear the insignia of internationality is without doubt seen as an asset in certain social groups and professions". Elite multilingualism serves as such an insignia, whilst simultaneously indexing membership of 'our family' and of the high SES cosmopolitan transnational group to which the participants consider themselves to belong. In these instances, pride and profit converge and the dichotomy falls away.

10.2.4 Good Parenting: Winning and Protecting 'Our Family's' Future

In this section I answer the third research question: *What is the role of future orientations in determining present day habitus, ideology, and practice?*

The fieldwork phase of this ethnography began in January 2019, two and a half years after the UK referendum in which 51.7% of those who voted indicated that the UK should leave the European Union (UK Electoral Commission, 2016). The exit of the United Kingdom from the EU, in what has been termed in popular discourse a 'hard Brexit' (Whitman, 2016), ending freedom of movement and many economic and relational ties between the EU and the UK, was something to which the participants in this study were opposed. Many in the UK had conceived of a future that involved, and indeed was in part contingent upon, a particular form of European cosmopolitanism, one that entailed the UK being part of the European project. In chapter 6, I concluded that this was the case for the Azergui family members, and that they did not realise it until the situation altered. I demonstrated that Brexit caused them

to question not only their future, but to re-evaluate their past beliefs as to the nature of the socio-political environment in the UK. The analysis elucidated the resultant important change in the nature of their relationship with the UK. I concluded that this was in part due to the rooted and ethical nature of the cosmopolitanism that was embodied by the Azergui family, discussed previously. I consider that future orientations directly inform the development of habitus in the present, and attendant socialization practices. I also agree with Bryant and Knight's (2019) suggestion that if the previously imagined future could no longer be anticipated, individuals would be forced to reconsider their present. I concluded, therefore, that for the Azergui family members, as for many others, the result of the Brexit referendum and its aftermath created a crisis, where their extant (desired) future was no longer imaginable. The attitude of the Vasechkin to the result of the Brexit referendum and its aftermath was very different. It is the case that the Vasechkin family members all held EU passports, and accordingly their personal geographic mobility was not altered by Brexit. However, that was also the case for the Azergui family members. This indicates that the two families' attitudes to what was happening were different for other reasons. I have concluded that whilst the Azergui family's future orientations had been rooted in the UK context, the Vasechkins desired future was not understood by them as being strongly tied to what was happening socio-politically in Britain. This was, I believe, indicative of, and both partially constitutive of and caused by, the Vasechkin family members' lightly rooted, pragmatic relationship with the UK. Accordingly, rather than feeling compelled to adjust their course in the face of Brexit, the Vasechkin family continued in the process of socializing their children into the cosmopolitan and neoliberal habitus, that would, they hoped, guarantee their future as it was then envisaged.

The Azergui and Vasechkin family members' habitus and agency were central to their responses to Brexit. In the analysis I revealed how their high SES, access to forms of capital, and habitus that included both a sense of belief in their own abilities and the neoliberal can-do mindset, informed not only their understanding of whether / how Brexit had impacted their future, but also what they felt moved / able to do about it. In chapter 6, I showed how the Azergui family members demonstrated their agency in meeting the challenges that they encountered, be those Brexit or the finding of a suitable university for Aderfi. In chapters 8 and 9, I revealed how the Vasechkin family foregrounded the desirability and importance of a

neoliberal focus upon the acquisition of the 'correct' forms of capital, upon self-development, and upon confidence and agency. I analysed which ideologies were demonstrated, such as the prestige associated with 'native' English, and the mechanisms by which the children were socialized into these, such as teasing. From the analysis in these two chapters taken together, I conclude that both families possessed / were creating habitus that included mobility, differing forms of cosmopolitanism, and neoliberalism. I further concluded that it was due to the families' habitus, and their attendant forms of capital, that they remained undefeated, if sometimes dismayed, by the crises that arose in their worlds, and by the structural shifts around them.

In this research I elucidate the socio-structural privilege that is afforded by Bourdieusian forms of capital and resultant habitus, despite these being largely unable to be measured or even seen. In this way I revealed elements of the ideologies and practices of high SES families and individuals that they use define and maintain their status. The 'correct' social codes and ways of being are essential if one is to achieve this, which in turn demands some form of socialization into such codes. The earliest form of socialization experienced by (almost) every person is that within the family. It is, therefore, in large part through and with the family that the person who is x, becomes x. That essential process has been revealed by this research for the two participant families. Elite education was deemed essential by both of them, and those of their peer group observed in this study. However, this had to be in conjunction with a full vocal and non-vocal semiotic repertoire that provides access to / mastery of the 'correct' social codes. Indeed, mastery of such codes through the acquisition of cultural and social capitals was to an extent pre-requisite to even gaining access to, let alone thriving in, elite education (Blommaert, 2020, Scherger and Savage, 2010). Included in these were linguistic codes, such as 'native' English, the RP English accent, and use of 'U' forms of vocabulary (Ross, 1954) (section 2.2). Overall, through my analysis I revealed how both participant families were socializing their children into a habitus that afforded the children significant socio-economic advantage in the then present, and into the future. That the parents were able to do so was due to their own habitus and privilege, as has been noted. That they chose to do so, I concluded, was due to an ideology that it was what was required of a parent in 'our family'. The analysis revealed, particularly through the conversations with

Oksana, Andrei, and the highly self-reflexive Sakina, that the provision of significant social and cultural 'start-up' capital for the children, and their socialization into an attendant neoliberal cosmopolitan habitus that could, perhaps would, win them their desired future, was above all 'good parenting' (King and Fogle, 2006).

10.3 The Third Family: Mine

I now consider the role of my own family in this study. This is not an autoethnography, and I have not made fieldnotes about my own family. However, it is a story about two families a little like mine; multinational, multilingual, resident in the UK, but connected through family ties to other nationalities and countries across both time and space. Indeed, I met the participants through my sons, as they briefly attended the same private school as Igider Azergui and Feliks Vasechkin. The ethnographers' reflexivity (Patiño-Santos, 2017) and the recognition of their role in the co-creation of the situation under analysis, and the knowledge so produced is essential to the production of trustworthy ethnography. It is this reflexivity that makes ethnography a particularly powerful tool in the exploration of the discursive and situated nature of language ideologies, which the ethnographer may personally share or reject, but which need to be seen in the study. Accordingly, in the second part of this chapter I will consider how my own family has impacted this research.

10.3.1 Participant and Ethnographer Ideologies: Commonalities, Assumptions and Mismatch

In order to tell this story, I have had to navigate the challenges of studying what could be considered my own 'tribe'. I address how this both is, and in some ways is not, the case in the following section, 10.3.2. I was able to read certain signs very easily, as my socialization and that of the participants shared many elements. However, it would have been very easy to overstate the commonalities, and to have assumed that the ideologies of the participants were those that I held. There were a few instances where I felt the confusion and discomfort that came with a realisation that I did not in fact share a facet of their world view, and that I was going to have to carefully unpick my narrative from theirs. Inevitably all studies, ethnographic or other, are partial and informed by the personal lens of the researcher. Accordingly, reflexivity has been central to making this study as reliable and trustworthy as

possible. This process has caused me to reflect upon my own socialization and language ideologies. There are commonalities with the Vasechkin and Azergui parents. I am of similar age. I too am multilingual, multinational, and a product of late modernity. I consider myself, and seem to be considered by my peers[168], to be of similar social class to the participants. I consider my habitus to be transnational, neoliberal, and cosmopolitan. However, I have noted that my own language ideologies, and hence practices, differ in some important respects. For example, I appear to attach less weight to what Heller and Duchêne (2012) identify as neoliberal considerations of 'profit' than the Vasechkin family members in my choice of languages to (attempt to) learn. This was made clear in the analysis (section 9.4.1), in the exchange titled 'Estonian is Useless'. As I highlighted there, that strip revealed to me an ideological difference between Oksana and myself. There were two areas of misalignment that I was able to identify. Firstly, I assumed that Oksana would (should?) speak at least some Estonian because she was an Estonian national. In this I demonstrated the ideology that language indexes nationality and / or culture. Secondly, this moment revealed that I am less strongly aligned with neoliberal conceptions of the linguistic market, and of language as a source of profit, than the Vasechkin family. Whilst Oksana did not appear to eschew entirely the notion of language indexing nationality, she did reveal that she held a pragmatic ideology, that I termed neoliberal, that valued languages exclusively for the profit (Heller and Duchêne, 2012) that they unlocked. I had recorded in my fieldnotes that I felt a little that Oksana *should* want to speak Estonian, simply because I would. I was mildly disappointed. I noted a similar, if lesser, disappointment upon discovering that the Azergui parents had not attempted to teach their children any words of Berber, although they maintained it themselves. I later noted (with interest, but not disappointment), that upon deciding to move to Barcelona Sakina Azergui was engaged in learning / helping her children learn Spanish, but not Catalan. Spanish was "more important" (section 5.3). In general, my own language ideologies seemed less representative of the neoliberal commodification identified by Heller and Duchêne (2012) than those of the Azergui family members, and certainly than those of the Vasechkin family. As was noted in section 9.4.1, the notion of the linguistic market that does not

[168] Established as part of the research.

strongly inform my choices of languages to learn. My own linguistic repertoire includes, at varying standards of competency, three languages which are spoken by fewer than a million speakers globally, and offer me no potential for additional 'profit'. I am aware that being able to learn such languages is a luxury that I can afford because I am in a position of linguistic privilege, having (near) 'native' mastery in more than one elite language, including English. With regard to the languages I teach to / speak with my children, I certainly cannot claim to have taught my children a wide repertoire of languages. They speak English and some French. As scholars have noted (Okita, 2002), and as Sakina and I have discussed, teaching one's children a language, other than the one in which the family is immersed, is exhausting. I have invested my resources into teaching my children English and French. They are elite languages, and they are my first and second languages. They are also the first languages of my father and mother respectively. However, I have taught my children about my other languages, which I have spoken for them several times. I have shared some simple words with them, such as greetings, and the names / descriptions of our pets.

Differences of ideology and practice notwithstanding, it would be easy to conclude that my family and those of the participants are of the same 'tribe'. Whilst this is true in certain respects, it is a conclusion challenged by the important role of temporality in this study. It is to this discussion that I now turn.

10.3.2 Am I Studying My Own Tribe? A Similar Vision of the Future, a Shared Present, but a Divergent Past

An essential element of which I needed to remind myself was the role of temporality in the families' ways of being. The participant families, and my own, largely share a Bourdieusian field, and significant aspects of habitus, and many forms of capital in the present. My family shared many, even most, of the elements of our self-present with the participants. As adults we have all obtained university educations, have travelled and worked internationally. At the beginning of the fieldwork we all lived in Hampshire in the UK, and all of our children were raised in the South of England and attending private schools. Furthermore, based on the observations and analysis of this study, our future orientations overlap somewhat, although, as was revealed in chapters 6 and 9, the precise nature, contingencies and priorities of these were nuanced, and often imperceptible unless challenged. Accordingly, it would have been

easy, but dangerous, to assume that our world views were (almost) the same. Nonetheless, whilst the socialization of our children in the then present had much in common, that of my generation in the past was very different.

When I observed the research participants, I was prompted to think not only about my present, but also my past. The family I was thinking of, when I wrote “families like mine” above, was not only my family today, it was also my family when I was a child, and was a new family member myself. This temporal shift is hugely important. The fields, habitus and socialization of the participant families and mine diverge more and more as we look backwards in time. In our past lay great differences between us, particularly in our childhoods. Whilst my husband and I were raised in the UK, Badis and Sakina were raised in France, only coming here as adults. My husband’s family were British for many generations, but from Scotland, and proudly so. My mother came to the UK from rural France, and my father had worked in the USA. As my father’s family in England was small, the extended family base was predominately in France, and we visited every year, for weeks at a time. Sakina and Badis were raised in Paris, and were both third generation migrants from Algeria, with parents and siblings in France, but an extended network in ‘our village’ in the Kabyle region of Algeria. This was often visited, and they continued (and continue to this day) to represent the family of that village in the Kabyle diaspora in France. Andrei and Oksana were raised in the geographical region that is now Russia, in the then Soviet Union, which only ceased to exist as they were coming into adulthood. When they were children, Andrei and Oksana’s extended families were all around them, with most family members living in and around the same region.

The structures, systems, and ways of being have changed in a generation for all three families. Where, for me, there were late nights waiting at cold ferry ports , sandwiches tainted with the smell of diesel and salt spray, and long drives in order to see family, with children stretched out on back seats and in the cushion filled footwell, there are now breakfasts at Wagamama’s at Heathrow, short hops by ’plane, and seatbelts (and, currently, a global pandemic). Where there was the expensive Sunday evening telephone phone-call with grandparents, with the parties taking it in turns to make contact, and therefore to pay the bill, there are now free, and often impromptu FaceTime and Skype calls. A few, carefully chosen

photos printed at the chemist shop and tucked inside Christmas cards to cousins, and blue airmail letters neatly folded into three, have been replaced by WhatsApp, Google-photos, Facebook and email. Modernity, capitalism, and the newly joined EU have been replaced with late-modernity, neoliberalism and Brexit. The Vasechkins, Azerguis, and my family find one another's present very familiar, but each other's past very alien. When I considered only the participants as I was seeing them during the fieldwork, I felt that I was studying my own tribe. When I reflected upon their and my past, I realised that in very important ways, I was not. This understanding assisted greatly in seeing the place and value of the family stories told by the parents to, and in front of, their children. These stories were a window onto a world that the audience, both the children and me, the ethnographer, could never fully know. However, we understood that we were being told them for a reason. The messages I saw and heard in those narratives of foreign times, were those into which the children were being socialized. Whilst each family had its own ideologies, and its own stories, all of us re-created and deployed these narratives in the service of our children's socialization. Listening to the participants' stories led me to see the ideologies indexed in my own. Indeed, the fieldwork process held a mirror up to many of my own ideologies and practices and, most challengingly, to the reality of my role in perpetuating inequality. It is to this that I now turn.

10.3.3 Good Parenting versus Social Equality: A Moral Tension

This study has revealed how families such as the two whose stories are told here were concerned with ensuring their children's socialization into a habitus that would, it was hoped, enable their future success. The story of these families is a version of the story of all families of high SES throughout the world of late modernity, including my own. Access to, and control of, linguistic resources, and the Bourdieusian capitals that such resources unlock, are unevenly distributed in society, resulting in significant inequality. This research elucidates how privileged families leverage their capitals, and ensure their ongoing success and status in society. In effect, such families, including my own, due to our privilege, are able to provide our children with significant social and cultural 'start-up' capital. This is understood by us to be good parenting. However, it has raised some moral issues for me.

I am now far more cognisant of the extent to which the participants, and by inference others like them, including myself, perpetuate social inequalities through the ways in which we raise

our children. There have, inevitably, been many moments throughout my life when I have become aware of a new aspect of either my privilege, or consequence of my actions, in a way that has challenged me to either adjust my practices or mitigate / compensate for my negative impact. This is the first instance that I can recall where I have become more aware of how my actions perpetuate inequality, and yet I have chosen not to significantly change them. I have adjusted some element of my engagement with groups outside of my family based upon my learning in this study, for example in my work with certain social justice organisations. However, I have not changed my parenting. I have concluded that my priorities as a parent are more important to me than my priorities as a member of my wider society that believes in, and often actively works towards, social justice. I have accepted this completely as, like for many mothers, my children are my priority. Furthermore, societal ideologies support me in making my boys my primary concern. Nevertheless, acknowledging this tension has required a level of reflexivity that has been at times very uncomfortable. Despite this, I have found being a parent in the field to be helpful to this research, as I discuss in the following section.

10.3.4 Parenting in the Field

Whilst ethnography as a discipline has embraced the ethnographer as an explicit presence in the stories that are revealed and co-created, little has been written about the role of the ethnographer's family. Accompanied fieldwork is beginning to be explored, for example by Braukmann et al. (2020) and Hodgkins and Thomspon (2022). To date these have largely focused upon the issues and challenges, rather than the benefits of being accompanied in the field by one's family. The presence of my children, and on many occasions my husband, during my research has both shaped and contributed to this study. I now consider the ways in which that was the case. Firstly, and most obviously, it is through my sons that I met the participants. Igider Azergui was in the same class as my younger son, Yves, for three years, and Feliks Vasechkin with my older son, Henri, for seven. I would not have met either family had this not been the case. (The Vasechkin daughters and Azergui daughters also attended the same school as each other, but the two families did not know one another, as their children were in different school years.) Igider Azergui became one of my younger son's best friends, and my elder son remains on very good terms with Feliks Vasechkin. However, the role that

my children played was not limited to their precipitating my meeting of the participants. At the start of the research period my relationship with the participants was that of warm acquaintance, and a stronger friendship developed through the course of the study. However, that friendship was not just with me. With the Azergui family it extended to my son Yves in particular, and with the Vasechkin family it also encompassed my husband and both my sons. When Andrei and Oksana Vasechkin invited us to participate in one of their family movies, an offer that they had previously extended to no-one other than family members and their partners, roles were created for all four of us. My husband and / or children have accompanied me on many occasions, when we have been hosted by one of the families in question for lunch, dinner, or for the children to play together. This was not at my instigation, but in every case it was because they were invited by the participant family (member). Very quickly it became almost unthinkable that I would share a meal with the Vasechkins without bringing my husband at least. Similarly, had I visited the Azergui household when Igider was there without bringing Yves too, it would have been considered odd by all involved. The presence of my family, and the connections between them and the participants, deepened my immersion in the field, and shaped my role as participant observer.

After the first few weeks of the fieldwork, I was almost never treated as a researcher when I visited the homes of the participants, or met them elsewhere. Rather, I was welcomed as a friend or, in the case of Igider Azergui, as Yves' mother. Indeed, my presence was most widely framed by the participants in terms of my position of mother in a family with which their family was friendly. This was invaluable, as it helped build trust and ease with my presence. It was also the basis for lasting friendships. I believe that the positioning of me as a mother first and foremost influenced the kinds of interactions and practices that I observed, and in which I became involved. I was above all another mother like Sakina and Oksana, and accordingly it was their stories, and their perspective as mothers, that were most readily and easily shared with me. Many of the stories recounted to me were as one mother to another, and this is reflected in the relative strength of their voices in the analysis chapters. Due to my having children at similar ages, and similar life / academic stages, as some of those of the participant families, there was a sense of solidarity between the different participant parents and me. This was particularly the case between Sakina and I, and Oksana and I, and was true even when our ideologies and practices were not aligned. The exchanges presented in section

5.2.2, vignette 2, and section 5.3, “That’s sooo not happening”, both indicate this. In both instances, the looks, smiles or shrugs exchanged between Sakina and I were not between participant and researcher, but between one exasperated / phlegmatic / amused / tired mother, and another.

My sons not only brought about my meeting with the participants, shaped my relationship with them, and facilitated my deep immersion in the field. They also occasionally became, in effect, participants or informants in the study. Evidence for this was shown in, section 5.3 “The PS4 isn’t working”, and section 5.2, vignette 2. In these instances, my son Yves was part of the observed moment, and his words part of the interactions. He was an agentive presence, supporting Igider in resisting the speaking of French. Indeed, Yves and Igider often formed an alliance against Sakina and me and our language socialization efforts. As was shown in the analysis, section 5.2, vignette 2, we mothers insisted upon appropriate good manners and hosting / guest behaviour, but capitulated in the face of our sons’ united preference for English. My elder son, Henri, was also an informant on occasion. His contribution was more discrete, but discernible. It took the form of relaying conversations that he had with the participant children, prompting ideas and providing an extra dimension of immersion in the field, that of children’s chatter away from their parents. For example, on one occasion he volunteered “Feliks’ told me that his mum speaks loads more Russian when you’re there you know. Had you worked that out? He thinks it’s funny.” As noted in the analysis (section 8.3.1), I had “worked that out” due to the way that the Vasechkin children reacted, or rather did not, when addressed in Russian by Oksana. It was interesting to hear that it had been noted, and commented upon with amusement, by Feliks.

Chapter 11. Summary and Final Thoughts

11.1 Introduction

The central aim of this research was to investigate ethnographically two instances of multilingual multinational family resident in the UK in the aftermath of the Brexit referendum. I specifically explored the construction and presentation of what has been framed here as 'our family', enacted in 'our home', and the (language) socialization of children into this. The study focused upon how the way of being of the participant families, and family members, was discursively constructed through their everyday rituals, language practices, and interactions, moment to moment. Particular attention was given in the study to how the newer members, the children, were socialized into 'our family', how this notion was (co-)created, contested, and negotiated with and by them (sections 4.3, 5.3 and 8.3) I revealed both the extent to which, and the mechanisms by which, this was done. The essential role in this enterprise of various linguistic elements including elite artefactualized languages, high status language variants and accents, gesture, appearance and / or bearing and multilingualism was shown. I also addressed the essential, but often neglected, role of non-verbal semiosis in these processes (throughout, particularly chapters and 7, and section 9.4).

The Vasechkin and Azergui families' ways of being were socially and historically situated, but were recognisable to them and to the careful observer as their unique version of 'our family'. I elucidated the ideologies and practices that high SES multilingual / transnational families and individuals use to define and sustain their status. Elements of the forms of capital afforded by / constitutive of their high SES and hence their habitus were identified (sections 4.2, 5.4, 7.2, 8.4 and 9.1) These included access to geographic mobility, and a form of cultural capital that encompassed artefactualized languages, elite (forms of) languages, and multilingualism. The unique nature of each instance of 'our family' and its habitus, and the fact of it being nuanced for each family members, was also revealed. I showed how family members embodied many aspects of the neoliberal self (Urciuoli, 2008) (section 5.3 and 8.3), although the mechanisms by which this came to be the case were not exclusively those of neoliberalism. I also revealed how for high SES multilingual transnational families, the pride / profit dichotomy of language commodification (Heller and Duchêne) needs to be refined, to

accommodate the convergence of pride and profit in the linguistic repertoire. In sections 5.3, 8.3, and 9.1 I demonstrated how both families' habitus was characterised by an adherence to (language) ideologies that reflected not only neoliberal ideals, but also those of cosmopolitanism. The specific form of cosmopolitanism revealed for each family was different, and socially and historically informed (sections 6.1 and 9.1). It was supported by their connections to extended transnational family through both time and space, and the families' multiple cultures, nationalities and languages. This in turn informed the nature of their response to / form of language commodification, and the degree to which they had, and believed themselves to have, agency in the face of life events, such as accessing elite schools, accessing university, and Brexit (sections 6.3, 6.4, 9.3 and 9.4).

I further revealed how the two families' future orientations, and the choices made within each family in order to protect / bring about their respective desired futures, also reflected the difference in the specific form of the cosmopolitanism that the families embodied (sections 6.1 and 9.1). Not only were the present and the hoped-for future shown to be inextricably bound, but the narratives of the past were both determinant of, and (re-)created in the service of, present day socialization and future orientations. I demonstrated this through my exploration of how, and if, Brexit and its aftermath shifted the imagined and desired futures of the two families, and the impact of this shift (sections 6.4 and 9.4). Through my consideration of the Azergui family's response to Brexit I showed how the privilege of having high SES, and the attendant habitus and forms of capital that it afforded, contrasted with the (subjective) vulnerability (Benedi Lahuerta and Iusmen, 2021) inherent in being discernibly, visibly and /or audibly foreign in the UK post Brexit (section 4.5, 6.2, and 6.4).

I revealed how the families' privilege and the considerable levels of various forms of capital at the families' disposal, enabled them to invest heavily in the acquisition of such capitals with and for the children, and in mechanisms of (language) socialization (sections 4.1, 5.3, 6.3, 7.1, 8.3 and 9.3). In so doing the parents provided their children with significant social and cultural 'start-up' capital. This, they hoped, would ensure that the children were in their turn (at least) equally privileged as adults. In so doing, the mothers and fathers in the two families were being 'good parents', investing huge financial and emotional resources, and time, into what they believed was best for their children. The analysis revealed how the

membership of the 'right' (high SES) social groups, possession of the 'right' education, the 'right' semiotic repertoire, and acquisition of the 'right' forms of social and cultural capital were believed, and hoped, to be (almost) guarantors of the (children's) future. Therefore, this study elucidated the essential role of (language) socialization *in the family* in the stratification of society and perpetuation of privilege. Overall, I elucidated how the participants' trust in the deterministic potential of the dispositions and orientations into which they were socializing their children, the sense of agency afforded by their Bourdieusian habitus, and the forms of capital at their disposal, created an enacted belief that through the 'right' choices and (language) socialization practices today, 'our family' can (will?) win tomorrow.

The way in which these findings are supported by the analysis is demonstrated below through a reflection upon the analysis chapters. I first revisit the development of this thesis, starting with the process by which my theoretical orientation and my methodology were established. I will then elucidate the key aspects of my approach that together constitute a methodological contribution to the field, considering the conjunction of sociolinguistics and ethnography, the place of the visual, and my role as a mother. Following this, in section 11.5, I will highlight the theoretical contribution of this work. I then close by reflecting the constraints and limitations of the study, and suggesting ideas for further research.

11.2 Thesis Summary

Answering the research questions has required the juxtaposition of an understanding of the historical and socio-political context navigated by the participants, the fieldwork data and a solid theoretical and conceptual framework. In this section I summarise the structure and key points of the thesis as a whole, demonstrating how the argument has been constructed.

Following the introduction of the thesis in chapter 1, in chapter 2 I set out the theoretical orientations that underpin this work. I also defined key terms, clarifying how they were used for the purposes of this study. I began with a consideration of language. First, for the purposes of this study, language was defined as encompassing a multi-modal semiotic repertoire that included materiality (Cavanaugh and Shankar, 2017) and which engaged with setting (Goffman, 1959). I also considered artefactualized languages (Blommaert, 2010). I then continued with an exploration of the chronological evolution of my alignment with key

areas in the field of sociolinguistics, specifically those that have focused upon the family, FLP and LS. In this I addressed my theoretical journey, and the contributions and limitations I saw in those two fields as they relate to my work, and my alignments, or lack of, with them. I also explored the role of linguistic anthropology (Kroskrity, 2010) in informing this work. I then considered the family, my chosen analytical category and ethnographic site. I considered this as a discursively and semiotically constructed concept, enacted in the home, a discursively and semiotically constructed space. The theoretical framework that enabled me to explore the ways of being which were being constructed / into which the children were socialized was provided by Bourdieu's (1993) notions of habitus and field, supported by his theories of forms of capital. These were explored and defined, as were key attendant characteristics / forms of these identified in this study. These were (elite) multilingualism, cosmopolitanism, the neoliberal self (Urciuoli, 2008) and transnationalism / mobility. Chapter 2 closed with a consideration of the socio-political / economic context required for a critical study. I explored the concept of globalization and the socio-political and economic backdrop.

In chapter 3, I described the methodology of the study. I highlighted how the research combined fieldnotes from participant observation in both domestic and public spaces, with notes of face-to-face conversations with the research participants, online interactions with them, and photos and videos created by me and / or the participants. The essential role of reflexivity, both during the fieldwork and in the analysis phases, was addressed. I then considered the selection of the participants: multilingual, multinational / transnational high SES families with more than one child. This was followed by a discussion of the evolution of the research questions and construction of the ethnographic field. I outlined the methods and duration of the fieldwork. I then highlighted how, through the use of ethnographic participant observation, the study was anchored in the observation of parental interactions with, and in front of, the children, rather than interview. The chapter closed with a consideration of the analysis and writing methods, exploring the important role of Goffman's work (1959) in inspiring my approach.

In chapters 4 to 9 I set out the analysis. That was divided into two sets of three chapters, where chapters 4 to 6 consisted of the analysis of the Azergui family, whilst 7 to 9 provided

the equivalent analysis for the Vasechkins. I outlined my findings above (section 11.1). I began in chapters 4 and 7 by presenting the participants themselves. I presented the participants and their daily lives, before considering and transnationalism, national and cultural affiliations. In line with my approach inspired by Goffman's dramaturgy (1959), I then considered the setting that was (discursively / semiotically) created by and for the participants, and guided the reader through their homes, exploring their semiotic role and that of the objects within them. In chapters 5 and 8 I analysed linguistic / semiotic interactions in which ideologies, dispositions, future orientations, socialization practices and / or self-conceptions were revealed. The relationship between these and a habitus which I identified as neoliberal and cosmopolitan was elucidated. The attendant forms of capital, largely afforded by the participants' high SES, were also revealed. In the final chapters of each group of three, chapters 6 and 9, I showed how each family's habitus in the then present, and its conceptions of / orientations towards the future, were mutually constitutive. I then revealed how the practices and choices made within and by each family served / were adapted to protect / bring about their respective desired futures, using Brexit as the key event to which they were responding.

In chapter 10 I considered the two stories together, using them to elucidate the unique and specific ways of being of each family, and to answer my research questions. I then considered the role of the invisible third family, my own. The thesis closes with this, chapter 11, in which I consider the nature of the story told, its findings and its contribution. Finally, I make suggestions for future research and summarise the thesis.

11.3 A Theoretical and Methodological Journey

I begin here by charting the evolution of this study, and of my theoretical orientation. I am aware that in order to communicate this I inevitably present the journey in a linear fashion, with a sense of narrative structure. The route is now clear with the benefit of hindsight. The reality of the process was, of course, that it was circular, iterative, messy, confusing, and frustrating. I began with the field of FLP. The works of Fishman (1964) and Baker (2011) in particular had informed my master's thesis, a study of the roles of Welsh and (Scots) Gaelic in the construction of Welsh and Scottish political and cultural conceptions. However, a

deeper exploration of FLP literature at the start of this research reinforced a discomfort I had already developed with the apparent disconnect, in some instances almost a rupture, between the, albeit valuable, research interests of some scholars in the field (Ó Giollagáin , 2010; Ortega and Amorrortu, 2010; MacCalium, 2007), and the daily concerns, priorities and lived experiences of the research participants themselves. Moreover, the most exciting and interesting information I read was that where I could hear the voices of the research participants themselves, something that was often absent in FLP studies. Each quote appeared to open a potential window onto a whole new facet of the conversation, but inevitably the constraints of time, scope, and focus, always seemed to have prevented the author from diving more deeply into that moment. Pursuing such quotes and moments led me to LS (section 2.2). That proved much more inspiring to me due to its focus upon the participants, upon what they do and say. The foregrounding of an ethnographic (Ochs and Schieffelin, 2011) approach was central to my engagement with these works. However, I perceived two further issues that I felt I needed to find a way of addressing. The first of these was to find an answer to the questions: *what* are these newer members (usually children) being socialized into, and *why*? Much LS research seemed to focus purely upon the how. The advent of the critical paradigm (Tollefson, 2018) in LS research had already opened up many interesting conversations that touched upon this question, and had made a call for research that was socially and historically situated (Heller et al, 2018). In order to understand adequately the what and the why, I engaged with ideas from sociology, including those of a socio-economic and socio-political nature, and above all I explored the work of Bourdieu (1979, 1993). His theories of habitus, field and forms of capital (section 2.4) provided a framework within which I was able to structure the story I was in the process of creating.

The second issue that I identified was how to understand what I was actually seeing and hearing. Addressing this has been central to the evolution not only of my theoretical orientation, but the development of my methodology, the choice of methods, and my approach to analysis. The solution I adopted was built upon two essential foundational elements, the works of Goffman (1959, 1967, 1981), and ethnography (chapter 3). I will consider these in some detail in the following section, as the methods, approach and ethnographic stance taken in this study constitute an important methodological contribution.

11.4 Methodological Contribution

In this section I consider the methodological contributions made by this study. Many of these lay in the marriage of sociolinguistics and long-term participant observation. An adherence to some notions set out by Goffman was also central to my approach. These were specifically the role of setting, the attendant need for context, and the role of the researcher as interpreter. Goffman has influenced many scholars who have embraced his ideas and taken them forward in their linguistic ethnographies. I have taken as inspiration his seminal work (1959) in the field of human social interactions, and hence consider my approach Goffmanian. However, as noted in chapter 3, I have engaged with those who have developed his ideas in order to refine my methodology, and be sensitive to / address the criticisms and gaps that those scholars have identified.

11.4.1 Ethnographic Participant Observation and Goffmanian Analysis

As discussed in chapter 3, I have made use of a Goffman inspired dramaturgical model in my analysis. I align with him in considering setting to be an integral part of the presentation of self through language in its broadest sense. This was of particular importance when one considers that the setting of the home was one that had been created and curated primarily by the participants themselves. The presentation of self as Goffman conceived of it, entails performances both front and backstage. It is material goods upon which the Goffmanian stages are constructed, and which are used as the props. I began therefore by presenting the setting before I considered the interactions of the participants within that setting. Furthermore, I considered setting not only as physical but also as symbolic. I reflected upon not only the house, but the home. I revealed how the symbolic space of home was discursively and semiotically constructed by the participants moment to moment and in their interactions. The importance that I attached to setting, and the semiotic role of the material, is I believe a contribution to the field of sociolinguistic ethnography. The traditional LS focus upon interaction did not provide me with the tools to do this, so I drew upon (visual) anthropological tools such as thick description (Geertz, 1993), vignette, photography, and latterly sketching to convey the setting, context and the language materiality (Cavanaugh and Shankar, 2017) of the participants. The use of non-verbal ways of presenting fieldnotes, is I believe an important contribution to the study of language in its broadest form, as full human

semiosis (section 11.5.4 below). My attachment to, and skills in, this area are still developing, and I believe that future studies could be made richer still by more extensive use of these approaches.

Goffman identified what he termed the "dangers of non-contextuality" (1981:34). He understood communication as a form of performance, one that he termed the presentation of self (Goffman, 1959). A communicative exchange requires a dynamic interaction between the parties, each of whom has a vested interest in presenting themselves in line with how they wish to be seen in a specific context. Like a game of tennis, each shot is a response to that played by the other party, and must be analysed in that light. The excision of language from the moment of communication both changes and diminishes it. Sociolinguists with many differing areas of interest, such as Heller and Duchêne (2012) in their work on commodification, and Blommaert (2010) in his research into globalization, have engaged with context in their work. In line with them, and inspired by the work of Goffman I also considered that without a deep understanding of / reflection upon the participants and their environment any analysis was potentially fraught with risk. Such exchanges may be successfully captured in the study of interaction, the main focus of LS analysis. However, I have made a unique contribution through my particular approach to understanding and engaging with context, combining deep immersion as participant observer and paying close attention to setting and the visual. These have enabled a multi-modal and context rich analysis of the interactions.

Goffman (1981) also highlighted the interpretive role of the observer / researcher / ethnographer. He identified the role of the speaker and their interlocutor in making sense of, and attaching importance to, that which is communicated, in his consideration of 'frames of meaning'. Words, indeed, semiotic signs of any kind, are meaningless without the interpretive capability of the communicator and their audience. Goffman further pointed out that where extracts from 'natural conversation' are (made) intelligible, it is most often due to the assistance of an 'other', who has interpreted the situation on the readers' behalf. If that 'other' has not immersed him or herself in the contexts, world views and daily lives of the participants, the chances of interpreting the conversation in a way that the participants intended / would recognise is, I believe, significantly reduced. It was this insight that led to

my adoption of ethnography, a foundational element of my approach. Ideologies are developed, laminated (Goffman, 1981), enacted, and transmitted as praxis, through repetition and ritual, in hundreds, if not thousands, of statements, corrections, nudges, glances, gestures, approvals, disapprovals, inflections and choices over time. Time and familiarity are therefore required to observe and understand them. Accordingly, this research took the form of an ethnographic study based on long term participant observation (Shah, 2017) within the family. Only that approach afforded the level of immersion in, and privileged access to, their world required by this study. In effect I had to allow the participants to partially socialize me into their way of being, so that I could understand and describe it. This process required considerable time, depth of exposure, openness and reflexivity on my part. Without the insight, familiarity and trust that came from this, the stories revealed in this thesis could not have been constructed.

In addition to the methodological contributions outlined above, I consider that the embracing of my positionality as a mother was also a valuable aspect of the study. As I have noted above (section 10.3.4), I believe that the presence of my family, particularly my children, was an important factor in the success of my immersion in the field, and in the nature of what was observed during the study Although I did not realise it at the start of the study, my role as participant observer was defined and perhaps even made possible, by my role as a mother. Being a parent in the field shaped this research and its findings, and I believe made my theoretical contribution richer. It is to this that I now turn.

11.5 Theoretical Contribution

In the previous chapter (section 10.2) I summarised the key findings and themes of this study. I now draw these together to highlight the theoretical contributions made by this work. These lie in the field of studies of language and family. In sociolinguistics, such research crystallized into two disciplines. The first of these, LS, is largely an American tradition, whilst the second, FLP, has its roots in a more European approach. Both have been explored in some detail in chapter 2. As has been discussed (section 2.2) I align more strongly with LS, both epistemologically and methodologically. In the epistemological domain I adhere to the view that that knowledge is constructed socially, and it is in social relations that it needs

to be captured. In the methodological domain I embrace the longitudinal ethnographic approach. Based on those ideas, this research has made the following unique contributions.

11.5.1 High SES Families: Future Orientations and the Maintenance of Status

Aligning with Bryant and Knight (2019), I considered the role of future orientations in the habitus, acquisition of forms of capital, and the socialization practices of the research participants. This study makes a contribution by bringing their notion of future orientations and aspirations into the realm of family studies. As was explored in the previous chapter, I demonstrated how, if the families' previously imagined future could no longer be anticipated, the members were forced to reconsider their present. I showed how the Azergui's desired habitus and (socialization) practices were adjusted, in response to the re-construction of their anticipated future, in the aftermath of Brexit. I suggested that this was indicative of the essential role of future orientations in determining present practices. I further demonstrated how, in contrast, the Vasechkin family did not perceive their aspirations as having been impacted by Brexit, and accordingly did not adjust their practices. Rather than feeling compelled to adjust their course in the face of this socio-political event, the Vasechkin family continued in the process of socializing their children into the cosmopolitan and neoliberal habitus, that would, they hoped, guarantee their future as it was then envisaged. I revealed the different ways in which the two families aimed to (at least) maintain their SES. Moreover, I showed how suitable family narratives and stories were pressed into the service of the present and future, through their use in creating notions of 'our family'. In this way, I demonstrated how future orientations not only informed present actions, but prompted a crafting and re-crafting of the past.

11.5.2 Multi-Modal Language and Semiosis

A key contribution of this work is its consideration of language in its broadest form, as multi-modal semiosis. The essential role of language materiality, para-linguistic elements, bearing and gesture, not only in communication, but also in socialization, has been highlighted. At its simplest level, elements such as dress, bearing, gesture and the like, serve a socializing function simply through being modelled by the parents for the children. However, non-verbal semiosis plays a far more nuanced, rich and important role than merely modelling. The presence of Algerian desert roses and Russian decorative plates in the homes reminded the

family members of their heritage on a daily basis. The display of certificates, artworks, and even books created by the family members indexed both the things 'our family' does, and the value attached to them. The presence of books, decorative objects, games and various media not only in English, but also both in family heritage and other languages, underlined a characteristic of the families' habitus. In this instance it was their transnational, multilingual and cosmopolitan nature. Moreover, the display, casual or otherwise, of such items in front stage areas of the home presented this aspect of 'our family' to visitors. By not limiting this study to the spoken / written word, nor to a consideration only of artefactualized languages, this research makes a contribution to understanding the role of the full semiotic repertoire in socialization, habitus creation, and the presentation of self.

11.5.3 The Role and Mechanisms of Child Agency in Co-Creation of the Family Way of Being

The traditional understanding of socialization is that the younger members of a community, often the children, cast in the role of novices, are socialized by the older, in this instance the parents, cast in the role of experts. One of the key principles of LS is to challenge this assumption. It asserts that not only is socialization a process in which the children have an agentive role, but also that the direction of expert-novice dynamic cannot be taken for granted. Rather, this is negotiated moment to moment in everyday social encounters (Schieffelin and Ochs, 1984). This study contributes to research on language use in families by revealing the extent to which the child members not only contest and negotiate the socialization practices of their parents, and themselves socialize their parents and siblings, but also co-create the very thing into which they are being socialized. Examples are provided in the analysis. Andrei Vasechkin commented upon how different things were for his children, specifically Feliks. Unlike Andrei and Oksana, the children did not strive to 'be the best' (section 9.3), but rather undertook study and education in a different way to their parents. A new Vasechkin family relationship with excellence and education was therefore created. Aderfi Azergui prevailed over his parents both in terms of where he chose to spend his time, and where he would go for his higher education. In so doing he effectively dictated where in the UK could or could not be considered home for the Azergui family, and I believe, influenced his parents' views regarding higher education institutions. The family was forced

to accept that Oxford university was not, for Aderfi, the desirable institution that they had perceived it to be, even before Brexit eroded their relationship with British education. I believe that such instances may sometimes be more clearly discerned in multilingual families, where the children are the 'native' English speakers. Accordingly, in this study I have been able to reveal mechanisms through which the children's agentive role is enacted. I showed in section 8.3.2.2, the importance of teasing in the Vasechkin family. The children teased their father about his lack of mastery of English, challenging both the idea of parent-equalling-expert, and his relative power in the family.

11.5.4 'Our Family' as Analytical Category

This study makes not only a contribution to studies of language in families, but also to ethnographic / anthropological studies of the family more broadly. As has been discussed in chapter 2, the family as an analytical category has been ill-served by a lack of rigorous definition and study. Through this work I have demonstrated the situated and discursively created nature of family, and the important differentiation between notions of family in general, and each person's conception of 'our family'. I have further highlighted the essential and primary role of the family in socializing its new members for success, and imbuing them with the 'elaborate codes' (Blommaert, 2005) required for them to thrive in, and maximise the opportunities arising from, other more studied domains of privilege such as elite education.

11.5.5 Pride and Profit, Not Simply a Dichotomy

In order to accommodate the nature of the habitus enacted by the participants, which included neoliberal ideologies but was not tied to nationality or a specific linguistic culture, a refinement of Heller and Duchêne's (2012) pride / profit conception of neoliberal language ideology was required. It was revealed that in the language ideologies of the participants there was a clear neoliberal sense of the value of artefactualized elite languages as cultural capital, and hence what Heller and Duchêne term 'profit'. Furthermore, I identified the participants' view that a multilingualism that includes elite languages, and necessarily includes English, was inherently a source of profit as it enabled access to other forms of cultural capital, such as elite education. I also demonstrated that multilingualism *per se* was considered a source of profit. However, (elite) multilingualism simultaneously indexes

membership of high SES groups, membership of which is a source of pride to the participants. In instances, such as those studied here, where all the languages in the repertoire are elite languages, and where cosmopolitanism, indexed by multilingualism, is greatly valued, there is no simple pride / profit dichotomy. Instead pride and profit converge.

11.6 Suggestions for Future Research

I here consider limitations and constraints of this study, and make suggestions for future research based upon those considerations.

11.6.1 The Role of the Mother

Reflecting upon the observations made in the fieldwork, it is clear to me that an alternative prism through which this study could have been conducted was that of the mother. I have chosen the family as my analytical category, and consider this has been a successful choice. I believe that it was appropriate due to the focus upon the agency of the children and the interactions of the family as a whole, including the role of the father, particularly in the Vasechkin family where Andrei was able to be more present. Nonetheless, looking at the Azergui fieldnotes in particular, it is apparent that another story could also be told equally successfully, that of motherhood. Considerations of the construction of the role of mother, what constitutes a 'good mother', are obliquely touched upon in this study, but necessarily I have not been able to explore these further. A study focusing upon the discursive construction of mother, and 'good mother' would be an interesting and rich avenue for further research. I also believe that valuable work remains to be done that considers the construction of ways of being in different kinds of families, including single parent, queer, and / or adoptive.

11.6.2 Parenting in the field

As I have discussed above and in the previous chapter, I believe that my role as a parent, specifically a mother, was key to the way that the ethnography unfolded. However, this was something of which I was initially unaware. I did not identify that this was the case until after the fieldwork was completed, and I was reflecting upon and analysing my notes. It is probable that an awareness of the importance of me being a mother at the time would have enabled me to identify and pursue additional layers of understanding and engagement in the field. In future research, including that which I have already begun, I am able to draw upon

this aspect of my positionality more consciously, which I believe will be beneficial. I consider that the concept of parenting / mothering in the field could be usefully explored in future ethnographic sociolinguistic studies, particularly those whose focus includes the family and / or children.

11.6.3 The Role of the Visual

As I have noted (section 2.2), non-verbal semiosis is included in my conception of language, and has played an important role in this study. My ways of capturing this have been limited to photographs, mostly taken by me, but also provided by the participants. The home movies made by the Vasechkins, and kindly shared with me, are the only other example of visual media that has fed into this study. As my work as an ethnographer has evolved, it has become apparent that more and better ways of engaging with the paralinguistic, gestural and language materiality is required. This is still something I am exploring. Workshops exploring alternative ways of presenting (sociolinguistic) ethnography have begun to be organised, such as that of the Linguistic Ethnography Forum, run by Patiño-Santos and Perez-Milans (14th March, 2022). Articles and books such as those by Taussig (2011) and Causey (2017) also provided insights upon which I am beginning to draw. I am currently focusing upon the use of the ethnographic sketch, attempting both to capture the spoken word, setting, and paralinguistic elements in their context, whilst maintaining the notion of the ethnographer as being part of what is observed. I provide an example of my early attempts here. This sketch was constructed from fieldnotes, a photograph, and a subsequent visit to the kitchen in the image. The actual observation[169] illustrated in this picture pre-dates the sketch.

[169] 16th June 2019

Image 44: My sketch of Sakina Azergui preparing watermelon.

The timing of the evolution of my ethnographic methods was such that my use of sketching developed only at the very end of the fieldwork. I think that research that put such fieldnotes / way of presenting the ethnography at the centre could result in a very rich and exciting study. Issues around capturing gesture, mannerism, bearing, and facial expressions (particularly those of children) that cannot be photographed due to ethical considerations of anonymity could also be partially addressed by this approach. In addition to the use of visual material, I believe that it would be both an interesting and potentially powerful way of sharing work with different audiences to engage with multi-sensory ethnography, possibly through the use of performance and / or installation.

11.6.4 Language Barriers

My own levels of mastery of the various languages spoken by the participants had an inevitable effect on what I (was able to) observe, and how (and if) I understood it. The experience of observing the Azergui family, who conversed only languages in which I am

very comfortable, and that of observing the Vasechkin family did not feel noticeably different. As I discuss in section 7.1.1, I speak almost no Russian, and understood only some of what was said, and the meaning that was being communicated. In general, I do not consider that this was an issue. However, some small moments have made me reflect further on this, as I have identified instances where the impact of my own linguistic repertoire was important in subtle and unexpected ways. I offer as an example Andrei Vasechkin's use of the phrase, in English, "it is (not) normal". I am aware that Andrei is significantly more confident in his use of French than in his use of English. He lived in France for longer than he lived in England, and he (and I) believe that his mastery of English never reached the level of his mastery of French. I recorded in my fieldnotes[170] that Andrei used the word "normal" in the French way, not the English. The difference is subtle. In 'UK English' normal suggests typical, ordinary, not different (Cambridge Dictionary, no date). There is, I believe, little or no moral judgement in the use of the word. Something that is not normal may be unusual, or even weird, but there is not usually a suggestion that it is unacceptable. In French, to say something "n'est pas normale" carries with it a much stronger sense of judgement. The implication is that the thing / behaviour in question is not simply uncommon, but that it is in some way not acceptable. There is a sense of deviance associated with it. When Andrei said something was "not normal", although he was speaking English, he was intending to express that which would be associated with that phrase in French. I have asked others, French speakers, English speakers, and French / English multilinguals about this, including, Andrei, and my understanding of this has been confirmed and corroborated. Andrei was not aware that the English do not use normal in the same sense as the French. I speak French well, and equally importantly am culturally literate in French. I was therefore able to understand this, and to correctly interpret Andrei's (strength of) position on an action or an idea. In a study that included elements of ideology and self-conception, this is important. It was interesting to me to note that I needed my French to correctly interpret Andrei's English. Identifying this led me to wonder how many nuances I had not been able to spot, and how many of my interpretations were therefore adrift. This is to an extent inevitable. All ethnography, indeed,

[170] I noted 3 instances in my fieldnotes, 14th June 2019, 19th July 2020 Vasechkin home, and 29th December 2019, my home.

all research, is partial, and subjective. Nonetheless, it might be enlightening for researchers with different levels of linguistic / cultural knowledge to engage with this aspect of multilingualism. Research conducted by multilingual teams might be able to provide significant insight into this challenge of interpretation.

11.6.5 The Peer Group

This study has focused largely upon the family itself. I consider that this is appropriate as this was the analytical category under consideration. However, I am aware that when touching upon themes such as membership of, acceptance by, and / or exclusion from broader social groups, a different sort of study would be needed. I observed some of the participants' interactions with both adult and child peers, be those at the school gate or at dinner parties and other social events. However, there would have been a great deal more that could have been seen had I elected to follow that aspect of the story further, perhaps seeking out the participants' peers and speaking with them more. The aspect of social gatekeeping within the strata of one nation / society is one that has been explored by social historians (Young, 2010) (section 2.4). However, the juxtaposition of nationality / transnationalism and social class has not been widely researched. In an era of globalisation and high geographical mobility this is an interesting potential area of study. This is perhaps particularly the case in post-Brexit Britain, where more than ever access to geographic mobility is unevenly distributed, and increasingly only available to the more privileged members of society.

11.6.6 The Transnational / Migrant Experience

As I stated in the introduction to this thesis, my initial interest in studying these families was in large part due to their transnational / multinational nature. This, perhaps even more than their multilingualism, was what drew me to want to understand them. Extensive research has been done, and continues to be done, on those migrants / asylum seekers / refugees / multinationals and transnationals that are of low SES. In line with my belief in the importance of 'studying up' (Nader, 1972) (section 3.2), I consider that more research is needed on the transnational experience of those at the other end of the socio-economic spectrum, such as the participants in this study. My work looked at the family ethnographically, and accordingly only explored issues of nationality, cultural affiliation, and even (artefactualized) language when and where they were foregrounded by the participants

themselves. I believe that this was an appropriate choice. However, it has meant that many interesting aspects of their transnational / migrant experience remained unexplored. Those of high SES have access to multiple forms of capital that enable them to act as subjects in their world. Nonetheless, the evolving socio-political context in the UK (and elsewhere) means that, despite their relative privilege, such individuals are experiencing dramatic changes in their subjective (and perhaps objective) vulnerability (Benedi Lahuerta and Iusmen, 2021), their relationship with their neighbours and their country of residence, and with their own futures. In the context of this being a relatively under studied demographic, that is an area where further research would be valuable.

Appendix A: Participant Information Sheet

UNIVERSITY OF Southampton

Family Language Policy in multilingual / multicultural families in the UK

M. Mackie

Participant Information Sheet for Adult Participants and Parents of Child Participants

ERGO number: 47012

You are being invited to take part in the above research study. To help you decide whether you would like to take part or not, it is important that you understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please read the information below carefully and ask questions if anything is not clear or you would like more information before you decide to take part in this research. You may like to discuss it with others, but it is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you are happy to participate you will be asked to sign a consent form.

What is the research about?

The research explores family language policy. Family language policy is defined as "explicit and overt planning in relation to language use within the home among family members". I am looking at how families develop, practice and refine their language policies, and how that feeds into the family sense of identity. The research will form the basis for my submission of the award of Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics from the University of Southampton.

Why have I been asked to participate?

Your family has been chosen because you are a multilingual family resident in Britain. Specifically, this research looks at families where:

- At least one parent is not British and is multilingual, with a language other than English as their first language.
- There are at least two children in the family.
- The non-English language is used, to whatever degree, in the family and the home.
- There is regular contact with the extended non-English speaking family.
- Similar socio-economic background of all participants.

What will happen to me if I take part?

Taking part in the research will require that your family be observed, and potentially recorded, carrying out every-day activities in the home. In addition, photographs may be taken of your family's environment. Photographs of family members will only be taken with specific prior written permission, either of the participant themselves if they are an adult, or their parents if they are a child. You do not need to grant this specific photograph permission in order to participate in the research. The consent form allows you to choose whether or not to grant this permission.

I will visit multiple times over a 2-year period and aim to make my presence in your home as normal and unobtrusive as possible, being present as a family-friend / helper. Following the observation period, 2-3 interviews exploring your attitudes to language in the family will take place and be recorded. All interviews with children will take place with at least one parent present / nearby.

There will be no direct benefits to the family as a result of participation in the research, but you will be contributing to the understanding of how family language policy works within families such as yours in the UK.

Do I have to take part?

No, it is entirely up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you decide you want to take part, you will need to sign a consent form to show you have agreed to take part.

What happens if I change my mind?

You have the right to change your mind and withdraw at any time without giving a reason and without your participant rights being affected. To withdraw, please contact M Mackie by email at

M-A.H.Mackie@soton.ac.uk.

If you withdraw from the study, we will keep the information about you that we have already obtained for the purposes of achieving the objectives of the study only.

How will my data be stored?

As part of the study, we will record the following personal details:

Names, linked to anonymized names, family relationships, addresses. This information will be visible to the researcher only. All identifying data will be stored on a password protected University of Southampton computer / data stick/ hard drive. All personal data will be deleted 12 months after the end of the study.

Names and email addresses will be recorded in order to correctly group the data and enable the sharing of findings at the end of the project. This too will be stored on a password protected University of Southampton computer / data stick/ hard drive. All personal data will be deleted 12 months after the end of the study. Any emails to/ from participants regarding the study will be stored in a dedicated file in a password protected University of Southampton email account. All emails will be deleted 12 months after the end of the study.

Handwritten notes and observations will use anonymized names only, and when not being used in the field will be stored in a fire-safe, before being transcribed / scanned and stored as above.

What will happen to the results of the research?

Your personal details will remain strictly confidential. Research findings made available in any reports or publications will not include information that can directly identify you without your specific consent.

The findings of this research will form the core of a submission for the award pf Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics at Southampton University. They will be published within the university community and will be publicly accessible from the University for those wishing to make use of this piece of research.

At the end of the project the researcher will sit down with the participant family members and explain the findings.

Data sharing is of great value to researchers exploring this field. For this reason, the data will be stored, such that researchers may request access to the original research data. All research data will be:

- Pseudonymized (that is data linked to a false name) or anonymized data only will be stored. The data holder is the University of Southampton. All data storage will comply with the Data Protection Privacy Notice at the end of this document.
- The data will be held as anonymized transcripts, audio recordings, anonymized photographic images, observational notes.
- All data will be stored on password-protected drives at the University of Southampton.
- All data will be pseudonymized or anonymized. False names, both first name and family name will be used for all participants, or no name will be used.

Where can I get more information?

Further information is available from:

Marie-Anne Mackie (M-A.H.Mackie@soton.ac.uk)

What happens if there is a problem?

If you have a concern about any aspect of this study, you should speak to the researchers who will do their best to answer your questions.

If you remain unhappy or have a complaint about any aspect of this study, please contact the University of Southampton Research Integrity and Governance Manager (023 8059 5058, rgoinfo@soton.ac.uk), or to my supervisor Dr Adriana Patiño-Santos (A.Patino@soton.ac.uk).

Many thanks!

Data Protection Privacy Notice

The University of Southampton conducts research to the highest standards of research integrity. As a publicly funded organisation, the University has to ensure that it is in the public interest when we use personally identifiable information about people who have agreed to take part in research. This means that when you agree to take part in a research study, we will use information about you in the ways needed, and for the purposes specified, to conduct and complete the research project. Under data protection law, 'Personal data' means any information that relates to and is capable of identifying a living individual. The University's data protection policy governing the use of personal data by the University can be found on its website (https://www.southampton.ac.uk/legalservices/what-we-do/data-protection-and-foi.page).

This Participant Information Sheet tells you what data will be collected for this project and whether this includes any personal data. Please ask the research team if you have any questions or are unclear what data is being collected about you.

Our privacy notice for research participants provides more information on how the University of Southampton collects and uses your personal data when you take part in one of our research projects and can be found at http://www.southampton.ac.uk/assets/sharepoint/intranet/ls/Public/Research%20and%20Integrity%20Privacy%20Notice/Privacy%20Notice%20for%20Research%20Participants.pdf

Any personal data we collect in this study will be used only for the purposes of carrying out our research and will be handled according to the University's policies in line with data protection law. If any personal data is used from which you can be identified directly, it will not be disclosed to anyone else without your consent unless the University of Southampton is required by law to disclose it.

Data protection law requires us to have a valid legal reason ('lawful basis') to process and use your Personal data. The lawful basis for processing personal information in this research study is for the performance of a task carried out in the public interest. Personal data collected for research will not be used for any other purpose.

Appendix B: Participant Consent Form

UNIVERSITY OF Southampton

Family Language Policy in multilingual / multicultural families in the UK

M. Mackie

Consent Form

I have read and understood the information provided in the letter and this consent form. I have had an opportunity to ask questions about my participation.

I understand that I am under no obligation to consent to taking part in this study, and that I have the right to withdraw them from this study at any stage before or during data collection, without giving any reason.

I understand that my name, including family name, will not be used in any public document and will be available to the researcher only.

I understand that other identifying information will not be used in any public document and will be available to the researcher only.

Please indicate your consent for you to be a research subject here by circling "agree":

- I agree / do not agree to participate in this study as detailed in the information sheet.

- I agree / do not agree that anonymous audio recordings of my voice may be stored indefinitely and used for academic purposes (including analysis, research, academic conference presentations, and future applications for research funding).

- I agree / do not agree to photographs being taken of my family's space / environment.

In addition to the consent above, please indicate whether you consent to any of the following:

- I agree / do not agree that anonymous recordings of my voice can be used in university teaching.

- I agree / do not agree to photographs being taken of me.

Name of participant:_____

Participant's signature:_____

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