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An Ethnographic Study of Transnational Family Language Policy in Facebook Communities

Across Time

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Education

by

Tijana Hirsch

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September 2017

The dissertation of Tijana Hirsch is approved.

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September 2017

An Ethnographic Study of Transnational Family Language Policy in Facebook
Communities Across Time

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by

Tijana Hirsch

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There are too many people to thank. Those who know me understand that I prefer to do so privately, individually, personally.

I will only mention a dedication here:

I dedicate this work to MY family.

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ABSTRACT

An Ethnographic Study of Transnational Family Language Policy in Facebook Communities Across Time

by

Tijana Hirsch

This ethnographic study was performed in three online communities populated by English-speaking transnational settler mothers in Israel. The purpose of this study was to engage with the languacultures (Agar, 1994) (co)created by mothers of the three communities in order to uncover and reconstruct the processes by which Family Language Policy (FLP) decisions are made as shown through the telling case informant's story (Mitchell, 1984). This was the first study that examined online communications related to FLP on Facebook that were unsolicited, naturalistic and longitudinal, spanning approximately 7 years. Sociocultural Theory (Vygotsky, 1962,1978; Vásquez, 2006) and Social Construction of Reality (Berger & Luckmann, 1966) served as lenses to first focus on the Online Community context and then (re)turn to the communities for evidence of FLP (re)formulations as recorded by the platform, Facebook.

Hence the two overarching research questions in this study dealt with:

- a) The online communal living examined through analysis of all communication by the telling case and two additional participants or tracer units (Cole cited in Evertson & Green, 1983), and
- b) the FLP processes as communicated in the blog by the Telling Case (Mitchell, 1984).

The findings of this study showed that methodologically speaking, carrying out online ethnographies and ‘flowing’¹ (Markham & Gammelby, 2017) with the telling case uncovered thick descriptions (Geertz, 1973) of the different social processes that were found to be meaningful by those of the examined communities. Transnational mothers (co)created online communities and oscillated between utilizing them as tools and as places (Markham, 1998), based on, as this study will show, complex interplay between life and transnational trajectories; that is, between the stage of motherhood and stage of the transnational-immigrant experience. New mothers and new transnational settlers particularly depended on this *connected presence* (Licoppe, 2004) for information and social outlets. FLP (re)formulations by Daniella, the primary tracer unit were largely dependent on family-internal experiences rooted in the complex relationship between the life and transnational trajectories such as growth of family and mother’s own multilingual development.

¹ Flow is an approach to data collection and analysis in/from digitally saturated social contexts. Focus is on the flow-oriented approach, rather than object oriented approach, where the researcher follows the trail, attends to details that pique her/his interest as related to her/his inquiry, requiring the researcher to be selective in her/his engagement with vast amounts of data “available” for analysis. It is similar to the idea of a developing intertextual web – (Bloome & Egan-Robertson, 1993).

The one domain that caused most uncertainty and anxiety amongst the transnational mothers and Daniella (the tracer unit for the telling case) specifically was found to be the education domain. Transnational mothers struggled with widely circulating misconceptions and misinformation regarding multilingual development and academic achievement. With a global increase in transnational living patterns and digitally mediated and networked living, this study began the work of turning to the ²*Internet of/for People (Io/fP)*: internet that is shaped by and for people. Internet that is populated, (co)created, (re)used, shared by people in different corners of the Io/fP depending on their stable and/or fleeting interests, needs, desires, hopes and every other noun (person/people, place, or thing) one chooses, needs, desires to be with(in), interact with(in), challenge and/or identify with(in) and through which permeating effects ensue within the Io/fP and outside of its boundaries. By turning to the Io/fP this study began the work of meeting individuals and communities where they are as they grapple with the unique pressures and stresses of navigating multilingual needs of transnational living.

² In Io/fP both I and P are capitalized to denote the relationship between the two, where I and P are the components and the o/f is the relationship between the two. I enables P and P give rise to I.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Migration of the 'self' (identity and culture) travels slower than that of its corresponding 'body.' Selves tend to migrate more slowly and in more complex trajectory than 'bodies.' 'Bodies' can occupy only one place in time and space whereas 'selves' reside in the new and the old location.

-Anat Stavans, 2012, p. 15

Transnationalism is on the rise globally (Basch, Glick-Schiller, & Blanc, 1994). Changing political and economic conditions, including the shifting of labor and capital around the world are contributing to increasingly mobile living patterns of individuals and families (Orellana, Thorne, Chee, & Lam, 2001). In fact, “approximately 25% of children in selected migrant-sending countries have at least one parent abroad,” (Mazzucato & Schans, 2011, p.704). Furthermore, more than half (59%) of Asian Americans have a close relative, a spouse, children, parents, or siblings living in their home country (Pew Research Center, 2013). Language learning and maintenance is one of the key issues that transnational individuals and families must address on an ongoing basis. Through language, relationships are built, maintained or lost and within families languages are learned, maintained or lost (Fishman, 1991; Spolsky, 2012).

Individuals and families cross borders in search of opportunities more and more often, in many cases leaving other family members for extended periods of time. But it is possible to maintain those relationships as well as forge new ones with the help of computer-mediated communication (CMC). More and more people are meeting and living online: 91% of parents in the U.S. report using the Internet and 83% report being active on social media sites (Duggan, Lenhart, Lampe, & Ellison, 2015). Facebook is the

preferred social media site, with, 56% of mothers and 82% of younger parents (under the age of 40) logging in several times per day. In contrast, 68% of older parents (over the age of 40) are more likely to log in weekly. These patterns leave open the need to follow people into online communities, and examine where they gather and where conversations regarding family language planning happen.

Statement of the Problem

Family language policy is a relatively new field that places the family domain at the center of language maintenance and acquisition goals. The ideologies, planning, management, and practices of language use within the home, by different family members are key determinants of success or failure in language development and maintenance efforts and are viewed as “critical” (Spolsky, 2012). This is not to say that the family domain functions in isolation. On the contrary, it is understood to be permeable and susceptible to outside influences from many different sources. Differences in family structures, different local contexts within which the family operates, different nation states, different languages, and different sources of pressure or influence have to some degree been explored (c.f., Canagarajah, 2008; Chatzidaki & Maligkoudi, 2013; De Houwer & Bronstein, 2016; Ferguson, 2015; King & Fogle, 2006; Kirsch, 2012; Kopeliovich, 2013; Lane, 2010; Luykx, 2005; Obied, 2009; Stavans, 2012).

Although progress has been made in this relatively new field, there is still a great deal to explore and learn. One area that needs further exploration is the increasingly transnational living patterns of today and the processes of FLP within transnational families. In order to examine these processes, it is imperative to understand, the online space, and how family members utilize this context as planning (re)sources and sites of

FLP. The platforms within which these communities are created provide rich opportunities for investigations of how planning happens, what management techniques are employed, what different individuals report to be their practices within the domain, how they change, get (re)negotiated, and with what results. This work begins to fill that gap through exploring the situated needs that motivated transnational mothers to share and inscribe their lives within the online communities in need of informational and social support.

Research Questions

The purpose of this study is to examine (re)formulations of FLPs of a transnational mother by following the trail of her inscribed experiences within the online communities she helped co-create through her communications. Increasingly, individuals meet and commune in online spaces, and as researchers and ethnographers, it is important to follow people in settings they participate. In this work, I follow transnational mothers into the online communities they co-created based on their situated needs. Within their online communities, I examine how they built, utilized, and formed boundaries of those communities. I then examine the communications of the primary tracer unit (Green, 1983) regarding FLP ideologies, management, practices in search of (re)formulations and the sources of the (re)formulations. The three online communities include a *Baby* community, most relevant to mothers of babies, a *Kid* community relevant to mothers of children over the age of 3, and a *City* community, relevant to mothers within a specific urban area³. All three of these communities are housed within Facebook's platform, and are, to different degrees, private and closed communities. Although not strictly divided

³ The names used for the communities in this study as well as names of individuals are pseudonyms.

by topic, the content of these communities differs depending on relevance to the groups' communities. The boundaries of these communities are formed through what is discussed, what is taken up, and what is not. The two main strands of this study are:

1. Online Communities

- a. What is the context within which FLP conversations take place?
- b. What information do transnational mothers seek in online communities?

2. Family Language Policy

- a. How does FLP change/or not change within the family context in practices? If they change, what or who affects these changes (sources of changes)?
- b. What are mother's ideas about FLP?
- c. What kinds of questions do mothers ask about FLP?

Background

Due to the situated context of this study, it is imperative to understand the contexts within which the participants live. This includes historical, geographical, and linguistic contexts, as well as immigration patterns that are unique to the place of the study.

The local historical context. The host country in this study is the state of Israel. Israel is 69 years young, but the history of its people and their relationship to the land is thousands of years old. Sixty-nine years ago, the State of Israel became an independent country, the only country of the Jewish people in the world, following one of the biggest atrocities committed against any group of people, the Holocaust, in which millions of Jews as well as other groups (e.g., gypsies, ethnic Poles, ethnic Serbs, other Slavs,

persons of color, etc.) were killed. As a country of immigrants, Israel did not have a unifying language at its inception. A Jewish activist Eliezer Ben-Yehuda initiated a movement in the modernization and use of ancient Hebrew as part of the nation-building revival ideology (Izreel, 2003). With time, Hebrew became the unifying language of the State of Israel and of the Jewish people, adding to the linguistic repertoire and in many cases replacing the languages of Ladino, Yiddish, Judeo-Arabic, as well as the numerous languages spoken by the Jewish immigrants in the land of Israel, such as Persian, Arabic, Russian, and other European languages. In short, the setting of this study is the story of the only Jewish state within which Hebrew was modernized and revived as the spoken and official language⁴ and which became a symbol of unity, survival, and the State of Israel.

English in Israel. In addition to the already complex sociolinguistic milieu of Israel, the heritage language of the participants, the English language, bears not only the contemporary influences of its status as the Lingua Franca, but also its historical roots in present day Israel. Prior to the revival of Hebrew as the nation's spoken language, the region was under British mandate for 28 years, until Israel proclaimed its independence in 1948. Hence, English was very much present in Israel at the time of its inception, as the official language during the British mandate.

At the proclamation of the State of Israel, English lost its official status but has remained valuable. Currently, all schools in Israel teach English as a mandatory subject. In order to attend an institution of higher learning, a high level of English is necessary, as determined by national assessment tools or standardized exams. Many course materials

⁴ Alongside Arabic; Israel is the only non-Muslim country in the world within which Arabic is one of the official languages

and textbooks are in English, and many courses and increasingly more postgraduate degrees are offered in English (M.A. level degrees, Medical Schools, and others). Furthermore, the linguistic landscape of Israel includes English to high degrees in both public and private business signage and in both Jewish and Arab sectors of Israel, stemming from top-down (government agencies) and bottom-up (private business owners) sources (see Ben Rafael, Shohamy, Amara, & Trumper-Hecht, 2006).

New waves of immigrants. Following the stage of nation building and the associated revival of modern, spoken Hebrew, new waves of immigrants experienced more freedom in balancing their desire to acquire the language of their home and maintain the language of their heritage. The Russian immigrant community, for example, is especially proud of its Russian language and literature heritage and is quite organized within Israel in terms of its linguistic presence. The Russian-speaking community in Israel has its own newspapers, television channels, radio stations, daycares, and preschools. The family language policies of many Russian families include concentrated efforts at maintaining and transmitting knowledge of the Russian language to the next/future generations (c.f., Kopeliovich, 2013; Schwartz, 2008)).

The wave of immigrants from the former Soviet Union was necessary, as is the case with many waves of immigrations from many different countries. Families who emigrated from the former Soviet Union and other countries did so out of fear for their and their families' safety and/or out of a desire to be part of the Jewish state (Zionism). Emigration of Jews from Ethiopia, for example, was also a survival issue. This community, in contrast to the community from the former Soviet Union, is not as well organized. The transmission and maintenance of Amharic is not an organized effort;

rather, it is maintained because it is the language of the home within which older generations very often do not speak Hebrew (c.f., Stavans, 2012). Maintenance of Amharic is not supported outside of the home through organized efforts and the development of public daycares, preschools, newspapers, etc.

As for immigrants from English-speaking countries such as the United States of America, Canada, the United Kingdom, South Africa, and Australia, most of them chose to emigrate not due to safety issues, but rather due to Zionism and/or curiosity about what it is like to live within Israel. Hence, the experiences and realities as well as the reasons for their *Aliyah* (return/immigration to Israel) of immigrant groups are very different. English-speaking immigrants' status is privileged in that they have a relatively safe environment to return to should immigration to Israel not work out. They also possess linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1991) in the form of language that receives preferential treatment in much of the world, but most certainly so in Israel. No other foreign language is a required subject in schools or necessary for admittance to institutions of higher learning. Furthermore, no other foreign language is as visible in the linguistic landscape of Israel, with the possible exception of Russian. However, Russian's visibility in the linguistic landscape is primarily in areas where predominantly Russian-speaking immigrants live, with an important distinction – its pervasiveness stems from bottom-up sources. Heritage-language maintenance through family language policies for English speaking immigrants is not necessarily simple; but it is supported by the top-down and bottom-up policies.

Overview

In the following chapter (Chapter 2), I explain the theoretical framework within which this study is situated and provide the background literature on FLP and online research. Through the literature review on FLP I explain 1) what is a transnational family 2) what constitutes FLP, 3) who the participants are in FLP, 4) the tripartite view of FLP, and 5) what the research trajectory of FLP has been. I then move into literature on performing research online and discuss 1) communities online/online communities, 2) data in online ethnographies, and 3) the case for a telling case in online ethnographies.

In Chapter 3, I turn to research design and methods. In this chapter, I describe the problem addressed in the study and purpose of the study, the participants, the context, the history of the online communities and my positionality. I also discuss practical issues such as why Facebook is a good platform for data collection, the difficulties of data collection procedures, and a solution to those difficulties in the form of a software program created for this study, data analysis approaches and finally the ethics of research in online settings.

In chapter 4, I present and discuss my findings regarding the research questions focusing on online communities. In chapter 5, I present and discuss my findings regarding the research questions focusing on FLP.

I conclude my dissertation by discussing its theoretical contributions, research, policy and practical implications in chapter 6.

Chapter 2

Theoretical Framework

In this work three conceptual areas must be considered: the realities of virtual, online communities, the learning within online communities, and online communities as an environment or meeting space. The three notions are inseparable and are rooted in interactions. The realities of online communities are co-created, and learning is co-constructed through interactions within that (online) space.

The conceptual underpinnings of this study are rooted in Social Construction of Reality (Berger & Luckmann, 1966) and Sociocultural Theory (Vygotsky, 1962; 1978; Vásquez, 2006). Social Constructionists argue that reality is co-created through social interaction and Sociocultural Theory states that learning begins in social interactions. The two complementary perspectives provide a useful lens for considering and making sense of the very creation of the online communities within which the learning and (re)formulations of FLPs are recorded.

The focus of Social Construction of Reality on co-creation of reality through interactions with others is particularly resonant in considering how ‘virtual’ online communities are built. This concept explains how the reality and culture of online communal spaces are co-created through individual and collective participation. In harmony with this view, Vygotsky’s (1962; 1978) Sociocultural Theory argues that we learn through our interactions with others, both experts and peers, within communities, and through culture. In Sociocultural Theory, culture is the key determinant of knowledge construction, guiding interactions through rules, skills and abilities that are shaped by culture. Social context is key and learners are active collaborators in construction of

knowledge, building on each other's contributions and shaping by each individual's culture (Vygotsky, 1978). Learning in the case of this study is informal and transpired through the social interactions of transnational mothers within online communities that the mothers co-constructed based on their situated needs.

Out of situated needs of immigrant mothers, the online communities of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991) were co-constructed and new languacultures (Agar, 1999) were negotiated. The communities I examined are part of human geography; they are new spaces that support the new geographical and physical spaces of transnational immigrants. Just as people symbolically construct and mark social, physical space through linguistic landscapes (Ben Rafael, Shohamy, Amara, & Trumper-Hecht, 2006), they do the same in online spaces through languacultures they co-create. People purposefully enter the online spaces they in turn referentially co-create, "...learning through social participation in joint activities" (Kibler, 2016, p. 65). The Symbolic Interactionist view allows researchers to learn about FLP processes by deconstructing the interactions that create and represent realities. This study in particular was based on a perspective articulated by Bakhtin (1986):

Any understanding of live speech, a live utterance, is inherently responsive, although the degree to this activity varies extremely. Any understanding is imbued with response and necessarily elicits it in one form or another: the listener becomes the speaker. A passive understanding of the meaning of perceived speech is only an abstract aspect of the actual whole of actively responsive understanding, which is then actualized in a subsequent response that is actually articulated. Of course, an utterance is not always followed

immediately by an articulated response, an actively responsive understanding of what is heard (a command, for example) can be directly realized in action (the execution of an order or command that has been understood and accepted for execution), or it can remain for the time being, a silent responsive understanding (certain speech genres are intended for this kind of responsive understanding, for example lyrical genres), but this, so to speak, responsive understanding with a delayed reaction. Sooner or later what is heard and actively understood will find its response in the subsequent speech or behavior of the listener. In most cases, genres of complex cultural communication are intended precisely for this kind of actively responsive understanding with delayed action. Everything that we have said here also pertains to written and read speech, with the appropriate adjustments and additions (p. 68-69).

As such, it is necessary to take into consideration the global, geographical, local, and historical contexts described earlier, within which the construction of these online communities occurred. It is also imperative to pause and consider what and how the online space, as an environment, shapes and enables communications (Blommaert, Collins & Slembrouck, 2005). Transnational mothers co-created online communities to empower themselves and each other (Cohen & Raymond, 2011; Lopez, 2009; Madge & O'Connor, 2006). These spaces enable them to socialize and to forge new ties and maintain old ones (Ellison, Steinfield, & Lampe, 2007) when in host contexts where they may feel "...communicatively incapacitated when they are 'out of place'" (Blommaert, Collins & Slembrouck, 2005) due to language barriers and constraints on their time such

as childcare responsibilities. The very culture of the environment of online communities allows for flexible conceptualizations of time and space, depending on need.

Synchronous and asynchronous communication is the norm, and the physical location of the individual is at the very least inconsequential to the feelings of connected presence (Licoppe, 2004) afforded to these mothers. Within online communities, they have the ability to create a sense of self (Robinson, 2007) and create their own realities through interactions based in languages in which they are fluent, and at times in which they are available.

Family and Language: Family Language Policy

In order to situate the literature on Family Language Policy towards the contexts of this study, the following section has been organized into parts: an explanation of transnational families, an exploration of what constitutes FLP, who the participants are in FLP, the tripartite view of FLP, and the previous research trajectory of FLP.

Transnational families. Transnational families are families with living arrangements spread over two or more countries (Cho, Chen, & Shin, 2010). Depending on the culture of origin, *family* may mean the nuclear family of parents and children, or it may include extended family members such as grandparents or other significant family members. The difference between transnational families and immigrant families is the unsettling combination of distance with the desire to maintain close family relations and involvement (Cho et al., 2010; Hua & Wei, 2016). Because of advancements in communication technologies, immigrants are increasingly able to maintain and nurture relationships globally through computer-mediated communication and smart phones. This makes it more convenient for families to live transnationally, although due to the

nature of being transnational, it is difficult to estimate an exact number of people who live in this context.

Families separate for many reasons, and each family experiences this separation differently based on the unique interplay between their reason and their culture of origin, who has been separated, the host country's culture, as well as the family's financial situation, immigrant status, ages, and language proficiencies, to name just a few. Cho, Chen, and Shin (2010) outlined three of the most common reasons for the transnational family separation: political reasons, economic factors, and the pursuit of education. Each of these three reasons is in turn complex and can differ greatly from one case to another.

Arguably, some of the more salient and important processes of transnationalism are those of language learning, language acquisition, and language maintenance or loss. Among other things, transnationalism is conceptualized as a process of developing and maintaining the language skills necessary for "forging" and "sustaining" those multi-stranded, multi-national, and oftentimes multi-lingual relations by all affected individuals. For different individuals within families, the transnational processes and experiences are different. In regards to the language learning and maintenance processes necessary for maintaining and forging transnational relationships, the focal efforts are on learning societally dominant language(s) for some family members, while for others the focal efforts may be on learning or maintaining the heritage language. Both learning and maintenance, however, is ongoing within the family, and each individual may be undergoing different processes at the same time (Hirsch & Lee, in preparation).

Furthermore, while proficiency levels of adults may initially be higher than that of the child, at some point that may change and affect the dynamic surrounding family

language policies. For example, prior to an international move, parents may focus on introducing the soon to be new language to the child, focusing on the new language as a foreign language by hiring tutors or signing the children up for foreign language classes. Upon the move, that language becomes the societally dominant language and the focus is still on its acquisition. The child and the parent may be learning alongside each other, however, and a child may reach a subjectively determined higher level of proficiency before the parent. At this point, the child becomes the expert, and may begin assisting the family with administrative tasks through language brokering (Orellana, 2009), changing the dynamics of the family milieu. The parent may also now shift his/her focus to supporting heritage language maintenance and development with the child who is now sufficiently proficient in what was initially the target language. Additional moves to new linguistic environments or back to the homeland, and changes in family structure due to those moves or addition of new family members further add to the complexity of transnational family language policies.

In the context of this study, ‘heritage language’ is a language of personal relevance and cultural associations for an individual in an immigrant, ancestral, or indigenous language context (Lee & Suarez, 2009). Although scholars in English-dominant societies argue for its applications to all languages other than English (Clyne, 1991; Cummins, 1991; 2005; Fishman, 1991), English will be considered as a heritage language for this study. This is not just in principle, as Cummins (2005) puts it, but also in practice, due to the personal and cultural association as well as the relevance it has to the current population of interest, the English-speaking mothers in Hebrew-dominant Israel. At the same time, it is important to recognize that the experiences of those with

English as a HL are very different and likely more positive than those of other, less sought after languages.

The most influential social context of a person's life is the family, specifically caregivers and siblings (Toman, 1961), followed by peers (De Houwer, 1999). In studies of language socialization, bilingualism, and language maintenance, as well as more recently within the area of family language policy (FLP), the family context has been recognized as a critical or crucial domain for language transmission and/or maintenance (Spolsky, 2012). Fishman (2004), for example, created a Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS), a comprehensive model created to help guide the reversal of language shifts and to promote language maintenance. In this model, Fishman makes it clear that, should the family domain be struggling with the maintenance of its heritage language, the other domains and stages in this effort will likely be ineffective. The family domain, of course, does not exist in a vacuum; other domains affect it and its participants or family members independently and collectively in different ways, promoting or hindering language related goals (Edwards & Pritchard Newcombe, 2005; Lane, 2010). However, within the family domain, the success or failure of language maintenance and transmission goals can be determined (Fishman, 2004; Luykx, 2005; Spolsky, 2012). While other domains can significantly help with or hinder the achievement of this goal, none can boast the capability of resisting the pressures of language abandonment through the selection and implementation of an effective language policy.

What is family language policy? FLP is an interdisciplinary field that ties together the field of language policy, which is rooted in the sociology of education, sociolinguistics, and applied linguistics, and the field of child language acquisition, which

is rooted in psychology (King, Fogle & Logan-Terry, 2008). It is popularly defined as the study of overt and explicit⁵ planning of language use within the family, by the family members (King, Fogle & Logan-Terry, 2008; Schiffman, 1996; Shohamy, 2006; Spolsky, 2009). Family is viewed as a community of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991) that shares information and experiences within its domain, with its own language-use norms (Lanza, 2007) as negotiated between family members resulting in specific "...socialization to use language, and socialization through the use of language" (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986, as quoted in Luykx, 2005). Clearly, language socialization is at the core of the FLP field. Cook-Gumperz's (1986) explanation of "an interpretive approach to language socialization" (p. 48) echoes the FLP approach:

The study of language socialization must involve a view of language which is interactive and constitutive of social action...It would need more than just the enriching of language acquisition studies with knowledge of the social context, background or values of mothers and parents; or with the addition to linguistic variables of some cultural characteristics of the society in which interactants live. To create an adequate theory of language socialization both linguistic and social knowledge must be seen to focus on the social transmission process and the linguistic means through which social knowledge is reproduced. (p. 48)

⁵ There is some disagreement among scholars regarding the necessary degree of explicitness in language planning and management within families in the study of FLP, likely due to its connection to the language policy field, concerned with overt language planning in public domains. While some scholars hold that explicit and overt planning is an integral part of FLP, others, such as "Neustupny and Nekvapil (2003) argue that language management can be carried out both explicitly and implicitly and consciously and unconsciously." (Kirsch, 2012, p. 97)

In transnational families (Basch, Glick-Schiller, & Blanc, 1994), discussed in more detail below, these ongoing (re)negotiations are complex (Hirsch & Lee, in preparation) and often involve two or more languages or dialects that may hold different meaning and status to different family members. For example, a child's dominant language may be the dominant language of the host country and at the same time the second or third language of one or both of the parents. Furthermore, siblings may not share the same birth-home language, or even a dominant language depending on the transnational trajectory of the family.

The participants in FLP are family members and significant others. Depending on the culture and the structure of the family, active participants may be traditional nuclear family members, parents and children, or they may include extended family members or significant others residing with or in close proximity to the family. Likewise, in transnational families with family members living in different nation states, active FLP participants involved in FLP (re) negotiations and/or instigations may not be in close-proximity to the family unit but may be emotionally, financially, and otherwise closely involved in family functioning (Bae, 2013, 2014; Song, J., 2010, 2012; Song, K., 2016).

The conceptual model of FLP. Researchers in the field of FLP have been interested in a) language beliefs and ideologies, b) language management approaches and/or c) language practices and their outcomes (Spolsky, 2004). Although researchers in the field of FLP may focus on only one or two of these, the three parts are closely interrelated. Beliefs and ideologies may or may not be shared by different family members. Individuals experience the world differently and may, due to differing

transnational trajectories of living in specific places at different stages of life, perceive countries of residence and associated language(s) differently.

Emotions often underlie beliefs and ideologies. Tannenbaum (2012) proposes a reconceptualization of the FLP field to "...clarify the centrality of emotional aspects within the FLPs, including their unconscious, defensive and adaptive roles" (p.57) within immigrant families. Even when beliefs and ideologies are shared, the responses in terms of management approaches and/or practices may vary greatly (Chatzidaki & Maligkoudi, 2013) depending on a combination of personal experience and examples individuals see around them (King & Fogle, 2006; Kirsch, 2012). Furthermore, overarching societal discourses and ideologies regarding the value and prestige of different languages permeate individual beliefs and ideologies that underlie management approaches and practices (Ferguson, 2015). The ideologies rooted in the history of a region and its relationships with different languages likewise permeate individual ideologies and beliefs (Canagarajah, 2008; Ferguson, 2015) that in turn motivate different management responses and practices.

Management in FLP refers to the approaches taken by individuals in hopes of meeting some linguistic goal of the family. Management approaches may focus on the maintenance of heritage language of one or both of the parents and/or children as a specific FLP goal (Kopeliovich, 2013), or on dominant, host language acquisition (Bae, 2013, 2014; Song, J., 2010, 2012; Song, K., 2016). They might also focus on child's heritage language maintenance through learning of that language as a foreign language by the parent(s), as in transnational adoptive families (Fogle, 2013; Shin, 2014). Yet other

families may focus on foreign language acquisition for different reasons (Fogle & King, 2013), such as the acquisition of linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1991).

FLP practices refer to the actual uses of different languages within the home domain. They refer to the language selected, for whatever reason, for each utterance between and among each pair or group of participants throughout the day, every day. They refer to the selection and frequency of language used in reading, writing, watching movies, chatting on the Internet, sending text messages, leaving notes, etc. They refer to the patterns, or lack thereof, of languages used by and between the participants within the family domain at a specific stage in that family's life. It is subject to change and often does, depending on children's changing linguistic and communicative abilities (De Houwer & Bronstein, 2016), or individual (re)assessments of strategies and management techniques adopted and their outcomes (Kirsch, 2012). In other cases, the change may not be conscious; Schwartz (2008) found a discrepancy between reported and actual language use among the Russian-speaking parents living in Israel.

The FLP research trajectory. According to King (2016) we are currently in the fourth phase of FLP research. Earlier phases included a focus on child language socialization and approaches such as the one-person-one-language (OPOL) approach (De Houwer, 1990, 2007) adopted by the parents or caregivers and its associated outcome in terms of children's language proficiency. King and Logan-Terry (2008) described the field of FLP with the following statement: " Which caretakers attempt to influence what behaviors of which family members for which ends under what conditions by what means through what decision-making processes with what effect," (p. 910) while focusing on four different family situations, namely, families in which:

- 1) Parents do not share the native language.
- 2) The primary language of the family is different than the community language.
- 3) Parents and children have different competencies and/or preferences.
- 4) Parents try to promote a heritage, second, or foreign language at home.

(King, Fogle, & Logan-Terry, 2008, p. 910)

Within each of these family contexts, one, two, or all three components of FLP (beliefs, practices, management) were investigated focusing on one or both parents, and/or one or more children, along with outcomes in terms of beliefs, practices, management, and proficiency at that specific time.

Most studies have focused on families with heritage language maintenance goals (Chatzidaki & Maligkoudi, 2013; De Houwer & Bronstein, 2016; Ferguson, 2015; King & Fogle, 2006; Kirsch, 2012; Kopeliovich, 2013; Lane, 2010) where either the primary language of the family is different than the community language (Chatzidaki & Maligkoudi, 2013; Fogle, 2013; King & Fogle, 2006; Kopeliovich, 2013; Luykx, 2005; Stavans, 2012) or families in which parents do not share the native language (De Houwer & Bronstein, 2016; King & Fogle, 2006; Kirsch, 2012; 2006; Obied, 2009) and where one or both are minority language(s). Many of these studies also focused on families within which parents and children had different competencies in and/or preferences for certain languages (Chatzidaki & Maligkoudi, 2013; Ferguson, 2015; Fogle, 2013; Kopeliovich, 2013; Lane, 2010; Luykx, 2005; Obied, 2009; Stavans, 2012), with several studies turning to focus on children as active agents in FLP (re) formulations (De Houwer & Bronstein, 2016; Fogle, 2013; Obied, 2016) rather than the recipients of imposed policy implementation.

In the third phase, according to King (2016) the field was officially defined as “...explicit (Shohamy, 2006) and overt (Schiffman, 1996) planning in relation to language use within the home among family members (King, Fogle, and Logan-Terry, 2008)... family language policy provided a frame for examining both parental language ideologies, thus reflecting broader societal attitudes and ideologies about both language(s) and child-caretaker interactions, and ultimately, child language development (De Houwer, 1999)” (p. 727). This phase brought broader understanding of FLP through engagement with more diverse family types, languages, and contexts. Through diversified views, child-agency became one of the central foci of FLP studies. As Piller (2001) pointed out: “Indeed, the best-laid plans of parents may often be upset by the children themselves” (p. 76).

Lasting influences of children on FLPs have been discovered with children as young as 20 months (De Houwer & Bronstein, 2016), but also with school-aged children (Tuominen, 1999, p. 73), through sibling relationships (Kopeliovich, 2013; Obied, 2009), and in many immigrant and diaspora communities for adults’ language acquisition (Canagarajah, 2008). In Canagarajah’s (2008) study, adult Tamil speakers in the English-speaking countries of England and the United States reported learning the English language through their children (pp. 165-166). In addition to having an active influence over FLPs, children are also more reliable sources of information regarding their family’s language policy. Mila Schwartz (2008) found that “...children’s reports, in contrast to those of the parents, seem to reflect the real family language policy” (p. 415). Thus, the field has come to recognize that language socialization, as well as FLP processes, are “...not limited to the role of language in integrating children into society, but is open to

investigation of language socialization through the human lifespan across a range of social experiences and contexts” (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986, p. 163).

Researchers in the field are recognizing the need to expand understanding of FLP. Fogle (2013) argued for an expansion of the ideology component to include and differentiate between internal and external family forces, while Tannenbaum (2012) proposed a reconceptualization of the FLP field to “...clarify the centrality of emotional aspects within the FLPs, including their unconscious, defensive and adaptive roles” (p.57) within immigrant families. Hua & Wei (2016) further called for the focus on experiences of individuals, families, and communities to contextualize the larger patterns uncovered. This study fills these gaps by following an individual and her family’s FLP over an extended period of time, contextualizing the larger patterns through her FLP experiences and outcomes, changes and reformulations, through different stages of life, motherhood, transnationalism, and multilingual development.

Additionally, there is an urgent need to expand the FLP framework in light of changing global and political conditions, which are shifting labor opportunities and access to capital around the world (Orellana, Thorne, Chee, & Lam, 2001) and are changing the way families function and are structured (Hirsch & Lee, in preparation). More and more individuals and families make the difficult decision to relocate in search of economic and educational opportunities or for political reasons (Cho, Chen, & Shin, 2010). In some cases entire nuclear families translocate, leaving extended family members behind, while in other cases one or more individuals translocate, leaving parts of the nuclear family behind.

As mentioned earlier, one of the key issues that transnational families must address on an ongoing basis is language (Hirsch, & Lee, in preparation). Through language, relationships are built, maintained or lost and within families languages are learned, maintained or lost (Fishman, 1991; Spolsky, 2012). Hirsch & Lee (in press) therefore argue for the need to expand the FLP framework to account for the life and experiences of increasingly more common transnational families by including: a) the temporal element, to include information on the family's past and projected future trajectories in order to understand the context within which the family is operating: b) the language status from each perspective, which language means what and to whom; and c) the agency in translocation, or who had the choice and/or made the decision(s) to translocate. These aspects are central in understanding the experiences of transnational family language policies today.

Performing Research Online

As more people gather on the internet and spend much of their days online, the time has come for more researchers from more disciplines to engage interdisciplinarily to include Internet Studies. Unlike in earlier days of the internet, today, people from all walks of life populate online spaces, conquering them and creating what I am calling the *Internet of and for people (Io/fP)*: Shaped by and for people and where I and P represent the components and the o/f the relationship between them. I enables P and P give rise to I. It is internet that is populated, (co)created, (re)used, shared by people in different corners of the Io/fP depending on their stable and/or fleeting interests, needs, desires, hopes and every other noun (person/people, place, or thing) one chooses, needs, desires to be with(in), interact with(in), challenge and/or identify with(in) and through which

permeating effects ensue within the Io/fP and outside of its boundaries. Here I turn to research and researchers who have performed research online while discussing the difference between communities online and online communities, data in online ethnographies, and the case for a telling case in online ethnographies as relevant to present work.

Communities online and online communities. The concept of online communities has become an accepted social construct, regardless of the fact that the concept of community itself has been problematized as inadequately defined (Stacey, 1974). Engagement with online/cyber-communal living and explorations of different aspects, such as member identity (Baym, 1998; Turkle, 1995) and community as social reality (Baym, 2000; Van Dijk, 1998) among other topics, have made it an accepted social construct.

Kozinets (2010) further solidified the acceptance of the online community social construct by making the distinction between online communities, which exist solely on the internet, and communities online, which exist in physical spaces but are also present online. Ethnographic research has been conducted on online communities, as well as on communities online, and it has been referred to in different ways by different researchers. Kozinets (1998) himself coined the term netnography to denote ethnographic research on the net. Some researchers have followed suit (de Valck, 2005), while others have referred to their ethnographic work in online spaces as cyberethnography (Gajjala, 2004), virtual ethnography (Buchanan, 2000, Hine, 2008), or simply as ethnography (Baym, 1993; Cherny, 1999; Correll, 1995; Lysloff, 2003; Markham, 1998).

Perhaps the distinction is not necessary, as the experiences that give rise to gatherings in online spaces, and the co-creation of those spaces are very real for those involved. People meet to learn from each other, support each other, and socialize; the communities they form are as diverse as our world. For instance, heterosexual mothers meet online to seek and provide advice (Madge & O'Connor, 2006), lesbians meet in an *Electronic Bar: The Lesbian Café* (Correll, 1995), skinheads search for authenticity (Campbell, 2006), Seniors (Nimrod, 2011) and older Japanese internet users meet in online spaces to socialize (Kanayama, 2003), people flirt and seek love online (Whitty, 2003) and people meet in work-related communities such as Ontario kindergarten teachers (Lynch, 2014) or English language teachers (Kulavuz-Onal, D. & Vasquez, C., 2013) for example. They meet to discuss food (de Valck, 2005) and they meet to discuss their fear of exposure to “others” and what that may mean for their traditions (Olaniran, 2009). According to Fernback (2007): “The distinction between the ‘real’ and the ‘virtual’ has become much less useful as the Internet is firmly ingrained in daily cultural existence” (p.53). People are living in online communities (Carter, 2004; 2005) and communicating online (Danet, 2001), Kozinets (2010) stated:

Online communities are not virtual. The people we meet online are not virtual. They are real communities populated with real people, ... online communities *are* communities; there is no room for debate on this topic anymore. They teach us about real languages, real meanings, real causes, real cultures (p. 15).

Markham (1998) agreed: “Online experiences are real...how could experience be otherwise?” The benefits of the connected presence (Licoppe, 2004) in the form of informational, emotional, and social support have individuals returning to those

communities – this is in fact proof for how real these communities are for those that populate them.

Researchers are recognizing the importance of including the Internet and Computer Mediated Communication (CMC) in their research. Some argue for the need to investigate how constructs explored offline are exhibited and manifested in online settings, such as social competence, for example. As more interactions are taking place online, this important skill in children’s development, affecting many areas of their lives including academic achievement and physical and emotional outcomes, needs to be explored further (Reich, 2016). Others go as far as to argue that the only way to: “effectively explore some of the ethnographic research (such as the nature of specific social worlds and subcultures; the construction of identity; the beliefs, values, and world views underlying human actions and social life; and experience of everyday life) ethnographers must incorporate the Internet and CMC into their research to adequately understand social life in contemporary society” (Garcia et al., 2009, p.53). Regardless of opinion, the un-deniability of online communing necessitates that we follow in and engage with the actors, actions and events, and the social situations within (Spradley, 1979; 1980).

Humans are social animals, and continuously co-create culture everywhere they meet (Heath & Street, 2008). Online spaces are no exception. Anthropologists and ethnographers follow people into different communities to learn about them, and doing so within online communities is simply an extension of this process: researchers follow people where they go. With the venturing of humans into the digital realm, researchers follow, observe, participate, and ask questions about different aspects of life, including

questions about and within the digital technologies themselves. Today, “questions about digital technologies are...questions about human existence” (Lagerkvist, 2017, p. 97). Thus, by following people into their online communities the question is, as Lagerkvist (2017) puts it, “What does it mean to be a human in the digital age?” (p. 97). This enables researchers to learn about the lived experiences of a person or a group of people of today. Markham and Baym (2008) state: “...understanding people’s lives, particularly in the technologically driven Western world, may sometimes require ethnographers to do what the people they seek to study do, even if it necessitates staying at home “ (p.39).

Data in online ethnographies. The cultures in online ethnographies are constructed through textual language-in-use, extralinguistic cues in the form of emojis, images, and sounds. These also include co-created contexts between individuals and those that are not co-created, such as the platform design and its capabilities, as well as the macrosocial cultural context within which it all occurs. These are all considered data in online ethnographies. The concept of data in online ethnographies is more expansive than data in quantitative studies. Data are the lived experience inscribed in online spaces by individuals and groups that we, the researchers, access and engage with by way of our computers. The data in online ethnographies mirror data in offline ethnographies, but are exhibited and recorded differently.

The entire human body takes part in everyday, face-to-face conversations. Different parts of the body take on different roles in the communications people engage in; a shrug, a wave of the hand, an eye roll are all extralinguistic signs that help or hinder communicative goals. It is important to note that it is conceptually no difference for online conversations -- constructing these conversations as disembodied would be

incorrect. The entire human body is very much engaged in the online process -- however, the visibility of that shrug or eye roll changes to intentionally selected emojis, a new form of extralinguistic sign. Goffman (1978) proposed that all conversations and interactions were framed intentional behaviors aimed at achieving some communicative goal. The foregrounding of intent through extralinguistic cues selected for communication in online settings, as well as those selected not to be included fits conceptually with his larger point.

The job of online ethnographers is to interpret the linguistic and extralinguistic communications in light of these differences. That makes interpretation more complex as ethnographers are asked to consider not only the linguistic and extralinguistic cues, but also those that were not selected, and thus it begs for deeper analysis. It is this deeper interpretative digging that leads to *thick*, rather than big, data based on thick descriptions (Geertz, 1973). Thick descriptions (Geertz, 1973) are detailed accounts of field experiences with the patterns of cultural and social relationships put into context (Holloway, 1997) and interpretations that lead to subsequent detailed, situated, and nuanced understandings of social situations online. In online communities this is achieved through the analysis of online communities and their meaning and purpose to those who have co-created and co-populated them.

Big data analyses and data mining have been viewed as the main approach to studying online communications: they have the aura of being easy, “‘comprehensive’ and ‘objective’” (Varis, 2014, p. 16). Big data analyses are important and can show trends, but cannot explore the contexts behind trends without research supported by deeper analysis and interpretation grounded in contextualization and individual experience. This

limitation of big data analyses has been noted before. For example, in family language policy studies, Hua and Wei (2016) state:

The key argument we wish to put forward is that more attention needs to be paid to the diverse experiences of individuals and to the strategies they use to deal with the challenges of multilingualism rather than the overall patterns of language maintenance and language shift. (p. 655)

Hua and Wei call for deeper engagement with individual experiences, in order to understand the challenges of multilingualism in a different way than possible with big data.

Furthermore, Markham (2017) reminded the field of the fallacy of conflating data with knowledge or fact. As an example, she brought up the most recent shock of the US presidential election, the “unforeseen turn of predicted outcomes” (p. 2). The large amount of data available in the digital world was misinterpreted. Hence what was considered to be comprehensive and objective turned out to be neither. They pointed out “because its (data’s) value in this decade of big data is overstated, many faulty logics and premises about data, truth, and algorithmic computation can end up influencing how we make sense of the world around us.” (Markham, 2017, p. 2) This is where deeper, thicker analyses come in. Deeper, ethnographic analysis grounded in context and people can help contextualize trends and shed light on who or what, in fact, big data is representative of.

Online ethnographers engage with the languaculture (Agar, 1994) of the online community, the group of people, or the person of interest. As a result, ethnographers gain a deeper understanding to the statements made by the online data. The findings, as mentioned earlier, are the lived experiences as interpreted by the researcher. The data in

online ethnographies are thick, as described by Geertz (1973), and have the power to contextualize the patterns from big data to specify meaning. For example, in the most recent US presidential election example, online ethnographic work and the thick data online ethnographic work explore would have had the power to uncover the languacultures of smaller segments of the population, which would have contextualized what turned out to be big data misinterpretations.

The case for a telling case in online ethnographies. Through use of the telling case (Mitchell, 1984), it is possible to make online data meaningful and thick. It is also helpful in addressing the myth of the “ease with which social media data can be extracted and analyzed facilitates a distanced approach to social research” (Markham & Gammelby, 2017, p. 3) At its core, engaging with a telling case aids researchers in paying attention to what matters to those being studied, and essentially brought back to what ethnographic work stands for (Gumperz, 1997 in Calsamiglia & Tuson, 2016).

Markham and Gammelby (2017) offered, “flow as what we study” (p. 6), that is, the concept of flow as an approach to studying digital cultures. They stated “to find context, one must identify meaning in flow and transform it into something more concrete so that it can be analyzed” (p. 6). They explained the process as “immersive and directive” (p. 7), and as one that includes decision-making on the part of the researcher, which leads them to a specific focus. This is very much in line with the traditional ethnographic approach, albeit cleverly translated to the flow of and with the digital environment.

Mitchell (1984) stated that “[e]thnographic reportage tends to be general in form: the analyst makes statements about the overall pattern of behavior or belief derived from

extensive observation” (p. 237), which s/he has observed and followed while also, just as Markham and Gammelby (2017) suggest, making “decisions at critical junctures that will influence what eventually becomes the focus of analysis” (p. 7). The presence of the researcher can be different in online and offline settings, and extends beyond the scope of this work. However, in both settings the researcher observes, follows, and goes with the flow, honing their focus as time goes by. In fact, from the very beginning, they make decisions regarding how much or what they can attend to, record, flow with, online or off.

Making digital social media’s “distanced approach to social research” (Markham & Gammelby, 2017) less detached would, just as in traditional ethnographies, be possible through case analysis and particularly through analysis of a

’telling’ case in which the particular circumstances surrounding a case... serve to make previously obscure theoretical relationships suddenly apparent. It follows from this that the particularity of the circumstances surrounding any case or situation (or set of situations) must always be located within some wider setting or context. Any general statement which links theoretically relevant events or phenomena must always assume that ’other things are equal’ Case studies allow analysts to show how general regularities exist precisely when specific contextual circumstances are taken account of. When it is difficult to do this, then it is likely that the theoretical formulations of *the regularities* underlying the regularities needs some revisions (Mitchell, 1984, p. 239).

Therefore, by carefully selecting the telling case, particularly one that we can flow with for an extended period of time across different online settings, in an extended case

analysis, we can manageably, yet deeply and closely, examine the obscure theoretical relationships hidden in flows of large amounts of big data. The researcher carefully selects a participant to whom they have access and who is willing to allow the researcher to peruse years' worth of conversations in different online communities/settings. Here, it also becomes apparent that flowing with the telling case in online ethnographies can mean going with the flow or against the flow. It can also mean going into the past and following the trail to the present as one among many ways online ethnographers can observe and engage temporally with the communications of the telling case. Time, in online spaces, takes on a different form.

Chapter 3

Research Design and Methodology

My primary area of interest is the processes of bilingual or multilingual FLP (re)formulations and (re)negotiations. Processes here means 1) the very social situations and interactions that stimulate (re)formulations of beliefs, ideologies and management approaches and 2) the actors who inspire or jolt the families into (re)negotiations of practices (Spolsky, 2012). The research design of this study is an online ethnography. As an online ethnographer, I followed immigrant English-speaking mothers who were living in Israel into their online communities. Within these communities I observed their discussions and engaged with my primary tracer unit (Green, 1983) to construct a telling case (Mitchell, 1984) by closely examining all of her communications, particularly those pertaining to discussions focusing on FLP (re)formulations.

The design of this study is unique in terms of its purpose and approach. This is the first study to examine FLP (re)formulations as inscribed by the participant herself through her communications within the online communities spanning many years. It is an unprompted research design and a truly natural experiment, unlike the “so-called natural experiment(s)” (King, 2016, p. 732) that FLP studies have needed to rely on. One that does not, in any way, interfere with the production of data that is to be analyzed. In fact, I as the researcher only observed these conversations later, in some cases years after they were produced. I was a time-travelling detective, piecing together the developing text, searching for evidence of sources of change and the outcomes of those changes. The methods by which I pieced together the developing text are not solely practiced methods

but are rather a way of thinking, an iterative and recursive logic-in-use (see Green, Skukauskaite, & Baker, 2012). I gained an understanding of the social situation by examining the boundaries of those communities. I accomplished this by examining each post and response of the telling case and two other individuals, who were identified as the two tracer units (Green, 1983). This allowed me to verify the purpose and the use of this online communal space and the context within which the FLP conversations take place. I then returned to the communities, following the trail left by the tracer unit to construct a telling case (Mitchell, 1984) focusing on FLP-related discussions. Then it was time to go back again and put together a time line, followed by an event map, and finally an analysis of each individual FLP communication. Lastly, I went back for one more look from a different perspective, to learn what immigrant mothers want to know more about, what they want to discuss and do discuss in these online communities in terms of FLP. Then it became clear how we, the researchers, could potentially step in through research to help obtain those answers for them and many others globally.

In this chapter I provide a brief overview of the purpose of my study, introduce my telling case, discuss the context within which this study takes place including the context of English speakers in Israel and why Facebook as a research site. I then delve into detailed discussions of data collection and data analysis. In the data collection section, I discuss several venues I explored with the aim of extracting the data out of the FB platform. I discuss the difficulties and provide examples of problems encountered with the software program I initially purchased for capturing and extracting data from social media sites. I follow this discussion by providing the details of the tailor-made

solution created by three software engineers for this study⁶. Following the data analysis section, I finish this chapter with a section on internet research ethics.

Study Overview

The purpose of this study was to examine the social situation of the online communities co-created by the tracer unit to construct a telling case (Mitchell, 1984) of (re)formulations of FLPs as inscribed through her communications. I examined the social situation via the actor(s) - informant(s), the activities, and the place as proposed by Spradley (1980). Actors are defined as "...someone who becomes the object of observation in a natural setting" (Spradley, 1979, p.32), while the informant(s) are those we engage with through participant observation. Spradley (1979) explained:

Ethnographers often use participant observations as a strategy for both listening to people and watching them in natural settings. Those they study thus become actors and informants at the same time; informant interviews may even be conducted casually while doing participant observation (p. 32).

The activities are smaller units of behavior in a situation, that when linked together form patterns called events (Spradley, 1980). Activities in the case of this study are the posts within the online communities. The place is any physical or virtual setting as well as the social situation. In this study, to construct a telling case, I followed the actor(s), the primary tracer unit and two secondary tracer units into the place, the social situation of the online communities. There I examined the boundaries of each of the communities by taking an in-depth look into the activities in form of topics proposed and either taken up to become events or that were rejected and did not become events. The

⁶ Amir Hirsch, Max Vujović, and Manuel Korn

topics were proposed through posts and/or responses, the equivalent of the activities in Spradley's (1979) model performed by the actor(s). In this case, the primary tracer unit and other immigrant mothers populated and in-turn created the online communities of interest. I then returned to the primary tracer unit's family language policy related events, or chains of communication activities, within the online communities.

Participants

Participants in this study were initially recruited for "English in Israel" studies carried out between 2011 and 2013 during my employment as a researcher at the Department of Language and Literacy in Zinman College at the Wingate Institute in Israel. All of the individuals who completed the questionnaire were transnational settlers in Israel or partners of a transnational settler in Israel. All of the respondents were originally from English-speaking countries such as the United States (US), the United Kingdom (UK), Canada, Australia, or South Africa. Two hundred and thirty-two participants completed the online questionnaire, 192 (83%) Female (mothers) and 40 (17%) Male (fathers). The participants themselves were highly educated: 74% of the participants possessed a Bachelor's degree or higher and 71% of partners of transnational settlers. Participants rated their family income as above average in 49% of the cases, average in 34% of the cases, and below average in 3% of the cases. Most of the participants were married (84%), 4% were not married but were living with their partners, 7% were single, and 4% divorced. Participants reported that their parents lived abroad in 73% of the cases, while partner's parents lived in Israel in 68% of the cases. Most participants did not grow up in a bilingual home, with 26% having been brought up bilingually. Most families had 1 or 2 children. (Kayam & Hirsch, 2012).

At the end of the questionnaire participants were asked to e-mail me as the corresponding researcher regarding updates on the study's development and to express an interest for participation in future studies. Eight women expressed an interest over email to participate in future studies. I e-mailed the eight participants regarding their potential involvement in this study. Out of the eight participants contacted, five agreed to participate.

Participants in this study include the primary tracer unit and two secondary tracer units. The telling case is defined as the case in which the particular circumstances surrounding a case “serve to make previously obscure theoretical relationships suddenly apparent” (Mitchell, 1984, p.239). Since the purpose of a case study is to present *sufficient evidence to demonstrate how events and actions are linked to one another in theoretically significant ways*, data beyond what is strictly germane to this purpose are redundant (Mitchell, 1984). The tracer units provide information about “...a type of behavior, type of information, or type of construct that is traced or followed across and within various settings and/or contexts. This unit becomes a primary locus of observation within a given study (Merritt & Humphrey, 1981). Any given study may have multiple tracer units. Each unit involves shifting the locus of observation to foreground and background processes, variables, contexts, and so forth “ (Green, 1983, p. 189). In the current study, the locus of observation is the primary tracer unit, with two secondary tracer units serving to verify the boundaries and the context of the communities.

The primary tracer unit selected was a participant who was most active in all three communities of interest in regards to FLP planning and with whom I was in contact. The two additional tracer units selected were two women who participated in all three of the

communities of interest, and who had some conversations regarding FLP in these three communities. Outside of the e-mails regarding consent and purposes of this study, I have not been in contact with the two women serving as tracer units in my study. All three were English-speaking mothers living and raising their children in Israel. All three of these mothers participated in three online communities pertinent to their experiences of mothering in Israel: a baby group, a kids group, and a city-specific group. All three of these mothers voluntarily took part in questionnaire-based pilot studies and voluntarily indicated their interest in participating in future studies examining sociolinguistic processes. They indicated their interest by e-mailing the researcher directly.

The primary tracer unit. Daniella is a British-Israeli woman who immigrated to Israel with her husband in December of 2007. At the time of her move, she was pregnant with their first child, who was born in March of 2008. In 2009, she gave birth to twins, and in 2011 to her youngest child. Prior to immigration, Daniella was predominantly monolingual in English. She was somewhat versed in the Hebrew required for prayers and texts or phrases related to traditional/religious activities; however, this knowledge was not useful in practical and everyday communications.

After the birth of her first child, Daniella met several mothers in the park and became a regular member of the “Mommy and Me” community. She then followed the communities into online spaces and joined the three communities under consideration as they were created. Due to the fact that Daniella had three more children over the next several years, she remained active within the Baby community while many of the original community members had “graduated” to the Kids community, which she joined and participated in as well. She was actively living through both the baby and the kid stages

concurrently. Her continued and active communication within the Baby community becomes apparent upon closer examination through the construction of the time and event maps (see Figure 1. for a visual representation of the chronological developments in Daniella's family and of the communities).

At the time of this study, eight years after her immigration to Israel, Daniella was no longer monolingual and was a mother to four trilingual girls. In a follow up e-mail communication with Daniella, I asked how she would self-identify in terms of languages in her life. Daniella acknowledged her shift from being monolingual to being trilingual, albeit to differing degrees of fluency in each:

Tijana: "Upon immigration to IL, would you have considered yourself monolingual? How much Hebrew did you know? What do you consider yourself to be now in terms of languages in your life? "

⁷Daniella: "*Definitely mono lingual upon aliyah. Now.. English mother tongue. Moderate hebrew. Rudimentary Swedish*"

This short exchange shows that (re)formulations regarding the FLP had, indeed, taken place, evidence and traces of which were found within the communities as inscribed through Daniella's communications. In the following section I provide a brief summary of the findings for each of the research questions.

⁷ Throughout this work, all of the posts, questions, and e-mail text were included as communicated by the participant(s). No changes were made in punctuation or spelling.

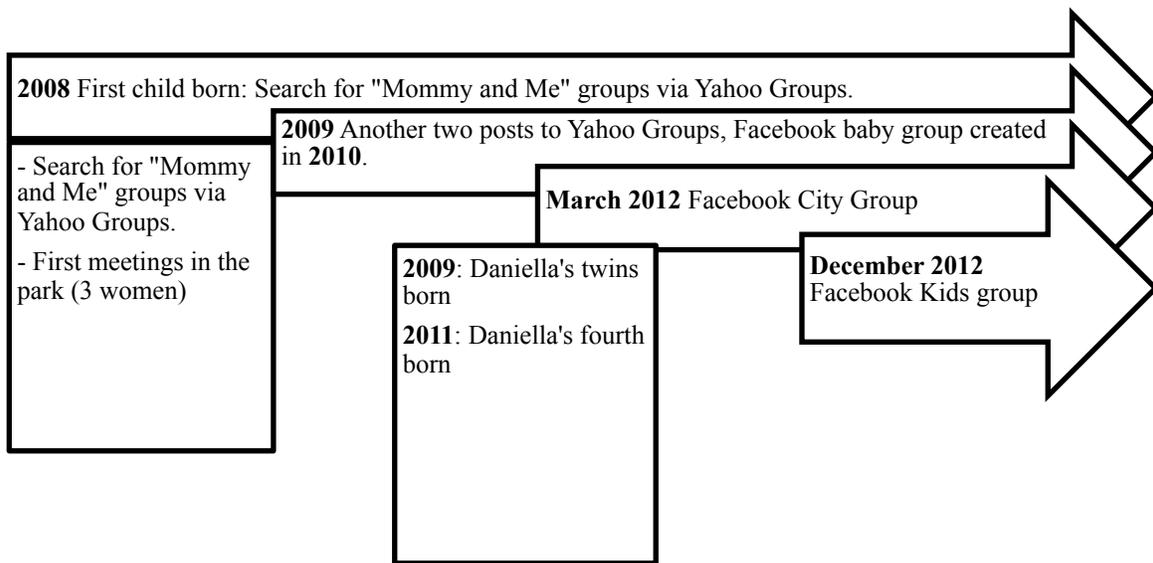


Figure 1. *Chronological timeline of the communities and of Daniella's growing family.*

History of the communities and researcher positionality. In 2008 I gave birth to my oldest child in Israel. Facebook communities were not common at that time, and several months into motherhood, I craved a community. Most of my friends were not mothers as of yet, or had moved back to their respective homelands. In an effort to find a community, I searched “Yahoo Groups” of Tel Aviv for “Mommy and Me” group mentions.

Having failed to find any communities, I posted an ad, and two mothers answered. One was a European-born, secular woman who had had her child one day before I had mine, in the same hospital. We were roughly the same age, and although she was not from an English-speaking country, her educational background was in teaching English, and she spoke English with her partner. The other woman was a considerably younger, religious American woman who was part of Chabad, an Orthodox Jewish, Hasidic

Movement – a socio-religious movement stemming from 18th Century Ukraine. We met for the first time in her home, which was a very different experience than I was used to. Her home was bare. Religious books adorned her walls, alongside a photo of “the Rebbe,” the seventh rabbi in the Chabad movement. We chatted about motherhood and our moves to Israel. After that initial meeting we mostly met in the large park, Park HaYarkon, in the North of Tel Aviv weather permitting.

After several meetings we discussed ways of reaching other mothers, and once again we turned to the internet for help. This was the posting we posted to Yahoo Groups:

27830INFO4U - Mommy & Me Group

Expand Messages

Sep 23, 2008 Hey ladies, We are a small group of mommies and babies who try to meet once a week. At the moment we meet in Park Hayarkon, where we sit on blankets with our babies, bring toys, play and talk. When winter comes we will have to think of different places to hold our meeting.

We are looking for more moms and babies to join us, to share experiences of motherhood, to have that vital interaction with other adults (especially for stay at home moms) and for our children to get to know other children of similar ages and play with each other.

So far our babies are between 5 and 10 months old, but any age is more than welcome.

If you're interested, email me and we will take it from there. Several more mothers joined, and after a while we posted again, grew some more, and posted again:

29287INFO4U - Baby Playgroup

Expand Messages

Mar 12, 2009 Hi, I am part of a 'mommy and me' playgroup in Tel Aviv. Our children are all around 1 year old and we meet 1x per week in Park Hayarkon on Sunday afternoon.

We would love to expand our group with more mommies and little ones.

If you and your little one would like to join us, send me an email and I will send you more details.

Looking forward to hear from you!

31207INFO4U - Mommy & Me / TA

Expand Messages

Sep 26, 2009 Mommy and me Tel Aviv is a social group created for moms and their little ones in and around Tel Aviv to meet other moms and children.

Our main spoken language is English, but we welcome all moms from all backgrounds into our group.

Our children's ages range anywhere between 8 and 20 months and we might start a newborn group soon.

We currently meet 3 times per week by Park HaYarkon and try to meet every now and again in the evening as well without the kids.

If you are interested in joining our group, please get in touch with me:

By this point, we were a large and vibrant group. There were about 20 of us who regularly saw each other, on different days, in the park, with our babies. We were meeting many days of the week, each one joining when she could, when her child's schedule permitted. Soon the "baby" Facebook group was created and became the community online, an organized and additional online space for us to meet. The online community gained momentum and grew to today's close to 3000 members. In 2012, an offshoot "Kids" group was created for those of us whose kids were three years old and older, and who were no longer interested in topics of nursing, sleeping through the night, and other baby-specific topics. Many of us with older kids moved into the "Kids" community but remained members of the baby group. That group was close to 2000 mothers strong at the time of this study.

At some point it became apparent that the members populating these communities now gathered from different corners of Israel --Haifa in the North, different cities in the center, not just Tel Aviv but also Raanana, Modiin, and others, and all the way down to the most Southern tip of the country, Eilat. It also became apparent that planning meet-ups and inquiring regarding location-specific and related information was becoming complicated and irrelevant for some. Mothers would be interested in joining a proposed meet-up only to realize that they lived out of the area. That is how city-specific groups came about.

Over time, groups grew for the large cities/areas, as well as many smaller ones. There were also more specialized groups that grew out of those first communities, those intended for the swapping of baby items, those intended for family camping within Israel, for frugal living in expensive areas of Israel, for healthy baby food recipes, and others. The list of topics covered by different communities was as diverse as the interests of the women within them.

Why Facebook? Given the globalization of the world, the isolating nature of transitioning into parenthood, as well as the trends in communication patterns, it is not surprising that 91%⁸ of parents use the internet, 83% are active on social media sites, and 74% of the parents online use Facebook, the most popular platform among Internet using parents (Duggan, Lenhart, Lampe, & Ellison, 2015). Although both mothers and fathers are equally likely to say they use the internet, mothers are more likely to use specific platforms such as Facebook, 81% of mothers versus 66% of fathers log into Facebook more frequently. Of the parents who report using the internet, 75% use Facebook daily,

⁸ This figure refers to those who have access to internet.

51% several times a day, which also splits into 56% of mothers versus 43% of fathers. Younger parents under the age of 40 are more active on Facebook than older parents over the age of 40, 82% of younger parents log in daily versus the 68% of the older parents, who are more likely to log in weekly (18% vs. 7%). Parents gather in online spaces for information and emotional support (Doty & Dworkin, 2014; Plantin & Daneback, 2009) and in these spaces they forge relationships and get social support needed for healthy functioning and a sense of well-being (Cohen, Underwood, & Gottlieb, 2000).

Data Collection

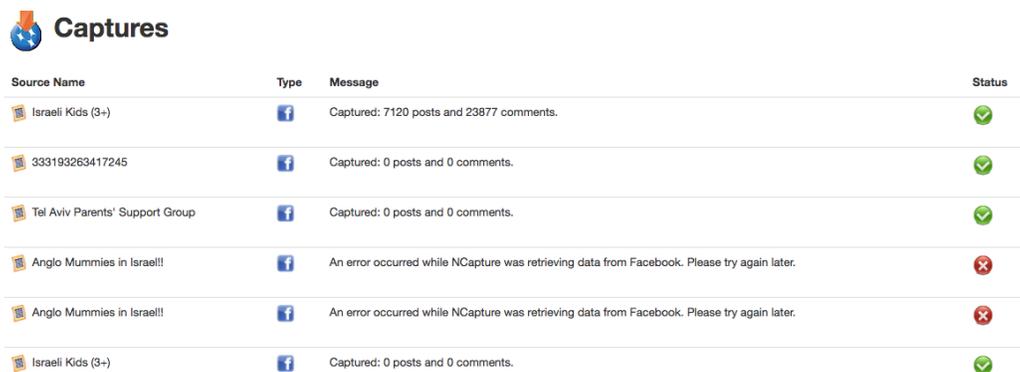
Data collected for this study were posts and responses of the participants within the three communities mentioned above between the years of 2008 and 2016. Initially, data were to be collected using Facebook's own Graph Search tool; however, this proved to be inefficient. It was not successful in capturing all of the communications regarding a certain topic or by a specific individual. The search output of this tool is, among other things, bound by privacy setting of the groups, which made it impossible to collect all of the communications I was in fact given permission to collect, by the participant.

Upon further research into the options available, NVivo's NCapture application was selected. Although NVivo and NCapture claim to be able to capture social media data in two formats, database (for groups) and Webpage PDFs (searchable screenshots of webpages), NCapture was in actuality unable to capture data in the form of a database correctly. Instead of collecting data from the group requested, NCapture captured data from an entirely different and unrelated group, repeatedly. The PDF screenshot option was not viable, as it displayed names and information of members of the group who were involved in conversations but had not given consent to partake in the study. Furthermore,

working with searchable PDFs in order to extract the needed data proved to not be possible. The PDF only captured several pages of the group's content and was unable to capture earlier content or content which included more than several comments to the original posts, often excluding the response made by the telling case (Mitchell, 1984).

I then attempted to utilize the new function of Excel. However, this too was unsuccessful. Manual extraction of the posts was also not practical for several reasons. Daniella had posted or responded several hundred times in each of the group communities. Extracting each comment, scrolling down to locate each one, copying and pasting, and taking note of the context within which her response was made would have taken simply too long to complete.

At this point I decided to consult with a software engineer to see whether a different type of extraction would be possible. As a result, a team of three software engineers created a multi-step solution that was able to extract the data from Facebook and convert them into a searchable Excel database format. All three of the engineers volunteered their services and were not compensated for their work in any way.



Source Name	Type	Message	Status
 Israeli Kids (3+)		Captured: 7120 posts and 23877 comments.	
 333193263417245		Captured: 0 posts and 0 comments.	
 Tel Aviv Parents' Support Group		Captured: 0 posts and 0 comments.	
 Anglo Mummies in Israel!!		An error occurred while NCapture was retrieving data from Facebook. Please try again later.	
 Anglo Mummies in Israel!!		An error occurred while NCapture was retrieving data from Facebook. Please try again later.	
 Israeli Kids (3+)		Captured: 0 posts and 0 comments.	

Figure 2. NCapture social media data captures.

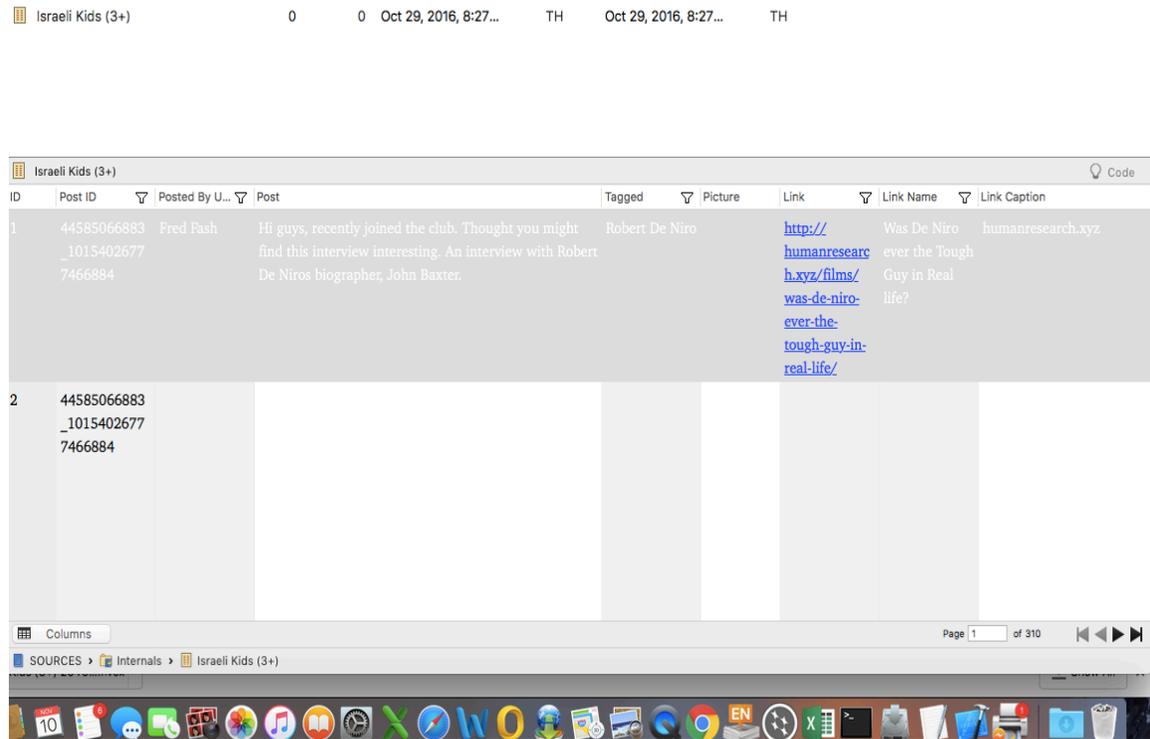


Figure 3. Data from NCapture in NVivo.

Software programs for social media data extraction. In order to extract group data from Facebook, the Facebook Graph API version 2.3 was utilized. A short script was written in Node.js which recursively traversed through group data extracting only relevant data for the study. In order to reduce the file size of the received data, only the relevant bits of information were extracted. The Graph API created a file in JSON format containing all requested group data. In order to upload the JSON data collected from the Facebook Graph API to the NVivo analytical coding software, the JSON files needed to be converted to the appropriate Excel format. To do the conversion, Microsoft Visual Studio was used as the development environment. The conversion script was written in

C# using an open library for Excel generation called EPPlus. To parse the JSON file, Newtonsoft Json.NET was used. The script returned an Excel file that was in the correct format to upload to the NVivo platform.

Data Analysis

In order to answer my research questions I first examined the social situation constructed by the actor(s) through their actions, their communications, within and across the three online communities named above. In other words, I followed Spradley's (1980) model of social situation analysis while iteratively and recursively examining the relationships among the actor(s), the activities, and the place(s). The three components of the social situation were closely linked, and the examination of each is inherently connected to the other two. In the following section I explain how I approached the social situation analysis that enabled me to answer my first set research question: What is the context within which FLP conversations take place? What is the purpose of these communities as created by and for the immigrant mothers within them? I then move into discussing the methodological approaches, or more accurately philosophy of research (Green, Skukauskaite, & Baker, 2012) that allowed me to piece together the developing text and to answer the research questions regarding the evidence and nature of FLP (re)formulations and their sources in and manifestations through practices.

The social situation: The context. In order to understand the purpose of the communities and the context within which the FLP conversations took place I needed to examine the boundaries of the communities. In order to do so I explored what the actors, in this case the mothers did within those communities, what they communicated about, and how they used and in-turn created those communities. Examining what each one of

the thousands of women communicated about within each of the three communities would be not only unethical as informed consent was not obtained from all of the members of the communities, but also impractical and unnecessary. In order to understand the boundaries of the communities, I examined in detail all of the communications of the three consenting members of the communities who were participants in this study, the primary tracer unit (Mitchell, 1984) and the secondary tracer units.

After much frustration with the lack of tools available for successful data extraction, as explained earlier in this chapter, I was finally able to capture the data from Facebook and upload it into NVivo, the qualitative research software that allowed me to code each of the comments. I coded each comment for whether it was an initiating post or a response and for its thematic purpose. Through this approach I was able to gain an understanding of the context that was co-created among my participants and other mothers populating these communities without analyzing the non-consenting participants' posts directly. Although the patterns of communications between the primary tracer unit and the two secondary tracer units differed in terms of frequency and purpose, I was successfully able to confirm the boundaries and the purpose of the communities, and hence the context.

The primary tracer unit and the context. Overall, the primary tracer unit, Daniella, was much more active in responding to others than in initiating the posts herself. The following 17 thematic categories, or “nodes” as they are referred to in NVivo, emerged:

- experience sharing;
- recommendation of product, service, or place;

- childcare advice;
- general advice;
- opinion;
- Family Language Policies (FLP);
- meet-ups;
- offering;
- pregnancy;
- complimenting and supporting;
- plugging (promoting own businesses or selling items);
- recipient and position design communications (Gee, 2010);
- nursing;
- citizenship;
- birth;
- posts in Hebrew;
- thanking;
- working mom; and
- asking for something (a specific baby product that is not readily available in Israel or that is needed for only a short period of time, for instance)

The emergence of these 17 categories represented the boundaries of these communities co-created and entered for by their members.

It became apparent that in order to understand the context of the communities, or the social situation as referred to by Spradley (1980); I had to examine the activities of the actor(s) in the specific places or online communities of interest over some period of time. It also became apparent that in this situation it would be impossible to separate the three elements, the actors(s), the activities, and the place in order to examine each one. The very nature of performing ethnography in online communities requires the researcher to follow the people into online communities and observe and interact with the language/text used by the participants in order to learn about the social situation: the actor(s), the activities, and the place.

Family language policy and the primary tracer unit. Only after establishing the social situation and answering the first research question regarding the context was I

able to meaningfully relate to and engage with the developing text of my primary tracer unit regarding her FLP (re)formulations. Mitchell (1984) defined the case studies, or the telling case, as

...the detailed presentation of ethnographic data relating to some sequence of events from which the analyst seeks to make some theoretical inference. The events themselves may relate to any level of social organization: a whole society, some section of a community, a family or an individual. What distinguishes case studies from more general ethnographic reportage is the detail and particularity of the account. Each case study is a description of a specific configuration of events in which some distinctive set of actors have been involved in some defined situation at some particular point of time. (p. 222)

By gaining an understanding of the purpose and the needs of the members, the co-creators, that gave rise to the communities in question was I able to understand how the strand of interest to me was inscribed by the primary tracer unit, how it (the FLP strand) fit in and grew out of the communications within these communities.

Therefore in order to explore and answer the research questions regarding FLP, whether there was evidence of its (re)formulations, how it is referenced and manifested in practices, I created a timeline and an event map of all FLP-related communications by the primary tracer unit across the three communities under consideration (for a picture of the physical map created, please refer to Appendix B). This became a springboard for the construction of the developing text, which allowed me to trace and visualize her movement and communications over time and across communities. After gaining this chronological understanding of her communications, I created a more detailed event map

of each of her FLP-related comments for what each comment proposed, recognized, acknowledged, and communicated to be significant, as well as whether it addressed FLP management, planning, and/or practices components (for an image of the physical event-map created, please refer to the Appendix B). This iterative and recursive approach allowed me to piece together the developing text and recognize the referencing of (re)formulations of the FLP as communicated by the primary tracer unit, the sources and agents of those (re)formulations, and the manifestations of those (re)formulations in terms of practices within the family context.

Ethics

Regulations regarding research involving human subjects in online settings are still a work in progress for many academic institutions. In addition to issues of seeking and obtaining informed consent and safeguarding participant's personal information, academic institutions are concerned with making sure that both platform rules and international context rules are not compromised. Contrary to popular belief, social media user-created content is often not considered to be public. If the content of interest is created on a platform that requires individuals to create a log in to access the site and that site has user terms, then those sites are not considered to be public and data is not considered publicly available (Human Subjects staff, UCSB, e-mail correspondence). As such, informed consent must be obtained from any and all individuals whose data will be used in research, whether or not it is identifying. Therefore, in online conversations or posts involving one or more individuals who have not provided consent, no data can be used or analyzed in research purposes. Researchers must take utmost care in providing contextual details in describing events or conversations without using any actual

communications that could potentially be searched, found, and tied to a particular individual.

Researchers entering online spaces to collect data must follow the terms of the platform within which they are to collect their data. Facebook's terms say "If you collect information from users, you will: obtain their consent, make it clear you (and not Facebook) are the one collecting their information, and post a privacy policy explaining what information you collect and how you will use it."

Furthermore, the issue of international context is not quite straightforward. Researchers interested in collecting or using data of individuals who are residing in a different country but are using a US platform, and who are not associated with other organizations, such as academic institutions, or schools, as relevant to the study in question, do not need to obtain additional consent. Researchers conducting research on data produced by individuals whose affiliation to any international organization, institution, corporation, company, etc. is relevant to the study in question must, in addition to following local institutional rules and platform rules, must seek consent from that institution as well. Individual consent is not adequate. For more information on ethics in internet studies please refer to Association of Internet Researchers (AoIR) ethics recommendations.

The limitations of this study are rooted in ethical considerations of affordances of internet research. Internet research affords us the ability to condense time and learn about long-term processes and long-standing communications relatively quickly, but it also limits how we communicate what we have learned. The boundaries of this study are dictated by ethical considerations for non-participants. Since even the contextual

information regarding responses and posts communicated by the consenting participant must be treated with utmost care as not to divulge any information that can be traceable to others who took part in the conversations with the telling case, some of the most illustrative examples must be limited. As such, the raw data coded by the researcher (myself) was shared only with my advisor and the dissertation committee. It cannot be included in the published version of this work.

Chapter 4

Findings for Online Communities

Research Question: Online Communities

1. What is the context within which FLP conversations take place?
2. What information do the transnational mothers seek in online communities?

Upon examining the themes of all of the posts by the telling case (Mitchell, 1984) and the two other participants, a clear purpose or a number of situated needs out of which these communities were created becomes apparent. Although the patterns of communication of individuals differ within these communities, with some responding more than others and others posting or initiating conversations more than others, a clear purpose of the communities was found. Mothers meet in these communities for two reasons. Metaphorically speaking, they shifted back and forth between utilizing the online communities as a tool or as a place (Markham, 1998) depending on their situated needs, and rooted in their life trajectory. In either case, they entered to learn from each other and support each other. Their communications most often centered on navigating motherhood in Israel, including seeking and sharing advice regarding child-rearing, language planning, and venting about the frame clashes (Gumperz & Tannen, 1979) they experience: those moments when raising their children in a culture new to them becomes particularly pronounced. They also turned to these communities in search of more practical support. They sought out and shared recommendations for products and services in Israel, and asked for and offered items and help.

The communications of the telling case, Daniella's and two additional participants' were coded under different thematic nodes and analyzed in terms of frequency. The theme nodes were based on experience or opinion – meaning that the participants responded with a personal experience or cited their opinion. The hierarchy charts below shows the communication patterns exhibited by Daniella and confirmed by the two tracer units in three online communities of interest. Overall, mothers most often met in these communities to

- share and learn from each other's experiences,
- learn about their surroundings through recommendations for services, products, and places/businesses,
- seek and give advice, ask for and share opinions,
- discuss FLP-related topics, and
- organize meet ups.

They also, as mentioned earlier, used these spaces to

- offer items and help,
- sell different items or promote their services,
- discuss topics pertaining to pregnancy, nursing, and birth, and
- others (please refer to Appendix C for some examples of nodes, criteria, and examples).

In other words, they utilized the online communal space as a tool (Markham, 1998) in navigating transnational (Basch, Glick-Schiller, & Blanc, 1994) motherhood and life in new surroundings, as a marketplace, and as a networking site.

Although the node frequencies in domain analyses varied among the three communities slightly and although the communication patterns between participants varied, these can be assumed to be the contextual boundaries of the communities populated by and in turn created by these mothers. The situated needs that gave rise to these three communities were reflected in the ways the communities were utilized. While all three communities were used as a tool, the baby community was also most obviously used as a place (Markham, 1998) to socialize and “hang out.” Unsurprisingly so, as mothers at this stage of motherhood often find themselves on restricted outing schedules, based on their baby’s eating and sleeping patterns, among other things. Hence, mothers in the baby community shared more of their experiences, versus the kid community and the city-specific community. The city specific community was most utilized as the tool to organize in-person meet-ups, the second most-common reason moms enter this community, after seeking advice on location specific products and services.

Communication patterns

I now turn to a detailed analysis of Daniella’s communications within the three communities under consideration in order to show how by looking at the communication patterns of an individual we are able to learn about not only their needs, but also the context and boundaries of the communities they helped shape. Daniella herself was much more active in responding to posts than in initiating the conversations herself (see Table 2 below). She initiated conversations/posts only 93 times in total across all three communities over approximately 5 years. By comparison, she responded over 1,000 times, over 600 times in the Baby community alone.

Table 2.
Summary of the Number of Daniella's Communication Activities

Group	Response	Posts
Baby Group	609	38
Kids Group	411	34
City-Specific Group	161	21

By looking at Daniella's communications it is possible to learn about the situated needs of the mothers that populate and shape the contexts of the communities in question. Through Daniella's posts we learn about her specific situated needs, but through her responses we also learn about the situated needs of others, without analyzing their communications directly.

Daniella was happy to help. This was evident in the number of responses she provided to those in need of advice or information, as well as in some of the content of those responses. In many of the posts, Daniella offered advice, knowledge, items, and help. In fact, some of the considerably fewer posts initiated by Daniella were in fact her sharing information she thought would be useful to others. When responding in the form of advice, be it general or childcare related, Daniella largely relied on and cited her own experiences, immediately before or after the advice within the same response. On several occasions, Daniella relied on her opinion rather than experience, but this was uncommon.

Upon examining the domain analysis charts of each of the communities separately, the context or the purpose of the community becomes clear. New mothers relied most heavily on the baby community to learn about each other's experiences, to learn about where to find different products and services, and to get general advice and advice regarding the care of their babies (see Figure 4). Here FLP discussions are sixth

most common, but they move up to the fifth most common topic in the kids community (see Figure 5 below). Interestingly, another change from one community to the other was the amount of times advice on childcare is sought/provided. As the children became older than 3 years of age, the mothers less often sought and provided advice on childcare through shared experiences and more often shared their opinions, along with providing/seeking general advice and recommendations on products, services, and places. Unsurprisingly, the city-specific group's purpose was largely utilized to get recommendations for services, products, and places and to organize in-person meet-ups. It was also entered in order to offer things such as outgrown toys, clothes, and baby-related products, for all of which specific location would matter.

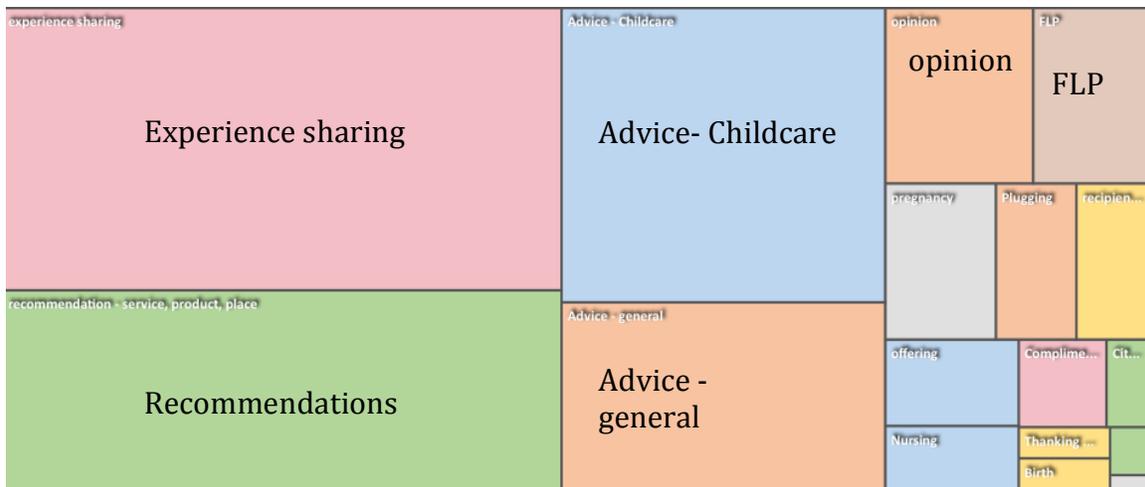


Figure 4. Domain analysis of the Baby group.

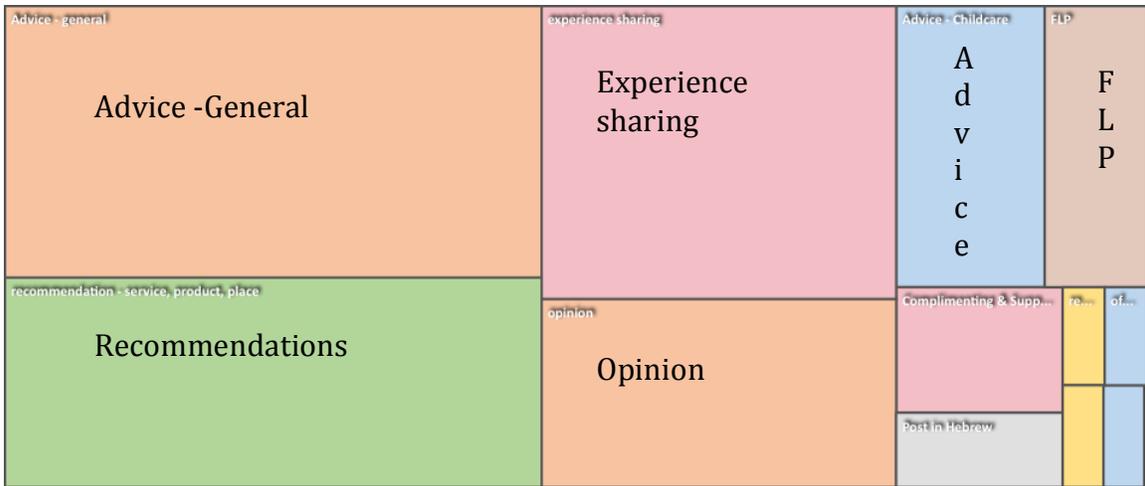


Figure 5. Domain analysis of the Kids group.

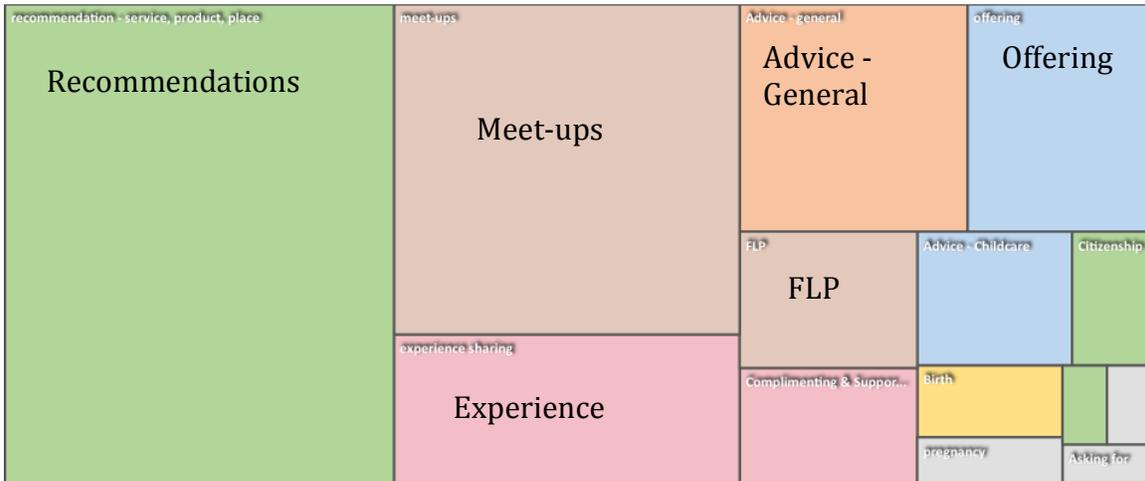


Figure 6. Domain analysis of the city-specific group

The first community created, the baby community, was at its founding stages a community online. Members who had met in offline spaces created the online space and met within the platform’s “walls” when venturing out was not convenient or possible. It grew immensely, and with time it evolved into:

- a community-online for some members (communities that are present offline and meet online as well) and
- an online-community only (communities that do not meet offline) for others.

Although all three communities were in part online-communities only and in part communities-online, the city-specific community was the most representative of the communities-online. Many of the members had and regularly did meet in offline spaces, perhaps more so than in the online space. For Daniella this was definitely true. In the city-specific community (Figure 6) she posted and responded the least number of times as compared with her activity within the other two communities. One may be inclined to assume that this might have been related to its later creation; however, by examining Daniella's utilization of the three communities along with the actual growth rate of the three communities and certain trends in Facebook communities created by English-speaking parents in Israel, we arrive at a different understanding.

When populating city-specific communities on Facebook, members did so in hopes of meeting offline. Although created some three years after the baby community and at the same time as the kid community in 2012, the city-specific community in which Daniella was active, saw the largest growth in membership. As of this study, the city-specific community had over 6,000 members, while the baby and the kids communities had close to 2,000 and close to 3,000 members respectively. It seemed that, once the city-specific communities started being created, more mothers/parents joined those communities rather than the original non-location-specific baby and kids communities, perhaps in order to have easier offline access to each other. The growth in all communities continues, however, even as increasingly more location-specific

communities are being created. The new trends in Facebook parent community building in Israel are *neighborhood-specific communities* for different language speakers and member needs, such as the English-speaking parents' group of North Tel Aviv, for those who live within approximately five square miles of each other.

Daniella chose to communicate more often within the kids community than within the city-specific community overall, while still staying active in the baby community. This is not surprising considering her family situation. At the time, Daniella had an older child, two toddlers, and an infant. Out of all of her communications within the city-specific community, "meet-ups" was the second most common node, second only to seeking/providing recommendations on products, services, and businesses/places available in her city. It was clearly her way of staying up-to-date on offline gatherings and staying in touch with her growing community online. This city specific community points to the rise of a new social configuration of "hybrid" online communities, where online and offline are more fluid and moved between depending on need.

In addition to learning about the boundaries of the communities and the way that the communities were utilized, I also gained insights into the struggles, beliefs, and experiences that impact FLP processes and how the FLP communications differed from others. Often unrecognized for the work that it is, the invisible work of childrearing (Okita, 2002) was captured in these discussions. In her study, Okita (2002) investigated how the experiences and struggles of mothers eventually influenced language choice, transmission, development, and maintenance with their children. The invisible work of raising children bilingually or multilingually while navigating the transnational context, new linguistic environment and motherhood were all captured through the topics of

discussions and information that Daniella and other mothers addressed in their new roles and settings. Childrearing for these women was extra challenging because of the lack of support from extended family and because of the inherent struggles of navigating life in linguistically and geographically new settings. Daniella and many of the mothers she engaged with were highly educated women, navigating motherhood within a new linguistic environment, within which aspirations such as career development and personal fulfillment outside of childrearing was much more challenging and complex. Daniella and other transnational and immigrant mothers were faced with the emotionally demanding work of raising their children bilingually, while struggling to resolve the seemingly simple tasks such as locating a specific brand of formula, learning how to communicate their needs in Hebrew, and carrying out the task of procuring it in a geographically and linguistically new environment while on a baby schedule, for example.

FLP related posts and responses focusing on language learning, maintenance or loss, language management, practices, attitudes, beliefs and ideologies were within the top 6 most frequent communications/events. Although advice and recommendation seeking and giving, and experience sharing were all more frequent, FLP related communications were some of the most emotional, personal, and meaningful to those who engaged in them. This was measured in several ways: by the sheer amount of responses generated by posts regarding FLP processes; by the related transnational living experiences which heightened the emotional tone of the posts/responses; and the tendencies of mothers to share more personal information during these conversations. At their core, conversations about FLPs are personal. The participating mothers constructed

spaces for these conversations that were more personal, more emotional, and led to more investment than the other topics elicited. It was clear from her communications that Daniella had come to have theories regarding language acquisition, some of which she struggled with, particularly when her oldest reached school age. In the next chapter I turn to my research questions regarding FLP processes and discuss Daniella's experiences, beliefs, and struggles as recorded over time in three online communities.

Chapter 5

Findings for Family Language Policy

Research questions: Family Language Policy

1. How does FLP change/or not change within the family context in practices? If they change, what or who affects these changes (sources of changes)?
2. What kinds of questions do mothers ask about FLP?
3. What are mother's ideas about FLP?

By recursively and iteratively examining Daniella's communications and the developing text through time maps and event maps, as well as analyzing what she proposed, recognized, acknowledged, and found significant in each of her communications, I was able to locate clear evidence regarding (re)formulations of her ideas and nature of FLP. Specifically, Daniella's initially laid-back and largely unmanaged FLP evolved into a more actively managed FLP. I found evidence of FLP (re)formulations in ideologies, management, as well as practices within the home brought on through experiences that come with time, family growth, interactions with others, and FLP outcomes at different times. In short, the family internal transnational temporal trajectory as well as language status from different participants' perspective shaped the FLP ideologies and management approaches. Management approaches were largely based on personal or family internal experiences with some family external influences permeating the family domain and influencing the FLP processes, particularly those regarding education: a) anxieties regarding children's academic achievement in Hebrew-

dominant educational settings and b) others' comments regarding children's language proficiency needs in anticipation of the Hebrew-dominant schooling context.

The Transnational Trajectory

Understanding the transnational trajectory of the family and each individual's trajectory within it, including the past, the present, and the plans for the future is key in understanding and contextualizing the FLP planning processes.

From monolingual to multilingual individual and family. By examining the advice Daniella offered to mothers within the communities under consideration we learn about how she referenced her FLP (re)formulations and what she and those who initiated the conversations found interactionally, socially, and personally significant. Her advice was based on her family-internal experiences, the changing status or position of each language within her family and different FLP outcomes at different times along their transnational trajectory. Prior to having children, Daniella and her husband lived in a largely English-speaking monolingual household because Daniella herself was a monolingual. From our informal conversations regarding languages in her family I learned that, prior to having children, her husband hoped to speak to the children in Hebrew, his 3rd+ language. These discussions between the couple, however, took place in the UK, before they immigrated to Israel.

Once their first child was born in Israel, English was the main language at home, as this was the common language between Daniella and her partner. Within several months, Daniella's husband expressed a desire to switch to Swedish, his mother's native language, and one of his first two languages and the couple (re)negotiated their FLP. The effects of time and place, or the transnational trajectory of the couple in FLP

(re)formulations were communicated. Due to the transnational move to Israel, where Hebrew was dominant language outside of the home, Daniella and her multilingual husband (re)formulated their FLP management approaches to focus on Swedish (and English) within the home. In terms of ideology, we learned that Daniella's husband valued Hebrew over Swedish when neither was the societally dominant language.

Daniella was initially nervous about the change, apprehensive even, but from her communications within the online communities we learned that she eventually embraced it and was happy to have learned some Swedish herself. In response to a question regarding FLP management of a bilingual, English-Hebrew speaking mother whose partner's Hebrew is "...really bad" and who was seeking advice on FLP management for her daughter, Daniella focused on her own experiences as a language learner through their FLP rather than the experiences of her children's language developments:

If you are truly native in both language, to the point of knowing the Hebrew songs, I would consider going for Hebrew if I were you primarily for your husband to learn...I now fully understand Swedish after a few years of exposure and our kids are trilingual with Hebrew only from gan⁹ ...

In addition to learning about her ideologies regarding the native speaker proficiency as characterized by the knowledge of songs, we learned that through FLP (re)formulation brought on by her family's transnational trajectory, Daniella acquired understanding proficiency in Swedish through exposure to her husband's use of Swedish with their children. Through the advice she gave, she indirectly communicated her ideology regarding multilingualism and adult language learning. She valued her development in an

⁹ Transliterated Hebrew word refers to daycare, preschool, pre-K and kindergarten.

additional language, even though the language she learned was not the societally dominant language and was not going to be immediately beneficial for her. She shared her experiences in support of advice she gave in which she emphasized adult/partner/parent language learning over children's language development.

The relaxed planner: Overcoming bumps in the road on the way to multiple language development. Throughout her communications, Daniella positioned herself as a relaxed parent. She explicitly stated it on several occasions, such as in her response to a worried mother of a sick boy: *"Let him sleep, imo...give him paracetamol if he wakes and appears to be uncomfortable...bear in mind I am quite a relaxed mother of four,"* or to a parent worried about the safety of a car seat: *"...I didn't feel concerned but I am pretty relaxed in general and she was our fourth child..."* and even in regards to the scary question of placing babies to sleep on their backs in order to minimize the potential of sudden infant death syndrome (SIDS). Although she did not explicitly refer to herself as relaxed in this instance, she boldly wrote:

We all slept on our tummies and we survived. I am pretty sure SIDS is congenital and although i haven't studied it in full I don't find the causal relationship between a decline in SIDS and the back to sleep campaign convincing. My fourth slept on her tummy from week one...I secretly wonder whether the rise in ADHD is linked to poor sleeping patterns as an infant!!!

In her FLP communications she remained true to her *positioning as a relaxed, experienced parent*. However, through the developing text, we saw more active FLP management and a proactive Daniella emerging out of experiences that left an impression

on her. In a rather humorous response to a mother worried about the “*horrific language*” her child was picking up in daycare, Daniella, in her usual relaxed manner, responded:

My kids say 'shit' occasionally but pronounced 'sheet' so at least I know it is not coming from me as the only English speaking parent in our house. Unfortunately I can't blame gan for the 'for fucks sake' usage from our little ones – whoops.

On several occasions, Daniella also stated that her children’s Hebrew is simply “...*from Gan*” and overall portrayed their trilingual development as uneventful: “*English and Swedish at home, Hebrew outside...no major issues.*”

By following the developing text, what became visible were the sources of her (re)formulations of the FLP and changes in practices within the family context. Despite her relaxed positioning, the developing text makes visible that, in fact, her children’s trilingual development was not always as smooth as the individual comments may indicate, and that certain experiences made her rethink the approaches to FLP management and practices taken thus far. Some of the challenging experiences included behavioral acting out, stuttering, not communicating or advancing in Hebrew in daycare, and lack of interest in reading.

In a response to a concerned mother who was upset about her child’s behavior at daycare following the birth of his/her siblings, Daniella offered support by sharing that she had the same experience with her oldest child, but also added as a factor her daughter’s recent entry into a Hebrew-speaking environment for the first time in her life. Clearly Daniella views this experience as a factor:

We had exactly the same thing. Our oldest was 20 months when her twin sibs were born. She had started gan the month before... first time in a Hebrew speaking

environment, the youngest in the old group... so not an easy time. She started being quite violent. I don't think it was crazy but she definitely got a reputation for lashing out, verbally and physically. Suffice to say, it was a phase. It didn't last long. We made sure to give attention to the victim, not the aggressor and after one warning we removed her from whatever setting... the park, someone's house etc. Hang in there. I have seen it happen so often when two year olds have a sib a few months old.

This communication shows that Daniella viewed her child's move into a new linguistic environment as a stressor and a possible precursor to the negative behavioral responses.

The second time around is different: Learning from experience. Through the developing text, we also saw that the aforementioned experience of her oldest daughter's entry into a new linguistic environment serves as a source for the (re)formulations in her FLP management with the later-born twins. Daniella and her husband decided to take on a more active FLP-management approach with the twins based on their experience with the oldest by introducing them to Hebrew through a Hebrew-speaking babysitter prior to and during their entry into daycare. She explicitly stated it on one occasion:

"We only have English and Swedish at home and all three of our girls started Gan in the September before their second birthday. They have all managed fine but from the experience of our first child who had had pretty much zero Hebrew exposure before starting, we did start to have babysitters as we had more kids and we went for Hebrew speaking babysitters who were asked to be quite didactic with the kids...thus they had a bit of exposures... nothing much but I think it is a good idea.

Daniella also seems to be happy with this approach as she offers it as a piece of advice to other mothers on several occasions:

“How about a Hebrew speaking babysitter who is also asked to focus on his Hebrew and getting him to speak or one on one time with Israeli family members if they exist....”

“...We also found babysitting in Hebrew useful to develop active rather than passive Hebrew skills.”

“At that age I didn't use tutors but I would hire hebrew speaking babysitters and ask them to try to engage in hebrew with the kids as much as possible. ...much cheaper and if you find the right type of person I think it can work as well. ...1 on 1 talking is probably most helpful at this age.”

Although they did take on this more active management approach by introducing Hebrew-speaking babysitters prior to daycare entry and although Daniella advocated this approach, the twins, placed into the same daycare group, ended up speaking Swedish amongst themselves, and again, just like her oldest daughter, refused to use their “active” Hebrew language skills. Although not explicitly stated, the situation did seem to improve as they became more proficient and willing to play in Hebrew:

How about a Hebrew speaking babysitter who is also asked to focus on his Hebrew and getting him to speak or one on one time with Israeli family members if they exist....we have the same with our twins who are together in gan and speak Swedish to each other so their Hebrew is not advancing as much as it should... they understand but don't really speak because they never have to so we are trying to increase their opportunities to speak. Have also switch to Hebrew TV...

At this stage we asked our bi-lingual sitter to switch from English to hebrew with the kids. Giving them the opportunity to speak one on one in hebrew made a big difference to their confidence in the language. ..in gan they could get away with not ever speaking so their understanding was great but they didn't get much practice. ..and this made a difference to their ability and willingness to play in hebrew. Another tri lingual family with a Swedish influence! !!

In these communications we see that FLP-management approaches as well as practices changed within their home. Children were exposed to Hebrew-speaking babysitters and media use within the home was switched into Hebrew. The FLP (re)formulations were based on family internal experiences and prior FLP outcomes rooted in specific time and stage of transnational family development.

Internalization of institutionalization: Academic achievement through language proficiency. The early challenges and experiences of entry into Hebrew-dominant environments and educational institutions made an impression on Daniella. She communicated her ideologies regarding multilingualism, language learning and educational development in a way that placed early Hebrew exposure and early entry into Hebrew-dominant institutions as key to academic success:

With twins and a tri lingual household, I would simply say that you can expect delays and that especially in the early days for the kids not to be fully adept in either language, but I believe, and our oldest is five so this is not from experience, that ultimately the kids will be in a strong language position. My feeling is that if you expect your kids to go through the Israeli school system, that giving them as firm an early foundation in Hebrew as possible is important... I would hate the kids

to disconnect with learning early on because their Hebrew isn't good enough.

Daniella was ultimately positive regarding multilingualism. This was also evident in her comment regarding her own development in Swedish mentioned earlier; however, here she clearly linked early Hebrew exposure as key to securing a connection to learning.

The developing text allowed me to learn about her first-born's experiences of entry into elementary school, as well as Daniella's resulting management approaches for the oldest daughter and the younger twins. In what can only be described as a "recipient design" (Gee, 2010) response to a frustrated and judged mother who ended up not being Israeli, Daniella shared one of her experiences. This experience provided a glimpse into one of Daniella's views on the Israeli society as meddling and judgmental, although (in other comments Daniella's solidarity with and love for Israeli society and culture was apparent. It also showed her attitude toward multilingualism, and the proficiency of her first born: *"My Israeli aunt came over and was shocked that our six year old after three months in school could not read fluently...given that Hebrew is her third language I decided to ignore."*

Daniella assumed delays in multilingual children and re-iterated this belief in not so many words here again, but although she stated that she *"decided to ignore"* the comment of her Israeli aunt, soon after she took active management steps in mediating and supporting her six-year-old's literacy development. In one of a very few posts initiated by Daniella, she sought advice on books that might help get her six year old interested in reading in Hebrew:

Hi - I would be grateful for recommendations for Hebrew books to excite a Kita Aleph child who does not get any Hebrew at home and would benefit from reading

as much as possible... there's a set of small readers called 'Ani Kore' that I am interested in but also anything else that would be worth going for (whilst tzomet tsfarim is still on sale!)...thanks

Again, a few months later, she once again took an active management approach by trying to support her children's development in Hebrew vocabulary by seeking advice on computer-mediated tools: *"Do you know of a good app/site that helps kids with Hebrew vocab?"*

Although there was no explicit evidence that this question was motivated by her six-year-old's experiences in first grade, or that she was indeed asking it for the benefit of the 6 year old and not for her younger twins, she posted the question half-way through the school year, and approximately three months after she reported the judgmental comment from her Israeli aunt.

By tracing the developing text through the timeline and the event map it becomes apparent that FLP (re)formulations happen and that they were instigated by both the experiences recognized by this mother and those that were perhaps brought to her attention by others. Later on we saw that Daniella takes on an even more active approach with the twins. Again, in one of very few posts initiated by Daniella, she sought advice on computer-mediated tools to help support her twins' development with the Hebrew alphabet: *"Can anyone recommend a good app for working with the alef-bet - hoping to reinforce the letters prior to starting school. Thanks."* This question was posted in August, 2015, just before the twins entered first grade.

FLP ideologies, management, and practices. In this section I discuss the telling case inscribed findings regarding the three parts of FLP: Ideologies, Management, and

Practices. Daniella was proud and viewed the multilingual development of her children and herself as an asset. This was evident in her consistent communication regarding her children's multilingualism within the communities. Her husband was multilingual and she herself had developed proficiency in two additional languages since her move to Israel. By moving to Israel she learned Hebrew, and she understood Swedish as a result of their FLP.

Monolingual for most of her life, Daniella embraced multilingualism for herself and her children, attributing different values to different languages in her life:

“Definitely mono lingual upon aliyah. Now.. English mother tongue. Moderate hebrew. Rudimentary Swedish.”

She communicated and placed great value on early Hebrew development for the purposes of successful academic development and integration within the Israeli education system and society. When advising a trilingual mother to choose English in communications with her child, she referenced the linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1977) and global appeal of English: *“Personally I think the kids will thank you later on for giving them the best English possible in this day and age.”*

She seemed to view Swedish as valuable in terms of novelty and rarity, the very fact that Swedish was uncommon in Israel seemed to hold value to her. Her communications in regards to Swedish were somewhat contradictory, possibly due to her position in regards to the language. Although able to understand Swedish, her children had surpassed her abilities, and were able to understand and speak Swedish fluently. This differential status of Swedish for different family members within their family complicated communicative roles within the family and between Daniella and her

children. In some instances, Daniella underplayed the strength and prevalence of Swedish in their FLP, while on other occasions she confirmed it to be her children's strongest language, and the language they have used and continue to use most amongst themselves:

Another tri lingual family with a Swedish influence!!!

They speak Swedish between themselves - go figure but my husband is very articulate and it probably is their strongest language - we like it because this is the one language that won't be supported on going so it's cool and they could have a secret language :)

...we have the same with our twins who are together in gan and speak Swedish to each other so their Hebrew is not advancing as much as it should...

On several occasions Daniella suggested that her children were not of native proficiency in Hebrew, and in some cases she stated it explicitly: *"They all differentiate language and although their hebrew is not at native level they definitely get by."* Daniella defined a "native" speaker as someone who knows the nursery songs in that language.

They say you should speak your native language - ie which one do you know nursery songs in?

If you are truly native in both language, to the point of knowing the Hebrew songs...

This is relevant here as it may be part of the reason she did not view her children's Hebrew as native. Growing up in an English-Swedish household, with English and Swedish nursery songs would have, in her definition of a native speaker, made her children non-native. Although this could certainly contribute to her children's proficiency

levels to perhaps be different to those of their monolingual peers, her perception may have been guided by her definitions of what constitutes a native speaker.

The specific FLP management (re)formulations were discussed in earlier sections, particularly the shift towards more active management of Hebrew within the home. Here I show the FLP approaches taken on in general, along with the communicated practices that took place.

My two cents is that it is vital that the parents are totally consistent with the language they speak to the kids in...you are responsible for giving them a solid framework and they will put the pieces together - it might take them a bit longer but they will get there in the end.

We have tri-lingual kids - English and Swedish at home. When addressing the kids directly we stick to our language and the kids (3, 5 and 7) are doing really well even though we speak English to each other and also use Hebrew around the kids (especially when they have Israeli friends over so we communicate with all but when we address them directly we are 100% consistent with our language. Works well IMO. Good luck.

Daniella, therefore, referenced the One Parent One Language (OPOL) approach and viewed consistency in terms of language used in addressing the child only and not in overall use of the language within the home domain or otherwise. She went so far as to assume complete responsibility for the children's English language development within the home, because she was the English-speaking parent within her conceptualization of the OPOL approach. Daniella doesn't seem to consider the possibility that perhaps the English used by her husband in their communications, for example, or their use of

English with their friends could have possibly influenced the children's use and development of English. Here I return to the humorous example cited earlier in which she takes on the sole responsibility for part the "horrific language" used by her children:

My kids say 'shit' occasionally but pronounced 'sheet' so at least I know it is not coming from me as the only English speaking parent in our house. Unfortunately I can't blame gan for the 'for fucks sake' usage from our little ones – whoops

Daniella referred to herself as the only English-speaking parent in their house, when in fact, what she meant is that she was the only parent who addressed her children in English within the home. As communicated by Daniella in her communications, the actual practices were not strictly OPOL, since Hebrew was used by the parents when Hebrew speakers are visiting, be it the children's friends or their own, English was the language of communication between the parents and with many friends that visit, and Swedish, although exotic and least supported in their host country, was the strongest language for the first-born daughter and the twins.

Part of the management approach includes the education domain. In Israel, childcare for children aged 0 to 3 is privatized. Childcare options include private nannies, "mishpachton," a small group of babies or children cared for by a caretaker, usually in his/her home, and "maon," larger daycares some of which are subsidized by different organizations. Many private daycares also offer care for ages 3 to 5, although public preschools cater to these ages in addition to the mandatory 5 to 6 age group, the equivalent of the U.S. Kindergarten. In Daniella's city, at the time and as relevant to her situation, in addition to private Hebrew daycares there were a couple of English-medium daycares/preschools and a very popular bilingual daycare/preschool close in proximity to

Daniella's home. Daniella and her husband decided to enroll their children in Hebrew-medium daycares and preschools from age 2 approximately, prior to which time the children were cared for primarily by Daniella and her husband, with the help of paternal grandparents and an occasional babysitter, once the twins were born:

“Hebrew from gan from around age 2...”

This decision to enroll the children in Hebrew-medium daycare seems to have been rooted in their language acquisition theories fueled by fear of language delay and later academic performance:

“With twins and a tri lingual household, I would simply say that you can expect delays and that especially in the early days for the kids not to be fully adept in either language, but I believe, and our oldest is five so this is not from experience, that ultimately the kids will be in a strong language position. My feeling is that if you expect your kids to go through the Israeli school system, that giving them as firm an early foundation in Hebrew as possible is important... I would hate the kids to disconnect with learning early on because their Hebrew isn't good enough.”

Daniella's theories relating to language acquisition and academic performance may in part be fueled by her experiences with her first-born daughter's struggles upon entry into the new linguistic environment of the Hebrew-medium daycare. Based on their experiences with their oldest daughter, Daniella and her husband decided to reformulate their FLP for the twins by including Hebrew-speaking babysitters, prior to entry into Hebrew-medium daycare, in their management. The impact of beliefs, experiences, and fears regarding academic performance on FLPs are evident not only in Daniella's

inscriptions, but also at large, within these communities. Some of the most sought after information within these communities focuses on the education domain (see below).

Daniella's posts on children's code-switching was somewhat contradictory, as she stated: *"They don't mix at all... occasionally if they are struggling for a word in one language they will use another one where they have the word."* The children seemed to stay within code, within the single and situationally appropriate language, unless they found themselves missing a word, intentionally code-switching when lacking resources in the target language.

The youngest, fourth daughter was close to 6 years old, and there were no communications regarding her linguistic development within the forum. This is significant as it points to possible resolutions reached by Daniella and her husband through her experiences with her older children.

What information do the transnational mothers seek in online communities regarding FLP? Upon examining the answers provided by the primary tracer unit, Daniella, to the questions posted by mothers within the communities of interest, I learned that immigrant mothers have a need to discuss FLP-management approaches. When utilizing the online community as a tool, mothers were seeking experience-based evidence for FLP management approaches that have been found to be successful, regardless of their eventual reliance on their own, family internal experiences. Within the online communities they often stated that they were unable to locate answers (or satisfactory answers) to questions they asked and information they sought in other online spaces and/or books. By analyzing the most common questions and topics of conversations regarding FLP it became apparent that ideas rooted in myths regarding

subtractive bilingual (Cummins, 1994) or multilingual views and misinformation regarding language development urgently needed dismantling. Questions such as: “*Can exposure to additional languages cause speech problems such as stuttering? If so, what should parents do to help alleviate the problem?*” and “*If a child is being raised in a minority language environment at home until entry into preschool, will this cause far-reaching developmental delay in the host language and will it affect academic performance?*” served as examples of myths regarding bilingual and multilingual development that need to be dispelled in hopes of supporting bilingual and multilingual development of future generations.

Furthermore, questions regarding FLP management focusing on the education domain point to some anxieties regarding impact of home language practices and mother’s own host-language proficiencies in supporting their children socially, emotionally, and academically. Questions such as the following capture the anxieties of supporting their children in their non-dominant language.:

- “*If a child is being raised in a minority language environment at home until entry into preschool, will this cause far-reaching developmental delays in the host language and will it affect academic performance?*”
- “*How should a parent who is “weak” in a host language support positive attitudes toward it?*”
- “*What is the best way to approach social problems in pre-kindergarten aged children stemming from child’s still developing linguistic skills, accent, and related differences?* and

- *“Should outside tutors be hired to support the child’s transition into the dominant-language institution?”*

In addition, questions dealing with bilingual/multilingual development and HL maintenance efforts make visible the invisible work of mothers in bilingual/multilingual childrearing (Okita, 2001) such as:

- *“When should the letters and reading be introduced in the minority language?,*
- *What methods “work” in developing literacy skills in trilingual families in all three languages?, and*
- *“When should “native English/minority/home” –language classes be introduced into children’s learning repertoires?”*

Additionally, the prevalence of transnational families who are juggling more than two languages has been captured, as was the need to equip transnational settlers with information and tools regarding child language support, when they are navigating adjustments in new, transnational host settings. For example, mothers wanted practical advice on how to manage three languages and how to help their children develop tri-literacy (*“What methods “work” in developing literacy skills in trilingual families in all three languages?”*), as well as how to navigate parenting and academic support of their children in their weaker language (*“How can parents support language development in the host language when s/he is not fluent?”*). The experiences of the telling case and the questions asked by real mothers rooted in transnational experiences of raising children multilingually in adopted homelands, or new host countries as communicated within online communities points to the relevance of this study in capturing the experiences of transnational FLP planning in digitally mediated and networked life of today.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

This study provides several contributions to multiple fields. I turn to *Internet off/for people (Io/fP)* and follow the trail of conversations left behind regarding language policy (re)formulations within the critical family domain (Spolsky, 2012) while capturing two global trends of transnationalism (Basch, Glick-Schiller, & Blanc, 1994) and digitally mediated living of today. This study was the first non-experimental study to examine unprompted FLP conversations in online settings that spanned approximately eight years. It contributes to a larger understanding of online communal gathering and the way members use and populate online communities. It also furthers understanding of FLP as deeply rooted in individual's and family's experiences first and foremost, depending on the temporal aspect in the transnational trajectory and stage in life of the family. Interestingly, the most influential factor in (re)formulations of FLP were shown to be based on one's own experiences, even though one of the most pronounced reasons mothers enter online communities was to use it as a tool where they seek advice based on others' experiences, other reason being the use of the online community as a place to socialize (Markham, 1998).

To date, FLP researchers have entered homes and met with one or more family members at certain points in time, asking the participants to recount their experiences through structured or unstructured interviews or to make predictions regarding their future actions. Researchers have also relied on observations during those specific, predetermined times. Those studies have taught us a lot about some of the specifics of FLP processes and experiences. For instance, we have learned a great deal regarding

different family language processes and policies and their outcomes in terms of child language development (De Houwer, 1999), the influence of larger discourses on FLP ideologies, management, and practices, the agentive role of one or both parents and their children (Tuominen, 1999), the ‘invisible work’ of mothers in language maintenance efforts (Okita, 2001), the influence of siblings and extended family members, the influence of peers, birth-order effects and different influences exerted, and many others.

This study furthers our knowledge on the topic by suggesting that the largest impacts on FLP processes are the family-internal experiences. In other words, although there is some evidence of family external discourses permeating the family milieu, particularly the discourses surrounding the academic achievement and educational domain, the biggest catalysts for change or (re) formulations were prior experiences and the current situation the family finds itself in. Questions such as,

- Where is the family now?
- Where does the family plan on being later?
- What is the proficiency of the adults in different languages?
- What are parents’ experiences with older children in regards to language management and practices?
- What can be changed to make certain experiences smoother in the future, with younger children?
- What experiences do the parents have with older children’s entry into educational settings, from daycare, preschool, to elementary school as related to their FLP management approaches and outcomes?

The answers to these questions were found to be the most indicative of what was to follow in terms of FLP (re)formulations.

This study was based on a telling case (Mitchell, 1984). It highlighted the individuality of each family member and uniqueness of each family and its experiences in FLP processes at different points in time, and at the same time, it captured what was relevant, important, and sought out by many more mothers through the telling case's communications with them. Moving into a linguistically new environment shakes up the family processes. It creates linguistic discrepancies between the home environment and that of the outside world, it affects roles within the family- where expertise may no longer be rooted in age, and this becomes increasingly pronounced as children grow and enter different institutions of learning, from daycare to school.

Theoretical Contributions and Implications

Through this study, we gained a glimpse into the ever growing population of transnational immigrants, individuals and families who navigate life and languages in new, host lands, potentially (though not necessarily) long term. Daniella's family was just one example of many families in which several languages are present, and in which partners (the parents) possessed different proficiencies in different languages, as they were navigating life and parenthood in a host country while learning the host language. There are increasing inter-national, inter-racial, and/or inter-cultural families in which the partners do not share one or more languages. In such families, continuous (re)negotiations of FLP management approaches and practices, rooted in past and present experiences, ideologies, and a temporal aspect of the transnational trajectory are taking place. Depending on where they came from, where they are headed, and where they are

now both in terms of location and in terms of experiences, will affect the family's FLP processes. Greater numbers of families are making the international move, more than once. They can move back to their home countries or move on to new host countries. In the case of Daniella and her family, a return to England, or perhaps to Sweden or other host countries was possible. Their situation was not predetermined due to, for example, issues of political asylum or war-torn regions. It was their choice to live and raise their family in Israel and in Hebrew.

Thus, based on this study, one theoretical implication is that although there are many similarities between immigrants and transnational settlers (Hirsch & Lee, forthcoming), there is also a great divergence in experiences affecting many aspects of functioning, including language choice and development, that needs to be researched further. Transnationalism is defined as "...the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together societies of origin and settlement..." (Basch, Glick-Schiller, & Blanc, 1994, p. 7). With transnational settlers (Hirsch & Lee, in preparation), this process links together societies of origin and settlementS. The capitalized "S" refers to not only multiple locations but also the potential plurality of experiences faced by transnational settlers in their highly mobile existence in terms of their transnational trajectory's time and space. Time is the most pronounced element in the experiences of the transnational settlers who move back and forth between their societies of origin and settlement, facing differences rooted in the passage of time and its effects on the individual him/herself and the space: the society of origin and the society of settlement with each move. Transnational settlers who move to additional societies of settlement, experience differences rooted in both time and

geographical, cultural, and linguistic space, hence further complicating and impacting many different processes including language choice and development. In addition to this time/space transnational trajectory of transnational settlers, the reasons behind translocations need to be factored in.

The tripartite view of FLP is useful in organizing processes and findings in some cases. However, what becomes apparent is that it is difficult to consider either one of the parts without looking at the other two. Management, for example cannot be considered without touching on underlying ideologies and actual practices within the family. Based on the current study and the increasingly more common situation in which more than two languages are present within the transnational family and close ties are maintained in faraway lands (with parents and grandparents), this study points to the need to examine and expand the FLP framework to account for transnational families and contexts.

With this study I am answering the call to contribute to what King (2016) referred to as the “fourth and current phase” in FLP research. According to King (2016), earlier phases under-examined trilingual/multilingual families, diversity in family types, languages, and contexts, including diasporic or transnational families, among others. She showed how several studies have begun to make advancements in these areas (among others) by focusing on “...experiences rather than outcomes” (p. 728) and called for more research in these areas, particularly for studies that are longitudinal, spanning years, and that are designed to capture the experiences of transnational families in multilingual contexts:

Family language policy research would be greatly enhanced by longitudinal research carried out over a period of several years; such an approach takes into

account not only the developing child and evolving nature of family dynamics but also language learning and academic outcomes among children. This is particularly important in light of the fact that the field, by definition, does not allow for experimentation (e.g. we cannot assign children into ‘treatment’ and ‘control’ groups or families); rather, we need to look for and examine closely so-called natural experiments. This entails doing more cross-and multi-context work as the most important ‘natural’ condition is change in linguistic environment of the family. This careful, long-term, contextualized work will allow us to move towards deeper understanding of language policies among transnational families and the multilingual encounters therein. (King, 2016, p.732)

This dissertation captures the changes in experiences as inscribed by a mother who was faced with navigating a multilingual reality through marriage, e/immigration, transnational ties, and motherhood. It also contributes to our much-needed understanding of the “...diversity of experiences with multilingualism within the families” (Hua & Wei, 2016: 665), in our case, a mother’s shift from a monolingual to bilingual development and soon after the birth of her first child trilingual reality and her children’s trilingual development.

As more people are meeting, developing, and maintaining meaningful relationships in online spaces, the time has come to meet people within their online communities and to ‘flow’ (Markham & Gammelby, 2017) with them in order to learn about their lived experiences. This global trend of digitally mediated and networked living calls for a focused analysis of what I refer to as *Internet offfor People (Io/fP)*, the internet that is co-created by individuals from all walks of life, all ages, and all social groups, albeit to

different degrees. Even infants populate online spaces, although without agency, their presence is recorded by others and saved by the platforms to greet them in the future. This study, therefore, additionally contributes to a more focused research on Io/fP in Internet Studies, where thick descriptions (Geertz, 1973) of individual experiences that populate and give rise to the online communities are more relevant and telling than big data ever could be. The telling case constructed in online spaces made visible what was previously unknown. By examining the most common questions and topics of conversations regarding FLP, for instance, I uncovered examples of myths regarding bilingual and multilingual development that need to be dispelled in hopes of supporting future generations of bilingual and multilingual generations, thus implicating the need for more work in these areas. The implication of Io/fP is our conceptualization and current understanding of internet as the people's internet that is enabling and at the same time dependent on the situated needs and lived experiences of those people outside of the internet and within it¹⁰, with permeating effects within it and outside of it.

Research Contributions and Implications

Computer-mediated communication and online communal gatherings have become standard ways of meeting and communicating for many individuals. More people are socializing and learning from each other in online spaces they co-create. According to a 2016 Pew Research Center poll a share of online Americans, who use Facebook alone is 79%, 91 % of American parents use the internet (Duggan, Lenhart, Lampe, & Ellison,

¹⁰ The distinction between inside and outside of the internet is artificial and in this case refers to those lived experiences or situated needs and effects that may be more pronounced, relevant, or noticeable in one way of being versus the other.

2015) and about three in four (74%) teens ages 12-17 said they access the internet on cell phones, tablets, and other mobile devices at least occasionally (Madden, Lenhart, Duggan, Cortesi, & Glasser, 2013). It is thus imperative for researchers to follow people into the online spaces today.

This study contributes to methodological and interdisciplinary diversity, advancing the heterogeneity in research approaches aimed at uncovering FLP processes. By engaging with the communications inscribed by the telling case (Mitchell, 1984) in online spaces I am bridging FLP studies and Internet Studies, carrying out a first online-ethnography aimed at investigating FLP processes non-experimentally, as inscribed by the participant, over the span of many years. In addition to expanding our understanding of FLP processes through the longitudinal analysis enabled by the platform's capabilities of storing past conversations, Daniella is also key tracer unit of the evidence that can be found within online communities. This study is an example of the ways in which that evidence can be pieced together through iterative and recursive event mapping that makes visible the processes and experiences of an individual and the community. By analyzing the conversations she and the two other individuals engaged in, I was able to learn about the situated needs of many more women that gave rise to those communities.

It is currently difficult to recruit new participants due to the combination of academic institution's human subjects board restrictions and the platform's restrictions. The implications of this study point to the need for a concentrated effort in establishment of collaborative relationships between academic institutions and different platforms in order to gain access to online data that is to be analyzed ethically and responsibly and that can make the invisible visible. In the meanwhile, perhaps participants who have been part

of previous, offline studies can be approached regarding their involvement in online communities/communities online. Furthermore, the researcher could initiate focused discussions regarding FLP-related topics in online spaces. This is possible through Facebook's "group" function. Rather than the general, worldwide groups, perhaps these groups could be location specific in order to provide the benefits often sought within immigrant parent communities: the option for the community offline. While providing the space, researchers could, potentially, reach out to other scholars in the field and ask them to contribute by engaging in conversations with the mothers/parents, sharing their knowledge and research. In turn, researchers could learn significantly more regarding FLP-related topics, while staying within ethical boundaries of data collection and human subjects protocols. Although a long-term plan, creating such communities across different geographical and linguistic situations could potentially help us map out different experiences, their sources, and the needs faced by transnational and immigrant families. Such information could be used to help support immigrants worldwide who are trying to find their place and voice in a host language, while maintaining additional languages, whether they be heritage, home, second, foreign, or otherwise significant languages in their lives.

Social media and the World Wide Web provide opportunities to reach, interact with, and learn from individuals and communities over an extended period of time without waiting for years to pass. It allows for longitudinal research to be conducted in a considerably shorter period of time on authentic information created by individuals and communities and collected by the platform(s), in some cases, over many years. Such capabilities, if utilized creatively, collaboratively, and ethically, could provide the

evidence necessary for addressing the real needs of real individuals and communities bottom-up and top-down. Specifically, we could use such information to target policies, services and programs aimed at supporting different immigrant communities by addressing their unique needs.

Additionally, we could begin answering questions posed by the mothers and gathered in this study. We could begin by systematically researching different management approaches and outcomes through observations, interviews, literature reviews, as well as social media community studies. We could begin by synthesizing the information we already have by performing a systematic review of literature on different areas of FLP-related research, bearing in mind that FLP research includes but is not limited to heritage-language maintenance efforts, and bearing in mind that studies performed on FLP-related topics are not necessarily referred to as FLP studies.

Further implications include the need for more research on the father's role in FLP planning and management. Through the construction of the telling case in this study I was able to get a glimpse of Daniella's partner's role in their FLP, which seemed to have been active and fundamental. Thus, although research shows that mothers often bear the brunt of the burden of the invisible work of bilingual or multilingual childrearing (Okita, 2001), the role of the father in FLP processes needs to be investigated further, particularly in multilingual families of transnational settlers. In the case of my telling case, it seems that the father had a rather active role in not only (re)formulating the FLP but also actively managing it by teaching the children his mother tongue.

Lastly, due to the ages of their children, most of the discussions in these online communities focused on oral bilingual or multilingual development. As they approached

school age, more questions were posed regarding multilingual literacy development. Thus, based on the findings of this study, it would be worthwhile to pursue the construction of this telling case, and others like it, even further, over the next several years, to best capture the transnational trajectory experience and multilingual literacy developments. Future research could potentially begin constructing telling cases in “older” communities of parents, whose children are older, and face different challenges and experiences. The question here, however, is whether the “older” parents were active in online communities since their children’s babyhood and whether they are active in them now, given the statistics on “older” (over the age of 40) parent’s internet use patterns mentioned earlier in this work. In any case, telling case constructed over even a couple of years of an older age group can contribute greatly to our understanding of FLP processes and bilingual and multilingual literacy development.

Policy and Practice Contributions and Implications

Considering the numbers of transnational families globally as well as the numbers of individuals online, this study has generated a number of implications that would be of interest to policy-makers, educators, counselors, and therapists. Some of those implications are discussed here.

Transnational families lead linguistically and emotionally complex lives. Understanding the transnational trajectory of a family, including information on who is left behind and where, how relationships are maintained and in which languages, who speaks what with whom, what the linguistic proficiencies are of different family members in different languages, and what the projected plans are of the family in terms of settlement and/or future translocations, to name a few, could help educators, school

counselors, and therapists guide children and families in navigating complexities that arise due to these complex living arrangements. The internet and many social media sites could be utilized in promoting healthy adjustments, by supporting linguistic and cultural heritage maintenance as well as belonging and immersion in host settings. For example, policy-makers and educators could create statewide or nation-wide online communities with different supportive goals in mind. Online communities could be initiated to connect linguistic minority parents and/or students across the state or country in order to create the space that could serve as a resource for integrating in the host country, as well as supporting heritage maintenance. Evidence shows that supporting heritage languages and cultures has lasting and positive impacts on healthy identity development, and academic performance among children (Lee & Suarez, 2009). Creating such online spaces would help connect those of similar backgrounds, connect different heritage communities to schools, help policymakers and educators be clued in to the differing needs and experiences of individuals, families and communities so that more relevant approaches and programs can be created and implemented.

The primary and secondary tracer units in this study were highly educated transnational women who, to varying degrees, struggled with myths and misinformation regarding language learning. The implication of this finding is that even the well-educated bilingual/multilingual parents need support in navigating their family's bilingual/multilingual development. Therefore, teacher education programs and programs that train counselors and therapists should include courses that educate these professionals on the unique and complex realities of transnational, bilingual, and multilingual families. Understanding the potential complexities faced by such families

could help these professionals be better equipped at connecting with individuals and families and helping them navigate issues that arise from different language proficiencies, for example, such as language brokering (Orellana, 2009) needs and changes in roles within the family. Furthermore, implications of this research point to the need for organized support materials for transnational families and children to help them navigate academic demands of different societies at different times. Compiling packets with learning objectives, resources, and materials could help alleviate some anxieties faced by transnational and bilingual/multilingual parents by giving them the opportunity to familiarize themselves with the requirements that their children will be facing in the future. This would give them an opportunity to be educated on the matter, rather than anxious. Such support materials could potentially help smooth the transitions of both parents and children from one society to another and within the most anxiety-inducing domain of education, which is also most influential on the functioning of the critical, family domain.

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APPENDIX A

Office of Research Approval

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SANTA BARBARA

4/1/2016

VERIFICATION OF ACTION BY THE UCSB HUMAN SUBJECTS COMMITTEE

RE: HUMAN SUBJECTS PROTOCOL SUBMISSION ID 16-0298

TYPE: New

TITLE(S):

LANGUAGE DISCUSSIONS OVER TIME AND (ONLINE) SPACES

PROJECT #: 21

INVESTIGATOR(S):

Jin Sook Lee

Tijana Hirsch

The UCSB Human Subjects Committee (HSC) conducts review of human subjects research under FederalWide Assurance #FWA00006361 and in compliance with applicable regulations as described therein.

The above identified research project has undergone review and approval by the USC B HSC and may commence on 4/1/2016. It was approved by Expedited review.

Date of expiration of HSC approval: 4/1/2017

RENEWAL OF PROTOCOLS

If you wish to continue your research beyond the above expiration date, your protocol must be renewed before it expires. To ensure that your research can continue uninterrupted, the following schedule should be followed:

Full Board Review: Submit 5 weeks before expiration date.

Expedited Review: Submit 3 weeks before expiration date.

Exemption Review: Does not expire. Resubmit only if changes are made.

All research must cease under this protocol on its expiration date unless you have received notice of renewal from the HSC.

AMENDMENTS/MODIFICATIONS/CHANGES:

Any change in the design, conduct, or key personnel of this research must be approved by the HSC prior to implementation.

UNANTICIPATED PROBLEMS/ADVERSE EVENTS:

If any study subject experiences an unanticipated problem involving risk to subjects or others, and/or a serious adverse event, the HSC must be informed promptly. An e-mail or phone call must be received within 7 days of reporting to the Investigator(s). Further reporting requirements will be determined by the HSC at that time.

If you have any questions about the information provided above, please contact the,
Human Subjects Committee Coordinator at:

805-893-3807

(805) 893-2611 (fax)

hsc@research.ucsb.edu

For more details on this protocol, go to the ORahs website:

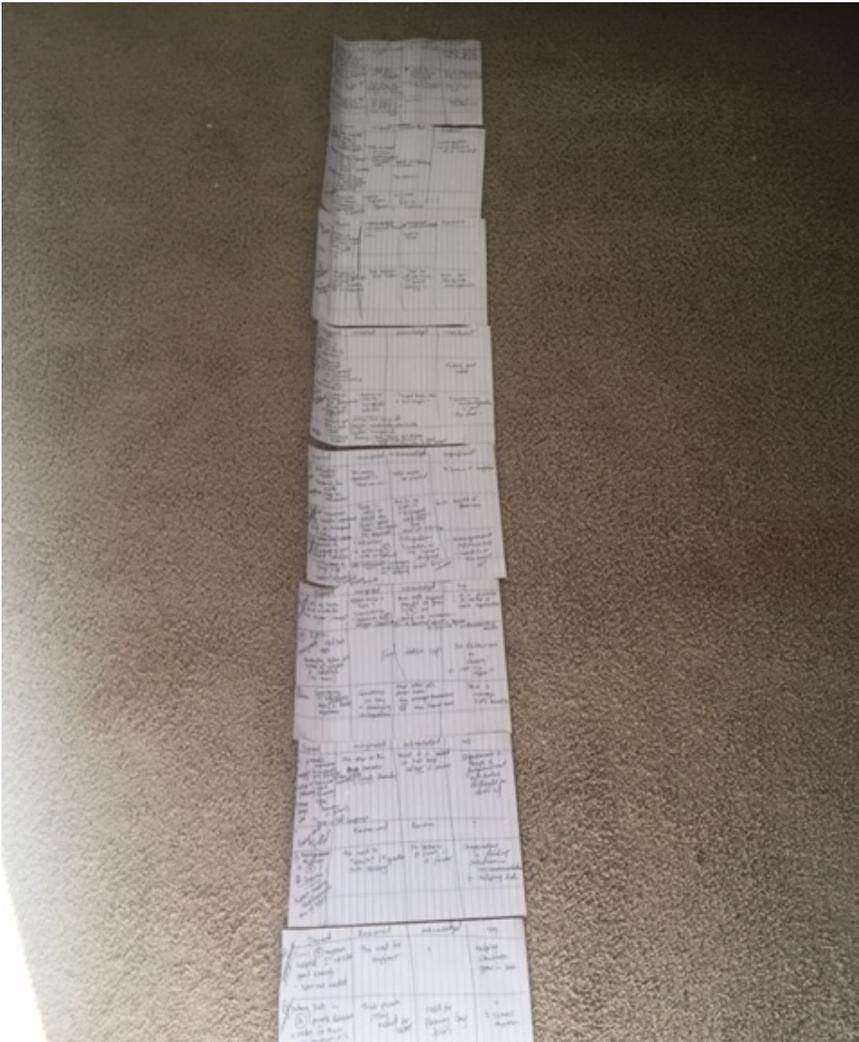
<https://orahs.research.ucsb.edu/>

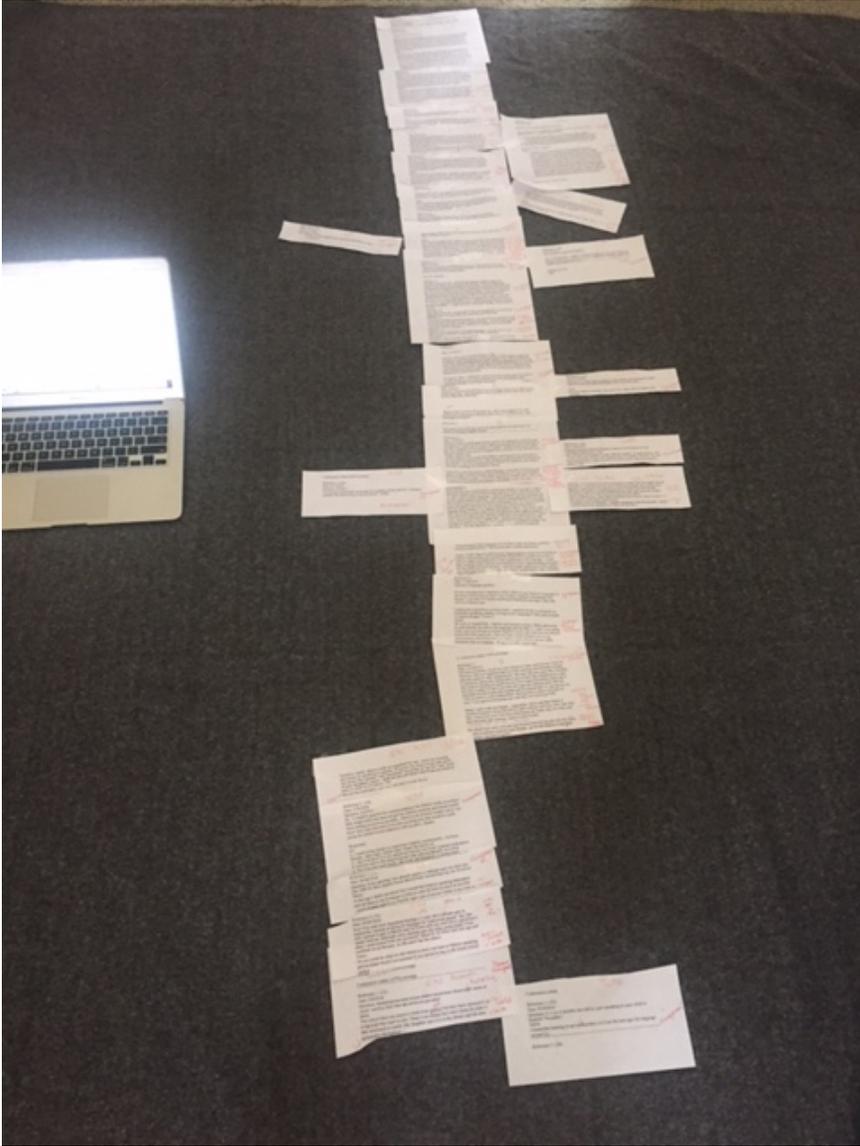
For more information about human subjects research, go to

<http://www.research.ucsb.edu/compliance/human-subjects/>.

APPENDIX B

Photos of physical event maps





Appendix C

Coding Nodes, Criteria and Examples

Node	Criteria	Example
Advice – Childcare	Post or a response seeking or providing advice regarding childcare	<u>Potty Training:</u> “I would say he’s too young. ...I would try again late summer or even closer to 3 personally”
		<u>Dental Care:</u> “ Happened to us. .she was fine and we didn’t go to the dentist. ..they typically won’t work on milk teeth. .it will be a distant memory when the tooth falls out around 6 years. ..”
		<u>Starting Solids:</u> “ A couple of my kids weren’t interested until they were close to nine months...keep up the tastings but don’t worry about it until they are into it..they went from nothing to the meals a day over night but a bit later.”
		<u>Health:</u> “Any experiences when it seems like your baby is irritated by something stuck in their throat. Our 19 month old has been coughing as if she is trying to clear something since last night...apart from that she is fine”
Advice- General	Post or response seeking or providing general advice, non-childcare focused	<u>Gift-giving in Israel:</u> “Year membership to the national parks in Israel?”
		<u>Bring gifts from abroad:</u> “Bring back loads of Sophie La Giraffe and be sorted for baby gifts for ever...”
		<u>Coupledness & Children:</u> “Apart from everything else that has already been written, remember that they are your husband's children too and that he is a big part of the reason that they are around...don't feel bad that he also gets involved!”
		<u>Navigating health insurance in Israel:</u> “Can someone talk me through the bureaucratic maze (or maybe it isn't one) of switching kupat cholim from Meuchedet to Maccabi...TIA”

Pregnancy	Post or response regarding experiences in pregnancy	“Please drink drink drink. ..from experience dehydration can bring in labor. ...might help you get over the day. ...I was induced with one pregnancy at 42 weeks and 1 day. ..and I am sure I could have kept going”
		<u>Pregnancy Rash:</u> “Hi - I have had this after three pregnancies - The first two times I thought it was bed bugs (prompt a lot of laundry, vacumming, hysteria) but third time around - break out a couple of weeks after pregnancy and lasting around a month I realised that it might be some post-birth hormonal thing...so in answer to your question - yes I had it - I don't recall doing anything and it did go away relatively quickly.”
Birth	Post or response regarding experinces pertaining to birth giving	<u>Food in post-birth hospital/hospital hotel:</u> “Food in the melonit over shabbat is not as good on shabbat as they do not carry out the full dinner service but the food shops in the mall are open so you can get some food from there to take to your room”
		<u>Choosing a hospital:</u> “I would go for which ever hospital is closest...you will be there for a few days and it will be easier for your family to visit, especially you other kid. Good luck.”
Nursing	Post or response regarding experiences with nursing.	“Some kids do sleep through the night from this age. I wouldn't recommend waking her but maybe feed her at 3 hour intervals during the day to make up.”
		“What is it with us mothers of four ant the last one. ..I was nursing ours life a new born at 14 months too...she slept through the night at three months for one month ant then started to wake up at night and until she was 14 month every time she stirred ie every three hours I would jump up and feed her. ..anyway when I decided to stop ie when she was 14 months in my case I went cold turkey at night ie the first time she stirred I ignored her and she started sleeping through the night at that point. ...I speed nursing her totally at this point. .. just sharing to give you inspiration. ..with 4 and other wakers i doubt it is a good idea to continue with broken nights.”

Citizenship	Post or response regarding dual citizenship	<u>Passports:</u> “I was also told not to bother registering at the consulate but to go straight to passports...their citizen is unquestionable due to their link to you”
		<u>Taxes:</u> “Can any of you wonderful moms really recommend a CPA who can negotiate the maze of US taxes, is reasonable and based in Tel Aviv.”
Meet-ups	Posts or responses regarding plans to meet offline	“Let's do the park tomorrow. It looks like the weather will hold for another day and I am sure there will be plenty of rainy days to come where we need to stay indoors. “
		“Looks like we won't make it today....struck down with a bug :-(have fun x”
		“We'll be there x“
Recipient Design (Frame Clash)	Post or response referencing life in Israel and/or comparing life in Israel and life abroad	<u>Food:</u> “What is it with our 'Israeli' kids. ..none of them, including ours eat potatoes... which are a huge staple of British kids' diets. ..weird. ..just an observation!“
		<u>Birthday parties:</u> “Yup...goody bags/partying gifts are most definitely part of the culture here”
		<u>Baby Names:</u> “There's a good one on the shilav site....from experience, if you are in Israel it's a good idea to use Hebrew sites, not the Anglo-Israeli sites in English that are littered with old fashioned names that Israelis will consider strange, to put it mildly”
		<u>Public transportation:</u> “Would love to support the petition. I take buses a lot and hate leaving my strollers - sometimes single, sometimes double - on the bus while I negotiate with the sometime helpful, sometimes appalling drivers. In Sweden, the land of the reasonable (or what used to be the land of the reasonable) if you have a stroller, no charge is made for the stroller or the person with it - in recognition that it is difficult to provide payment in this situation - bring it on”

Appendix D

Key Terms

Aliyah – immigration of Jewish people from the diaspora into the land of Israel

Gan – Daycare, preschool, Pre-K, Kindergarten

Heritage Language (HL) – a language including English in this case, “...used by immigrants and possibly their children that symbolically and linguistically represents their country of origins. In some instances, the heritage language(s) can in fact be synonymous with the mother tongue, first language, primary language, community language, native language or home language of the speaker, but the value of the heritage language label is that it also represents a wider spectrum of the diverse and unique relationships linguistic relationships linguistic minorities can have with a language irrespective of the level of linguistic proficiency (Lee & Suarez, 2009, p. 138)”

Telling case – a tracer unit, a person in this case where an “extended case analysis ...covers the same actors over a series of different situations (Mitchell, 1984, p. 238),” online communities in this case, and which makes “...previously obscure theoretical relationships suddenly apparent (Mitchell, 1984, p.241).”

Tracer Unit - “...a type of behavior, type of information, or type of construct that is traced or followed across and within various settings and/or contexts. This unit becomes a primary "locus of observation" (Merritt & Humphrey, 1981) within a given study. Any given study may have multiple tracer units. Each unit involves shifting the locus of observation to foreground and background processes, variables, contexts, and so forth “ (Green, 1983, p. 189). In the

current study, the “locus of observation” is the telling case, with two additional participants, or tracer units serving to verify the boundaries and the context of the communities.

Nodes – in NVivo Software Node is “a collection of references about a specific theme, place, person or other area of interest.” In this case nodes were applied to different themes or topics of conversation(s).

Responses – In online communication, when communication is in response to someone else’s post, it is referred to here as a ‘response.’

Posts – In online communications, when communication is instigated, and not created in response to another post.

Appendix E

Most commonly asked/addressed questions regarding FLP

- a) How can parents manage the quality of language acquisition in daycare and/or institutional settings?
- b) How can parents support language development in the host language when s/he is not fluent?
- c) What is the optimal approach to home-language maintenance and host-language development? Should the child go to a host-language daycare?
- d) Do bilingual twins develop differently? Should FLP management be approached differently for twins?
- e) Should a child going into a daycare or preschool in a host language for the first time be placed with older or younger children?
- f) How should one go about raising a trilingual child? What are the best approaches? What are trilingual families' experiences?
- g) Can exposure to additional languages cause speech problems such as stuttering? If so, what should parents do to help alleviate the problem?
- h) If a child is being raised in a minority language environment at home until entry into preschool, will this cause far-reaching developmental delay in the host language and will it affect academic performance?
- i) How should a parent who is "weak" in a host language support positive attitudes toward it? What is the best way to approach social problems in pre-kindergarten-aged children stemming from child's still developing linguistic skills, accent, and related differences?

- j) What methods “work” in developing literacy skills in trilingual families in all three languages?
- k) When should the letters and reading be introduced in the minority language?
- l) Should outside tutors be hired to support the child’s transition into the dominant-language institution?
- m) When should “native English/minority/home”-language classes be introduced into children’s learning repertoires?