

BIROn - Birkbeck Institutional Research Online

Enabling Open Access to Birkbeck's Research Degree output

Multilinguals' language choices and perceptions in the UK in light of the Brexit Referendum

<https://eprints.bbk.ac.uk/id/eprint/46755/>

Version: Full Version

Citation: Arafah, Heba Issam Mahmoud (2020) Multilinguals' language choices and perceptions in the UK in light of the Brexit Referendum. [Thesis] (Unpublished)

© 2020 The Author(s)

All material available through BIROn is protected by intellectual property law, including copyright law.

Any use made of the contents should comply with the relevant law.

Multilinguals' Language Choices and Perceptions in the UK in light of the Brexit Referendum

Heba Issam Mahmoud Arafah

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Applied Linguistics and Communication
Birkbeck, University of London

Declaration

I hereby declare that the work presented in this manuscript is my own, unless otherwise indicated.

Word count (exclusive of references and appendices): 49,851

Abstract

Some UK urban centers are reputed as the most culturally and linguistically diverse places in the world (Norton, 2018). However, underpinning this diversity exists a language hierarchy that affects multilinguals' experiences (Mehmedbegović, Skrandies, Byrne & Harding-Esch, 2015). The current study contributes to the growing literature on Brexit and languages, and the resurgence of monolingual ideologies (Kelly, 2018a). It investigates language choices and perceptions of predominantly educated multilinguals residing in the UK after the 2016 referendum. It examines how education, language and cultural background are linked to language choices in public, to perceptions of heritage language, and to attitudes towards heritage language use in public post-referendum. The study used an explanatory mixed-methods approach. An online survey was used as a primary tool for data collection, to which 507 multilinguals responded. Then, semi-structured interviews were conducted with eight multilinguals. Participants were from various heritage language backgrounds, residing in the UK and exposed to a language considered foreign to the country.

Statistical analyses showed significant differences in language choices and perceptions of multilinguals from various heritage language backgrounds. Forty-three percent of the participants reported a drop in tolerance towards linguistic and cultural diversity. Multilinguals who reported less positive perceptions of their heritage language, felt they had a conflicted bicultural identity, an alternating bicultural identity, and believed loyalty could only be to a single culture were more reluctant to use their heritage language in public. Thematic analysis of qualitative data revealed that awareness of social setting, status of heritage language, and sensitivity to children's reactions impacted language choice in public in the post-referendum context. These results highlighted the capacity of educated multilinguals, some of whom speak less valued languages, to utilize their linguistic repertoires to shore up their belonging and minimize potential encounters with linguistic discrimination.

Acknowledgments

The PhD has been a process with many challenges, but one that has helped me grow in many ways. It has helped me to think about viewpoints differently. It has pushed me to confront my fears and learn from trial and error. Looking back at the journey, I also find that it was full of great memories and long-lasting friendships. It would not have been so memorable without acknowledging the roles many individuals have played in me getting to this point.

First of all, I greatly appreciate my supervisor, Professor Jean-Marc Dewaele, for all his support, guidance, and feedback over the past three years. I am grateful for his mentorship and constant encouragement during this journey.

Many thanks to my parents, Professor Isam Arafah and Hala Hidmi, who set the stage for my life. My gratitude to my brothers, Samer and Dr. Emad, and family, Abeer, Dr. Rawan, Esam, and Adam, who continuously motivated and welcomed me in their homes when I was traveling to the United States and Jordan.

I am indebted to my friends, Maryah Converse, Joanna Springer, Kyla Hakim, Gina Rheault, Dr. Katherine Harvey, Dr. Rami Arafah, Dr. Rand Arafah, Julia McConoughey, Steven Shields, and Raya Rousan for their support. I want to also express appreciation for my Birkbeck friends, Dr. Xuemei Chen, Dr. Caitlin Cunningham, Virginia Grover, Barah Khader, Dr. Sally Cook, Dr. Chengchen Li, Dr. Pernelle Lorette, Dr. Louise Rolland, Pui Yin Leung, Meltem Ilkan, Dr. Alex Panicacci, Dr. Anna Shadrina, Janice Lazarus, and Justyna Bielecka, among others, who were there to share experiences and exchange thoughts.

Finally, a special thanks to my participants, who took time to respond to my call for participation, and especially those who agreed to take part in interviews.

Table of Contents

Declaration	2
Abstract	3
Acknowledgments	4
Table of Contents.....	5
List of Tables	8
List of Figures	8
Chapter 1: Introduction	9
1.1 Personal Interest.....	9
1.2 An Overview	10
1.3 The Research Context: Linguistic Diversity and the Referendum	11
1.4 Purpose and Significance of the Study	14
1.5 Structure of the Thesis	15
Chapter 2: Literature review.....	17
2.1 Introduction.....	17
2.2 Recent Migration to the UK	17
2.2.1 Immigrant migration and language testing	18
2.3 The Language Situation in the UK.....	19
2.4 Migrant Minority Language Choice in Multilingual Societies	21
2.4.1 Language and attitudes	23
2.4.2 Language and identity.....	28
2.4.3 Language and acculturation	32
2.4.3.1 State ideologies and language policies	33
2.4.3.2 Acculturation attitudes.....	34
2.5 Language and Discrimination	41
2.6 Summary	43
2.7 Rationale.....	44
2.8 Research Questions and Hypotheses.....	45
Chapter 3: Methodology	50
3.1 Introduction	50
3.2 Methodological Approach.....	50
3.3 Research Design.....	51
3.4 Ethics Approval.....	51
3.5 Participants	51
3.5.1 Questionnaire participants	51
3.5.2 Interview participants	54
3.6 Research Instruments	55
3.6.1 Online questionnaires	55
3.6.1.1 Content of online questionnaire	56
3.6.2 Semi-structured interviews	59
3.7 The Data Collection Process	60
3.7.1 Pilot study of online questionnaire	60
3.7.2 Questionnaire data collection.....	60
3.7.3 Interview data collection.....	61
3.8 Data Preparation Procedure.....	62
3.8.1 Quantitative data procedure	62
3.8.1.1 Scale validation process.....	65
3.8.2 Qualitative data preparation.....	69
3.9 Summary	70

Chapter 4: Quantitative Results.....	72
4.1 Introduction	72
4.2 Sociodemographic Factors, Bicultural Identity Orientation, and Language Choice in Public	72
4.2.1 The effect of education on language choice in public	72
4.2.2 The effect of heritage language background on language choice in public.....	73
4.2.3 Degree of identification with British culture and ethnic culture and language choice in public	74
4.2.4 Bicultural identity orientation and language choice	75
4.2.5 Perception of heritage language and use of heritage language in public.....	76
4.3 Perception of Heritage Language and Level of Involvement with Heritage and Host Culture, and Bicultural Orientation.....	77
4.4 The Predictive Effect of Sociodemographic Factors on Perception of Heritage Language	77
4.4.1 Educational background and perception of heritage language	78
4.4.2 Heritage language background and perception of heritage language	78
4.5 Predicting Perception of Heritage Language	79
4.6 Attitudes towards Heritage Language Use in public spaces in the post- referendum context and Perception of Heritage Language, Bicultural Identity Orientation, and British Tolerance of Other Heritage languages	82
4.7 Heritage Language Background and Attitudes towards Use of Heritage Language in Public in the Post- Referendum Context	83
4.8 Feelings of Tolerance toward Linguistic Diversity	83
4.9 Summary	84
Chapter 5: Qualitative Results	86
5.1 Introduction	86
5.2 Perceptions of Tolerance to Heritage Language Use in Public since the Referendum.....	86
5.2.1 Awareness of social setting.....	87
5.2.2 Status of the heritage language	88
5.2.3 Sensitivity to children's reactions.....	89
5.2.4 Social identity (appearing/sounding British)	90
5.2.5 Resistance strategy.....	90
5.3 Language Choice in Public	91
5.3.1 Norms of language choice	91
5.3.2 Factors impacting language choice in public.....	93
5.3.2.1 Interlocutor	93
5.3.2.2 Political climate –Brexit related	94
5.3.2.3 Spatial awareness of linguistic diversity.....	96
5.3.2.4 Alienation avoidance	97
5.3.2.5 Elimination of an assumed identity constructed by appearance	98
5.4 Perception of Language Status and Tolerance.....	99
5.4.1 Perception of language status and categorization	100
5.4.1.1 General perception of language status and categorization	100
5.4.1.2 Perception of language status and categorization with the Brexit referendum	101
5.4.2 Perception of self and identity orientation.....	101
5.4.2.1 General perception of self and identity orientation	101
5.4.2.2 Perception of self and identity orientation with the Brexit referendum	103
5.4.3 Perception of mainstream tolerance of linguistic and cultural diversity	103
5.4.3.1 General perception of mainstream tolerance of linguistic and cultural diversity	103
5.4.3.2 Perception of mainstream tolerance of linguistic and cultural diversity with the Brexit referendum	104
5.4.4 Perception of multilingualism.....	104
5.4.4.1 General perception of multilingualism	104
5.4.4.2 Perception of multilingualism and the referendum	105
5.5 Summary	106

Chapter 6: Discussion.....	107
6.1 Introduction	107
6.2 Factors linked to Multilinguals' Language Choice	108
6.2.1 Socio-demographic variables and language choice.....	108
6.2.1.1 The effects of education on language choice in public.....	108
6.2.1.2 The effects of heritage language background on language choice in public	109
6.2.1.3 Identification with British and heritage groups, and language choice in public	111
6.2.1.4 Bicultural identity orientation and language choice in public	112
6.2.1.5 Perception of heritage language and language choice in public.....	113
6.2.2 Multilinguals' experiences with language choice in public	114
6.3 Factors Linked to Perception of Heritage Language	117
6.3.1 Socio-demographic variables and perception of heritage language	117
6.3.1.1 The effects of education on perception of heritage language.....	117
6.3.1.2 The effects of heritage language background on perception of heritage language	118
6.3.1.3 Bicultural identity orientation and perception of heritage language	120
6.3.1.4 Level of involvement and perception of heritage language.....	121
6.3.2 Predictors of perception of heritage language	121
6.4 Factors Linked to Attitudes towards Heritage Language Use in Public in the Post-Referendum Context	125
6.4.1 Socio-demographic factors and use of heritage language in public in the context of post-referendum	125
6.4.1.1 The effects of heritage language background on use of heritage language in the context of post- referendum	125
6.4.1.2 Bicultural identity orientation and use of heritage language in the post-referendum context.....	126
6.4.1.3 Perception of heritage language and use of heritage language in the post-referendum context.....	128
6.4.1.4 Perception of British tolerance of other languages and use of heritage language in the post-referendum context.....	128
6.4.2 The referendum and linguistic diversity	130
6.4.3 Multilinguals' language experiences in the post-referendum context.....	131
6.5 Limitations	134
6.5.1 Sampling	134
6.5.2 Self-reported data and online questionnaires.....	135
6.5.3 Timeline	136
6.6 Future Research.....	136
6.7 Summary	137
Chapter 7: Conclusion.....	138
7.1 Introduction	138
7.2 A Final Overview	138
7.3 Summary of Key Findings	139
7.4 Contributions and Implications of the Study.....	141
7.5 Concluding Remarks	143
References.....	145
Appendices.....	159
Appendix 1 – Questionnaire	159
Appendix 2 – Interview Guide.....	163
Appendix 3 – Information Sheet and Consent form	164

List of Tables

Table 3. 1 Language groups	53
Table 3. 2 Interview participants background information	55
Table 3. 3 Pattern Matrix for factor analysis of attitudes scale	67
Table 4.1 Pearson correlations for reported use of heritage language in public and degree of identification.....	75
Table 4.2 Pearson correlations for reported use of heritage language and bicultural identity orientation.....	76
Table 4.3 Pearson correlations for reported use of heritage language and perception of heritage language.....	76
Table 4. 4 Pearson correlations for perception of heritage language with the other variables.....	77
Table 4.5 Average responses for multilinguals' perceptions of heritage language.....	79
Table 4. 6 Pearson correlations for perception of heritage language and various factors.....	80
Table 4. 7 Stepwise regression coefficient table for attitudes towards heritage language.	81
Table 4. 8 Pearson correlations for attitudes towards heritage language use in public with the other variables after the Brexit referendum	83
Table 5.1 Factors that influence language choice in public since the referendum.....	87
Table 5.2 Frequency of occurrence of language choice strategies in public...	92
Table 5.3 Frequency of occurrence of factors that impact language choice in public	93
Table 5.4 Frequency of occurrence of perception themes.....	99

List of Figures

Figure 3.1 Normality Q-Q plot of conflicted identity	63
Figure 3.2 Normality Q-Q plot of level of involvement in heritage culture	63
Figure 3.3 Normality Q-Q plot of attitudes towards use of heritage language in public in the post-referendum context.....	64
Figure 3.4 Normality Q-Q plot of perception of British tolerance towards other languages	64
Figure 3.5 Normality Q-Q plot of language choice in public.....	65
Figure 3.6 Scree plot of factor analysis of attitude scale.....	66
Figure 4.1 Mean of reported use of heritage language in public by education. Error bars indicate +/- 95% CI.....	73
Figure 4.2 Mean of reported use of heritage language in public by heritage language background. Error bars indicate +/- 95% CI	74
Figure 4.3 Mean of perception of heritage language by heritage language background. Error bars indicate +/- 95% CI	79
Figure 4.4 Response patterns to perception of less tolerance of linguistic diversity in the context of the referendum	84

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Personal Interest

It is my experience as a speaker of an immigrant minority language, Arabic, in a multilingual society that has motivated this research. I was two years old when my family moved temporarily from Jordan to the United States so that my father could pursue his master's and doctoral degrees. As a child, I recall my parents' use of Arabic with my siblings and I was mostly restricted to the home setting. We avoided using Arabic outside the home, especially if other people were within earshot. For the ten years my family spent there, we had a rule of thumb: Arabic was to be used at home and English was to be used in public. After returning to the Middle East in my early teens, English became a more passive skill, due to peer pressure, and Arabic became my dominant language.

I returned to the U.S. on a permanent basis as a young adult in 2010. However, the political atmosphere in the U.S. post-9/11 sometimes made me reluctant to use Arabic in public settings; this became even more the case following Donald Trump's election. In particular, the charged political atmosphere made it more challenging to be an Arab and a Muslim. Under those circumstances, I feared being harassed. I found myself consciously choosing to speak English, even to those who spoke my native tongue when I was on the phone in public, at an airport, on a train, with a sibling at an ATM, or in queue at a bank. My interlocutor and I would typically exchange a glance that would indicate to the other to be wary of the surroundings and stick to English. We made a deliberate choice, which constituted an act of identity, signaling belonging to the main culture and camouflaging the heritage culture. I recall that I once said to a multilingual acquaintance that we benefited from having somewhat American accents and not appearing stereotypically Middle Eastern; we are seldom harassed or even approached in public unless we are particularly obvious about speaking in Arabic.

At the time of the UK's vote to leave the European Union in June 2016, I read online about the hostility towards foreigners and migrants in the streets of the UK. I recall wondering whether people had become more fearful about using their heritage language in public, especially with the prevalence of anti-immigrant sentiments and the unmasking of attitudes of racism, including linguistic racism, in the public sphere.

Shortly after arriving in London, I asked an Arabic-speaking friend how she felt about using her heritage language in public. I recall her saying that if her appearance were different and she spoke French as a heritage language, she would not be as reluctant to use her heritage language in a public setting as she was. She added: “Because my heritage language is Arabic, I do often worry about being harassed for speaking it.”

My bilingual friend’s comment, along with my own personal experiences, sparked my interest in this topic. I wondered more about multilinguals’ language attitudes and choices in the UK, especially since the Brexit referendum. Given the political climate and unwelcoming attitudes towards some migrant minorities, I thought about the extent to which migrant minorities might be reluctant to use their heritage language in public. I started thinking more about linguistic racism. I wondered what other factors might influence multilinguals’ attitudes and whether certain groups would be more vulnerable than others.

Before proceeding to discuss the purpose and significance of this study, it is important to consider multilingualism in Western societies and the UK. The next section offers an overview of linguistic diversity and racialized language hierarchy in the EU. The section that follows highlights the research context of the UK following the country’s decision to leave the European Union.

1.2 An Overview

Globalization has created pluralistic societies with culturally, ethnically, and linguistically diverse populations. Such contexts of migration have led to contact between a dominant majority, regional minority and migrant minority communities and their languages (Yağmur, 2017). In such multicultural societies, Skutnabb-Kangas (2015) reported that linguistic diversity is not always appreciated and is often blamed for disintegration and conflict. A flawed argument found in public rhetoric that implies that the migrants’ use of their heritage language(s) is the reason for their disintegration because they separate themselves from the dominant group, resulting in their marginalization. However, Yağmur (2017) has argued that not all linguistic diversity is perceived as problematic and creating conflict. On the contrary, Yağmur believes that regional and national languages of other European states are celebrated, whereas languages associated with immigrant communities are treated as a barrier to inclusion. Languages associated with immigrant communities are also perceived as creating social and cultural problems as well as constituting an obstacle to integration. This distinction is a result of languages being socially situated on a hierarchical structure (Piller,

2016; de Bres, 2016) with some languages seen as advantageous and others deemed unfavorable (Sachdev & Cartwright, 2016).

This global language hierarchy has been discussed in the literature. Sachdev and Cartwright (2016) maintain that socio-historical factors, such as recent colonialism, has led certain languages such as French, German, and Spanish to accrue a hierarchy of prestige alongside English. In the *Languages in Urban Contexts: Integration and Diversity in Europe* (LUCIDE) reports from 2015, researchers found that in various European cities, speakers of different ethnic languages experience the cities they live in differently based on the status of their language (King & Carson, 2016).

Language politics and ideological debates impact a group's linguistic status. In an analysis of the LUCIDE reports, Carson and King (2016) argued that there is support and respect for bilingualism and learning of other languages at both the national and European levels, but less so for bilingualism that involves the knowledge of immigrant languages. Similarly, Yağmur (2017) brought attention to the fact that immigrant minorities are not viewed as equal members of society; instead, they are considered marginal, temporary, and undesirable within their host society in EU member states. Also, their languages are not recognized and protected at the nation-state level in Europe (Yağmur, 2017). Additionally, Skrandies (2016) argued that racialization and xenophobic sentiments can contribute to discourses that marginalize particular non-European language and cultures and pressure these groups into linguistic and cultural assimilation.

The following section describes the research context under investigation in this study. It starts with outlining attitudes to linguistic diversity in the socio-political of the Brexit referendum before going on to discuss general attitudes towards languages in the UK.

1.3 The Research Context: Linguistic Diversity and the Referendum

Some urban centers in the UK have gained a reputation as some of the most culturally and linguistically diverse places in the world (Norton, 2018). However, since the Brexit referendum, the country is at risk of losing its place as a global leader in openness and in welcoming visitors (Norton, 2018). The global impact of Brexit has caught the attention of researchers across disciplines, given the socio-economic and political change that is imminent now that the UK has left the European Union. In the book *Languages after Brexit: How the UK speaks to the world* (Kelly, 2018a), some language specialists express concern about the challenges that Brexit may introduce to foreign language learning (with language

skills being pivotal for future trade and labor markets), as well as to linguistic and cultural diversity, especially with the prevalence of monolingual thinking. Since the referendum, there have been reports of discrimination and xenophobia, both racial and linguistic, in the media. Furthermore, the country has witnessed a series of hate crimes and acts of public hostility towards migrants and speakers of languages other than English in the wake of the decision (Kelly, 2018b). Kelly (2018b) reported:

The most nationalistic voices in the UK have been shouting at people on the streets for speaking a language other than English. Signs and notices in foreign languages have been defaced. And many foreign residents have become fearful of speaking their own language in public. (p. 22)

With Brexit underway, the English language is consistently portrayed by policymakers as an integral part of being British and belonging to the community. *The Guardian* reported that in July 2019, Prime Minister Boris Johnson commented, “I want everybody who comes here and makes their lives here to be, and to feel, British – that’s the most important thing – and to learn English. And too often there are parts of our country, parts of London and other cities as well, where English is not spoken by some people as their first language and that needs to be changed.” (Halliday & Brooks, 2019) <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2019/jul/05/johnson-pledges-to-make-all-immigrants-learn-english>. Here, the Prime Minister appears to seek to regulate the use of English among multilingual migrants and require knowledge of English as a first language rather than encourage migrants to learn English as an additional language to facilitate their integration. This could be viewed as constricting individuals’ language choices. Johnson’s comments were preceded by Dame Louise Casey’s (2016) report (executive summary), which argues that English is “a common denominator and a strong enabler of integration” (p. 14). The report pointed out that low English proficiency, residential patterns of living (concentrations of ethnic communities), among other factors, were linked to obstacles to social mixing and gaining economic opportunities in deprived communities in the UK. One of the recommendations offered, that is most relevant to this study, for enhancing unity and reducing exclusion has been boosting English language provision through funding community classes. Also highlighting language, the Ministry of Housing, Community and Local Government (HM Government, 2018) stated in their issued *Integrated Strategy Green Paper*, that incoming migrants need to “learn to speak and understand our language and values and seek opportunities to mix and become part of our communities” (p. 10) to improve opportunities and integration.

In general, it appears that since the vote, there has been a strong push by the government to present knowledge and use of the English language as a key factor to integration, belonging, and Britishness. This desire to regulate the use of language is not new. Cameron (2013) argues that political anxiety stemming from post 9/11 and the bombings on 7/7/2005 had previously increased the UK government's desire to regulate the use of English as a form of verbal hygiene. According to Cameron (2013, p. 60), verbal hygiene refers to "all the normative metalinguistic practices through which people attempt to improve languages and regulate their use." In the context of the UK, English reflects the national identity, and other languages are seen as incompatible with cohesion since language stands for identity and difference (Cameron, 2013). Sachdev and Cartwright (2016) believe that such 'nationalistic' views that link national identity and belonging to languages challenge linguistic diversity. Moreover, the exclusive focus on English disregards multilinguals' heritage languages, as well as speakers of Scottish Gaelic, Cornish, Irish, Welsh, and users of British Sign Language, by linking English language proficiency with British identity.

Speakers of heritage languages in the UK have been under considerable pressure to acquire knowledge of English in order to integrate into British society and to indicate their cohesive collective identity (Julios, 2008). There has been a prevalent monolingual English-speaking model and enduring legacy of 'one language, one nation' to preserve the dominant English-speaking Anglo-Saxon status (Julios, 2008). Language is used as a means of asserting the status of the hegemonic majority, and setting their socio-cultural outlook as an essential part of British identity (Julios, 2008). Therefore, the representation of British identity through the use of the English language is not new; it constantly simmers beneath the surface, with occasional peaks.

In the wake of the referendum, this association has resurfaced, making it possibly more crucial for multilinguals of a migrant minority to minimize their differences to show their belonging. This emphasis on English as an enabler of social cohesion and belonging in the UK raises concerns that have been exacerbated by the Brexit process and its consequences for multilingualism and multiculturalism, especially with the resurgence of monolingual ideologies. Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) reported that ongoing political events can change how people reflect on their positioning and language(s), strategically favoring one over the other depending on the circumstances. As Fishman (2000) has

previously highlighted, people may choose to use the host community's language to seek greater acceptance and reference group membership. For instance, when linguistic minorities observe a monolingual overtone from the dominant group, they may feel a greater need to comply and align themselves with the hegemonic linguistic/cultural group (Blackledge, 2004). As such, they may feel compelled to use the dominant group's language as a strong communicative cue and act of identification of their belonging within the mainstream, especially in cases in which their heritage language is viewed with suspicion and disdain (Garrett, 2010).

1.4 Purpose and Significance of the Study

This study is situated in the context of linguistic diversity in public domains after the UK's vote to leave the European Union. The aim is to investigate the self-reported language choices of multilingual migrants who speak a heritage language considered foreign to the UK. The term 'multilingual' is used to describe individuals who speak two or more languages (Grosjean, 2010). Migrants are defined by "foreign birth, by their foreign citizenship, or by their movement into a new country to stay temporarily (sometimes for as little as one month) or to settle for the long-term" (Anderson & Blinder, 2019, p. 1). Heritage or community language is used to refer to all languages other than the dominant language (British Academy, 2013) or a national language in the UK. The terms 'heritage language', 'ethnic language' and heritage/ home language are used interchangeably to mean any language learned (as a first language or later in life) from one or more parents, grandparents, or other family member other than English and/or a language that is autochthonous to the UK such as Irish, Gaelic and/or Welsh.

The study also seeks to explore multilinguals' attitudes towards their heritage language and their perceptions of the mainstream society towards other languages. Attitudes is used to refer to people's feelings, beliefs, thoughts, and actions (Pickens, 2005) about their heritage language and society. Perception is closely linked to attitudes (Pickens, 2005) and is used in examining multilinguals' views on heritage languages and British society. Additionally, the study examines multilinguals' reluctance to use their heritage language in public settings in the context of the post-referendum. Given the scope of this study, language choice will only be considered in terms of spoken communication in public domains. The phrase 'language choice' will be used interchangeably with 'language use'. They will be

used to describe multilinguals' patterns of use of one or more languages when conversing with others who share their heritage language.

The study involved 507 multilinguals from different linguistic backgrounds who reside in the UK and use a language considered foreign to the country. Their self-reported language choices in public spaces and perceptions were collected by means of a questionnaire in spring 2018. Then, after the questionnaire data was analyzed, semi-structured interviews were conducted and recorded with eight of the survey participants.

The study has employed an explanatory sequential research design (Creswell, 2015) in order to first collect data from a large number of participants from various linguistic groups, along with insights drawn from individuals' personal stories about their language use. This permits some degree of generalization but also allows the researcher to better understand why people make certain choices in specific situations.

This study contributes to an understanding of language diversity in western pluralistic societies. This study's participants were mostly highly educated due to the sampling technique. Therefore, the study focused on how mainly educated multilinguals report utilizing their linguistic repertoires in certain settings and contexts in order to signal their belonging and yet minimize potential discrimination against them in public spaces. Additionally, the study considers links between multilinguals' bicultural identity orientations and their self-reported language choices, as well as multilinguals' bicultural identity orientations and their various perceptions and attitudes. It also seeks to add to research about the impact of political events among other factors on migrant language use in public domains.

1.5 Structure of the Thesis

The overall structure of the study takes the form of seven chapters. Following this introductory chapter, the literature review is presented. The second chapter takes on a thematic structure. It begins with a brief overview of recent migration to the UK, including immigrant movement and language testing. It then describes the language situation in the UK before considering minorities' language choices in multilingual societies. After that, the chapter reviews research on factors linked to language choices such as identity, attitudes, and acculturation. The chapter lays out key theories and methodological approaches developed within the examination of language attitudes, identity and migrant minorities acculturation and orientation. It also considers linguistic discrimination and the social

inequalities that stem from some languages being perceived in a more favorable light than others. Then, a summary and the rationale for conducting the study are given. In the final section of the chapter, the research questions which the study aims/seeks to explore are presented along with the proposed hypotheses.

The third chapter presents the methodological approach adopted in the study. In order to obtain rich data and gain a better understanding of multilinguals' language choices in public, an explanatory sequential mixed-methods design was utilized. The research instruments used were an online questionnaire followed by semi-structured interviews. The chapter describes the participants who filled out the questionnaires and those who agreed to be interviewed. The procedures for collecting and analyzing the data are also presented.

The quantitative and qualitative data analyses are presented in separate chapters. The fourth chapter presents the quantitative findings of the research, focusing on differences between groups and relationships between independent and dependent variables. The fifth chapter deals with the qualitative findings of the study using thematic analysis. It is divided into two sections. First, it reports on the data from an open-ended question included in the questionnaire, focusing on the five key themes that participants drew attention to when choosing which language to use in a public setting. Second, it provides an analysis of the interview data, highlighting participants' language choices in public, as well as factors that impact their choices both in general and in the post-referendum context. It also lays out the main themes that emerged when interview participants were asked about perceptions of their heritage language.

The sixth chapter presents an integrated discussion of the quantitative and qualitative findings. It is structured thematically so that related research questions are grouped together and reiterated, indicating whether or not the hypotheses were confirmed. This chapter also restates the findings and compares the outcomes to previous research. Additionally, the discussion offers possible interpretations of the results. In the final section, the limitations of the study are acknowledged and recommendations for future research on the topic are presented. Chapter seven is the concluding chapter. It summarizes the key findings of the research and presents some implications of the findings.

Chapter 2: Literature review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a review of research conducted on migrant minority languages in multicultural host societies with a dominant language, and thus demonstrates the rationale for conducting this study. It consists of seven sections. The first section outlines modern international migration trends in the UK and immigrant migration and language testing. The second section provides an overview of the language situation in the UK. The next section discusses migrant minorities' language choices in multilingual communities and presents factors such as language attitudes, identity, and acculturation that have been linked to multilinguals' language use. It draws on Pierre Bourdieu's notion of *capital* and *habitus*, the *Social Identity Theory* of Tajfel and Turner, and the *Perceived Benefit Model of Language Choice* of Karan, among others, in its examination of links between language choice and the socio-psychological factors. The section that follows discusses language injustices and discrimination. The last three sections summarize this chapter, provide the rationale, and present the research questions and hypotheses that this thesis explores.

2.2 Recent Migration to the UK

According to the UK Office of National Statistics (ONS) (2015) on the recent history of migration to the UK,¹ immigration was relatively low during the 1980s and early 1990s. However, numbers increased sharply after 1997. During the 2000s, there was a peak in migration from citizens of countries that joined the European Union (EU) during the EU expansion in 2004. According to the ONS (2015) report, the main reason for migration to the UK is work, except in 2009-2012, when migration for study purposes was the most cited reason. In 2012, a strong UK economy led to an increase in migration, especially among EU citizens (ONS, 2015). During the years 2004-2013, the top 10 countries of non-UK born residents were India, Poland, Pakistan, Republic of Ireland, Germany, South Africa, Bangladesh, USA, China, and Nigeria (ONS, 2015). Generally, the migration of EU citizens

¹ [1]Information on International migration; a recent history is available at <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/internationalmigration/articles/internationalmigrationarecenthistory/2015-01-15>
[Accessed on: 23rd June 2020]

increased significantly from 2012 onwards but declined in 2016 following the referendum on leaving the EU (Sumption & Vargas-Silva, 2019).

The ONS (2019) records show that EU migration has continued to decrease since 2016 following the Brexit referendum, whereas non-EU immigration has gradually increased since 2013. As stated in the 2019 report, the main reason for EU migration to the UK has been for work, while the primary purpose for non-EU citizens to come to the UK has been higher education. Moreover, recent figures suggest that more EU citizens from Central and Eastern Europe are leaving the UK than moving to the country since the Brexit vote. According to the ONS, the highest number of non-UK residents are based in London, with non-UK born residents forming 36% of the population and non-British residents forming 22% (Rienzo & Vargas-Silva, 2019). As reported by Rienzo and Vargas-Silva (2019), in 2018, the ONS listed the top ten countries of birth of foreign-born residents as Poland, India, Pakistan, Romania, Ireland, Germany, Bangladesh, Italy, South Africa, Bangladesh, and China, respectively.

2.2.1 Immigrant migration and language testing

As previously mentioned in Chapter 1, the UK is recognized as one of the most culturally and ethnically diverse populations in the world (Norton, 2018). Additionally, there are no laws that limit the use of languages other than English in public spaces or laws that restrict local authorities from providing services in foreign languages (Cameron, 2013). However, despite this linguistic freedom and diversity, not all ethnic backgrounds are viewed equally, and certain nationalities are forced to complete a language test to encourage individuals' integration (Shohamy & McNamara, 2009).

The UK went from being a country without a language policy to a country with an “official pronouncement on the importance of everyone speaking English and only English” (Cameron, 2013, p. 65). Changes in ideology and policy were precipitated by political anxiety raised post-9/11, followed by heightened concerns after the bombing in London on 7 July 2005 that killed about 50 people and left the UK Muslim community in the spotlight (Cameron, 2013). Among others, these events led to hostility towards specific categories of migrants, with English being viewed in opposition to a threatening Other, identified as Islam and the language with which it is associated, Arabic (Cameron, 2013). As noted in Chapter 1, the political anxiety stemming from post-9/11 and the bombing on 7/7/2005, has led to an

increased desire by the UK government to regulate the use of language as a form of verbal hygiene. In 2005, a language test became a requirement in the British citizenship application process and demonstrating proficiency in the English language increasingly became a condition to gain entrance and residence rights for non-EU migrants who wish to work or live in Britain (Cameron, 2013). It must be noted here that intra-EU mobility permits EU citizens' freedom of movement to settle without having to undergo language proficiency testing or mandatory language learning (Skrandies, 2016).

Moreover, the phenomenon of language testing for certain kinds of migrants is not particular to the UK and exists in other multicultural countries where there is an influx of migrants and refugees due to globalization. In addition to the UK, countries like the Netherlands and Germany have a language policy that requires newcomers to demonstrate their ability to communicate in the national language of the country, or one of the official languages if the country has several (Goodman, 2011). In some of these countries, the language tests are conducted even before entry into the host society (Goodman, 2011).

Some researchers view such language tests as a way of asserting the hegemony of the dominant group with a gatekeeping function that limits the entry of unwanted immigrants (Blackledge, 2009; McNamara, 2009; Goodman, 2011; Cameron, 2013; Shohamy, 2017). Goodman (2011) highlights how this exclusion is purportedly justified by an inability to meet civic integration requirements. However, these integration requirements are not universal and mainly target migrants applying through marriage (family-forming) or those applying for reunification (family-joining) (Goodman, 2011). As Goodman (2011) argues:

[N]ew obligatory requirements at the pre-entry stage most clearly serve to limit immigration, specifically family forming migrants. The most salient effect of pre-entry integration and high pre-entry barriers is exclusion by self-selection, cost, and inability to fulfil requirements. For while an applicant for citizenship may be sufficiently prepared to demonstrate their integration at the time of naturalization, having resided in the host country for an extended period of time, integration requirements at entry assess a newcomer without any cultural or linguistic exposure. (Goodman, 2011, p. 236)

2.3 The Language Situation in the UK

English is an international lingua franca and the first foreign language in many countries (Kelly, 2018b). In the UK, the English language holds *de jure* recognition (Mac Giolla Chríost & Bonotti, 2018). In addition to English, the country has a number of autochthonous languages, such as Scottish Gaelic, Cornish, Irish, and Welsh, which are recognized as regional and minority languages of the UK and have legal protection (McDonagh, 2011). In

addition to several regional languages, it is said that the UK has a goldmine of migrant languages spoken in its homes and on its streets (Norton, 2018). In London alone, Mehmedbegović et al. (2015) have noted 233 languages documented as spoken by school children and 33 by its local authorities.

Data from the latest census on English language proficiency in England and Wales from March 2011 showed 88 languages reported as main languages other than English (UK Office of National Statistics, 2013). In London, 22.1% of people reported their primary language to be a language other than English. In contrast, only 7.7% reported another main language other than English (or English/Welsh in Wales) in other parts of the English regions and Wales. According to the Census, the top 10 other main languages were: Polish, Panjabi, Urdu, Bengali (with Sylheti and Chatgaya), Gujarati, Arabic, French, Chinese, Portuguese and Spanish, respectively. Furthermore, in the 2011 Census (Detailed Analysis-English language proficiency in England and Wales, Main language and general health characteristics), the results showed that the linguistic minorities whose members collectively are less likely to speak English with high proficiency in comparison to other groups were speakers of Gypsy/traveler languages, Pakistani Pahari (with Mirpuri and Pothwari), Vietnamese, Cantonese Chinese, Yiddish, Panjabi, Romani language, Bengali (with Sylheti and Chatgaya), Turkish, and Latvian (ONS, 2013).

However, while the country has a multi-ethnic makeup and has a linguistically diverse population, as described above in the ONS report, the UK generally does not take advantage of this linguistic resource (Norton, 2018). Although historically French has been the main foreign language taught at schools, and there has been a recent growth in the popularity of Spanish in Britain, there is no priority foreign language in the country (Kelly, 2018b). The lack of a push towards studying a particular foreign language has mainly been due to there being no social and strong economic reason (Kelly, 2018b).

In addition to the general under-utilization of linguistic capital (Norton, 2018), Mehmedbegović et al. (2015) reported that non-UK languages do not have particular legal protection or explicit linguistic rights other than the language rights assured through general human rights and equality legislation for immigrant communities to speak their language. This position is similar to that concerning the language rights of immigrant minority languages taken by EU countries (Mehmedbegović et al., 2015). Furthermore, there appears to be a subordination of some languages even in London, a place known for its relative

tolerance and described with hyper diversity (Mehmedbegović et al., 2015). The report describes how multilinguals' experiences are different and dependent on the status of their language. Mehmedbegović et al. (2015) report:

[O]ur research paints a rich dynamic picture of London as a hub of multilingual activities. Underpinning this richness and dynamism is the language hierarchy [...]. Speakers of languages which are perceived as high status – either because of their current economic value or historical circumstances – experience London in a fundamentally different way to those who speak less prestigious languages. (p.74)

Musolff (2019) analyzed data collected from postings by the British public made to a BBC online forum called *Have your say* that discusses attitudes towards immigration and diversity in the UK. He found that some online commentators posted comments about foreign languages in the UK being a barrier to a collective British identity. In Musolff's data, there appears to be a degree of disapproval of immigrants, especially in the depiction of the streets of British cities as streets of Bombay or Karachi, or even in the use of Urdu as an example of foreign babble. Benson and Lewis (2019) reported that in general British people of color and immigrant minorities had experiences with racism even before the referendum in Britain but that the vote may have amplified previously held attitudes and views of this nature.

2.4 Migrant Minority Language Choice in Multilingual Societies

Researchers have looked at migrants' language use and maintenance in a variety of multilingual settings, including the United States (Mucherah, 2008), the UK (Brown & Sachdev, 2009), Australia (Ndhlovu, 2010), and European countries (Gogonas & Michail, 2015; Yağmur & Van de Vijver, 2012). Several factors have been highlighted that may contribute to individuals' language choices in such receiving societies like age, ethnolinguistic vitality, identity, attitudes, and degree of acculturation. Other potential factors impacting multilinguals' language choice are the nature of the interlocutors and the situation/location of an interaction (Grosjean, 2010). In Rzepnikowska's (2018) study of Polish migrant women's experiences before and after the Brexit referendum in Greater Manchester, the researcher found that participants felt more comfortable speaking in their heritage language or 'looking foreign' in multi-ethnic and affluent areas because they were less likely to experience racism there.

As noted above, ethnolinguistic vitality has been a factor linked to language use and choice (Noels, Kil, & Fang, 2014). It has also been linked to the language shift of migrant minorities to the dominant language (Gogonas & Michails, 2015). Ethnolinguistic vitality is "that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations" (Giles, Bourhis & Taylor, 1977, p. 308). Giles et al. (1977) argued that a group's vitality could be assessed objectively by statistics and subjectively by individuals' perceptions of the vitality and status of their language. On the one hand, objective ethnolinguistic vitality considers status, demographic indicators, and levels of institutional support (Giles et al., 1977). On the other hand, subjective ethnolinguistic vitality is dependent on speakers' perceptions and attitudes towards the status of their language (Giles et al., 1977). These attitudes are not entirely formed by the individual, however. One generation's attitudes and perceptions towards its group's ethnolinguistic vitality can impact the language behaviors of the generation that follows it (Yağmur & Ehala, 2011).

Sachdev and Bourhis' (1990) claim that minority groups with low vitality are more likely to assimilate linguistically and not act as a distinctive collective group, in contrast to minority groups with high vitality who may maintain their language and cultural traits in the same context. For example, in a mixed-method study which examined the relationship between ethnolinguistic vitality, perception, and the language choice patterns of Albanian immigrants residing in different areas in Greece, Gogonas and Michails (2015) found that there was a shift from the use of Albanian to Greek, even among first-generation immigrants in public. This was found to be due to their perception that their group vitality, status, and political power were low. However, Landry, Allard, and Deveau (2007) pointed out that individuals have maintained their ethnolinguistic identity in some groups with low vitality and continued to use their ethnic language regularly.

Tollefson (1991) argues that the historical dominance and political hegemony of a group (in a given region or even globally) gives a group's language strength. According to Priven (2008), Western European countries themselves have imposed a worldview that includes a pecking order of languages, in which European languages are granted recognition, prestige, and value (Priven, 2008). However, Priven draws on Edward Said's concept of Orientalism, a depiction of Western attitudes towards people from the Arab world, to add that not all European languages are viewed in the same light. While Western European languages hold high status, other languages within Europe are perceived as 'internal others'

that are seen as inherently European but regarded with less prestige (Priven, 2008). Applying Edward Said's concept of Orientalism, Zinovijus (2012) specifies that the Western European and British views of an 'internal other' is also present in relation to those who are from Central and Eastern Europe. For example, in Rzepnikowska's (2018) study of racism against Polish people before and after the referendum, the researcher discussed the experiences of 21 Polish women in Greater Manchester who reported being perceived as different, despite being white.

This section has reviewed some of the factors related to multilinguals' language choices in pluralistic western societies. The following subsections review three key factors under investigation in this study that could be linked to multilinguals' language choice. These factors are attitudes, identity, and acculturation.

2.4.1 Language and attitudes

In everyday language, individuals think of attitudes as opinions about something (Baker, 1992). According to the definition formulated by Eagly and Chaiken (1993, p. 1), an attitude is "a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favor or disfavor." In terms of language, Crystal (1997, p. 215) has defined attitudes as "the feelings people have about their own languages or the languages of others." A further definition of language attitudes is given by Noels et al. (2014), who described them as the positive or negative judgment people have about a language or its speech community. Furthermore, the attitudes individuals hold towards different languages are motivated by the perception of the role each language has in relation to other languages (Sadanand, 1993). Language attitudes have been linked to language choice and behavior (Noel et al., 2014). For example, Garrett (2010) believes an individual's language behavior may be seen as a sign of their attitudes or used to evoke responses from their interlocutors or bystanders.

Additionally, Karan (2008) suggests that attitudes can impact whether an individual is motivated to use their heritage language or not. Moreover, he argues that an individual might have a combination of motivations that result in them using one language variety over another. Karan (2008) outlines a taxonomy of six motivations a person might have in choosing to use or learn a language. These motivations could have communicative, economic, social identity, language power and prestige, nationalistic and political, and/ or religious purposes. For example, according to Karan (2008), an individual's language choice

can be influenced by what best facilitates communication, so that the interlocutors understand the individual. The individual may also choose to use a language to associate with a prestigious group and show solidarity, or decide not to use a language to disassociate with a less prestigious group and distance themselves from it (Karan, 2008).

Attitudes do not develop in a vacuum but are established through socio-political and historical events (Priven, 2008). Changes in political climate can result in a sudden shift of attitudes (Pavlenko, 2003). For example, as mentioned above, Cameron (2013) showed how attitudes towards Arabic shifted in the US and UK after the terror attacks in the early 2000s. Concerns rose in Britain over radical Islam among the UK Muslim community (Cameron, 2013). The perception of Arabic and Islam as a threat to cohesion and western democracy (Cameron, 2013) had long-term effects on the public discourses resulting in political anxiety over multilingualism.

Attitudes are determined by the status of the language that may be based on the national, ethnic, and/or religious identity of the speaker (Stoicheva, 2016). As Bourdieu (1977, p. 652) put it, "A language is worth what those who speak it are worth, i.e., the power and authority in the economic and cultural power relations of the holders of the corresponding competence." These assigned values towards languages and their speakers can be based on the attitudes held by the dominant group towards other groups, and their recognition as legitimate languages is dependent on society's validation of them (Bourdieu, 1991). Moreover, Ortega (2019, p.30) argues that "whenever the linguistic repertoires of certain speakers are rejected, their ethnolinguistic heritage and affiliations are also rejected." In such cases, individuals might be motivated to refrain from the use of their heritage language to avoid rejection.

The majority group can manipulate the public opinion in this way through the media and education (Bourhis, Sioufi & Sachdev, 2012). In the UK, for instance, education officials have embraced a curriculum that promotes the mastery of English, Mathematics, and Science with a monolingual English-speaking stance on language policy when it comes to the study of foreign languages (Julios, 2008). Mehmedbegović and Bak (2017) present the case of a 14-year-old child from Iraq, who commented to her teacher after less than a year of living in England, "Miss, who needs the languages of immigrants? You need to be good at English, very good at English" (p. 156). Thus, attitudes can create an ingrained belief from a young age of what should be valued or not. Bourdieu (1991) defines the term *habitus* as "a

set of dispositions that incline individuals to act in a certain manner" (p. 12). Although Bourdieu believes these tendencies to be flexible, he maintains that childhood experiences play an essential role (Bourdieu, 1991). He contends that these dispositions generate unconscious practices, perceptions, and attitudes through the process of inculcation.

Furthermore, the attitudes held by the dominant group can influence minority groups' attitudes towards their own languages (Bourhis, 2001; Landry et al., 2007) to the extent that members of minority language groups may take on the negative attitudes of the dominant group towards the minority languages (Grosjean, 1982). As such, these negative attitudes towards multilinguals' heritage languages may lead them to refrain from using it (Grosjean, 1982). According to Karan's (2000, 2011) *Perceived Benefit Model of Language Choice*, individuals strive to use or associate with a language that is beneficial to their personal interest and wellbeing, and vice versa. According to his model, in different speech situations, a speaker chooses from their linguistic repertoire the language or language variety that will profit them. If individuals perceive the use of, or affiliation with, one of their languages as threatening to their personal future, they may stop using a language and disassociate themselves from it "cognitively, socially, and emotionally," to the extent that it becomes less a part of their linguistic repertoire (Karan, 2011, p. 139).

Various groups may come across different attitudes, depending on who they are and where they are living/working. Communities that have less economic capital or have lower levels of education may be stigmatized, resulting in members establishing negative attitudes towards their community's culture and language (Fishman, 1991, cited in Bichani, 2015). In such communities, Bichani (2015) argues that some speakers might refrain from using their heritage language in favor of adopting the dominant language, as a way of rejecting the minority language's culture for membership in the dominant privileged group. The usage of the dominant group's language can enhance the position one occupies in a social space since, according to Bourdieu (1991), language has a notable role in symbolic capital.

In addition to language choice, individuals may enhance their capital through education. Bourdieu (1991, 1986/2011) states that education is a form of institutionalized cultural capital, which acts as a currency alongside two other forms of cultural capital: 1) embodied in mental and physical habits or capacities, such as mannerisms, accent, skills; 2) objectified forms of capital such as the material things that one possesses. Cultural capital can lead an individual to social capital and a higher status in society (Bourdieu, 1991).

Education can benefit some individuals from cultures that are stereotypically stigmatized, facilitating upward social mobility and membership in the dominant cultural group (Zinovijus, 2012). In cases where members of the stigmatized heritage cultures do not have the same access to education, they may continue to be more negatively impacted by stereotypical associations and stigmatization in the dominant receiving culture (Zinovijus, 2012).

Barakos and Selleck (2019) contend that not all 'multilingualisms' are viewed in the same way or are they equally valued. In a European context, Jaspers (2009) outlines a distinction between the prestige multilingual and plebian multilingual (cited in Barakos & Selleck, 2019). On the one hand, a prestige multilingual is a speaker or learner who has upward mobility, holds socio-economic status, is highly educated, and has knowledge of two or more "internationally useful", high status languages (Barakos & Selleck, 2019, p. 368). On the other hand, a plebian multilingual is a user of regional and minority languages and varieties that are less economically valued and are used by mainly multi-ethnic often less educated people across Europe (Barakos & Selleck, 2019).

In a similar vein, Ortega (2019) argues that attitudes towards bilingualism and bilinguals might vary depending on the linguistic repertoires of the speaker. Bilingualism in languages with high status such as German and French attracts positive responses and garners public support, whereas the bilingualism of immigrants is often met with negative reactions or elicits negative responses (Piller, 2012; Yağmur, 2017). Often, bilingualism in languages higher up in the hierarchy entails prestige and power, whereas bilingualism in languages lower in the hierarchy is seen as lacking prestige. Abdallah-Pretceille (1992, p. 72, cited in Priven, 2008) points to the distinction made between additive and subtractive bilingualism in comparing European and migrant languages:

Often neglected, if not devalued, the bilingualism of migrant children is regarded as subtractive bilingualism (one that handicaps children), whereas bilingualism involving a language of a high social and economic status is presented as additive (positive and exalted).

Abdallah-Pretceille's observations on the possibilities of subtractive bilingualism for migrant children intersect with a broader body of literature that has been published on the elicitation of attitudes. The studies offer different methods to measure language attitudes including Lambert's matched guise test as a predictor of implicit biases (Chen & Cao, 2013); semantic differential techniques (Santello, 2015); the personalized association test (Rosseel

& Grondelaers, 2018); and self-reporting surveys and questionnaires with Likert scales (Ndhlovu, 2010). In the last of these methods, surveys about minority languages tend to measure a language's status, value, and importance (Baker, 1992).

Mucherah (2008) studied immigrant groups' language practices in different communities in the United States of America. Using a questionnaire, Mucherah examined 208 immigrant parents' perceptions of their native languages. All participants were born and raised outside of the United States and had been living in the country for at least four years. The participants came from various places, such as Africa, Europe, the Far East, Latin America, Middle East, North Africa, and South Asia. The survey was distributed among immigrants in institutions of higher education, employees in restaurants and hotels, among others. The study looked at people's language attitudes towards their heritage language, perception of the English language, and factors that hinder or maintain immigrants' use of their language and the factors that impact their choice to teach the heritage language to their children. The survey tool Mucherah developed, *My Native Language Scale*, consisted of 4 subscales with 18 items rated on a 5-point Likert scale and two open-ended questions. The subscales were: 1) Perceptions of My Native Language, 2) Consequences of Speaking My Native Language, 3) Immigrant Children and the Native Language, and 4) Perceptions of the English Language. The researcher found that a significant difference in immigrants' perceptions were linked to visits to the native country, and where immigrants' children were born. Migrants who did not visit their native country had more positive perceptions of the English language than those who did visit. Migrants whose children were born in their native country perceived their heritage language more positively than those whose children were born in the US or another country. Mucherah also found that the immigrants in the study generally had a positive perception of their heritage language and most participants did not perceive negative consequences for speaking their language. However, Mucherah reported great variation in immigrant responses on negative consequences. Although some immigrants had positive perceptions of their language(s), they still perceived negative consequences associated with speaking a language other than English. Mucherah attributed this variation to differences in heritage language background and assumed that those who speak French were less likely to report negative consequences than those who speak an African language such as Ibo.

Drawing on Mucherah's (2008) *My Native Language Scale* as the main instrument for data collection, Ndhlovu (2010) explored the attitudes and perceptions of non-refugee African communities in Australia towards their ethnic languages. The study also investigated how prevalent monolingual thinking in Australia that highlights English as the language of prestige and status may influence African migrants' perceptions of their heritage language. Additionally, Ndhlovu collected data from 19 participants on their language choice in different contexts, such as at home, work, with family and friends, and in public settings using a questionnaire. Data was collected on biographical information as well as 16 close-ended questions measured on a 5-point Likert scale and two open-ended questions. Using a survey, Ndhlovu examined perceptions towards native languages, the consequences of speaking them, perception of English, and the links between language, culture, ethnic identity, and factors that hinder or promote the use of a heritage language in Australia. A participant in Ndhlovu's study explained why she was not comfortable speaking her ethnic language with friends when within earshot of those who do not speak it because bystanders may demonstrate suspicion of a conversation they may not understand. Ndlovu argues that out of a feeling of necessity to accommodate those within earshot and in order to reduce perceived threats and fears, immigrants might refrain from using their heritage language in public spaces. Ndhlovu maintains that in the Australian context, regardless of whether people are aware of the policy or not, their everyday language choices are related to matters of identity, belonging, social cohesion, and integration. In examining the Australian context, Dovchin (2019) also contends that multilinguals might avoid the use of their heritage language to integrate into the dominant group.

2.4.2 Language and identity

Research on language and identity is vast and can be studied from different perspectives (McEntee-Atalianis, 2019). In this section, an attempt is made to cover the literature that centers on the relationship between identity, ethnicity, perceived (de)valorization of linguistic heritage, and language choice in multilingual communities. It looks at the contact between various minority groups and a dominant majority. It also examines negotiations of group membership with the existence of a socially constructed hierarchy of languages.

An individual's identity is fluid, dynamic, and multiple (Noels, Leavitt & Clément, 2010). Identification with one group or the other is not absolute and can differ from one situation to another (Clément & Noels, 1992). Blackledge and Pavlenko (2001) have argued

that individuals who speak multiple languages can be subject to several loyalties at the same time. Refusal to conform to the dominant ideology can result in marginalization (Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2001). According to West (1992), identity relates to the desire for recognition, association and membership, security, and protection. These desires can be achieved communicatively since language choice can function as an indicator of a social category (Cargile, Giles, & Clement, 1995) and multilinguals may use their language resources to position themselves (Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2001). Language can be used as an 'act of identity' (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985) that indicates an individual's membership within a particular group. In the Acts of Identity model, "the individual creates for himself the patterns of his linguistic behavior so as to resemble those of the group or groups with which from time to time he wishes to be identified, or so as to be unlike those from whom he wishes to be distinguished." (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985, p. 181). According to this model, a multilingual's language choice is a marker of social solidarity or difference. Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) outline four constraints on an individual's ability to behave according to the patterns of the group with which the individual wants to identify. The individual's linguistic behavior is dependent on the extent to which the individual 1) can identify the group, 2) has access to the group and can analyze its behavioral patterns, 3) has motivation to identify with the group, and 4) has the ability to modify his/her behavior (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985, p.182).

Additionally, for some multilinguals, the heritage language is viewed as a vital component to their self-identification and as a core aspect of their ethnic heritage (Bradley, 2019). In such cases, the heritage language can serve as a tool to maintain the ethnic identity of a minority group (Hogan-Brun & O'Rourke, 2019). Similarly, Rosowsky (2008) attributed the desire to maintain a heritage language to its importance in determining ethnicity. *Ethnolinguistic Identity Theory*, developed by Giles and Johnson (1987), also views ethnicity and language as intertwined. It attempts to explore the relationship between individuals' ethnicity and language practices in a social context (Giles & Johnson, 1987). Giles and Johnson (1987) focused on ethnic identification as the main factor in representing a speaker's affiliation. Here, a group considers language as a core element and a marker of its identity, and as a dimension of comparison with other distinct groups to achieve a positive social identity (Giles & Johnson, 1987). However, Hansen and Liu (1997) have criticized Giles and Johnson's theory for not considering characteristics that differ among

groups and between individuals, such as personality, appearance, social background, behavior, and linguistic repertoire. Hansen and Liu (1997) argue that although Giles and Johnson attempt to consider individual differences, they group diverse people in the same categories based on ethnolinguistic identity.

Moreover, Giles and Johnson's (1987) *Ethnolinguistic Identity Theory* draws on *Social Identity Theory*. According to *Social Identity Theory* (SIT), individuals categorize the social world around them by grouping themselves and others into membership and social categories based on certain norms, values, and beliefs (Tajfel and Turner, 1979). In the SIT paradigm, individuals strive to achieve or maintain a positive identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Positive social identity is dependent on a favorable social comparison with relevant outgroups (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). When the comparison is unfavorable, individuals seek to leave their current group and join a more positively viewed group and/or make their current group more positively seen (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) by adopting several strategies to attain a more positive social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). For example, individuals may strive to leave an unfavorable group for membership in a more favorable group through individual mobility, and/or they may attempt to make their group more positively viewed through social creativity or social competition (Tajfel & Turner, 1986).

Furthermore, individuals may need to consider the perception and attitudes of members of the two cultures they are a part of when determining their identity (Grosjean, 2008). Globalization and mobility have led many to be subject to different realities, experiences, and environments resulting in a difference in how individuals may identify with another group more strongly than their ethnic heritage (Liebkind, Mähönen, Varjonen, & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2016). In some cases, individuals may feel they do not fully belong in either of the cultures whose language they speak (Romaine, 1995) and not identify with either group. As a result, identity and language identification should not be based on ethnic heritage alone, but should also consider one's degree of identification with the ethnic heritage, since it can differ from individual to individual. To this point, Liebkind et al. (2016) have argued that although an individual cannot choose their ethnic identity because it is ascribed to them through birth, the role ethnicity plays in an individual's overall identity is a matter of choice. They view ethnic identity as a form of social identity. Therefore, in examining ethnic and national identities, Verkuyten (2005a, p. 18, cited in Liebkind et al., 2016) recommends investigating more than one level of analysis in determining a person's

identity due to the interplay of several factors. The three levels of analysis suggested are: an individual level, an interactive level, and a societal level (Liebkind et al., 2016). Firstly, the individual analysis includes an examination of the degree of identification with the ethnic group (Liebkind et al., 2016). Secondly, the interactive analysis involves the examination of an individual's level of involvement in both the ethnic and dominant culture on an everyday basis, and thirdly, the societal level examines ideologies and political orientations of a person (Liebkind et al., 2016).

In certain situations, minority groups are said to experience social categorization ('us' and 'them'), and social comparison that encourages a range of strategies extending from assimilation to direct competition with the majority (Landry et al., 2007). In these circumstances, language can serve as a proxy for social identity (Stoicheva, 2016). In particular, this occurs in contexts where there is a divide between valued and less valued languages (Stoicheva, 2016) and where a person's identity is recognized in comparison with others, as either a person in a position of 'power' or a position of 'reduced power' (Norton, 2010). Brown and Sachdev (2009) point out:

[I]ndividuals may leave their 'weak' group in order to assimilate with the 'strong' group, possibly acquiring and using the 'strong' group's language. Alternatively, members of the 'weak' group may act collectively to directly challenge the culpable social conditions, such as lobbying for the boosting of the vitality of their language. (p. 329)

In the presence of a hierarchical structure of languages, and language and power positioning being intertwined (Block, 2006), a multilingual's association with one language or another is the distinction between a more or less desirable identity (Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2001). In such circumstances, multilinguals may find themselves being positioned into an association that is not favorable because of their linguistic background (negative social identity). Thurlow and Jaworski (2017) argue that people can use language to claim eliteness and shore up their own status, power and privilege since elite can be viewed as "something people do" (p. 244). Here, language serves as a communicative means through which individuals can reinforce their power or shore up their elite status, and, thereby, broaden social inequality (Thurlow & Jaworski, 2017). Multilinguals may also be faced with a public discourse by the receiving culture that promotes a monolingual ideology that centers around using language to portray belonging and a shared cohesive identity, similar to that of the US (Tharani, 2011) and Australia (Piller, 2016). Commenting on language and national identity, Ruzza (2000) argues:

Languages are among the most powerful symbols of national identity. Both historically and in the recent past, the feeling of common belonging that sustains nationalism has often been enhanced by a common language, which has, therefore, frequently been used as a means of identifying the community in question. (p.168)

2.4.3 Language and acculturation

Various studies have investigated individuals' language behavior in multilingual communities from different angles. For example, research has shed light on studies of the relationship between acculturation orientation and heritage language maintenance, shift, and loss (Bourhis et al., 2012).

Stephenson (2000) has described acculturation as "a complex, multidimensional process of learning that occurs when individuals and groups come into continuous contact with different societies" (p. 77). Bourhis (2017) uses the term acculturation to refer to the process of bidirectional change that occurs when two groups, an immigrant minority group, and a dominant majority, come in constant contact with one another. Bourhis (2017) added that these alternations are in both the cultural and linguistic repertoire of individuals when they are in continued contact with out-group members.

During the acculturation process, at the behavioral level, individuals may encounter behavioral changes such as changes in how they dress, eat, speak, and use language, whereas, at the psychological level, multilinguals may face challenges that manifest as stress and anxiety (Berry & Sam, 2016). Changes may also occur in cultural identity and personality (Berry & Sam, 2016). Researchers examining the attitudes of non-dominant groups in their acculturation process have attempted to measure people's attitudes and levels of engagement in the heritage and dominant groups. Examples of self-reporting instruments used to assess several domains of identification and engagement with established psychometric properties include *Vancouver Index of Acculturation* (VIA) (Ryder, Alden & Paulhus, 2000), *Stephenson Multigroup Acculturation Scale* (SMAS) (Stephenson, 2000) and *General Ethnicity Scale* (GEQ) (Tsai, Ying & Lee, 2000).

In addition to the above, acculturation studies have analyzed factors that can influence the acculturative stress individuals may face during the acculturation process. Research has found that immigrant minorities, regardless of their place of origin, may be vulnerable to the acceptance or rejection of the receiving culture, which can add to the acculturative stress (Bourhis, Montaruli, El-Geledi, Harvey, & Barrette, 2010). Similarly, Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, Solheim (2009) recognize that perceived discrimination could be

seen as an acculturative stressor. Dow (2011) adds that factors such as age, education, socio-economic status, gender, and language proficiency can impact the degree of acculturation stress. Moreover, in a more recent study conducted in the United States on an ethnically diverse sample of immigrants, Espinosa, Tikhonov, Ellman, Kern, Lui, and Anglin (2018) found that stronger identification with one's ethnic group leads to fewer feelings of stress. Espinosa et al. (2018) also reported that in their study, white immigrants experienced lower perceived stress than Asian immigrants. Moreover, no significant differences were found in perceived stress between Asian immigrants and the other ethnic minority groups examined (Espinosa et al., 2018).

Furthermore, the literature also shows that the acculturation strategies immigrants engage in may impact their acculturation process (Berry, 1997). For example, Berry (1991) argued that the integration of minority groups is only successful when the dominant group is inclusive and is unreserved in its openness to cultural diversity. Although Berry's model does consider people's attitudes towards both their heritage cultures and the dominant one, such a model has not taken into account situations where hyperdiversity and high levels of globalization may lead an individual to come in constant contact with other immigrants rather than only being exposed to those of the receiving culture.

2.4.3.1 State ideologies and language policies

Political or economic events at the national or international level can result in a change in language policies (Bourhis, 2017; Pavlenko, 2003). For example, Julios (2008) and Cameron (2013) explained that the attacks of 9/11, as well as the subsequent bombings in London, left Muslims in the spotlight. This, among other social, economic, and political factors, saw the UK's policies shifting from a multicultural model to increased pressures to adopt an integrationist ideology to maintain the status of the English-speaking dominant group (Julios, 2008). Moreover, Carson and King (2016) have argued that European governments are moving away from allowing citizens the opportunity to develop and maintain their linguistic repertoires, as these governments lean towards assimilation policies based on the belief that diversity is a threat to social cohesion.

Studies have linked integration and language policies with state ideologies on immigrant minorities (Bourhis et al., 2012; Yağmur, 2017). The four ideologies discussed run along a continuum from a pluralist ideology to an ethnist one (Bourhis, 2001; Yağmur, 2017). The pluralist ideology supports the maintenance of the linguistic and cultural

differences of minority groups. It values and accommodates these immigrant minorities' needs. The second ideology is called the civic one. It is based on the idea that minority languages and cultures are valued and supported, but no state funds are allocated to their maintenance. The UK is said to adopt this civic ideology when it comes to its immigrant minorities. In the UK, immigrant minorities do have general human rights as well as equality legislation, but they have no specific legal protection or explicit linguistic rights (Mehmedbegović et al., 2015). For example, support for migrant communities whose first language is not English in London tends to come from councils at the local government level rather than the UK government (Mehmedbegović et al., 2015).

The third ideology is the assimilationist ideology, which expects immigrant minority groups to abandon their linguistic and cultural heritage and adopt that of the dominant culture. France's policies are believed to follow an assimilationist ideology towards its immigrant minorities (Yağmur, 2017). Denmark and the Netherlands' ideologies are said to be shifting to that of assimilation (Yağmur, 2017). The fourth ideology, the so-called ethnist ideology is situated at the extreme end of the continuum. It pushes immigrants away from their language and culture, but simultaneously makes it difficult for immigrant groups to be wholly accepted legally and socially within the dominant host community. According to Bourhis (2017), this ideology bases membership on ethnic or religious terms. Yağmur (2017) reports that parts of Germany outside the states of Hamburg, Berlin, and North-Rhine Westphalia exemplify the ethnist model.

2.4.3.2 Acculturation attitudes

The attitudes of the host community towards the acculturating group will impact, in part, the acculturation experiences and the adaption of the migrant group in that particular context (Berry, 1997). In plural societies, the migrant and dominant groups are required to adapt to one another (Berry, 1997). However, despite this being a two-way process in which the dominant group and the newcomers have to adjust to the new situation, the latter group has to make more effort in adapting (Berry, 1997). Additionally, Berry (1997) contended that higher education could lead migrants to better adaptation in a host culture since education correlates with resources, such as economic capital and better support networks.

Berry's four-fold model of acculturation emphasizes attitudes and preferences to determine the acculturation strategy adopt by the migrant group and the host society (Berry, 2005). The acculturation strategies carry different names, depending on whether it is the host

society or the migrant group (Berry, 2005). The four strategies for the host society are multiculturalism, melting pot, segregation, and exclusion (Berry, 2005). The four strategies for ethnic minority and immigrant adaptation in host culture are integration, assimilation, separation/segregation, and marginalization (Berry, 2005). For instance, in the model developed by Berry, immigrants are required to respond with "yes" or "no" on 1) "Is it considered to be of value to maintain one's identity and characteristics?" and 2) "Is it considered to be of value to maintain relationships with larger society?" (Berry, 1997, p. 10). The attitudinal dimensions based on groups' responses indicate the way individuals choose to acculturate, depending on the extent to which the individuals engage with the host culture or retain the heritage culture (Berry, 1997). The integration strategy is pursued by the acculturating individual who adapts to identify with both heritage and dominant cultures (Berry, 1997). The assimilation strategy is pursued by the individual who adapts to identify with the cultural norms of the dominant culture (Berry, 1997). The separation strategy is pursued when an individual rejects the dominant group's cultural norms and continues to maintain their heritage culture (Berry, 1997). The marginalization strategy is pursued when an individual rejects both the heritage culture and the norms of the dominant group (Berry, 1997).

A variant of Berry's (1997) acculturation model is the *Interactive Acculturation Model* (IAM) (Bourhis, Moise, Perreault & Senecal, 1997; Bourhis, 2001; Bourhis, 2017). In Bourhis et al.'s IAM, the orientation adopted is dependent on both the migrants and the receiving groups. The strategy adopted by dominant societies is dependent on factors such as the minority group's place of origin, age, and degree of identification (Bourhis et al., 1997; Bourhis, 2017). The IAM model discusses five acculturation positions that members of the immigrant and host communities can have: integration, assimilation, separation, marginalization, and individualism. The model includes an immigrant acculturation scale as well as a host community acculturation scale. The self-reporting IAM scale uses two attitudinal dimensions: The scale includes 1) "Is it considered of value to maintain one's linguistic and cultural identity?" and 2) "Is it considered of value to adopt the linguistic and cultural identity of the dominant majority?" (Bourhis, 2001, pp. 21- 25).

The strategy adopted by dominant societies may differ from one domain to another (Brown, Zagefka, & Tip, 2016). For example, Brown et al. (2016) contend that multilingualism is celebrated in private domains in the UK, but integration is required in

public. Additionally, they maintain that the current social climate in a country could affect the migrant minority group's acculturation attitudes as well as that of the host community. Brown et al. add that the acculturation preference of minority groups is influenced by what the mainstream society endorses. Its mode of acculturation may also not be uniform, and differs depending on the ethnocultural background of the minority group, social class, degree of in-group identification, and the country's integration policies (Bourhis et al., 1997). The more migrants feel they are a part of the dominant culture and community, the more likely they are to accept and acquire the dominant culture's way of life and language (Krumm, 2012). Since, individuals with migration backgrounds can be vulnerable to the experiences they face (Brown et al., 2016), the acculturation orientation endorsed by host community members may influence, in part, immigrants' feelings of being welcomed/threatened within states, places, and institutions (Montreuil & Bourhis, 2004).

During the acculturation process, individuals decide on their degree of involvement with both their minority and the mainstream culture. Berry (2005) argues that more cultural knowledge of the host group and degree of contact with the host had predictive value on the level of sociocultural adjustment of individuals in the dominant society. Berry (2005) also believes that rejection and discrimination by the host culture could predict lower levels of adaptation among minority groups. The link between discrimination and level of involvement has also been reported by Pisarenko (2006), who found that the higher the level of perceived discrimination, the less likely adolescent members of the Russian minority in Latvia were to prefer integration and assimilation, and vice versa. Furthermore, Pisarenko (2006) found a positive correlation between knowledge of the host culture's language and 1) integration attitudes and 2) assimilation attitudes. Pisarenko also reported negative correlations between knowledge of the host culture's language and 1) separation attitudes and 2) marginalization attitudes of the minority group.

Jasinskaja-Lahati et al. (2009) argue that migrants' perception of the receiving culture's attitudes and treatment could be a key determinant of their degree of identification with both the host community and their ethnic community. Jasinskaja-Lahti et al. (2009) add that migrants' perceived discrimination could lead to disengagement and disidentification with the receiving society following the *Rejection-Disidentification Model* (RDIM). For example, Jasinskaja-Lahti, Mähönen, and Ketokiv (2012), in a longitudinal study of ethnic migrants from Russia to Finland, found that after migration if Russian migrants perceived

higher levels of discrimination than anticipated, the more likely they were to disidentify from and develop negative attitudes towards the dominant group. Mähönen, Jasinskaja-Lahti, and Liebkind (2011) found that among Russian-speaking migrants in Finland, perceived discrimination negatively correlated with national identification. Mähönen et al. (2011, p. 512) argued that experiences of mistreatment and discrimination can result in “the polarization of ethnic and national identities among minority members.”

Here, it is necessary to point to the scales that measure individuals' levels of involvement and engagement within both the ethnic/heritage culture and language and those of the dominant group. For example, the *Stephenson Multigroup Acculturation Scale* (SMAS) measures items on a Likert scale to assess levels of both these types of involvement. Utilizing a multi-method process, Stephenson (2000) developed SMAS to assess "some behavioral and attitudinal aspects of acculturation on the superficial and intermediate level," without assuming there have been cultural changes in the individual (p. 79). Stephenson (2000) define acculturation as a "degree of immersion in dominant and ethnic societies" (p. 79). The 32-item scale with a 4-point Likert response scale (false, partly false, partly true, and true) measures an individual's reported behaviors in the domains of language, interaction, food, knowledge, and media. The initial stage involved developing an item pool based on a review of the acculturation literature, published instruments, and reviews conducted by a multiethnic research team. After conducting two pilot studies with 50 ethnically diverse participants in each phase and a review, the researcher conducted tests of factor structure, internal consistency, and construct validity of the scale. In the last stage, Stephenson evaluated the convergent and discriminant validity in relation to two other acculturation instruments. The scale is reported to have good psychometric properties (Celenk & Van de Vijver, 2011).

Stephenson's (2000) SMAS scale has been used to assess individuals from across ethnic backgrounds on level of immersion in both the heritage and the dominant cultures. In comparison, Tsai et al. (2000) scale, *General Ethnicity Scale* (GEQ), has been employed to investigate individuals' cultural orientation to different domains of life, including language behaviors. Ryder et al. (2000), Vancouver Index of Acculturation (VIA), has been utilized to assess acculturating individuals' orientations towards the host culture's traditions as well as the heritage culture without examining the domain of language behavior.

Berry (1997) has argued that investigating acculturation should include examining characteristics such as education, status, cultural distances, and factors relevant to the receiving society, such as political climate and immigration policies. As cited in Ehala (2009), smaller cultural and linguistic differences make it easier to assimilate to the majority group, and generally, the majority members are less reluctant to accept new members from minorities that have similar traits and values. Moreover, Bourhis (2017) contends that dominant groups are more likely to endorse an individualist or integrationist approach towards valued immigrants (i.e., those they view as sharing the host culture's common language, culture, or religion than those they perceive as devalued). On the contrary, the assimilationist and segregationist approaches are more commonly endorsed for minorities that the host community perceives as devalued and a threat to the group's cohesion.

Montreuil and Bourhis' (2004) study of host communities' acculturation attitudes towards four immigrant groups in Montreal complements the arguments of Ehala (2009) and Bourhis (2017). In their study, on the one hand, Montreuil and Bourhis examined the attitudes of Canadian Francophones towards immigrants from France and Haiti, and also examined the attitudes of Canadian Anglophones towards immigrants from Britain, and Indo-Pakistanis from a Sikh background. Their findings suggest that Canadian nationals who are Francophones and Anglophones in Montreal have more favorable attitudes towards immigrants from France and the British Isles over those of Haitian and Sikh groups, respectively. They found the host communities to favor the first groups' maintenance of linguistic practices and cultural identities, but to adopt an assimilation perspective toward discordant groups. In comparing the different attitudes that a host community can have towards the acculturation of its migrants, it appears that the dominant group may hold a segregationist and exclusionist stand towards immigrants they perceive as not sharing their values.

In another study on the acculturation of immigrants in their host societies, Yağmur and Van de Vijver (2012) explored acculturation and language orientation among Turkish immigrants in Australia ($n = 283$), France ($n = 266$), Germany ($n = 265$), and the Netherlands ($n = 271$). They argued that language shift in minority groups does not happen in a political and social vacuum. Instead, they suggested that immigrants' acculturation orientation and the language policies of the receiving communities can impact immigrants' language use. In the investigation, Yağmur and Van de Vijver used a survey with six scales:

the multicultural ideology scale, the ethnic and mainstream behavior scale, the Islamic belief scale, the ethnic and mainstream social identity network scale, the ethnic and mainstream cultural norms scale, and the attitudes towards Turkish language scale. The researchers found that stronger identification with the heritage group is positively associated with heritage language use, while negatively associated with the use of and positive attitudes to the mainstream language. In-group vitality also positively contributed to in-group language use and attitudes to this use. Their findings suggested that among the Turkish immigrant groups studied, those residing in Australia were less likely to maintain their language since compared to the other countries examined, it provided the least pressure for immigrants to assimilate.

Moreover, in examining the impact of acculturation and length of residency on cultural identification of Chinese immigrants from Hong Kong with both their heritage and host community in Canada, Cheung, Chudek, and Heine (2011) found a longer duration of stay and exposure to the host culture to be associated with greater identification with Canadian culture, only at younger ages of immigration, but not at later ages. Conversely, identification with Chinese culture was unaffected by either age of immigration or length of exposure to Canadian culture. These findings provide evidence for a sensitive period for acculturation by analyzing results based on the use of the *Vancouver Index of Acculturation* developed by Ryder et al., (2000). Their findings suggested that people were better able to identify with a host culture, the longer they were exposed to it, but predominately if this exposure occurred at a relatively young age.

Given that cultural distance, length and type of exposure, and degree of identification with a group can be linked with the strategies and orientation migrants employ in their acculturation and adaptation, it may be of significance to examine the self-reported assessment of how migrant minorities view their cultures in relation to one another. The *Bicultural Identity Orientation Scale* (BIOS), developed by Comănaru, Noels, and Dewaele (2018) examines this relationship by exploring the various ways people from migrant backgrounds describe their bicultural identity. Comănaru et al.'s (2018) scale includes 20-items that assess how those of immigrant backgrounds perceive their two cultures (heritage and dominant culture) connecting to one another in their identity. Researchers in the field have examined how an individual's bicultural identity integrates and develops during the process of acculturation (Comănaru et al., 2018). According to

Comănaru et al. (2018), researchers had previously looked at the different ways the two cultures come together in an acculturating individual, identifying identity hybridity, identity conflict, and situational alternation (Comănaru et al., 2018).

Comănaru et al.'s (2018) study explored how individuals from immigrant backgrounds describe their cultural identity. They focused on first and second-generation immigrants from different ethnic backgrounds in the Canadian context. Their study integrated qualitative and quantitative measures and was carried out in several stages. The first was exploratory, using ten focus groups with individuals born outside of Canada or whose parents immigrated to the country, and examined bicultural assessment instruments such as the Bicultural Identity Integration (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005). In the second stage, the researchers distributed a self-report survey informed by social and cultural psychology on acculturation and biculturalism, as well as, by accounts obtained from focus groups. In developing the scale, the researchers included the eight items (4 items to reflect conflict and 4 to represent overlap) used in the Bicultural Identity Integration (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005), alongside the items that emerged from the focus group and literature. Data for the first study was collected from 300 participants, first and second-generation Canadians, at a Canadian university. Reliability and exploratory factor analysis were conducted. After that, the second round of surveys was distributed for confirmatory factor analysis.

Data for the second study was collected from 582 university students. The findings indicate five ways immigrants may describe the two (or more) cultures in their identity, namely,

- 1) conflicted (perceive the two cultures to be incompatible),
- 2) monocultural (a desire to identify with only one of the two cultural groups),
- 3) alternating (switching between cultures based on context),
- 4) complementary (the two cultures are in harmony with one another), and
- 5) hybridity (the two cultures overlap and blend, creating a new identity).

The authors found that conflicted and monocultural identity orientations were positively interrelated and were connected to lesser wellbeing. Complementarity and hybridity orientation were also connected and reflected positive identity orientations towards both groups. Greater alternation was associated with conflicted and monocultural identity

orientations. The second-generation participants reported that their cultural identity orientations were less conflicted and less monocultural than the first-generation participants.

2.5 Language and Discrimination

In culturally plural societies, there can be an unbalanced distribution of power with one hegemonic group that is perceived to be superior, and others that are perceived to be inferior (Priven, 2008). In such societies, individuals from various backgrounds are not politically equal (Berry, 1997), and their languages are not seen as socially equal (Bourdieu, 1977). This treatment of language as socially unequal can be viewed as a form of linguistic discrimination (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 1995). These socially constructed linguistic hierarchies with an ongoing Western languages' superiority based on socio-economic power has created certain attitudes and perceptions that languages hold different statuses (Sachdev & Cartwright, 2016; de Bres, 2016; Priven, 2008), with some languages categorized as either modern foreign languages (French, German and Spanish) of high status and educational value or community-based immigrant languages (Arabic, Urdu, Pashto) of low status that, as reported by Lanvers (2011), are less formally learned. This globally socially constructed hierarchy has led to ascribing people to different social positions that linguistically privilege some groups, while it disadvantages other groups based on their language status (Piller, 2016).

Linguistic privilege relates to the benefits and values given to a group for speaking a language of social domination and power. In contrast, linguistic disadvantage relates to drawbacks that accompany groups who speak languages that do not receive similar recognition and value due to socio-political and historical events (Piller, 2016). On the one hand, linguistic privilege can spare certain groups from negative associations and discrimination (Piller, 2016). On the other hand, linguistic discrimination can lead racialized subjects to feel disconnected from the communities they are members of (Dovchin, 2019). The languages an individual speaks become a basis upon which they are discriminated against (Krumm, 2012). This inequality leads some individuals who speak devalued languages, to be more likely to be subject to negative treatment and racism in the dominant society (Dovchin, 2019), based on the languages they are being associated with (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2015).

Skutnabb-Kangas (1988) has coined the term “linguicism” to refer to discrimination and racism on the basis of which language(s) people speak. Linguicism is defined as:

Ideologies, structures and practices which are used to legitimate, effectuate, regulate and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources (both material and immaterial) between groups which are defined on the basis of language. (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1988, p.13)

The system of (de)valorization of particular languages has led linguistic identities, linguistic proficiency, and language policies to moderate and become markers for social inclusion or exclusion by the receiving society (Piller, 2012, 2016). Multilinguals can combat linguicism they face by adopting the dominant group's language practices to shore up their belonging since language can mark social identity and solidarity. Multilinguals can also challenge linguicism by altering their language, using crossing as a resistance strategy. Dovchin (2019, p. 4) defines crossing as "a linguistic crossing practice, in which the speakers seek to use their preferred forms of communication"- using not only the dominant language or heritage language but also other available linguistic resources- "to resist dominant linguistic norms and standards in the dominant culture."

Drawing on linguistic ethnographic data analysis and individual interviews, Dovchin (2019) examines language crossing and linguistic racism among Mongolian immigrant women in Australia. Participants reported that as immigrants they felt pressure to communicate through English and faced linguistic and cultural intolerance. They used linguistic resistance strategies to deal with linguistic racism and discrimination. Additionally, in such circumstances, multilinguals from migrant backgrounds may try to alter their accent to pass as members of the mainstream group since speech can act as an indicator of group identification and social inclusion (Bhatia, 2018) and help multilinguals avoid linguistic discrimination (Dovchin, 2019). For instance, despite the fact that whiteness does provide a level of invisibility in some contexts, Rzepnikowska (2018) pointed out that speaking with a foreign accent signals cultural and linguistic differences that mark multilinguals as different.

In a qualitative study conducted on the experiences of European and Asian women migrants to Australia, Butorac's (2014) data showed that multilinguals from Asian backgrounds were more likely to face linguistic racism and exclusion. This linguistic racism resulted in feelings of disconnection from society among women from Asian backgrounds in comparison to migrant women from Europe, who felt more socially included (Butorac,

2014). In Butorac's study, Asian women's uncertainty of being socially included was attributed to appearance. Butorac (2014) concluded that the social context in which a language is learned is as important as the language itself for "identity construction and a sense of belonging" (p. 246).

Skrandies (2016) highlights that the linguistic hierarchy is not racially and ethnically blind. Weber (2015) notes that discrimination against language could be masking of other forms of racism. According to Piller (2016), marginalized individuals are "rarely excluded on the basis of language alone" (p. 162). However, linguistic racism is the only injustice in which victim-blaming remains widely accepted since disadvantaged individuals are seen as responsible for their own exclusion (Piller, 2016).

2.6 Summary

This chapter started with a brief description of recent migration to the UK and some background of language testing in some EU countries for immigrant residency and citizenship. The second part of the chapter attempted to provide information on the language situation in the UK. Furthermore, the review aimed to examine research conducted on migrant minority languages in multicultural Western societies. The research highlights a language hierarchy with some languages being viewed in a more favorable light, whereas others are not as well-perceived. The studies show that the language use of migrant minorities may be linked to factors such as language attitudes, perceptions, identity, and acculturation orientations. Additionally, the reviewed literature suggests that language can serve as a marker of one's identity and belonging, and that ongoing political events can impact multilinguals language use, strategically favoring one over the other depending on circumstances.

The literature also shows that the dominant group's perceptions can impact migrant minorities' attitudes towards their heritage language and its use. Ehala (2009) points out that majority members are less reluctant to accept members from minorities with similar traits and values. Thus, of importance to this study is bicultural identity orientation by which migrants assess the cultural dissonance in themselves, and how bicultural identity among the other factors discussed can be linked to multilinguals' language choices in public following the referendum. Given the heightened concerns over the Brexit referendum's impact on language diversity and dissonance, more research is needed to better understand multilingual

and multicultural migrants' language choices and perceptions in the UK. In the next section, the rationale of the present study is highlighted in more detail.

2.7 Rationale for the present study

Luo and Wiseman (2000, p. 308) argue that individuals "face a tough dilemma at the crossroads of maintaining ethnic language and being assimilated into mainstream culture . ." The literature review shows that the language choices of multilinguals are linked to several factors, including education level, heritage language status, ethnic identification, negotiations of social positioning, attitudes, and acculturation. Having established that a number of factors may influence the use of the heritage language by multilingual migrants, it is also essential to consider the relationship between heritage language perception, bicultural identity, and language choice in relation to current socio-political events, especially with increasingly hostile attitudes towards immigration across the world. Additionally, given that high levels of education confer a certain type of privilege, it is of interest to examine the language choices and attitudes of highly educated multilinguals.

The Brexit referendum has created concerns in heritage language communities who fear it could be a prelude to an increased monolingual ideology and reduced tolerance to linguistic and cultural diversity (Abercrombie, 2017). Furthermore, current discussions on languages and Brexit have centered around the impact of Brexit on language learning, such as the risk that Brexit may lead to declining funds for and support of linguistic diversity and language skills in areas like Manchester (Abercrombie, 2017), and have an impact on the policies regulating foreign language learning (Lanvers, Doughty, & Thompson, 2018). The literature also continues to grow on the implications of Brexit for foreign language skills as an important tool in socio-economic welfare and to international business (Holmes, 2018) and post-Brexit global economy (Hogan Brun, 2018). Pavlenko (2003) has shown how political tensions could lead to a sudden shift in public attitudes towards language usage in multilingual communities, which can, in turn, result in a radical change in language policies. However, in such discussions on political tensions as a possible driver to linguistic discrimination and racism, the focus has been on linguistic diversity as a single category rather than on how antipathy towards foreign languages is applied unequally across languages and language groups. Some linguistic communities may be more strongly affected due to the presence of linguistic hierarchization.

The UK's historical decision to leave the EU offered a perfect opportunity to study attitudes towards language use in public among multilingual migrants of various heritage language backgrounds in the UK. Therefore, the goals of this study are to investigate the link between mostly highly educated multilinguals' perceptions of their heritage language and language choice in public domains in the current socio-political climate with a particular focus on differences in the social perception of various heritage languages, especially with the resurgence of monolingual English ideology. Researchers have demonstrated that cultural distance between groups influences their respective strategies and choices (Berry, 1997; Ehala, 2009), and argued that the degree of ethnic identification is a matter of choice (Liebkind et al., 2016). With this in mind, the study also attempts to examine the link between how individuals assess their two (or more) cultures in relation to one another in their identity orientations, and the factors mentioned above. It should be noted that the multilingual individuals investigated in the present study are those exposed to a language other than English through their families, and that here, these languages are limited to those that are not autochthonous to the UK. This thesis will focus on the use of English in daily communication, in comparison with foreign languages spoken in the UK including German, Polish or Arabic. Issues related to various accents and dialects of English and the different values that may be attributed to them will not be considered in this thesis. The reasoning behind the exclusion of autochthonous languages including Scottish Gaelic, Cornish, Irish, Welsh, British Sign Language, and others is the fact that they are recognized as regional and minority languages of the UK and have legal protection as opposed to non-UK languages which do not have specific legal protection or explicit linguistic rights other than those recognized in human rights and equality legislations (Mehmedbegović et al., 2015).

2.8 Research Questions and Hypotheses

The research questions and hypotheses are as follows:

RQ1: *To what extent are multilinguals' language choices linked to factors including their educational level, heritage-language background, degree of identification with the British group and the heritage group, bicultural identity orientation, and perceptions of their heritage language?*

RQ2: *What other factors affect multilinguals' language choices in public?* (No hypothesis was formulated.)

RQ3: *To what extent are multilinguals' perceptions of their heritage language linked to factors including their educational level, heritage-language background, bicultural identity orientation, and degree of involvement in both ethnic culture and host culture?*

RQ4 A: *Are multilingual speakers' perceptions of their heritage language influenced by their attitudes towards the perceived benefits of their heritage language, the importance of heritage language to self, and perceptions of British tolerance towards other languages?*

RQ4 B: *What other characteristics best predict multilingual speakers' perceptions of their heritage language?*

RQ5 A: *To what extent are multilinguals' attitudes towards heritage language use in public in the post-referendum context linked to factors including heritage-language background, bicultural identity orientation, and perceptions of heritage language, and perceptions of British tolerance to other languages?*

RQ5 B: *What are multilinguals' perceptions of British tolerance of diversity in the post-referendum context?*

RQ5 C: *What are multilinguals' experiences with heritage language or foreign language use in public in the post-referendum context?*

Hypothesis 1: It is assumed that there will be differences between groups in their language choice in public based on educational level and heritage language background, and correlations do exist between language choice, and 1) degree of identification with host and heritage culture, 2) bicultural identity orientations, and 3) perception of the heritage language.

H1.1 Multilinguals who are more highly educated will report greater use of their heritage language in public.

H1.2 Multilinguals who speak a Western European language will report greater use of their heritage language in public spaces than those who speak an Eastern European or other migrant language.

H1.3 There is a negative relationship between degree of identification with the British group and the use of one's heritage language in public. (Multilinguals who identified more with British culture are expected to use more English in public spaces.)

H1.4 There is a positive relationship between the degree of identification with heritage group and the use of heritage language in public. (Multilinguals who had a higher degree of identification with their ethnic/heritage culture are expected to report greater use of their heritage language in public spaces.)

H1.5 Multilingual migrants' language choices in public are expected to be linked to their bicultural identity orientation.

There is a positive relationship between complementary and hybrid identity orientations and heritage language use in public.

There is a negative relationship between conflicted, monocultural, and alternating identity orientations and heritage language use in public.

H1.6 There is a positive relationship between perception of heritage language and use of heritage language in public.

Hypothesis 3: Perception of the heritage language will be linked to educational background, heritage linguistic backgrounds, bicultural identity, as well as the level of involvement in both British culture and heritage.

H3.1 Multilinguals who are more highly educated will have a more positive perception of their heritage language than other degrees.

H3.2 Multilinguals who speak Western European languages will have more positive perceptions of their heritage language than those who speak Eastern European or other migrant languages.

H3.3 Multilingual migrants' perception of a heritage language is expected to be linked to their bicultural identity orientation.

There is a positive relationship between complementary and hybrid identity orientations and the perception of the heritage language.

There is a negative relationship between conflicted, monocultural, and alternating identity orientations and the perception of the heritage language.

H3.4 Multilingual migrants' perceptions of their heritage language are expected to be linked to their level of involvement in both heritage and British culture.

There is a positive relationship between the level of involvement and perception of the heritage language.

Hypothesis 4: Multilinguals' perceptions of British tolerance, bicultural identity, level of involvement are linked to their perceptions of their heritage language. Additionally, importance of identifying with mainstream culture, age, level of involvement in the host culture, and some bicultural identity orientations, are predictor variables of positive perception of heritage language.

Hypothesis 5: It is assumed that relationships exist between attitudes towards heritage language use in public in the post-referendum context and heritage language background, bicultural identity orientation, perception of heritage language, and perception of British tolerance towards other languages.

H5.1 Multilinguals who speak Western European languages will potentially be less reluctant to use their heritage language in public spaces in the post-referendum context than those who speak Eastern European or other migrant languages.

H5.2 Multilingual migrants' use of a heritage language in public in the post-referendum context is expected to be linked to multilinguals' bicultural identity orientations.

There is a negative relationship between complementary and hybrid identity orientations and potential reluctance to use the heritage language in public spaces in the post-referendum.

There is a positive relationship between conflicted, monocultural, and alternating identity orientations and potential reluctance to use the heritage language in public in the post-referendum context.

H5.3 There is a negative relationship between perception of a heritage language and potential reluctance to use the heritage language in public in the post-referendum context.

H5.4 There is a negative relationship between perception of British tolerance of other languages and potential reluctance to use the heritage language in public in the post-referendum context.

H5.5 Multilinguals will have perceived a drop in tolerance towards linguistic diversity in the post-referendum context.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the methodological approach and research design utilized to examine the language attitudes and choices of multilingual speakers in the UK in the post-referendum context. It provides details about the ethics approval from Birkbeck. The chapter also presents a description of participants of the self-reported questionnaires and personal interviews. Moreover, it outlines details of the research instrument, and provides reliability checks for the adapted and developed scales. The chapter then goes on to describe the specific process of data collection and the procedure for preparing the data for analysis. The chapter concludes with a brief summary of the sections.

3.2 Methodological Approach

The current research adopts a mixed-methods explanatory sequential design (Creswell, 2015), to examine links between individuals' bicultural identity, level of engagement in heritage and British cultures, language choices in public, and attitudes. A multi-method approach integrates the use of both quantitative and qualitative approaches in the study. The rationale of using a mixed-methods explanatory sequential design is to be able to get generalizable results from various linguistic groups in the UK along with insight from individuals' personal stories about their language use. This helps examine general tendencies but also allows researchers to understand better why people behave the way they do. According to Creswell (2015), the use of a mixed-methods approach is appropriate when the use of one method or the other is inadequate, and the use of both can give a better understanding of the phenomenon under examination. The qualitative part of the mixed-methods allows the researcher to examine possible causes for some of the patterns identified in the quantitative analyses (Dewaele, 2019). Dewaele (2019) has compared mixed quantitative and qualitative perspectives as the left and the right eye of researchers, enabling binocular vision and "allowing them to perceive three-dimensional images of phenomena" (p. 85). Mackey and Bryfonski (2018) argued that the use of qualitative methods as a follow-up to quantitative approaches provides a better understanding and a more authentic lens to view language behaviors.

3.3 Research Design

A mixed-methods explanatory sequential design is a research approach that uses two methods in sequence, leading with a quantitative phase of the study (Creswell, 2015). In this study, a survey was designed to collect data from a large sample of multilingual respondents who live in the UK and have been exposed to a heritage language other than English through parents or grandparents, in order to investigate multilinguals' reported language choices in public spaces and their language attitudes and perceptions. The second, qualitative phase was then conducted as supplementary to the quantitative results to help explain the quantitative results using participants' first-hand or second-hand experiences and their perceptions (Creswell, 2015).

3.4 Ethics Approval

In accordance with the university's ethical guidelines, ethics approval was obtained from the Department of Applied Linguistics and Communication at Birkbeck before conducting the study. Confidentiality was respected throughout the research process.

No signed consent forms were obtained for the online survey. However, on the initial information page, participants were informed that respondents' identities would remain anonymous and that they had a right to withdraw at any point while filling out the questionnaire. At the end of the survey, participants were invited to provide an email address if they wished to further contribute to the study by participating in interviews.

All interview participants were also informed that their participation was voluntary and that they could also withdraw at any point. Signed consent was obtained from each of the interview respondents.

3.5 Participants

3.5.1 Questionnaire participants

The data collection was administered online, allowing for the collection of 507 completed surveys from a diverse population. The questionnaire was shared on multiple social outlets. A large number of participants were recruited using the snowball sampling technique (Creswell, 2012). The participants were of different nationalities, and with migration statuses ranging from migrants permanently living in the UK, to those benefiting from the EU's freedom of movement, to those with temporary status as international students and

guest workers. The survey was shared via several social media outlets to diversify the population's demographic background; the survey was also shared with an ethnically diverse range of acquaintances with different educational backgrounds and of different ages. The resulting sample was ethnically and linguistically diverse, but was mainly highly educated. All participants were residing in the UK and spoke a heritage language considered foreign in the UK. The largest number of participants came from London (54.4%) and the second largest group was from other areas of England (35.9%). Participants from Wales, Scotland and Ireland counted for (4.7%). The remaining (4.9%) came from England, but the name of the town or city was not identified.

The participants' ages ranged from 18-75 (Mean = 34.2). Women (n = 400) formed 78.9% of the sample and men (n = 107) formed 21.1%. It is typical to find more female participants than male participants in this type of survey (Wilson & Dewaele, 2010). Wilson and Dewaele speculate that females might have a stronger willingness to contribute to and co-operate with a survey dealing with language, attitudes and emotions. Furthermore, the majority of the participants were highly educated with the greatest number having a master's degree (n = 198), followed by bachelor's degree (n = 136), PhD (n = 133), and those with a pre-bachelor's degree (n = 40). This is again a well-known phenomenon and probably linked to the fact that answering questions about language choice on Likert scales requires a certain degree of self-reflection and of metalinguistic and metapragmatic awareness, which are typically acquired in an academic context (Dewaele, 2018).

A majority of participants (n = 340) considered the UK their home, 77 did not, and 90 were neutral. Despite the majority viewing the UK as their home, only 118 identified mainly or very strongly as British. The larger group (n = 294) saw themselves as either not at all or slightly identifying as British, and 95 said they were somewhat British. In terms of ethnic group identification, 311 participants stated that they either strongly or mainly identified with their heritage background, and 92 saw themselves as either not at all or slightly identifying with their heritage. With regards to ethnicity, 15 identified their origin as Latino/ Hispanic, 20 as African/ Caribbean, 33 as mixed, 35 as East Asian, 69 as South Asian, 72 as Middle Eastern & North African, and 263 as White/ Caucasian.

Language-wise, the sample consisted of 109 bilinguals, 145 trilinguals, 148 quadrilinguals, 67 pentalinguals, and 38 sextalinguals. All participants spoke English. 319 participants reported English as most frequently used, 154 reported English and other

languages, and 34 other languages mostly. The majority of participants ($n = 463$) reported high proficiency in their heritage language(s), 28 reported mid proficiency, and 14 reported low proficiency levels. Information from two participants about their heritage language proficiency was missing. In total, 94 languages were represented in addition to English. Some of the languages reported by participants are Arabic ($n = 59$); Spanish ($n = 33$); German, French and Italian ($n = 31$); Polish ($n = 23$), Urdu ($n = 21$); Portuguese and Mandarin ($n = 14$); Punjabi ($n = 12$); Greek and Russian ($n = 11$); Bengali ($n = 10$); Cantonese and Dutch ($n = 9$); Hindi and Serbo-Croatian ($n = 7$); Turkish and Swedish ($n = 6$); Japanese and Kurdish ($n = 5$); Gujarati, Norwegian, Romanian, Finnish and Lithuanian ($n = 4$); Tamil, Bulgarian, Czech, Farsi, Hungarian, Hebrew ($n = 3$). Smaller numbers were reported of speakers of languages ($n = 1-2$), such as Telugu, Marathi, Barawa, Swedish, Pashto, Amazigh, Malay, Filipino, Vietnamese, Kutchi, Mirpuri, Malagasy, Estonian, Thai, Lozi, Maltese, Tigrinya, Twi, Igbo, etc. The researcher realizes that in real-life use languages are not neatly compartmentalized (Piller, 2016). However, to compare different language groups in the analysis, participants were assigned to one of three heritage language clusters, as listed below in Table 3.1. The Western European group consisted of languages associated with Western Europe, the Eastern European group included languages associated with Eastern Europe and the Other migrant group included languages associated with heritage languages from Africa, the Caribbean, East Asia, the Middle East, North Africa, and South Asia. Furthermore, it must be noted that this clustering was dictated by the statistical need to have a limited number of groups of not too dissimilar size.

Table 3. 1 Language groups

Language Group	Languages included
Eastern European languages ($n = 73$)	Polish, Romanian, Russian, etc.
Western European languages ($n = 214$)	French, German, Dutch, etc.
Other migrant languages ($n = 220$)	Amazigh, Arabic, Bengali, Chinese, Farsi, Hindi, Japanese, Korean, Swahili, Somali, Turkish, Urdu, etc.

3.5.2 Interview participants

A total of eight participants were interviewed, and all had attained higher levels of education. They lived in different locations: two were from London, one was from Newcastle, one was from Cambridge, one was from Huddersfield, one was from Leeds, one was from Derby, and one was from Glasgow. Since participants were located in different parts of the UK, all interviews were conducted online over Skype or WhatsApp to control for setting. The interviewees were from a range of backgrounds. Among them, one interviewee was German, one was Cypriot, one was French, one was Pakistani and two were Afghani, but one Afghan had arrived in the UK from Germany while the other arrived from Pakistan. The majority of interviewees were in their 30s, one under 30 and one over 50. All participants reported fluency in their heritage language. Table 3.2 presents the characteristics of the participants. All but one respondent were born outside of the UK.

Table 3. 2 Interview participants background information

Participant (alias)	Age	Sex	Education	LX profile	Age of Arrival	Most frequently spoken language
Humi	35	M	PhD	L1a Pashto, L1b Urdu, L2 English, L4 Mandarin	33	English/ Pashto/ Urdu
Klara	35	F	Master's	L1 German, L2 English	25	English
Salma	27	F	Master's	L1 Pashto, L2 German, L3 English	10	English/ Pashto/ German
Elif	31	F	PhD	L1 Turkish, L2 English, L3 Greek, L4 French	27	Turkish/ English
Tariq	33	M	M.D. (Doctor of Medicine)	L1a English, L1b Sinhalese, L2 Tamil, L3 Arabic	18	English/Sinhalese/ Arabic
Ella	53	F	Bachelor's	L1 French, L2 English, L3 Russian, L4 German	21	French/ English
Laila	37	F	PhD	L1a Arabic, L1b English, L2 French, L3 German	Born in UK	Arabic/ English/ French
Arshan	39	M	PhD	L1a Punjabi, L1b Urdu, L2 English	27	English/ Punjabi

3.6 Research Instruments

3.6.1 Online questionnaires

An Internet-based survey was designed for the study. Attitude surveys towards minority languages provide a measure of a language's status, value, and importance (Baker, 1992). Moreover, their use in attitudinal data collection is a popular approach with several

advantages (Dörnyei, 2007). Dörnyei (2003) points out that online surveys are a simple, versatile, and reliable method for collecting data. They enable researchers to collect responses from individuals from various ethnic, linguistic and cultural backgrounds from a distance. This produces a rapid turnaround in data collection (Creswell, 2009). In addition, web-based questionnaires have the advantage of reaching a “more diverse pool of potential participants, which may increase the ecological validity of the resulting database” (Wilson & Dewaele, 2010, p. 103). Furthermore, Dörnyei (2007) points out that questionnaires allow a high level of anonymity and are easy to access. This allows participants to report about certain attitudes that they might not wish to express openly in person due to social desirability.

Although online surveys have several advantages, shortcomings have also been recognized. One of the drawbacks of online surveys is that the data they generate are self-reported (Dörnyei, 2003), and individuals’ attitudes may not be consistent with their behaviors (Romaine, 1995). Nevertheless, Lane, Banaji, Nosek and Greenwald (2007) stated that a score on an implicit association task measuring an individual’s implicit attitudes (hidden biases) is no more a measure of true attitudes than a response to a Likert scale that measures explicit attitudes.

Despite the fact that data collected from an Internet sample might not be representative of the general population, it still allows researchers to identify relationships between variables (Wilson & Dewaele, 2010). It results in a sample that is much more heterogeneous and diverse than one that is self-selected through traditional research methods (Dörnyei, 2007). In an attempt to diversify the sample in this study further, the researcher shared the survey on multiple outlets that would reach respondents from diverse backgrounds and with different interests.

While acknowledging there might be limitations to the use of online questionnaires, the use of an Internet-based survey was chosen as a well-known and respected method of data collection in social psychology and language attitudes.

3.6.1.1 Content of online questionnaire

The online survey included six sections. The first section of the questionnaire elicited information on socio-demographic questions about gender, age, education, ethnicity, nationality, time living in the UK, current living location within the UK, and the number of languages spoken and proficiency level in each. An example of the socio-demographic

question is “What is your ethnic background?”.

The second section consisted of 20 adapted statements from Comănaru et al. (2018) *Bicultural Identity Orientation Scale* (BIOS) to the British context to find out how individuals internally viewed their two (or more) cultures in relation to the other. As previously stated in Chapter 2, BIOS was originally developed in the Canadian context to assess how immigrants perceive their two cultures (heritage and dominant culture) relating to one another in their identity orientation (heritage and dominant culture). Comănaru et al. (2018) discussed five ways in which migrants/immigrants may describe their bicultural identity, namely,

- 1) conflicted (perceive the two cultures to be incompatible),
- 2) monocultural (a desire to identify with only one of the two cultural groups),
- 3) alternating (switching between cultures based on context),
- 4) complementary (the two cultures are in harmony with one another), and
- 5) hybridity (the two cultures overlap and blend, creating a new identity).

In the adapted version, respondents were asked to what extent they agreed or disagreed on a 5-point Likert scale with the statements presented (See Appendix 1). The rationale behind using the BIOS was to examine whether individuals’ bicultural orientation towards both heritage and host cultures may be linked to their language choices and attitudes. An example from the scale is “There is a conflict within myself between the two cultures I belong to.” A reliability analysis was carried out on the adapted version of the BIOS comprising 20 items. Cronbach's alpha showed acceptable reliability, $\alpha = 0.74$. Furthermore, the 20 statements were divided into five sub-scales with 4 items on each scale. Cronbach’s alpha showed each sub-scale to reach acceptable reliability as well, conflicted identity $\alpha = 0.79$, monocultural identity $\alpha = 0.78$, alternating identity $\alpha = 0.88$, complementary identity $\alpha = 0.87$, and hybridity $\alpha = 0.77$.

The third section included an acculturation scale adapted from Stephenson (2000) to measure level of involvement in both heritage culture and Anglo-British culture. The rationale of using this scale is the fact that it is a multi-dimensional scale that allows a researcher to measure individuals’ contact and level of engagement with both their heritage group and that of the British majority as well as the frequency of ethnic language and English use. As noted in chapter 2, the scale has been reported to have good psychometric properties (Celenk & Van de Vijver, 2011). The adapted scale was shortened to 21 close-

ended items from the 32 original items. The purpose of shortening the original scale was to make the overall questionnaire less time-consuming for participants. The adapted scale covers multiple domains of language, interaction, and knowledge. The original 4-point response scale *False*, *Partly false*, *Partly true*, and *True* was converted to a 5-point Likert scale to rate the frequency of the statements. The scale is anchored with 1 = *Never* to 5 = *Very frequently true* and a 3 = *Occasionally True* option in the middle. According to Stephenson (2000), the scale can be used in examining multiple groups to assess people's level of acculturation, interaction, and involvement with both host and ethnic groups.

The internal consistency (alpha) of the original scale is acceptable at 0.86 for the entire scale. Ethnic acculturation is 0.97, and the dominant majority is 0.90 (Stephenson, 2000). The reliability of the scale after adaption for level of involvement in heritage culture was $\alpha = 0.84$ for 10 items, and $\alpha = 0.88$ for 11 items for level of involvement in Anglo-British culture.

Attitudes towards the heritage language scale was designed to measure people's various attitudes towards and perceptions of their heritage language and the host society using 41 statements designed for the purpose of the study by examining studies on language attitudes (Mucherah, 2008; Ndhlovu, 2010). Participants were asked to respond using a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1= *Strongly disagree* to 5 = *Strongly agree*. The statement 'It is important for me to identify with the mainstream culture' was used to determine the extent to which participants perceived identifying with the dominant group as important to them. The remaining 40 statements underwent a factor analysis (see section 3.8.1.1 for more details about this scale). After conducting the factor analysis, 36 statements remained, with reliability of 0.87 for the overall scale and subscales ranging between 0.78 and 0.91. The 36 statements were divided into five scales with 4-11 items on each scale. An average for each of the scale's dimensions was calculated. The five scales and their Cronbach's alphas are: 1) Attitudes towards use of heritage language in public places in the post-referendum context ($\alpha = 0.91$), 2) Importance of heritage language to self ($\alpha = 0.81$), 3) Perception of British tolerance of other heritage languages ($\alpha = 0.78$), 4) Perceived benefits of speaking a heritage language ($\alpha = 0.79$), 5) Perception of heritage language ($\alpha = 0.79$).

The fifth section of the questionnaire included 9 language choice scenarios in eight public domains to which participants indicated their language use on a 5-point Likert scale anchored with 1 = *English only* to 5 = *Heritage language only* and a 3 = *Equally both* option

in the middle. The rationale behind using different scenarios was that people situate themselves differently depending on the situation. For example, a person's language choice may differ when speaking to a friend at a university, speaking to children while boarding a plane or speaking to a relative at a doctor's office. Participants were asked to imagine that these scenarios took place while talking to someone who speaks their heritage language and English. The overall Cronbach's alpha for this scale is 0.92.

In the final question of the survey, participants were asked how they use their heritage language(s) in public in the post-referendum context. The purpose of having an open-ended question was to elicit responses from participants and have them express their opinions on language choice in public in the post-referendum context. Dörnyei (2003) believes open-ended questions can give us illustrative quotes, give some richness to the data, and identify issues not previously thought of and anticipated.

The decision of which items to include and which to remove was based on studying the dimensions and loadings of the factor analysis of the original scale. Validity evidence after adaptation was examined by using Principal Component Analysis. Further details of validity tests for each of the scales are described in the data analysis quantitative procedure section (See section 3.8.1.1).

3.6.2 Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews were used to investigate participants' perspectives and experiences on their language use in public in the post-referendum context. The aim of conducting interviews was to better understand people's choices in language use in public spaces. At the beginning of each interview, each participant was informed that the purpose of the study was to explore multilinguals' language experiences in the UK. The questions they were asked prompted them to share their own choices based on their individual stories with using their heritage language in public domains.

Topics of discussion included the role of surroundings, context and appearance in language choice. The researcher enquired about whether participants had concerns about using their heritage language in public spaces and whether or not they have ever consciously switched to English while in public. Respondents were also asked whether they felt some languages were viewed with more negatively than others and how they felt if they spoke a heritage language that is less valued. Moreover, interviewees were asked if identifying with their L1 / LX cultures played a role in their choice. Finally, they were asked whether they

perceived attitudes towards languages considered foreign to the UK have changed in the post-referendum context, and if they felt there was more pressure to use English publicly.

3.7 The Data Collection Process

3.7.1 Pilot study of online questionnaire

Prior to collecting data for the present research, a pilot study was carried out with 10 individuals. The aim was to ensure all items on the questionnaire were well phrased, and easy to understand and follow for participants with different levels of English language proficiency. Moreover, this small chosen group came from diverse ethnic backgrounds to ensure they would be similar to the actual survey population. The feedback from participants was taken into consideration and adjustments were made to the survey prior to launching it online for data collection. During the pilot, a reliability (internal consistency) test was run on all scales used. A Cronbach's alpha analysis of the BIOS was 0.66, the SMAS ethnic culture 0.90 and 0.89 for Anglo-British culture. The attitudes scale was 0.93. Therefore, no items from the survey were removed, but minor stylistic changes were made to some items following feedback from participants.

3.7.2 Questionnaire data collection

Following the pilot, the survey was administered online using SoSci Survey https://www.soscisurvey.de/Being_Multilingual_in_the_UK. Data collection was carried out over a period of 4 months and a week, March 06 - July 11, 2018, a period of about two years after the popular vote was conducted and while the UK was still negotiating its way out of the European Union. To start, invitations were sent via email to potential participants with a link to the survey form. The online survey was also distributed by email to the researcher's professional and personal network. To diversify the participants' demographic backgrounds, the survey was shared with ethnically diverse acquaintances belonging to different age groups and with different educational backgrounds. Although the desired level of diversity was achieved in linguistic, ethnic, and age groups, the majority of respondents were mostly highly educated. Furthermore, the survey was shared via Facebook groups such as the *Birkbeck College Applied Linguistics Society (BCALS) group*, *Living in Bristol, Ex-pats living in Surrey UK*, and the *University of Huddersfield Japanese student society* among other groups. The survey was also shared on other social media sites such as LinkedIn and Twitter. Using a snowball sampling technique, the researcher asked her contacts to share the

survey with others in their community. During the data collection period, the survey was regularly checked to determine if the sample size was sufficient. If a slowdown in data collection was noticed, the researcher sent reminders to participants and asked more individuals to share the survey.

It is important to note that during the data collection process, no personal information such as a participant's name, phone number, or email was obtained except for those who chose to provide an email to be contacted for a semi-structured interview. The only personal information collected was socio-demographic information such as age, sex, education, ethnicity, current living location, and time living in the UK for the purpose of comparison between groups.

3.7.3 Interview data collection

After analyzing the quantitative data, interviews were conducted to understand people's language choices and attitudes better. In conducting interviews, one must take into consideration the relationship between the researcher and her interviewees. Questionnaire participants who willingly left their contact information were contacted via email. Eight participants responded. The interviews lasted between 15-25 minutes. Interviews were conducted online via Skype or WhatsApp and recorded via Quickplayer.² All participants were sent a consent form that was signed and sent back to the researcher. The researcher is a heritage speaker of Arabic in her mid-30s and speaks English with a more American accent. Not being a native to the UK might have influenced participants' perception of her and allowed them to speak about their language choices and attitudes more openly. Holmes, Fay, Andrews, and Attia (2013) have pointed to the benefits of being an outsider to mainstream society in helping build a rapport with participants. Furthermore, despite having one participant who spoke Arabic, the researcher chose to conduct all interviews in English. Holmes et al. (2013) have argued that the use of a shared language that is not the heritage language of either the researcher or the participant can "provide an opportunity for neutralizing the inbuilt power imbalance within research relationships" (p. 294).

² Due to technical issues, one of the interviews was completed in text via instant messaging. This may have influenced the length of that participant's response. However, it seems to have had a very limited effect compared to the length of other participants' responses.

3.8 Data Preparation Procedure

3.8.1 Quantitative data procedure

Data analysis methods used in this study were determined by the research questions the research set out to investigate. Questionnaire data was analyzed quantitatively in order to uncover the factors that correlated with language choice and attitudes. As a first step, data from participants' responses was automatically downloaded in an Excel spreadsheet using the SoSci Survey server once the survey closed. The downloaded file included data for 549 participants: 525 surveys were completed, and 24 were incomplete. The data was cleaned and partially completed surveys were discarded from the analysis. Furthermore, 18 surveys were excluded since participants spoke heritage language(s) that were native to the UK, such as Welsh, and the study was to be confined to languages considered to be foreign to the UK.

String value data (text format of demographic information) were converted to numeric values in the Excel sheet. For example, considering the "education" variable, nominal categories were replaced by numbers: pre-bachelor's = 1, bachelor's = 2, master's = 3, and PhD = 4. Data from the items on the scales had already been set with numeric values during the instrument design stage and did not need to be converted. As mentioned above, the items on the self-reported scales were mostly rated on a 5-point Likert scale.

After conversion and coding, the data in the Excel file was imported into SPSS, version 25. Normality of distribution of the dependent variable was measured to determine the use of parametric or non-parametric tests. Q-Q plots (quantile - quantile plot) were used to check normality of distribution (Field, 2013). All scales indicated that the distribution was close to normal since the majority of respondents fell on the diagonal line of the Q-Q plot with a little deviation at the tails. As a result, normality was assumed, and parametric tests were used. Figures 3.1- 3.5 provide examples of the Q-Q plots from the scales.

Figure 3.1 Normality Q-Q plot of conflicted identity

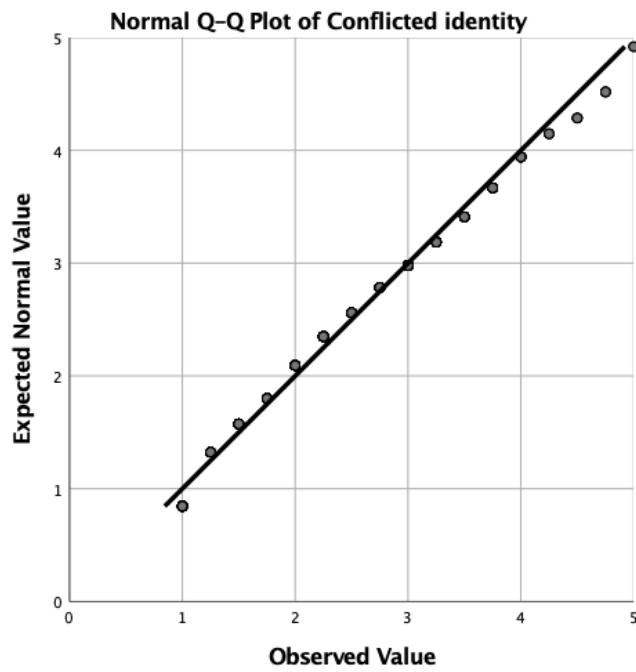


Figure 3.2 Normality Q-Q plot of level of involvement in heritage culture

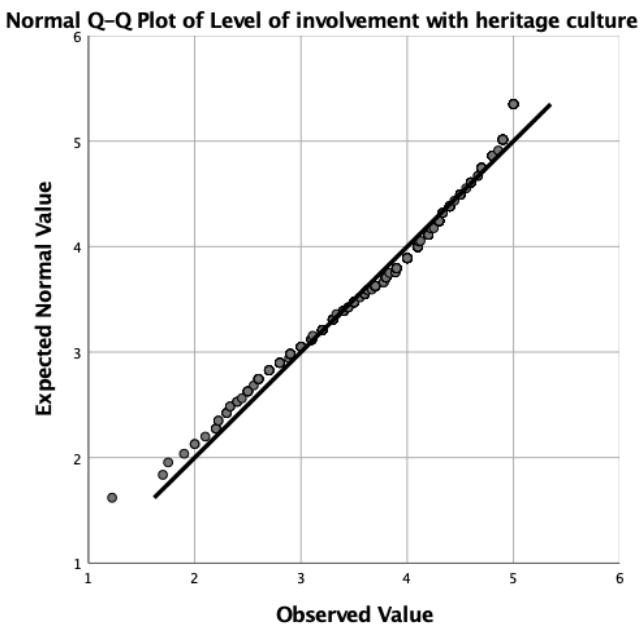


Figure 3.3 Normality Q-Q plot of attitudes towards use of heritage language in public in the post-referendum context

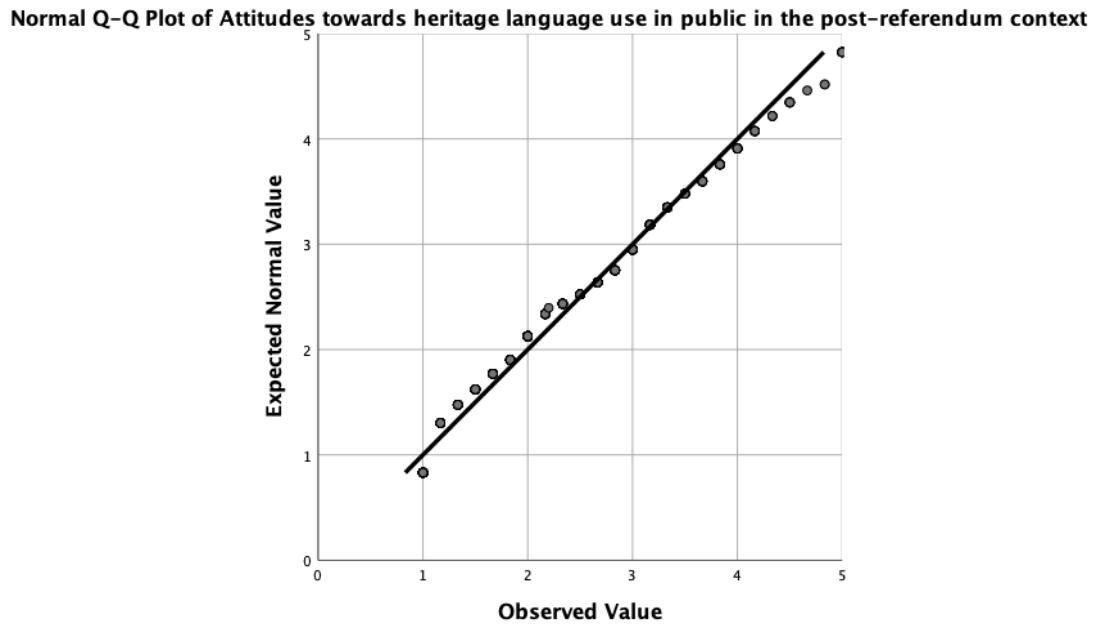
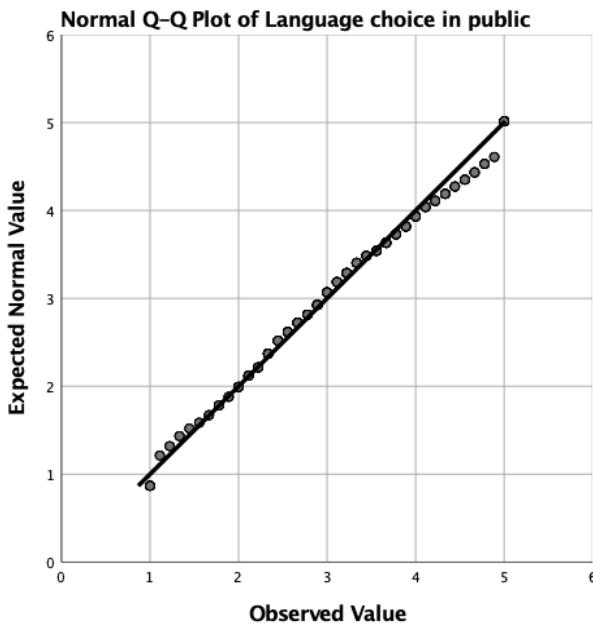


Figure 3.4 Normality Q-Q plot of perception of British tolerance towards other languages



Figure 3.5 Normality Q-Q plot of language choice in public



3.8.1.1 Scale validation process

For the purpose of validating the scales in the questionnaire, Principal Component Analysis (PCA) and Exploratory Factor Analyses (EFA) were performed. First, PCA tests were carried out on each of the modified scales since the sample and context used in this study were different from the sample against which BIOS (Canadian) and SMAS (American) were originally validated. According to Phakiti (2018), PCA can be used “as a strategy to identify the number of factors to be extracted” (p. 435). In this study, PCA was used to see if this study’s scales demonstrate the same structure (i.e., number of factors) as the original ones. The adapted BIOS had 5 underlying dimensions similar to the original. Furthermore, the SMAS items loaded on two components and each item loaded on one and only one factor (no cross-loading) for this scale, similar to the original scale.

Factor analysis was used to explore the developed attitudes scale. According to Field (2009), EFA can be run when a researcher wishes “to construct a questionnaire to measure an underlying variable” (p. 628). Principal Factor Axis (PFA) was used as an extraction method since it is a robust commonly chosen method for factor extraction (Phakiti, 2018). For the 40-item, Likert-type scale questionnaire related to people’s attitudes and perceptions, the PFA was conducted with oblique rotation (direct oblimin). The choice of oblique or orthogonal rotations is largely dependent on whether or not the researcher supposes the

underlying factors might correlate or not (Field, 2009, p. 644). If the factors are expected to be related, then an oblique direct oblimin should be selected (p. 644). In data collected from humans, it is unlikely that factors are not in any way correlated (p. 644).

The Kaiser–Meyer–Olkin measure verified the sampling adequacy for the analysis, KMO = .87 ('great' according to Field, 2013). Bartlett's test of sphericity $\chi^2 (780) = 8621$, $p < .001$. An initial analysis was run to obtain eigenvalues for each component in the data. Eleven components had eigenvalues over Kaiser's criterion of 1 and in combination explained 67.48% of the variance. The number of factors retained was determined by the scree test plot and eigenvalues greater than 1.00 (See Figure 3.6). The five factors and their respective eigenvalues were 1) Attitudes towards heritage language use in public in the post-referendum context (7.77), 2) Importance of heritage language to self (4.546), 3) Perception of British tolerance towards other languages (3.075), 4) Perceived benefits of speaking a heritage language (2.225), and 5) Perception of heritage language (1.981). Factor 5, Perception of heritage language, includes items related to multilinguals' views on heritage languages, heritage language use, and British society. A total of 36 items were retained that accounted for 49 % of the scale variance; Factor 1 accounted for 19.43 %, Factor 2 for 11.365%, Factor 3 for 7.687%, factor 4 for 5.562%, and Factor 5 for 4.953%. Three items crossed loaded (i.e., "when a variable has two or more substantive correlation coefficients with other factors" (Phakiti, 2018, p. 426)), and one item did not load on any factor. As a result, those 4 items were eliminated. Figure 3.6 shows the curve point on the scree plot of the factor analysis. Table 3.3 displays the loadings for the five factors identified in Pattern Matrix.

Figure 3.6 Scree plot of factor analysis of attitude scale

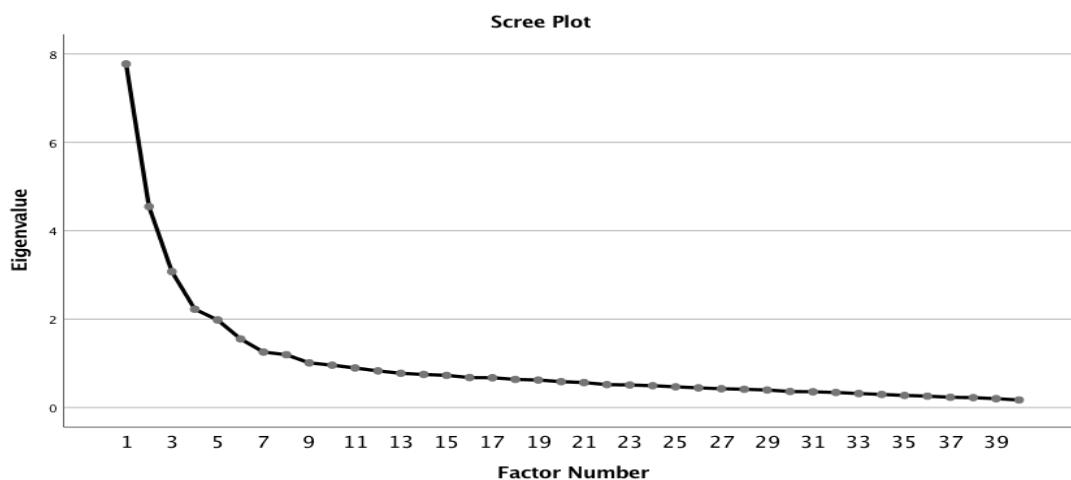


Table 3.3 Pattern Matrix for factor analysis of attitudes scale

	Pattern Matrix ^a				
	1	2	Factor 3	4	5
Since the Brexit vote, I am self-conscious about speaking my heritage language(s) in public spaces.	.888				
Since the Brexit vote, I worry about being harassed for speaking my heritage language(s) in public spaces.	.807				
Since the Brexit vote, I feel more socially at ease when I speak English than my heritage languages(s) in public spaces.	.779				
Since the Brexit vote, my belonging in the society is determined by my language choice of English over my heritage language(s).	.771				
Since the Brexit vote, I have felt more of a need to be fluent in English than in my heritage language(s).	.752				
Since the Brexit vote, I avoid speaking my heritage language(s) on the phone while at work because I worry about how others will view me.	.715				
Since the Brexit vote, I feel there is less tolerance of language diversity.	.629		.311		
My heritage language(s) connect(s) me to my ethnic heritage.		.715			
It is important for me to be able to speak my heritage language(s).		.711			
If I have children, I want them to be proud of speaking their heritage language(s) in the UK.		.613			
I am proud to identify with my heritage culture.		.582			
If I have children, it is important for them to be able to speak their heritage language(s) alongside English.		.560			
I feel happy when I hear others speaking my heritage language(s) in public spaces.		.532			
* I don't feel my heritage language(s) is/are of value to me.		.507			
* If I have children, I do not want to teach them to speak their heritage language(s) because I want them to feel more British.		.480			
* If I have children, I prefer to speak to them in English so they fit into the community.		.320			
I feel British people are open to language diversity.			.809		
I feel British people are accepting of cultural differences.			.751		
I feel British society values speaking any languages.			.704		
I feel my ethnic background(s) is/are socially valued in the UK.			.513		
In UK society, I feel all heritage languages are equally important.			.433		
*People in the UK view you differently depending on the heritage language(s) you speak.			.399		
Speaking my heritage language(s) in the UK makes me				.807	

more attractive.			
Speaking my heritage language(s) gives me positive social face in society.		.766	
Speaking my heritage language(s) makes me feel more educated than others in the UK.		.667	
Speaking my heritage language(s) can positively impact my job opportunities in the UK.		.544	
It is prestigious to speak my heritage language(s) in the UK.	.346	.429	
*Speaking my heritage language(s) limits my integration into society.		.639	
*Speaking my heritage language(s) reflects negatively on how others see me.		.580	
* I feel British culture is more prestigious than my ethnic one(s).		.499	
* In the UK, identifying with my ethnic background disadvantages me.		.488	
*If I have children, I think speaking their heritage language(s) will negatively affect their confidence.		.435	
*There is more privilege in being monolingual English speaking than being able to speak other languages as well.		.400	
*I wish I had (a) different heritage language(s) than the one(s) I speak.		.388	
*If you wish to prosper in British society, you need to appear British.	.369	.378	
* If I have children, I worry that speaking my heritage language(s) to them can socially disadvantage them.		.378	
*Speaking my heritage language(s) can lead to social isolation by English people.		.376	
*I feel speaking English only is more prestigious.		.358	
*Heritage language use should be limited to use at home or in private.		.320	
Sounding British is not necessary to appear more educated.			

Here, it should be pointed out that all items on the attitudes/ perception subscales are responded to on a Likert scale of 1-5, where 1 = *Strongly disagree* and 5 = *Strongly agree*.

*Asterisked items are reverse scored for negatively worded statements, so that the opposite is true (i.e. 1 = *Strongly agree* and 5 = *Strongly disagree*). For example, on the *Importance of heritage language to self* sub-scale, a participant's response to *My heritage language(s) connect(s) me to my ethnic heritage*, would get a "5" if they answered with *Strongly agree* and would also get a "5" if they answered with *Strongly disagree* on a negative item such as *I don't feel my heritage language(s) is/are of value to me*. This is the case throughout four sub-scales (*Importance of heritage language to self; Perception of British tolerance towards*

other languages; Perceived benefits of speaking a heritage language; and Perception of heritage language) so a high score on a statement indicates positive perception on heritage language. One exception to this reverse scoring was the subscale measuring *attitudes towards use of heritage language in the post-referendum context* in which a reverse pattern is used. On this scale, 1 = Strongly disagree indicates no reluctance to use heritage language in the post-referendum context, whereas 5 = Strongly agree indicates reluctance to use heritage language in the post-referendum context. As previously mentioned in section 3.6.1.1, reliability analysis was carried out on the different sub-scales compromising 4-11 items. Cronbach's alphas showed that all sub-scales reach acceptable reliability.

The deleted items from the scale were:

1. Since the Brexit vote, I feel there is less tolerance of language diversity.
2. It is prestigious to speak my heritage language(s) in the UK.
3. If you wish to prosper in British society, you need to appear British.
4. Sounding British is not necessary to appear more educated.

3.8.2 Qualitative data preparation

The data from personal interviews was analyzed in order to understand multilinguals' language choices and attitudes based on their experiences. Prior to analyzing the data, the interview recordings were transcribed verbatim. Thematic analysis was used to study the qualitative data. Thematic analysis involves examining a data set in search of recurring patterns of meaning (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Maguire & Delahunt, 2017). In this type of analysis, the themes that are identified and analyzed are a reflection of the content of the interviews. According to Braun and Clarke (2006), thematic analysis is a flexible and useful research tool given its theoretical freedom that allows a researcher to study the data without necessarily engaging with the literature first.

Braun and Clarke (2006) provide a six-phase guide in conducting the analysis. In the first step, the researcher should become familiar with the data. According to Braun and Clarke (2006), this can be done while data is being transcribed. Second, the researcher is to generate initial codes. Once the initial coding is complete, the research examines the data and searches for themes. In step four, the generated themes are reviewed. Then, the themes are defined and named in the next step. In the final stage, the themes are fully worked out and written up. Although the sequence provided by Braun and Clarke (2006) may seem

linear, Maguire and Delahunt (2017) argue that the researcher may move forward and back between the different stages in the process.

In this study, all qualitative analyses from response to the open-end question, and the semi-structured interviews were carried out using thematic analysis. For the interview data, audio recordings were transcribed verbatim by repeatedly listening to participants' interviews. The transcriptions were then saved in separate files for each participant. After that, transcribed data were printed, allowing the researcher to read through the data and code with highlighters and handwritten comments. Codes were generated and written in margins on each page. Excerpts were highlighted using a marker. Overarching themes were identified after comparing interviews, sorting examples with similar codes, and seeking patterns with the objective of the qualitative data illustrating and explaining statistical results to understand multilinguals' language choices and perceptions better. The identified themes were reviewed more than once by the researcher. After completing the coding process, a new Microsoft word document was created with rows and columns that included the themes, subthemes, and examples from the data. In the final stage, the new word document was shared with a second coder for reliability.

A similar technique was employed for the data collected from the open-ended question on the survey. Participants' responses were copied into a Microsoft Word document, then coded using pen and paper. Themes were identified through sorting examples and seeking patterns. After that, a Microsoft word document was created that included themes and examples from the open-ended question. This set of themes were given to another coder for reliability.

3.9 Summary

This chapter has outlined the research design and described the research procedure used in detail. An explanatory mixed-methods strategy was adopted. First, a quantitative approach was selected to collect information from a large number of participants that could be generalizable. The data was then supplemented with personal interviews with eight participants to gain insight and understanding of people's attitudes and choices from their experience. Data validity of the different scales employed in the questionnaire was achieved through the use of Principal Component Analysis and Exploratory Factor Analysis. Reliability was also checked using Cronbach alpha. Finally, efforts were made to ensure the

research remained in line with the ethical guidelines issued by Birkbeck, University of London.

Chapter 4: Quantitative Results

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an analysis of the data collected from 507 participants via an online questionnaire. It focuses on analyzing the closed sections of the questionnaire quantitatively. The chapter examines interrelatedness of factors such as language choice, identification, various language attitudes and perceptions, social involvement, and bicultural identity orientation using correlational analysis. It also looks at differences between groups using one-way ANOVAs. Moreover, the chapter explores what factors best predict negative perception of heritage language(s) using a stepwise analysis. Then, it looks at the frequency of respondents who perceived less tolerance of foreign language use in public. The chapter concludes with a summary of the results found.

4.2 Sociodemographic Factors, Bicultural Identity Orientation, and Language Choice in Public

Participants were asked to respond using a 5-point Likert scale about their language choice in public in nine scenarios. The responses ranged from 1= *Always English* to 5 = *Always heritage language*. In order to investigate whether language choices in the public space differed according to education and heritage language background, data was analyzed using one-way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) tests to determine whether differences were statistically significant. Pearson correlations were used to determine the relationship between multilinguals' language choices, on the one hand, and individuals' degree of identification with both British culture and their ethnic background, and bicultural identity orientation, on the other hand.

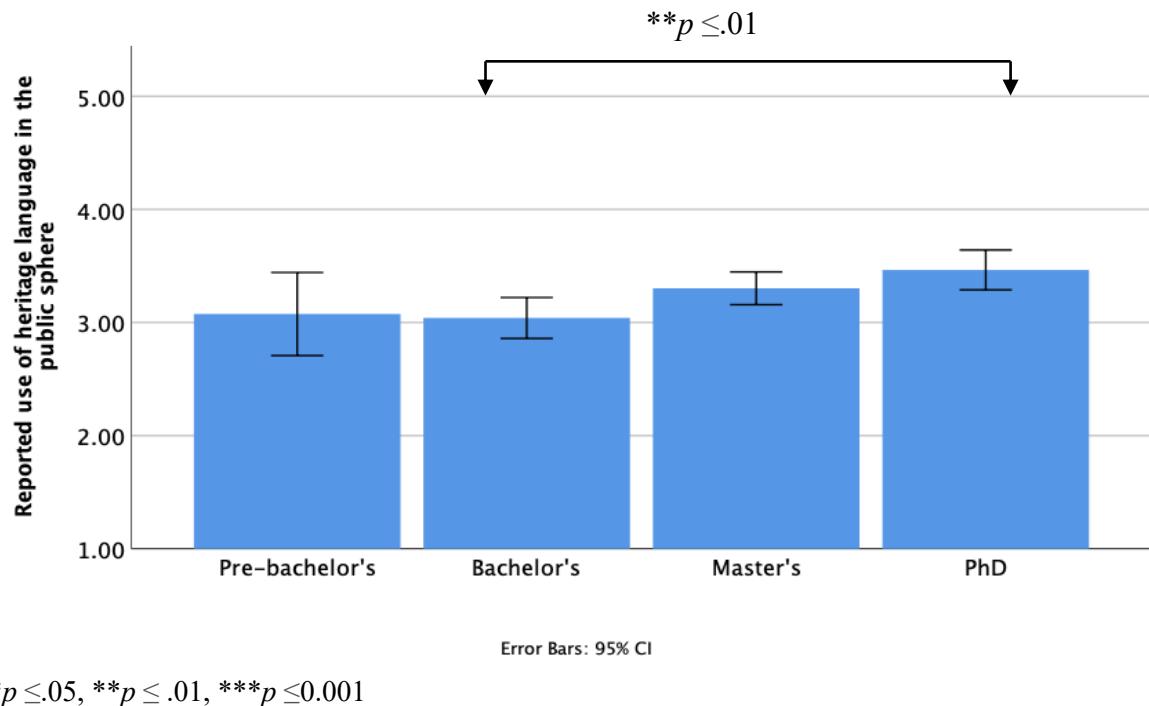
4.2.1 The effect of education on language choice in public

To analyze the effect of educational background on language choice in public, a one-way ANOVA test was used. A significant effect emerged, $F (3, 503) = 4.193, p < 0.006, \eta^2 = 0.024$, indicating that participants with higher levels of education were more likely to use their heritage language in public. The effect size ($\eta^2 = 0.024$) is small (Cohen, 1988).

A Turkey post hoc test revealed that only differences between the Bachelor's group ($n = 136$) ($M = 3.04, SD = 1.066$) and the PhD group ($n = 133$) ($M = 3.46, SD = 1.059$) were

significant at $p \leq 0.005$. The Pre-bachelor's group ($n = 40$) ($M = 3.07$, $SD = 1.147$) and Master's ($n = 198$) ($M = 3.30$, $SD = 1.033$) did not significantly differ from the other groups.

Figure 4.1 Mean of reported use of heritage language in public by education. Error bars indicate +/- 95% CI.



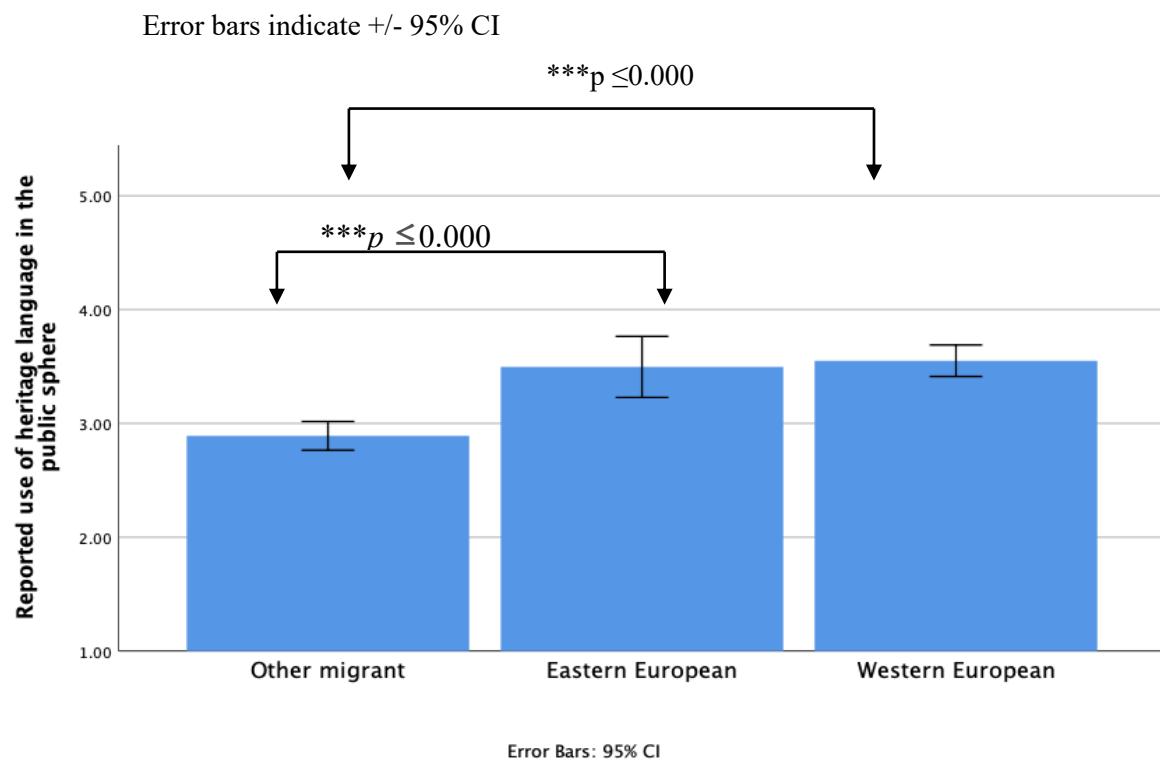
4.2.2 The effect of heritage language background on language choice in public

Another one-way ANOVA was used to examine the effect of heritage language background on language choice in public spaces. Because the *Levene's F* test revealed that the homogeneity of variance assumption was not met ($p < 0.008$), the *Welch's F* test was used (Field, 2009). It revealed a significant effect of heritage language background on language choice, $F (2, 192.09) = 26.377$, $p \leq 0.000$, $\eta^2 = 0.092$. Multilinguals who spoke a Western European language were more likely to choose the use of their heritage language in public ($M = 3.55$, $SD = 1.02$), followed by multilinguals who spoke an Eastern European language ($M = 3.50$, $SD = 1.15$), and multilinguals who spoke an Other migrant language ($M = 2.89$, $SD = 0.95$). According to Cohen (1988), the differences in the means (eta-square) are considered medium.

Post hoc comparisons were run using the Games-Howell post hoc procedure due to the violation in test assumptions. According to Field (2009), the Games-Howell procedure is the most powerful in such cases and is also accurate when sample sizes are different. The post hoc test revealed that significant differences existed between the Other migrant languages group and the Western European group ($p \leq 0.000$) and Eastern European ($p \leq 0.000$). There were no significant differences between Western European and Eastern European groups ($p = 0.93$).

In Figure 4.2, Western Europeans and Eastern Europeans chose to use their heritage language in public with similar frequency. In contrast, participants from the Other migrant language backgrounds were less likely to use their heritage language in public.

Figure 4.2 Mean of reported use of heritage language in public by heritage language background.



4.2.3 Degree of identification with British culture and ethnic culture and language choice in public

Participants were asked to respond using a 5-point Likert scale about their degree of identification with British culture as well as with their ethnic culture. The responses ranged

from 1= *Not at all* to 5 = *Very strongly*. Therefore, a higher score indicated greater identification with either British culture or ethnic culture.

Correlational analyses with Bonferroni corrections were performed to identify the relationship between language choice and degree of identification with British culture and ethnic culture. Individuals' reported use of heritage language in public was found to significantly correlate with degree of identification with British culture. The greater multilinguals' degree of identification with British culture, the less likely they were to use their heritage language in public. However, greater degree of identification with ethnic culture did not seem to be related to a significantly greater use of heritage language in public spaces.

Table 4.1 Pearson correlations for reported use of heritage language in public and degree of identification

Variables	Pearson <i>r</i>
Identification with British culture	- 0.403**
Identification with ethnic culture	0.026

* p ≤ 0.025, ** p ≤ 0.005

4.2.4 Bicultural identity orientation and language choice

Correlational analyses with Bonferroni corrections were performed to identify the relationship between language choice and the five bicultural identity orientations measured. As seen in Table 4.2, individuals' reported use of heritage language in public were found to be negatively associated with conflicted and monocultural identity. Multilingual participants who hold these identity orientations were found to favor the use of English over heritage language in public spaces.

Table 4.2 Pearson correlations for reported use of heritage language in public and bicultural identity orientation

Variables	Pearson <i>r</i>
Conflicted	- 0.120*
Monoculture	- 0.175**
Alternating	- 0.042
Complementary	0.064
Hybridity	- 0.102

* p ≤ 0.01, ** p ≤ 0.002

4.2.5 Perception of heritage language and use of heritage language in public

Survey participants were asked to rate on a 5-point Likert scale how strongly they agreed with each statement regarding the perceptions they have of their heritage language in British society. As discussed in the previous chapter, statements that are negatively worded were reverse coded, a higher mean indicates more positive perception and vice versa. The average score of multilinguals' perceptions of the heritage language on this scale was 3.96 ($SD = 0.60$). This result suggests that multilinguals had a positive perception of heritage language on average.

Correlational analyses were performed to identify the relationship between reported use of heritage language in public and perception of heritage language. As seen in Table 4.3 individuals' perception of their heritage language correlated significantly and positively with self-reported heritage language use in public. Results showed that individuals who had a more positive attitude towards their heritage language were more likely to use it in a public space.

Table 4.3 Pearson correlations for reported use of heritage language in public and perception of heritage language

Variable	Pearson <i>r</i>
Perception of heritage language	0.228**

* p ≤ 0.05, ** p ≤ 0.01

4.3 Perception of Heritage Language and Level of Involvement with Heritage and Host Culture, and Bicultural Orientation

This section examines average perception of heritage language as well as whether perception of one's heritage language correlated with bicultural identity and level of involvement. Pearson correlations (with Bonferroni corrections) were performed to identify the relationship between variables. Speakers' perception of heritage language appeared to be linked with bicultural identity. Participants who felt their cultures were in conflict or felt they had to alternate between their cultures had less positive perceptions of their heritage language. Individuals who felt they could only be loyal to one of their cultures were also less likely to have positive perceptions of their heritage language. In contrast, individuals who felt that their cultures were complementary had a more positive perception of their heritage language (see Table 4.4).

A significant correlation was also found between perception of heritage language and level of involvement with British society. Results suggest that positive perception of heritage language may be linked to a higher level of involvement in the host society.

Table 4.4 Pearson correlations for perception of heritage language with the other variables

Variables	Pearson <i>r</i>
Conflicted	- 0.267**
Monoculture	- 0.360**
Alternating	- 0.127*
Complementary	0.188**
Hybridity	0.108
Host society involvement	0.151**
Heritage society involvement	0.109

* p ≤ 0.007, ** p ≤ 0.001

4.4 The Predictive Effect of Sociodemographic Factors on Perception of Heritage Language

Participants were asked to respond using a 5-point Likert scale about perception of heritage language ranging from 1= *Strongly disagree* to 5 = *Strong agree*. As previously mentioned, a higher score on this scale indicates more positive perception of heritage language.

In order to investigate whether perception of heritage language differed according to education and heritage language background, data were analyzed using one-way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) tests to determine whether differences between groups were statistically significant.

4.4.1 Educational background and perception of heritage language

This section looks into whether educational level may have an effect on multilinguals' perceptions of their heritage language.

A one-way ANOVA test showed that educational level did not have a significant effect on individuals' perceptions of their heritage language, $F(3, 502) = 0.422, p \leq 0.738$. The means of the various educational backgrounds were: PhD group ($M = 3.99, SD = 0.63$), Pre-bachelor's group ($M = 3.98, SD = 0.52$), Master's ($M = 3.98, SD = 0.62$), and Bachelor's group ($M = 3.91, SD = 0.52$).

4.4.2 Heritage language background and perception of heritage language

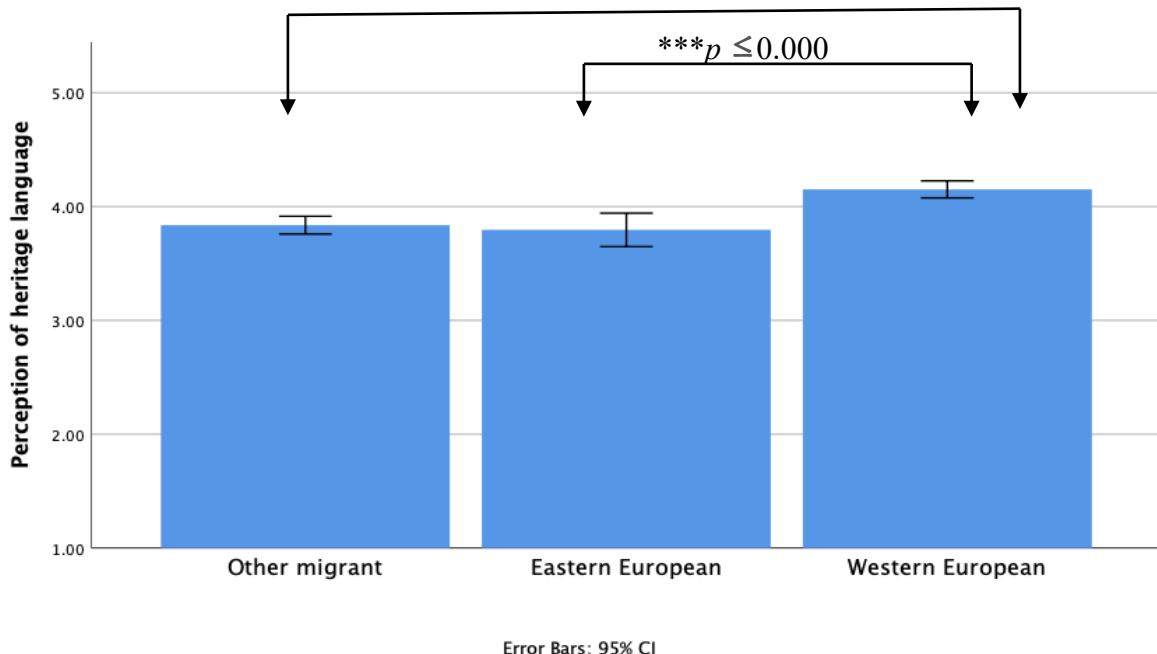
This section looks into whether multilinguals who speak Western European, Eastern European and Other migrant languages differed in their perceptions of their heritage language.

A one-way ANOVA test showed that language background had a significant effect on individuals' perceptions of their heritage language, $F(2, 503) = 19.373, p \leq 0.000, \eta^2 = 0.072$. Multilinguals who spoke a Western European language held the highest average on positive perception of heritage language ($M = 4.15, SD = 0.55$), followed by multilinguals who spoke an Other migrant language ($M = 3.84, SD = 0.60$), and an Eastern European language ($M = 3.80, SD = 0.63$). According to Cohen (1988), the differences in the mean (eta-square) are considered medium.

A Turkey post hoc analysis revealed that only significant differences existed between the Western European languages group and 1) the Eastern European group ($p \leq 0.000$) and 2) the Other migrant group ($p \leq 0.000$). There was no significant difference between the Other migrant group and the Eastern European group ($p = 0.93$).

Figure 4.3 Mean of perception of heritage language by heritage language background. Error bars indicate +/- 95% CI

*** $p \leq 0.000$



* $p \leq .05$, ** $p \leq .01$, *** $p \leq 0.001$

4.5 Predicting Perception of Heritage Language

The survey asked participants to rate on a 5-point Likert scale how strongly they agreed with each statement in relation to perceived benefits of speaking their heritage language, importance of heritage language to self, and perception of British tolerance of heritage languages. The scale ranged from 1 = *Strongly disagree* to 5= *Strongly Agree*. As discussed in the previous chapter, statements that are negatively worded were reverse coded. On these scales, a higher mean indicated more positive perceptions and attitudes. Table 4.5 shows the mean and standard deviations on each of these subscales.

Table 4.5 Average responses for multilinguals' perceptions of heritage language

	Mean	Standard Deviation
Perceived benefits of speaking a heritage language	3.01	0.87
Importance of heritage language to self	4.29	0.58
Perception of British tolerance	2.87	0.76

In addition to the Pearson correlations in Table 4.4, importance of heritage language to self, British tolerance of other heritage languages, importance of identifying with mainstream, perceived benefits of speaking a heritage language, and age were examined in relation to perception of heritage language.

Table 4.6 Pearson correlations for perception of heritage language and various factors

Variables	Pearson <i>r</i>
Importance of heritage language to self	0.386**
British tolerance of other heritage languages	0.235**
Importance of identifying with mainstream culture	- 0.138**
Perceived benefits of speaking a heritage language	0.275 **
Age	0.111*

* $p \leq 0.01$, ** $p \leq 0.002$

After examination of the strength of association between perception of heritage language and the above-mentioned variables, a stepwise regression was conducted to explore which variables predict perception of one's heritage language.

The stepwise multiple regression model with all predictors produced an adjusted $R^2 = .377$, $F(8, 496) = 39.05$, $p \leq .0001$. As can be seen in Table 4.7, monocultural and conflicted identity orientations, importance of identifying with mainstream culture had significant negative regression weights, indicating individuals with higher means on these scales were expected to see their language in a less positive light. Multilinguals' who perceived their heritage language as important to self, who viewed British people as being tolerant towards heritage languages, who saw their heritage language as a benefit, were older, and were higher on level of involvement in host culture had a significant positive weight. This indicates that individuals with higher means on these scales held a more positive perception of their heritage language.

Table 4.7 Stepwise regression coefficient table for perception of heritage language

Variable	Standardized		
	Coefficients	t	p
Importance of heritage language to self	0.366	7.001	0.000
Monocultural orientation	- 0.212	- 5.278	0.000
British tolerance of heritage languages	0.208	5.642	0.000
Conflicted orientation	- 0.155	- 3.949	0.000
Importance of identifying with mainstream	- 0.159	- 4.396	0.000
Perceived benefits of speaking heritage language	0.113	2.973	0.003
Age	0.111	3.039	0.003
Host culture involvement	0.086	2.235	0.026

So far, this chapter has examined the effects of socio-demographic factors on language choice and looked at relationships between reported use of heritage language in public and perception of heritage language. It has also explored links between perception of heritage language and other variables related to bicultural identity, attitudes, and perception. In the next two sections, the chapter attempts to investigate multilinguals language choice and perceptions in public specifically in the post-referendum context. It is assumed that relationships exist between attitudes towards heritage language use in public in the post-referendum context and heritage language background, bicultural identity orientation, perception of heritage language, and perception of British tolerance towards other languages. It was also hypothesized that multilinguals would have perceived a drop in tolerance to linguistic diversity since the Brexit referendum.

4.6 Attitudes towards Heritage Language Use in public spaces in the post-referendum context and Perception of Heritage Language, Bicultural Identity Orientation, and British Tolerance of Other Heritage languages

With regards to the referendum, this section investigates whether multilinguals' attitudes toward heritage language use in public in the post-referendum context may be linked to their bicultural identity, perceptions of heritage language, and perceptions of British tolerance. It also explores whether there are differences between heritage language backgrounds with regard to heritage language use in public in the post-referendum context. Participants were asked to respond using a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1= Strongly disagree to 5 = Strongly agree. A higher average on this scale indicated higher potential reluctance to use a heritage language. The average scores of multilinguals' use of heritage language in public in the post-referendum context was 2.47 ($SD = 1.00$). This score reflected low levels of potential reluctance to use a heritage language in the Brexit referendum context.

Pearson correlations (with Bonferroni corrections) were used to examine the relationships between background variables and reluctance to use heritage language in public. A strong, significant negative relationship emerged between individuals' perception of their heritage language and potential reluctance to use it in public in the post-referendum context. The less positive multilinguals were in their perceptions of the heritage language, the more reluctant they were to use it in public after the Brexit referendum. In addition, such potential reluctance was found to be positively linked to feelings of conflict between cultures and a need to alternate between cultures. A monocultural identity orientation was also linked to increased potential reluctance to use a heritage language in public. Multilingual speakers who felt the British were more tolerant of heritage languages were more likely to use their heritage language in public (see Table 4.8). Furthermore, complementary and hybrid identity orientations did not significantly relate to potential reluctance to use a heritage language in public in the context of the UK's vote to leave the European Union.

Table 4.8 Pearson correlations for attitudes towards heritage language use in public with the other variables after the Brexit referendum

Variables	Pearson <i>r</i>
Conflicted	0.176**
Monocultural	0.148**
Alternating	0.145**
Complementary	- 0.034
Hybridity	0.041
Perception of heritage language	- 0.444**
British tolerance of heritage languages	- 0.311**

p* ≤ 0.007, *p* ≤ 0.001

4.7 Heritage Language Background and Attitudes towards Use of Heritage Language in Public in the Post- Referendum Context

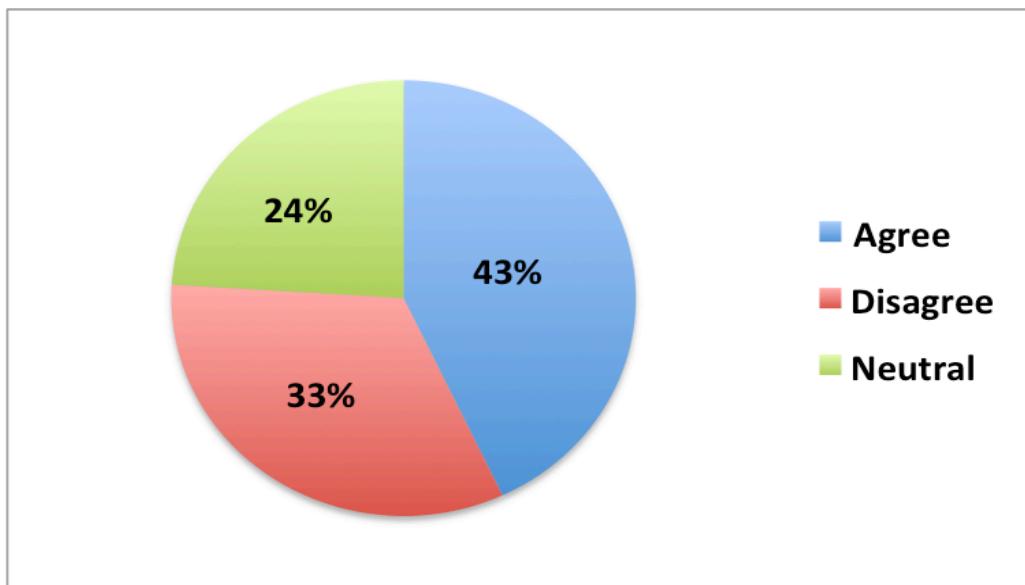
A one-way ANOVA was conducted to investigate the effect of heritage language background on individuals' views towards using their heritage language in public in the post-referendum context. No effect for language group was found: $F (2, 503) = 1.715 p = 0.181$. This indicated that multilinguals from the different heritage language backgrounds did not differ in attitudes towards use of heritage language in public in the post-referendum context.

The means of the various language backgrounds in use of heritage language in public in the post-referendum context were: Western European ($M = 2.38, SD = 0.96$), the Other migrant group ($M = 2.5, SD = 1.00$), and Eastern European ($M = 2.6, SD = 1.1$).

4.8 Feelings of Tolerance toward Linguistic Diversity

The questionnaire responses suggest that participants have had different experiences since the referendum in people's tolerance of multilingualism in the UK: the majority (43%) agreed with the statement "*Since the Brexit vote, I feel there is less tolerance of language diversity.*" and 24 % remained neutral.

Figure 4.4 Response patterns to perception of less tolerance of linguistic diversity in the context of the referendum



4.9 Summary

This chapter has focused on presenting the findings of 507 multilingual speakers' language choices in public and attitudes toward their heritage language(s) with the context of a politically charged event. The results of the one-way ANOVA tests show there are statistically significant differences between groups in language choice depending on educational level and heritage language background. The results also suggest that there are statistically significant differences between participants' heritage language backgrounds and their perception of heritage languages. The Western European group was found more likely to have positive perceptions of their heritage language and to choose the use of their heritage language in public.

Overall, correlational results indicated that language choice was linked to identification with British culture but not with heritage culture. Perception of one's heritage language was negatively interrelated with conflicted, monocultural and alternating bicultural identity orientations. Perception of heritage language was positively linked to level of involvement with the host culture, perception of British tolerance and importance of heritage language to self and holding a complementary bicultural orientation. In addition, importance of one's heritage language to self and holding certain views on British tolerance of foreign languages had significant positive regression weight on perception of heritage language, whereas holding a monocultural identity orientation had significant negative weight on such

attitudes. Moreover, 43% of participants agreed that there was a noticeable drop in tolerance towards foreign language use in public since the referendum. The next chapter, therefore, moves on to analyze qualitatively the 507 multilingual speakers' responses to an open-ended question from the survey conducted online. It also presents the data from the transcribed interviews with the eight interviewees. Multilinguals report on their language choices in public, what factors impact their choices and their general and Brexit related perceptions towards language diversity.

Chapter 5: Qualitative Results

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the results of the qualitative analyses. An open-ended question was posed to participants in the online survey to gain a better understanding of their language choices in the public sphere and insight into their attitudes towards heritage language use in public post-referendum in 2016. The questionnaire was followed by Skype/WhatsApp interviews to delve into qualitative data to explore what some participants had to say about their language choices, attitudes, and views on foreign language use in public based on general experiences and experiences related to the Brexit referendum. The interviews were fully transcribed. The data from the open-ended question and interviews were analyzed using thematic analysis, ideal for identifying and reporting patterns within the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The first section of the chapter addresses responses to the open-ended question from the online questionnaire about multilinguals' linguistic behavior in public in the post-referendum context, followed by a thematic analysis of the eight interviews conducted with two male and six female multilinguals about the use of their languages in public and the factors that may influence their language choice in this context. The chapter goes on to discuss the participants' various perceptions relevant to languages status and categorization, self and identity orientations, mainstream tolerance of linguistic and cultural diversity, and multilingualism. The chapter ends with a short summary.

5.2 Perceptions of Tolerance to Heritage Language Use in Public since the Referendum

This section summarizes the results of the data analyses based on participants' responses to the open-ended question in the survey of whether the Brexit referendum altered how multilinguals use their heritage language(s) in public. Of the 507 multilinguals who provided an answer, 23.4% reported that they were reluctant to use their heritage/home language in public in the post-referendum context. Even though 76.6 % of survey participants indicated that the referendum did not result in a prolonged effect on their language use, it did create self-awareness of language choice in public for some participants for a short period of time. For instance, ID 37 (44, Female, L1 Spanish, L2 English) explained, "Just at the very start when all the racist incidents were taking place, I was more aware of using Spanish in public

spaces, and when I was with friends who also speak Spanish, we tried to stick to English only. But now, I've (we've) gone back to normal."

Further analysis revealed five emerging themes apart from more consciousness and reluctance to use heritage language in public. They were awareness of social setting, status of heritage language, sensitivity to children's reactions, social identity (appearing/ sounding British), and resistance strategy. Table 5.1 shows the frequency of occurrence of factors affecting language choice in public spheres in the post-referendum context.

Table 5.1 Factors that influence language choice in public since the referendum

Determining factor	Frequency
Awareness of social setting	15
Status of the heritage language	11
Sensitivity to children's reactions	6
Social identity (appearing/sounding British)	6
Resistance strategy	5

5.2.1 Awareness of social setting

This theme was the most frequent one and encompasses multilinguals' awareness of the linguistic and cultural diversity of public space as well as the overall environment surrounding them. Multilinguals felt a change in their level of consciousness in their linguistic choices in places they deemed to be very conservative or intolerant of foreign language use. Multilinguals also pointed to an awareness of their immediate bystanders or those in earshot. Multilinguals assessed the situation and switched languages accordingly. If it was felt that Brexit supporters were in their proximity, they became careful about using their heritage language.

ID 43 (36, Female, L1 Romanian, L2 English, L3 German, L4 Italian, L5 Spanish) said she lived in London. She drew on her awareness of the diversity of people around her when determining her linguistic choice. In areas that are multilingual and multicultural such as London, she was less likely to avoid using her home language but felt that she might behave differently if she was in other regions of the UK that are not as cosmopolitan and more dominated by members of the host culture.

Commenting on awareness of setting, ID 413 (47, Female, L1a English, L1b German) said, “I do feel hyperaware now when speaking German with my family in public. I have been told to “speak English”, but because I am white in a still culturally white dominant culture. I am much more aware of other people's reactions to us. Even though we are in an area that is considered highly educated with many people who are bi/multilingual.” ID 68 (39, Female, L1a Polish, L1b Russian L1c English, L2 German, L3 Swedish) commented, “I am more aware of my surroundings, checking more often for potential problematic reactions, and I tend to use a softer voice.” In the case of ID 275 (31, Female, L1a Serbo-Croatian, L1b English, L1c French, L2 German, L3 Russian, L4 Greek), she also reported being aware, assessing the situation around her before using her heritage language in public. In her own words, “I think twice now before speaking Serbo-Croatian in a public space. Whether I do, depends on where I am, and if I judge it might be risky.”

5.2.2 Status of the heritage language

This second most frequent theme captures the notion of a hierarchy of social power, with some linguistic groups being viewed as more valued and accepted than other groups. It also brings to light the disparity between Western and Eastern European migrants with the latter group often subject to vilification. This language classification is demonstrated in the feedback of some L1-German speakers who believe even though the referendum made them feel less welcome, they were not reluctant to use their heritage language because they believe German was not stigmatized and was generally perceived in a positive manner. As a further example of this perception that some migrant groups are devalued and denigrated, ID 19 (34, Female, L1a Japanese, L1b English, L2 French, L3 German, L4 Spanish) pointed out that although she was an immigrant, she did not feel a change in her own behavior because her heritage languages were not associated with the type of immigrants that are seen as threatening and unwanted. She stated, “Even though I am an immigrant, I don't speak a language associated with (South to North) immigration.”

Moreover, ID 203 (23, Female, L1 Estonian, L2 English, L3 Russian) brought attention to the importance of how a language sounds in determining whether to use it in public. She pointed out that since her heritage language, an Eastern European language, sounded like a Western European one, this allowed her to continue using her heritage language freely. She stated, “After the Brexit vote, I am more conscious about how I come across and I feel that coming across as someone from the new EU countries will negatively

affect how people see me. However, as Estonian sounds more like Finnish, I have not changed my habits of using my language.” By comparison, ID 150 (49, Female, L1 Swedish, L2 Greenlandic, L3 English, L4 Icelandic) said that although she speaks a language associated with Western Europe, she is wary about its use in public, as it might be mistaken for an Eastern European language.

Negative feelings towards Eastern European languages can also be exemplified by ID 7 (31, Female, L1a English, L1b Polish, L2 French, L3 Arabic), whose statement explained that there was less tolerance towards her heritage language, Polish. In her own words, “It became less accepted, especially as it is an Eastern European language, which has been particularly demonized.”

ID 60 (22, Male, L1a Vietnamese, L1b German, L2 English, L3 French, L4 Spanish) expressed that he generally was reluctant to use his heritage languages in public but explained that he was more frequently uneasy about the use of Vietnamese than he was about German in public following the referendum. He draws a distinction between a language classified as a migrant community language and another that is affiliated and viewed with high prestige as a Western European language. The participant argued that “I am less comfortable speaking Vietnamese, and only in certain environments do I feel comfortable speaking German.”

The examples provided here for this theme show multilinguals may have either experienced a change or have become aware of the fact that although the Brexit referendum was partly about immigration, it targeted specific groups deemed different. It also shows how, in comparison to Western Europeans, Eastern Europeans are a type of internal other that is now being deprived of their whiteness and societal privilege since the Brexit referendum.

5.2.3 Sensitivity to children’s reactions

This third theme concerns anxiety about the effect of strangers’ reactions about heritage language use on children. Six participants highlighted a higher level of reluctance to use their heritage language in public in the presence of their children. Their caution was based on the possible negative emotional consequences that harassment may have on children and its potential longer-term impact on their heritage language use. ID 25 (50, Female, L1 Danish, L2 English, L3 German, L4 Spanish) stated: “I try to assess who is around before deciding whether to speak English or Danish with my children.” ID 487 (44, Female, L1a

Spanish, L1b Catalan, L1c Galego, L2 English) said that in the context of the Brexit referendum when in the presence of her children, she tends not to use her heritage language. She explained, “I worry about the effect that negative comments from the public could have on their confidence and willing[ness] to speak Spanish.”

5.2.4 Social identity (appearing/sounding British)

The fourth theme of social identity encapsulates multilinguals’ interest and investment in membership and belonging within the receiving society to avoid being penalized or harassed. Under this theme, multilinguals raised two determining factors as a means of signaling membership, either by being white or by sounding more British. It appears that there is an effect of sounding British that makes someone a more legitimate member of the dominant society. For example, ID 130 (23, Female, L1a Polish, L1b Russian, L2 English, L3 German) reported, “No, it hasn’t affected my heritage language, but I have been trying to sound more English in public.” Similarly, ID 142 (37, Female, L1a Portuguese, L1b English, L1c French, L2 Armenian) explained, “Depending on the context I am sometimes more careful about speaking in Portuguese, although I was more wary about this more after [the] Brexit [vote] than nowadays. The fact that I mostly sound British when speaking in English is helpful.”

Another example of this theme comes from ID 399 (53, Female, L1a English, L1b Danish), who pointed to her whiteness and English accent that allows a level of invisibility. She said, “I am proud of my heritage and have not changed my attitude [...]. My heritage is invisible anyway, as I am a white English speaker.”

5.2.5 Resistance strategy

The fifth theme outlines how, for some multilinguals, the Brexit referendum led them to use their heritage language more in public as a resistance strategy and a form of resisting conformity to the standards and norms being set by the dominant culture. Five participants said the vote prompted them to use their heritage language audibly in public. ID 117 (29, Male, L1 Italian, L2 English, L3 Chinese Mandarin, L4 Spanish) said the vote boosted his choice of Italian as a way of emphasizing his European and Italian identity. In his own words, “I tend to use Italian more frequently to mark my European identity and Italian origin and show my detachment from the outcome of the vote. In a way, Brexit boosted my heritage affiliation and Italian pride.”

To conclude this section, our multilinguals reacted differently under the same circumstances, with some feeling less reluctant to use their heritage language than others. In the next section, more detailed accounts are provided by eight interviewees that help illustrate and explain factors that impact their choices in general terms and in the post-referendum context.

5.3 Language Choice in Public

This section summarizes the results of the data analyses based on the interviews in terms of participants' language choices. The first analysis focuses on the norms of language choice in public, whereas the second is a thematic analysis of factors that may impact multilinguals' language choices.

5.3.1 Norms of language choice

Throughout the interviews, multilinguals discussed their use of their various languages in the public sphere. Table 5.2 summarizes multilinguals' language behavior in public. The data showed that multilinguals might start with the use of their heritage language then switch to English midstream. This switch was for various reasons, such as a change in surroundings, suspicious looks when speaking a heritage language, or a perceived need to blend in with the dominant group and eliminate assumptions made about the participants' ability to speak English or multilinguals' belonging. For example, Klara (35, Female, L1 German, L2 English) explained, that her use of German with a fellow German speaker or a switch to English is dependent on the situation. As she put it, "if it is kind of a tense surrounding [I would switch]. For example, I live in a town where they play in the primary league. Normally, I avoid [use of my heritage language] when there is a game because football fans are not the nicest or friendliest people. There was one situation when my friend and I went to the town center in a football crowd, and we switched to English so we would be understood because we had already got some funny looks." Similarly, Elif's (31, Female, L1 Turkish, L2 English, L3 Greek, L4 French) language choice depends on her circumstances. She commented "[I]t could be someone is looking at you strangely or giving you attitude, and you don't want to be perceived negatively so you would switch [to English]." For Laila (L1a Arabic, L1b English, L2 French, L3 German), her strategy is to code switch between Arabic and English to demonstrate her multilingualism and ability to speak English as well as her heritage language. She stated, "[S]peaking English to the people around or to the person I

am with is helpful that way, and when I speak Arabic, I try to make sure we speak a little English, so it's clear I sound native in that in case someone is listening."

Table 5.2 Frequency of occurrence of language choice strategies in public

Language choice strategy	Frequency
Switch to English	7
Stick to heritage language	6
Switch to another LX known	1
Remain silent	1

Participants also appear to employ other strategies in public such as the use of another LX or use of silence. For instance, Salma (L1 Pashto, L2 German, L3 English) explained that in addition to her ability to switch to English, she benefited from speaking German, a highly regarded language in society. Speaking an elite European language gave Salma a sense of power and an ability to create a sense of distance from the British people surrounding her. Salma said, "Of course [I switch to English] especially in places that are white upper-class dominated where heritage languages, especially of Eastern heritage, are viewed more negatively." Then, she added, "However, I also really enjoy speaking German when I'm among Brits, but I would not say it has anything to do with wearing hijab but more to do with the fact I enjoy having a code language."

In contrast to Salma, who used her multilingualism to her benefit, when Ella (53, Female, L1 French, L2 English, L3 German, L4 Russian) encountered racism for the first time as a speaker of an elite language, French, she took on a different approach, opting for silence. In her words, "I feel very scared of talking and speaking in public out loud, even in English, because of my accent."

The comments above illustrate hyperawareness of multilinguals of certain language norms in society and how they select from their linguistic repertoire with an intended purpose the language that is best fitting to the situation they find themselves in. In the next section, the factors that impact multilinguals language choices in public are explored in more detail.

5.3.2 Factors impacting language choice in public

Results of the thematic analysis revealed five emerging themes: interlocutor, political climate, spatial awareness of linguistic diversity, alienation avoidance, and eliminating assumed identity constructed by appearance. It is important to point out that the emerging themes are not mutually exclusive; rather, they are interconnected and may overlap with each other. Table 5.3 shows the results of the thematic analysis of factors that may influence language choice in public, along with their frequencies.

Table 5.3 Frequency of occurrence of factors that impact language choice in public

Factors impacting choice	Frequency
Interlocutor	8
Political climate – Brexit related	8
Spatial awareness of linguistic diversity	4
Alienation avoidance	3
Elimination of an assumed identity constructed by appearance	2

5.3.2.1 Interlocutor

This frequent theme is about the interlocutor. Participants stated that they consider who their interlocutors are before choosing to use their heritage language or English. At the beginning of the interviews, participants expressed that their interlocutor and his/her level of proficiency is a major determining factor. They also pointed to other factors such as what was common practice between the individual and the other person, whether the conversation included more than one person where only a few spoke the heritage language, one participant expressed the need for a bond and to perceive the person, as someone from their inner circle.

Humi (35, Male, L1a Pashto, L1b Urdu, L2 English, L3 Mandarin) explained how he believed that the natural way to start a conversation was to begin with the use of English until one establishes that the other person can speak one's heritage language and one feels comfortable switching. He said, "In the UK, I presume the natural way to start a conversation is in English unless of course, you come to know they also speak other languages that you speak, and then you kind of switch to your own languages if you feel comfortable." Salma also discussed the need to feel comfortable and create a bond with an

interlocutor from outside her circle before using her heritage language. She explained, “Depending on our relationship, I always use my heritage language only when we build a close enough bond outside of the public social setting.”

For Elif, interlocutors' level of proficiency was essential, but mostly when she felt the situation permitted this. Elif commented, “If I am with a Turkish speaker whose English is not [of a] high level, I would not code-switch to English. I would stick to Turkish no matter where I am, but with close friends and people that I know can speak English with [the] same proficiency level, I would definitely code-switch, but sometimes in some situations, I feel weird speaking Turkish.”

Also, three participants mentioned that in a situation where there was more than one interlocutor, but only one of them shared the participant's heritage language, they would stick to English. For instance, Klara reported, “If the conversation is only between my friend who is German and I, then it's in German. If it is a conversation with three people, one who speaks German, and one who does not speak it well, we will switch to English, so everyone knows what we are saying.” Humi and Arshan (39, Male, L1a Punjabi, L1b Urdu, L2 English) also shared this view. As Arshan put it, "With Punjabi, you need to look at the person you are talking to and whether they are the only person there. If there is somebody else, let us say a Greek or a German person, it's better to use a common language which everyone can understand otherwise, it would be considered rude to speak in another language."

For Laila, it depended on what was common practice for her and her interlocutor. For instance, Laila explained, “It depends on who the person is and what we are used to doing [...] So, with my mum, it's always Arabic. It's a bit weird to switch to English even when we are in public, and I've got one friend like that too. With most people, I use English, whether that is out in public or meeting somewhere.”

The excerpts here point to how multilinguals take into account who their audience is and their proficiency level. Later in the interviews, participants explained what other factors impact their choices, such as their comfort level in the public setting. The next theme examines the political climate and how it can affect participants' choices in public.

5.3.2.2 Political climate –Brexit related

In this equally frequent theme, concerns were expressed about the impact of the political tension of the Brexit referendum on language practices in public. Some participants reported

that they had observed or heard of aggressive unwelcoming behavior due to their use of a foreign language in public. Such reactions lead them to be more cautious about using their heritage language in public.

For instance, Humi described an incident that he experienced at the end of 2018. He said: “I was talking to another Pakistani friend in Urdu. He does not speak Pashto, but he was speaking Urdu and I was talking to him in Urdu, and there was a Scottish lady who told us, “In this country, you should speak English.” Which is a bit weird. I said, like, “Why?” [She said], “just because you are in this country.” And my response was, like, “[Being in] this country does not mean that I would not use my own language.” And she says, “But I don’t understand.” I said, “I don’t care, because I am not talking to you, I’m talking to my friend, so it shouldn’t be your concern.” So, after that incident, I am a bit careful when, you know, I speak to people in public domains, in public spaces.”

Another example comes from Ella, who was verbally harassed following the referendum, which affected her deeply. This experience prevented her from using her L1 French with her children in public. Furthermore, the micro-aggression committed against her instilled a fear of using her heritage language, imposing silence upon her as she refrained from using French in public. She now depends on her physical appearance to hide her difference and avoid the risk of being identified as an outgroup member to avoid harassment. Describing her experience, she expressed her worries and anxiety over using French outside the home. Ella stated, “It is the fear of talking in public in French to my kids. I raised them bilingually from when they were little and they are fluent in French and when we are together we can speak French but it is the fear of never being able to speak together in public in French with them as if it were, like, as if I should be ashamed of speaking another language.” For Ella, her fear extends from using her heritage language to using English as well, because she feels if people hear her accent, it makes her identifiable as a non-British person. She expressed, “I feel very scared of talking and speaking in public out loud, even in English, because of my accent. I didn’t see myself as a foreigner. Although it is fine to be a foreigner, I’m not a foreigner anymore. I am an immigrant because all of a sudden, I find myself—not just me—but Europeans are not wanted here.”

A different strategy is exemplified by Elif, who refers to her skin tone and how important it is to communicate belonging in the society through the choice of English. In her own words, “If there is a place with more racism, then you want to blend in more, so to

blend in, then automatically English is the language to blend in. Obviously, I cannot get any whiter or paler with my skin color, so the only way to blend in is using the language. Language is a tool.”

Other participants echoed similar feelings about avoiding the use of their heritage (home) language in public despite the fact that they did not personally face hostility. The stories they heard alone made them reluctant and uncomfortable using their heritage language in public. For example, Elif mentioned, “I was self-conscious for a while. I don’t remember for how long, but I was definitely avoiding my own first language if I felt people around were Brexitters.” The participant then adds, “They might not be racist, they might have voted ‘yes’ for the economy or something they believed to be true, but it was uncomfortable for me to be a Cypriot and speaking Turkish around those people. They don’t want that other part of the EU.”

The excerpts here point to the impact that the politically charged environment following the referendum had on different multilinguals. The most striking quote came from Ella, who after the vote, described how her perception of being multilingual changed from the feeling it was something to be celebrated and which helped her to feel cultured and cosmopolitan to something to be ashamed of and which she felt was better kept to herself.

5.3.2.3 Spatial awareness of linguistic diversity

When speaking, results suggest that multilinguals are not just making a choice based on the psychological proximity to the interlocutor and their level of proficiency, but also taking into consideration the bystanders in the environment they are surrounded by. This theme is similar to that of *Awareness of social setting* that emerged in the analysis of the results of the open-ended question of the survey. Some multilinguals may consciously decide whether or not to use their heritage language based on the overall situation they find themselves in and how they fit within that particular space. Multilinguals are conscious of the linguistic and cultural makeup of the community they are situated in, what it means to stand out as different or to be a speaker of a language that is perceived in a less positive light. For example, in an excerpt from Salma’s interview shown in section 5.3.1, she highlighted her awareness of the importance of the diversity of her surroundings and the space she was in by explaining that in predominantly white upper-class neighborhoods, where she felt heritage languages were devalued, especially Eastern languages, she preferred the use of English

over Pashto. In addition to that, Salma commented on how she paid attention to the role heritage language status plays in her linguistic behavior to some extent.

Also, talking about the diversity of an area and space, Elif said: “If I am on a train, for example, I would rather [speak English]. I mean, if I have to speak Turkish on the phone I would, but I would rather stick with English because I find it depends on where you are. For example, in London you may hear a person speaking Chinese on the phone, on the bus or train. I guess I adjust myself according to my surroundings, if that makes sense.”

The data analyzed here show that in some areas, diversity and acceptance may prevail more than in others. The data also indicates there may be more reluctance to use a heritage language in areas where multilinguals feel their heritage language is devalued and may opt-out of using their heritage language to avoid negative attitudes.

5.3.2.4 Alienation avoidance

The next theme of alienation avoidance encapsulates how participants sometimes make conscious decisions about their language choices based on circumstances they may find themselves in. Data analysis shows that multilinguals may use language as a tool to protect themselves from potential danger or negative consequences.

Two intriguing examples from Klara’s interview are presented. The first comes from the anticipation of being more visible and standing out as different, whereas the second shows that everyday social settings can differ from one person to another. The first example comes from Klara’s incident at a football game in her area. As noted above in section 5.3.1, Klara avoids the use of German at football games where she perceives football supporters to be unwelcoming of differences. In order to minimize encounters with harassment or unpleasant behavior, she prefers to switch to English and attenuate her differences.

In another instance, Klara compared her own experience as a speaker of a heritage language perceived as highly regarded, with educational value and prestige (i.e. German) to her peers who speak community languages often associated with lower status and value, and often portrayed in political discourse as problematic. Klara stated, “When I worked at a charity shop, she [a colleague of Pakistani descent] said whenever she can, she speaks English because when she is, for example, at a bank speaking her mother tongue with a relative or friends, they don’t get so friendly served. So, she uses only English.”

These excerpts from Klara’s interview may explain why in the quantitative data presented in the previous chapter, speakers of the Other migrant group were less likely to

use their heritage language in public in comparison to other linguistic backgrounds, and were more likely to perceive their heritage language in a negative light given their experiences.

5.3.2.5 Elimination of an assumed identity constructed by appearance

This final theme highlights how assumed identity can impact multilinguals' linguistic practices in public. Two of the female participants in this study, Salma and Laila, identified themselves as Muslim. They discussed how their headscarves make them more visible and mark them as different. The participants pointed out that they were aware that some might even pass judgment about their educational background and assume they are uneducated because of their attire. In response to these prejudices and the objectification they encountered, these interviewees used English to dispel ignorance surrounding them. For example, Salma was aware of the role her religious head covering plays in her linguistic behavior. Salma explained that she preferred to switch to English and to use complicated jargon to mark her educational attainment when people perceived her as uneducated because of her headdress. She commented, "I think my hijab covering definitely plays a role in my language choices, especially in a predominantly white area where people assume I'm uneducated and don't speak English. I like to use the highest level of English with the most superfluous words."

Furthermore, for these two participants, the choice of English in a public setting, where they may be conscious of such negative perceptions of them or in particular the choice of a British accent when code-switching between their heritage language and English, was a strategy to blend in and assert their belonging within British society. In this case, participants were aware of a social identity attached to and marked by language. British English becomes a marker of their in-group membership within the dominant host group. The excerpt below came from Laila, who said dressing differently affected how people saw her. For her, the choice of British English or code-switching helped her assert her position in society. In Laila's words, "I'm conscious of dressing a bit foreign and I like to quickly make others around me feel at ease; and speaking English helps, so people do not think less of me or think I am a person who does not know what's going on or a person who doesn't belong... When I speak Arabic, I try to make sure we speak a little English, so it is clear I sound native in that [language], in case someone is listening."

The above-mentioned quote explains why those that feel their heritage culture is somewhat conflicted and dissonant from the mainstream culture may have a higher tendency to be reluctant to use their heritage language. Such multilinguals may feel pressure to show they also belong within the host community and share its values through use of the dominant group's language.

5.4 Perception of Language Status and Tolerance

Multilinguals discussed their perceptions of language status, self, and British society's views on foreign languages widely in the dataset. The participants reflected on the role their perceptions play in their linguistic choices in public. Results of the thematic analysis indicated four subordinate emerging themes. They were perception of language status and categorization, perception of self and identity orientation, perception of mainstream society's tolerance of diversity, and perception of multilingualism. Table 5.4 depicts the results of the thematic analysis of perception from the analyzed material along with their frequencies.

Table 5.4 Frequency of occurrence of perception themes

Perception	Frequency
Perception of language status and categorization	
General	5
Brexit related	3
Perception of self and identity orientation	
General	6
Brexit related	1
Perception of mainstream tolerance of linguistic and cultural diversity	
General	4
Brexit related	3
Perception of multilingualism	
General	2
Brexit related	2

5.4.1 Perception of language status and categorization

Data from interviews reveal that participants are aware of the different values languages hold, influenced by socio-economic power and history. They observe linguistic hierarchies in which some languages are viewed more favorably with more prestige, while others are associated with less value and privilege.

5.4.1.1 General perception of language status and categorization

This theme reflects how various languages are viewed differently depending on a language hierarchy or as a result of their depiction in the media and in political discourse about certain language groups and minorities. Salma explained, “In a community where a certain ethnic people are viewed negatively, for example, Bengalis in East London, maybe Turks in North London, or Urdu speakers in Bradford, the other language or the foreign language is viewed with a stigma as the language of the other, the immigrants.”

For instance, Elif has felt and experienced negative attitudes towards her heritage language among other languages and relates it to sociopolitical power and historical hegemony. She said, “Turkish, I think, is one of the negatively perceived languages. I think it has to do with the politics and the government. Arabic, Persian, Turkish—these can be negatively perceived, I am afraid. But let’s say French or American accents [are not]. If it is the language of a powerful country than it is viewed more positively.”

Humi explained, also echoed by Ella, that some languages have been linked to Islam and/or terrorism, and speaking these languages moves multilinguals to be cautious of their surroundings since they might be viewed with suspicion. This, in turn, makes multilinguals who speak such languages more reluctant to use them in public. He indicated, “I think Arabic and Pashto in English speaking communities [...]. So, these two languages are, in some parts of the world, associated with terrorists or terrorism or what they call Islamic fundamentalism, so I think to speak in these two languages. I mean, if you speak in Chinese, people will not understand it, but people will not judge you for that, but if you speak Arabic or Pashto, people will be a bit wary of you.”

These examples show that multilinguals are aware of a language hierarchy with some languages ranking lower on the scale. Affiliation with devalued languages implies an association with inferiority or wariness that others may be suspicious. In the next subsection, the issue of language status is examined in light of the referendum.

5.4.1.2 Perception of language status and categorization with the Brexit referendum

The interviewees discussed their views on attitudes towards the choice of a language other than English in public following the referendum. The majority of participants felt that the use of a foreign language in public was less desirable. Tariq (33, Male, L1a English, L1b Sinhalese, L2 Tamil, L3 Arabic) focused on Eastern European languages but said all languages are perceived as less valued and wanted. He commented, “I think languages, Eastern European particularly, are in a lesser vein since the Brexit vote. Speaking Eastern European languages carries more negative connotations since the Brexit vote and a lot of Eastern European people have expressed that as well.” He then added, “I think any foreign language nowadays spoken in a public place in the presence of other people may be looked at it as being in a way of a less kind of class or something because it is looked upon as if you don’t speak English then what are you doing here.”

Despite the majority feeling all languages are being perceived negatively, Klara believed there is a status difference when comparing her language, German, to that of her colleagues even after the Brexit referendum. This highlighted that not all migrants are viewed as problematic and some will continue to hold a higher status. She explained, “After the Brexit vote, 2 years ago, it made me think at the time but now it hasn’t really changed for me as a German. But against other languages that don’t have such a high seen status. [For] languages that have a lower status in society, I think there was a change [...]. Indonesian and Pakistani [coworkers] said they were more careful in how they use their languages.”

5.4.2 Perception of self and identity orientation

This theme reflects how multilinguals perceive themselves in relation to the different languages they have command of as well as to their identity orientation and social identity. Two discrete subthemes were found, general perception of self and identity orientation and perception of self and identity since the referendum.

5.4.2.1 General perception of self and identity orientation

This theme is about multilinguals’ general perception of language and social identity. Some examples also highlight the dissonance some multilinguals feel when attempting to identify with mainstream culture and the use of language, in a way that forces the host community to become inclusive of ethnic minorities. Humi commented: “I think I want to be part of both, to be honest, but it is hard to strike that balance. He then added, “We have two entirely

different cultures [...]. Not all, but some of the people here in the UK are a bit cold towards people from other cultures. So, it is hard to maintain your culture and have friends from, you know, both the English culture people, native people here and people from your own culture.”

Klara said, “I also consider myself as a European citizen and not only a German citizen. I say my country is the European Union. Where I live in the European Union and what the European Union is the same. I can have the same standard which is sufficient for me whether I’m working in Spain, France or in Italy or England. We all stand behind the same values.”

As for Tariq, it is more important to be viewed as a global citizen than to be seen as British. “I know my roots and I am proud of them. I think I’ve earned my place in society, I didn’t get it just because I was born here. I was given it for a reason, so I earned it essentially. I feel I have even a greater right to be called British as opposed to someone who was just born here because I have had to do things to get here. It wasn’t just given to me. I am proud of the fact of being British but isn’t important to me to be seen as British because inside I know I am not.”

As mentioned above, Laila is often immediately viewed negatively because of her veil. When it comes to her identity, having grown up in the UK, it is very important for her to be viewed as an in-group member of the host community. Laila states: “It is important for a lot of reasons [to be viewed as a part of mainstream culture]. It is important for me what it feels like to be a part of society and for it to be reciprocal and mutual and not to be perceived as foreign, especially because of my headdress. One hopes to have an impact on the mainstream narrative that if you act and sound mainstream that the mainstream adapts to. So, it is not just about me conforming because I am so different, but it is also the mainstream adapting to include me so I take a step towards that in order for it to take a step towards me.”

Examining the different quotes in this section, it appears that for some there is a feeling of a shared sense of identity with similar values which makes it easier for their cultures to complement one another, whereas for others that relationship is harder to balance and create because of a feeling of distance and cultural differences. For multilinguals whose cultural values are quite different from the mainstream, they may find themselves at a crossroad to decide between either maintaining their heritage culture entirely or assimilating to the dominant group wholly.

5.4.2.2 Perception of self and identity orientation with the Brexit referendum

The Brexit referendum has brought some challenges to self-identification, especially among those who self-categorized as being part of the in-group (European identity) but were suddenly ousted and became a member of the out-group, the less desirable group. Ella makes a distinction between being viewed as a foreigner and an immigrant. Since the referendum, she has felt that she has been downgraded. The feelings of being treated like an immigrant, expressed by Ella in the following excerpt, shows that she doesn't like to be viewed as such. She stated: "Well, I am perceived as an immigrant, being a foreigner is one thing, but an immigrant is down below [perceived as belonging to a lower class]."

5.4.3 Perception of mainstream tolerance of linguistic and cultural diversity

This theme reflects multilinguals' experiences with the dominant culture's level of tolerance of the other, investment in language learning, and whether multilinguals feel they are accepted members by the host community. This theme may overlap with stigma and hierarchy attached to speaking certain languages viewed as immigrant or community languages. This theme is further divided into two sub-themes, general perception of tolerance and perception of tolerance since the Brexit referendum.

5.4.3.1 General perception of mainstream tolerance of linguistic and cultural diversity

This theme represents multilinguals' general perception of British society, their welcoming of and level of openness to various groups. For example, Klara considers herself to be viewed highly and well respected in British society for being German. According to Ella, there is generally less value and expectations for learning a language other than English. She also believes some languages are low in the pecking order and are perceived worse than others. Ella pointed to the UK's views on languages such as Arabic and Turkish because of an anti-Islamic movement in the country. Tariq felt that despite being a British citizen, he is not accepted as such by British people. He commented: "I know British people would not perceive me as being British that is pretty obvious, so I don't pander to the need to be seen as British."

5.4.3.2 Perception of mainstream tolerance of linguistic and cultural diversity with the Brexit referendum

This theme encapsulates comments made when participants were asked about tolerance towards diversity and migrants since the referendum. Arshan pointed out that intolerance was always present, but the referendum highlighted it. In the excerpt chosen, Laila commented on a change in her own perception of who was considered a migrant and how she felt certain languages were previously perceived in comparison to the situation since the referendum. She stated: “I also thought the Brexit was kind of a dog whistle. That it is was for disliking further away places rather than disliking Europe itself. I couldn’t get my head around people having strong feelings about the French or Spanish, but then I heard stories about people who sounded Australian. I get taken aback by people responding negatively to a kind of western language or a western accent of some kind.”

Another interesting example which can be linked to Laila’s previously held views comes from Ella, who while talking about her own decline in status since the referendum, revealed her own categorization and distinction of being a European in the UK and being an immigrant, denigrating the value of migrants from places such as the Middle East, Central and South Asia, and Africa. Ella’s comment can be seen as a commonly held view that problematizes a particular group of people and sees them as a defiant.

5.4.4 Perception of multilingualism

This theme captures multilinguals’ perceptions and feelings based on their individual experiences and the experiences of those around them. From this theme, two separate subthemes emerged. The first subtheme was related to general attitudes towards multilingualism, whereas the second subtheme was related to the Brexit referendum.

5.4.4.1 General perception of multilingualism

The majority of interviewees felt being multilingual was beneficial. For example, Tariq, a medical doctor, (L1a English, L1b Sinhalese, L2 Tamil, L3 Arabic) believed: “I think being multilingual in one of the most cosmopolitan countries in the world is an advantage especially because I work in the medical field. For example, I have used my knowledge of Sinhalese, Tamil, and Arabic to try and translate what they are saying as patients into English, so we can treat them properly.”

Ella had similar thoughts. Prior to the referendum, Ella saw her ability to speak French, Russian, and English as an opportunity for cultural enrichment and easy travel. She said: “Every language helps you to have an open mind and to accept other people and other cultures.”

Despite the fact that participants were positive in their attitudes about being multilingual in the UK based on their own experiences, some also expressed concerns about what speaking a foreign language in public may entail since the referendum. The next section discusses the data where participants linked the Brexit vote and multilingualism.

5.4.4.2 Perception of multilingualism and the referendum

This sub-theme highlights people’s experiences and perceptions of multilingualism since the Brexit referendum in the UK. Recognizing the experiences of participants can be shaped and dependent on factors including individuals’ language status, diversity of the space where multilinguals are located, socio-historical events, as well as, the time frame in which these interviews were conducted.

For example, Klara felt initially reluctant to use her mother tongue German in public but soon after, she found herself being offered positions despite not having the qualification was because of her ability to speak German. This exemplifies the demand for linguistic capital the UK will need after Brexit in order to negotiate its deals with other countries. Klara commented: “After the referendum, I was on a job hunt. I got a lot of offers that required a German speaker. It wasn’t necessarily in my field but only my language skills were enough to get me an interview.”

Contrary to Klara, Arshan had a negative attitude towards multilingualism. Arshan (L1a Punjabi, L1b Urdu, L2 English) felt negative about linguistic diversity and the country’s support of languages. When commenting on the referendum, Brexit and languages, he explained: “I think Brexit is good in a way. I don’t want a lot of languages to be spoken in the UK. If you have different languages, they cause division. Like many people in this country, including Pakistanis, they do not learn the language. Some have citizenship but don’t speak the language. For the government to change regulations on that is important as a part of national identity.”

Multilinguals have different perspectives towards multilingualism and the Brexit referendum based on their personal experiences. On the one hand, Klara believes multilingualism will be necessary after the referendum. She pointed to a job she was offered

based only on her ability to speak her heritage language (German). She, however, attributes this career opportunity to the higher status German holds and the necessity to speak it. On the other hand, Arshan does not think the country should invest in its linguistic capital. He believes multilingualism is divisive and a hurdle to the UK's unity. It could be argued that the attitudes of these respondents are attributed partly to absorbing the mainstream attitudes and distinction between celebrated groups and devalued groups.

5.5 Summary

This chapter presented the results of the qualitative analyses. What emerged from the data was the complexity of factors that impact multilinguals' linguistic choices and perceptions towards their own languages within the host community's culture. The data also showed that various themes were interconnected. Furthermore, some multilinguals may feel a greater continuous pressure to adopt a British identity demonstrating shared British values, especially at a time of political tension and a need to showcase belonging.

The interviewees indicated that perceptions and linguistic choices were linked to individual experiences that can be influenced by the host community's judgments and views. They are also connected to multilinguals' identity orientation and desire to be accepted as in-group members or by the host culture. It also shows multilinguals employ and resort to different strategies to blend in to avoid harassment or negative perception. Multilinguals were found to have various views on multilingualism with some seeing it as beneficial, whereas others perceive it as a barrier and obstacle to unity. The data also pointed to a social hierarchy that exists in languages, with some viewed as more desirable and valued such as German, whereas others were viewed more problematic and negatively associated with extremism such as Arabic. It also showed that some multilinguals became more reluctant to use their heritage language in public in the wake of the Brexit referendum. Moreover, the data shows that even those who have not themselves experienced harassment may use their multilingualism strategically to attenuate their differences from the dominant group. The following chapter will discuss and interpret the results of the quantitative and qualitative data by relating them to previous work in an attempt to answer the research questions this study set out to explore.

Chapter 6: Discussion

6.1 Introduction

The purpose of this mixed-method study was to examine multilinguals' language choices and perceptions in the UK, encompassing the socio-political context of the Brexit referendum. It looked at the language choices and attitudes of mostly highly educated multilingual speakers. This chapter includes a discussion of the findings presented in Chapters 4 and 5, linking them to the literature. They will be organized thematically in answering the research questions. The first section (section 6.2) examines factors linked to self-reported language choice in public spaces. It investigates the extent to which the language choices of multilinguals in public are linked to: 1) socio-demographic factors (education and heritage language background), 2) degree of identification with the British group and the heritage group and 3) bicultural identity orientations. Furthermore, section 6.2 discusses other factors that may impact language choices in public based on the data collected from interviews with eight multilingual participants. The next section (section 6.3) discusses the factors linked to multilinguals' perceptions of their heritage language. It investigates the extent to which multilinguals' perceptions of their heritage language are linked to: 1) socio-demographic factors (education and heritage language background), 2) bicultural identity orientations, and 3) level of involvement in both host and heritage groups.

The third section (6.4) investigates the extent to which multilinguals' attitudes towards heritage language use in public spaces in the post-referendum context are linked to: 1) heritage language background, 2) bicultural identity orientations, 3) perception of heritage language, and 4) perception of British tolerance of other languages. This will be followed by a section on the perceived drop in tolerance of linguistic diversity in the post-referendum context. It also discusses the factors that may have an impact on multilinguals' language choices in public spaces in the post-referendum context based on the data collected from the survey participants' responses to the open-ended question. Finally, Section 6.5 acknowledges the limitations of the study including scale evaluation, composition of the sample, the use of self-report questionnaires, and the timeline in which the study was conducted. The chapter concludes with recommendations for future research and a summary.

6.2 Factors linked to Multilinguals' Language Choice

This section discusses the findings related to the first two research questions:

RQ1: To what extent are multilinguals' language choices linked to factors including their educational level, heritage-language background, degree of identification with the British group and the heritage group, bicultural identity orientation, and perceptions of their heritage language?

RQ2: What other factors affect multilinguals' language choices in public?

6.2.1 Socio-demographic variables and language choice

RQ1 set out to investigate factors that may be linked to variation among multilinguals in their language choices in public. In line with the literature on factors impacting language choice, the present study assumed that there would be differences between groups in their language choice in public based on: 1) educational level and 2) heritage language background. It was also hypothesized that correlations do exist between language choice, and 1) degree of identification with the British group and the heritage group, 2) bicultural identity orientations, and 3) perceptions of the heritage language.

6.2.1.1 The effects of education on language choice in public

It was hypothesized that multilinguals who have a higher degree of education would report greater use of their heritage language in public than those with lower levels of education. This hypothesis was confirmed. The results of a one-way ANOVA analysis suggested that multilinguals with higher degrees of education were more likely to use their heritage language in public. There appeared to be a general upward trend with results showing small, but statistically significant differences between the bachelors and doctorate degree holders.

Multilinguals with lower education levels may refrain from using their heritage language in favor of using the dominant language to acquire membership in the dominant group (Fishman, 1991, as cited in Bichani, 2015). For educated multilinguals, their higher degrees can boost their confidence and facilitate their upward social mobility to achieve membership in the dominant culture, as Zinovijus (2012) noted. Education can serve as a vehicle to privilege even for multilinguals from stereotypically stigmatized groups (Zinovijus, 2012). With institutionalized capital that can, in turn, develop into other forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1991), highly educated multilinguals may feel assured about their position

in society, and do not need to conform to the use of the dominant language in society to mark their belonging and membership. For example, as noted in Chapter 5, Tariq, a medical doctor, felt he earned a right to be in the country by working his way up the social ladder. As he stated, "I think I've earned my place in society, I didn't get it just because I was born here. I was given it for a reason, so I earned it essentially. I feel I have even a greater right to be called British as opposed to someone who was just born here because I have had to do things to get here. It wasn't just given to me."

Additionally, for the predominantly educated participants in this study, institutional (educational) capital benefits them. If needed, the multilingual participants can shore up their educational status using their English proficiency or deliberately code switch to challenge prejudices and micro-aggressions by repositioning themselves and claiming their belonging in such situations. This ability may make them more at ease using their heritage language in a public setting. For instance, when Salma felt that bystanders were objectifying her and assuming she was uneducated, she utilized her English with superfluous jargon as educational banter to eliminate assumptions made about her ability to speak English and belonging in society because of her headdress.

6.2.1.2 The effects of heritage language background on language choice in public

It was assumed that multilinguals who speak Western European languages would report greater use of their heritage language in public spaces than those who speak Eastern European or other migrant languages. The findings of a one-way ANOVA analysis confirmed this hypothesis.

Multilingual speakers of Western European languages, followed by Eastern European languages, were significantly higher on heritage language use in public in comparison to speakers of other migrant languages. No significant differences were found between Western European heritage language speakers and Eastern European ones. Although the data showed a tendency among the predominantly educated participants in this study to report higher use of heritage languages in public with an increase based on education level, it appears that multilinguals from a Western European background used their heritage language in public the most. The data also revealed that the Other migrant group used English in public the most.

One can argue that differences between these groups may be linked to multilinguals' migration history and residency length in the UK that may impact one's heritage language

proficiency. However, given that most participants reported high levels of heritage language proficiency, and only 14 participants reported lower levels of heritage language proficiency, it is assumed that other reasons may explain multilinguals' reported choices. One reason might be that multilinguals, consciously or not, perceive their language choice to be an indicator of their social category (Cargile et al., 1995). The identification with a dominant group by adopting the language of symbolic power can give access to social inclusion, which is often necessary for groups whose heritage language is marginalized and viewed with less prestige due to the hierarchization of languages. As Sachdev and Cartwright (2016) pointed out, historical and political factors give speakers of certain languages, such as German, French or Spanish, more value and social prestige, but give speakers of other languages, such as Arabic, Urdu or Turkish, less value and less prestige.

Speakers of Western European languages can demonstrate their status by speaking prestigious languages. However, speakers of the Other migrant group rely on English to illustrate their prestige status since their heritage languages are devalued. Additionally, Thurlow and Jaworski (2017) view elite multilingualism as "something people do" (p. 244) for them to reinforce their power. In the case of multilingualism in public spaces, in this study, multilinguals who speak devalued languages, can use English, as a way to reposition themselves, shoring up their status, asserting their belonging, and challenging prejudices and views that they are less educated for speaking a language that is not equated with prestige. For Laila, her heritage language, Arabic, as a non-prestigious language, did not facilitate her social inclusion in society or dispel assumptions about being less educated because she wears a headdress. As a result, she resorts to the use of English for status and belonging.

Weber (2015) argued that discrimination against language could be masking of racism. Moreover, Brown et al. (2016) explained that individuals with migration backgrounds could be vulnerable to the experiences they face. With a language hierarchy that values some languages and marginalizes others, multilinguals whose repertoires include languages from beyond Europe are more likely to be susceptible to acts of racism. The higher use of English for the Other migrant group compared to the two European groups in this study can be attributed to differences in the treatment they receive when using their heritage language in public spaces. For example, Klara compared her situation as an L1 speaker of German with her colleagues' experiences whose L1s were Urdu and Indonesian. As discussed in Chapter 5, Klara's colleagues had been subject to unfriendly treatment as a

result of speaking their L1s in public, whereas she had not faced such circumstances. Klara had attributed this difference in behavior towards her and her colleagues to perceived language status. Her colleagues had a greater need to use English to be acknowledged and accepted in society.

Therefore, differences between heritage language backgrounds should be taken into account when considering factors that can impact heritage language use in public, especially in times of socio-political tensions where some groups may be more marginalized than others.

6.2.1.3 Identification with British and heritage groups, and language choice in public

This section considers the relationships between multilinguals' heritage language use in public and multilinguals' degree of identification with the British group and their heritage group.

- a) It was hypothesized that there is a negative correlation between the degree of identification with the British group and the use of one's heritage language in public. A Pearson correlation confirmed this hypothesis.
- b) It was hypothesized that there is a positive correlation between the degree of identification with the heritage group and the use of one's heritage language in public. A Pearson correlation did not confirm this hypothesis.

The more multilinguals identified as British, the less likely they were to report the use of heritage language in public spaces. The association between language use and identification with a group supports Le Page and Tabouret-Keller's (1985) investigation of 'acts of identity'. According to the authors, language can be an act of identification. An individual's desire to identify with a group and show solidarity can be marked by the patterns of linguistic behavior the individual uses. In accordance with Le Page and Tabouret-Keller's (1985) work, the study's findings support the often conscious choice multilinguals make about the language they wish to use, which reflects the identity they wish to be affiliated with within a multilingual society.

Contrary to the hypothesized association between identification with heritage group and language choice, higher levels of identification with heritage group did not correlate significantly with heritage language use in public spaces. This result contradicted the findings of Yağmur and Van de Vijver (2012), who found that stronger identification with the heritage group is positively linked to heritage language use. Brown et al. (2016)

described the UK as celebrating linguistic and cultural diversity in private spaces but requiring integration in public domains. This result might be explained by the fact that some multilinguals have a similar outlook and decide to limit the use of their heritage language to private spaces. Another explanation is that since some languages have been vilified, and an association with them is viewed with suspicion, multilinguals who speak negatively perceived languages may avoid the use of the heritage language to signal their level of integration in public, and to be understood by bystanders in a social setting but preserve their ethnic identity and culture at home. As Ndhlovu (2010) reported in their study of African migrants to Australia, participants' language choices can be linked to concerns over identity, belonging, and social integration.

6.2.1.4 Bicultural identity orientation and language choice in public

This section considers correlations between multilingual migrants' language choices in public and their bicultural identity orientation.

- a) It was assumed that there is a negative correlation between conflicted, monocultural, and alternating identity orientations and heritage language use in public. This assumption was partially confirmed.
- b) It was assumed that there is a positive correlation between complementary and hybrid identity orientations and heritage language use in public. This hypothesis was not confirmed.

The findings of the Pearson correlations indicated that holding conflicted bicultural identity orientations and monocultural identity orientations were linked to multilinguals' language choice in public. Multilinguals who felt that their cultures were in conflict or loyalty can only be with one culture were less likely to use their heritage language in public spaces. No significant correlation existed between language choice and the other three dimensions.

Here, the focus is on how the two cultures relate to one another in a multilingual's identity. Yağmur and Van de Vijer (2012) argued the language shift of members of minority communities does not exist in a political and social vacuum. Ehala (2009) contended that smaller cultural and linguistic differences make it easier to assimilate to the majority group and generally the majority members are less reluctant to accept new members from minorities that have similar traits and values. Multilinguals who felt a conflicted distance between their ethnic group and British culture in their overall cultural identity might make

more of an effort to show that they have adapted to their host culture. For example, Humi commented that he wanted to be a part of two cultures but did not feel accepted in the host community because he was from a very different culture. According to Humi, it is simultaneously challenging to maintain a culture that is very discordant from the mainstream and to form friendships with members of the host society.

One explanation might be that language is a marker of social solidarity and adaption. Multilinguals with a conflicted identity make an effort to suppress one culture for the other to seek acceptance in the host society by creating a shift in language use and choosing English to attenuate the differences they perceive. Similarly, multilinguals who feel they can only be a part of one culture may want to construct a cultural identity that adapts to the dominant group by distancing themselves from their ethnic group and language in favor of accepting the culture and language of the dominant group.

6.2.1.5 Perception of heritage language and language choice in public

This section considers the relationship between perceptions of one's heritage language and multilinguals' use of the heritage language in public. This hypothesized association was confirmed.

The more multilinguals viewed their heritage language in a positive light, the more likely they were to use the heritage language in public spaces. According to Bourdieu (1991), a *habitus* is "a set of dispositions that incline individuals to act in a certain manner" (p. 12). One explanation might be that the more multilinguals perceived and felt that their heritage language reflected positively on them and did not have a negative impact on their integration and prosperity in society, the more likely they were inclined to use the heritage language in public spaces. Additionally, if multilinguals perceived their social inclusion in the dominant group to not be limited by using English, they did not feel the pressure to show their belonging or to use the dominant language in public space. For example, Salma felt the need to switch from her heritage language, Pashto, to English midstream to assert her education and belonging in society. However, Salma also spoke German but perceived it as a desirable language and enjoyed using it as a code language to distance herself from the dominant group. In Salma's case, the negative perception of Pashto inclined her to switch to English, whereas the positive perception of German inclined her to use it. Therefore, it may be assumed that if a positive perception is found, multilinguals will continue using

languages in their linguistic repertoire that they and their interlocutors feel comfortable using with one another.

As noted by the interviewees, the interlocutor, the interlocutor's language proficiency, and the relationship between the speaker and their interlocutor could be determining factors in multilinguals' language choices in situations where multilinguals felt comfortable using their heritage language in public. The importance of the interlocutor among other factors will be discussed in the following section which explores multilinguals' experiences with language use in public spaces.

6.2.2 Multilinguals' experiences with language choice in public

RQ2 set out to investigate other factors that affect language choices based on data collected from the eight interviewees during their semi-structured interviews. No hypothesis was formulated.

Thematic analysis indicated that the interlocutor was an important factor that multilinguals considered in determining their language choices. This finding is in line with Grosjean (2010), who stated that the interlocutor was a central factor governing language choice. This finding further supports the idea that one's decision to use one language or another is motivated by the communicative need to be understood by one's interlocutor (Karan, 2008).

In addition to interlocutor, the thematic analysis of the qualitative data in this study suggested that multilinguals' language choices in public are linked to four other factors: political climate, spatial awareness of linguistic diversity, alienation avoidance, and eliminating assumed identity constructed by appearance. It must be noted that these themes were not mutually exclusive, but rather they were interlinked and overlapping.

a) Political climate. The findings showed that interviewees' language choices are not only influenced by their interlocutors but are also influenced by the political climate. The interviewees reflected on how the referendum impacted their language choices. The interviewees pointed out that they became more conscious of how they use their languages in public, with some reporting that they were more reluctant to use their heritage language than before the referendum. In a politically charged environment with public debates on language and national unity, multilinguals might feel under pressure to indicate their membership within the dominant host community. Interviewees' comments are aligned with Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004), who argued that political events as well as socio-economic

ones can change the way multilinguals reflect on their identity and the language(s) they use, making them favor one over the other(s).

It has already been established that multilinguals experience London differently based on the status of their languages before the referendum (Mehmedbegović et al., 2015). The Brexit referendum may have made such intolerance of heritage languages and discrimination more overt and has brought to the surface discrimination against linguistic groups who were thought to be perceived more favorable in the past. The impact of the political climate of Brexit on language use in public in the post-referendum context will be discussed in more detail later in section 6.4.

b) Spatial awareness of linguistic diversity. The data showed that interviewees were aware of their surroundings and the diversity of them. Rzepenikowska (2018) also reported that participants were aware of their environment. They felt more comfortable and felt less likely to experience racism in locations that were ethnically diverse. Awareness of setting is a recurring theme that was mentioned in both participants' comments during their interviews and in responses to an open-ended question on the survey (discussed below in section 6.4.3).

Multilinguals are aware of the importance of the diversity of the setting and how that may impact their choices, whether that was in a cafe, on a bus or anywhere a person may be. In areas that appeared more linguistically and culturally diverse, people were more likely to feel comfortable in using their heritage or community languages. A possible explanation is that multilinguals feel less compelled to assert a British identity when they perceive the community that they are in to be diverse, and that they do not stand out as different for speaking a language other than English. Bystanders and those within earshot may also be multilingual and speaking other languages. It agrees with the literature that indicates situation/location can be a factor that impacts multilinguals' language choices (Grosjean, 2010). Diversity of a location may be more crucial for multilinguals who speak a heritage or community language that is viewed with more stigma, and in contexts in which the use of a language other than English is seen as being less educated.

c) Alienation avoidance. Participants discussed the importance of fitting in and not appearing different out of a desire to blend in to protect themselves from harassment and unwanted stares. Klara pointed out the differences in treatment that she herself experienced, being a celebrated multilingual versus her colleagues who have received hostile treatment

for speaking a less well-regarded language. She also underlined the importance in not appearing different in situations where she might be marked as an outsider for speaking another language. A participant in Ndhlovu's (2010) study mentioned that she was uncomfortable speaking her heritage language when within earshot of bystanders who may be suspicious of a conversation they do not understand. Ndlovu argued that it was out of a necessity to accommodate those around them to reduce perceived fears. Conversely, in this study, the perceived fear by the speaker is her fear of the bystanders. Klara appeared to be concerned with what reactions her use of German at a football game in England might elicit towards herself from other football supporters.

d) Elimination of assumed identity constructed by appearance. For the female Muslim participants Salma and Laila, an important contributor to their language choice in public was the elimination of an identity people had attributed to them because they wore headscarves. These two participants expressed how when wearing a headdress, people presumed they were uneducated or that they did not understand English, so by using English they are not simply conforming to the dominant culture but repositioning themselves to indicate they are legitimate members of society. The new position is assumed to eliminate negative association and stigma usually affiliated with being a Muslim woman wearing a headdress. For the two participants, the use of English with a British accent was possibly a further means of attenuating the differences that mark them as different, as foreigners. Furthermore, it could be a way of expressing their desire to be socially included by the dominant culture. It could also be seen as a strategy for asserting their Britishness, despite the fact that their religious values may be different from the mainstream liberal values. This may be of particular importance for Muslim women since 9/11 and the subsequent events that followed on 7 July 2005 in London which brought on concerns in Britain over radical Islam among the UK Muslim community (Cameron, 2013). Arabic and Islam were perceived as a threat to cohesion and Western democracy which had long-term effects on the public discourses resulting in anxiety over multilingualism (Cameron, 2013).

Additionally, the results of this study indicated the importance of appearance. In Rzepnikowska's (2018) study of xenophobia and racism experienced by Polish women in the UK before and after the referendum, women were found to be aware that a foreign appearance was a marker of their difference and made them feel more vulnerable and prone

to harassment. This is consistent with the experiences shared in the current data by the two Muslim women who wore headscarves.

6.3 Factors Linked to Perception of Heritage Language

This section discusses the findings related perception of heritage language and the factors linked to such perception. This section focuses on answering RQs 3-4 that the study set out to investigate. The research questions are:

RQ3: To what extent are multilinguals' perceptions of their heritage language linked to factors including their educational level, heritage-language background, bicultural identity orientation, and their degree of involvement in both ethnic culture and host culture?

RQ4 A: Are multilingual speakers' perceptions of their heritage language influenced by their attitudes towards the perceived benefits of their heritage language, the importance of heritage language to self, and perceptions of British tolerance towards other languages?

RQ4 B: What other characteristics best predict multilingual speakers' perceptions of their heritage language?

6.3.1 Socio-demographic variables and perception of heritage language

RQ2 set out to investigate factors that may be linked to variation among multilinguals in their perceptions of their heritage language. In line with the literature on factors impacting language choice, the present study assumed that there would be differences between groups in their perceptions of heritage language based on: 1) educational level and 2) heritage language background. It was also hypothesized that multilinguals' perceptions would be linked to their: 1) bicultural identity orientation and 2) degree of involvement in both ethnic and British culture.

6.3.1.1 The effects of education on perception of heritage language

It was assumed that multilinguals with higher levels of education would significantly differ in their positive perception of heritage language than other degree holders. The results of a one-way ANOVA analysis did not confirm this hypothesis.

Contrary to expectations, multilinguals' perceptions of their heritage language appeared unaffected by their level of education. There were no significant differences between those with a pre-bachelor, bachelor, master, and PhD degrees. The average score of

multilinguals' perceptions of heritage language was 3.96 on a 5-point scale, which suggests very positive perceptions.

In this study, multilinguals are predominantly highly educated, and all speak English with high proficiency. Berry (1997) noted that higher education could result in better adaptation in a host culture since education correlates with resources, such as economic capital and better support networks. It is likely that education protects multilinguals and allows for their social inclusion and belonging in British society. If this is the case, they are less likely to think of their heritage language use as limiting their integration and, thereby, are more likely to have positive views and perceptions of their heritage language.

Additionally, the participants' educational backgrounds make them less likely to be categorized based on their linguistic repertoire. Rather, they can draw on their institutional credentials to support their socioeconomic status as the desired migrants and, in turn, do not view their heritage language as a hurdle to their acceptance in society. As noted above, education can privilege even multilinguals that are stereotypically stigmatized (Zinovijus, 2012).

6.3.1.2 The effects of heritage language background on perception of heritage language

This section considers differences in multilinguals' perceptions of their heritage language by heritage language backgrounds. It was hypothesized that multilinguals who speak Western European languages will have a more positive perception of their heritage language than those who speak Eastern European or other migrant languages. The results of a one-way ANOVA analysis confirmed this hypothesis.

Multilinguals from the Western European group reported the most positive perceptions of their heritage language, whereas those from the East European group reported the least positive perceptions of their heritage language.

The language hierarchy highlighted more positive attitudes towards Western European languages than Eastern European languages and those from beyond Europe (Priven, 2008; Zinovijus, 2012). The literature also showed preexisting negative attitudes towards languages outside of Europe in particular (Skrandies, 2016; Yağmur, 2017). For example, Musolff (2019) reported the existence of prejudices against South Asians in the UK.

A possible explanation is that if people are evaluated through the languages they speak, negative views on their heritage/ home language can impact individuals' perceptions

of their heritage language and whether or not to use it. Eastern European and other migrant languages have been reported in the literature, discussed above, as being perceived as less valued in comparison to their Western European counterparts. Therefore, it is possible that multilinguals of Eastern European and other migrant backgrounds were more likely to perceive their heritage language as reflecting poorly on them in British society in comparison to Western Europeans.

In our study, multilinguals discussed their perceptions of language status and categorization during interviews. The majority of multilinguals interviewed indicated an awareness of a language hierarchy, with some languages, such as Pashto, being less valued. Additionally, Stoicheva (2016) noted that there are negative attitudes towards some languages since they are a proxy of ethnicity and religious identity. This applies to languages often affiliated with terrorism, such as Arabic, which is often associated with religious identity and Islam. For instance, Humi stated, "I think Arabic and Pashto in English speaking communities [...]. So, these two languages are, in some parts of the world, associated with terrorists or terrorism or what they call Islamic fundamentalism, so I think to speak in these two languages. I mean, if you speak in Chinese, people will not understand it, but people will not judge you for that, but if you speak Arabic or Pashto, people will be a bit wary of you."

Additionally, Skrandies (2016) pointed out that the existing hierarchies are not racially or ethnically blind, adding that racialization and xenophobia contribute to discourses that marginalize particular non-European language and cultures and pressure these groups into linguistic and cultural assimilation. A possible explanation is that these negative attitudes led multilinguals who speak those languages to be subject to occasional discrimination or unfriendly treatment. Klara explained when comparing her own experience as a German to the experiences of her co-worker from Pakistan and Indonesia when speaking their languages in public. In Klara's words, "When I worked at a charity shop, she [a colleague of Pakistani descent] said whenever she can, she speaks English because when she is, for example, at a bank speaking her mother tongue with a relative or friends, they don't get so friendly served. So, she uses only English."

Multilinguals might have suffered from prejudices against them, such as those discussed by the interviewees that, in turn, could lead some multilinguals to perceive their heritage language in a less favorable light. Moreover, according to the experiences

encountered and expressed by the interviewees, these categorizations of languages were in existence well before the referendum.

In the post-referendum context, multilinguals who spoke languages that were formerly perceived favorably and holding symbolic capital in society were suddenly encountering social stigma for using their heritage language in public. This type of linguistic discrimination was previously applicable to languages lower on the hierarchy scale, as stated earlier. Ella's case illustrated this sudden shift in attitudes and the subsequent shift in her own status. She felt that from being a member of the in-group, she abruptly became an 'other' for speaking a language other than English. She felt she had fallen in status from being a foreigner to being perceived as an immigrant, representing a lower status in her opinion in society. Ella went on to point out how she felt that these negative attitudes that decreased her status as a Western European were supposed to shift her perception of her heritage language and make her feel ashamed for speaking it.

6.3.1.3 Bicultural identity orientation and perception of heritage language

This section discusses multilingual migrants' perceptions of their heritage language and their bicultural identity orientation.

- a) It was hypothesized that there is a negative correlation between conflicted, monocultural, and alternating identity orientations and multilinguals' perceptions of their heritage language. The findings of Pearson correlations partially confirmed this hypothesis.
- b) It was hypothesized that there is a positive correlation between complementary and hybrid identity orientations and multilinguals' perceptions of their heritage language. The findings of Pearson correlations partially confirmed this hypothesis.

Multilinguals who viewed their bicultural identity as conflicted, felt a need to alternate between cultures, or felt their loyalty could be with only one culture were more likely to have less positive perceptions of their heritage language. Multilinguals who viewed their two cultures as complementing one another were more likely to have positive perceptions of their heritage language.

Blackledge and Pavlenko (2001) have pointed out that individuals who speak multiple languages can be subject to multiple loyalties simultaneously in multilingual societies. Montreuil and Bourhis (2004) found that the host community had different acculturation attitudes towards immigrants, depending on how they perceived them. In such

circumstances, multilinguals may need to consider the perceptions and attitudes of members of the two cultures they are in when determining their identity (Grosjean, 2008). Ortega (2019) has pointed out that when the linguistic repertoires of certain multilinguals are not accepted, their ethnolinguistic heritage and affiliations are also not accepted.

A possible explanation is that if multilinguals are exposed to and influenced by these perceptions, feelings of conflict, monoculture, or alternation, they might perceive them as linked to their heritage language being devalued by the dominant group. When multilinguals feel rejected and their heritage cultures and languages are seen as preventing their acceptance and belonging, this might, in turn, develop negative feelings in multilinguals towards their heritage language. In contrast, if multilinguals are exposed to favorable attitudes towards their heritage instead of pressure to assimilate, and the two cultures are seen as complementing one another, multilinguals might perceive a benefit in speaking more than one language rather than negative feelings.

6.3.1.4 Level of involvement and perception of heritage language

In this section the link between multilinguals' level of involvement and their perceptions of their heritage language is considered. It was hypothesized that there is a positive relationship between perceptions of one's heritage language and one's level of involvement in both heritage culture and British culture. The hypothesized associations were partially confirmed.

The study found that the more multilinguals viewed their heritage language as reflecting positively on them and did not negatively impact their adaptation, the more likely they were to engage with the host society. Berry (2005) argued that greater cultural knowledge of the host group and degree of contact with them had predictive value on the degree of the sociocultural adjustment of individuals in a host society. Then, in this study, the association between heritage language perception and host society involvement might be explained by the fact that the more multilinguals engaged and felt involved with the host society, the more they felt integrated into the host society and did not feel their heritage language created a barrier for their integration in society.

6.3.2 Predictors of perception of heritage language

RQ4 set out to examine whether attitudes on the perceived benefit of heritage language, the importance of heritage language to self, and perceptions of British tolerance towards other languages, among other variables predicted multilinguals' perceptions of their heritage

language. It was hypothesized that a link exists between perception of heritage language, and 1) the perceived benefit of a heritage language, 2) the importance of heritage language to self, and 3) perception of British tolerance of other languages. It was also assumed that the factors mentioned above as well as 1) importance of identifying with mainstream culture, 2) level of involvement in the host culture, 3) bicultural identity orientations, and 4) age, would contribute to positive perceptions of one's heritage language. The results of Pearson correlations and the multiple stepwise regression analyses confirmed the hypotheses.

- a) The results of the correlation confirmed positive and statistically significant links between perception of the heritage language and 1) perceived benefit of a heritage language, 2) the importance of heritage language to self, 3) perception of British tolerance towards other languages, and 4) age. Moreover, results showed a significant negative correlation between perceptions of one's heritage language and the importance of identifying with the host culture. These findings are discussed with the results of the multiple stepwise regressions since they were found to be predictors of multilinguals' perceptions of their heritage language.
- b) Eight variables were found to be good predictors of multilinguals' perceptions of their heritage language (Table 4.7). The positive predictors were importance of heritage language to self, perceived British tolerance of other heritage languages, perceived benefit of speaking heritage language, age, and involvement in host culture. The negative predictors were monocultural identity, conflicted identity, and importance of identifying with mainstream culture.

Importance of heritage language to self was found to be the greatest contributor to perceptions of one's heritage language. Individuals who felt their heritage language was essential to their self-identification were confirmed to have positive perceptions of their heritage language. A possible explanation for this is that multilinguals who view their heritage as a core component may be less susceptible to adopting the mainstream culture's attitudes towards their heritage group. As mentioned in the literature review, multilinguals' attitudes to their heritage languages can be influenced by whether or not the heritage language is a core element to their ethnic identity (Bradley, 2019). In cases where heritage language acts as an identifying factor and a core component to the sense of self, the less likely multilinguals are to replace this central factor with the dominant group's perceptions and ideologies.

Perceptions of British tolerance of other heritage languages was also a strong predictor variable for one's perceptions of one's heritage language. This result appeared to follow the observation that minority groups' attitudes toward their language(s) might be influenced by the views of the dominant group (Bourhis, 2001; Landry et al. 2007). In particular, as contended by Grosjean (1982), members of a minority language may adopt the dominant group's negative attitudes toward them. Apart from this, Bourdieu (1991) argued that languages are assigned value through the dominant group. This tolerance can have an impact on how multilinguals perceive their heritage language as either limiting or facilitating their social integration. In a politically charged climate, where monolingual overtones are increasing and foreign language learning in schools is being portrayed as not essential to one's personal development (Julios, 2008), it is more likely that this could taint impressionable multilinguals' perceptions of their heritage language. Being exposed to monoglot ideology can affect heritage language users' opinions of their home or community languages.

Other positive predictors of perception of heritage languages were perceived benefits of being multilingual by speaking a heritage language, level of involvement with host culture, and age. The importance of the perceived benefit of speaking a heritage language lends further support to the idea that individuals' set of dispositions and attitudes are ingrained gradually through their experiences (Bourdieu, 1991). The more multilinguals view their heritage language as accessing opportunities for economic capital and benefiting their social status and networks, the more likely this will contribute to them viewing the heritage language positively and facilitating their success in the host community.

As discussed above in section 6.3.1.4, higher degrees of contact with a host community can positively impact the sociocultural adaptation of migrant minorities in the host culture (Berry, 2005). If multilinguals are well integrated in the host community, they are less likely to view their heritage language as limiting their ability to fit in the host community.

Moreover, Cheung et al. (2011) found a longer duration of stay in and exposure to the host culture to be associated with greater identification with Canadian culture, only at younger ages of immigration. The researchers argued that a sensitive period for acculturation existed. If age has an impact on identification with the host culture, it may also have an impact on the degree to which multilinguals wish to identify with the mainstream culture.

One possible explanation is that younger adults might be more sensitive to others' attitudes, and are less settled in their lives and less set in their ways in comparison to more mature adults. They may also be more easily influenced and susceptible to popular ideology that represents assimilation as belonging. Younger individuals may see language as the means of identifying with the dominant group; in turn, this may affect whether or not they see their heritage language as limiting their integration and acceptance in the host culture.

Monocultural identity orientation was a negative predictor of multilinguals' perceptions of their heritage language. In circumstances where there is a monolingual English-speaking overtone, multilinguals who retain a monistic attitude towards cultural identity may wish to seek membership in the group that is more socially beneficial to them (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), thereby adopting the attitudes of the mainstream culture. This may also be why identifying with the dominant culture was another negative predictor of perception of heritage culture. As for multilinguals with feelings of discordance between the two cultures of their identity, they may perceive that their heritage culture is not in harmony (conflicted) with the dominant culture, and since language is seen as a carrier of a shared identity, they may feel increased pressure to show their commitment to the shared values that embrace the use of English as a means of representing a shared national identity.

So far, the quantitative data suggested that factors such as heritage language background, certain bicultural identity orientations as well as the importance of heritage language to self, benefits of speaking a heritage language and British tolerance were linked to the perception of the heritage language. The interview data showed that multilinguals have a variety of attitudes towards their heritage language and perceptions of languages and identity orientation. It is evident that the interviewees' views are shaped by their own unique individual experiences and by the experiences of those in their social network, whether in general or in the context of Brexit. In addition to the perception of their heritage language, multilinguals talked about their perception of multilingualism. The majority of interview participants appeared to hold positive perceptions of multilingualism and celebrated diversity and the benefits it brings to its speakers. Surprisingly, one interviewee, Arshan, found multilingualism and linguistic accommodation to be depleting resources and a threat to national unity. This argument is common in public discourse that argues for 'one language, one nation,' and that links national identity with speaking English (Julios, 2008).

6.4 Factors Linked to Attitudes towards Heritage Language Use in Public in the Post-Referendum Context

This section discusses the findings related to the last research question:

RQ5 A: To what extent are multilinguals' attitudes towards heritage language use in public spaces in the post-referendum context linked to factors including heritage-language background, bicultural identity orientation, and perceptions of heritage language, and perceptions of British tolerance to other languages?

RQ5 B: What are multilinguals' perceptions of British tolerance of diversity in the post-referendum context?

RQ5 C: What are multilinguals' experiences with heritage language or foreign language use in public in the post-referendum context?

6.4.1 Socio-demographic factors and use of heritage language in public in the context of post-referendum

RQ5A set out to investigate factors that may be linked to variation among multilinguals in their attitudes towards heritage language use in public spaces following the referendum. The present study assumed that there would be differences between groups in multilinguals' attitudes on this factor in public based on heritage language background. It was also hypothesized that correlations do exist between perception of heritage language in public in the post-referendum context and 1) bicultural identity orientation, 2) perception of the heritage language, and 3) perception of British tolerance of other languages. The hypotheses are restated below in each section.

6.4.1.1 The effects of heritage language background on use of heritage language in the context of post- referendum

This section discusses differences in attitudes towards heritage language use in public in the post-referendum context by heritage language background. It was hypothesized that multilinguals who speak Western European languages would be less reluctant to use their heritage language in public spaces in the post-referendum context than those who speak Eastern European or other migrant languages.

Contrary to expectations, heritage language background did not have significant effects on attitudes towards heritage language use in public spaces in the post-referendum context. Moreover, reluctance to use a heritage language in public spaces in the post-referendum context was low with $M = 2.47$ (a lower rating on this scale indicates less reluctance). The multilinguals in this study are predominantly highly educated with high proficiency in the English language. As noted above, education can privilege even multilinguals that are stereotypically stigmatized (Zinovijus, 2012). Therefore, a possible explanation is that multilinguals might benefit from different forms of capital and that education and proficiency in English can boost their status.

Although multilinguals in this study did not report a high average reluctance to use their heritage language in public in the post-referendum context, some multilinguals like Ella, who have experienced racism and discrimination, may have become more reluctant to use the heritage language and even avoid using it in public. Despite coming from a usually valued Western European background, Ella stopped using her heritage language (French) in public after being subject to harassment. Instead, she preferred not to speak in public settings with her heavily French-accented English out of fear of being harassed again.

6.4.1.2 Bicultural identity orientation and use of heritage language in the post-referendum context

In this section, multilingual migrants' attitudes towards use of heritage language in public in the post-referendum context and their bicultural identity orientations are examined. It was hypothesized that:

- a) There is a positive relationship between conflicted, monocultural, and alternating identity orientations and potential reluctance to use the heritage language in public in the post-referendum context.
- b) There is a negative relationship between complementary and hybrid identity orientations and potential reluctance to use the heritage language in public spaces in the context of the post-referendum.

Results showed that statically significant correlations were observed between attitudes towards use of heritage languages in public spaces in the post-referendum context, and 1) conflicted identity, 2) monocultural identity, and 3) alternating identity. Multilinguals who felt they had a conflicted bicultural identity, who had an alternating bicultural identity, or who believed that one could be loyal to only one culture, were indeed more reluctant to use

their heritage language in public spaces in the post-referendum context. Surprisingly, no significant correlations were found between reluctance and 1) complementary identity and 2) hybrid identity.

Popular discourse has associated the use of English with sharing common values, unity, and creating social cohesion (Julios, 2008). Multilinguals who have a conflicted identity orientation may have been subject to marginalization due to their cultural differences creating a feeling of conflict. As a result, they may have a desire to show their legitimacy as members of the dominant group for recognition, association, and membership (West, 1992), particularly in a hostile political environment where discussions draw on a dichotomy of an 'us' and 'them' reflected in the use of English to portray a national identity. Also, multilinguals who feel they have to alternate between their cultures may feel they do not fit into one particular group and have to switch between the two cultures (Grosjean, 2010).

Furthermore, multilinguals who have a monocultural identity may have attempted to strike a balance between being a member of their heritage culture and the dominant culture but have felt rejected and, therefore, believe one can only hold membership and loyalty for one group. Conscious or unconscious alienation of multilinguals for speaking another language can lead multilinguals to distance themselves from their heritage language and become reluctant to use their heritage language in public in favor of the use of the dominant language, especially in a politically charged environment where there is more pressure to show solidarity with one group over the other.

These findings support Karan's (2000, 2011) discussion about individuals' motivation to use the language (or variety) that best meets their interests, especially among multilinguals who perceive their two cultures as conflicted or perceive a need to alternate between cultures. In the Perceived Benefit Model, Karan (2000, 2011) argues that in different situations, people select from their linguistic repertoire the languages (or language varieties) that will serve their needs and which will benefit them. This may especially be the case in situations similar to the referendum, where hostility towards immigrants, multiculturalism and multilingualism was omnipresent in the media.

Surprisingly, no significant correlations were found between reluctance to use a heritage language in the post-referendum context and 1) complementary identity and 2) hybrid identity. A possible explanation is that individuals that hold these identity

orientations may or may not have had prior experience with negative attitudes towards their bicultural identity, so their reluctance is more dependent on individual experiences. An example of this is Ella, who reported feeling fearful of using French in public. There could also be other contributing factors not under examination in this study. The impact of bicultural identity on heritage language use in a socio-political context would be an interesting factor to explore further in future studies.

6.4.1.3 Perception of heritage language and use of heritage language in the post-referendum context

This section examines the link between perception of heritage language and attitudes towards heritage language use in public in the post-referendum context. It was hypothesized that there is a negative correlation between perception of heritage language and potential reluctance to use the heritage language in public in the post-referendum context.

Pearson correlations indicated that multilinguals who had less positive perceptions of their heritage language were more likely to be reluctant to use their heritage language in public spaces in the post-referendum context. The association found, in this study, between language perception and potential reluctance confirmed Grosjean's (1982) observation that negative attitudes towards a heritage language could lead multilinguals to refrain from using their heritage language. Grosjean (1982) also maintained that if the group is from a stigmatized minority, there could be an even greater tendency to refuse to use the stigmatized language in public. One may argue that, if multilinguals believe that their heritage language has little or no symbolic capital and/or are faced with implicit and explicit discrimination and ostracism in the host society, then they are more likely to view their languages in a less positive light and may be reluctant to use them in public, especially at times of political tension. Even when people had favorable attitudes towards their heritage language, Mucherah (2008) found that migrants in the United States still perceive negative consequences associated with speaking a language other than English and may avoid using their heritage language.

6.4.1.4 Perception of British tolerance of other languages and use of heritage language in the post-referendum context

In this section the link between perception of British tolerance of other languages and attitudes towards heritage language use in the post-referendum context is considered. It was

hypothesized that there is a negative relationship between perceptions of British tolerance and potential reluctance to use the heritage language in the post-referendum context.

A Pearson correlation showed a significant negative association. Multilinguals who rated British tolerance of other languages as high were less likely to be reluctant to use their heritage language in the post-referendum context. This link between perceptions of British tolerance and potential reluctance to use heritage language in public after the referendum may be explained by Karan's (2000, 2011) *Perceived Benefit Model of Language Choice*. According to Karan (2011), multilinguals' language choices are based on whether or not they see a language as benefiting their interest. In a politically charged environment, where hostility is raised towards other languages (Kelly, 2018a, b), the use of another language may be seen as threatening to their wellbeing. In such circumstances, multilinguals may be more reluctant to use their heritage language in the public domain to the extent that they avoid using the heritage language.

During the interviews, multilinguals discussed their perception of British tolerance of linguistic diversity. Further analysis into multilinguals' perceptions highlight not just their views of British attitudes towards multilingualism generally, but also their perception of British attitudes towards specific groups and their languages. For example, Tariq commented, "I think languages, Eastern European particularly, are in a lesser vein since the Brexit vote. Speaking Eastern European languages carries more negative connotations since the Brexit vote and a lot of Eastern European people have expressed that as well." He then added, "I think any foreign language nowadays spoken in a public place in the presence of other people may be looked at it as being in a way of a less kind of class or something because it is looked upon as if you don't speak English then what are you doing here."

Here, it must be noted, that although multilinguals in this study were positive in their general perceptions of heritage language ($M = 3.96$), perceived benefits of speaking their heritage language ($M = 3.01$), and importance of heritage language to self ($M = 4.29$), they reported less positively on British tolerance ($M = 2.87$).

A possible explanation for the low average is that these perceptions may be a result of prior experiences with racism and micro-aggressions individuals may have faced. Julios (2008) has noted that in the UK, at a national level, speakers of heritage languages have been under considerable pressure to acquire English knowledge to integrate into British society and to indicate their cohesive collective identity (Julios, 2008). Furthermore, racism

against migrant minorities has been reported in the literature. Benson and Lewis (2019) point out that in general, British people of color and immigrant minorities have had experiences with racism even before the referendum in Britain. Musolff (2019) reported on pre-existing prejudices against South Asian communities made in online comments posted by the British public made to a BBC forum called *Have your say*.

The section that follows discusses multilingual participants' perceptions of whether or not there was a perceived decline in linguistic tolerance in the context of the post-referendum.

6.4.2 The referendum and linguistic diversity

RQ5B set out to investigate whether multilinguals perceived a decline in tolerance of diversity. Considering Kelly's (2018b) observation of increased hostility towards migrants since the Brexit referendum, it was assumed multilinguals would have perceived a drop in tolerance of linguistic diversity. This assumption was confirmed.

The results showed that 43.1% of the survey participants had observed a drop in tolerance of linguistic diversity in public spaces since the referendum. This resulted in about 23% of participants changing how they use their heritage and community languages in public areas. The observation of less tolerance is consistent with Norton's (2018) description of increased hostility in the UK streets towards foreign languages. The reported language choices of the multilingual participants parallel Pavlenko and Blackledge's (2004) comment that political events can make people reflect on their language choices and identity, possibly altering their language choices and favoring affiliation with one culture over another.

Furthermore, our results may suggest that the Brexit referendum mediated intolerance towards diversity. However, Arshan, during his interview, pointed out that the Brexit referendum unmasked and highlighted pre-existing attitudes in society. Moreover, the qualitative data shed light on multilinguals' perceptions of mainstream views, regarding what languages are acceptable and what languages are viewed with disdain. For example, Tariq discussed racism experienced by Eastern Europeans in the wake of the vote.

Additionally, the results demonstrated how multilinguals' perceptions might change due to circumstances. For example, Laila's previous perception was that the referendum and British intolerance were primarily in opposition to groups labeled as immigrant minorities from outside Europe. Her perception shifted after the referendum when Laila also began to perceive British intolerance of migrant minorities from within the EU member states. Laila's

comment further confirms Pavlenko's (2003) conclusions that political events can suddenly change individuals' attitudes. The findings also showed multilinguals' perceptions of British views towards multilingualism preceding and succeeding the Brexit vote, bringing to the fore how the referendum brought prejudice towards linguistic diversity out of the shadows.

The results discussed so far have identified general patterns in the qualitative analyses as well as some of the perceptions of multilinguals from the interviews. The following section considers multilinguals' responses about their personal experiences and perceptions with heritage language use in public in the post-referendum context based on responses to the open-ended question in the survey.

6.4.3 Multilinguals' language experiences in the post-referendum context

RQ6 C set out to explore the factors multilinguals discussed in an open-ended question related to their experiences with heritage language use in public in the post-referendum context.

Findings from the open-ended question indicated multilinguals' language usage in public either resulted in either increased or lower reluctance to use foreign languages in public. The data revealed that the modification in individuals' language choices in public in the post-referendum context was governed by factors such as awareness of the social setting, the status of the heritage language, sensitivity to children's reactions, social identity (appearing/sounding British), and as a resistance strategy. The themes identified were not mutually exclusive, but were instead interconnected.

a) Awareness of the social setting. Results from the examination of the open-ended questionnaire have shown that multilinguals are aware of their setting and the importance of the cultural diversity of the location in the post-referendum context. This is a theme that was mentioned by 15 participants, as noted in the previous chapter.

The impact of location and setting in determining language choice in the context of the referendum has also been observed by Rzepnikowska (2019). Her Polish migrants from in and around Greater Manchester reported feeling safer from racism since the referendum in more ethnically diverse areas. When multilinguals are in an environment in which they do not stand out as members of an out-group, they are not marked as different. In such circumstances, especially at times of political upheaval, they are less likely to feel the need to validate their belonging within the dominant community and are less likely to be subject

to harassment. This is in direct contrast to a situation in which multilinguals may feel they are surrounded by members of the dominant group and stand out as foreigners.

b) Status of the heritage language. In analyzing the open-ended question, it became apparent that multilinguals' decision about whether or not to use their heritage language in public was dependent on the perceived status of their language. L1 users of Western European languages were less likely to be discriminated against in comparison to those who speak Eastern European languages and other languages from beyond Europe. The participants pointed to differences in status between languages with Eastern European languages and other migrant languages to be perceived as holding lower status. This provides a further explanation for why significant differences were found between heritage language backgrounds in their perceptions of their heritage language and language choice, with Western European heritage language speakers reporting the most positive perceptions and the greater use of their heritage language.

Recognition that the only desirable profile of a migrant is that of a Western European was illustrated by one participant's comment. The participant said that even though her language, Estonian, is Eastern European, the fact that it sounds like a Western European language gave her a form of leverage and gave her more confidence to continue using Estonian in public because it was not associated with the perceived stigma of being Eastern Europeans in the wake of the referendum. This data adds to existing observations that in the European context, not all European languages are valued the same, with some perceived as an internal other that are inherently European but hold lower status than languages with symbolic and historical power (Priven, 2008), in particular, Western Europe and Britain's depiction of Eastern Europe (Zinovijus, 2012).

Drawing on the discussion above about differences between heritage language background and the disparity in perceived distinctions between Eastern European and Western European languages, this finding provides further evidence that the referendum did not mediate linguistic intolerance, but rather what surfaced after the referendum is that those who negatively perceive linguistic and cultural diversity have gained more voice and confidence to speak out (Benson & Lewis, 2019).

c) Sensitivity to children's reactions. An intriguing result was that six survey participants mentioned the presence of their children as being linked to their language choices in public. More specifically, respondents claimed to avoid using their heritage

language to minimize the risk of possible harassment or being subject to discrimination in front of their children. One participant said she worried about the impact that this would have on her children's confidence and desire to speak the language.

These participants appeared to be concerned with the prolonged negative effect this may entail for a child's perception of and attitudes towards their heritage language, as illustrated in the example provided by Mehmedbegović and Bak (2017) of the Kurdish Iraqi child, who after less than a year of living in England, had adopted the negative value associated with speaking an immigrant language. Butorac (2014) has argued that the context in which a language is learned is as important as the language itself for identity construction and sense of belonging. Bourdieu (1991) argued that although the tendencies we develop are flexible, childhood experiences play an essential role.

For children, witnessing the rejection of others who use their same heritage language can lead the children to distance themselves from their heritage language and culture. Another possible outcome is children develop a negative perception of the host community due to perceived discrimination, resulting in disengagement from the host society and living in separation from it, based on the Rejection-Disidentification Model (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2009).

d) Social identity (appearing/sounding British). The current study also found that individuals use different strategies to acquire in-group membership. Six participants mentioned it was important to appear or sound British. According to Tajfel and Turner (1979), individuals will strive to categorize themselves with a favorable social identity. This becomes even more crucial in situations where identification with the in-group membership can shield people from potential harassment. Appearance and accent amelioration (sounding more British) gave some participants legitimacy and social mobility to be included within the mainstream majority. This emerging theme is consistent with Dovchin's (2019) argument that speakers of migrant backgrounds may ameliorate their accents as a passing strategy to avoid linguistic discrimination and to strengthen group identification and social inclusion (Bhatia, 2018).

Additionally, one participant mentioned how racial invisibility gave her an easy pass as a member of the dominant group. Racial invisibility explains why Ella decided to stay silent in public spaces rather than using her heritage language or foreign-accented English that would signal her multilingual background. This interviewee employed her appearance to

make her differences invisible and protect her from bullying or other forms of harassment and unwanted behaviors. These results further support the idea that appearance can help individuals blend in. For example, Butorac (2014) found that European female migrants in Australia felt more included than Asian migrants in their new community due to their appearance and race. However, at times of political tension, the appearance may not be enough. Although whiteness does provide some level of invisibility, Rzepnikowska (2018) has argued that speaking with a foreign accent signals cultural and linguistic differences that mark a multilingual as different.

e) **Resistance strategy.** Five participants decided to use their heritage language more extensively in public after the referendum. Accentuating a difference by use of heritage language in public has been documented in the literature as a form of resistance against racism and intolerance. Dovchin (2019) has argued that crossing as a resistance strategy is used to combat linguistic racism. With this strategy, multilinguals openly diverge from the local linguistic norm to resist the dominant group. In the present study, it may be a way of resisting the vote and asserting their belonging in a society whose urban centers are reputed to be some of the most culturally and linguistically diverse places in the world (Norton, 2018).

6.5 Limitations

Research on heritage/home language choice in public settings in receiving societies is a complex topic. Given the high complexity and numerous variables to consider, it is difficult to provide a comprehensive picture in a single study that covers all aspects of individuals' language choices and attitudes without limitations. Cronbach alpha testing were conducted for reliability. Principal Component Analysis (PCA) and Exploratory Factor Analyses (EFA) were also performed. However, a limitation of this study is that a Confirmatory Factor Analysis was not carried out. Moreover, the generalizability of the findings in this study is also subject to certain limitations, which include sampling, self-reported data, the use of an online questionnaire, and the timeline of the study.

6.5.1 Sampling

Although the questionnaire was distributed via multiple social media outlets to get a diverse population, the majority of data came from the use of snowball sampling. The choices and perceptions discussed relate specifically to the experiences of highly educated multilinguals

with proficiency in English and other languages. Thus, results obtained from analyzing the data pertain to those with similar status and the significant effects of socio-demographic variables may not emerge across a wider socio-demographic spectrum.

The first limitation was related to the gender distribution of participants. Of the sample, 25% of participants were male and 75% were female, a typical distribution in this type of research (cf. Dewaele, 2018; Wilson & Dewaele, 2010). It might be assumed that if there were more male participants, results may have slightly differed. The second limitation was with regard to education level. A large number of multilingual speakers who participated in this study are highly educated or may hold relatively greater social and economic capital. This may mean that the majority of participants were less likely to feel their multilingualism is unwanted. Responses may have differed had participants been less educated or did not hold the same capital. A third limitation is the uneven distribution of participants from different heritage language backgrounds. This is due to larger sample size of Western European participants ($n = 214$) and Other migrants ($n = 220$) in comparison to Eastern European participants ($n = 73$). Ideally, we would have preferred larger groups of non-Europeans.

An additional limitation of heritage language background was related to individuals who had more than one heritage language. Although the majority of multilinguals who spoke more than one heritage language spoke languages from the same heritage language background grouping, a small number of participants had heritage languages from different groupings. In order to classify them, categorization was based on statements made in the open-ended question or based on the language listings multilinguals wrote under most frequently used languages. As previously discussed in Chapter 3 (Methodology), broad categorizations were needed to allow some degree of generalization, but a more fine-grained analysis on a larger sample could throw a different light on the research questions. The final limitation was linked to the location. Since the study was conducted online, it was not possible to control for location of participants. The majority of participants came from London. The findings may have been different with participants living in less culturally diverse areas outside of major urban areas.

6.5.2 Self-reported data and online questionnaires

The methodological choices were constrained by the use of questionnaires. Typically, self-reporting surveys have their own limitations. Such limitations sometimes may arise from

some participants lacking full awareness of their attitudes (Dewaele, 2018). Additionally, although questionnaires give multilinguals a level of anonymity, they may nevertheless report responses they believe to be socially pleasing or desirable to the researcher. Another limitation of the use of questionnaires is that a researcher cannot prevent participants from leaving statements unanswered or ensure there are no distractions at the time of responding to the survey.

6.5.3 Timeline

A final limitation of this study is that it was not longitudinal, and therefore could not measure change in language perception and attitudes prior to and after the referendum except by self-reported self-analysis in retrospect. Furthermore, the results may have been slightly different if the data had been collected right after the referendum, a period in which there were several hate incidents against minority groups. Additional reluctance to use heritage languages may be witnessed after the Brexit deal is completed, which may cause further shifts in people's language attitudes and choices.

6.6 Future Research

This study has addressed the question of the language choices of multilinguals and their attitudes towards using their heritage/ home languages in public places in the context of the UK that includes the socio-economic outcomes of the Brexit referendum. Within this context, many more questions may arise that beg further investigation. The results obtained in this study open the door for many more future studies.

First of all, further research might explore the predictive effects of factors such as occupation, personality, migration trajectory, and social network on multilinguals' language choices and attitudes towards their heritage language. Second, further work should investigate the impact Brexit will bring to multilingual home practices and heritage language maintenance. Third, the majority of multilinguals participating in this study were residents of London and highly educated. It would be interesting to also examine how multilinguals feel about their language choices following the referendum in areas that are less ethnically and linguistically diverse and among those who do not benefit from the same educational capital as those in the current study. Fourth, future research should consider distributing a questionnaire in multiple languages, so that data is collected from participants with varying levels of English language proficiency. Fifth, based on the findings in this study, further

research should be conducted after Brexit, especially if a new wave of hostility and intolerance to diversity arises. Future research could also consider exploring difference between heritage language backgrounds in their bicultural identity orientations. Finally and critically, in order to effectively document changes in multilinguals' perceptions of their heritage language over time, a longitudinal study is recommended.

With the need to negotiate new bilateral and multilateral trade agreements with former EU states and their allies, multilingualism is needed and encouraged, especially in less commonly taught non-European languages. The UK will have a great need to fill its language gap, a matter that was neglected in the past (Kelly, 2018a). This is of utmost importance when the UK leaves the European single market and has to negotiate its own world deals outside the EU once Brexit is complete. Further research into how the UK can and must cultivate its linguistic capital is rather more important than its constant push for a monolingual ideology. In particular, foreign language skills will be critical with regards to foreign banking, international business headquarters, foreign medical tourism, and managing its business and world trade deals outside the European Union. This requires regulations to protect and promote linguistic diversity and minority languages, especially those that are low in the pecking order and generally subject to social inequalities, and whose members may need to muster the courage to request equality.

6.7 Summary

This chapter has discussed the findings of the current study in relation to the research questions set out to be answered. The findings have also been considered in relation to relevant work and literature. The chapter also presented the recognized limitations of the study and made recommendations for future research.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

This final chapter contains four sections. The first section presents a final overview of the aims of this study, its rationale, and methodological approach. The second section provides a summary of its key findings. The third section discusses implications and contributions made by the study towards the attitudes and experiences of multilingual individuals towards language choice in common places. The last section presents some concluding remarks.

7.2 A Final Overview

This study set out to investigate self-reported language choices of predominately highly educated, multilingual speakers in public spaces in the socio-political context of the UK, including the country's decision to leave the European Union in June 2016. The rationale for conducting this study was to examine to what extent (if any) the tensions in political climate and hostility towards migrants in the wake of the Brexit referendum had an impact on various multilinguals' language choices in public domains. The study aimed to examine links between multilinguals' language choices, perceptions and attitudes, level of involvement, and bicultural identity orientations. It also aimed to explore what factors participants consider when choosing to use their heritage language in public spaces.

The study was carried out online in 2018. A sequential explanatory mixed-methods design was used to collect data. In the first phase of data collection, data was obtained from 507 multilinguals through the utilization of a questionnaire. All multilinguals spoke a language that was considered foreign to the UK and were residing in the country at the time of data collection. The survey was made up of five closed-ended sections, namely socio-demographic information, an adapted version of the bicultural identity orientation scale, an adapted version of the Stephenson scale of acculturation to measure involvement in host and ethnic cultures, an attitude scale, and nine scenarios about language choice in public. The final part of the survey contained an open-ended question related to language choice in public in the post-referendum context. After examining Q-Q plots to determine that the data was normally distributed, the data was analyzed using three statistical test methods such as one-way ANOVAs, Pearson correlations, and multiple regression analyses. Qualitative data collected from participants' responses to an open-ended question on the survey were

analyzed using thematic analysis. Next, the analysis of the quantitative data was followed by a second phase of data collection using semi-structured interviews. Eight multilinguals who had taken part in the survey participated in the interviews that were conducted via Skype or WhatsApp. The purpose of collecting qualitative data in addition to closed-ended questions and statements was to help explain and justify the quantitative results through inquiry into participants' firsthand or secondhand experiences (Creswell, 2015).

7.3 Summary of Key Findings

This study set out to examine several relationships between variables and language choice in public spaces, as well as multilingual perceptions. Some of the hypotheses the study explored were confirmed, whereas other hypotheses were not. Additionally, the study made use of qualitative data to help interpret the quantitative results of the questionnaire, in order to gain insight into multilinguals' experiences with heritage language choice and to identify patterns in their perception of their heritage language. The following is a summary of the findings from both the quantitative and qualitative data.

One of the important findings to emerge from this study is that the aftermath of the Brexit referendum resulted in 43% of participants perceiving a drop in tolerance to linguistic diversity in society. Close to a quarter of the respondents said they dealt with intolerance by making deliberate choices about their language use in public spaces. Five themes emerged in the comments made by multilinguals about their language choices in the post-referendum context. The most common theme was awareness of the social setting. The more ethnically and linguistically diverse the location multilinguals felt they were in, the more likely it was that they were comfortable to use their heritage language. Multilinguals also reported that the status of their heritage language impacts their choices. Moreover, multilinguals indicated that they were less likely to use their heritage language in situations where they were in the presence of children out of a fear of possible harassment in front of children. Social identity was another theme, with some multilinguals trying to present their belonging through appearance or amelioration of pronunciation to sound more British. The final emerging theme related to language choice in public in the post-referendum context was the use of the heritage language as a resistance strategy to stand up to the popular vote.

The study also indicated that the strongest correlation existed between attitudes towards the use of heritage language in public in the post-referendum context and multilinguals' perceptions of their heritage language. Individuals with more a positive

perception of their heritage language were less likely to be reluctant to use that language in the post-referendum context. The second strongest link was multilinguals' perceptions of British tolerance of other languages. Relationships also existed between attitudes towards the use of heritage language in public spaces and conflicted bicultural identity, monocultural identity, and alternating bicultural identity orientations. Although participants commented that languages affiliated with Eastern European or other migrants were more likely to be avoided in public in the post-referendum context, no significant differences were found between heritage language background with respect to attitudes towards the use of heritage language in public spaces in the post-referendum context.

Eight factors were found to predict perception of heritage language, with importance of heritage language to self being the strongest predictor. The data showed that monocultural orientation, conflicted identity orientations, and importance of identifying with mainstream culture were negative predictors of perception of heritage language. The analysis also indicated that the importance of heritage language to self, perception of British tolerance, perceived benefits of speaking a heritage language, age and host culture involvement were positive predictors of multilinguals' perceptions of their heritage language. Furthermore, perception of heritage language was linked to more use of that language in public spaces. Perception of heritage language also correlated with a higher degree of involvement in the host culture and more of a feeling that a multilingual's two (or more) cultures complement one another. Lower scores on perception of heritage language correlated with high levels of monocultural attitudes, feelings that the two cultures were conflicted, and feelings that multilinguals needed to alternate between cultures.

This study has also found, generally speaking, that some multilinguals of different heritage language backgrounds differ in their perceptions of their heritage language. Western Europeans reported higher average scores than the other two groups in their positive perceptions of their heritage language. Significant differences with medium effect size were found between Western Europeans, on one hand, and Eastern Europeans and the other migrant group, on the other.

In addition, socio-demographic factors made a difference on language choice in public. Heritage language background had predictive effects on multilinguals' language choices. Western Europeans were the most likely to choose to use their heritage language in public spaces. Speakers of the Other migrant languages group were the least to report

heritage language use in public. Significant differences with medium effect size were found between Western Europeans and the other migrant group. A strong negative correlation was found between degree of identification with the dominant British culture and use of heritage language in public. Multilinguals who identified strongly with British culture were more likely to use English. Moreover, level of education had some predictive effect. Those holding a PhD differed significantly from the undergraduate group, with the PhD group reporting higher choice of their heritage language in public. Surprisingly, there was no significant correlation between degree of identification with heritage culture and heritage language use in public spaces.

In the semi-structured interviews, a variety of perspectives were expressed concerning multilinguals' heritage language in general and in the context of the Brexit referendum in particular. The interviews revealed that there is a common awareness among multilinguals of a socially constructed language hierarchy. Participants also reported that an affiliation with one or another may result in a difference in experience. Consequently, some interviewees used language as a means to negotiate their social identity. A common view amongst interviewees was that awareness of social setting and spatial awareness of linguistic diversity influenced multilinguals' language choices even prior to the referendum. Generally, factors such as nature of interlocutors, political climate, alienation avoidance, and elimination of presumed identity were also reported to influence language choices.

7.4 Contributions and Implications of the Study

This thesis provides insight into the social inequalities that some multilinguals may endure and experience as a result of linguistic hierarchization and negative attitudes towards certain groups and their languages. This work contributes to the body of literature on elite multilingualism, which portrays multilinguals as either prestige multilinguals (highly educated speakers of two or more internationally useful, high status languages) or so-called plebian multilinguals (users of regional or minority languages that are mainly multi-ethnic and often less educated) (Jasper, 2009, cited in Barakos & Selleck, 2019). As Thurlow and Jaworski (2017) note, elite can be viewed as "something people do" (p. 244) to claim their status and power, and thereby broaden social inequalities. However, the present study highlights the capacity of predominately highly educated multilinguals, especially those who speak less valued languages, to utilize their language repertoires to demonstrate their social capital and dispel assumptions made about them by English L1 speakers. It also illustrates

how educated multilinguals respond to and manage micro-aggressions against their language practices in tense socio-political contexts.

Additionally, this study contributes to the existing relevant literature by shedding new light on language and acculturation of migrant groups. To the best of the researcher's knowledge, links between acculturation orientation and language choice have only previously been examined using the *Interactive Acculturation Model* (Bourhis, 2001) or scales such as the *Vancouver Index of Acculturation* (Ryder, 2000). This study provides a new and different insight into language choice and acculturation by utilization of an adapted version of the *Bicultural Identity Orientation Scale* (BIOS) developed by Comănaru et al. (2018). This assessment tool recognizes that multilinguals from the same ethnic/cultural background may assess the relationship between their cultures in a variety of ways, which may converge or diverge in their identity orientations. It recognizes how this relationship may impact a multilingual's language choice and attitudes by considering how individuals perceive the relation between their two cultures in their bicultural identity orientation rather than by examining dissonance of the cultural group.

Moreover, the present study has substantiated the point made by Pavlenko (2003) that socio-political events can contribute to sudden shifts in individuals' attitudes towards established languages. It has also added to the literature on how Brexit may impact linguistic diversity at the individual/ micro level by making some people more reluctant to use their heritage/ home language in public. The findings outlined in this study give strong support to Pavlenko and Blackledge's (2004) argument that ongoing political events can change how individuals reflect on their language(s) and their associations by favoring one over the other.

In addition, the findings of this investigation give further support to the observations that Mehmedbegović et al. (2015) discussed prior to the referendum. These observations may also extend to other parts of the country where participants may have also experienced a difference in treatment due to differences in language status. The study also provides further evidence that multilinguals' perceptions of the dominant society's attitudes can influence the attitudes of individuals to different extents. The factor of perception of British tolerance of others gives further support for Landry et al.'s (2007) argument that individuals' attitudes may be related to the receiving society's views of them.

Despite the limitations outlined in Chapter 6, the results provide new insights into the language attitudes and choices of multilinguals from various heritage language backgrounds.

In light of these results, we argue that even if this study's participants were able to find ways to assert their belonging, there are individuals who do not benefit from the same educational and economic capital as our participants that may be under more pressure to attenuate their differences. Therefore, more support for immigrant and community languages and their learning is needed, especially if the UK is to cultivate its full range of linguistic resources and negotiate its own deals outside of the European Union. The findings of this study should be given serious consideration because of the implications of Brexit and the tense political and economic situation.

7.5 Concluding Remarks

The primary aim of this research has been to add to the literature on the impact of Brexit on linguistic diversity and to examine linguistic injustices in the UK. In the process of conducting this research, certain attitudes towards languages were unveiled that may have already been present before the referendum. Taking into account that not all foreign languages hold the same social status, these pre-existing attitudes may be connected to multilinguals' language choices in public and perceptions towards their heritage language. For the majority of this study's participants, being highly educated benefits them. It gives them an option to minimize prejudices they may encounter.

Moreover, although Brexit might be seen as bringing new challenges for multilingualism and multiculturalism, it might have merely brought to the fore attitudes that had been simmering in the background for certain groups of migrants. Multilinguals who speak a heritage language often associated with less prestige and who are often stigmatized may feel they are more under pressure to assert their belonging in the mainstream culture to avoid linguistic discrimination than multilinguals of more established groups whose heritage languages hold higher status.

Given the current sociopolitical situation, a possible shift in choice to not use the heritage language may lead to a decline in the use of languages other than English as a whole, paralleling a push that the UK government has been making in its monolingual discourse with an English-only speaking model. This ideology is exemplified first in the Dame Louise Casey report (Casey, 2016), followed by the *Integrated communities' strategy green paper* and, most recently, in Prime Minister Johnson's call on everyone to speak English (Halliday & Brooks, 2019). This is worrisome, especially for migrants with a lower socioeconomic status and capital and at a time when the Brexit process is already a

destabilizing force in the country. In short, the importance and need for research, such as is presented here, is likely to continue to grow.

References

- Anderson, B., & Blinder, S. (2019). Who counts as a migrant? Definitions and their consequences. Briefing, The Migration Observatory at the University of Oxford. Retrieved July 2019 from <https://migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/Briefing-Who-Counts-as-a-Migrant-Definitions-and-their-Consequences.pdf>
- Abercrombie, A. (2017). *Brexit: A risk assessment for language provision in Manchester*. Manchester, England: Multilingual Manchester, University of Manchester.
- Baker, C. (1992). *Attitudes and language*. Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.
- Barakos, E., & Selleck, C. (2019). Elite multilingualism: discourses, practices, and debates. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 40(5), 361-374.
- Benet-Martínez, V., & Haritatos, J. (2005). Bicultural identity integration (BII): Components and psychosocial antecedents. *Journal of personality*, 73(4), 1015-1050.
- Benson, M., & Lewis, C. (2019). Brexit, British people of colour in the EU-27 and everyday racism in Britain and Europe. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 42 (13), 2211-2228.
- Berry, J. W. (1991). Understanding and managing multiculturalism: Some possible implications of research in Canada. *Psychology and Developing Societies*, 3(1), 17-49.
- Berry, J. W. (1997). Immigration, acculturation, and adaptation. *Applied psychology*, 46(1), 5-34.
- Berry, J.W. (2005). Acculturation: Living successfully in two cultures. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 29, 697-712.
- Berry, J.W., & Sam, D.L. (2016). Theoretical perspectives. In D.L. Sam & J.W. Berry (Eds.). *Cambridge handbook of acculturation psychology* (2nd ed., pp. 11-29). Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Bichani, S. (2015). A Study of Language Use, Language Attitudes and Identities in Two Arabic Speaking Communities in the UK. (Doctoral dissertation). University of Sheffield, Sheffield, UK.
- Bhatia, T. K. (2018). Accent, intelligibility, mental health, and trauma. *World Englishes*, 37(3), 421-431.
- Blackledge, A. (2001). The wrong sort of capital? Bangladeshi women and their children's schooling in Birmingham, UK. *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 5(3), 345-369.

- Blackledge, A. (2004). Construction of identity in political discourse in multilingual Britain. In A. Pavlenko & A. Blackledge (Eds.), *Negotiating of identity in multilingual contexts* (pp. 68-92). Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.
- Blackledge, A. (2009). "As a country we do expect": The further extension of language testing regimes in the United Kingdom. *Language Assessment Quarterly*, 6(1), 6-16.
- Blackledge, A., & Pavlenko, A. (2001). Negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts. *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 5(3), 243-257.
- Block, D. (2006). *Multilingual identities in a global city: London stories*. London, England: Palgrave.
- Bourdieu, P. (1977). The economics of linguistic exchanges. *Information (International Social Science Council)*, 16(6), 645-668.
- Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and symbolic power* (G. Raymond & M. Adamson, Trans.). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (2011). The forms of capital. In I. Szeman & T. Kaposy (Eds.), *Cultural theory: An anthology* (pp. 81-93). Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell. (Original work published 1986).
- Bourhis, Richard Y. (2001). Acculturation, language maintenance, and language shift. In J. Klatter-Folmer & P. Van Avermaet (Eds.), *Theories on maintenance and loss of minority language* (pp. 5-37). Münster, Germany; New York, NY: Waxmann.
- Bourhis, R. Y. (2017). Interactive theory of acculturation. *The International Encyclopedia of Intercultural Communication*, 1-9. Oxford University Press.
- Bourhis, R. Y., Moïse, L. C., Perreault, S., & Senécal, S. (1997). Towards an interactive acculturation model: A social psychological approach. *International Journal of Psychology*, 32, 369-386.
- Bourhis, R. Y., Montaruli, E., El-Geledi, S., Harvey, S.-P., & Barrette, G. (2010). Acculturation in multiple host community settings. *Journal of Social Issues*, 66(4), 780-802.
- Bourhis, R.Y., Sioufi, R., & Sachdev, I. (2012). Ethnolinguistic interaction and multilingual communication. In: H. Giles (Ed.), *The Handbook of intergroup communication* (pp. 100-115). New York, NY: Routledge/Taylor & Francis.

- Bradley, D. (2019). Resilience for minority languages. In G. Hogan-Brun & B. O'Rourke (Eds.), *The Palgrave handbook of minority languages and communities* (pp. 509-530). London, England: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3, 77-101.
- British Academy. (2013). *Multilingual Britain*. London: British Academy. Retrieved from <https://www.cumberlandlodge.ac.uk/sites/default/files/Multilingual%20Britain%20Report.pdf>
- Brown, I., & Sachdev, I. (2009). Bilingual behavior, attitudes, identity and vitality: Some data from Japanese speakers in London, UK. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 30(4), 327-343.
- Brown, R., Zagefka, H., & Tip, L.K. (2016). Acculturation in the United Kingdom. In D.L. Sam & J.W. Berry (Eds.), *Cambridge handbook of acculturation psychology* (2nd ed., pp. 375-395). Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Butorac, D. (2014). Like the fish not in water. *Australian Review of Applied Linguistics*, 37(3), 234-248.
- Cameron, D. (2013). The one, the many, and the Other: Representing multi-and monolingualism in post-9/11 verbal hygiene. *Critical Multilingualism Studies*, 1(2), 59-77.
- Cargile, A., Giles, H., & Clement, R. (1995). Language, conflict, and ethnolinguistic identity theory. *Research in human social conflict*, 1, 189-208.
- Carson, L., & King, L. (2016). Introduction: Multilingualism is lived here. In L. King & L. Carson (Eds.), *The multilingual city: vitality, conflict and change* (pp. 1-15). Bristol, England: Multilingual Matters.
- Casey, L. (2016). The Casey Review: A review into opportunity and integration. Retrieved October, 2019 from <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/the-casey-review-a-review-into-opportunity-and-integration>
- Celenk, O., & Van de Vijver, F. J. (2011). Assessment of acculturation: Issues and overview of measures. *Online Readings in Psychology and Culture*, 8(1).
- Chen, H., & Cao, C. (2013). Matched-guise experiment and its application to measure Uyghur Trilinguals' language attitudes. In P. Li (Ed.), *Proceedings of the 2013 Conference on Education Technology and Management Science (ICETMS 2013)*. Atlantis Press.

- Cheung, B. Y., Chudek, M., & Heine, S. J. (2011). Evidence for a sensitive period for acculturation: Younger immigrants report acculturating at a faster rate. *Psychological Science*, 22(2), 147-152.
- Clément, R., & Noels, K. A. (1992). Towards a situated approach to ethnolinguistic identity: The effects of status on individuals and groups. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 11(4), 203-232.
- Cohen, J. (1988). Statistical power analysis for the behavioral sciences (2nd ed.). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Comănaru, R., Noels, K., & Dewaele, J. (2018). Bicultural identity orientation of immigrants to Canada. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 39(6), 526-541.
- Creswell, J. W. (2009). *Research design: qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*. Los Angeles, CA: Sage.
- Creswell, J. W. (2012). *Education research; planning, conducting, evaluating, quantitative and qualitative research*. (4th ed.). Boston, MA: Pearson.
- Creswell, J. W. (2015). *A concise introduction to mixed methods research*. Los Angeles, CA: Sage Publications Limited.
- Crystal, D. (1997). *A dictionary of linguistics and phonetics*. (4th ed.). Oxford, England: Blackwell.
- de Bres, J. (2015). The hierarchy of minority languages in New Zealand. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 36(7), 677-693.
- Dewaele, J.-M. (2018). Online questionnaires. In A. Phakiti, P. De Costa, L. Plonsky & S. Starfield (Eds.), *The Palgrave handbook of applied linguistics research methodology* (pp. 269-286). Basingstoke, England: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Dewaele, J.-M. (2019). The vital need for ontological, epistemological and methodological diversity in applied linguistics. In C. Wright, L. Harvey & J. Simpson (Eds.), *Voices and practices in applied linguistics: diversifying a discipline* (pp. 71-88). York, England: White Rose University Press.
- Dörnyei, Z. (2003). *Questionnaires in second language research: Construction, administration, and processing*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Dörnyei, Z. (2007). *Research methods in applied linguistics: Quantitative, qualitative, and mixed methodologies*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.

- Dovchin, S. (2019). Language crossing and linguistic racism: Mongolian immigrant women in Australia. *Journal of Multicultural Discourses*, 14(4), 1-18.
- Dovchin, S. (2019). The politics of inequality in translingualism and linguistic discrimination. In T. Barrett & S. Dovchin (Eds.), *Critical inquiries in the studies of sociolinguistics of globalization* (pp. 84–102). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Dow, H. (2011). The acculturation processes: The strategies and factors affecting the degree of acculturation. *Home Health Care Management & Practice*, 23(3), 221-227.
- Eagly, A.H., & Chaiken, S. (1993). *The psychology of attitudes*. Fort Worth, TX: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich College Publishers.
- Ehala, M. (2009). An evaluation matrix for ethno-linguistic vitality. In S. Pertot, T. Priestly, & C. Williams (Eds.), *Rights, promotion and integration issues for minority languages in Europe* (pp. 123-137). Basingstoke, England: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Espinosa, A., Tikhonov, A., Ellman, L., Kern, D., Lui, F., and Anglin, D. (2018). Ethnic identity and perceived stress among ethnically diverse immigrants. *Journal of Immigrant and Minority Health*, 20(1), 155-163.
- Field, A. (2009). *Discovering statistics using SPSS* (3rd ed.). London, England: Sage Publications Limited.
- Field, A. (2013). *Discovering statistics using IBM SPSS statistics and sex and drugs and rock 'n' roll*. London: Sage Publications Limited.
- Fishman, J. A. (2000). Who speaks what language to whom and when? In Wei, L. (Ed.), *The bilingualism reader* (pp. 89-106). London, England; New York, NY: Routledge.
- Garret, P. (2010). *Attitudes to language. (Key topics in sociolinguistics)*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Giles, H., Bourhis, R. Y., & Taylor, D. M. (1977). Towards a theory of language in ethnic group relations. In H. Giles (Ed.), *Language, ethnicity, and intergroup relations* (pp. 307-344). London: Academic Press.
- Giles, H., & Johnson, P. (1987). Ethnolinguistic identity theory: A social psychological approach to language maintenance. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 68, 69-99.
- Gogonas, N., & Michail, D. (2015). Ethnolinguistic vitality, language use and social integration amongst Albanian immigrants in Greece. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 36(2), 198-211.

- Goodman, S. W. (2011). Controlling immigration through language and country knowledge requirements. *West European Politics*, 34(2), 235-255.
- Grosjean, F. (1982). *Life with two languages: An introduction to bilingualism*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Grosjean, F. (2008). *Studying bilinguals*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Grosjean, F. (2010). *Bilingual life and reality*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Halliday, J. & Brooks, L. (2019, July 5). Johnson pledges to make all immigrants learn English. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2019/jul/05/johnson-pledges-to-make-all-immigrants-learn-english>
- Hansen, J. G., & Liu, J. (1997). Social identity and language: Theoretical and methodological issues. *TESOL Quarterly*, 31(3), 567-576.
- HM Government (2018). Integrated Communities Strategy Green Paper. Retrieved May 2018 from https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/696993/Integrated_Communities_Strategy.pdf.
- Hogan-Brun, G. (2018). This post-Brexit linguanomics. In M. Kelly (Ed.), *Languages after Brexit* (pp. 49-59). Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hogan-Brun, G. & O'Rourke, B. (2019). Introduction: minority languages and communities in a changing world. In G. Hogan-Brun & B. O'Rourke (Eds.), *The Palgrave handbook of minority languages and communities* (pp. 1-18). London, England: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Holmes, B. (2018). Speaking to a global future: the increasing value of language and culture to British business post-Brexit. In Michael Kelly (Ed.), *Languages after Brexit* (pp. 61-74). Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Holmes, P., Fay, R., Andrews, J., & Attia, M. (2013). Researching multilingually: New theoretical and methodological directions. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 23(3), 285-299.
- Jasinskaja-Lahti, I., Liebkind, K., & Solheim, E. (2009). To identify or not to identify? National disidentification as an alternative research to perceived ethnic discrimination. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 58(1), 105-128.

- Jasinskaja-Lahti, I., Mähönen, T. A. & Ketokivi, M. (2012). The dynamics of ethnic discrimination, identities and outgroup attitudes: A pre–post longitudinal study of ethnic migrants. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 42(7), 904–914.
- Julios, C. (2008). *Contemporary British identity: English language, migrants and public discourse*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing.
- Karan, M. E. (2000). Motivations: Language vitality assessments using the perceived benefit model of language shift. In G. Kindell & M. Paul Lewis (Eds.), *Assessing ethnolinguistic vitality: Theory and practice, selected papers from the Third International Language Assessment Conference* (pp. 65-77). Dallas, TX: SIL International.
- Karan, M. E. (2008). The importance of motivations in language revitalization. The 2nd International Conference on Language Development, Language Revitalization, and Multilingual Education in Ethnolinguistic Communities. Bangkok. July 1-3.
Retrieved from
<http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download;jsessionid=0A161AB9F9BF1EFB8BC1B677E604CADB?doi=10.1.1.550.7060&rep=rep1&type=pdf>
- Karan, M. E. (2011). Understanding and forecasting ethnolinguistic vitality. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 32(2), 137–149.
- Kelly, M. (2018a). *Languages after Brexit*. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kelly, M. (2018b). Why are many people resistant to other languages? In M. Kelly (Ed.), *Languages after Brexit* (pp. 13-24). Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan.
- King, L. & Carson, L. (2016). *The multilingual city: vitality, conflict and change*. Bristol, England: Multilingual Matters.
- Krumm, H. J. (2012). Multilingualism, heterogeneity and the monolingual policies of the linguistic integration of migrants. In M. Messer, R. Schroeder, & R. Wodak (Eds.), *Migrations: interdisciplinary perspectives* (pp. 43-54). Vienna, Austria: Springer.
- Landry, R., Allard, R., & Deveau, K. (2007). A macroscopic intergroup approach to the study of ethnolinguistic development. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 185, 225-253.
- Lane, K. A., Banaji, M. R., Nosek, B. A., & Greenwald, A. G. (2007). Understanding and using the implicit association test: IV: What we know (so far) about the method. In

- B. Wittenbrink & N. Schwarz (Eds.), *Implicit Measures of Attitudes: Procedures and controversies*, (pp. 59-102). The Guilford Press.
- Lanvers, U. (2011). Language education policy in England. Is English the elephant in the room? *Apples-Journal of Applied Language Studies*, 5(3), 63-78.
- Lanvers, U., Doughty, H., & Thompson, A. S. (2018). Brexit as linguistic symptom of Britain retreating into its shell? Brexit-induced politicization of language learning. *The Modern Language Journal*, 102(4), 775-796.
- Le Page, R., & Tabouret-Keller, A. (1985). *Acts of identity: Creole-based approaches to language and ethnicity*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Liebkind, K., Mähönen, T.A., Varjonen, S., & Jasinskaja-Lahti, J. (2016). Acculturation and identity. In D.L. Sam & J.W. Berry (Eds.). *Cambridge handbook of acculturation psychology* (2nd ed., pp. 30-49). Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Luo, S. H., & Wiseman, R. L. (2000). Ethnic language maintenance among Chinese immigrant children in the United States. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 24, 307-324.
- Mac Giolla Chríost, D., & Bonotti, M. (2018). *Brexit, language policy and linguistic diversity*. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Pivot.
- Maguire, M., & Delahunt, B. (2017). Doing a thematic analysis: A practical, step-by-step guide for learning and teaching scholars. *AISHE-J: The All Ireland Journal of Teaching and Learning in Higher Education*, 9(3), 3351- 33514.
- Mähönen, T. A., Jasinskaja-Lahti, I., & Liebkind, K. (2011). Cultural discordance and the polarization of identities. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 14(4), 505-515.
- Mackey, A & Bryfonski, L. (2018). Mixed methodology. In A. Phakiti, P. DeCosta, L. Plonsky, & S. Starfield (Eds.). *The Palgrave handbook of applied linguistics research methodology* (pp. 103-121). London, England: Palgrave Macmillan UK.
- McDonagh, L. (2011). Linguistic diversity in the UK and Ireland- Does the meaning of equality get lost translation? In G. Healy, G. Kirton, & M. Noon (Eds.). *Equality, inequalities and diversity contemporary: challenges and strategies. Management, Work and Organizations* (pp. 37-55). London, England: Palgrave Macmillan UK.
- McEntee-Atalianis, L.J. (2019). *Identity in applied linguistics research*. London, England: Bloomsbury Academic.

- McNamara, T. (2009). Language tests and social policy. In G. Hogan-Brun, C. Mar-Molinero, & P. Stevenson (Eds.), *Discourses on language and integration: Critical perspectives on language testing regimes in Europe* (pp. 153-164). Amsterdam, The Netherlands; Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins.
- Mehmedbegović, D., Skrandies, P., Byrne, N., & Harding-Esch, P. (2015). *Multilingualism in London*. London, England: LSE Academic Publishing.
- Mehmedbegović, D., & Bak, T. H. (2017). Towards an interdisciplinary lifetime approach to multilingualism: From implicit assumptions to current evidence. *European Journal of Language Policy*, 9(2), 149-167.
- Montreuil, A & Bourhis, R. (2004). Acculturation orientations of competing host communities toward valued and devalued immigrants. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 28(6), 507-532.
- Mucherah, W. (2008). Immigrants' perceptions of their native language: Challenges to actual use and maintenance. *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education*, 7(3-4), 188-205.
- Musolff, A. (2019). Hostility towards immigrants' languages in Britain: a backlash against 'super-diversity'? *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 40(3), 257-266.
- Ndhlovu, F. (2010). Belonging and attitudes towards ethnic languages among African migrants in Australia. *Australian Journal of Linguistics*, 30(3), 299-321.
- Noels, K.A, Kil, H., & Fang, Y. (2014). Ethnolinguistic orientation and language variation: Measuring and archiving ethnolinguistic vitality, attitudes, and identity. *Language and Linguistics Compass*, 8(11), 618-628.
- Noels, K. A., Leavitt, P. A., & Clément, R. (2010). "To see ourselves as others see us": On the implications of reflected appraisals for ethnic identity and discrimination. *Journal of Social Issues*, 66(4), 740-758.
- Norton, B. (2010). Language and identity. In N. Hornberger & S. McKay (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics and Language Education*, (pp. 349-369).
- Norton, M.K. (2018). A language-rich future for the UK. In M. Kelly (Ed.), *Languages after Brexit* (pp. 35-45). Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Ortega, L. (2019). SLA and the study of equitable multilingualism. *The Modern Language Journal*, 103, 23-38.

- Pavlenko, A. (2003). Language of the enemy: Foreign Language Education and National Identity. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 6(5), 313-331.
- Pavlenko, A. & Blackledge, A. (2004). Introduction: New theoretical approaches to the study of negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts. In A. Pavlenko & A. Blackledge (Eds.), *Negotiating of identity in multilingual contexts* (pp. 1-33). Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.
- Phakiti, A. (2018). Exploratory factory analysis. In A. Phakiti, P. DeCosta, L. Plonsky, & S. Starfield (Eds.). *The Palgrave handbook of applied linguistics research methodology* (pp. 423-457). London, England: Palgrave Macmillan UK.
- Pickens, J. (2005). Attitudes and perceptions. *Organizational behavior in health care*, 4(7) 43-75.
- Piller, I. (2012). Multilingualism and social exclusion. In M. Martin-Jones, A. Blackledge, & A. Creese. *The Routledge handbook of multilingualism* (pp. 281-296). London, England; New York, NY: Routledge.
- Piller, I. (2016). *Linguistic diversity and social justice*. Oxford, England; New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Pisarenko, O. (2006). The acculturation modes of Russian speaking adolescents in Latvia: Perceived discrimination and knowledge of the Latvian language. *Europe-Asia Studies*, 58(5), 751-773.
- Priven, D. (2008). Grievability of first language loss: Towards a reconceptualisation of European minority language education practices. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 11(1), 95-106.
- Rienzo, C., & Vargas-Silva, C. (2019). Migrants in the UK: An overview. Migration Observatory briefing, COMPAS, University of Oxford. Retrieved October 2019 from <https://migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/resources/briefings/migrants-in-the-uk-an-overview/>
- Romaine, S. (1995). *Bilingualism* (2nd ed.). Oxford, England: Blackwell Publishers, Ltd.
- Rosowsky, A. (2008). Muslim, English, or Pakistani? Multilingual identities in minority ethno-religious communities. In P. Martinez, D. Moore, & V. Spaëth (Eds.), *Plurilinguismes et enseignement* (pp. 127-137). Paris, France: Riveneuve.

- Rosseel, L., & Grondelaers, S. (2018). Implicitness and experimental methods in language variation research. *Linguistics Vanguard*, 5(s1).
- Ruzza, C. (2000). Language and nationalism in Italy: language as a weak marker of identity. In S. Barbour & C. Carmichael. (Eds.) *Language and nationalism in Europe* (pp. 168-182). Oxford, England; New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Ryder, A. G., Alden, L. E., & Paulhus, D. L. (2000). Is acculturation unidimensional or bidimensional? A head-to-head comparison in the prediction of personality, self-identity, and adjustment. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 79(1), 49-65.
- Rzepnikowska, A. (2018). Racism and xenophobia experienced by Polish migrants in the UK before and after Brexit vote. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 45(1), 61-77.
- Sachdev, I., & Bourhis, R.Y. (1990) Language and social identification. In D. Abrams & M. Hogg (Eds.) *Social identity theory: Constructive and critical advances* (pp. 33-51). Hemel Hampstead, UK: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Sachdev, I., & Cartwright, S. (2016). The vitality of urban multilingualism. In L. King & L. Carson (Eds.), *The multilingual city: vitality, conflict and change* (pp.17-48). Bristol, England: Multilingual Matters.
- Sadanand, K. (1993). Assessing attitudes to English and language use. *Indian Journal of Applied Linguistics*, XIX(1), 123-139.
- Santello, M. (2015). Bilingual idiosyncratic dimensions of language attitudes. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 18(1), 1-25.
- Sawilowsky, S.S. (2009). New effect size rules of thumb. *Journal of Modern Applied Statistical Methods*, 8(2), 597-599.
- Shohamy, E. & McNamara, T. (2009). Language tests for citizenship, immigration, and asylum. *Language Assessment Quarterly*, 6(1), 1-5.
- Shohamy E. (2017) Critical language testing. In E. Shohamy, I. Or, & S. May (Eds.), *Language testing and assessment. Encyclopedia of language and education* (3rd ed., pp. 441-454). Cham, Switzerland: Springer.
- Skrandies, P. (2016). Language policies and the politics of urban multilingualism. In L. King & L. Carson (Eds.), *The multilingual city: vitality, conflict and change*, 118-152. Bristol, England: Multilingual Matters.

- Skutnabb-Kangas, T. (1988). Multilingualism and the education of minority children. In T. Skutnabb-Kangas & J. Cummins (Eds.), *Minority education: From shame to struggle* (pp. 9-44). Avon, England: Multilingual Matters.
- Skutnabb-Kangas, T. (2015). Linguicism. In *The Encyclopedia of applied linguistics* (pp. 1-6). Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Skutnabb-Kangas, T. & Phillipson, R. (1995). Linguistic human rights, past and present. In T. Skutnabb-Kangas, R. Phillipson, & M. Rannut (Eds.). *Linguistic human rights: Overcoming linguistic discrimination* (pp. 71-110). Berlin, New York: Mouton DeGruyter.
- Stephenson, M. (2000). Development and validation of the Stephenson multigroup acculturation scale (SMAS). *Psychological Assessment*, 12, 77-88.
- Stoicheva, M. (2016). Urban multilingualism: Bond or barrier? In L. King & L. Carson (Eds.). *The multilingual city: vitality, conflict and change* (pp. 85-114). Bristol, England: Multilingual Matters.
- Sumption, M. & Vargas-Silva, C. (2019). Net migration to the UK. Migration Observatory briefing, COMPAS, University of Oxford, UK, July 2019
- Tharani, S. (2011). *Immigration, security and the public debate on US language policy: A critical discourse analysis of language attitudes in the United States of America* (Doctoral dissertation). Luleå Tekniska Universitet, Luleå, Sweden.
- Thurlow, C. & Jaworski, A. (2017). Introducing elite discourse: The rhetorics of status, privilege, and power. *Social Semiotics*, 27(3), 243–254.
- Tollefson, J. W. (1991). Language policy, power, and inequality. In J.W. Tollefson (Ed.), *Planning language, planning inequality* (pp. 1-8). London, England: Longman.
- Tsai, J.L., Ying, Y., & Lee, P.A. (2000). The meaning of "being Chinese" and "being American": Variation among Chinese American young adults. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 31(3), 302-322.
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C., (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In W.G. Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 33-47). Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole Publication Company.
- Tajfel, H. and Turner, J.C. (1986) The Social Identity Theory of Intergroup Behavior. In S. Worchel & W.G. Austin (Eds.), *Psychology of Intergroup Relation* (pp. 7-24). Hall Publishers, Chicago.

- UK Office for National Statistics. (2013). *Language in England and Wales: 2011*. Retrieved from
<https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/culturalidentity/language/articles/languageinenglandandwales/2013-03-04>
- UK Office for National Statistics. (2013). *2011 Census: Detailed analysis - English language proficiency in England and Wales, Main language and general health characteristics: August 2013*. Retrieved from
<https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/culturalidentity/language/articles/detailedanalysisenglishlanguageproficiencyinenglandandwales/2013-08-30>
- UK Office for National Statistics. (2015). *International migration: a recent history: January 2015*. Retrieved from
<https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/internationalmigration/articles/internationalmigrationarecenthistory/2015-01-15>
- UK Office for National Statistics. (2019). Migration statistics quarterly report: November 2019. Retrieved from
<https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/internationalmigration/bulletins/migrationstatisticsquarterlyreport/november2019#work-and-study-remain-the-most-common-reasons-to-move-to-the-uk>
- Weber, J.-J. (2015). Language Racism. In *Language and Racism* (pp. 94-112). Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- West, C. (1992). A matter of life and death. *October*, 61, 20–23.
- Wilson, R. & Dewaele, J.-M. (2010). The use of web questionnaires in second language acquisition and bilingualism research. *Second Language Research*, 26(1), 103-123.
- Yağmur, K. (2017). Multilingualism in immigrant communities. In J. Cenoz, D. Gorter, & S. May (Eds.), *Language awareness and multilingualism. Encyclopedia of language and education* (pp. 347-361). Cham, Switzerland: Springer.
- Yağmur, K. & Ehala, M. (2011) Tradition and innovation in the Ethnolinguistic vitality theory, *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 32(2), 101-110.
- Yağmur, K., & Van de Vijver, F. (2012). Acculturation and language orientations of Turkish immigrants in Australia, France, Germany, and the Netherlands. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 43(7), 1110-1130.

Zinovijus, C. (2012). Making sense of their own mobile identities in internally borderless Europe: Europeans, Poles, ‘bread’ migrants, Catholics. *Annales Universitatis Paedagogicae Cracoviensis. Studia Sociologica*, 4(2), 56-71.

Appendices

Appendix 1 – Questionnaire

Questionnaire

I - Demographic Section

1. What is your gender?
2. How old are you?
3. What is your highest level of education, including current degree programs?
4. What is your occupation?
5. What is your religion?
6. What is your ethnic origin?

To what extent do you identify as

Not at all - Slightly - Somewhat - Mainly - Very Strongly

- a. British
- b. Ethnic background (your cultural background)

7. What is your nationality?
8. How long have you been resident in the UK?
9. How old were you when you first arrived?
10. Do you consider the UK your home?
11. Do you plan to stay in the UK in the next 5-10 years?
12. Where do you live in the UK?
13. Would you consider the area you live in to be culturally diverse?
14. Please list the languages you speak. Then, rate on a scale

Beginners ----- Native/ native-like

- First Language A (exposed to since birth)
- First Language B (exposed to in childhood)
- First Language C (exposed to in childhood)
- Foreign Language A (additional language learned later)
- Foreign Language B (additional language learned later)
- Foreign Language C (additional language learned later)

15. Which of the previously mentioned language(s) is/ are your heritage language(s)?
16. Which language(s) do you use most frequently now?

II- Bicultural Orientation Section

Strongly Disagree- Disagree - Neutral - Agree - Strongly Agree

- There is a conflict within myself between the two cultures I belong to.
- Sometimes I am confused about my ethnic identity.
- I feel it is hard to belong to two cultural groups.
- I have difficulty reconciling the differences between my ethnic culture and the British culture.
- If I were born again, I'd choose to be part of only one cultural group.
- I feel one has to make a decision of choosing a particular culture over the other.
- I feel one should be loyal to only one cultural group.
- I feel that I must decide which of my two cultures is more central to my identity.
- My ethnic identity varies depending on whom I am with.
- I often find myself switching between cultures in different situations.
- I adjust my identity depending on whether I am with people from my ethnic group or British.
- I adapt my ethnic identity according to the circumstances.
- My ethnic culture is compatible with the British culture.
- Although they are different, the two cultural groups I identify with go well together.
- My ethnic identity pairs nicely with my British identity.
- My ethnic and British identities are in harmony.
- I feel my identity is a hybrid of two cultures.
- I feel my identity is a mix of two cultures.
- If I were to describe the relationship between the two cultures within myself, I'd depict them as integrated.
- Most of my friends see me as belonging to both my ethnic culture and the British culture.

III- Acculturation Section

Never - Rarely - Occasionally - Frequently - Very Frequently

1. I like to speak my native language.
2. I feel comfortable speaking my native language.
3. I speak my heritage language at home.
4. I speak my heritage language with my friends from my country of origin.
5. I am exposed to my ethnic cultural practices and customs.
6. I am informed about current affairs in my native country.
7. I attend social functions with people from my native country.
8. I think in my heritage language.
9. I stay in close contact with family members and relatives in my native country.
10. I interact with others in ways that is typical of my heritage culture.
11. I attend social functions with (Anglo) British people.
12. I have many (Anglo) British friends and acquaintances.
13. I speak English at home.
14. I am familiar with British cultural practices and customs.
15. I think in English.
16. I feel totally comfortable with (Anglo) British people.
17. I am informed about current affairs in the United Kingdom.
18. I feel comfortable speaking English.
19. I feel at home in the United Kingdom.
20. I feel accepted by (Anglo) British.

21. I interact with others in ways that is typical of British culture.

IV- Language Attitude Section

Strongly Disagree - Disagree - Neutral - Agree - Strongly Agree

1. Since the Brexit vote, I am self-conscious about speaking my heritage language(s) in public spaces.
2. Since the Brexit vote, I worry about being harassed for speaking my heritage language(s) in public spaces.
3. Since the Brexit vote, I feel more socially at ease when I speak English than my heritage languages(s) in public spaces.
4. Since the Brexit vote, my belonging in the society is determined by my language choice of English over my heritage language(s).
5. Since the Brexit vote, I have felt more of a need to be fluent in English than in my heritage language(s).
6. Since the Brexit vote, I avoid speaking my heritage language(s) on the phone while at work because I worry about how others will view me.
7. Since the Brexit vote, I feel there is less tolerance of language diversity.
8. My heritage language(s) connect(s) me to my ethnic heritage.
9. It is important for me to be able to speak my heritage language(s).
10. If I have children, I want them to be proud of speaking their heritage language(s) in the UK.
11. I am proud to identify with my heritage culture.
12. If I have children, it is important for them to be able to speak their heritage language(s) alongside English.
13. I feel happy when I hear others speaking my heritage language(s) in public space.
14. I don't feel my heritage language(s) is/are of value to me.
15. If I have children, I do not want to teach them to speak their heritage language(s) because I want them to feel more British.
16. If I have children, I prefer to speak to them in English so they fit into the community.
17. I feel British people are open to language diversity.
18. I feel British people are accepting of cultural differences.
19. I feel British society values speaking any languages.
20. I feel my ethnic background(s) is/are socially valued in the UK.
21. In UK society, I feel all heritage languages are equally important.
22. People in the UK view you differently depending on the heritage language(s) you speak.
23. Speaking my heritage language(s) in the UK makes me more attractive.
24. Speaking my heritage language(s) gives me positive social face in society.
25. Speaking my heritage language(s) makes me feel more educated than others in the UK.
26. Speaking my heritage language(s) can positively impact my job opportunities in the UK.
27. It's prestigious to speak my heritage language(s) in the UK.
28. Speaking my heritage language(s) limits my integration into society.
29. Speaking my heritage language(s) reflects negatively on how others see me.
30. I feel British culture is more prestigious than my ethnic one(s).
31. In the UK, identifying with my ethnic background disadvantages me.

32. If I have children, I think speaking their heritage language(s) will negatively affect their confidence.
33. There is more privilege in being monolingual English speaking than being able to speak other languages as well.
34. I wish I had (a) different heritage language(s) than the one(s) I speak.
35. If you wish to prosper in British society, you need to appear British.
36. If I have children, I worry that speaking my heritage language(s) to them can socially disadvantage them.
37. Speaking my heritage language(s) can lead to social isolation by English people.
38. I feel speaking English only is more prestigious.
39. Heritage language use should be limited to use at home or in private.
40. Sounding British is not necessary to appear more educated.
41. It is important for me to identify with the mainstream culture.

V- Language Choice

Always English- Mainly English- Equally both English and Heritage- Mainly Heritage Language- Always Heritage Language

1. You are at a coffee house with friends.
2. You are waiting with a parent for your turn at the GP/ doctor's with English conversations around you.
3. You are waiting in line to get through airport security.
4. You are waiting to speak to a representative at a bank.
5. You are talking to your children while boarding a plane.
6. You are on the phone with a relative while at work.
7. You are waiting in line at the grocery cashier and others are looking at you.
8. You are at university with a friend.
9. You are chatting with your sibling on a train/ bus with many people around.

VI- Open-ended question

Did the Brexit vote change how you use your heritage language(s) in public? If yes, how has it changed?

Appendix 2 – Interview Guide

1. How do you decide which language to use in a public space (e.g. café, bank ...etc.)? To what extent do your surroundings play a role in your choice? What role does your appearance play in your language choice in public? Do you think that how you look (or how you dress) influences which language(s) you speak in public?
2. Do you sometimes worry what people will think about you when you use [language] in public? Do you think some languages are viewed negatively? Which ones? How would you feel about using it in public?
3. Have you ever felt that you consciously switched to English while speaking your heritage language (s) in public? If yes, why? What was the situation?
4. Do you think that attitudes towards languages other than English have changed since Brexit vote? How? Do you feel under pressure to speak English in public?

Appendix 3 – Information Sheet and Consent form

Information Sheet

Department of Applied Linguistics and Communication
Birkbeck, University of London
26 Russell Square
London WC1B 5DQ

Title of Study: Multilinguals' Language Choices and Perceptions in the UK in light of the Brexit Referendum

Name of researcher: Heba Arafah

The study is being done as part of my PhD degree in the Department of Applied Linguistics and Communication, Birkbeck, University of London. The study has received ethical approval.

This study explores the experience and perspectives of multilingual speakers in use of their heritage language in public spaces. If you agree to participate, you will agree a convenient time and place for me to interview you for about half an hour. You are free to stop the interview and withdraw at any time.

Your data will be kept anonymous by the researcher and will be stored safely.

The analysis of your participation in this study will be written up in a report of the study for my degree. You will not be identifiable in the write up or any publication which might ensue.

The study is supervised by Prof. Jean-Marc Dewaele (j.dewaele@bbk.ac.uk).

Consent Form

I have been informed about the nature of this study and willingly consent to take part in it.

I understand that the content of the interview will be kept confidential.

I understand that I may withdraw from the study at any time.

I am over 18 years of age.

Name _____

Signed _____

Date _____