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Acquiring English then Reacquiring Indonesian: A Study of Family Language Policy

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Abstract

This study investigates how family language policies are shaped and developed in five Indonesian scholars' families who live in England. More specifically, it analyses parents' attitudes towards children's bilingualism and second language development focusing on the investigation of factors that can influence parental language ideologies and the patterns of language practices within the families. Data were obtained from participant observations, fieldnotes, and semi-structured interviews. All the data were then analysed using inductive analysis approaches proposed by Cohen et al. (2011) and Thomas (2006) which include reading the transcripts several times, identifying the texts related to the purpose of the study, and deciding the categories. The findings reveal that children's ability to acquire a new language becomes the driving force behind parental language ideologies. Additionally, parental experience, children's education, and children's language choice also contribute to the shaping of parental language ideologies. Based on the patterns of family language practices used by participant families, our findings show that the longer they live in England, the less Indonesian they use in their families' interaction. This can happen as the children gradually develop their language proficiency. However, evidence from this inquiry indicates that parents' consistency in giving their children exposure to Indonesian can be the determining factor in the success of children's bilingualism.

Keywords

family language policy, bilingualism, parental language ideologies, language practices, early childhood education

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This study investigates how family language policies are shaped and developed in five Indonesian scholars' families who live in England. More specifically, it analyses parents' attitudes towards children's bilingualism and second language development focusing on the investigation of factors that can influence parental language ideologies and the patterns of language practices within the families. Data were obtained from participant observations, fieldnotes, and semi-structured interviews. All the data were then analysed using inductive analysis approaches proposed by Cohen et al. (2011) and Thomas (2006) which include reading the transcripts several times, identifying the texts related to the purpose of the study, and deciding the categories. The findings reveal that children's ability to acquire a new language becomes the driving force behind parental language ideologies. Additionally, parental experience, children's education, and children's language choice also contribute to the shaping of parental language ideologies. Based on the patterns of family language practices used by participant families, our findings show that the longer they live in England, the less Indonesian they use in their families' interaction. This can happen as the children gradually develop their language proficiency. However, evidence from this inquiry indicates that parents' consistency in giving their children exposure to Indonesian can be the determining factor in the success of children's bilingualism.

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Introduction

We investigated how family language policies (language planning related to the home language used by family members) are shaped and developed in five Indonesian scholars' families in England. We specifically focused on how parents perceive and value bilingualism and how the two languages, Indonesian and English, were incorporated in daily interactions. This study is essential since the children are studying at schools where English is the medium of communication. This means that the children get an opportunity to develop their English in addition to their mother tongue. De Houwer (1999) states that there is a relationship between children's language development and parental beliefs and attitudes. This study thus tries to seek a deep understanding on how parents adjust their language policy regarding children's English development. This study also explores the potential influences which are offered by external forces, such as children's peers, the Indonesian community, and extended families

who live in Indonesia, although parents and children play the crucial roles in shaping the family language policy they use in their homes.

Family is recognised as a domain of language policy since families play a significant role in language loss (Spolsky, 2012). Fishman (1970) in his well-known concept of a three-generation theory postulates that the first generation of immigrant families added knowledge of the new language to their linguistic repertoire, the second generation grew up bilingual, and the third only spoke the dominant language, having little knowledge of the heritage language. To address this issue, Curdt-Christiansen (2018) suggests that the research on family language policy plays an essential role in bridging the gaps between the study of language policy and the research on child language acquisition.

In order to deeply understand how family language policies are created, the three dimensions of language policies are explored; they are language practices, language beliefs or ideologies, and language management (Spolsky, 2004). These three components should be explored altogether because they relate to each other. Spolsky (2004), for example, contends that language beliefs are obtained from and influence language practices. In addition, language beliefs and practices could be fundamental to language management or “a management policy can be intended to confirm or modify them” (Spolsky, 2004, p. 14).

The first component is language practice (what family members do with language). Spolsky (2004, p. 5) defines language practices as “the habitual pattern of selecting among the varieties that make up its linguistic repertoire.” Curdt-Christiansen (2014, p. 38) describes language practices as “the de facto language use” which is used for different purposes and context. This practice could become the reflection of “sociocultural changes in intergenerational interactions” (Schwartz, 2012, p. 178) within families. Language practices not only constitute a part of linguistics, such as sounds, words and grammar, but also include the formality and the appropriacy of the language (Spolsky, 2004). Therefore, this leads to language practice that must be included in the process of understanding and interpreting language policies (Shohamy, 2006).

Second component is language ideology, which is perceived as a set of beliefs which relates to a particular language or possibly any other languages (King, 2000). This also involves the beliefs about language use (Spolsky, 2004) and language structure (Kroskrity, 2010). Language ideology is a crucial component of family language policy as it develops from the shared values and the power of language (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009). Therefore, it can represent economic values and political interests in each society and nation state. In many countries where English is not the official language, for example, English has become a language that plays an important role in political and economic interests which influence international organisations, education, publications and social mobility (Curdt-Christiansen, 2016).

The third component is language management. Language management refers to any specific attempts that aim at modifying or influencing the language practices by any kind of language intervention (Spolsky, 2004). In family language policy, the family is perceived as a domain, and therefore, Spolsky (2009, p. 4) defines language management as “the explicit and observable effort by someone or some group that has or claims authority over the participants in the domain to modify their practices or beliefs.” Spolsky also states language management emerges when a person or group makes a direct intervention such as controlling language circumstances. As part of family language policy, language management is an essential area of investigation as it is the way to discover how a language is disseminated across generations and how a language is maintained or lost (Fishman, 2001). Moreover, Spolsky (2004) argues that efforts to manage the language could be far different from the beliefs, actual practices and values of the use of language in a community.

There have been many studies of family language policies in immigrant families (e.g., Curdt-Christiansen, 2009, 2014; Okita, 2002; Schwartz & Moin, 2012; Tannenbaum, 2012).

These studies focus on parents who have different first languages, and they are immigrant families who come to a different country to live permanently. However, there is insufficient consideration of studying migrant families who move to another country for a particular period of time. For further understanding, it is essential to provide definitions of immigration and migration. The definition of “migration” from *Cambridge Dictionary* is, “movement from one region to another and often back again, esp. according to the season of the year,” and immigration is, “the process of coming to a country in order to live in it permanently.” Curdt-Christiansen (2018) suggests that future research on transnational migration is essential. This study, therefore, contributes to the development of the field of family language policy in migrant families.

Family Language Policy

Family language policy is described as implicit and covert as well as explicit and overt language planning which is related to the home language used by family members (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009, 2012; King et al., 2008; Schiffman, 1996; Shohamy, 2006; Spolsky, 2012). In other words, family language policy is a planned attempt to practice a certain pattern of language and language literacy within families (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009). The main purpose of understanding family language policy is to investigate the varying degrees of commitment of family members in maintaining the heritage language as well as in acquiring the dominant language (Spolsky, 2012). Therefore, the study of family language policy aims at understanding and bridging the gaps between studies of language policy and the research on child language acquisition (Curdt-Christiansen, 2018; King et al., 2008).

The existence of family language policy within families is essential. As King et al. (2008) argue, family language policy can shape children's language development, play an essential role in the success of children's education in formal school, and determine the future status and maintenance of heritage languages. In this way, it may seem that family language policy is intentionally formed by family members. However, Caldas (2012, p. 351) states that, in general, families do not intentionally “plot and plan” their family language policy, but it is influenced by past events, situations and conditions which may not be controlled by the families. Therefore, Tannenbaum (2012, p. 57) suggests that analysing family language policy should consider its function as “a form of coping or defense mechanism.” This concept could help understand the main emotional aspects embedded in the process of shaping family language policies, which include their “unconscious, defensive and adaptive roles” (Tannenbaum, 2012, p. 57).

The Relationships among Family Language Policy, Children’s Bilingualism and Children’s Language Development

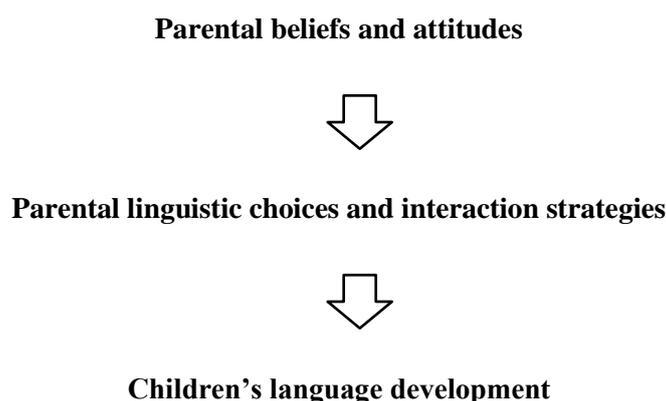
In terms of children’s language practice, De Houwer (2017) states that is a continuous development in children's chances to practice their linguistic skills as well as their knowledge base. The differences in opportunities and maturity of the children will produce different outcomes, thus “one particular kind of input may have different effects on children at different levels of maturity and practice” (De Houwer, 2017, p. 19). In addition, De Houwer contends that children’s language attitudes may influence their willingness and chances to practice their languages. King et al. (2008) also argue that children's language behaviour is shaped by the language that is used by parents, but in turn, it also influences parents' language beliefs and strategies. For these reasons, this study investigates the process of deciding and developing family language policies regarding children's English development in the environment where English is spoken by most people.

The success of family language policies in raising bilingual children is influenced by several factors. The languages used by parents to interact with their children could be the decisive factor. A familiar approach commonly used by parents in the research area on childhood's bilingual acquisition is one person-one language (OPOL), in which parents have different first languages. One of the influential studies of OPOL is the work by De Houwer (1990) which investigates the morphology-syntactic development of two languages in a bilingual Dutch-English child. She finds that the child's utterances resemble her monolingual peers in both languages. She also concludes that the two-different linguistic inputs provided through the OPOL approach can trigger the acquisition of the two languages.

De Houwer (1999) states that in the monolingual and bilingual situations, children's linguistic environments are formed by the beliefs and attitudes of the people who have an influence on these environments, such as adults. This means that how adults will communicate with children tends to be influenced by their beliefs and attitudes. As a result, the communication patterns influence children's language use which could contribute to "more macro-sociological processes of language shift" (De Houwer, 1999, p. 86). This process is illustrated by De Houwer with a figure that explains how parental beliefs and attitudes influence children's language development:

Figure 1

The Relationship Between Parental Beliefs and Attitudes and Children's Language Development



Note: Figure by De Houwer (1999, p. 86)

The figure shows that parents' beliefs about children's language acquisition and their attitudes toward languages influence their communication strategies to speak with their children. The choice of parents eventually affects the styles, variety, and language use of their children (De Houwer, 1999). Therefore, the attitudes and beliefs of parents are essential in forming the language input environment for bilingual children (De Houwer, 1999, 2017). Moreover, Curdt-Christiansen (2009, 2012, 2018) states that the decision-making process is also connected to parental beliefs and goals for multilingual development and educational achievement of their children. Additionally, it is important to note that ideology is frequently considered to be the hidden power or strength in language practices and planning, and it accordingly becomes "the mediating link between language use and social organization" (King, 2000, p. 169). This is the process in which language ideologies are negotiated within a family or community and reflects in the language practices.

To date, there have been few, if any, research projects focused on family language policy within students' or scholars' families who are migrants even though recently a similar study has been conducted (e.g., da Costa Cabral, 2018). In her study investigating two East Timorese migrant families in Dungannon, Northern Ireland, da Costa Cabral finds that parents

tend to encourage their children to acquire and use English, and they do not demonstrate a serious commitment to the use of their first language at home. This study has helped to explain that parental language ideologies are closely connected with “their aspirations for their children” (da Costa Cabral, 2018, p. 1). However, the study in an Indonesian families' context provides further benefits to the previously mentioned study. Although Timorese migrant families have a similar context to Indonesian families, moving to a country where English is the majority language and used in education, Indonesian families may have different perspectives on language ideologies, language practices and language management.

To address these issues, this study attempts to explore the actual language use within Indonesian families. Since the language policy components are related to each other, it is important to propose a question of how language ideologies are incorporated with the language practices and management. This study also considers the relationship between language policy and children language acquisition which concerns bilingual development. Therefore, this study examines the way parents incorporate and negotiate their language ideologies about children's bilingual development. This study includes the following two research questions:

1. What are the factors that shape parental ideologies regarding parents' attitudes towards their children's bilingualism and second language development?
2. What are the patterns of language practices of Indonesian families? How are they formed?

The Context of the Researchers

We are both interested in the study of bilingualism. We have considerable experience of teaching English as a second or foreign language to young and adult learners. Currently, we are both lecturers who are responsible for teaching English in Indonesian universities. This experience has made us aware of the importance of family language policy in children's bilingualism and second language development. Although we understand the significance of family language policy, we do not have direct experience to know why different Indonesian families have different patterns of language practices. Thus, we did not have any expected results of this study at the outset. We hope this reduced our bias as researchers and produced a study that contributes to a greater understanding of how family language policies are shaped and developed within Indonesian families that live in an English-speaking country.

In conducting this research, the first author did the data collection. However, other parts of this research project including data analysis, article writing, revising and editing were done equally by both authors.

Methodology

Participants

The key participants in this study are Indonesian scholars who are currently studying at one of the universities in Birmingham, United Kingdom, at the time of the research. There were five Indonesian families who took part in this study. All participants were provided with a consent form that was signed and returned. For the children, a consent form was given to their parents, and the parents gave us permission to conduct the observation. Ethical approval was obtained from Birmingham University Ethics Committee. The overview of the members of the five families who have participated in this study is provided with pseudonym names in the two tables below:

Table 1
Family Members and Time Living in England

	Role in Family		Number of Children	Time in England
	Ph.D. Candidate	Spouse		
Family A	Husband	Wife	3	9 months
Family B	Wife	Husband	2	15 months
Family C	Wife	Husband	2	18 months
Family D	Husband	Wife	2	21 months
Family E	Husband	Wife	1	33 months

Regarding the data in Table 1, it is important to note that *Time in England* means the time the whole the family lived in England, since some Ph.D. candidates did not bring their family when they started their degree.

Table 2
Children's Educational Background

	Family A	Family B	Family C	Family D	Family E
Name and ages of the children	1. Dina (10-years-old) 2. Tito (7-years-old) 3. Anton (4-years-old)	1. Caca (7-years-old) 2. Resti (3-years-old)	1. Tyo (6-years-old) 2. Dino (4-years-old)	1. Toni (6-years-old)	1. Dilan (7-years-old) 2. Tika (5-years-old)
Education before migration	1. Year 5 2. Year 2 3. Nursery	1. Year 2 2. Toddler	1. Nursery 2. Toddler	1. Nursery	1. Nursery 2. Toddler
Education in England	1. Year 6 2. Year 3 3. Reception	1. Year 3 2. Starting Nursery	1. Year 2 2. Reception	1. Year 2	1. Year 3 2. Year 1

To select participants, we adopted a purposive sampling strategy, which is one of the characteristics of qualitative research (Gentles et al., 2015; Maykut & Morehouse, 1994). This strategy was applied since every individual seems to have different and important views on a particular phenomenon (Mason, 2002; Robinson, 2014). Criterion sampling strategy was used to select the participants who met the criteria that had been determined (Palinkas et al., 2015). This strategy also aimed at narrowing the range of the considerable variation (Palinkas et al., 2015) since there were many Indonesian families who were living in England. The main criterion of the participants is that they are Ph.D. candidates who have been living in England, particularly in Birmingham, for more than one year and they have children who are currently studying at a school in England. The aim of selecting these participants is that they have experience in raising bilingual children, and they also have shaped their family language policy.

In addition, all the participants are parents who choose to stay in Birmingham only to study for their Ph.D. degrees and will not apply for a permanent residence permit. To find these participants, we asked several friends in the Indonesian Student Association in the University of Birmingham about Indonesian families that met our criteria. In other words, we got referrals from them, and we did not know these participants personally before the study commenced.

In each family, data were collected from both parents (student and spouse). Having received permission, we also observed their children's interaction with them and with their peers.

Methods

In this study, we gathered the data through observation, fieldnotes, and interviews. Direct observation and fieldnotes on children's interaction with peers and parent were conducted at the beginning before doing the interviews. The purpose of making fieldnotes was to record the important details including rich description of the phenomenon or data that we collected from the observation and to create topics or experiences to comment upon in the interviews. Therefore, the fieldnotes obtained from observation were essential for doing interviews.

In order to obtain the data in a natural situation, we used observation as one of the means of collecting qualitative data. This method is essential to family language policy research since Schwartz (2012) suggests that observing children's language socialisation can enhance the validity of data obtained from parents. This study employed unstructured observation, which is also called participant observation (Thomas, 2017) since researchers play a key role as participants in the situations which they are observing (Thomas, 2017; Wallen & Fraenkel, 2001). In this study, as a participant observer, the first author immersed himself in several situations. He interacted and played with the children. He made the situation as natural as possible by not holding any notes while talking with the children. The time and the place for conducting these observations were based on the appointment made with the parents. In addition, he did not record the children's conversation because it was too noisy and chaotic.

The purpose of this observation was to explore the actual language use and practice of family members, involving the interactions between the family members as well as between family members and other people in natural settings. Language maintenance that was provided by parents was also considered. These participant observations were recorded using fieldnotes and written at the descriptive and reflective level (Cohen et al., 2011). Interviews were conducted with five Indonesian families and were carried out only with the parents. The interviews were done by the first author in person using Indonesian language. The husband and the wife were interviewed separately as there might be different language practices and language beliefs between family members (Spolsky, 2012).

A written interview guide was designed in advance (see Appendix A). The interview guide consisted of some topics (Ayres, 2008), including language ideologies, language practices, and language management. For the interviewer, the interview guide could be followed in the order of its design, or the interviewer could "move back and forth through the topic list" based on the interviewee's responses (Ayres, 2008, p. 2). The interviews were not designed to be too formal in order to make both the interviewer and interviewee comfortable. King and Horrocks (2010, p. 42) contend that it is essential to pay attention to three aspects of the physical environment for interviews—"comfort, privacy and quiet." The interviews were also carried out in a discussion format, and Bahasa Indonesia was used because we believed that if we used English, the conversation might be less natural since they might not be able to express their ideas in English as clearly.

The first aspect we considered in the interviews was building rapport. King and Horrocks (2010) suggest that this is the key to success in the qualitative interview. The second one is reacting naturally (Gilham, 2000) as this enables the participants to get the sense of the interviewer's interest and concern. The last aspect is the use of probing questions. Probing is essential to encourage the interviewee to answer the questions (Thomas, 2017) in order to collect in-depth interview data (King & Horrocks, 2010). The author tended to use clarification probes, which was used to clarify the words, phrases, or important points that were not fully understood (King et al., 2019) since some of the information provided by the interviewees was unclear.

Data Analysis

This study adopted an inductive approach to analyse the text data obtained from semi-structured interviews and fieldnotes. An inductive approach was used to discover new ideas, interpreting the field “from below” (Reichertz, 2014, p. 9). Within inductive analysis, a series of empirical cases are used to identify a pattern, which is used to make a general statement (Kennedy, 2018). Inductive reasoning develops categories or summaries based upon the research data (Thornberg & Charmaz, 2014). The inductive method stands closely to the collected data, and it could enhance conclusions as well as new understandings of current knowledge (Reichertz, 2014).

An inductive approach allows us to condense raw data into a concise format of summary, to create clear links between the findings and research objectives and to establish a foundation of the underlying structure of processes which are apparent in the raw data (Thomas, 2006). In this regard we adopted the procedure of coding and analysing the raw text data by Cohen et al. (2011) and Thomas (2006) with some modifications. Firstly, after transcribing data concerning the way how family language policies of Indonesian families were shaped and developed, we did multiple readings. Jain and Ogden (1999) suggest that reading the transcripts several times enables the evaluator to identify categories or themes. The second step was to identify the texts that related to the purpose of the study. The third was deciding the categories. We used the term “general categories” and “specific categories” (Thomas, 2006, p. 241). The table below provides an example of our coding process.

Table 4
Examples of Our Coding Process

Family	Interview Transcripts	General Categories	Specific categories
A	Yono - My second child could not speak Bahasa Indonesia because he lived in Japan when he was a toddler. When he was 6 years old, he could speak <i>mama</i> (mother in English), <i>maem</i> (eating in English) and other Indonesian vocabularies. <u>He enrolled in a school like a nursery. Then he could not speak Bahasa Indonesia. After we returned to Indonesia, he learned from the beginning. Luckily, he did not take a long time to acquire Bahasa Indonesia when he was two years old.</u> However, my children still remembered Japanese at that time.	Parental language ideologies	Parental experience

B	Ina - <u>I let my little daughter do such thing [playing with native speakers] because in September 2018 she will enroll in the nursery which is in that way she will interact with all people in English. I let her absorb English. Because I do not expect that she does not know, for example, how to say that she is hungry.</u>	The influence of parental language ideologies	Children's education
C	Zakky - <u>It seems that I cannot force the language development of my children. When I am at home, they obey my rule. However, when I am not at home, they speak Bahasa Indonesia with each other. I have a plan to create a system of reward and punishment to encourage my children to speak English at home, but it is difficult.</u>	The influence of parental language ideologies	Children's language choice
D	Hendri - <u>We said to the teacher that we did not do adequate preparation when we were in Indonesia. Then, the teacher suggested us to speak English at home as long as we can. Since then, we found that English is essential for him.</u>	The influence of parental language ideologies	Children's education
E	Andy - <u>Bahasa Indonesia, I think it would be the same with when we came here. We did not have any systematic preparation for our children to learn English. They developed their English in this country. Once they return home to Indonesia, they use Bahasa Indonesia in their interaction intensively. We believe that they can develop their language.</u>	Parental language ideologies	Parental experience

Ethical Considerations

We gave the participants a participant information sheet and the consent form. Within those forms, we included the information about the process of the research, the importance of their participation, and how their data will be used. As this study also undertook observation, we also asked the parents' permission to observe their children's interaction (Cohen et al., 2011). Ethical approval was obtained from Birmingham University Ethics Committee where the first author was pursuing his master's degree at the time of the study. Additionally, we also explained clearly and briefly to the families that they could withdraw their participation at any time. This comprehensive information gave the participants an opportunity to choose whether they wanted to participate or not, and this was also a way to respect people's rights (King & Horrocks, 2010).

We put in place measures to protect the confidentiality and the information gained from the participants. We used pseudonyms instead of their real names in this study. We also gave participants copies of our reports that show the results, and access to the publication of the research in which they took part (King & Horrocks, 2010).

Findings and Discussion

The Factors that Shape Parental Language Ideologies

Regarding the significant influences on family language policies, the data indicate that parental experience, children's education and children's language choice are factors that influence parental language ideologies. In the following parts, we present how parents perceive children's bilingualism and second language development regarding the previously mentioned factors.

Parental Experience

This theme came up in the discussion of how parents support their children to balance their languages (Indonesian and English) as they must return to Indonesia after completing Ph.D. degrees. When we explored the parents' views about how they perceived children's language acquisition, interestingly most of the participants believed that after returning to Indonesia, their children would be able to learn Indonesian rapidly. Parents assumed that the way children re-acquired Indonesian would be the same as the way children learned English (reported by all families) or Japanese (Family A and Family C). This assumption led them to believe that children were better than adults at language acquisition. Therefore, parents believed that they did not need to balance children's languages although their children were not confident to speak Indonesian and forgot some Indonesian vocabulary. For example, one interviewee said:

Andy: Bahasa Indonesia, I think it would be the same with when we came here. We did not have any systematic preparation for our children to learn English. They developed their English in this country. Once they return home to Indonesia, they will use Indonesian in their interaction intensively. We believe that they can develop their language.

This argumentation might be based on the experience that generally Andy and his wife did not find significant problems dealing with children's English acquisition although their children had poor English proficiency when they came to England. This view was echoed by another participant:

Sahid: Based on the experience of Caca, she can speak English fluently after she has been living here for three months. After one year of living in England, sometimes I could not understand her utterances because she used the British accent.

Interestingly, most parents reported the same experience as Sahid. They said that it took around three months for their children to be able to speak English well. Regarding Andy's, Sahid's and other parents' experience, it seems that parents did not make extra efforts to make their children fluent in English. Sahid added that at home his first daughter got regular exposure from children's TV programmes and books in English.

Additionally, Hendri pointed out that the stimulating environment provided by teachers and peers at school played an important role in the language development of their son. This led their son to easily adapt to the new environment and gradually improve his English skills.

Hendri: It is likely that the classroom is the place for playing. His teachers know that he is still learning [English], so they ask my son to play while learning. The important thing was that my son was happy to go to school.

Parents' attitudes towards languages were also influenced by their experience of living abroad. Let us take the example of Family A and Family C who had the experience of living in Japan for two years while studying for master's degrees. Their children could speak Japanese fluently because they studied at a school in Japan. When these families returned to Indonesia, their children acquired Indonesian easily. Talking about this issue, Zakky and Yono said:

Zakky: When Dina was around one year old, she spoke [Indonesian] fluently. Then, I brought my family to Japan. Dina could speak Japanese when she was in kindergarten... When I returned to Indonesia, I worked in Makasar. At that time, Dina could speak the language spoken by people in Makasar. Then, she gradually lost her Japanese. Based on that experience, I believe that children have an ability to switch their language when they live in the area where the people use different language with them.

Yono: Yes, I do. Based on my perception, we speak the languages of the country where we live. Moreover, a child's brain is like a sponge. So, I believe that if we bring our children wherever we live, they will be able to use the local language of the country.

These two families seem to expect that their children could do the same thing as their previous experience when it came to using the local language. They believed that because their children were fluent in English during their life in the UK, they would be able to acquire Indonesian easily in Indonesia. Therefore, the immigration experience can contribute to the shaping of family language policies (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009).

Regarding the two above-mentioned interview transcripts, Zakky and Yono put an emphasis on children's ability to acquire and re-acquire a language. It seems that Zakky and Yono were at an advantage because their children were young. This was supported by Ina, Rini and Fina who stated that based on their experience, age has a significant influence in children's language learning. They believed that younger children had an excellent ability to acquire new languages. They also found that their younger children (ages 1-5) could learn English faster than the older children. Ina reported that her second daughter could speak English fluently although she had not started going to nursery. Ina's second daughter learned English through watching children's TV programmes, listening to bedtime stories and imitating her sibling.

These findings are consistent with King et al.'s (2008) research which found the language learning experience of family members could influence bilingual parenting decisions. As the experience was obtained in the country where parents lived, Ina also reported that her children's current ability showed that her worries about her children's language proved to be groundless. In addition, King et al. (2008) argue that children's language behaviour is shaped by the language that is used by parents, but in turn, it also influences parents' language beliefs and strategies.

These valuable experiences may give Indonesian parents an insight that children can learn a language spoken by a large majority of people in the country where they live. This assumption comes from the belief that within the supportive environment, school-age children can acquire languages easily. They, therefore, did not worry if their children would not be able to communicate in Indonesian when they returned to Indonesia. We emphasise the word "communicate" since the children still can understand utterances in Indonesian. Once the

children arrive in Indonesia, they will receive a massive exposure to Indonesian from people around them, especially from teachers and peers at schools where Indonesian is the official language of education. As a result, many parents do not encourage their children to use Indonesian during their life in the UK.

These two families had been situated in different countries, Indonesia and Japan. The difference in social contexts of each country could shape the language ideologies and practices of these families. This finding was also reported by da Costa Cabral (2018), who stated the language ideologies and practices of family members tended to be influenced by their lived experiences.

Children's Education

A common view amongst interviewees was that English skills were important for their children, especially for their education in England. However, some parents reported that their children did not get adequate language preparation before coming to England, which made the parents worried. As a result, the parents employed some approaches to support their children to be able to speak English.

Generally, initial supports were given before children started studying at an English school. Ina, the mother, for instance, gave her daughter, Resti, greater exposure to English through watching children's TV programmes, reading bedtime stories, and allowing Resti to play with other kids in the playground. Ina reported it was easy for Resti to make friends with native speakers in that place. At one time, when playing in the playground accompanied by her father, Resti approached her native friend, and they talked about their schoolbags. Interestingly, her father found that Ina could speak with a British accent fluently. Ina believes that those are good ways to prepare her daughter for starting nursery.

Ina: I let my little daughter do such a thing [playing with native speakers] because in September 2018 she will enroll in the nursery where she will interact with all people in English. I let her absorb English because I do not want her to not know how to say, for example, "she is hungry" in English.

It seems Resti benefitted directly from her friends in the playground. She could practice her English while playing together with her friends.

Yono also helped his sons practice learning English before they studied at school in England. However, it was different from Ina's family. Yono and his wife preferred teaching their children to speak basic phrases that might be useful during the first week of studying.

Furthermore, the children's teacher also suggested the parents use English at home in order to encourage the new international students to acquire English. Based on the suggestion of Toni's teacher, Hendri and his wife decided to speak English at home.

The parents also intervened in their children's language at home to improve their language proficiency. Zakky, for example, made a regulation at home to encourage his children as well as his wife to speak English at home. This strategy was also used to help his second child who tended to be silent at school because of the language gap. He expected their son would be confident to speak English during his time at school.

Zakky: Yes, it is used at school. I found that Tito experienced language gap. He is very talkative speaking Bahasa Indonesia. He was shocked when he could not speak English. This is the reason why I do so [forcing his children to speak English at home]. English is important.

When we observed Zakky's family at his home, we found that Dina, Tito, and Zakky's wife used Indonesian. This situation led Zakky to ask their children to speak English at home. Zakky believed that the more their children spoke English at home, the more natural their English would be. It is interesting to note that such supports were provided by parents only at the beginning of schooling. After children adapted to the school environment, parents did not give those kinds of support because their children could speak English better than they could. However, parents kept asking them to use English. A possible explanation why parents kept asking their children to speak in English might be that parents attempted to motivate their children to communicate with their teachers and peers at school. This means parental attitudes towards English were influenced by parents' assessment of their children's language situation (Spolsky, 2012). Parents might perceive that English was essential because English was the official language in the English education system. Active supports, such as teaching children to memorise some useful phrases, allowing children to play with native speakers in the playground, and asking children to speak English at home, could be the parents' responses to the issue that children did not take initial preparation for learning English before coming to England. These supports can be perceived as coping mechanisms (Tannenbaum, 2012), which means that there was an adaptive role in family language policy. Such a supporting environment was given since parents might expect their children to become more effective learners at their schools.

Ina and Yono, for instance, expected that their children were able to report their needs by saying that they wanted to eat or go to the toilet. As a result, it can be said that parental support and encouragement could be the methods to reduce parents' anxiety about children's first day at school, which is congruent with Tannenbaum's (2012) study. In addition, since parents perceived that children's education was the priority, they might believe that English was important for their children. Therefore, parental involvement in children's education could also become an indication of strong beliefs and attitude about the importance of language in education, especially for achieving quality academic standards. Additionally, Curdt-Christiansen (2009) argues that, regarding children's success in education and language development, parents' aspirations and expectations on children's education could be the factor that influences family language policy.

Children's Language Choice

All families agreed that parents should give their children an opportunity to choose the languages in their communication. The reason why children are allowed to speak in their choice of language is that parents can create a pleasant environment for children's daily interaction, reducing potential conflict between parents and children regarding what language should be spoken. Andy, for example, said:

Andy: We tend to follow their habit indeed, and we do not shape their habit. Because we find that they feel comfortable to use English in their communication, we follow their preference.

Like Andy, Yono also gave his children a chance to choose either English or Indonesian in their conversation. He did not want to put pressure on his children to speak a certain language.

During the observation, we found that Tyo, the first child of Yono, spoke Indonesian when he had a conversation with me the first time. Yono said that this was the way Tyo spoke when he met new people from Indonesia. In addition, Ina did not force her daughter to learn English because she wanted to enable her daughter to learn English by herself.

Ina: I never force her to understand English. I let her flow like water. So, depending on her. I let her learn language by herself because I believe that a child has an ability to develop their education ...

An important finding was that parents could not intervene in children's language. Although parents made an intervention by imposing rules at home, it seems children naturally resisted the urge to speak the required language. In the case of Zakky's family, for example, his two older children tended to speak Indonesian with each other. Zakky could not intervene although the rules for speaking English at home had been shared with their children.

Zakky: It seems that I cannot force the language development of my children. When I am at home, they obey my rule. However, when I am not at home, they speak Indonesian with each other. I have a plan to create a system of reward and punishment to encourage my children to speak English at home, but it is difficult.

This means that children play an important role in shaping parents' decision about language policy within families. It seems that Dina and Tino perceived that home was the place to speak English with families because we found that they spoke English with their friends when they attended an Indonesian family gathering.

Thus, it can be inferred children play an important role in shaping the language ideologies of their parents (King et al., 2008). Studying in an English-speaking country gives Indonesian children many opportunities to learn and improve their English quickly. The children also receive language inputs from their peers who do not speak minority languages (Caldas, 2012). As a result, the advancement in English may lead the children to change their attitude towards their language practice (De Houwer, 2017). Consequently, this may lead the Indonesian parents to become aware of their children's language development as well as the language environment. It can be seen from the way parents gave freedom to the children to select the language used in their conversation.

It is interesting to note that the parent could not intervene in children's language choice. This occurred in Family B, in which the two older children tended to speak Indonesian with their family. On the other hand, children in Family A, C, D, E tended to speak English at home. This combination of findings indicates that there might be a negotiation process between parents and children to decide the appropriate language used in their communication within the family domain (Shohamy, 2006). The difference of language use shows that negotiation may vary in different places and situation (Shohamy, 2006). Parents adjust their family languages policies based on "sociolinguistic context" around the world (Caldas, 2012). Therefore, most parents believe that following children's language choice is better than putting pressure to speak a certain language.

To conclude, discussing parental experience, children's education, children's language choice shed light on how children involve in shaping the parental language ideologies (King et al., 2008). It seems that there was a negotiation process between parent and children to decide their language use and choice within the family (Shohamy, 2006). Interestingly, within this process parents put considerable concern on children's language ability, language in children's education and children's language choice. Therefore, parental ideologies and strategies cannot be the only factor that shape family language policy, but it is a continuously changing and developing process in which children play a constructive role in influencing language use and choice and shaping the language ideologies of the family (Fogle, 2013).

The Patterns of Family Language Practices

To understand the complexity of language practices in Indonesian families, this study considered the variety of language practices of each family. Based on the themes that emerged, we classified the language practices of those families by the language that was frequently used in family members' interaction. Those data were obtained from fieldnotes that searched the actual language choices within the interactions between husband and wife, between parents and children, and between siblings. In addition, the interactions of these five families with other Indonesian people in social events such as an Indonesian family gathering, and Ramadan Project of University of Birmingham Islamic Society (Ubisoc) were also taken into account. It is important to note that all families reported that their children had a low level of English proficiency when they came in England. The following data were the current language repertoire of the five families.

Parents Who Tend to Speak Indonesian

The first group is the families who tend to speak Indonesian; they are Family A, B and C. Family A has been living in England for nine months. Within this family, Zakky and Rini have three children. They are Dina (eleven-years-old), Tito (seven-years-old), and Anton (four-years-old). Zakky, Rini, Dina and Tito used Indonesian to communicate with each other. However, they spoke English when they had a conversation with Anton. This strategy was imposed by Zakky, as he said:

Zakky: I asked them [Dina and Tito] to use English. That is the rule. They may speak Indonesian with each other, but they have to switch their language into English when they communicate with Anton.

The reason he shared that rule was to support Anton to acquire English, and this method was also suggested by Anton's teacher. Although Dina and Tito preferred using Indonesian in their conversation, they always switched their language to English when they communicated with their friends. In addition, Rina reported that she felt comfortable speaking in Indonesian with her children. However, she also said that she sometimes speaks mixed languages with her children.

In Family B, Ina started her degree in September 2016, and then she brought her families to England in March 2017. Sahid and Ina have two daughters; they are Caca (eight-years-old) and Resti (three-years-old). Caca and Resti always use English to speak to each other. However, Sahid and Ina always speak Indonesian to communicate with each other. They reported they had a shared commitment to support children's language. Sahid spoke Indonesian with his two daughters, and Ina always spoke Indonesian with Resti and mixed languages with Caca. Here is the result of the observation on the interaction between Ina and Resti:

Family B: After returning from the toilet, Ina reported what Resti did in the toilet to Sahid in Indonesian. Ina praised Resti because Resti knew what to do in the toilet. This was also delivered in Indonesian. Resti's smiling face indicated that Resti understood what Ina said. (Fieldnotes)

Ina also reported Indonesian was the language that was used to have a conversation with Resti because when she came to England, her Indonesian was not fluent. Although Indonesian was used by parents to begin a conversation, Caca and Resti preferred speaking English to respond to the conversation. Sahid and Ina encouraged their daughters to speak

Indonesian with their families in Indonesia, especially with her grandparent who could not speak English. Because Caca forgot some Indonesian vocabulary, her parents always accompanied her when she was speaking with her families to help her translating from English into Indonesia.

Within Family C, Yono and his families have been living in England for eighteen months. Yono and Nisa have two sons. They are Tyo (six-years-old) and Dio (four-years-old). Yono and his wife always speak Indonesian with each other. Yono also reported he and his wife tended to use Indonesian to communicate with their children. However, sometimes English was used in children and father interaction. Although the parents preferred using Indonesian to communicate with their sons, Tyo and Dio were allowed to speak any languages. Tyo and Dio always speak English with each other and with their parents. However, Yono suggested his sons to speak Indonesian with their families in Indonesia.

Parents Who Tend to Use English

In Family D, Hendri and Lita have one child, namely Toni (six years old). They have been living in England for 21 months. When we observed them in an Indonesian family gathering, in the playground and in Hendri's car when Hendri picked his son up from the school, they always spoke English with Toni. However, we found Hendri and Lita sometimes used Indonesian at home when they disciplined their son. Although they spoke Indonesian, Toni remained using English to continue the conversation. Lita reported that Toni forgot some Indonesian vocabulary. Hendri said Toni was not happy with his pronunciation in Indonesian, and it sounded weird. Consequently, Toni did not want to communicate with his families in Indonesian. Consequently, there was a gap communication between Toni and his families, especially with his grandmother.

Family E, Andy, Fina and their two children have been living in England for around three years. This family has been living in England for three years. Based on the observation, generally English was the shared language in this family. In Indonesian family gathering, we found Fina used English only for warning Tika not to do something wrong. Fina reported she always used Bahasa to discipline her children because she felt comfortable using long sentences in Indonesian. When we visited Family E's home, we tried to communicate with Dilan and Tika in different languages. They responded to the conversation only in English. Interestingly, Fina said that when she did not understand what Tika said, Dilan helped her to understand by rephrasing Tika's utterances.

To make the data easy to be understood, we presented the findings of the pattern of children's and parents' language practices in a table below. In Table 5, we used the term in *both languages* to explain that the children could fully speak one of the languages (Indonesian or English) without mixing them. The most interesting finding was that families who had been living in England less than twenty months tended to speak Indonesian. On the other hand, families who had been living in England for 21 months and in the third year of PhD tended to speak English at home. It seems that the longer the families stay in England, the less frequent the family members speak Indonesian with each other in their daily conversations.

Within the Families A, B and C, the majority of children were still confident to use their first language. This result may be explained by the fact that the parents continue to use and give their children regular exposure to Indonesian. This parents' consistency to use the minority or first language plays an important role to the success of children's bilingual development (Arnberg, 1987; Juan-Garau & Perez-Vidal, 2001; King et al., 2008; Taeschner, 1983; Takeuchi, 2006).

Table 5
The Patterns of Language Practices Used by the Children

<i>Family</i>	<i>Children</i>	<i>Parents</i>	<i>Sibling/s</i>	<i>Families in Indonesia</i>	<i>Friends</i>	<i>Indonesian People</i>
A	Dina	Indonesian	Both. Lang.	Indonesian	English	Both. Lang.
	Tito	Indonesian	Both. Lang.	Indonesian	English	Both. Lang.
	Anton	English	English	English	English	English
B	Caca	Mix. Lang.	English	Mix. Lang.	English	English
	Resti	Mix. Lang.	English	Mix. Lang.	English	English
C	Tyo	Mix. Lang.	English	Mix. Lang.	English	Both. Lang.
	Dino	Mix. Lang.	English	Mix. Lang.	English	Mix. Lang.
D	Toni	English	-	English	English	English
E	Dilan	English	English	English	English	English
	Tika	English	English	English	English	English

Table 6
The Duration of Stay and the Selected Language

<i>Family & Duration</i>	<i>Children</i>	<i>1st Child</i>	<i>2nd Child</i>	<i>3rd Child</i>
A <i>9 months</i>	Zakky	Mixed languages	Mixed languages	English
	Rini	Tend to use Indonesian	Tend to use Indonesian	Mixed languages
B <i>15 months</i>	Sahid	Indonesian	Indonesian	-
	Ina	Mixed languages	Tend to use Indonesian	-
C <i>18 months</i>	Yono	Tend to use Indonesian	Tend to use Indonesian	-
	Nisa	Tend to use Indonesian	Tend to use Indonesian	-
D <i>21 months</i>	Hendri	Tend to use English	-	-
	Lita	Tend to use English	-	-
E <i>33 months</i>	Andy	Tend to use English	Tend to use English	-
	Fina	Tend to use English	Tend to use English	-

Parents in Family B, for example, always began a conversation in Indonesian although their daughters responded it in English. The purpose was to maintain the communication between their daughters and their extended families. Yono added that, although his extended families spoke English, Indonesian was the appropriate language to speak with them. This shows that language choice is influenced by the appropriacy of a certain situation (Spolsky, 2004). Indeed,

Yono's first child could adjust his language to Indonesian when he had a conversation with Indonesian people. In addition, the reason why Rini tended to speak Indonesian with Dina and Tito was that she felt comfortable speaking the mother tongue with her children. These findings suggest that generally parents have clear purposes for selecting the language that should be used with their children (King et al., 2008).

As indicated previously, English was the dominant language within Families D and E. As a result, the children of Families D and E were not confident to speak Indonesian, and moreover, there was a lack of communication between children and their extended families in Indonesia. These factors are likely to be related to the development of children's English proficiency. A gradual loss of Indonesian vocabulary reported by parents may indicate that children found it complicated to preserve their mother tongue in a foreign country. Döpke (1992) states it might be challenging for children to improve their minority language when they study at schools that use the majority language as a medium of communication. This may make children tend to speak English at home. As parents of Families D and E reported they learned English from their children, it might indicate their interaction was influenced by their children's language. This finding is consistent with Tuominen's (1999) study of bilingual child-rearing in the USA which finds that parental language policies are frequently influenced by the attitudes and language practices of school-age children, and parents learn from their children to speak the majority language. In line with the previous finding that parental language ideologies can be influenced by children's language choice, parents' attitudes towards language learning, and bilingualism can also influence the way of their interactions (King et al., 2008). Because parents believe that children will learn Indonesian quickly, they do not see the need to balance their children's languages. These results corroborate the ideas of De Houwer (1999), who suggests that there is a relationship between children's language development and parental beliefs and attitudes.

We would like to add a note about limitations and future research in this area. Our study did not include the opinions of children regarding their language choices and perspectives in learning language. This would be useful information for further research. We know considering children's perspectives on family language policy is essential (Schwartz, 2012) since children play a crucial role in shaping and developing family language policies.

Conclusions

This study investigated how Indonesian families who live in England shaped and developed their language policies regarding parents' attitudes towards children's bilingualism and second language development. Based on the themes that emerged, this inquiry has discussed the factors that influenced the parental language ideologies and analysed the patterns of language practices in the five families. The results of this study indicate that parental experience, children's education and children's language choice contributed to the shaping of parental language ideologies. It seems that children's ability to acquire a new language easily became the driving force behind parental language ideologies.

Although Indonesian families have common language ideologies, they have different patterns of language practices, which are classified into two categories; parents who tend to use Indonesian and parents who tend to use English. The data revealed that the longer the families lived in England, the less Indonesian they used in family interaction. This could occur as children gradually developed proficiency in the local language. Children benefit from exposure to competent speakers and native speakers of English. However, parents who have a strong commitment to give their children exposure to Indonesian and connect their children with their extended families in Indonesia seem to be more successful in raising bilingual children. On the other hand, the children of the family groups that lack exposure to Indonesian

suffered a lack of communication with their families in Indonesia since they were not confident to use Indonesian.

Evidence from this inquiry indicates that parents' consistency in giving their children exposure to Indonesian could be the determining factor for the success of children's bilingualism (King et al., 2008). However, this study did not explain the relationship between the consistency of the language chosen by parents and the patterns of the language used by children (Mishina-Mori, 2011, p. 3122). A more relevant question for further investigation would be whether the patterns of the language used by parents can influence children's input consistency, the consistency to use the selected language. Does inconsistency appear in different situations, such as giving advice, giving commands, showing appreciation, and showing anger? How do parental language ideologies influence parental language strategies? These would help to get better understanding of family language policy, overt planning related to language that is used within the home and among family members.

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Appendix A

General questions

- How long have you been living in England?
- Does your family have migration experience or living abroad for long period of time? If yes, what is your family's experience?

Language practice

- What language do you usually use when you start a conversation with your children? Why?
- What language do your children use when they answer your questions?
- What language do your children use when they start a conversation with you?
- What language do your children use when they start a conversation with their siblings?
- What language do your children use when they have a conversation with their friends?
- Do you think that your children tend to use their second language more these days than in the past?
- How do you compare it?
- Did you balance their language use or not? Why?

Language beliefs or ideology

- What do you think about bilingual children?
- Do you think that acquiring foreign language is necessary for your children? Why?
- Do you think that children should be able to balance their two languages, Bahasa Indonesia and English? Why?
- Do you think that your personal experience influences your beliefs towards bilingualism? Why?
- What language should your children use when they communicate with their parents or siblings? Why?
- What language should your children use when they communicate with their friends who come from Indonesia? Why?
- Do you find your beliefs and ideology influenced by your children or people around you? How do you know about that?

Language planning or management

- What are your strategies to raise bilingual children?
- Did you find yourself managing your children's language when you first came to England? Why?
- Does it change after you have been living here for some years? Why?
- Have you ever shared your planning with your spouse? Why?
- Have you ever tried to intervene in your children's language choice? Why?
- What TV programmes does your family usually watch?

What kind of books do your children usually read?

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