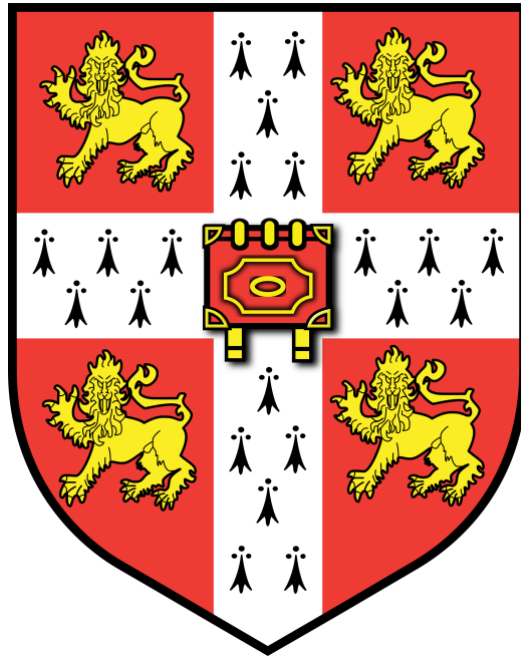


The Complex Construction of Multilingual Identity:
A comparative study in three European contexts of L3+ learning



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June 2020

This thesis is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Declaration

This thesis is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except as declared in the preface and specified in the text.

It is not substantially the same as any work that has already been submitted before for any degree or other qualification except as declared in the preface and specified in the text.

It does not exceed the prescribed word limit for the Education Degree Committee.

Harper Staples, 28/05/2020

Abstract

The commonly-cited phrase that bi- and multilingualism are no longer exceptions but rather the rule in most parts of the world is often-cited. This plurilingual reality has profound effects on the daily lives of many, and thus also represents a common experience of a considerable proportion of today's students in compulsory education. Despite this wide recognition, there remains still a paucity of studies that examine the impact that the acquisition of multiple languages has upon a learner's sense of self, and moreover, studies that consider methods through which we might evaluate and model these constructions of complex self-concept. A greater understanding of such processes of identification has potential social and educational implications.

This PhD study has explored the phenomenon of adolescent multilingual language learner identity development via a mixed-methods, comparative context approach at three school sites based in Finland, France & England. Individual and group identity (re)constructions are considered across the system boundaries and the emergent isolated and cross-context variables of impact are identified and analysed. Defining the context-linked specificities of multilingual identity construction, as well as seeking to identify themes applicable inter-context, responds to Henry's (2012), among others, call for a greater understanding of the nature of these variable interactions within the complex negotiation of self in language learning. In so doing, this thesis also demonstrates how the conceptualisation of learner self within a complexity framework can be operationalised in practical terms.

Acknowledgements

This thesis is a result of research from the Arts and Humanities Research Council funded project *Multilingualism: Empowering Individuals, Transforming Societies*. My thanks go to the AHRC for their financial support to complete this work and to the project PI Professor Wendy Ayres-Bennett for making me part of the MEITS team in 2016.

I could not be more grateful to my supervisor Dr. Linda Fisher for her constant support over the last four years and for welcoming me to the strand 4 family. The completion of this PhD would not have been possible without her knowledge, guidance and encouragement, and I am so appreciative for her kindness. Thank you too to Drs. Michael Evans, Yongcan Liu, Karen Forbes, Angela Gayton and Dee Rutgers for many inspiring discussions about multilingualism and identity and for helping me to direct this project to its final conclusions. My thanks also go to the kind participants in this study who responded to an email and were willing to give up their time to tell me about themselves and their languages.

This experience would have had a lot less laughter without meeting the Camfam, and especially Jude Brady, Rebecca Gordon and Sharon Walker. I feel grateful daily to have met such wonderful people and their friendship and support has enhanced my time in Cambridge beyond measure. The same acknowledgements go to the MEITS mates. I am so thankful to have had the chance to work (and drink wine!) with such talented colleagues. Their advice has always been very appreciated.

Especially, I would like to thank my 'sisters' Jess Hanlon and Katie Howard for their endless supply of motivational talks, support, advice, and humour. And finally, to my mum Julie, my brother Pearce and my dad Spencer, I couldn't have done this without you. Thank you so much for your constant love and support in everything and for always being a source of strength in the more difficult moments. I am so lucky to call you my family. And lastly thank you to Nicolas, who wasn't there for the beginning but has helped me so much to get to the end.

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Introduction & Research Background

The chapter page of Kramsch's 2006 work *The Multilingual Subject* displays as one subheading "Yet another book on the multilingual subject?". For researchers initiated in the field, this would seem to be a striking title; demonstrably, research into L3+ learning is characterised by a general paucity in the field (Cenoz & Jessner, 2009). We see, however, that the multilingualism displayed by Kramsch's *Subjects* conforms to what has been termed by Aronin & Jessner (2014, p.56) as a "streamlined view" of the phenomenon often applied in current research in which bi- and multilingual acquisition are compounded within a one-concept approach.

Despite the commonalities evident in the bi- and multilingual repertoire, a legacy of more recent research has been the recognition that processes of L2 and L3+ acquisition are fundamentally dissimilar, encapsulated neatly by Cenoz & Jessner (2009, p.122) in their assertion that "multilingual learning is not bilingual learning." Research in syntax acquisition (Strik, 2012), grammar learning strategies (Kemp, 2007) and cross-linguistic influence (De Angelis, 2005), for example, converge in their adherence to this statement, with the essential difference being linked to variations in complexity of acquisition. Multilingual systems are complex in the manner that multiple, active interactions "lead to countless, often unpredictable, outcomes". In contrast to bilingual studies, the range of findings, outcomes and interconnections in multilingualism increases "as the variation [in languages] does" (Aronin & Jessner, 2014, p.59).

This "complexity" referenced in Aronin & Jessner's (2014) summary of bi-/multilingual learning processes does not only have repercussions for competency development, however. Beyond differentiated cognitive implications for the multilingual individual, a disparity in the import to learner identity is also expected. Oliveira & Ançã (2009) suggest that multilingualism results in "a linguistically *plural* identification, resulting from an individual's experiences in different social, cultural, and linguistic arenas throughout a lifetime" (p.405). An L3+ learner must therefore negotiate complex change as language competencies evolve over time and, moreover, this process will vary according to the "influencing contextual factors" attributed to each individual (Jessner, 2008).

This thesis therefore offers an empirical response to these issues. The focus of the study, the exploration of language identity development in contexts of L3+ learning, is a strongly *multilingual* approach, and assumes that the complexity demonstrated by these constructions will be divergent to that of the L2 student. The adoption of a complex systems approach to conceptualise, analyse and model these identifications permits both a new insight into the specificities of these processes to be obtained, but also offers a theoretical contribution via the employment of multilingual learner models to visualise, and thus render replicable, these complex constructions of self.

Importantly, too, as Singleton *et al.* (2013, p.5) identify, while multilingualism may not display limitations in terms of geography or societal type, the activities and relationships which characterise the phenomenon are shown to “have particular characteristics” and “to develop in a specific manner *in each context*”, according to the interplay of a myriad of factors. In other words, multilingualism is a language globally spoken, but locally defined. This work therefore assumes this complexity will be divergent *across* contexts as a response to the interplay of such environmentally-specific “myriad factors”. While researchers such as Henry (2011) and Ó Laoire & Singleton (2009), amongst others, have contributed to broadening understanding of the ways in which certain site-unique factors, such as competency levels in English (Henry, 2011) or psychotypology of the learner’s L2 (Ó Laoire & Singleton, 2009) might interact with the development of a multilingual identity, there is again a paucity of research that examines *holistically* the relationship between context and learner in self-construction. The comparative case-study design of this thesis is therefore a response to the above; in addressing the interrelated influences of environment and individual/group identity, a breadth and depth of understanding is sought, illuminating not only the context-specificity of these constructions, but also permitting the recognition of those variables emergent cross-case, responding to Henry’s (2012, p.131) call for more work to better understand the “generalisability” of variables activated during an individual’s linguistic self-concept development.

The research’s contribution to developing comprehensions of the interplay between the multilingual repertoire and individual identification therefore offers theoretical implications, but also potential for pedagogy, too. The Douglas Fir Group assert that, generally, “agency and transformative power are means and goals for language learning” (2016, p.33), and Ushioda (2011), too, underscores the links between identity engagement and student motivation in language learning. Here, she outlines that “motivating the person” rather than the “L2 learner” creates opportunities for individuals to express their own, personally-applicable meanings via the target language, thus resulting in greater engagement with the subject (p.204). The links between identity-linked pedagogy and student motivation also emerges in Castillo Zaragoza (2011)’s study of self-access language learners, where the personally-orientated nature of study in autonomous learning language centres revealed an intrinsic link between student self-engagement and their learning motivation. Taylor’s (2013) work is even broader in impact, suggesting that the languages classroom constitutes a potential site of valuable support for social development more generally, particularly so at stages of especially dynamic processes like adolescence. She argues that communicative language learning classes are perhaps the best suited of “all the academic subjects” to support personal self-construction, as the act of “expressing ourselves in a foreign language” can offer tools for identity development equally applicable in other social contexts of self-negotiation (pp.2-3). And indeed, the recent “flourishing” (Dewaele *et al.* 2019) of research which considers *Positive Psychology* approaches to fostering wellbeing in the languages classroom (e.g. Helgesen, 2016) confirms the increasing recognition that language learning offers a potential to shift outcomes for self-construction/awareness beyond their pedagogical implications.

And indeed, the benefits to be obtained from greater comprehension of multilingual identity construction during language learning is never more relevant than today. A necessary outcome of what Aronin & Hufeisen

(2009, p.2) have termed the “construction of the contemporary globalised reality”, current views of multilingualism hold that it no longer represents the exception, but rather the rule (Cenoz & Jessner, 2009, p.121). As such, the acquisition of a third + language represents “a common experience” (ibid., p.121) for many students, and therefore represents now, more than ever, a key area of inquiry in the domain of foreign language (FL) learner identity.

This thesis thus offers a much-needed, and necessarily *holistic*, view as to the import of diverse contextual variables upon learner identity negotiation during the process of L3+ acquisition, both intra and inter-research case. By seeking insights into both the general and the specific, new insight is provided as to the complex construction of student self in today’s globally multilingual age.

Chapter One

Literature Review & Study Rationale

1.1. Theoretical Overview

In order to situate this work within the field, as well as to support the rationale both for the research objectives and the chosen conceptual framework, a thematic review of the literature is taken. This will demonstrate the ways in which the key factors of context, language learning and identity have been framed from various viewpoints within the discipline, synthesising socio-psychological and -cognitive perspectives, poststructuralist theory and finally ecological views of acquisition.

These factors will be elaborated with regards to their relevance for an investigation into learner identity in an L3+ context, as well as indicating the adoption of a complex dynamic systems approach represents the most appropriate tool for a consideration of the research aims. Finally, the objectives of the study will be set out at the conclusion of this section.

1.1.2. Identity & Language

The concept of identity represents a contentious issue across the disciplines. While not in explicit opposition, interpretations of this construct are varied and overlapping. In sociocultural terms (see Lave & Wenger, 1991) identity is set out as being developed through the “interaction and negotiation with others [...], constructing and being constructed [and] influenced by larger social processes” (Moloney & Oguro, 2015 p.123). Block (2006) suggests that identity is often conceptualised in the media “as involving an exclusive choice between distinct identity options, implies that there are a finite number of fixed identities from which people can choose.” (Ibid., p.123). Hansen (1999), however, argues that the concept should not be bounded in this way. A definition of what she terms *cultural identity*, it is suggested, must be “fluid, overlapping and multifaceted” (p.4). The lack of agreement on an appropriate definition for the term is a clear indication of the difficulties encountered when considering a concept of such complexity.

The social-psychology literature makes further distinctions in relation to the conceptualisation of identity. Tajfel's (1981) theory of social identity focuses on the distinctions between an individual's group and personal identity, and suggests that the latter is based upon evaluations of one's positioning and status within the collective whole. Others posit the parallel existence of both *self-concept* and *identity* as intrinsic to being. Both these constructions offer answers to the questions “*who am I?*” and “*how do I fit in?*” (Oyserman, 2001, p.499) but cannot be assumed as disparate entities. ‘Identities’ are one's traits and characteristics, social relations and social group memberships, and act to orientate our self “meaning-making” (Oyserman *et al.*, 2012, p.69). Cumulatively, these facets of being are held to make up our *self-concept*, normally what one would posit to be

their *personality*. It is the cognitive structure of the self-concept that helps maintain an individual's basic sense of who they are in relation to evaluations of the surrounding context (Oyserman & Markus, 1998). Identities in this sense align with Hansen's (1999) conceptualisation of the 'fluid' cultural identity; they are "dynamically constructed in context", while the subsuming self-concept remains a somewhat more stable "anchoring reality" (Oyserman, 2001, p.500). Again, the difficulties linked to the adequate conceptualisation of identity outlined are not mitigated as the definitions become more specific. Here, too, the distinctions between *self-concept* and *identity* are also misleading, used interchangeably in the literature and often with different definitions across the disciplines. The "dizzying array" of content held within both one's *identities* and their broader self-concept (ibid., p.6) therefore necessitates transparency as to exact meaning when referring to either of these entities.

Agreement is found across the literature, however, in the assertion that the connection between language and identity is essential to an experience of being human. As Joseph (2010, p.9) states, languages are so fundamental to our day-to-day interactions with others that it is easy to "take them for granted" and to reduce them to being "simply tools for conveying ideas". In reality, he suggests that "our very sense of who we are, where we belong and why, and how we relate to those around us, all have language at their centre." Language not only reflects who we are, but in some sense language "*is* who we are." (Llamas & Watt, 2010, p.1). Traditional scholarly views which took an *emergence* approach to identity and language use saw the former concept housed within an individual's mind, reducing language output to be simply a marker of an internal mental state (Bucholz & Hall, 2010), thus decontextualising its usage. However, in addition to an individual sense of self, we also exist alongside others, and develop identities as social beings. Language provides one means by which social 'belonging' is indicated; as Llamas & Watt (2010, p.1) state: "language-mediated attribution of identity to individuals is so ingrained in human social affairs that we consider a person lacking a name to also lack an identity."

1.1.3. Identity & Language Learning

Llamas & Watt's (2010) assertion that language "*is* who we are" aligns with the more pedagogically-orientated statement by Taylor *et al.*, (2013) that learning a new language "is sometimes said to mean learning a new identity" (p.4). This being the case, the acquisition of multiple additional languages will certainly have interesting implications for self-conceptualisation. Yet, despite what the latter have termed to be an "unsurprising" interest in self and identity in language learning, designated as such because language is considered the main vehicle of expressing the self (Ochs, 2008), Mantero (2007, p.1) argues that it was only due to the social turn in second language acquisition theory that permitted the realm of identity to take a dominant role in research. The need to situate the individual at the centre of such investigations is reproduced in the majority of current prevalent theories in the field.

This necessity has been rendered even more explicit following the discipline's recent period of redefinition. While little contention is found across the theoretical perspectives applied to FL learning contexts that the individual is paramount in the process, calls have been made for models which permit for considerations of learner identity in even more dynamic terms (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2009; Henry, 2012; King, 2016). This is due, in part, to the recognition that while it is "statistically possible to distinguish learner from context [...] it is untenable to do so because it assumes that the two are independent" (Larsen-Freeman, 2016, p.xii). Equally, recent research has demonstrated that the two concepts are not only interdependent, but also both are "always changing; [...] learner and context are locked in a process of reciprocal co-adaptation" (Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008). Mercer (2014c), too, emphasises the need for future empirical work in this area to better understand "how the different dynamics of the self-system are interconnected with each other and the nature of their development" (p.165).

There are also broader contextual implications to consider when conducting research in the field of learner identity development. While it is clear that the individual must be prioritised when such work is undertaken; the subjective and context-specific nature of self-development within language acquisition processes means that no two students will understand their multilingualism in identical ways and, as referenced above, one outcome of better student self-comprehension has more general pedagogical and socially-applicable benefits. These are explored in greater detail in the final chapter of this work.

- ***A note on terminology***

The "dizzying array" of self/identity conceptualisations across the disciplines makes specificity essential as to the intended meaning of terms. This work's prioritisation of complex *holism* when considering the interrelationship between learner and context necessitated a conceptualisation that encapsulated such overlapping, multifaceted impacts and responses. The use of "self-concept" and "identity" were deemed appropriate for this work's conceptualisation of learner self because both are capable of subsuming the cognitive and affective dimensions of belief addressed above. The main difference between the concepts is found in their *orientation*: self-concept links very much to individual, cognitive understanding as to one's self, broadly one's their "personality" (Oyserman *et al.*, 2012), while identity speaks to an individual's relational self-definition in response to a particular social context. (Mercer, 2012, p.11). Importantly for complexity theorisation, both these constructs exist in multiplicity; we have numerous, "interrelated self-concepts in a range of domains" (*ibid*, p.11) and may re-construct a sense of identity in relation to the social space in which we enact. The exploration of learner self-conceptualisation in relation to multiple potential influences makes such 'multiplicity' of theorisation essential; thus both terms are adopted in this study with the differentiation of *orientation* maintained.

1.2. Literature Review

1.2.1. Context, Language & Identity: *The Social Psychological-Cognitive Approach*

As Taylor *et al.* remark, the popularity of Dörnyei's (e.g. 2009) L2 Motivational Self System in empirical work indicates that there is much interest in "the individual's perspective in foreign language learning" (2013, p.4). The latter researcher, certainly, underlines the necessity of prioritising learner identity in research; L2 acquisition researchers therefore have always "typically adopted paradigms that link [...] the L2 to the individual's personal 'core', [because it] forms an important part of one's identity" (Dörnyei, 2009, p.9). However, and especially pertinent for this review, this theoretical conceptualisation of language learning motivation has also contributed much to understandings of the paramount role that context plays in the process.

This individual-orientated interpretation of language acquisition stands in stark contrast to early linguistic research. This was partially due to the dominance of psycholinguistic and Universal Grammar approaches in the field, which assumed a 'generic' language user and "disregarded inter-individual variation as 'noise' [...] a distraction [...] to an understanding of the universal facts of SLA" (Pavlenko *et al.*, 2001, p.4). As such, little attention was given to the process of language acquisition, individual variables or, indeed, the social context in which the second language was learned and used.

Dörnyei's L2 Motivational Self System was a reconceptualisation of certain attributes put forward by Robert Gardner and his colleagues in the 1950's as characteristic of learner motivation. Importantly, it was this earlier work which offered a first step towards socially grounded considerations of language learning in which attention was given to individual differences during the process of L2 acquisition. Primarily, Gardner *et al.*'s theory identified learner motivation and attitude as a key variable in determining the success of a student's attempts to acquire a language (Gardner, 1985). A key tenet was the premise that language learning motivation extends from a student's attitude towards the L2 and the L2 community in question. In the author's own phrasing, language acquisition is not only "simply learning new information (vocabulary, grammar, pronunciation, etc) which is part of his *own* culture but rather of *acquiring* symbolic elements of a *different* ethnolinguistic community." As such, the learner's "willingness or ability to identify with other cultural communities become important considerations in the process of second language acquisition" (Gardner, 1979, p.193-4). It is this *integrative* aspect of learner motivation, which implies "some sort of a psychological and emotional *identification*", which has been perhaps the most researched facet of Gardner's motivation theory (Dörnyei, 2003, p.4). As Noels & Giles (2009, p.649) underline, it is this concept which is most germane to issues of social identity because it encompasses this notion "in the sense that one has a willingness to be like valued members of the language community [...] sometimes to the point of identifying with that group." Miyahara's (2015) longitudinal study of the motivational trends of Japanese EFL learners and their social

identification with peer *returnees* provides an interesting example of this motif in action. Moreover, such integrative behaviour in relation to one's social *Referent Others* (Krueger & Stanke, 2001) is emphasised in more generally-applicable terms in the psychology literature as essential to comprehensions of identities, because "most of the evidence suggests that people's perceptions of their own characteristics guide their estimates of group characteristics" (p.878). Therefore, mapping projections of the collective self reveals as much about the identification of the individual as it does the group.

While Gardnerian theory prioritises the development and maintenance of learner motivation as an empirical basis, its reconceptualisation within Zoltan Dörnyei's *L2 Motivational Self-System* in the 2000's is of particular pertinence for this review. The *Self-System* was a response in particular to the concept of *integrativeness*, which assumed a "salient L2 group in the learners' environment" (Dörnyei, 2003, p.6). Dörnyei, among others, found this concept problematic in a number of ways. Concerns were raised, for example, with regards to the dichotomous interpretation of the *instrumental-integrative* orientations in L2 motivational research conducted at the time, with many researchers assuming that the two concepts existed "antagonist counterparts", despite Gardner's assertions to the contrary (Gu, 2009, p.41). So too, conceptualisations of the target language community envisaged by Gardner and his colleagues when defining the *instrumental* motive were deemed to be limiting. For Dörnyei, this element was felt to be especially troublesome "because in contexts other than the bilingual setting in which it was initially developed, it may be unclear as to what the target of integration actually is" (Henry, 2012, p.27). It was therefore suggested that the motivational element contained by the *integrative* orientation could, in fact, relate to "any actual, or metaphorical, *integration* into an L2 community as to some more basic *identification process* within the individual's *self-concept*" (Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002, p. 456). Certainly, this point pertains quite clearly to an investigation of the construction of a multilingual identity, and raises questions linked, in particular, to the modern role of English as an international *lingua franca*, (Phan, 2009), 'globalised' and therefore decontextualized in a majority of modern languages classrooms.

The *L2 Motivational Self-System* provided a synthesis of Gardner's theory and psychological concepts of the self, borrowed from Higgins' (1987) theory of self-discrepancy and Markus and Nurius' (1986) *Possible Selves*. The framework comprises three elements, the *Ideal L2 Self*, the *Ought-to Ideal Self* and the *L2 Learning Experience*. (Dörnyei, 2009). Motivation can be accounted for via the learner's attempts to narrow the discrepancy they feel to exist between their current self and their *Ideal L2 /Ought-to Ideal Self*. The third dimension, the *L2 Learning Experience* is concerned with situation-specific motives related to the learning environment (Dörnyei *et al.* 2006). While representing a shift in L2 motivational theory from socio-psychological considerations towards a more cognitively grounded approach, Dörnyei's tripartite structure is valuable as a means of demonstrating the need to develop a theoretical view which can account for the intrinsically dynamic nature of learner identity during the acquisition of a foreign language. Indeed, this dynamicity is an essential element of this researcher's integration of Higgin's (1987) *Self-discrepancy* theorisation into the L2MSS. This latter conceptualisation posits that an unease is experienced when individuals understand a 'discrepancy' to exist between their actual selves and their 'aspired future-self', which spurs

motivational action to reduce this gap. Dörnyei (2014) reconceptualises this dynamic potential in relation to language learning via the identification of a *future-self-guide*, which, if meeting the necessary characteristics, such as being *adequately 'different' to current self*, *'vivid' in construction*, *'harmonious' with the learner's understanding of the ideal and ought-to-self*, and also *'attainable' in construction*, will result in engaged and motivated learning (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011).

Increasingly, there have been suggestions that, notwithstanding the efforts of Dörnyei and others to redevelop existing sociocognitive models, there is still more to be done in order to accurately encompass the many, diverse elements of learner identity (see Mercer, 2016). In particular, focus has been placed on the need to incorporate more temporally specific periods of waxing-waning motivation within such models. Contributions in this area include Dörnyei, Muir & Ibrahim's (2014) *Directed Motivational Currents* (DMC), a pedagogic method of conceptualising (and provoking) periods of heightened learner motivation in response to a particularly powerful attractor. In parallel terms, Ushioda has also argued for the *person-in-context* relational view, which argues L2 motivation approaches should no longer rely on context forming an independent, "background" variable external to the individual in question, but rather that every "unique local particularities of the person as a self-reflective intentional agent, inherently part of and shaping her own context" should be considered (2009, p.218).

Indeed, calls for an increased consideration of individual dynamism in theories of language acquisition have been echoed across the discipline. Poststructuralist perspectives, too, have seen the integration of new elements to negotiate the concept of a unique and multifaceted learner identity.

1.2.2. Context, Language & Identity: *The Poststructural Approach*

In contrast to more sociocognitive-orientated approaches, poststructuralist theories of L2 acquisition place particular emphasis on the idea-that language is constructed within relations of power and the process of becoming competent in an L2 is often matched with an appropriation of the linguistic *symbolic capital* of the "other" (Norton, 2014). Indeed, the suggestion that identity negotiation within poststructuralism is concerned with the construction of self in relation to this "other", and the potential conflict found therein, is neatly defined by Kramsch (2006). She summarises language learning as a process in which the learner does not just "master the intricacies of the grammar and the lexicon", but also where they "experience learning and using *someone else's language*" (2006, p.99), (italics my own).

Norton & Toohey (2011) acknowledge the value of a poststructuralist perspective in the field of identity and language learning research as representative of the theoretical shift in linguistic structuralism, originating with the work of semiologist Ferdinand de Saussure (1966 -). Saussure underlined the importance of "idealized speakers/hearers [...] to use and understand language's stable patterns and structures" (Norton & Toohey, 2011, p.416). Instances of actual performance in language, which included slips, errors, or lapses of memory,

were not seen to be indicative of idealized patterns in speaking, and were thus “of little interest in the scientific study of language” (ibid., p.416). Just as sociocultural approaches to FL learning were based on a need to better situate the individual in context, poststructuralism indicates a recognition that the language production process envisaged by structuralism theorists did not permit a holistic understanding of learner and environment.

The importance of accounting for context and speaker in theoretical terms was posited especially forcefully by literary theorist Mikhail Bakhtin in the 1960’s. His theory of *positioning*, although utilised by the author as a framework for literary criticism, provided a means for poststructuralism to be integrated into the field of applied linguistics by researchers such as Norton (2001) and Menard-Warwick (2007). Language, for Bakhtin, had no independent existence outside its use, and such use was considered to be entirely social (Norton & Toohey, 2011, p.416). Context-specific and context-defined, acquiring knowledge of a particular language, in poststructural terms, was not the internalisation of a restricted set of rules, but rather a “process of struggling to use a language in order to participate in specific speech communities” (ibid., p. 416). Bakhtin posited linguistic resources are *recycled* by users within the community in question and are then appropriated when used, thus becoming the speaker’s own. Important to consider, however, was Bakhtin’s emphasis not only on the context-based nature of language, that is, that we *recycle* the language of our speech community, but also the historicity of this implicitly social element. While a user may take up, and therefore take on, the linguistic resources of their community, they also inherit the past “indexes” and associations that the linguistic forms represent. That is, languages are “stratified [and] socio-ideological” and thus reflect “differentiation in society” (Bakhtin, in Blackledge *et al.*, 2011). Languages are therefore placed within a hierarchy, accruing what Bourdieu has termed *symbolic capital*, which underlines what is, in a given cultural context, perceived to be a particular honour or prestige (Beasley-Murray, in Brown & Szeman, 2000, p.208). As Norton (in Mercer, 2014c, p.63) notes, Bourdieu emphasises that interlocutors rarely share equal speaking rights, and that the value ascribed to a certain speaker will differ depending on circumstances or contexts. It is therefore understood that those not in possession of the accepted ‘prestige’ form may have limited rights to speech or “power to impose reception” (Bourdieu, 1977, p.648).

While Bakhtin’s approach was explicitly developed for literary theory, it is his construction of the dual nature of the production of language, in which speakers are argued to possess a certain agency to select their own linguistic forms, yet in so doing also inherit the contextually relevant *indexicality*, which proved especially useful for poststructural theorists. This, paired with Bourdieu’s notion of *symbolic capital*, permitted the integration of poststructuralist theory into considerations of language learning and identity, perhaps most notably by Norton.

Norton’s ethnographic enquiries into the language learning styles of immigrant women in Canada is argued by Hemmi (2014, p.78) to reveal aspects of power operating in “the socially constructed relations among individuals, institutions and communities through which symbolic and material resources in a society are produced, distributed and validated.” Norton illustrates her study with what she terms *vignettes* of individual

learners of English and their struggle to assert their identities in the face of “marginalising practices.” (Norton & Toohey, 2011, p.413). The framework that Norton applies to the process of identity construction within foreign language learning is relevant for the purposes of this literature review in two ways.

Firstly, and closely linked to the general recognition of her contribution to the field of SLA, Norton was careful to underline the essentially dynamic nature of a language learner. This is reflected in both her reworking of motivation theory in poststructural terms, and also resulted in the addition of a new concept, *investment*, to L2 motivation models (Norton, 1995). Foucaultian conceptions of social order posit that *regimes of truth* are imposed within a context by the dominant powers of the time. This is not a static, permanent order, however, and “subjects” are capable of exerting a resistance (Egbo, 2004, p.246). In briefer terms, power is negotiated, not permanent. Norton draws on this idea in her discussion of the manner in which learners of English in Canada, who are relegated to lower echelons of social status due to their lack of knowledge of the native language, “reclaim speech” through identity renegotiation. The case of *Martina*, for example, demonstrates how an individual can reframe her identity as a mother as means of responding to her positioning by her co-workers as a “dehumanized” domestic (Norton & Toohey, 2011, p.413). Identity is thus positioned as “complex, multiple and changing across time and space.” (Norton, 2014, p.70)

Norton further underlines the dynamic nature of identity within the context of language learning in her theoretical additions to L2 motivation frameworks. Echoing Dörnyei’s concern that the Gardnerian model of *integrative/instrumental* attributes did not permit considerations of both individual and contextual factors that might impact upon a language learner’s motivation at certain times, Norton’s concept of *investment* draws on Bourdieu’s theory of *symbolic capital*. She suggests that learners “invest” in a particular language at a particular time because they “believe that they will acquire a wider range of symbolic and material resources, which will, in turn, increase the value of their social capital” (ibid., p.420). *Investment* allows for a conceptualisation of individual L2 motivation in flux; simply describing a student as ‘motivated’ or ‘unmotivated’ to learn a particular language does not permit considerations of actional ebbs and flows within a given time span. A learner may always be *motivated* to learn a language, but the effect of contextual, or indeed individual, factors, whether temporary or permanent, may result in less *investment* in certain learning contexts without negating the overall desire to acquire the L2.

The majority of criticism directed at a poststructuralist view links to questions of learner *positioning*. Luke (2009, p.293), for example, takes issue with Norton’s uptake of a Bakhtinian approach to dialogue through the former’s suggestion that learners may redefine their identity within a given context of speech in order to reassert their claim to power. He suggests that certain “phenotypical features, [...] gender or sexuality, language or accent [...] may not be wholly malleable through discourse.” In other words, some social positioning may be so strongly determining that resistance is difficult. So too, there have been suggestions (see Kramsch & Steffensen, 2008, p.26) that Norton’s work may still adhere to “a too structuralist view of identity”, seeing an individual’s multiple social identities to be confined by their singular position in the social world. Such

critiques, however, do little to undermine the importance of a dynamic approach within poststructuralist theory; conversely, this is perhaps considered to be one of its most attractive features (see Kramsch, 2006; Norton & Toohey, 2011; Hemmi, 2014). As Luke (2009) underlines, the “multiplicity of identity” that this perspective underscores is key to its theoretical value.

While distinct in terms of interpretation, perhaps more unites than divides the two approaches outlined thus far. The prevalence of shared terms is perhaps one especially salient indication. Dörnyei’s (2014) conception of the L2 self as “multifaceted” is mirrored, for example, in Norton’s assertion that a language learner’s identity is necessarily “complex, contradictory and multifaceted” (Piechurska-Kuciel & Piasecka, 2012, p.120). Moreover, and beyond instances of shared terminology, examples of conceptual transfer between poststructuralist and sociocognitive theory can also be found. One such example, outlined above, is Norton’s (2000) development of the model of learner motivation to include the concept of *investment*. As previously stated, this permitted the reconceptualisation of learner motivation within poststructuralist terms by emphasising the role of the L2 in question’s *symbolic capital* as a key motivating factor. Through her argument that Dörnyei’s (2001) “primarily psychological construct” should contain a sociological element, Norton & Toohey (2011, p.420) credit the integration of a sociocognitive element of learner identity within a poststructural framework. Equally, theories of learner motivation set out in explicitly social/cognitive terms have benefitted from a poststructural view. Dörnyei, as a second example, offers Norton’s (2001) concept of the *Imagined Community* as a means of understanding the interface between the Ideal L2 self and the actional phase of motivation (2010, p.107). In sum, it is clear that a recognition of the intrinsically dynamic nature of learner identity, constructed within and by a certain context, is key to framing research in this field, regardless of empirical view.

Van Lier (2004, p.21), a proponent of ecological theories of language learning, raises an identical point in his assertion that such perspectives should serve to “enrich each other.” He places particular emphasis on the value of ecological approaches to language and language learning because of the ability to “transcend the cognitive-social debate” that followed Firth and Wagner’s (1997) call for a better integration of both dimensions in SLA research (Blin, in Farr & Murray, 2016, p.40). Transcendence of such theoretical boundaries in strongly identity-oriented terms is maintained as essential in Fisher *et al.*’s (2018) “multi-theoretic” approach. This marks a useful point at which to outline the theoretical view within which a Complex Dynamic Systems approach can be situated. An appraisal of complexity theory in terms of salience for a consideration of multilingual identity construction during L3+ acquisition will also be outlined.

1.2.3. Context, Language & Identity: *Ecological Systems*

In a striking contrast to the theoretical development of sociocognitive and poststructural approaches to language learning and identity, “the ecology of language”, termed as such by Haugen (1972), prioritised the necessarily dynamic link between individual and context from its conception. Perhaps more commonly termed

ecolinguistics in current literature, this broad framework concerns the “interactions between any given language and its environment” (Haugen, 2001, p.57).

Ecological approaches to language learning are rooted in biologist Ernst Haeckel’s definition of ‘ecology’ in the mid 19th century, where the neologism was applied to the interactions of organisms existing in the same environment. ‘Ecology’ was proclaimed to be “the study of all those complex interactions referred to by Darwin as the conditions of the struggle for existence” (Heams *et al*, 2015, p.528). Certainly, attempts to theorise the interdependency between language and the context in which it was used had already been inaugurated in the field of anthropological linguistics, for example, Sapir & Whorf’s (1940) controversial linguistic relativism hypothesis. Haugen, however, by rendering explicit the links between language as part of a larger environment, thus determined that ecolinguistics could exist as a theory of language learning in its own right (Chen, 2016, p.110) (see also Halliday, 2001). Chen underlined the necessity of addressing the relationship between language and individual in a holistic manner, stating that language is a combination of three factors: the physical, the psychological (for example, suggesting that languages are capable of interacting with each other in the minds of bilingual or multilingual speakers), and finally sociological (language is produced in, and of, the society in which it is located) (2016, p.110). Kramsch & Steffensen (2008, p.18), too, assert the importance of holism in such an approach; in their definition, there is “no mono-directionality, only mutuality”, and any attempt to reduce “complex phenomena to Cartesian dualisms” should be avoided. In more specific terms, Lam & Kramsch (2003, p.114) argue that frameworks inspired by an ecological approach “capture the *interconnectedness* of psychological, social and environmental process in SLA.” Certainly, this ‘interconnectedness’ of the multilingual experience where psychological factors are held in equal importance in their contribution to identity construction as external contextual influences is perhaps one of the most characteristic features of these most recent theorisations of the linguistic self. While the role of emotions, for example, in language use has been a focus of empirical work for some time (e.g. Pavlenko, 2006), these studies often considered this variable as an outcome of the bi/multilingual experience, questioning the manner in which an individual may experience divergent cognitions in relation to the different languages in their repertoire.

While Haugen (1971), and later Halliday (1990), are credited with explicitly defining ecolinguistics as field of research in its own right, language ecology in practice envelops a diverse range of approaches within applied linguistics. This is in no way seen to be a reductive feature, in fact the opposite; as Chappelle (2009, p.748) notes, “combining different SLA theoretical approaches into a meta-theory [...] takes into account the multiple factors working together.” A salient demonstration of the manner in which ecolinguistics can draw upon different language acquisition theories to inform an approach is Van Lier’s (2004) integration of a dialogic-based element within a broader ecological perspective. Van Lier (2008, p.599) sees language “as a process of creating, co-creating, sharing, and exchanging meanings across speakers, time and space.” As Farr & Murray (2016) render explicit, language use is thus seen as a process of dialogue, drawing on its Bakhtinian meaning as constructed not only of the temporal present, but also encompassing the past *indexicality* imbued by its use in

context; indeed, as Van Lier (2000, p.258) states explicitly, “the first job for language is to indicate and index the world.” An ecological approach thus references quite explicitly the possibility of encroaching upon poststructuralist territory, as Norton’s integration of such language production demonstrated in the previous section. However, in so doing, Van Lier does not limit an interpretation of language to the assertion of self within a structure of contextual power relations, but rather encompasses this element as well as forging a link between language ecology and Vygotskian sociocultural theory, where learning “emerges (and merges) through the child’s [...] internalisation of activities that are first realised in social interaction” (2000, p.254), that is to say, the use of language in context. Although Kramsch and Steffensen (2008) have suggested that the “poststructuralist relativity [and] flexibility” of such a perspective risks that ecologically orientated linguistics may lose sight of the “power struggles inherent in cultural ecosystems” (p.26), the capacity of this framework to sustain a multi-theoretical approach to language acquisition has been noted by Kramsch (2012, p.10), among others, to provide a means of “emancipating” learners from the hitherto “reduced personalities they have been given in traditional SLA research.”

1.2.4. Context, Language & Identity: *Complex Dynamic Systems Theory (CDST)*

Kramsch & Steffensen (2008, p.18) suggest that the holism favoured by an ecological framework “leads many ecolinguists to general systems theory.” Indeed, as Mercer (2016, p.61), argues, by incorporating elements from diverse conceptualisations within one approach, complexity perspectives do not “reject understandings from any of the previous [language learning] theories, but rather incorporate all of the insights collectively”, and thus provides a valuable tool for examining a contextually-unique learning environment.

Dynamic Systems theory finds its origins in mathematical models devised to measure the development and change of complex systems (Larsen-Freeman, 2016); it is therefore well structured as a methodological tool to examine non-linear development within a given ‘ecology’. As Yang & Sun (2015, p.298) underline, language development can also be considered to be an ecology in this sense, as “it embodies all the characteristics of dynamic systems, e.g., sensitive dependence on initial conditions, self-adaption and self-organization, complete interconnectedness, nonlinearity and chaos in development, dependence on internal (cognitive) and external (social) resources, [and] emergent properties.” A Dynamic Systems framework has been argued to offer new insights into human cognition across diverse fields of inquiry, notably, developmental psychology (Yang & Sun, 2015), and has also been appropriated by the field of applied linguistics by researchers such as De Bot & Larsen-Freeman (2011) and De Bot, Lowie, & Verspoor, (2007). This cross-domain, *holistic* applicability offered by complexity approaches to work in cognition has been strengthened by the recent integration of *Positive Psychology* into the field of applied linguistics. Practical solutions to the integration of this theory, which suggests that the fostering of positive emotions within a specific domain can have broader implications for more general personal wellbeing (e.g. MacIntyre, Gregersen & Mercer, 2014) are offered by Oxford’s EMPATHICS approach. This evaluates the dynamicity and interconnectedness of the experience of both positive

and negative emotions as integral components to personal *flourishing*, and is thus “intimately” tied in conceptualisation to that of a complex system (Oxford, 2018).

In accordance with its position within ecological perspectives of language acquisition, Mercer (2016) renders explicit the difficulty in succinctly defining a complex systems view due to the varying means with which elements from other complementary theories are integrated. Indeed, as Van Geert (2008) has stated, complex dynamic systems should not be considered as a unique theory, but rather a broad conceptualisation of dynamic change. Mercer (2016) finds a unifying factor in that all complexity approaches assert the existence “of at least two but usually a multitude of interrelated components which may themselves be complex systems”. This approach is often represented in terms of nested systems (Davis & Sumara, 2006), where factors can be seen to interact dynamically within a specified timescale. Importantly, context and environment are seen to be integral parts of this system, rather than external affective variables. An additional strength can be found in that such systems render “irrelevant the agency-structure debate about which of the two is more important in effecting change. Both are, and much else too” (Mason, 2008, p.39). Mercer (2016) has suggested that a useful means of conceptualising the ways in which the various approaches to this theory have been developed is as a continuum, where the chosen research design will determine the ‘complexity’ orientation, whether a more mathematically-based model, or a more humanistic-orientated perspective. Indeed, such is the flexibility of CDST that Mercer assures that it can even exist in its most basic form as simply a “way of thinking”, rather than an explicit methodological tool (ibid., p.74). This point is addressed in greater detail in chapter two.

1.2.5. Complexity or Ecology?

As outlined above, complex dynamic systems represent an extension of ecological theory and, as such, there are considerable overlaps in their conceptualisation of language use and learning. This study’s conceptualisation of multilingual identity development as an expressly dynamic system, rather than a more generally-encompassing linguistic ecology, is based upon the following rationale:

1. A particular strength of ecological theories, cited in section 1.2.3, is found in their *holism*. This open approach to language use in context prioritises a generalised worldview and ensures that all interactions exist in “mutuality” (Kramsch & Steffensen, 2008). However, such holism will also underscore *diversity* as fundamental to the given ecology, adopting a descriptive frame that “accentuates the specific” over the generalisable at all times (ibid., p.3). While this study is partly concerned with such specificity, it is equally concerned with the potentially *generalisable* traits of the multilingual self-concept. As such, the use of ecological theory as the conceptual base with which to explore these constructions would be fundamentally incompatible. Conversely, the structure of a dynamic system, in which interconnections between scales, or *levels of macro-meso-micro* context are sought (Larsen-Freeman, 1997), permits both a holistic approach as well as the comparison of multiple contexts.

2. A second rationale for the choice of complexity as the theoretical basis is linked to the potential this framework offers for the *operationalisation* of multilingual identity. A particular issue linked to research into the linguistic self is found in the paucity of previous work that provides methodologies to actively model, map and evaluate this concept. It was therefore determined early in the project's conceptualisation that the choice of theoretical framework should be epistemologically suited to both the effective analysis of the research data and the operationalisation of the multilingual self-concept. Complex systems, via the conceptualisation of the self as one (and more) *systems* of pertinence, especially when understood as a triad of nested levels, provides a lens particularly conducive to both the evaluation and the modelling of the linguistic self-concept.

3. Finally, complex systems is well-recognised as a theorisation of language use fundamentally compatible with the additional linguistic complexity of the multilingual repertoire. Such systems, at their basis, demonstrate iterative behaviours over time, a process which is mirrored in the learning of more than one language. As Kramsch (2011) elaborates, a learner of German moving to acquire Russian is likely, more often than not, to place verbs at the end of a clause (as in German syntax) because "Russian sounds foreign the way that German sounded foreign". Therefore, the learner is placed in the "the familiar timescale of 'learning foreignness'", an action repeated in a different context. A dynamic conceptualization of this process allows the researcher to avoid decontextualization or segregation of such instances, accounting for such iterations without decontextualization. Such specific traits of the multilingual repertoire offer much insight into the linguistic self-concept and are highlighted by the structure of a complex system.

1.2.6 Theoretical to 'Operationalised': *Defining and using 'multilingual identity' in practice*

It is appropriate at this stage, having synthesised the main theoretical conceptualisations of language use and identity to be found in the current literature, to set out the ways in which multilingualism will be defined and operationalised in this study, in order to effectively explore and map identity construction within this paradigm. The overarching conceptualisation of multilingualism applied here disregards proficiency level, length of time/exposure to the additional language(s), as well as context of learning, in line with Fisher *et al.*'s (2018) "participative multilingualism" approach, which calls for a more open theorisation of this phenomenon. However, in order to address the paucity in a majority of current SLA work, it was identified that the participants must have a history, or current experience, of at least L3+ learning. These particular criteria are set out in more detail in the following chapter.

The *operationalisation* of multilingual identity is also a key concern of this study and thus the theoretical framework must also support practical application. First and foremost, and as outlined in the previous paragraph, multilingual identity in this work is understood as a complex dynamic system and will thus be

theorised as student construction of self via their language use in the three main levels of context, *macro*, *meso* and *micro*; in other words, as a nested system. The methodology will be structured therefore to address each particular context, and will hold, broadly, that multilingual identity is therefore the student's construction of self in relation to specific actors/structures at each level. Firstly, student construction of self in relation to the broadest level of their situated context, the macro level, will be understood to form the first of this tripartite construction. Certain key questions that will guide this first analysis will include:

To what extent does participant self-construction place them in alignment or in contrast to national actions and attitudes towards foreign or minority languages?

How do students represent language learning and use in their macro context generally (institutional role/use; at home?)

And,

What perceptions do participants have as regards the role of language use in their specific society?

The second level of context analysis permitting the *operationalisation* of multilingual identity in this work will focus on student representation of self in relation to familial and peer language use, with particular emphasis on attitudes towards, and use of, foreign or additional languages in the home and school spheres. Here, parallels and discrepancies between student representation of self and others in both these contexts will be exploited to map how and why such constructions may be different/similar, and what this might reveal in relation to participant understanding of self at the *micro* or *macro* context, too. Again, it will be useful to focus on participant *positioning* to help accurately map identification, including theory of self and *Referent Others*. In addition, a key focus of the analysis will be upon the manner in which student self aligns/differs from their representations of key actors in these environments (parents, siblings, peers, teachers) and what potential motivations are the cause of such parallels or discrepancies of construction.

The final level of analytical focus will be upon the *micro* level of the 'nested' system. An understanding of the multilingual identity negotiation at this level holds as crucial the ways in which self is constructed both *spacially* (in relation to context) and *temporally* (self in past-present-future terms). Key guiding questions to be considered for the *micro* level will be:

Does participant understanding of their language use adjust in relation to internal (self) or in relation to external references (such as Referent Others)?

How do students understand the emotional import of their language learning?

What role does participant comprehension of linguistic proficiency play in the construction of a multilingual self?

Are students willing to state a multilingual identification? And why/why not?

And,

Does student representation have a temporal definition? Does, for example, student understanding of self change when reflecting upon past, current and future language use? And why might shifting redefinitions occur, if so?

Finally, a holistic review of the three context levels will be conducted to consider the extent to which a participant's individual linguistic identity remains consistent across all three levels of context, and to seek possible rationale for any contrastive/collaborative representations.

The theoretical overview provided above situates the chosen methodological approach within the literature, as well as setting out the study's approach to *operationalising* this phenomenon. The rationale is provided in the following section in which the main areas identified in the introduction as requiring further focus in research will be set out. In addition, the applicability of a systems approach will be demonstrated with reference to each key point. Finally, to conclude the review section the research objectives will be indicated.

1.3. Study Rationale

The preceding literature review has set out the ways in which theory has evolved to match growing recognition in research of the essential role played by both individual and context during the process identity development within bi- and multi-language acquisition.

As previously outlined, despite this theoretical renaissance, a paucity of empirical work, in part due to the relatively recent recognition of the area as a domain in its own right, characterises the current state of research into the construction of identity during the process of multilingual acquisition. The following rationale provides the study's response.

1.3.2. Bi- & multilingual acquisition processes cannot be equated

A recurrent theme to be found in the literature regarding the effective empirical exploration of multilingualism finds clear agreement in the lack of applicability of certain, traditional SLA models to the learning of multiple foreign languages. Certainly, the sentiment that multilingual acquisition cannot, and should not, be based on a

“monolingual norm” is one echoed vehemently by numerous researchers in the field (e.g. Herdina & Jessner, 2002; Jessner, 2008; Otwinoska & De Angelis, 2014; Varcasia, 2011).

In strongly psycholinguistic terms, learners already possessing knowledge of a non-native language should be set apart from those students moving from monolingualism to a bilingual repertoire. As such, more traditional, linear models of multilingual learning which designate separate spheres of L1, L2, L3+ being acquired over the learning span are inefficient. This places emphasis on the need to distance new theory from traditional lines which characterised the multilingual learner as a bilingual “with additional languages” (De Angelis, 2005).

It is recognised, too, that these fundamentally different processes attributed to the divergence between the bi- and multilingual repertoire extends beyond the traits of acquisition. It is also understood that the multilingual speaker will negotiate additional complexity in identification as a result of their additional language knowledge; a multiplex system of interactions that traditional L2-self theorisations are unable to capture. As such, differentiation between L2 and L3+ identity negotiation is a research necessity.

- **Study Response**

The separation of multilingual and bilingual acquisition processes is essential if the continued development of theoretical insights into the processes of additional language learning is to be achieved. This study therefore takes a strongly multilingual view, assuming the added complexity of the multilingual learner’s repertoire (L3+) will distinguish their identification processes from that of an L2 student. Moreover, in meeting the research “challenges” set out above in adequately modelling this dynamic and holistic process, a methodological and analytical framework guided by complexity theory is utilised. The application of this conceptualisation will add additional empirical weight to the body of research conducting via this approach, and is addressed further in the following section.

In this study, for the purposes of the above differentiation and to ensure, as much as possible, consistency across the case studies, the criteria for a *multilingual repertoire* is set as the experience of learning two additional languages. Beyond this, Fisher *et al.*’s (2018) definition of this phenomenon as “all-encompassing” (p.2) is applied and participants understood as multilingual regardless of, for example, proficiency levels in each language.

1.3.3. Multilingualism: A new global “*linguistic dispensation*”, and therefore a new global *linguistic identification*

The seemingly paradoxical role that multilingualism plays in foreign language acquisition research is often referenced in the literature; namely, that despite the fact that multilingualism has existed “from the earliest stages of human development” (Singleton *et al.*, 2013, p.3), it has been recognised as a domain of research in its own right only over the last 10-20 years (Henry, 2012). Varied causes have been posited for this late development; certainly, increasing globalisation, internationalisation and growing multiculturalism in society has played a role, leading to a “reconceptualisation of the notions of language, identity and culture” (Schjerve & Vetter, 2012, p.55).

The role of English as a global *lingua franca* cannot be underestimated in the creation of what been termed coming “age of trilingualism” (Aronin & Hufeisen, 2009, p.7). As Hoffman (2000) states, despite the general view that the dispersion of a language does not “necessarily result in bilingualism or multilingualism”, the unprecedented spread of English post-1945 has been a “powerful promoter” of both individual and societal multilingualism in previously bilingual communities; indeed, it is now possible even to speak of “bilingualism with English” (p.2). Indeed, an earlier account by Denison (1991) suggests that societal diurnal use of English in Western Europe has led to the existence of increased diglossic linguascapes in many countries. The globalisation of this language, decontextualized and internationally (re)appropriated in diverse manners, has unique implications for student identification in relation to this language (Phan, 2009).

As such, it is now to be expected that the majority of students undertaking foreign language learning will be doing so from a plurilingual perspective (see Cenoz & Jessner, 2009) and it is therefore rendered evident that empirical inquiry into learner identity must also adapt to this evolving theoretical comprehension. However, despite widespread concurrence in the field that a considerable (and growing) percentage of students are multilingual¹, research into learner identity in the domain of foreign language learning is notably orientated towards the processes of self-concept development during the acquisition of an L2. Notable contributions to the field of L3+ research in this area have been offered by, for example, Henry (2011, 2012) and Spellerberg (2011), although both works focus on the interplay between learner self and a specified variable (here, gender and L2-L3 transfer). Investigations pertaining to *holistic* identity construction during the process of multilingual acquisition remain still limited, yet, the increasing research confirming the effectiveness of learner identity-orientated approaches to the fostering of both subject-specific and broader social self-insight and wellbeing (e.g Taylor *et al.*, 2013; Helgesen, 2016; Oxford, 2018) underlines the necessity of addressing such constructions in terms more applicable to today’s *multilingual* student.

¹ EU PISA data, for example, shows that on average the proportion of pupils not speaking the language of instruction increased by 1.0 percentage point between 2006 and 2009 (European Commission Directorate B, 2015).

- **Study Response**

This work therefore sets out as a second research objective the intention of investigating foreign language learner identity development in multilingual contexts, where the individual is acquiring, at minimum, an L3. In line with a complexity approach, a strongly holistic view to the question of self-construction in context is taken, supported by the mapping of representations of the linguistic self-and-others at the group and at the individual level, and the dynamic links between the two exemplified.

In response to calls for more research into the 'generalisable' variables in the development of multilingual identity (Henry, 2012), this study takes a comparative stance with a focus on three unique contexts of L3+ learning. While addressing context-specific representations to elaborate the dynamics of construction, emergent themes cross-case are developed and evaluated for their general applicability as an indicative trait of the multilingual self-concept. The methodology supports a holistic approach to the subject itself, addressing a range of possible identity and self-concept linked influences in order to account for potentially wide-ranging interpretations, as well as being permissive to the effective 'capturing' of inter and intra-context factors of note.

In conceptual terms, the project also responds to challenges in the practical application of a systems approach, as outlined by Mercer (2016). Indeed, while complexity theories have been extensively applied to the domains of L2 motivational theory and SLA, few studies have employed this framework in researching the interplay between a strongly plurilingual (L3+) repertoire and the (re)construction of identity. This research therefore operationalises this conceptualisation and indicates a practical solution for the mapping of complex identity via the use of multilingual learner models, developed in the next chapter. It will also demonstrate the applicability of a complex systems approach across diverse multilingual contexts.

1.4. Research Objectives

The development of the research rationale above concludes the synthesis of the conceptual and theoretical foundations upon which this study will be built. The final study objectives are therefore set out:

RQ1. What characterises the L3+ learning/using experience in different contexts, and how do these characteristics contribute to student identification as multilingual?

RQ2. What are the system dynamics at play in each context and how do these influence participant representations?

RQ3. Do emergent themes recur cross-contextually and to what extent are these indicative as generally applicable to the multilingual self-concept?

The next chapter sets out methodology and practical research procedures developed to effectively respond to these questions.

Chapter Two ***Research Methodology***

2.1. Introduction

Blaikie (2007) argues that before any social researcher can undertake an enquiry, certain key choices must be made, which include:

- The research problem to be investigated;
- The research question or questions to be answered;
- The research strategy or strategies to be used to answer these questions;
- The posture to be adopted by the researcher towards the researched; and
- The research paradigm containing assumptions about reality and how it can be studied.

This chapter provides an overview of both the practical and theoretical underpinnings of this study in order to answer the research objectives outlined in the previous section. In so doing, the final three considerations indicated by Blaikie (2007) will be addressed, the first two points having been expanded in the preceding chapter.

In order to properly situate the research design and methodology to be employed in this study within an appropriate paradigm, the key conceptual assumptions made by complexity theory are set out in order to justify not only the choice of paradigm within which analytical interpretations are made, but also to permit the discussion of certain potential challenges that the use of this conceptual framework presents. These ‘challenges’ have roots in questions of both a theoretical and practical nature. Addressing the issues that the literature has identified in taking up a CDST approach in empirical work will ensure that the design of the study mitigates any potential reductionism or lack of methodological precision in practice.

2.2. The “Challenge” of Complexity in Theory and Practice

De Bot & Larsen-Freeman (2011) render explicitly what many SLA scholars have named the *challenge* of applying a systems approach in practice in their statement that “if everything is interconnected, how is it possible to study anything apart from everything else?” (p.18). As discussed in the literature review, the fairly recent introduction of this theory into the fields of applied linguistics and educational sciences has proved to be a boon. In theoretical terms, social science scholars are recognising, increasingly, the value of a dynamic systems approach to adequately model and analyse language acquisition and development. As research in these areas continues to consolidate the recognition that it is no longer adequate to compound bilingualism

and multilingualism within the same theoretical approach, CDST has come to the fore as one of few conceptual frameworks capable of adequately representing the complexity of the multilingual repertoire.

Proposed designs for the effective modelling of a complex system have been suggested by, for example, Mercer (2014b) who posits the use of a network, relational view of the self to appropriately map the interlinking variables between context and learner, and Chan *et al.*'s (2014) *Retrodictive Qualitative Modelling*, which calls for a reverse qualitative analysis of a certain outcome in order to explore its origins. However, as outlined by these researchers and others, part of the root of the challenge of applying complexity in empirical practice is linked to the fact that Complex Dynamic Systems theory remains a relative newcomer to the field of applied linguistic research, and as such, there still lacks a weight of empirical investigation upon which new research can be based (Irie & Ryan, 2014).

So too, as might perhaps be expected for a framework which represents a shift in conceptualisation, the question of adequate methodological approaches has also been affirmed as a second potential cause for the reluctance to adopt Complex Systems in practice. As often addressed, the commonly employed research paradigms in the social sciences “tend to examine variables in relative isolation, rather than as part of a system or network” (Dörnyei, 2014a, p.80), assuming the existence of a linear relationship between factors. Such a conceptualisation is incompatible with the theoretical holism assumed by dynamic systems. A complex system is one which is “composed of multiple interrelated systems which cannot be separated and which are constantly in a state of flux” (Mercer, 2016, p.18), and therefore make sense only as an emergent whole. Moreover, a complex system will not be self-contained; Mercer (*ibid.*, 2016) emphasises that any facet of a particular system under investigation is never a system “in its own right”; any such set of interlinking variables will also function as part of, and subsumed by, other related systems *ad infinitum*. Certainly, then, attempts to model such complexity via the use of the traditional, and predominantly quantitative, methodologies could prove extremely difficult. In practice, deciding how to delimit and decipher the context(s) that have empirical value may be challenging, especially in instances when psychological or historical elements of context “which are internal to the learner” require inclusion (Ushioda, 2014, p.49). As the latter posits, an “all or nothing approach” (p.52) is hardly practical, yet to focus the lens on a particular relationship between particular variables risks losing certain integrated features integral to the construction of the system in question. Recently, Hiver & Al-Hoorie's (2016) work has offered one means of addressing these complex issues.

2.2.1. Research Paradigm: *The challenge of complexity theory*

The nature of social research is to provide explanatory statements about human behaviour. Important, however, is the recognition that, as Crotty (1998, p.17) identifies, “at every point in our research [...] we inject a host of assumptions about realities encountered in our human world.” It is to be expected that empirical work undertaken by an individual will reflect commitments which go beyond the coherence of findings or methods;

underlying the practices of social research are assumptions made by the researcher relating to, for example, the nature social control, order or responsibility (Popkewitz, 2012, p.2). It is therefore paramount that these assumptions are clarified by the investigator to not only ensure transparency but equally to permit others to “divine what our research has been saying” (Crotty, 1998, p.17).

For Blaikie (2007), complexity theory is concerned, in paradigmatic terms, with presenting a “new scientific ontology” while also rejecting traditional scientific epistemologies based on notions of universal knowledge and a linear logic of causal explanation (p.206). The recent integration of this framework into social sciences research has required its situation within an appropriate paradigm in order that it can function as more than what has been termed a “metaphorical device of ontological assumptions” (ibid., p.212). However, the nature of reality presented by a complex framework, that is, one that it is in a perpetual state of dynamic flux (Byrne, 2005, p.97), has resulted in certain contentions as to just what an ‘appropriate’ paradigm might be.

Bhaskar’s *critical realism*, married with the representative scientific ontology developed by Ilya Prigogine, is argued by Byrne (1997), among others, to present the very strong philosophical framework within which complexity theory can deal with the critical issues by which “any social theory should be judged”, namely, the relation of the individual (micro level) and society (macro level); conceptualizing the relationship between agency and structure; and finally explaining the causes of social and structural change (Blaikie, 2007, p.211). In contrast to this view, Cilliers (2005) argues that postmodernism provides adequate epistemological and ontological assumptions for modelling a complex systems approach as the former has an “inherent” sensitivity to complexity. For Gilmore (2016), however, pragmatism presents the best means of developing an empirical study in this field; this approach represents “a position that seems [...] to be most in harmony with a complex systems perspective because of its ability to tap into different levels of a system and its openness to the selection of whichever methodology best fits the question to hand” (p.199). Indeed, a pragmatic approach, which accepts philosophically that “there are singular and multiple realities that are open to empirical inquiry and orients itself toward solving practical problems in the ‘real world’” (Creswell & Plano-Clark, 2007, p.27), offers a freedom from constraints assumed to be associated with a particular research method or technique. Moreover, Onwuegbuzie & Leech (2005) and Teddlie & Tashakkori (2009) claim this approach is well suited to mixed-methods research, as is the design of this study. By permitting the inclusion of both qualitative and quantitative approaches towards enquiry within a single paradigmatic stance, pragmatism represents a means of accommodating the diverse nature of not only the tools employed, but also the philosophical assumptions indicated by such a design (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007).

While the selection of pragmatism as a fitting research paradigm for this enquiry appears justified; it presents a model of interpretation appropriate for a complexity approach to the exploration of multilingual identity development and, equally, also finds itself aligned with the epistemological and ontological assumptions of mixed methods research, the issue of system “incompressibility” (Cilliers, 2005) should be addressed at this point. As Papachristos (2012) underlines, because systems of complexity are, theoretically, impossible to

account for completely via the use of one theory, paradigm or framework, any attempt to do would be reductive, resulting in “erroneous inferences about the causes of system behaviour” (p.7). These words echo those of Chapelle (2009), referenced in section 1.2.3., who suggested the strength of ecological approaches is to be found in their *meta*-theorisation of language acquisition. Mercer’s (2016) suggestion that complexity theory can exist in as much a “way of thinking” as a uniquely methodological tool provides a solution and aligns with Cilliers’ (1998, pp. 9-10) assertion that “there is no accurate [...] representation of the system which is simpler than the system itself”. Therefore, complexity itself forms the epistemology in which an abductive strategy for analysis was adopted. This choice serves a dual purpose, ensuring that such complex ‘ways of thinking’ guided the research at all stages in order to “deepen the insights and broaden the understanding of the system” (Papachristos, 2012., p.9), but also mitigated potential paradigmatic constraints where a single perspective or theory was “stretched” to fit the data (ibid., p.15).

- **A note on terminology**

While the names of ‘*Complex Dynamic Systems*’, ‘*Complex Adaptive Systems*’, ‘*Dynamical Systems Theory*’ or ‘*Emergence Theory*’, among others, have all been used when referring to this theorisation, as Oxford (2017) states, each title serves to highlight a different theoretical focus in approach and thus differentiation should be made. Specificity in terminology use is important because there can be “dynamic systems without complexity, but all complex systems are dynamic” (Hiver, in Oxford, 2017). This work is not aligned with the perhaps more “mathematically”-orientated *CDS* theorisation, and nor does it prioritise consideration of potential attractor states, for example, an approach perhaps most accurately defined by the use of *Emergence Theory*. Thus, ‘*Complexity Theory*’, ‘*Systems Theory*’ and simply ‘*Complexity*’ are used here to evoke the human-centred, complex ‘way of thinking’ adopted.

2.3. Research Design

2.3.1. Introduction: *Operationalising Complex Systems*

Hiver & Al-Hoorie's (2016) work is one of few practical references for the application of complex systems theory in educational or applied linguistic research. They are careful however to underline their suggestions do not provide "ready-made research template" as, indeed, the very nature of complexity demands innovation on the part of the researcher. Their article nonetheless offers certain multi-level guidelines termed the *Dynamic Ensemble* as to how this conceptualisation might be operationalised, including considerations as to, for example, the *level of granularity* to explore, the *order and control parameters* of the system, as well as the tracing of *emergent outcomes*. This research project was designed and the methodological tools developed with these guidelines in mind. However, innovation was often necessary to ensure that the structure of each data collection strategy matched the practical requirements of conducting research in schools. So too, the methodological tools used are the product of work to match theory with practice, considering both the practical implications of the above, as well as the structure of the final analysis. As elements of *The Dynamic Ensemble* will be referenced to support decisions made, the guidelines are included below.

The Dynamic Ensemble

Operational Considerations	<i>Systems</i>	<p>What is the complex system under investigation?</p> <p>What gives this case phenomenological validity?</p> <p>Who are the agents in the system?</p>
	<i>Level of Granularity</i>	<p>On what timescale(s) will the system outcome(s) or behavior(s) be examined?</p> <p>What type(s) and what level(s) of data are required to study the system?</p>
Contextual Considerations	<i>Context</i>	<p>What are the contextual factors that are part of the environmental frame of reference for the system, its dynamic actions, and its patterned outcomes?</p> <p>How are these contextual factors formalized into system parameters that influence behavior?</p> <p>How does the system adapt to the context it is embedded in, and vice versa?</p>
	<i>Systemic Networks</i>	<p>To which other systems (i.e., nodes) does this system link?</p> <p>What is the nature of these networked relationships?</p> <p>What processes ensue in coordination with other systems?</p> <p>When and how should these links be highlighted explicitly and investigated?</p>
Macro-System Considerations	<i>Dynamic Processes</i>	<p>What general principles of change exist for this system?</p> <p>What specific mechanisms of change are present in the system?</p> <p>What trajectory has the system followed, and how did it get to where it is?</p> <p>What causal signature dynamics (e.g., self-organization) produced the system outcomes, and why?</p>
	<i>Emergent Outcomes</i>	<p>What salient dynamic outcome configurations (i.e., attractor states) emerge for this system, and why?</p> <p>What are the characteristics of these patterns of stability for the system in the state landscape?</p> <p>What variability exists around these patterns of stability?</p>
Micro-Structure Considerations	<i>Components</i>	<p>What are the parts that make up the system under investigation?</p> <p>Which are the most prominent components of the system in a given process of change, or for an emergent outcome, and why?</p>
	<i>Interactions</i>	<p>What types of relationships exist between system components, and what are their characteristics?</p> <p>How do these exchanges manifest and affect system behavior?</p> <p>How do these relationships change over time?</p>
	<i>Parameters</i>	<p>What are the constraints and specifications that mediate the changes and interactions possible within a system, and how do they determine the system's behavior?</p> <p>What are the critical dimensions or values of a system (e.g., the motors of change) which, when they fluctuate, may result in a change in outcome?</p>

Figure 1: *The Dynamic Ensemble* (Hiver & Al-Hoorie, 2016, p.744)

Certain guidelines link to elements difficult to predict in the early stage of an exploratory study, they certainly remain vital to bear in mind for the development of the research questions, as well as for the final evaluation stages. In particular, questions such as “*what causal signature dynamics produced system outcomes, and why?*” and “*what salient dynamic outcome configurations (or attractor states) emerge for this system, and why?*” I felt were integral to consider at the later stages of analysis to ensure adequate familiarity with the particular systems at play across the three contexts of research. When plottable, the signature dynamics for the inter- and intra-group constructions are referenced in the analysis chapters.

Other guidelines are more practical in terms of their implementation into a research design and depend not on empirical knowledge of the system but rather reference choices to be made about the structure of the study. Those items listed under *Operational considerations* were particularly helpful in guiding the research design; especially, the questions *What is the complex system under investigation*, and *What type(s) and what level(s) of data are required to study the system?* proved integral to considerations of the synthesis of method-theory, as well as setting the appropriate *level of granularity* to focus the analysis. A ‘phenomenologically’ sound response to the first question outlined here is fundamental in any *complexity*-focused work and directed the majority of methodological decisions made in this study. As these reflections laid out the foundations upon which the research design was built, the response is provided here. The additional considerations are referenced in the section of the methodology discussion to which they pertained.

Mercer (2016) asserts that complexity can be theorized as a “continuum”, with the approach either orientated towards the more mathematically-based conceptualisation or developed within a more “humanistic” perspective (p.74). The complex system under exploration in this work, the self-concept of the multilingual learner, is concerned with subjective accounts of identity, and this, along with the exploratory nature of the study, demanded a flexibility and accountability of analysis less possible within a more mathematically-orientated systems approach. As such, in alignment with Papachristos’ (2012) assertion of the necessity of reflectivity during the entirety of the research process, the complexification of context in this work has been directed in more practical terms by Hiver & Al-Hoorie’s guidelines, but aimed to maintain a conceptualisation fundamentally human-centred.

2.3.2. Research Design: Quasi Mixed-Methods

This study employed a quasi-mixed methods approach, employing for the main means of data collection qualitative methods (interview, content analysis), supplemented by what have been termed “quasi-quantitative” tools, namely, Q method testing and an attitudinal questionnaire. The results gained from these latter measures permitted analysis in both a qualitative or quantitative approach, but the Q sort task only was analysed via both.

The research design ensures compatibility with Gilmore's (2016) suggestion that an adequate model for the exploration of language learning within a complex systems framework is one based upon mixed methods, to provide a more "nuanced, richer account of exactly what goes on in the crucible of the classroom" (p.198). This type of approach, he argues, offers a way to more effectively capture the "various components [present], and to explore their relationships across different times, levels and layers" (Ibid., p.198).

A mixed-methods approach also responds to criticisms made towards the methodology employed in previous studies in the field, in which "more difficult choices" in research have been suggested to have been avoided by scholars pressured by a "publish or perish" environment; Gilmore (2016) suggests that a successful complexity approach rejects such "quick fix" methodological choices and demands "a greater commitment of time and effort from researchers". Certainly, the capacity of mixed methods to permit the researcher to move towards these "more difficult choices" in research is recognised by Greene, Caracelli and Graham (1989) in their conceptualisation of the functions of a combined approach. They identify five ways in which such a design will increase the validity of research, providing opportunity for *triangulation, complementarity, development, initiation* and *expansion*.

Validity concepts such as triangulation are perhaps better associated with more strongly quantitative tools in a mixed methods design. Generalizability of results is only a partial focus of this study, which considers themes of an individual and subjective nature with the aim of uncovering how trends or patterns might be realised in context. It was, however, the aim that the employment of mixed qualitative and quasi-quantitative methods would permit a level of *complementarity* of information be reached. *Complementarity* has been defined as the seeking of "elaboration, enhancement, illustration and clarification of the results from one method to another" (Greene *et al.* 1989), and the selection of research tools was done so with this aim in mind.

2.3.3. Research Design: Comparative Contexts

Despite the widespread use of a case study-based approach in social sciences research, and the growing academic confidence in the case study as a "rigorous research strategy in its own right" (Kohlbacher, 2006, p. 3), there have been traditional prejudices against this method recorded in the literature, suggesting that it constitutes a less desirable means of conducting inquiry compared to other, quantitative methods (Yin, 2003). Certainly, the most common critique of the case study research design is aimed at the limited capacity to draw scientific generalizations (Yin, 2003, p.10). However, in qualitative research terms, this framework finds value in its capacity to facilitate exploratory research approaches, permitting the comprehension of "complex social phenomena" and to retain the "holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events" (Ibid., p.2). Kohlbacher (2006) therefore suggests that this approach is an ideal research strategy for the exploration of social issues in depth, as is the aim of this work. He argues that this framework, which should be defined in terms of its theoretical orientation and its interest in individual cases, as is the case in this work, rather than

the research methods employed, can therefore make use of a wide variety of methods, encompassing qualitative, quantitative, or mixed methodological tools. Such a holistic approach is well-suited to the aims of a complexity conceptualisation and, indeed, this flexibility permits not only adequate experiential investigation, but also allowed greater depths of complementary data to be collected at each research site.

This study undertook empirical research in four European sites, France, Wales, England and Finland, although constraints of thesis length necessitated the exclusion of the Welsh data from the final analysis. The choice of locations was made in to achieve, as far as possible, a diversity of linguistic landscapes that display evident contrasts in terms of, for example, current and historical national language policy, foreign language learning curriculum, as well as, as much as this is possible to denote in such 'broadly-encompassing' terms, differing societal attitudes towards the phenomenon of multilingualism in general. The focus on context-specificity is essential to provide an adequate response to research question one.

As the AHRC funded research project within which this project is situated (*Multilingualism: Empowering Individuals, Transforming Societies*) has as a particular focus the current climate surrounding language learning/use in the United Kingdom, the choice of two UK sites was therefore made in order to draw preliminary evaluations within this objective. The two other sites, France and Finland, were selected following the match-pattern pairing of societal bilingualism with that of a constitutionally monolingual country, as with the England/Wales cases, as well as a response to Bartram's (2010) assertion that a comparative approach alongside an "international-orientated" methodology offers a "better understanding of some of the issues surrounding the apparently problematic Anglophone relationship with languages" (p.9). So too, Henry's (2012) call for greater insight as to "generalisable" traits of linguistic identification may be captured via such a comparative approach, thus responding to the study's third research objective.

2.3.4. Research Design: Placement Duration

This section sets out in greater depth the response to Hiver & Al-Hoorie's (2016) recommendation of *timescale* consideration for the bounding of the complex system, outlined in section 2.3.1.

Gilmore (2016) has suggested that developing a longitudinal design presents an effective means of conducting valuable research within such a conceptual framework (p.197). This call has also been echoed by Henry (2012), whose in-depth study of the motivational patterns of Swedish learners of L3 English spanned the course of nine months. This study completed four rounds of data collection in four different research contexts, and as such longitudinal placements were not possible within the time-constraints of doctoral study. This was not felt to be a reductive feature of the design, however. As Mercer (2012) argues, complexity models of language learning can only ever represent an isolated view of "a fragment" of an individual's self-concept at a particular time (p.21); the very nature of a complexity approach presupposes the existence of spontaneous emergence (Van

Geert, 2008) which can occur at any point and therefore might not be linked to a longitudinal process of development. It was therefore felt to be justified that the information obtained in the four sites over the course of the 4-5 week placement would be both valid and valuable, and the adoption of a mixed methods approach proved adequate for the collection of a breadth of data to fully account for patterns or trends in each learner's context(s).

2.3.5. Research Design: Participants

The selection of adolescent learners (14-16 years old) is felt to be particularly salient for two main reasons; as Harklau (2007) states, adolescence is regarded as a "particularly malleable" age in the development of social identity and conception of self. Indeed, early to middle adolescence (12-15 years) brings with it a clearer "differentiation of selves" to accommodate the different relational contexts in which "the individual functions" (Taylor, 2013, p.12). The nature of the research required considerable introspection from each participant, and encouraged this reflection to span both linguistic and psychological awareness. Such reflection may not be possible in younger children, who, unlike adolescents or adults, are not as intuitively insightful of their own developing self-concepts.

In order to ensure the methodology responded adequately to calls to distinguish bi- and multilingual research, and to avoid the 'compounding' of these two very distinct learning processes, it was determined that all participants should have experience of L3+ learning in their educational context and consistency in this respect was prioritised. In the French, Finnish and Welsh cases, L3 learning was integrated into the curriculum as an obligatory feature of schooling (in the Welsh case, determined as such due to the students' L2-medium stream). The non-compulsory nature of foreign language study in the England context, however, outlined in greater detail in chapter four, necessitated that the participants were undertaking voluntary L2 and L3 learning. While perhaps rendering less comparability in terms of language learning motivation in this respect across the cases, the *macro* status of FLL in this last context rendered this unavoidable.

2.3.6. Research Design: Final Overview

Each research placement was conducted with a class group of adolescent learners in the process of L3+ acquisition. The whole class completed the Q sort and questionnaire tasks, and 4-5 volunteers from each context participated in two individual interview sessions, the first introductory, the second formulated as a stimulated recall meeting based upon their collective answers from all the additional activities. This design resulted in the creation of 6 individual profiles, or to borrow Norton's (e.g 2001, 2014) terminology, learner *vignettes*, informed and developed by the methodology tools described in the next section. These profiles permitted the exploration of factors influencing the construction of unique multilingual identity in relation to a

particular emergent contextual theme, and provided insight into the ways in which a construction this particular facet of self might inform and be informed by the three interacting contextual layers, namely *macro* (inter/national influences) *meso* (school/parental/peer influences, the notable system *actors*) and *micro* (self/individual influences). The focus on context follows Larsen–Freeman & Cameron’s assertion that context factors are a “major determinant” of system behaviour which may therefore be “formalized into the system parameters” (2008, p. 68). This “nested systems” design follows Mercer’s (2014b) conceptualisation of dynamic identity construction, and it also responds to Hiver and Al-Hoorie’s (2016) necessitated focus on *system granularity* to ascertain the appropriate, phenomenologically valid boundaries for the complex system under review. The individual’s unique *micro* system is analysed via the interactions between self and context, following this approach, and the representative system is then placed within the broader *meso* and *macro* environment. This permitted the individual participant to be situated as authentically as possible within their unique context, by extension allowing the development of a complete, holistic portrait to better understand the dynamicity between each learner-context ‘layer’. Each individual portrait analysis is ‘operationalised’ at the conclusion of the analysis via a visual representation of the particular complex system. The development of these models and their function within the final analytical review is outlined below.

- **‘Decomplexifying the complex’: *Mapping the system dynamics of an L3+ learner’s self-system***

Each of models set out in this work pertain to one thematic representation of self as a method of ‘decomplexifying’ the complex. It is understood, therefore, that such models are representative of just one facet of the system and could as such be developed by the addition/overlap of the other dynamic elements present to model, holistically, the extent of the bounded system in each context. The integration of learner self-visuals as an explanation of each individual ‘vignette’ is done with the aim of rendering the dynamics of each particular representation of the linguistic self both accessible and comparable. Such operationalizations can permit cross-individual or cross- context comparison if parallel thematic structures (perceptions of linguistic proficiency, for example, or the role of *meso* ‘Referent Others’ in language learning motivation) are to be considered. As such, and aligned with the design of the research methodology tools, each model possesses a ‘generalisable’ design which is cross-contextually applicable and can also be utilized to demonstrate different thematic self-representations while remaining comparable. The following visual elements are elaborated here, along with their contributions to an understanding of multilingual identity in complex terms. To better clarify the functions of each element, a model from the English context illustrating a learner’s representation of the role of L1 English is reproduced here, as well as in chapter four.

1. Nested systems

In line with Mercer's (2014b) suggestion that complexity can be effectively visualized as a series of nested levels pertaining to each context of an individual's unique dynamic system, each model is conceptualized as such, permitting information provided by participants during each focused activity to be directly transposed to the linked level of context. An explanation in the interview, for example, as to the nature of a participant's language use in the home sphere would therefore be situated in the model's *meso* level. Each level is as such cross-contextually applicable.

2. Self-concept(s)

The inter-related, multifaceted construction of the linguistic self is represented in the learner model by way of multiple concept 'circles' which not only indicate the level of context (to which each representation pertains) but also illustrates the extent to which certain facets of one particular thematic analysis are interlinked across the context levels. In the example provided on page 44, for example, we see that the learner's representation of the role of his L1 can be divided into three elements within his linguistic self-concept: his understanding of his future self in relation to this language, his current L1- using self, and finally the general emotive import of his L1 (temporally unspecified). Naturally, and especially in relation to the last element, there is contextual and inter-facet overlap. We see that the participant's *micro* understanding of his L3 capacities as 'unique' informs both his emotional evaluation of his L1, as well as being actively reproduced as a key element of his current linguistic self-representation. The overlapping of these two concept circles within the *micro* sphere therefore render this mutuality explicit, as well as aiding the interpretation of the interrelationships of such self-constructions in relation to a particular theme. Importantly, while each self-concept 'circle' will be inherently unique in shape and number to the individual in question, the basic structure as a means of demonstrating both context influence and concept interrelationship is generalizable.

3. Directionality

While perhaps a less common approach in studies utilizing complexity, directionality of influence is emphasized in the learner models with the use of arrows. In this case, the arrows are employed to underscore the mutual reciprocity of the system; they serve as markers to indicate the identified contextual 'source' of a particular facet of self-concept within a broader dynamic system. The identification of such sources of potential influence is important to gain adequate insight and understanding as to the interrelationships between context and self in a particular sub-representation. In the model provided, for example, we can see that the participant's ideas as to trends in language learning at a national level (*macro*) affects both his interpretation of his family's 'English-only' attitude (*meso*) as well as interplaying with his emotional response to opportunities to utilize his foreign language knowledge within his domestic environment (*micro*). The use of arrows here permits the links between these constructions at each level to be rendered explicit, as well as allowing the identification of the *impact* of such interpretations to the student's sense of linguistic self more generally (whether positive or

negative) through the use of colour. Importantly, while a 'direction' of influence may be suggested by the use of arrows, in all cases a 'reciprocity' of reaction is also sought within the system. Where such instances exist, the distinction between the source of influence and the resultant 'reaction', or perception, is indicated by the use of line and dashed arrows. These features do not indicate the strength of the relationship, but rather permit distinction of 'action-reaction' to underscore the dynamicity of the system. They also serve to reinforce where constructions of self have demonstrated a clear interrelationship at the time of the "snapshot" of learner self. Again, the selection of a visual form such as an arrow, as well as the alternation of line/dashed shapes, was done with the intention of ensuring reproducibility. While, of course, the nature of the influences and the reciprocal action-reaction will be unique to each linguistic self, the overarching structure can be reapplied regardless of context, system or representation. As such, despite considering contextually unique representations of self, the learner models in this work maintain the potential for direct comparison/contrast.

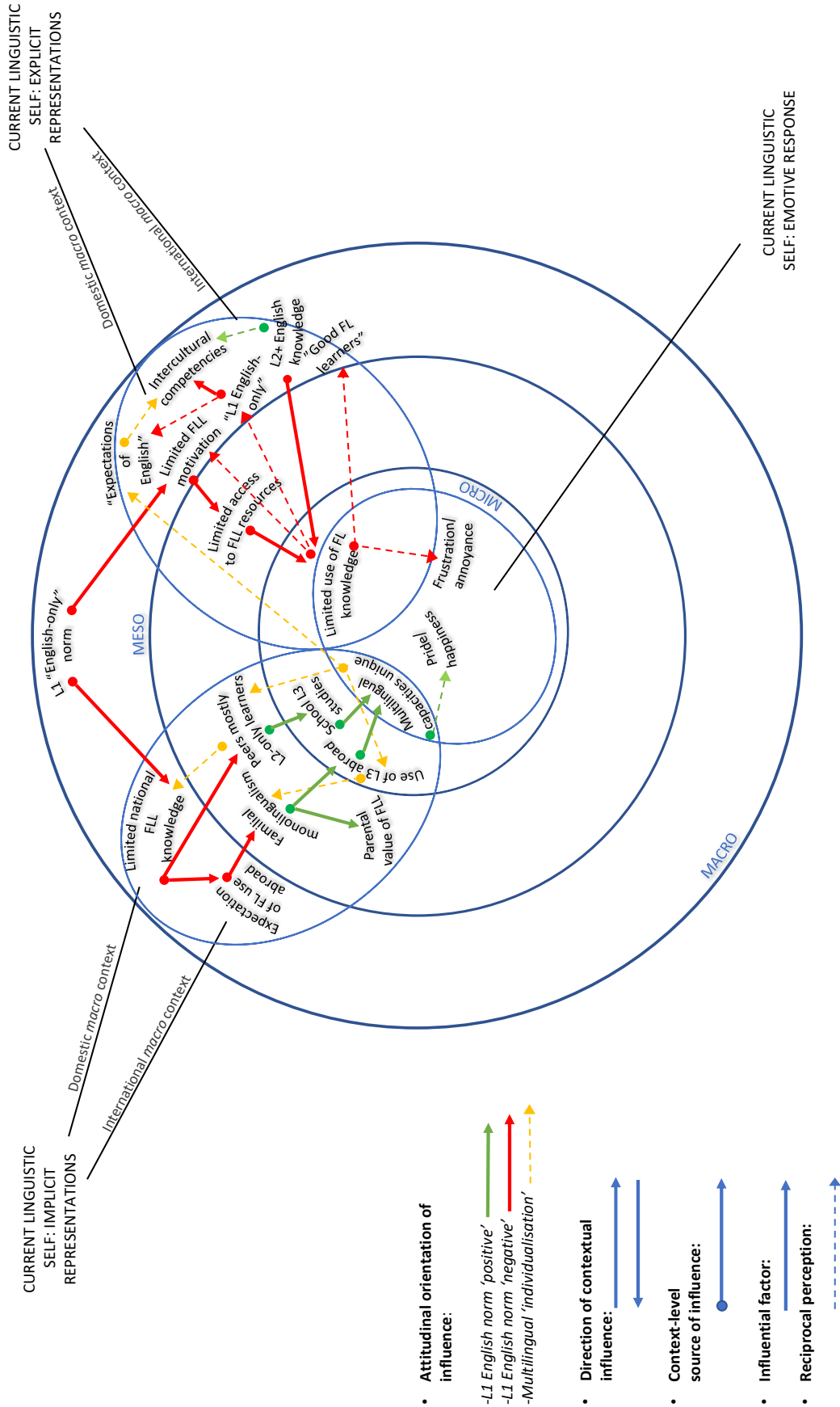


Figure 2: System dynamics of an L3+ learner

2.3.7. Research Design: Reflection upon & implications of decisions

The preceding sections have set out the research design and the manner in which this study proposes to “decomplexify the complex” nature of FLL multilingual identity, namely through an internationally-orientated, comparative and learner-centred design. It was clear from the study’s conception that it was essential to prioritise the collection of both a *breadth* and *depth* of data to ensure that an adequately holistic analysis could be conducted, and so that the final conceptualisation could illustrate both the complexity and the dynamicity of the system (Gilmore, 2016). However, the length constraints of a PhD thesis made certain exclusions necessary to ensure that the data presented in the final work could be set out with an appropriate depth of analytical focus. The implications of the choices made regarding the data to omit are considered here, along with the rationale for their exclusion.

The exclusion of the Welsh data

As outlined, the structure of the research design as regards location was based upon a “match-pairing” approach, where the two U.K. contexts were selected to compare a constitutionally ‘monolingual’ nation (England) with a constitutionally bilingual one (Wales). This structure was replicated in the selection of the international contexts (France and Finland). It, however, became evident during the final analysis stages that the inclusion of all four contexts within the thesis would be to the detriment of the analysis, as to ensure that the thesis remained within the word limit would have meant a considerable reduction in the depth of analysis completed for each study. After much reflection, the decision was taken to exclude the Welsh data for the following reasons:

- Due to staff and student absence during the research placement, the information collected in the Welsh context was the most ‘limited’ of the four research rounds made, with only three participants of the five selected available to complete the second stimulated recall interviews. It was therefore determined that this would perhaps result in more limited analytical outcomes and could potentially inhibit the identification of traits of *generalisability* during the final comparative analysis.
- The open response answers provided by the participants were less rich in detail and reflection than those given the French, Finnish and English context. While this certainly does not preclude exclusion, as all information provided by the individuals was deemed valuable, it nevertheless formed one criterion for the selection of the three contexts.
- The paucity of linguistic identity-orientated research conducted in the French and Finnish context thus far underscored the value of these contexts’ inclusion.

The decision to exclude the data from the Welsh context is done with the recognition that this has had implications for the final analytical outcomes of this work. The inclusion of an additional context in this thesis, or indeed the exclusion of the French, Finnish or England cases, would have brought different themes of relevance for the multilingual self to light, or provided greater detail as to the manifestation of one of the *traits*

of identity development this work explores. However, the breadth and the depth of analysis the data maintained within this work have permitted, suggest that the exclusion of the Welsh context has not been detrimental to the value of the final outcomes of this study.

A note on context selection: A European focus.

The rationale for the selection of both international and domestic research sites has been developed in this chapter. While the selection of Wales and England as contexts of focus was deemed appropriate given the aims of the research project within which this study is situated (outlined in section X.X.X), the choice of two additional European contexts was made in acknowledgement that, in so doing, this study conforms to the somewhat “Eurocentric” nature of research currently prevalent in the field of multilingualism and self research. A focus on linguistic identity development in, for example, the East Asian or South American context would have no doubt afforded other insights into this phenomenon that are not evidenced in this work. Certainly, seeking to apply the generalisable traits outlined in this work in a context beyond Europe would be a valuable future research focus. The rationale for this study’s focus upon the four countries selected are outlined below:

- The limited time-frame and funding afforded for PhD data collection, as well as the challenge of completing four rounds of research within a 12-month period, meant that travel further afield may have limited the time I could spend in each location. I also recognised that the addition of administrative procedures, such as the requirement of a research visa, may have caused additional, unexpected delays to the data collection. It was therefore determined that locating the research within the Schengen area would mitigate these possible hurdles, as well as allowing me to complete four rounds of data collection within the budget allocated for doctoral research.
- I felt strongly that it was to the benefit of the quality of research data gathered that I was able to conduct as much of the research myself, including travelling to the context in person as well as speaking with the participants without the aid of an interpreter. The selection of the French context was therefore made, in part, due to my competence in this language which allowed me to complete all bureaucratic tasks prior and post research, as well as the data collection, myself. In the Finnish case, given the role of English in this particular context (see chapter three), I was informed that the students would be happy to complete the activities in English, and as such I was able to also complete all aspects of the research process personally. In addition, Finland’s highly successful education system provides an interesting parallel to the England and France cases. Chapter three provides an in-depth overview of the specificities of this system.

2.4. Data Collection Methods

In order to develop in a holistic manner as possible the multilingual profiles of each participant, and to adequately explore the dynamic interplay between all possible levels of context and the learner, data was collected pertinent to *micro/meso/macro* considerations using a variety of techniques. In all cases, it was intended that complementarity of data be achieved through the exploration of each feature via multiple methods.

2.4.1. Overview: Mixed-Methods Design

The following table provides an overview of the methodology design:

Comparative Structure	Mixed Methodology (<i>Quasi-quantitative</i>)	(Quasi-) Quantitative Analysis	Qualitative Analysis
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 3 x European Sites (France, Finland & England) • 1x class group in each context • 4-5 -individual learner vignettes 	Preliminary contextualisation (<i>Macro</i> Context): <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Document Analysis Class-general (<i>Meso</i> -Context): <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Attitudinal Questionnaire • Q Method Task Individual-specific (<i>Micro</i> -Context): <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Preliminary & Stimulated recall interview (2) • Individual response to class activities 	Q Method task: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Visually recorded • Factor analysis of focus group responses • Resultant context-exemplary Q sorts 	Document Analysis: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Current/historical national language policy • FL curriculum • Teacher insight • L2/L3/L4 English Participant interviews <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Analysed/coded via NVivo Attitudinal Questionnaire: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 3 x open response items; 2 x multiple choice response items; 1 x Likert scale response item (coded closed items)

Table 1: *Mixed-Methodology Research Design*

2.4.2. Overview: Data Collection Procedure

Creswell (2009) underscores that the nature of qualitative-located research “is an ongoing process involving continual reflection about the data [and] asking analytic questions” (p.184). The design of the study demanded that a certain amount of data analysis was conducted concurrently with the collection of information at each site in order to inform the second interview questions, and as such naturally permitted such “continued reflection”. The framework below indicates the stages of the research methodology employment at each site across the four-five week period.

- ***A note on sequencing***

The structure of the data collection was formulated to maximize the potential for data collection *on-site*, as well as permitting certain tools to act in a sequential manner. The first interview conducted with participants in the first week of the placement, for example, was transcribed and coded immediately following the exercise, and the data collected formed the basis of certain questions within the second, stimulated-recall interview. So too, the Q method task was recorded visually after completion and the image also used in the second interview as a means of both member-checking the student’s responses, as well as to form the basis of a discussion regarding a participant’s rationale for the placement of certain Q sort items. The limited time available with each individual over the course of a week (normally afforded during foreign language lessons) meant that it was impossible to conduct all preliminary data collection activities concurrently. However, this is not felt to be a necessarily detrimental factor; indeed, the inclusion of too many tasks within a single research session may result in participant fatigue.

It is recognized that the sequencing of certain activities may have somewhat ‘primed’ student responses to following tasks. Indeed, the piloting of the methodology revealed that asking the students to complete the Q sort before the questionnaire task resulted in a certain “regurgitation” of Q sort items in the open response questions. As such, these two tasks were inverted in the final research process. The structure of the data collection was designed to minimize, as much as was possible, the influence of each task upon the following, but it is nevertheless likely that participant responses may have been, to some extent, influenced by ideas or statements gleaned from previous tasks. However, given the iterative nature of the research process and the opportunities afforded for student-researcher discussion to clarify such questions, it is not felt that this has impacted negatively upon the responses given. Indeed, in certain contexts where the definition of “multilingual” was not known, the explanation of the term in the written activities afforded the student a certain amount of time to reflect upon how they understood this term before participating in the interview. Conversely, the space for reflection may have resulted in richer responses than those given in a ‘blank slate’ scenario.

Stage One: Pre-placement	Stage Two: Week One	Stage Three: Week Two	Stage Four: Week Three	Stage Five: Weeks Four-Five
<p>-Conduct document analysis (macro level) and categorise contextual themes for each site.</p> <p>-Develop context-specific interview question set.</p>	<p>-Administer class questionnaire/Q sort.</p> <p>-Selection of participants for individual interviews.</p> <p>-Obtain relevant macro-linked information from contact.</p>	<p>-Conduct first interview with participants.</p> <p>-Begin analysis of individual participant data from Q sort/questionnaire.</p> <p>-Transcribe & analyse interview one.</p>	<p>-Analysis of individual participant data from Q sort/questionnaire/interview one.</p> <p>-Transcribe & analyse interview one; refine themes of focus for interview two.</p>	<p>-Conduct stimulated recall interview two.</p> <p>-Collate and categorise learner data.</p>

Table 2: Data Collection Procedure

This procedure was repeated in each research context and the context specific analysis following each placement was broadened to a comparative view following the final data collection stage.

2.5. Data Collection Tools

- **A note on language**

No assumptions were made about L2 or L3 proficiency in this study's definition of multilingualism, following Fisher *et al.* (2018), and therefore each stage of the research process was made available in the first language of the students, French or Finnish, and also English (my native language) with the option to select which the participant would prefer. The French participants opted to complete the entirety of the research activities in their L1, which my proficiency level in French permitted me to conduct myself. In the case of the Finnish students, the questionnaire and Q sort statements were provided in Finnish with the English translation alongside. An external teacher at the school agreed to act as an interpreter should the participants select to conduct the interview in Finnish or Swedish, but this proved unnecessary as each individual opted to respond to the oral activity in English. Four of the five Finnish participants selected to also respond to the written tasks in English. The sole respondent to select Finnish verified the translated answers during the second interview. The same strategy was employed for the French group. My translated answers from the questionnaire tasks were shown to the students opting to be interviewed for their verification as well as being checked for accuracy on my part by a native speaker.

2.5.1. Pre-placement: Document/Content Analysis

Bowen (2009) identifies five specific functions of the use of documentary material as part of a research undertaking, including its ability to provide data on the context within which the research participants operate, to underline both pertinent questions to be asked and situations to observe, to provide additional research data and to also act as a means of verifying the collected data. While all these functions serve valuable empirical purposes, the role documentary evidence fulfils within this study is linked particularly to the first and last points outlined, namely, the provision of macro-contextual information that might usefully be drawn upon for the development of each learner profile as well as ensuring a means of outcome validation. This technique was employed to inform the broadest *macro*-level of the final analysis of each class-group and individual participant, with a particular focus on the analysis of national language policy for each of the three research locations. Information regarding the language curriculum of the school in question (for example, the age of L2/3+ initiation, language contact hours per week) is also included, permitting the situation of the learner to be placed accurately within their particular linguistic landscape and the better analysis of the potential influencing factors existing at the broadest contextual level.

Equally, the capacity of document analysis to permit the corroboration of findings, and to act as a means of achieving increased *complementarity* of data was not underestimated. As outlined by Greene *et al.* (1989) as a key feature of a mixed methods design, permitting the verification of findings via alternative methodological tools is an important means of ensuring the validity of research findings. This stage formed part of the final evaluation process of the research findings.

Finally, the opportunity for the redefinition or reinterpretation of research angles offered by documentary evidence was seen to be a valuable asset for empirical investigation. The experiential and contextually-specific nature of this study required me to demonstrate flexibility to fully account for the dynamic, individual-centred nature of the phenomenon under examination. The information drawn from document analysis helped to shape some of the other methodological tools, for example, the creation of *macro*-focused Q items pertaining to national perspectives as to languages and language learning.

2.5.2. Within Placement: Questionnaire

(See Appendix 1)

Dörnyei (2014b) advises caution when employing a questionnaire as an SLA research tool within a broadly qualitative approach. While he suggests that the capacity of such a method to verify pre-selected categories, viewpoints and models to obtain directly verifiable data is one invaluable to quantitative studies, in a qualitative approach, questionnaires “inherently involve a somewhat superficial and relatively brief

engagement with the topic on the part of the respondent” (p.14). In order to mitigate the potential superficiality of this measure, Dörnyei argues for the supplementation of a questionnaire by other data collection measures (p.15).

For the purposes of this study, the inclusion of an attitudinal questionnaire, which was administered to the whole class group, fulfilled a dual purpose. It permitted a general overview of class perceptions of multilingualism “as an individual and societal phenomenon” (Cenoz, 2013, p.3). Secondly, it allowed the attitudinal orientation of the individual participants to be situated within this broader overview. This facilitated the development of the *micro*, *meso* and *macro* layers of the learner portraits throughout the placement via the mapping of the participant’s alignment with, or divergence from, the generalised group stance.

The questionnaire contains a mixture of closed and partially-open questions. More traditional views, for example Sudman & Bradburn (1983), have posited that the inclusion of many open-ended questions can either lead to refusals to answer, or may result in the need to discard the entire questionnaire as longer responses may be “uncodable” or inappropriate. However, I felt that the inclusion of certain open-ended questions would be both necessary and an enriching element of the questionnaire, especially given the subjective nature of the theme under investigation. The main structure of the questionnaire was therefore formulated via a mixture of one-response multiple choice options and open-ended response tasks, alongside a request for simple demographic information such as name, gender and age. Due consideration was given to the ethical nature of this latter section, as it is recognised that it is often considered appropriate to allow such documents to be completed anonymously. However, in order to match the participants to their completed questionnaires during the creation of each profile and second interview question set, it was necessary to request student names be included. So too, the request for the declaration of gender (formulated with an open-ended response box to permit the student to self-identify, rather than select) permitted the student to respond as to their own ascribed gender, or to leave blank, if preferred. All data is anonymised in the analysis. Finally, the exploratory nature of this study, and my own desire to avoid being constrained by ‘empirical hunches’ necessitated the items be broad enough to encapsulate all potential influential factors. The identical questionnaire was administered in each context, with translations offered alongside for the French and Finnish groups.

The first section of the questionnaire links to macro-context considerations informed, in part, by the content analysis conducted in the pre-placement period. This section took as its aim the mapping of student perceptions of, and attitudes towards, multilingualism in the broadest socio-national terms, and will assume links to the role of languages at this *macro* context level. Particular focus was placed upon the role of the national language(s) in the construction of *macro* identity, as well as the perceptions of English as an international *lingua franca*, as outlined as pertinent in considerations of multilingual self-representation in globalised contexts by, for example, (Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002). Context-specific document analysis informed the *macro*-linked items but only context-specific phrasings were altered between cases to ensure consistency, i.e. question A1. *In general, [English/French/Finnish] people are good at learning foreign languages.*

The second section encouraged students to reflect upon multilingualism in *meso*-context terms, focusing on the ways in which language learning is enacted in the classroom context, as well as perceived peer/parental attitudes of multilingualism. Fisher *et al.*'s (2018) questionnaire structure provided the basis for some items here, as well as the emergence of themes pertinent for the *meso* social context and student identification in the literature; parental/familial attitudes to language learning (e.g. Bartram, 2006; Fitzpatrick, 2013) and the perceptions of the role of student *Referent Others* (Tajfel, 1981). The question of gender in language learning will be subsumed in this section (Henry, 2011), as well as the opportunity to permit learners to respond with their own ideas about this topic.

The questionnaire concluded with a third section constructed to encourage students to reflect upon their own multilingual practices and behaviours, and their links to their self-identification, in relation to the potentially influential factors identified across relevant multilingualism/identity research as well as more generally applicable self-conceptualisation literature. Items concerned with the 'plurality' of multilingual identity are included (Oliveria & Ança, 2009), as well as questions to evoke reflection upon the generation of self-concept in current and future terms (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2009) and more general student attitudes towards, and opinions of, the languages present in their context. The following analysis sections will underscore the theoretical/empirical link with each questionnaire item when it is addressed. The ordering of each sections was done so with the aim that respondents remained engaged with the task; the decision to conclude with the most personal, individual-orientated questions was taken that the task remained interesting for the duration of the response time.

In order to avoid what have been termed survey "fatigue effects" (Rossi *et al.* 1983, p.304), the questionnaire was structured to ensure that it took no longer than 20- 30 minutes to complete. This also permitted its easy integration into the foreign languages lesson, where it was most often completed.

2.5.3. Within Placement: Participant Interviews

(See Appendix 2 & 3)

Taylor's (2013) study found that the integration of interviews into the study of the strategic identity display of adolescent FL learners of English in Hungary provided a useful means of confirming statistical findings, and moreover offered "valuable insights into the reasons and mechanisms of context dependent self-presentation" (p.93). It was determined that the constraints of time in each research placement, and the length of time required to conduct each interview (between 30 -45 minutes), conducting a preliminary and a stimulated recall interview with more than 4-5 students in each context would not be possible. In the Finnish case, the small class size ($n=5$) meant that I was able to complete all data collection activities with every student. In the French and English cases, I sought to maintain a balance between genders of participants (two female, two male) and

proficiency/motivation in their foreign language learning, and therefore utilized the Q sort task and questionnaire to identify potential candidates from their responses. This process included screening both submitted activities to try to select students with clearly divergent opinions and rankings. In the case of the Q sort task, the colour-coding system of the item statements to differentiate *micro*, *meso* and *macro*-linked items permitted me to visually analyse statement clusters and to aim to select students with differing opinions, especially as to the “most agree” and “most disagree” rankings. In the case of the questionnaire task, both the closed and open items were reviewed and, again, those individuals with divergent (as much as occurred) were pre-selected for interview. The final stage of selection was intended to be performed by the students themselves; I opened the option to participate in the interviews to the full class group if any of the first-selected individuals were unwilling, but in all cases each student asked to participate confirmed that they were happy to take part. It is acknowledged that the impossibility of interviewing all the class individuals will have restricted in some respects the breadth of insight as to each class member’s multilingual self- construction. However, the integration of two complete class activities, the Q sort task and the questionnaire, was designed to inform, as much as is possible, this “group viewpoint” in order to address this potential shortcoming. The *meso*-level analysis review, which focuses on the class view, addresses, holistically, the individual responses given by all participants, and therefore provides sufficient insight to adequately contextualise the individual stances that form *micro*-focused learner portraits.

The first interview was semi-structured and was conducted during the first week of the research placement. This task focused in particular on the elaboration of the individual’s multilingual self-concept, as well as their broader attitudes towards and perceptions of multilingualism and foreign language learning (in general). This particular activity had two main aims. Firstly, the first interview protocol was structured in a comparable format to the questionnaire and intended to act as a means of consolidating and verifying the data collected from the latter; three sections of items were set out, each pertaining to the *macro*, *meso* and *micro* context factors and contain questions linked to the same emergent factors of potential influence identified in the literature. Secondly, it was hoped that this stage of the research process would encourage familiarity and openness with the researcher to facilitate the expression of personal views and attitudes throughout the continuation of the fieldwork. Grinyer & Thomas (2012) underline that a particular benefit of a multiple interview approach can be in the development of trust between the researcher and the interviewee, and can therefore place the participant in the role of “active co-producer of information” rather than the provider, ensuring that the interview is based upon genuine rapport, rather than existing as an artefact of the *interviewer as technician*.

The second interview was conducted with the selected participants in the final week(s) of the research placement. This took a stimulated-recall, semi-structured format, and the questions were informed by the individual’s responses to the Q methodology tasks, the questionnaire, as well as their answers in the previous interview. This particular activity also permitted participants to verify any responses in translation, as well as

for me to clarify any questions that had emerged during the first tasks. Appendix 3 provides an example of this second protocol from the English context.

Audio-recording was the main means of recording the interviews with each participant. This was outlined in the original consent forms provided to the school, but reiterated orally at the beginning of each session to ensure participant consent was maintained. In all cases the students were informed as to the nature of the interview process and provided the right to withdraw.

Interview protocol (Creswell, 2009) was followed on both interview occasions to ensure consistency of experience was maintained for each interviewee, as well as to aid the coding process. This included the use of:

- *Interview instructions so that standard procedure was maintained.*
- *A heading sheet for each participant (date, location, interviewer, interviewee).*
- *The oral confirmation of consent for the interview to be audio-recorded to supplement the written consent forms.*
- *The standard interview question set for interview one, and the specific, individual items for the stimulated recall session.*
- *A final verbalised thank you to acknowledge the interviewee's time and effort.*

2.5.4. Within Placement: Q Methodology

(See Appendix 4)

First developed by William Stephenson in the 1930's, Q methodology finds its conceptual basis in psychological testing. In brief, it is a means of permitting the individual to represent "his or her vantage point for purposes of holding it constant for inspection and comparison" (Coogan & Herrington, 2011, p.25). In a typical Q methodology study, participants are provided with a set of cards, with each bearing a statement (or image) about the topic under investigation. The participants are then asked to rate the statements according to their psychological significance (for example, "Strongly agree" to "Strongly disagree"). The ranking system is entirely subjective, based on the "feelings, reasoning, or simple preference" of each individual (Irie, 2014, p.18). Q method is unique in measuring subjective material in a systematic and transparent way, which permits consistency and comparability across participants and contexts (Coogan & Herrington, 2011, p.25). So too, the focus that Q method attributes "to the whole person and the feelings or views they have" without "attempting to break that individual down into a set of variables" (Irie, Ryan & Mercer, 2018), is a gestalt method well-suited to a complexity-orientated methodology.

While Q presents a valuable means of uncovering both individual and peer group perceptions of multilingualism, it is important to note the necessity of the combination of data collected from this task with

other methods. A particular Q methodological shortcoming noted by Watts & Stenner (2005) is that it is unsuited to dealing with “the unfolding temporality of narratives”; it can only ever provide a “snapshot or temporally frozen image of subject *positions*” (p.71). It was therefore determined that this task be complemented by the stimulated-recall interview which permitted the participants to expand and elaborate upon themes rendered salient.

- **Refining the Q Sort items**

A particular value of this approach for the purposes of this study is in the capacity to match the Q sort items to the context in which the test is being performed. Watts & Stenner (2005) suggest that the items that make up the statements can be “elicited from any number of sources: by extensive reference to the academic literature, literary or popular texts, from formal interviews, informal discussions and often pilot studies”, provided that the final set can justifiably claim to be “broadly representative of the relevant opinion domain” (p.75).

The structure of the Q method concourse is essential to the ultimate value of the task, both in relation to the experience of the participants undertaking the activity and for the final analysis. As Stephenson has outlined, the strength of Q method is to be found in the possibility of addressing “the universe of subjective communicability surrounding any topic” (Brown & Good, 2010, p.2). This strength can, however, also be a challenge, especially concerning a topic such as self and identity, where the inclusion of all themes potentially pertinent would not be feasible within a single Q set. Considerable reflection was therefore afforded to the compilation of the items.

- **Organisation of the Q concourse**

It was important to the comparability of the research activities, as well as to the final analysis, that each tool employed during the data collection was developed in relation to the final conceptualisation of learner identity utilized in the study. The 12-point Q set therefore mirrored the questionnaire and interview one structure in taking a focus on *micro*, *meso* and *macro* linked factors, with a third of the items (approximately 14 Q cards) attributed to statements concerning the construction of the *micro* self, a third to the *meso*, and the final third to *macro*-linked items. This structure ensured that the final sorts could be employed both *holistically*, for example, to provide an insight into the group stance in generalized terms towards languages and language use in their contest(s), as well as offering a possibility of individual analysis as regards the position of certain level-specific items in relation to each other.

- **Compiling the preliminary Q sort items**

The exploratory approach taken in this study rendered necessary the inclusion of wide range of themes in order to account for, as much as was possible, the themes pertinent to construction of multilingual identity. A

thorough review of the literature was therefore undertaken where overarching research trends were identified and attributed to either *micro*, *meso* or *macro* -relevance or, indeed, all three. The emergent research themes deemed applicable for the literature review (language, identity, language and identity) thus formed the foundations of the main strands of focus for each item set, both directly resulting in certain Q sort items as well as being utilized as a theory 'yard stick' with which identity-focused questionnaire/Q sort items in the literature were evaluated for relevance. In particular, identity-focused language learner research tools from Taylor (2013); Caruana & Lagabaster's (2011) 'holistic' multilingual-context attitude survey; Fisher *et al.*, (2018) and Dörnyei & Ushioda (2013) were utilized to supplement the preliminary statements created. In all cases, the advice offered in Irie's 2014 article concerning the use of Q methodology for the "post-social" turn in SLA in was applied. Here, she recommends that "the statements in a Q set should be as heterogenous as possible yet all about the chosen topic onto which the participant can project their feelings" (2014, p.19). As such, phrasings and statement orders were deliberately kept as neutral as possible to allow room for participant interpretation. Any context-specific items (for example, those concerning the non-obligatory status of language learning post KS3 in the U.K. context) were rephrased to ensure that they would be applicable in all four research locations. This decision was taken in part to adhere to the necessary 'neutrality' of the Q item semantics, following Irie's (*ibid.*, 2014) advice, and also to ensure that cross-context Q sort analysis was possible during the final stages. Here, while more context-specific items would have no doubt produced some interesting insights into the nature of language-learner identity construction *in-situ*, semantically-diverse statements would have rendered a review of potentially 'generalisable', inter-system traits emergent in the varied Q sorts impossible.

Statements were collated until a certain *saturation point* was reached, whereby the most recent items deemed relevant for inclusion emerged as synonymous with items already included in the Q sort set. These were then eliminated to avoid unnecessary repetition, leaving a final 52-item concourse.

- **Compiling the final Q set**

Once the preliminary Q sort concourse was established, three techniques recommended in the literature were utilized to ensure the relevance and applicability of the statements. Firstly, the items were reviewed by colleagues also engaged in identity and language-learning research to ensure item semantics were appropriate, and to ensure that no essential items had been missed. Three items were included as a result of this stage. Secondly, I utilized Caruana & Lagabaster's (2011, p.40) 'holistic' approach to languages research methodology design as an additional filter to ensure the concourse would be appropriate for the contexts concerned. In this particular theorization, the authors argue that a "multilingual mindset" should be applied to all instruments utilized in a linguistic study, and that 'monolingually' biased items should be avoided. I therefore reviewed each statement to ensure that such biases were avoided. Finally, Watts and Stenner (2012) advise that a Q set should allow the participant to feel that they have been permitted an opportunity to "successfully model and express their viewpoint" (p.59). As such, the research pilot interview protocol (conducted in July 2017) also included a question at the conclusion where participants could reflect upon the relevance and appropriateness

of the statements they had sorted. The completion of these processes resulted in a final Q set concourse of 43 items which were applied in the final research process.

It is recognized that the final Q sort does not represent an exhaustive overview of the traits applicable to linguistic identity; indeed, the creation of such a set may well be impossible given the dynamic, fundamentally individual experience that the learning of multiple languages represents. So too, it is also recognized that the Q items selected will, to a certain extent, 'colour' the emergent themes following analysis. As such, particular attention was afforded to compilation of the set to ensure that ample room was afforded for student interpretation, firstly by aiming to ensure semantic 'neutrality' for each item, and secondly via the addition of the secondary stimulated recall interview which afforded time for each participant to share their ranking rationale, and opinion of, the statements concerned. So too, the supplementation of this activity with other qualitative exercises (interview, questionnaire) offered a second mitigation technique to ensure that the weight of emergent interpretation afforded by this particular task did not disproportionately affect the final analytical outcomes.

Despite the potentially problematic features of Q methodology, I felt strongly that the insights this type of research tool could provide far outweighed the reductive features. Alongside providing an effective means of visually recording a dynamic, changeable phenomenon such as linguistic self-concept, it also permitted the participants themselves to reflect upon a concept they may not have perhaps overtly considered prior to their involvement in the research. Irie, Mercer and Ryan (2018) raise this issue in their discussion of effective research into teacher mindset, where individuals are asked to express their views on "something they may not be fully aware of and perhaps have not considered in much detail" (p.582). Researchers therefore must raise awareness of a particular issue *before* valuable investigation can take place. Q method is ideally suited for this task and, in addition, permits the participants *themselves* some access to their own ideas and opinions as regards a certain question.

The items, the contextual level to which they pertained as well as the rationale for inclusion are included in the table below:

Context level	Q item	Rationale
Micro	<i>I would like to try living in a different country in the future</i>	Future self-concept/ self-guide development (e.g Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2009)
Micro	<i>It's hard to see sometimes when I will use a language like L3² in the future</i>	Future self-concept/ self-guide development (Ibid., 2009)
Micro	<i>I find it easy to imagine myself as a fluent speaker of L3 in the future</i>	Future self-concept/ self-guide development (Ibid., 2009)
Micro	<i>I think that speaking more than one language will give me more opportunities in the future</i>	Perceptions of linguistic social capital (e.g Bourdieu); future self-concept/motivation (Dörnyei, 2010).
Micro	<i>I feel happy when I'm speaking a foreign language</i>	Emotional appraisal; applicability of positive psychology; current/actual self-concept development (e.g Oxford, 2016)
Micro	<i>I'm proud to be able to speak more than one language</i>	Emotional appraisal; applicability of positive psychology; current/actual self-concept development (Ibid., 2016)
Micro	<i>I don't have the right personality for learning languages</i>	Current self-concept development (Dörnyei, 2010)
Micro	<i>Being able to speak more than one language is an important part of my identity</i>	Strength of multilingual identification (Fisher <i>et al.</i> , 2018)
Micro	<i>I am a multilingual person</i>	Strength of multilingual identification (Fisher <i>et al.</i> , 2018); Self & referent others comparative (e.g Miyahara, 2015)
Micro	<i>I think that I can express ideas in a language like L3 that I can't in L1 or L2</i>	Plurality of multilingual identification (e.g Oliveira & Ança, 2009)
Micro	<i>Sometimes I feel like a different person when I speak in another language</i>	Plurality of multilingual identification (Ibid., 2011)
Micro	<i>I feel like I can show a different side of my personality when I speak in another language</i>	Plurality of multilingual identification (Ibid., 2011)
Micro	<i>I find certain languages more interesting than other ones.</i>	Current self-concept; multilingualism & LX emotional orientation (Pavlenko, 2007)
Micro	<i>I think that some of the languages I know are more important to me than other ones.</i>	Current self-concept; multilingualism & LX emotional orientation (ibid., 2007)
Micro	<i>It's cool when you can speak a language that other people can't</i>	Current self-concept insight; self & referent others comparative (e.g Miyahara, 2015)
Micro	<i>I feel like I'm part of a group when I'm speaking in another language</i>	Current self-concept insight; self & referent others comparative (Ibid., 2015)
Micro	<i>It's easy to see how knowing different languages fit into my life</i>	Current self-concept insight; self & referent others comparative (Ibid., 2015)
Micro	<i>I feel interested by the culture of the language I am learning</i>	'Integrative' motivation (e.g, Henry, 2012)
Meso	<i>I admire people that are multilingual</i>	Self & referent others comparative (Miyahara, 2015)
Meso	<i>My family think it's important that I learn a foreign language at school</i>	Familial values and FLL motivation/attitude (e.g. Bartram, 2006).
Meso	<i>People around me don't think learning different languages are important</i>	Familial/peer values and FLL motivation/attitude (Ibid., 2006)

² Context-specific L1, L2, L3 languages were inserted here for each national Q set

Meso	<i>There are more important subjects at school to learn than languages</i>	Language values and FLL motivation/attitude.
Meso	<i>My family are multilingual</i>	Self & referent others comparative (Miyahara, 2015), meso-environment illustration.
Meso	<i>It's easy to see how knowing different languages fits into the lives of my teachers/friends/family</i>	Self & referent others comparative (Miyahara, 2015), meso-environment illustration.
Meso	<i>I have a role model (someone I admire) who can speak more than one language</i>	Self & referent others comparative (Miyahara, 2015), FLL role models (Muir et al., 2019)
Macro	<i>Everyone can speak English today so there is not much point learning other languages.</i>	Social linguistic capital; perceptions of English global <i>lingua franca</i> role (e.g Norton & Toohey, 2011)
Macro	<i>English is the most widely spoken language in the world</i>	Social linguistic capital; perceptions of English global <i>lingua franca</i> role. (Ibid.,2011)
Macro	<i>Sometimes it's hard to see the point of learning languages</i>	Future self-concept; motivational links? (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011)
Macro	<i>I think generally girls are better than boys at learning languages</i>	Gender in L3+ learning (Spellerberg, 2011).
Macro	<i>You need to have a certain type of personality to be good at learning a language</i>	Perceptions of learner 'traits' as conducive to FLL; attitude/motivation-impacting?
Macro	<i>It's easier to learn a new language if you have already learnt another language before</i>	Metalinguistic/cognitive strategy use indicative of multilingual id? (Aronin & Jessner, 2014)
Macro	<i>English is the most important language in the world</i>	Social linguistic capital; perceptions of English global <i>lingua franca</i> role. (e.g Munezane, 2013)
Macro	<i>If I were to visit a country abroad tomorrow, I think it would be easy to get around with English</i>	Social linguistic capital; perceptions of English global <i>lingua franca</i> role. (Ibid., 2013)
Macro	<i>Certain languages are more important to learn than others</i>	Social linguistic capital; perceptions of English global <i>lingua franca</i> role.(Ibid., 2013); Caruana & Lagabaster 'monolingual' bias (2011, p.50)
Macro	<i>Your tongue reflects your personality</i>	Plurality of multilingual identification (Oliviera & Ança, 2011)
Macro	<i>Native LX speakers are lucky</i>	Macro-perceptions of social capital of L1 (e.g. Norton, 2007).
Macro	<i>I think that knowing more than one language makes someone cleverer</i>	Metalinguistic/cognitive strategy use indicative of multilingual id? (Aronin & Jessner, 2014)
Macro	<i>People were better at learning languages in the past than they are today</i>	Perceptions of macro context proficiencies
Macro	<i>I think that it would be a good idea for everyone to learn another language</i>	Perceptions of macro context proficiencies / benefits; Caruana & Lagabaster 'monolingual' bias (2011, p.50)
Macro	<i>I think people from other countries are better at learning languages than the X are</i>	Perceptions of proficiency norms; impact upon own self-identification (Higgins, 1987; Fisher et al., 2018).
Macro	<i>To be multilingual you have to be fluent in more than two languages.</i>	Perceptions of proficiency norms; impact upon own self-identification (Fisher et al., 2018).

Table Three: Q Set Items

Q method is employed in this study as a means of investigating and informing the contextual levels of analysis. It provided a useful means of identifying attitudes and perceptions as regards multilingualism and multilingual identity held by not only the peer group in the context in question, but also by the individual participants themselves. Moreover, it permitted comparisons between the participant's stance on certain issues with that of their peers, namely, if they can be seen to generally corroborate or contradict opinions held by the other members of the group. This added an additional "layer" of *meso*-context information relevant to the development their profile as a multilingual learner.

- **Administering the Q Sort**

The Q methodology task was conducted with all class members in the first week(s) of the placement. Once completed, photos of each Q sort were taken and later input manually into excel files for storing. The Q sorts of the participants taking part in the individual interviews formed the basis of some stimulated recall items; photographs of the individual participant's Q sort were used in the second interview to provoke further discussion of the item rankings as well as to confirm/validate their responses. Example Q sorts from the French and Finnish contexts are provided in Appendix 4.

2.6. Linking Research Methodology & Objectives

Table four below summarises the links between the research objective and the methodological tools developed and evaluated in this section.

Table Four: Linking Research Methods and Research Objectives

Attitudinal Questionnaire	2 x Interview (Preliminary & Stimulated Recall)	Q Methodology Task
<p>RQ1. <i>What characterises the L3+ learning/using experience in different contexts, and how do these characteristics contribute to student identification as multilingual?</i></p>		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Items link to context level-specific constructions/perceptions of multilingual experience and identity. -Closed items permitted identification of intra-context patterns as to ID & experience. -Open items allowed individual responses to be elaborated in relation to experience as multilingual user/learner. -‘Holistic’ approach to item generation: potentially wide range of traits to be captured. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Interview 1 focused upon generalised context traits to elaborate upon broader constructions of ID/experience: permits comparison with group view indicated in other tasks. - Qualitative ‘voice’ as to the experience of multilingual ID/Experience <i>in context</i> in relation to the characteristic traits. -Stimulated recall interview permitted clarification of such traits and complementarity of intra-case data interpretation. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Quantitative analysis allowed identification of group stance(s) and characteristic traits of the multilingual ID/experience. Divergent attitudes also revealed, allowing limitations to certain <i>meso</i> ‘traits’ to be explored. - Qualitative analysis permitted review of related factors and possible influences via use of exemplary group factor arrays. -Provided stimulated recall prompt for individual discussion of ID contribution in interview 2.
<p>RQ2. <i>What are the system dynamics at play in each context and how do these influence participant representations?</i></p>		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Context-level structure of likert scale items permitted patterns in response strength to be noted and analysed as indicative of potentially impactful factors. - Inclusion of three open-response items linked to context-specific issues/constructions. Comparative analysis permitted identification of recurring patterns of response + facilitated identification of level of impact. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Interview one permitted interviewees’ own accounts of potential influencing factors. -Responses in relation to the above allowed researcher interpretation and mapping. -Stimulated recall interview indicated confirmation/negation of impactful factors for complementarity. -Data provided informed constructions of learner models to map system dynamics. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Q items categorised according to context-level of relevance. Qual. analysis of arrays permitted indications of intra-factor dynamics in relation to student perception/experience, complemented by other research tasks. - Quant. analysis produced exemplary arrays; alignments and divergences across the significant group factors indicated applicability of certain constructions.
<p>RQ3. <i>Do emergent themes recur cross-contextually and to what extent are these indicative as generally applicable to the multilingual self-concept?</i></p>		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Completion of parallel questionnaires in all contexts permitted comparison of closed and open items and qual. identification of emergent trends. -Emergent patterns compared with comparable Q sort and interview responses as indicative of ‘general applicability’. -Context-linked structure facilitated direct inter-case comparison as ‘like-for-like’. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Qualitative ‘voice’ permitted confirmation of generally applicable traits if arising cross-case. -Focus on the individual experience allowed an in-depth understanding of ‘typicality’ of experience as well as to context-specific divergences. -Parallel interview 1 questions allowed direct comparisons as to cross-context representation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Identical Q set items ensured consistency and allowed direct comparisons across context factors to be made. -Represented a useful additional ‘complementarity’ of data item when compared with other tasks to corroborate/negate any emergent cross-context ‘typicality’ of experience.

2.7. Research Validity

The concept of validity, which is defined by Baumgarten (2010) as a way to ensure quality in measurement, is divisible and measured via the testing of two aspects, external and internal validity. Internal validity “serves to ensure that assumed causal connections between independent and dependent variables are actually responsible for the observed phenomena”, while external validity is linked to the capacity to generalise the research findings beyond the specific research context (Ibid., p.4).

2.7.1. Internal Validity

Creswell (2009, pp.191-2) argues that a researcher should “actively incorporate” validity strategies at all stages of the research process, and that multiple strategies should be employed. Such methods include, but are not restricted to:

- Triangulation*
- Clarification of bias*
- Present negative or discrepant information*
- Use rich, thick description*
- Peer debriefing*
- Member checking*

Internal validity was ensured through the incorporation of four of the strategies listed above. In general terms, while *triangulation* will not be discussed below, as in its strongest sense such a technique is incompatible with the interpretative, qualitative nature of the study’s research methodology, the use of multiple methods to collect data aims to ensure a level of *complementarity* of information will be reached.

Beyond aiding the achievement of such *complementarity*, it is also anticipated that the use of a multiple methods design will ensure “design validity” (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). These tools were selected carefully in order to respond to the need of this project to both indicate general, *macro/meso* trends, as well as the individual-specific, to permit accurate intra and inter-contextual comparison. Therefore, the use of an attitudinal questionnaire, document analysis and Q method task permitted each individual’s attitudes and self-concept to be situated within the class and *macro* context as a whole, while the interview stages allowed the focus to be shifted to the participant in question.

- **Clarification of bias**

Creswell defines the use of such a method as a type of “self-reflection” in which the researcher is open and accountable for the interpretation of their findings, which are shaped by individual variables such as gender, socio-economic background and gender (2009, p.192). I have therefore adopted an open narrative throughout the study in which each stage of the research process will be supplemented by any information felt to be potentially impacting or influencing an interpretation of data that such clarification of bias will be achieved.

- **The use of rich, thick description**

It is suggested that the usage of detailed description by qualitative researchers to explore the research setting or to provide many perspectives about a theme, will result in a “more realistic” and “richer” set of results which can underline project validity (ibid., p.192). This strategy was felt to be particularly compatible with research design of this study; the individual-in-context focus taken to create individual learner profiles necessarily demanded that in-depth information was presented linked to the ‘*multilinguality*’ of each participant. In-depth, descriptive information as to the *meso* and *macro*-context of each research site, achieved through the document/content analysis process and Q sort task, is also set out.

- **Present negative or discrepant information**

This validation strategy is defined as a willingness to present information which runs counter to the themes of an investigation. As Creswell acknowledges, because “real life is composed of different perspectives that do not always coalesce, discussing contrary information adds to the credibility of an account” (2009, p.192). As such, an active engagement with any discrepant data that appears to contradict the emergent themes is addressed as it arises. I felt strongly that this approach was particularly important as subjective and personal viewpoints represent an essential informant.

- **Member checking**

Member-checking was integrated into the data collection process via the second interview structure, where students were asked to verify their previous responses as well as afforded an opportunity to alter/negate any replies they no longer felt applicable. This approach was taken to ensure as much as possible both the study’s internal validity as well as its ethical nature. The latter application is discussed in greater depth in the following Research Ethics section.

2.7.2. External Validity

Creswell argues that external validity in qualitative research is a term that is used in a more limited way, as the value of this type of inquiry is found in its capacity to research, in depth, particular themes and descriptions developed in a particular research context (2009, p.193). The focus of the research design in this project was therefore be on the attainment of internal validity and potential cross-case ‘applicability’, rather than explicit, statistical generalizability. As Yin (2003) has stated, qualitative case studies can be generalised in instances where the same design is applied to new cases for comparative purposes, but this is dependent on the accurate documentation of qualitative procedures. Indeed, Papachristos (2012, p.11) develops this assertion further, arguing that, on a meta-level, the development of an adequate theoretical model also provides a possible means of future replicability; the research can demonstrate the applicability of the mechanism in multiple cases via the use of the learner model developed during the analysis, which can potentially be developed/expanded by future research.

2.8. Ethical Issues

In line with the British Educational Research Association’s (BERA) Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research, this study will ensure that research in all contexts is “conducted with an ethic of respect for the Person, Knowledge, Democratic Values, the Quality of Educational Research and Academic Freedom” (BERA, 2011, p.6). Beyond adhering to the guidelines set out in this document, the national standards and expectations for responsible and ethical research in each site context was reviewed.

Informed consent sought from all participant carers via the school gatekeeper in which the nature and purpose of the result was explained in full, as well as the right to withdrawal at any stage. The forms were provided in parent/guardian L1 in all cases (Appendix 5). In the former case, in line with national ethical research requirements a research visit contract [*Convention de Visite*] was also agreed (Appendix 6). Students were also informed verbally before the data collection that they had the right to withdrawal for any or no reason, at any point during the study. As the research focus was placed particularly on certain participants (selected from volunteers), these rights were repeated before the individual-orientated interviews. While, as outlined, it was not felt to be conducive to the research process to permit anonymity at the data collection stages, students were reassured that all their information would be anonymised during the writing up process. As the research took place in the school context during the normal hours, and in part during foreign language lessons, permission was also sought in writing from the school and individual teachers involved. Member-checking, which forms one strategy to be employed to ensure research validity, also fulfilled an ethical function in the latter stages of the writing up process.

2.9. Data Analysis

2.9.1. Quasi-quantitative analysis: Q Methodology

The participants' completed Q sorts were inputted and analysed via the KEN-Q Sort data and analysis tool (Banasick, 2016) which converts responses into PQ method-compatible files. I also made use of this online tool to complete the initial stages of analysis, including factor rotation. Centroid factor analysis was undertaken to produce the preliminary correlation matrix, following Watts & Stenner's (2012) recommendation, and, following the *Kaiser-Guttman Criterion*, which holds "that a factor must account for at least as much variance as an individual variable" (Wilson & Cooper, 2008), eigenvalues greater than 1.00 were maintained as significant. Where confounded cases occurred (where participants ranked significantly across more than one factor), they were aligned with their higher ranking, as is Q Method convention (Watts & Stenner, 2012). The rationale for the choice of CFA in preference to principal component analysis (PCA) is developed below.

Factor rotation was completed using a varimax approach, with autoflagging set at $p < 0.01$ (ibid, p.130). The resulting correlations were utilised, firstly, to identify the participants within each factor-linked group who had also contributed to the additional qualitative activities. The most significantly-aligned case was selected as the *micro* subject for the development of the factor in individual terms. Finally, group-exemplary correlated Q sorts were extracted for each significant factor, and the statement rankings indicated coded and analysed qualitatively via NVivo (2012) as the basis for the context *meso* reviews. The resultant composite Q sorts and statement rankings are included within each *meso* review chapter for reference.

- Selection of CFA

Centroid factor analysis was employed in this study, following Watts & Stenner's (2012) recommendation. While CFA and principal component analysis methods will normally produce very similar results, the choice of the former was made in preference to principal component analysis (PCA) for, overarchingly, its permissiveness to abductive analysis. I felt this type of analytical approach was important to allow the full and holistic exploration of the responses; while PCA is often helpful in its capacity to present the mathematical "best fit" for a particular set of data this method will deprive the researcher of the "opportunity to properly explore the data or to engage with the process of factor rotation in any sort of ... investigatory fashion" (ibid., p.99). The forced '*best-fit*' method PCA prioritises is, I feel, disingenuous when considering individual attitudinal stances as an effective interpretation is based on familiarity with the dynamics of the data.

- **A note on cumulative explained variance: CFA vs PCA**

It is important to reference here for the purposes of research clarity that the factor cumulative *explained variance*, one marker of statistical validity of which the standard threshold is normally 60% (James *et al.*, 2013), was not indicated to be the case when utilising either approach, with the exception of Finland's 63% PCA explained variance. I felt that the comparable outcomes via the use of both approaches strengthened the decision to maintain CFA as an analytical approach.

	PCA <i>Cumulative Explained Variance</i>	CFA <i>Cumulative Explained Variance</i>
Finland	63%	58%
England	59%	43%
France	55%	48%

Table six: Comparing Explained Variance

Reference must be made however to the potential shortcomings of this task indicated by these results. In statistical terms, such outcomes would undermine the validity of the analysis. However, I feel strongly nevertheless that the value of the completion of this task remains integrally sound, despite the indicated limitations and, moreover, points to the importance of utilising an abductive approach to factor analysis. Firstly, and importantly, the small size of the groups completing the task also makes the extraction of statistically confirmatory factors less likely, especially given the multi-faceted nature of identity construction. So too, explained variance accounts for only one test for confirming findings validity in a strongly quantitative approach. It would certainly be important to consider these issues if this task was to be utilised as the sole method of data collection. However, the quasi-quantitative analytic approach employed here to interpret the data means that, as a basis of first comparison, the Q sort task is helpful in providing an indication of emergent themes of note, as well as revealing contrasts in operant subjectivity within the group. Moreover, the complexification of the information emerging from Q method with additional data from other more qualitatively-orientated tasks serves to strengthen the interpretations outlined; if viewpoints are maintained in triangulation, I believe their relevance for this work is confirmed.

2.9.2. Qualitative Analysis: Attitudinal Questionnaire

Both open and closed items were analysed qualitatively inform the *micro* individual stance. Certain items were utilised as question prompts in the stimulated recall interview; the student responses were recorded alongside the item and coded concurrently. The small number of individual participants permitted manual coding, following the preliminary outlines of the context-level-specific sections of the questionnaire, as well as the reference of items rendered pertinent for a holistic exploration of multilingual identity construction in the literature. These themes were also utilised to structure the Q method task, and hence the Q item generation table in section 2.5.4. renders these choices specific. An iterative approach was essential following the structure of the research collection procedure where questionnaire analysis was completed during the stage itself. Therefore, the coding framework was developed and reworked over the 12-month data collection.

2.9.3. Qualitative Analysis: Interviews 1 & 2

Both interviews one and two were audio-recorded and transcribed with the use of F5 transcription (2012) and the resultant categories recorded for comparison. Appendix 7 provides an example transcript from the Finnish context. While the same coding framework applied to the questionnaire task and Q method task was utilised to categorise the interview data, the highly subjective and individual nature of the theme to be explored demanded a high level of mindful flexibility and openness to change. Emergent themes revealed in the questionnaire and Q sort *meso*-analysis often recurred in the interview task as an interlinked subtheme within a 'context-specific' characteristic. As such, the function of the *micro* vignettes focused on these unique *individual-in-context* constructions and as therefore the more generally -applicable codes were often inappropriate. Indeed, Saldana (2016, p.2) suggests that, on occasion, coding frameworks can be inappropriate for studies grounded in a qualitative approach. While iteratively linking the data relevant to broader emergent themes, I also developed *micro*-context-specific coding items to permit comparisons between the two case participants which, amounting to four interviews per context only, I analysed manually.

2.10. Table Five: Data collection timeline

Piloting: England July 2017	Interim stages	Research placement #1: Wales Nov.-Dec. 2017	Interim stages	Research placement #2 Finland Jan.-March 2018
<p><i>-Piloting of Q sort and questionnaire group activities.</i></p> <p><i>-Piloting of interview procedure and validity of pre-macro context analysis</i></p>	<p><i>-Refining/altering of interview protocol.</i></p> <p><i>-Refining/altering of Q items and questionnaire.</i></p> <p><i>-Translation of above into French and Finnish.</i></p>	<p><i>-Group & individual data collection</i></p> <p><i>-Preliminary context transcription/coding/analysis</i></p>	<p><i>-Transcription of all context interviews.</i></p> <p><i>-Developed first coding framework</i></p> <p><i>-Context Q sort analysis</i></p>	<p><i>-Group & individual data collection</i></p> <p><i>-Preliminary context transcription/coding/analysis</i></p>
Interim stages	Research placement #3: England April -May 2018	Interim stages	Research placement #4: France Sept.-Oct. 2018	Final Stages
<p><i>-Transcription of all context interviews.</i></p> <p><i>-Coding framework modified/integrated & developed.</i></p> <p><i>- Context Q sort analysis</i></p>	<p><i>-Group & individual data collection</i></p> <p><i>-Preliminary context transcription/coding/analysis</i></p>	<p><i>-Transcription of all context interviews.</i></p> <p><i>-Context Q sort analysis</i></p> <p><i>- Input qualitative data into NVivo and applied first coding strategy</i></p>	<p><i>-Group & individual data collection</i></p> <p><i>-Preliminary context transcription/coding/analysis</i></p>	<p><i>-Completed transcription of all context interviews.</i></p> <p><i>-Completed all context Q sort analysis.</i></p> <p><i>-Finalised coding framework and extracted main intra- and inter-context themes.</i></p> <p><i>-Completed individual and cross-context analysis.</i></p>

2.11. Study Pilot

A pilot of the proposed tools was conducted over the 3rd & 4th July 2017 at a state secondary school in Lancashire, UK. The questionnaire and Q method task were completed by 10 KS4 students between the ages of 14 and 16, and the stimulated recall interview was conducted with 4 volunteers from this group. All students participating were bilingual (the students' home languages were diverse, with Italian, Punjabi, Urdu and Polish recorded) and 7 of the 10 students were also taking French as a GCSE option.

2.11.1. Post-Pilot Review & Modifications: Q Method Task

Results obtained from the Q Method task during the pilot confirmed its capacity to provide both valid and useful insights, as well as permitting the measurement of peer perceptions and attitudes as regards the role of multilingualism on *macro*, *meso* and *micro*- contextual levels. In procedural terms, the final results demonstrated that the rubric for the exercise could have been made clearer. The students did not display problems completing the task, but the forced choice intended did not occur as the students "overflowed" within one category on the Q sort template. While this was not problematic for qualitative analysis, and indeed permitted considerable discussion during the participant interviews, it was important that the final Q sort adhered to the template for quantitative analysis be possible, and the instructions were made clearer at the beginning of the exercise.

2.11.2. Post-Pilot Review & Modifications: Questionnaire

There were few blank or illegible answers given in the 9 questionnaires completed, indicating that the students, for the most part, had no difficulties responding. All the pupils completed the document within the 30 minutes suggested. Certain issues arose however which are addressed below:

- *Structure*

The questionnaire was structured with a mixture of closed and open-ended questions which link to the three contextual layers of the learner's dynamic system, with each section (A, B and C) corresponding to *micro*, *meso* and *macro* factors of influence. I noted however that towards the end of the exercise there seemed to be a slight tendency to "regurgitate" certain of the closed Likert scale statements as responses to the open-ended questions. It is possible that this might be indicative of responder fatigue and I therefore placed the open-ended items that required comprehensive answers by the student to be placed at the beginning of the document, with item A11 included as the final question. While this meant that the sections would no longer by

structured according to their thematic value, this helped promote the inclusion of individual, reflective responses.

- **Q. B13**

This open question aimed to promote participant reflection on the existence of language learner “stereotypes”. On the whole, I noted however that the students included self-specific information which was confirmed by those who participated in the stimulated recall interviews. While this proved to be useful in promoting discussion during the one-on-one interviews, however, I believe that the question will be bettered by rephrasing the rubric to clarify the intended purpose of the exercise.

2.11.3. Post-Pilot Review & Modifications: Stimulated Recall Interview

Single participant interviews were conducted with 4 students following the completion of the Q method task, and questionnaire. 30 minutes was allocated for discussion, and in all cases this proved to be adequate time. I informed the participants that they could request to end the interview at any point should they wish, but all were willing to answer questions for the duration of the period. Each interview was audio-recorded (permission was sought in writing prior to the visit, and again verbally from each of the students before the interview started).

A first review of the information collected indicated that one-to-one discussion provided a very valuable means of not only exploring and clarifying responses given during the exercises, but also as a means of identifying particularly salient factors of influence for each of the pupils which were considerably varied across the four learners. Moreover, it confirmed that expanding upon certain pertinent themes emerging from the first interview in the second meeting proved to be a valuable means of iterative *member checking*, thus ensuring data coding complementarity as the placement progresses.

All changes identified were implemented prior to the first research placement in November 2017.

Chapter Three

Analysis: The Finnish Context

3.1. Introduction to Analysis Chapters

A complex dynamic systems understanding of learner identity construction considers the import of the individual's contextual environment to their understanding of self; this environment is layered, interfaced and dynamic, and holds that the *micro*, *meso* and *macro* spheres will all play a role in the development of a sense of self. Importantly, a learner is not only impacted by contextual factors from their surrounding system, but also will impact themselves upon these layers of context via their actions informed by the understandings of their linguistic selves which has filtered through the *meso* and *macro* environs. The following chapters analyses learner multilingual identity construction via a complex systems lens, and will present the data gathered in each context, as well as the analysis, through this conceptualisation of self.

In order to appropriately situate the analysis, an outline of the participants' *macro* and *meso* environment precedes the review. In line with this study's conceptualisation of learner context, the *meso* level is defined as the individuals' local environment, such as their city of residence, school and home context, and the *macro sphere* encompasses the broader national environment including policy and broadly understood social attitudes towards languages and language learning. These syntheses have been collated from a combination of relevant sources, including document analysis (including national language policy guidelines; reference texts and academic reviews etc.) as well as interviews with the principal language teachers. It would be impossible to include all pertinent data collected over the course of the review period while keeping within the word limits for this work; as such only that information felt to be the most relevant to the analysis has been included.

The *meso* context overview section will include the presentation and analysis of the data collected from the class group-based Q methodology sort task. This approach permits the individual cases to be situated in terms of attitude and opinion alongside their counterparts, as well as the identification of any outliers. The emergence of any cross-context level influences will be explored and developed iteratively through each section.

The *micro*-informed analysis will be taken as part of an overview of the individual learner portraits in the final section of each chapter and finally operationalised via a multilingual learner model. The sum of these three analytical levels will therefore address the first and second research objectives of the study:

RQ1. What characterises the L3+ learning/using experience in different contexts, and how do these characteristics contribute to student identification as multilingual?

RQ2. What are the system dynamics at play in each context and how do these influence participant representations?

3.2. Context #1: Western Finland

The data collection period in this context lasted for six weeks between January and March 2018 in a small industrial city located on the west coast of Finland, about 250 km north west of Helsinki. Despite this city's close proximity to the main Swedish-speaking regions of the country, there is little evidence of the presence of the second national language here, and inhabitants recognise their commune as dominantly Finnish-speaking.



● Research context #1: Location

The participants in this case were L4 learners, all between the ages of 15 and 16 ($n=5$) immersed in second language (Swedish) medium schooling. All participants had parallel experiences of successive language learning from the home to school spheres. All Finnish L1 speakers, with the exception of two participants who had familial links to Swedish, they have acquired Swedish (L2) from the school's (henceforth termed *BSS*) *kindergarten* section at ages 5-6. The students recorded a six-year history of English study through compulsory language learning at their school, as well citing considerable access to this language in the home/*meso* sphere via anglophone media and the internet. All commenced study of their L4, French, three years before the data collection. The entire class group took part in both the group and individual data collection activities.

3.3. [MACRO] Context Overview:

The officially bilingual linguistic landscape in Finland, upon review, appears somewhat paradoxical. Despite Finnish and Swedish holding legal equal status (the former was granted official status with the latter in 1863), and indeed with the existence of some Swedish-medium only municipalities, such as the semi-autonomous Åland area, informally the modern status of Swedish is rather more like one of a minority language. Although the right is preserved for Swedish speakers to demand service in this language for official purposes (for example, bureaucracy and healthcare), the percentage of L1 Swedish speaking Finns is very small, and is confined to mainly coastal areas in the south and west of the country. National statistics report that in 2017, 5.3% of the Finnish population indicated they are Swedish L1 speakers (~300,000 speakers) (Statistics Finland, 2017). This number has demonstrated a downward trend since official records began in 1900 and has decreased by 0.3% since 2000. The limited presence of Swedish in the average Finn's day-to-day life has had implications for Swedish language learning motivation for many students which official policy has attempted to mitigate.

The Swedish and Finnish languages are linguistically dissimilar, but "culturally and educationally, however, the two language groups are as close as can be found in any country anywhere in the world" (Ringbom, 2007, p.34). In contrast to the situation in Wales, for example, where the enforced linguistic hierarchy in the recent past created tensions, there has never been, as Laine (1995) states, the existence of significant "language strife" in Finland between the two national languages. However, as McRae (1997) notes, there are still problems in the Finnish context, and while it is not language conflict, linguistic instability is a very real issue. This has resulted in the "quiet attrition" of the Swedish language over the last century, with the number of Swedish speakers falling from 15% to 5% of the population today (Saukkonen, 2013, p.1). The relevance of this language for modern Finland is thus a frequent cause for debate. A citizens' petition opposing compulsory Swedish in school received over 50,000 signatures in 2013, and was therefore put forward for parliamentary discussion (yle.fi, 2013).

3.3.1. [MACRO] Languages in the Finnish National Curriculum

The Finnish education system is considered to be a successful one, and has been evaluated highly by PISA (OECD 2018, for example). Finnish command of languages is generally considered to be high. The 2006 Eurobarometer survey indicated that English was the foreign language most widely known by the European population, and the Finnish case adhered to this finding, with more than half (60%) of Finns indicating that they knew at least some English, and, equally, recorded this as the most “important” foreign language to know (88%).

With regards to language learning, the Finnish Basic Education Act (section 11) states that the basic education syllabus for all learners will include the core subjects of mother tongue and literature, the second national language (Swedish or Finnish), as well as other foreign languages. Therefore, the official bilingualism in Finland is reflected in the curriculum, and instruction in both national languages is compulsory. In addition to their mother tongue, whether Swedish or Finnish, each student must study the second official language for at least three years during the nine-year compulsory basic education, and official lines state that language instruction “should go together with the instruction in the students’ multicultural identity and create a foundation for functional bilingualism” (Holm & Londen, 2010). The success of the maintenance of such “functional bilingualism” remains debatable, as outlined previously. Finland is noted to be “strongly dedicated” to the EU’s target of mother tongue + 2 (Dufva & Salo, 2009, p.258), and therefore much emphasis is placed on language learning at school with the aim that all students will learn at least two additional languages during their career. The first language will typically be either Swedish or Finnish, the second being, in most instances, English.

3.3.2. [MACRO] Languages in the Finnish National Curriculum: Structure

Students will begin to study a first foreign language (their A1 language) in grade 3 (ages 8 & 9). It is not obligatory to learn the second national language as the A1, with the result being that the most frequently studied language (for Finnish-speaking Finns) at this stage will be English; Swedish-speaking Finns typically select Swedish as their A1. The number of students taking other languages, apart from Swedish, Finnish or English, at A1 level is minimal; only 2.5% of students were reported to have taken other languages in 2007 (Duvla & Salo, 2009). The B1 language (the second compulsory language) is introduced in grade 7 (ages 11 & 12). Students can also choose an optional “B2” language at this point, normally German or French. For the majority of Finnish L1 students, their L3 (“B1”) will most often be Swedish; 99.3% of Finnish speaking Finns took Swedish as this choice in 2008, following L2 English. In contrast, Duvla & Salo (2009) note that most Swedish speaking Finns will select Finnish for their A1. As might be expected, the student’s L1 will affect the manner in which the L2 is acquired, and indeed the level of proficiency which is reached by the end of their academic trajectory. Ringbom (1987) has argued that Finnish L1 learners of Swedish will acquire this language very much as a foreign language, with instruction taking place mainly at school, whereas Finnish L1-Swedish speakers will

learn Finnish more as a second language, exposed to Finnish both at school and, obviously, outside the classroom. As such, it is indicated that final proficiency levels of the two linguistic groups in the national languages are often unequal. Such research trends are confirmed by reported statistics which indicate discrepancies in competence levels in the second national language between L1 Swedish speaking Finns and L1 Finnish speakers. These are addressed by Nuolijärvi (2011), who argues that such figures underline this uneven weighting; “Finnish speaking pupils are less proficient in Swedish than Swedish speaking pupils are in Finnish after six years of school” (p.112). Laine (1995) reported that while 50% of L1 Swedish speakers report that they are “fully bilingual”, only 10% of L1 Finnish speakers report the same. This compounds somewhat the noted “quiet attrition” of the second national language (SNL).

3.3.3. [MACRO] Languages in the Finnish National Curriculum: Medium

There are two main lines of education in the Finnish school system; one for Swedish-speaking Finns and one for L1 Finnish speakers. In both streams the curriculum is identical. It is possible to be educated in only Swedish from commencing school in optional pre-primary to completing university; the city of Turku/Åbo, for example, has two universities, Turun yliopisto (Finnish-medium) and Åbo Akademi (Swedish-medium). Presently, 17 municipalities offer Swedish immersion for Finnish-speaking children from primary to the end of secondary school (Nuolijärvi, 2011). The school in this research case represents a somewhat unusual example of a Swedish-medium institution located in a dominantly Finnish-speaking commune.

3.3.4. [MACRO] Issues in Language Learning in Finland: Current debates of relevance

The role and function of languages and language learning in Finland is a topic of frequent debate, and prevalent national dialogues are well-documented. These issues therefore present potentially influential factors in the participants’ understanding of themselves as language learners/ users in this context.

- *Limited motivation to acquire Swedish by Finnish L1 speakers*

Firstly, in line with discrepancies in proficiency of speakers in Finland in the two national languages, Laine (1995) also notes that an unequal relationship exists between willingness to acquire the SNL by the Swedo-Finnish and L1 Finnish groups. Evidently, as the dominant language of the nation, motivation to learn Finnish is high for Swedish L1 speakers. However, it is widely reported that due to the lack of a Swedish presence in the monolingual areas of Finland, which account for by far the greatest proportion of the country, many Finnish speakers “fail to see” the advantages of Swedish learning because it is not a necessity. Rare encounters with Swedish speakers and a “general ignorance” as regards the life and culture of Swedo-Finns contributes to this lack of Swedish learning motivation (p.65). Indeed, this situation is often compounded by a willingness to

“acquiesce” to Finnish on the part of Swedish speakers in different contexts. As such, perceptions of Swedish as a necessity for daily life in Finland are dwindling, and McRae (2007) has noted that it is being more and more difficult to hire Swedish speakers for jobs that require fluency in the two national languages, for example in the healthcare service. Certain initiatives to promote the Swedish language and culture in Finland have been launched in recent years, for example, *Svenska Nu* (<http://svenskanu.fi/>).

- ***Dominant presence of English in the curriculum/ declining interest in other FLs***

A second issue affecting motivation to acquire the second national language (SNL), (and indeed, other foreign languages) is that of the dominant presence of English, both in educational and professional environments. Among foreign languages on offer, English stands in first place and often to the detriment of selection of other languages, and, in the case of Finnish L1 speakers, often Swedish. Statistics Finland 2017 reported that 28,429 completing students selected English as their A1 (first choice compulsory language) compared to 2418 who undertook Swedish in this category. Swedish was the most popular choice for the B1 language option (22,473), vs only 4 students who selected English in this same category (see table below). Certainly, this demonstrates the weight of influence English bears, and the selection of additional foreign languages (French, German and Russian being the most popular) is minimal in contrast. German is the second most popular non-national foreign language on offer, and accounted for only 19.2% of entrants in 2017.

Studied language	A-languages	Compulsory language B1	Elective language B2, at least six courses	Elective language B3, at least six courses	Elective language, fewer than six courses	Total	Share of completers of full upper secondary general school syllabus, %
English	28 429	4	0	2	10	28 445	98.0
Swedish	2 418	22 473	76	0	684	25 651	88.4
Finnish	1 617	103	0	44	21	1 785	6.2
French	371	17	492	836	1 679	3 395	11.7
German	721	21	998	1 162	2 674	5 576	19.2
Russian	181	7	134	839	1 597	2 758	9.5
Sami	1	.	0	17	8	26	0.1
Latin	0	.	4	55	247	306	1.1
Spanish	21	.	118	1 408	3 056	4 603	15.9
Italian	0	.	0	113	395	508	1.8
Other	5	0	0	24	321	350	1.2

Figure 3: *Language choices of completers of full upper secondary general school syllabus 2017³*

³ Source: Statistics Finland 2017: http://tilastokeskus.fi/til/ava/2017/01/ava_2017_01_2017-12-14_tie_001_en.html [accessed 01/12/2019]

In addition, it should be noted that the majority of students selecting languages other than Swedish, English or Finnish will take this as their elective language option, and as such will only take a few courses during their academic trajectory. Despite national efforts to increase the uptake of LOTEs at school, the number of pupils undertaking German or French study, for example, has decreased rapidly in recent years, and above all in basic education.

In terms of the successive acquisition of the four languages in their repertoires, the BSS students adhere to this trend. While their fluency in Swedish is more exceptional, the participants' somewhat limited access to French (introduced in the first year of their secondary schooling) is contrasted with their extensive study of English from a considerably younger age. While in possession of a notably multilingual repertoire, the dominance of Finnish in the commune has resulted in the students experiencing the bulk of their exposure to Swedish within the confines of the school, echoing Ringbom's (1987) identification of the fundamental differences of the acquisition of the SNL for L1 Finnish speakers compared to their Swedish L1 speaking counterparts.

3.4. [MESO] BSS Context Analysis Introduction

To adequately situate participant attitudinal stances at the *meso* level, the Q method task is analysed both qualitatively and quantitatively, the latter method to gain an overarching understanding of the gestalt viewpoint, and the former as a means of contextualising emergent themes.

3.4.1. [MESO] The BSS Gestalt Stance: Q Task Analysis

The procedure outlined in the Research Methodology was employed to produce the first correlation matrix. A high level of communality was revealed between all five participants loading significantly on the first factor, accounting for 54% of the study variance, and with an eigenvalue of 2.71. The three additional factors are notable in that they account for, cumulatively, only 8% of the study variance. They also suggest, due to the presence of at least one bipolar loading for each factor, that the correlations for the final three columns indicate some inter-group opposition.

Part. N... ↑	Participant	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4
1	BSS_SL	0.693	-0.0067	0.1112	-0.2595
2	BSS_KV	0.7843	0.1369	0.0325	-0.0025
3	BSS_EK	0.7377	-0.3786	0.1083	0.1133
4	BSS_RP_	0.6233	-0.039	-0.009	0.0409
5	BSS_VF	0.8262	0.1361	0.2571	0.1098

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4
Eigenvalues	2.7107	0.1822	0.0913	0.0939
% Explained Variance	54	4	2	2
Cumulative % Expln Var	54	58	60	62

Figure 4: Preliminary correlation matrix for BSS_Q sorts

Two factors were selected for rotation, following the *Kaiser-Guttman Criterion* (ibid., 2012) which ranks any factor with an eigenvalue of more than 1.00 as significant. Factor one, with an EV of 2.71, evidently meets these criteria. However, I also made the decision to further explore the outputs resulting from a rotation of factor two. While this factor has a low EV (0.18) and therefore should be discarded according to *Kaiser-Guttman*, I felt it was important to utilise a parallel analysis to better aid the interpretation of the first factor in the final stages, especially as an abductive analytical approach was intended.

3.4.2. [MESO] Rotation & Analysis

The two factors were rotated using a varimax approach and, again, some clear inter group opposition emerged, especially in the case of participant 3 who was the sole respondent to load with greater significance with factor 2 than with factor 1. Here, the loading fell just under the significant rating of 0.38. While four of the five participants also loaded above the threshold for significance in the case of factor two, with the exception being respondent 2 (KV) whose sort demonstrated a variance of only 0.35, the decision was taken at this stage to discard the second factor prior to further analysis, and was done so bearing the following issues in mind. Firstly, following the conventions of Q method analysis, the use of confounded Q sorts to create factor arrays is not typical (in other words, where sorts load significantly on multiple factors, a choice must be made); given the small size of the cohort of participants in this particular case, it was therefore likely that multiple confounded responses would be given. The duplication of responses in this respect would, evidently, skew the final factor arrays. Secondly, in line with the intuitive approach to data analysis, it is clear that the divergent loadings are suggesting intergroup opposition, as well as the representation of two distinct views, within the class; the first with the sorts from respondents 1, 2, 4 and 5 aligning with factor one, the second factor being exemplified

solely by participant 3. Although this exceptional view clearly demands attention, the creation of a factor array with only one exemplifying participant would be moot (the resulting output would be simply a reconfiguration of the individual’s original Q sort). As such, this opposing ‘second factor’ view will be explored in comparison to factor one by referring to the original data provided by the student.

Of course, while this stage of analysis is focused on providing a view of the *meso*-context, or class group view regarding ideas and perceptions of the multilingual self, it is also important to maintain a focus on individual differences, as and when the data reveal these to be the case. A better understanding of how each student contributes to the overall picture that is being provided by the group will not only aid in the individual analyses to be undertaken in each section, but also aligns with a CDS conceptualisation of such a question. As important as the corroborating views are the outliers; it is these divergent opinions that help illustrate the dynamicity of this complex system. As such, while factor one is analysed with the aim of providing insights into a generalised view of the *group*, it is important to also consider the strength of participant agreement with this factor. The image below provides the output following factor rotation:

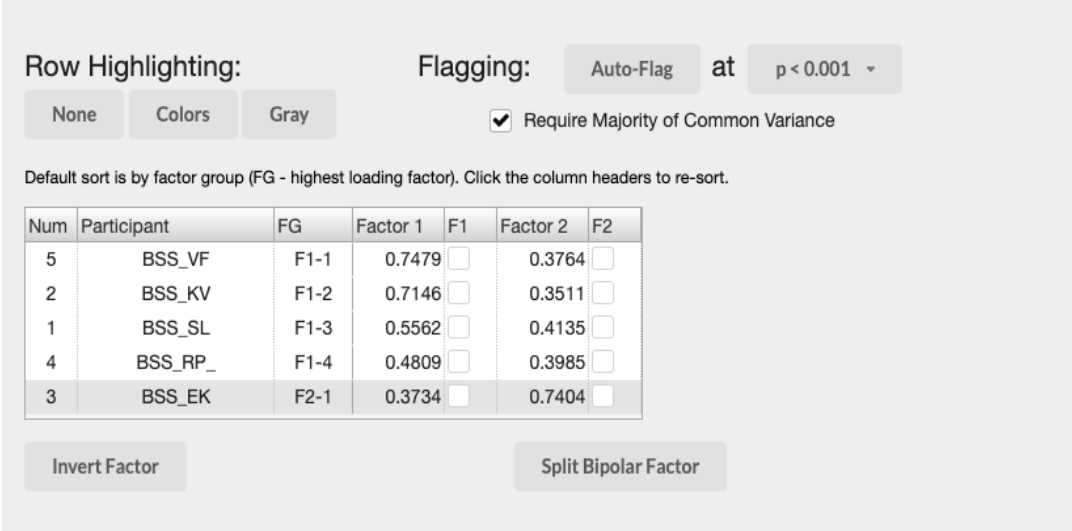


Figure 5: CFA Output [BSS]

While it is clear that 4 of the 5 participants show greater loading with factor one than with factor two, and especially so in the case of respondents 5 and 2 (VF and KV), in the case of students 1 and 4, this clear orientation towards a particular factor is much less pronounced. Indeed, we can see that participant 4 displays a much smaller margin of alignment (0.48 vs 0.40). It is therefore essential to acknowledge the limitations in the extent to which such a generalised “group” view can be stated as such, although it is certainly helpful as a means of providing some clues as to the emergent themes of note to be explored in greater detail in the individual analysis. The resulting composite Q sort for factor one, with the statements included, is reproduced below.

	4	3	2	1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4
I think it would be a good idea for everyone to learn a foreign language	English is the most widely spoken language in the world	English is the most widely spoken language in the world	It's easy to see how different languages fit into my life	It's easy to see how different languages fit into the lives of my teachers/friends/family	English is the most important language in the world.	I feel like I can show another side of my personality when I speak in another language	I find it easy to imagine myself as a fluent speaker of LX in the future	Everyone can speak English today so there is not much point learning other languages	People around me don't think learning languages is important
I am a multilingual person	If I were to visit a country abroad tomorrow, I think it would be easy to get around with English	It's easier to learn a new language if you have already learnt one before	It's easier to learn a new language if you have already learnt one before	I feel happy when I'm speaking a foreign language	Certain languages are more important to learn than others	It's cool when you can speak a language that other people can't	Sometimes it's hard to see the point of learning languages	I feel like a different person when I speak in a different language	People were better at learning languages in the past than they are today
I'm proud to be able to speak more than one language	I would like to try living in a different country in the future	My family are multilingual	My family are multilingual	Languages are an important part of my country's identity	It's more important for people who can't speak English to learn languages than for people who do	It's hard to see sometimes when I will use a language like L3 in the future	I think that I can express ideas in French that I can't in a language like English	You need to have a certain type of personality to be good at learning a language	I don't have the right personality for learning languages.
	I think that speaking more than one language will give me more opportunities in the future	I find certain languages more interesting than other ones	I think that some of the languages I know are more important to me than other ones	Being able to speak more than one language is an important part of my identity	There are more important subjects to learn at school than languages.	Your tongue reflects your personality	I think that people from other countries are better learning languages than the X are	I think generally girls are better than boys at learning languages	
				My family think that it is important that I learn a foreign language at school	Native LX speakers are lucky	I feel like I'm part of a group when I'm speaking in another language.	I have a role model (someone I admire) who can speak more than one language		
				I think that knowing more than one language makes people cleverer	I admire people that are multilingual	I feel interested by the culture of the language that I am learning			
					To be multilingual you have to be fluent in at least two languages				

Figure 6: BSS Factor One Composite Q sort

3.5. [MESO] BSS Factor One Discussion:

Multilingualism: *Neither unusual, exceptional nor 'exclusive'*

Factor one displayed, almost unanimously, the highest loading ratings from participants, accounting for the largest study variance, 54%. As such, the resulting viewpoint here is potentially applicable to a holistic understanding of the perceptions of the group, with the exception of participant 3. EK demonstrated a below minimal threshold ranking with factor one (0.37), and as such her case is disregarded from this viewpoint (Watts & Stenner, 2012).

It is important at this stage to outline the analytic approach that was taken towards factor interpretation, beyond the interpretative stance that was outlined in the previous section as the intention. I was particularly eager to approach this information without preconceived ideas or empirical 'hunches', and to effectively allow the quantitative data itself "to speak qualitatively" (Deutsch, 2015, p.173). So too, given the function of this stage of the analysis as the main informant of the *meso*-level context, it was essential to evaluate the whole picture provided by factor one as a sum of the parts, rather than the independent elements themselves on a statement-by-statement basis. As such, not all of the 43 rankings will be evaluated, but only those that sit in clear alignment or opposition, and that are contributing some significance to an emergent theme. This approach is maintained in the analysis of all three research cases. An iterative review of the data revealed four themes to be particularly striking. These are outlined below, along with identifying the level of context at which it is clear this theme is most predominant. Overarchingly, factor one reveals traits of the Finnish group's multilingual identity to be characterisable as generally linguistically '*inclusive*' and also '*normalised*'.

3.5.1. The Emotive import of Language Learning/Use

The emotive experience of language learning is an integral contributing variable to linguistic identity development and the strength of emergence here as regards this theme is therefore perhaps not unexpected. In this context, the two Q sort items associated with this theorisation are both met with agreement, although it is notable that there is some divergence as to the strength of alignment with the different emotional responses.

"I'm proud of it and I like it". This succinct quote from participant 5 (VF) during the first individual interview session was provided in response to the question: "What does multilingualism mean to you?" The composite Q sort for the group suggests alignment with this individual view. The highest agreement (+4) on the factor array is afforded to the Q statements *I am a multilingual person* and *I'm proud to be able to speak more than one language*. A clear willingness within the group to claim a multilingual sense of self is thus evidenced here, and this recurs in explicit statements as well as implicit comprehensions. The first item explicitly asserts a strong linguistic self-concept, and the second statement corroborates the emotive import of this multilingualism. This

latter statement also reinforces, again, the students' implicit comprehension of their possession of a linguistically-orientated self; the *pride* they experience as a result stems from this very multilingual identification.

The positive emotive appraisal of language use extends beyond student experience of *pride* in their linguistic abilities. There is also agreement indicated with the Q item *I feel happy when I am speaking in another language*, although it is somewhat hesitant in a (+1) position. While both Q statements linked to the emotive response to participant language learning are, therefore, ranked with agreement, the limited strength of alignment with the idea that language use and learning renders the group *happy*, despite the highest concurrence that they feel *proud* of the languages they know, suggests that these two emotive concepts are somewhat limited in their correlation.

3.5.2. Representations of the Linguistic Identities of *Referent Others*

While a knowledge of multiple languages is a trait which clearly imports positively, with '*pride*', to student sense of self, this is evidently not a skill which is seen by students as exceptional. The agreement afforded to those Q items linked to student understanding of the linguistic identities/attitudes of those actors in their immediate *meso* and *macro* environments indicates that familiarity with the use of multiple languages is a characteristic trait for all. *My family are multilingual, It's easy to see how knowing different languages fits into the lives of my teachers/friends/family* and *Languages are an important part of my country's identity* all speak to a suggestion that languages and language learning are known and experienced entities at both the *meso* and *macro*-level of this particular context. Certainly, the concurrence with *My family is multilingual* is surprising; the qualitative work revealed that, in fact, the majority of the students' parents and family members had little to no knowledge of Swedish, the participants' L2, with the exception of respondent 1. However, 3 of the 5 participants stated that their parents had need for English for their professional employment. It may be that this ranking has been based on this fact, along with considerations of sibling linguistic exposure. Regardless of their proficiency in language learning, it is rendered evident that the *meso*-context influences place emphasis on the importance of acquisition for the participants; the (+1) agreement with *My family think it's important that I learn a foreign language at school* provides a similar implication to the negative ranking of *People around me don't think language learning is important*, (-4). Certainly, this corroboration of opinion may suggest by extrapolation that it is the school/peers that is the highest motivating factor here. There is some discrepancy in the strength of agreement/disagreement with these two statements, specifically a somewhat lukewarm (+1) agreement with the Q item linked to familial value of language learning, and a forceful (-4) discord with the more general statement 5 which entails school, peers and family. The strong disagreement assigned to the latter item suggests that it is the addition of the school-based actors here that has contributed to this additional strength of feeling. For this group, it would therefore seem likely that they find particular encouragement for language learning in this particular *meso* sphere.

The Q sort responses indicate that the use/knowledge of different languages contributes considerably to student characterisation of their *meso* level environment. The (-2) ranking of *I think people from other countries are better at learning languages than the Finnish are*, for example, suggests that the participants understand the phenomenon of language learning as an experience the majority of Finns have undertaken. The compulsory nature of the study of foreign languages in educational contexts in Finland may be a contributing factor here and, by extension, we can infer that students understand linguistic proficiency to be a general, national characteristic.

The same agreement is also afforded to the item *Languages are an important part of my country's identity*. However, it is interesting to note that, despite the dual official language policy enacted in the country, this statement is met with only hesitant (+1) concurrence. Certainly, in a nation which officially promotes functional bilingualism, a greater strength of concord might have been expected here. This reluctance would align with Saukkonen's (2013) identification of the "attrition" of the role of the Swedish language in Finland, despite its official status, and may also offer some comment on the presence of other regional languages, such as Sámi, in broader social discourse. We can therefore map the influence of *macro*-linked issues upon the formation of opinion at the *micro* level. Despite the students' assertion of their own multilingual repertoires and the understanding that the Finnish are generally good at learning languages, they are less willing to state that these languages play an active role in the construction of national identity.

3.5.3. The Linguistic Identities of Referent Others: Linguistic Inclusivity/Non-Inclusivity

At both *meso* and *macro* levels the presence of multiple languages is understood by respondents to be, mostly, a characteristic trait of the identities of their referent others; the implication that multilingualism is not seen to be unusual, nor exceptional is thus reinforced. Importantly, the composite Q sort also reveals that the Finnish group's perception of *meso/macro* attitudes and identities expressed in relation to multilingualism is also one defined by the construct of *inclusivity*, namely one that evaluates languages in equal terms.

The negative rankings of *It's cool when you can speak a language that other people can't* (-1) and *I feel like I'm part of a group when I'm speaking another language*, (-1) suggests that the ability to speak additional languages is neither perceived as something *cool*, and nor is something that invokes an individual sense of specific group belonging. Certainly, this latter implication reinforced the previous assertion that the learning/use of multiple languages is something all Finns share, and it is therefore not an *individualising* trait. Linguistic 'segregation' does not exist because the group, as a whole, shares the same multilingual repertoire. The neutral ranking of statement *I admire people that are multilingual* would therefore also seem to function with a similar meaning here.

Interestingly, this theme of linguistic inclusivity emerges beyond the more cognitive/emotive implications of multilingual knowledge to also impact upon constructions of the *macro* functions of language more generally. A knowledge of multiple languages is a 'normalised' feature of Finnish society, and as such does not enable an individual to separate themselves from the group. Likewise, nor is it therefore an exclusive skill to be admired in others. This stance is also evidenced in relation to the broader *macro* role of particular language systems, too. The Q items designated to evoke responses indicative of student opinion as to the global *lingua franca* status of English reveals a parallel stance of *inclusivity* to that demonstrated in relation to Finnish multilingualism. A ubiquitous presence does not presuppose any prioritisation; here, despite the high group agreement with *English is the most widely spoken language in the world* (+3), this status does not result in any prioritisation as regards the use of English. It is neither "*the most important language in the world*" (0), and nor is it a language that should be prioritised for learning above others: *Everyone can speak English today so there is not much point learning other languages* (-3). This last ranking certainly points to an interesting divergence in student view here in comparison to the evidence outlined in recent statistics that dominant selection of English secondary education context is to the detriment of LOTE uptake. We see here therefore the recurrence of this *micro* comprehension of the broader role of language reproduced across both the *meso* and *macro* levels of context.

The BSS cohort demonstrates little evidence that they construct any sort of linguistic hierarchy in relation to the languages present in their context, and this inclusivity also extends to the other languages in their repertoire. Their L1, Finnish, does not receive any preference in the neutral ranking of *Native Finnish speakers are lucky*, and there is also a general negation indicated as regards the suggestion that certain languages may possess a greater social capital than others. *Certain languages are more important to learn than others* and *It's more important for people who can't speak English to learn languages than for people who do* both receive a neutral score.

3.5.4. Representations of Temporal *Micro* Linguistic Self-Concept: *Linguistic Inclusivity/Non-inclusivity*

The insight the BSS cohort demonstrate as to the linguistic identities/attitudes of the actors in their *meso* and *macro* sphere is replicated in the presentation of their own self-conceptualisation.

- Current Self-Concept

In relation to their current self-concept, it is clear that students have a good understanding of the ways in which languages interact with their daily lives, illustrated by the (+2) ranking of *It's easy to see how knowing different languages fits into my life*. It is also the case, as outlined in the first section, that students find evident agreement with the suggestion that multilingualism is a characteristic trait of their self-comprehension, with the item *I am a multilingual person* being ranked with the highest (+4) agreement. There is, however, a

somewhat more limited stance taken towards the suggestion that languages are an intrinsic contributory factor to student *identity* construction, with the item *Being able to speak more than one language is an important part of my identity* being met with only (+1) concurrence. The contrast in semantic entailment here of these two statements may shed light on this divergence in response. The phrase a “*multilingual person*” can subsume comments relating to both linguistic proficiency and linguistic identity here, and the lower ranking of the former *identity*-orientated statement would therefore suggest that the Finnish cohort interpret this more general statement in relation to their abilities in languages, rather than based upon reflections of self-identification processes. This suggestion is strengthened by the (-4) ranking of *I don't have the right personality for learning languages*, which again can be interpreted as a comment upon linguistic proficiency.

Finnish current self-construction in relation to languages thus appears to be one well-informed by student understanding of their capacities as multilingual speakers as well as the ways that languages feature in their daily lives. Certainly, the considerable strength of agreement indicated by the group in relation to these two Q sort statements is not unexpected; language use is considerably bounded at the *meso* level for this cohort and therefore the spheres of usage are clearly demarcated, undertaking their secondary education in their L2, Swedish, in contrast to the sole use of Finnish in the home sphere, with the exception of one student. They have also been exposed to a considerable length of schooling in their L2 and L3 English and are functionally bilingual in both additional languages. Hence statements of multilingual proficiency are also not surprising.

- **Future Self-Concept**

The future self-concept seems somewhat ‘fuzzier’ for this group than their construction of current linguistic identity. While there is strong agreement as to the extrinsic motivational factors for maintaining a multilingual repertoire, *I think that being able to speak more than one language will give me more opportunities in the future* (+3), they are more hesitant in their agreement that it is easy for them to see when they might make use of their L4 in the future: *I find it hard to see when I will use a language like French in the future* (-1). We can therefore infer that this greater agreement with the potential opportunities to be offered may be linked more strongly for the students’ L2 and L3. There is also some decided disagreement that *it is easy to imagine myself as a fluent speaker of French in the future* (-2), again in some contrast to the participants’ statements of their current linguistic proficiency. Once again, it may be that it is the specific phrasing of the item in the identification of their L4 only that is the cause of this lower ranking, providing some additional insight into student perception of proficiency in relation to a specific language in their repertoire. Overarchingly, statements more “general” in their phrasing are met with greater affirmation than those of specificity. While this is a group clearly aware of the extrinsic importance of their language knowledge for future use, they are somewhat ill at ease to maintain consistency in the assertion of L4 proficiency in future terms. This lack of ‘vividness’ in self-concept (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011) has potential implications for their continued French learning motivation which will be explored in greater depth in chapter six.

The gestalt representation of the Finnish cohort's current self-representation is one defined by a strong assertion of their general multilingual proficiency, and less so by the impact of their individual languages upon their identification. It is therefore interesting to note that despite this group's general orientation towards linguistic *inclusivity*, they nevertheless do demonstrate an awareness of personal alignment with specific languages at the *micro* level.

While the array for factor one entails that at the two broader layers of contextual influence, students perceive a *macro/meso* multilingual identity to be one that is inclusive, shared and free of hierarchical structures, the representation of linguistic inclusivity inverts when the *micro* self-concept is considered. Here, certain linguistic preferences emerge at the level of the individual; we see, for example, both *I think that some of the languages I know are more important to me than other ones* and *I find certain languages more interesting than other ones* are aligned in their (+2) ranking. The agreement with this former item offers an interesting perspective on the neutral placement of the *macro*-orientated *Certain languages are more important to learn than others*, outlined above. This contrast in ranking implies that while respondents are not of the opinion that that particular languages function with greater social import than others, at the individual level, a certain hierarchy in terms of the emotive importance of a language emerges, indicating rather a *non-inclusive* attitude. This discrepancy between *macro* and *micro* perceptions of language preference demonstrates the complexity of this particular theme when evaluated across the context system as a whole.

3.6. [MESO] Summary: The BSS Gestalt Stance

This group-focused view has sought to extract from the sum of parts a generalised image of the Finnish cohort's representation of multilingual identity. In brief, the following notable traits of linguistic identity have emerged at the BSS *meso* level:

- The learning/use of multiple languages results in the emotive responses of *pride* and of *happiness*. The presence of the first emotion is widely corroborated by the group as characteristic of their linguistic knowledge, the second appears to be less applicable. This dynamicity of response indicates that the emergence of one emotion does not presuppose the presence of another. So too, the group's assertion of a strongly multilingual repertoire can also be developed in relation to this contrast, and we might therefore also infer that linguistic *proficiency* is thus not a guarantee of 'contentedness' in language use in the Finnish case.
- It is evident that the BSS students perceive multilingualism to be a common feature of their *meso* context, suggesting that such a skill is, to a certain extent, normalised. There is little reluctance to claim a multilingual identity when it comes to questions of plurilingual usage at the level of the peer, school or family. At the *macro* level, however, while students agree that the learning of languages is

an experience familiar to the Finnish, there is some hesitancy to state that languages play a role in supporting national identity construction. This group attitudinal stance reflects broader national dialogues as to the declining influence of Swedish in the Finnish linguistic landscape more broadly, despite its official status.

- At the *micro* level, participants demonstrate good insight into the role and use of their languages in their current self-concepts; they are happy to assert the possession of a multilingual repertoire and are at ease to understand how languages function within their daily lives. They are reluctant, however, to claim a strong multilingual *identity*, which by entailment indicates that the group's (+4) alignment with *I am a multilingual person* speaks more to their linguistic *proficiency* than their linguistic *identity*.
- A particular fluctuation emerges as regards the students' perception of the relevance of certain languages in relation to their context of use. At the *meso* and *macro* levels, there is demonstrable *inclusivity* of attitude as regards perceptions of the value of languages; despite English's global ubiquity, for example (+3), it exists in equal terms with others (*English is the most important language in the world*, 0). This *inclusive* attitude towards all languages is not maintained at the level of the individual, however. When it comes to the *micro* self, we see some subtle hierarchies are structured in relation to the extent to which each student understands the languages in their repertoires to be "important" and "interesting".
- The construction of the *micro* future self-concept also shows some divergence from current self-representations. While the group asserts a strong multilingual proficiency in relation their general knowledge of languages, they are not able to maintain this confidence in their construction of a capable L4- speaking future self, and they also demonstrate some hesitancy in the envisaging of occasions when such language use might be necessary. Alongside the somewhat dynamic representation of linguistic *inclusivity* inter-context level, outlined above, in this case we see intra-context level dynamicity evidenced, here linked to the temporal nature of self-construction.

This brief overview is provided as a means of contextualising the individual analyses that follow. The preceding *meso* and *macro* overviews are intended to both inform and support this evaluation, and reference will be made therefore as to how each participant's unique viewpoint aligns and diverges from this broad group view. So too, the stance of participant 3 (EK) will also be elaborated in relation to the BSS gestalt viewpoint.

3.7. [MICRO] Context Analysis Introduction:

Exploring the individual in context

This final section considers the construction of a multilingual identity at the individual level, and represents the core of this analysis. Here, the unique attitudes and opinions of two individuals with regards to one theme of note are expanded within a complexity framework, with focus maintained upon the ways in which affective variables interact with student identity construction at each level of their environment, how they impact representation of self in *micro* terms, as well as how these influences emerge in representations of *meso* and *macro* contexts.

3.7.1. [MICRO] Rationale for the selection of theme for expansion

The *meso* gestalt group portrait provided by the BSS Q sort task revealed the emergence of characterizing traits of note: 1. *The emotive import of language learning*; 2. *Representations of the linguistic identities of referent others*; 3. *Linguistic Inclusivity/ Non-inclusivity*; 4. *Representations of the current & future self-concept*.

The following *micro* portraits will consider the manner in which multilingual identity is constructed in *micro*, *meso* and *macro* terms in relation to the third theme identified in the *meso* analysis, namely, the representation of self in *linguistically inclusive/ non-inclusive* terms. Final learner models which illustrate this system are provided at the conclusion of this chapter. The selection of this theme as the sole factor for expansion has been based upon the following rationale:

- Three of the four themes of note identified in the *meso* analysis recur across all three contexts in this work. These remaining emergent representations require comparison with the other contexts to identify those traits generalizable and those that remain contextually-specific. These are thus addressed in the final, comparative analysis chapter of this thesis. The representation of the self as linguistically *inclusive/non-inclusive* however pertains exclusively to this Finnish context. The unique nature of this construction merits greater attention, firstly to investigate the factors present in this context in broader terms that may contribute to the construction of this particular attitudinal orientation, and, secondly, to illustrate the dynamic representation of this theme via a *micro* lens. It is relevant to note at this stage that the intrinsically interlinked nature of a dynamic system assumes connections will exist across the thematic representations. Indeed, the emotive import of student's language learning, their *meso-others* identities, as well as their representations of their *temporal self-concept* also form subelements of the participants' representation of an *inclusive* or *non-inclusive* self and as such are referenced here.
- The nature of a complex dynamic systems analysis prioritises both the *in-depth* and *in-breadth* analysis of each emergent factor of note. Therefore, in order to adequately and holistically explore the nature of an individual's *micro* self-construction, it is important to address each dynamic fluctuation indicated by the qualitative and quantitative data, both intra and inter context. The precise nature of this type of

analysis requires considerable detail, and therefore the expansion of all the themes noted in the *meso* section would be impossible within the length and structure of this work. As is noted above, however, some insight is offered to the construction of all four themes via their contributions to student stance of broader *inclusivity/non-inclusivity*.

3.7.2. [MICRO] Rationale for selection of participants

This analysis will consider the construction, negotiation and representation of multilingual identity of two participants selected from the class group taking part in the research. In the Finnish case, all members of the class ($n=5$) volunteered to take part in the interviews. This provided an invaluable insight into the unique ambitions, attitudes and opinions of each member and served to support the findings of the *meso*, group-orientated activities. The constraints of the length of this thesis however does not permit the expansion of each participating individual's construction and understanding of their multilingual identity. The selection of the two participants was based upon both the quantitative and qualitative analysis outcomes with the aim that an as-holistic-as-possible analysis was provided.

The quantitative analysis at the *meso* level indicated that there existed a striking outlier within the group, as referenced in section 3.4.2., which demanded further exploration. As EK provides the most "atypical" viewpoint within the group, I felt it was therefore important that a strongly-loading individual was also included, both to provide a more qualitative account of what might be termed a more 'group-aligned' construction, as well as to provide a basis for comparison with EK. As such, participant VF was selected as the respondent representing the most significantly loading participant on factor one (0.74). It should be emphasised however that, despite the quantitative view of "typicality" afforded to VF here, in line with a dynamic and complex view of identity development I do not hold that VF's portrait to follow should represent a "one size fits all" account to be applied to all the remaining participants. It is provided simply as a means of better illustrating what might be considered to be certain shared group opinions and attitudes indicated by the Q sort task at the *meso* level.

3.8. [MICRO] Linguistic Inclusivity/Non-inclusivity

This emergent theme references the subtle linguistic hierarchies at play within each individual's understanding of themselves and others as language users. It is often the case that participants may demonstrate a stance of inclusivity towards language use at one level of context, and a less inclusive orientation at another. In other words, they explicitly or implicitly rank the relevance or use of certain languages within that particular context. The evaluation of these hierarchies provides an insight as to how each student understands the role of certain languages within their multilingual repertoire and thus, their processes of linguistic identification.

The *meso* analysis afforded by the completion of the group Q sort revealed considerable *linguistic inclusivity* to be present within the gestalt view, although this did not remain consistent across all levels of contextual representation. Particularly, at the *micro* level it was evident that the BSS students, rather, demonstrated *non-inclusivity* in the personal language hierarchies they presented. An individual-orientated view can shed further light on the dynamic nature of such representations at the individual level.

3.8.1. Factor One: Participant 5, VF

[MICRO]

VF demonstrates considerable *micro linguistic inclusivity* towards the languages in her repertoire, as well as the concept of language learning in general. Three particular representations of attitude demonstrated by VF are characteristic of the *micro* self: firstly, the individual's subjective orientations towards her current/future language learning; secondly, the personal linguistic hierarchies at play during current language use; finally the manner in which the emotive import of VF's linguistic knowledge is presented. The first and last subtheme are ones recurrent across all cases explored in this work, and as such will also be expanded in greater depth in the final comparative analysis chapter. Their emergence within the Finnish group's broader display of *linguistic inclusivity/non-inclusivity* underlines the necessity of their inclusion here too. Each representation highlights the ways in which the student self is dynamic, not only intra-context but also across each layer of environmental influence.

A first indication of *inclusivity* can be drawn from VF's representation of her future language learning. She displays a well-developed future linguistic self-concept, and decisions made about VF's envisaged professional life are also evidently impacted by her linguistic knowledge. Her ambition to become a vet, as a first example, has been developed with her future language use in mind. Alongside making use of her Swedish knowledge by attending veterinary school in Sweden, VF also foresees that English will play an integral role in her practice:

VF: *Yeah I think that if I will be a vet then there will come some customers who don't speak Finnish so I can speak English with them. And then, some of the books are in English so it helps me to learn in the school in the future.*

This demonstration of a well-formed future self-conceptualisation is characterised by the little pronounced orientation towards a particular language exerting a stronger influence in terms of its potential future use. VF demonstrates openness of attitude towards the languages she foresees utilising for further studies as well as in professional contexts.

VF's ideas about her future language learning more generally also demonstrate parallel *inclusivity*. While affirming her aims to continue to learn new languages, VF is not evidently persuaded by any language in particular. She instead presents herself as a language learning “opportunist”, open to those made available:

I: [...] *do you have any ideas of particular languages you would learn?*

VF: *I will just see if something comes up. So I take it.*

Her responses in additional qualitative tasks confirm the consistency of this stance. Her ‘agree’ response to questionnaire item C17, for example, *I can imagine myself using a foreign language in the future*, is elaborated in terms of language choice through VF's response to the open questionnaire item A1. Here, in response to the statement “*I am learning languages at school because*” she states simply that “[...] *I want to learn new languages*”. The learning of languages is a key facet of participant 3's idealised future self, this is clearly not a conceptualisation influenced by any language in particular, only those that are “new”.

Despite the strength of *linguistic inclusivity* thus indicated in VF's representation of her future language use, it is interesting to note that this is not an attitudinal orientation which remains consistent; some inherent dynamicity of linguistic self-construction is evidenced intra-context level. In this case, an alternative future career ambition to become an actor is evaluated with evident linguistic preferences in mind:

VF: *Yeah but I would want to act in an English-speaking movie [...] and not be in like a Finnish [movie], because it's not that big.*

This rare example of *linguistic non-inclusivity* is interesting in the clear contextual influence that is presented by VF as the rationale for this preference for English-only films, because Finnish “*is not that big*”. Her perceptions and experiences of the *macro/global* influence of anglophone media here are likely an influential factor; indeed, both VF's and the BSS Q sorts align in their strong agreement rankings of *English is the most widely spoken language in the world*. As a result, accessibility to a wide audience is not understood to be possible via the medium of her L1. However, in an interesting contrast, despite perceptions of English's international ubiquity, VF's interpretation of the value of this language is not one to the detriment of others. She disagrees with closed questionnaire item A4, *Once you have learnt English, it is not so important to be able to speak another foreign language*, and her Q sort array ranks the “*importance*” of English in global terms with limited (+1) agreement.

The indication thus far is that VF's future self-concept is one inclusive towards language use and learning in general, with some exceptions as to the role of English. However, a shift to her representation of the second temporal self-concept, her *current* self, indicates demonstrative *non-inclusivity*, pertaining particularly to VF's emotional response to her linguistic knowledge. In this representation she maintains a consistently ‘*exclusive*’ stance that her multilingualism provides only positive import to self-construction.

This consistency of emotive experience is highlighted, firstly, in a response to a question regarding VF's perception of the factors linked to her experience as a Swedish speaker in Finland:

VF: *I think that it gives more opportunities to get our place, because Finland is "two languages land", I don't think that there are any negatives.*

This positive evaluation parallels the choice of words that VF selects in response to a question asked in interview one: "If you had to give three words that sum up how you feel about being able to speak a lot of languages, what would they be?" Again, she evaluates her linguistic repertoire in purely positive terms:

VF: *Mmm. It's amazing [laughs] [...] Fun, and just, great.*

Indeed, VF's construction of experience in relation to her language knowledge remains remarkably consistent across all data collected. It was noted in the BSS *meso* group view that the two items linked to the emotional import of language learning/use were both met with agreement, although the level of *happiness* experienced by the group was demonstrably less characteristic of their multilingual identifications than their experience of *pride*. VF aligns with the broader group stance with her (+4) ranking of *I am proud to be able to speak more than one language*, and indicates slightly more concord than the gestalt view with *I feel happy when I'm speaking a foreign language* (+2). Although there is some discrepancy in the strength of agreement noted by VF as to the value of the emotion experienced when utilizing her multilingual capacities, it is nevertheless notable that of the 43 statement cards in the Q set, the two items linked to the positive appraisal of multilingualism are both ranked with agreement. Parallel concord is indicated with linked-statements in the questionnaire task, item C8 "*I feel happy when I think about the languages I can speak*", for example.

As such, some fluctuation between *linguistic inclusivity* and *non-inclusivity* is demonstrated in VF's *micro*-orientated self-concept. These dynamic interchanges can be linked to the temporal focus of her self-construction; when perceptions shift to the future self, a generally more *inclusive* attitude towards languages and language learning is indicated. The sole example of *non-inclusive* future language use to emerge has evident links to broader *macro* structures. In current terms, however, VF remains consistently *non-inclusive* in her representations. It is clear that this participant evaluates the emotive import of her multilingual repertoire in only positive terms.

[MESO]

Such fluctuations between linguistic *inclusivity* and *non-inclusivity* are also evident in VF's representation of self in relation to her *meso Referent Others*. However, whereas the *micro* self was dynamic in relation to the temporality of the self-concept invoked, here the shift in stance is linked rather to the specific *meso* sphere in VF

uses her languages. Entirely *non-inclusive* in the home environment, VF's representation becomes *inclusive* when considering the school context and her relationship with her peers. This division in linguistic attitude between the school/*meso* and the family/*meso* spheres is interesting in that it reflects the linguistic capabilities of those actors in each context. As such, it is possible to plot how VF dynamically reconstructs her identity in relation to those with whom she interacts.

In the familial environment, VF recognises her role as the sole Swedish speaker; she reports that both her parents have only minimal capacity in this language and, while her siblings are also learning Swedish in the primary school section of the same school, they are too young to have a high level of proficiency. As a result, VF employs a more *non-inclusive* attitude towards her language use when in this environment to align herself with her family's capabilities, positioning herself as an L1 Finnish-only speaker. This stance is rendered evident from the early stages of the interview process. When asked if she had any knowledge of Swedish before starting school, VF is careful to emphasise her family background as regards language learning:

VF: *No one in our family speaks Swedish so I didn't know anything about Swedish.*

The response here indicates that VF associates the prior knowledge of Swedish as something that is gained exclusively within the boundaries of the school/*meso* sphere. This perception is not unexpected given the demographics of the school population and the location in which BSS is situated. The city itself is located north of the south-west corner of Finland where the majority of Swedish-Finnish speakers are concentrated (Statistics Finland, 2017), and as such a majority of BSS students are Finnish L1 speakers with little to no exposure to Swedish before starting school via this medium. In the participant group, 3 of the 5 pupils had no knowledge of their L2 before starting school, and report that their parents also have very little to no knowledge. The two participants who report prior Swedish learning before starting school, SL and EK, have only one parent with proficiency in this language. We see therefore that VF assumes a stance representative of her *meso*-orientated experiences; she perceives that any Swedish learning that takes place outside the languages classroom will likely come from a familial source, as is the case of her two classmates. As such, VF renders the linguistic situation in the *home* sphere as one of *non-inclusivity* for Finnish L1-speaking Finns. As her parents are categorised as such, VF therefore didn't "*know anything about Swedish*". This understanding is certainly revealing, especially given the broader *macro* status of Swedish as the second official language of Finland and therefore prevalent in many official actions and establishments alongside Finnish. In this case, VF's linguistic experiences at the *meso*-level evidently outweigh the *macro*-level functions of Swedish and Finnish.

This stance of linguistic *non-inclusivity* recurs in response to a question aimed to provoke discussion regarding VF's linguistic practices within her *meso* context. Again, a clear demarcation of language use across the two spheres is evidenced:

I: *[...] where does Finnish fit into your life generally, would you say? Do you use it with your friends here?*

VF: *Yeah I always use it with my friends, sometimes maybe Swedish and then **we speak Finnish in our family.***

This response is interesting in that it serves to confirm VF's presentation of her language use at home as exclusively Finnish, but it also indicates some orientation towards the same *non-inclusivity* of language use in the school/*meso* environment. While the participant references occasional code-switching between Finnish and "*sometimes maybe*" Swedish, she nonetheless underlines that the majority of her exchanges with her peers is in Finnish. The school represents the sole context in VF's life where Swedish is the dominant language and, moreover, is one shared by her classmates. Therefore, utilising Finnish here reveals a particularly strong personal preference towards the L1 in this level of context. This L1-orientation indicates a dynamic inversion VF's *micro* self-concept outlined above, where we saw a general attitude of linguistic inclusivity represented.

Despite VF's assertion of sole use of Finnish in the home environment and her indicated preference for L1 use with her peers, it is not the case however that her linguistic orientation across the *meso* environment is one characterised entirely by non-inclusivity. In line with the suggestion that VF aligns her language practices according to the linguistic capacities of those in her immediate context, we see too that dynamics in behaviour occurs in cases where others share her knowledge of multiple languages.

Two examples reveal themselves to be striking in this sense. Despite VF's reference in interview one to the occasional code switching she and her peers engage in at school, "*sometimes*" making use of Swedish, when this comment is cited again in interview two, the participant reveals that the codeswitching she engages in with friends is, in fact, demonstrably multilingual.

I: [...] *is [language learning] something that you ever talk about with your friends?*

VF: *Um, we don't talk much but maybe we speak Swedish or English sometimes just for fun*

I: [...] *where would you normally speak in English with your friends?*

VF: *Um maybe in some sentence and then and then we say something in Finnish or Swedish and then again in English.*

Despite VF's explicit statements as to her preference for the *non-inclusive* use of her L1 across the two *meso* spheres, the representation of her linguistic repertoire in the school context nonetheless demonstrates an *inclusive* orientation but, importantly, only where this multilingual knowledge is shared by others. Her inclusive linguistic practices are mutually co-constructed in this sense.

VF's dynamic reconstruction of her linguistic repertoire in relation to the proficiencies of those in her immediate *meso* environment indicates the responsive nature of this participant's self-concept to context influence. This dynamicity of representation offers an indication of behaviour both in parallel and in contrast to VF's *micro*

identity construction. Dynamicity is present intra- and inter-context, but the nature of these fluctuations are heavily dependent on the social environment within which the participant is situated.

[MACRO]

In an interesting inversion of the *meso* and *micro* representations, VF's construction of self in relation to the broadest *macro* level indicates demonstrably lesser dynamicity. In this sphere, a consistent *inclusivity* of attitude is presented, seen most clearly with regards to VF's opinions about general standards of linguistic proficiency, as well as what might be termed an individual's "right" to claim their multilingualism. Interview one provides a pertinent example here:

I: *Do you think certain people are more likely to be multilingual than other people are? And who do you think those people might be?*

VF: *I think that everyone can be, learn languages so I don't think that there is someone who can be better [...]*

And again in the following:

I: *Is there a specific thing that you need to have to say you are multilingual or?*

VF: *No you just have to speak two different languages.*

In both these responses the participant reveals an open attitude regarding standards of linguistic proficiency/ability. For VF, language learning is something open to all, and is also a skill open to all to claim as they wish, with the proviso that they have at least some knowledge of two languages. This *macro-inclusivity* is also underlined by VF's understanding of the impact of gender upon this process:

I: *Do you think boys or girls generally are better at learning languages?*

VF: *No I think all are lika bra [all the same] it doesn't matter if you are a boy or a girl, you can learn languages if you want to.*

This response is paralleled in VF's 'strongly disagree' response to questionnaire item B4: "*Generally my female friends are better at learning languages than my male friends*". Despite the presence of only one male student in the French class group, it is clear that this has not affected VF's opinion of language learning ability in gendered terms. *Macro* to *meso*-orientated influences are likely at play here. Finland's official bilingualism, as well as the country's "strong dedication" to the EU's mother tongue + 2 policy (Dufva & Salo, 2009) is firmly enacted in the national curriculum, with both Swedish and an additional foreign language compulsory for all students for a minimum of at least three years. All students will undertake language learning at school, and VF will therefore have seen no gendered discrepancies in terms of language uptake in her *meso* context. It is pertinent to note

that VF aligns with the gestalt viewpoint here; “*I think generally that girls are better than boys at learning languages*” also meets (-3) disagreement in the BSS Q Sort.

The sole example of *linguistic non-inclusivity* in relation to the *macro* level of context is interesting in that it links not to personal attitudes towards language learning, but rather to VF’s broader knowledge of linguistics and specifically the existence of mutual intelligibility across languages.

I: *Do you think that um, generally some people are better or worse at learning languages than other people?*

VF: *Maybe not all. If you can speak Swedish so you can learn better the languages which are almost the same. Like in Norvege. And in Danmark.*

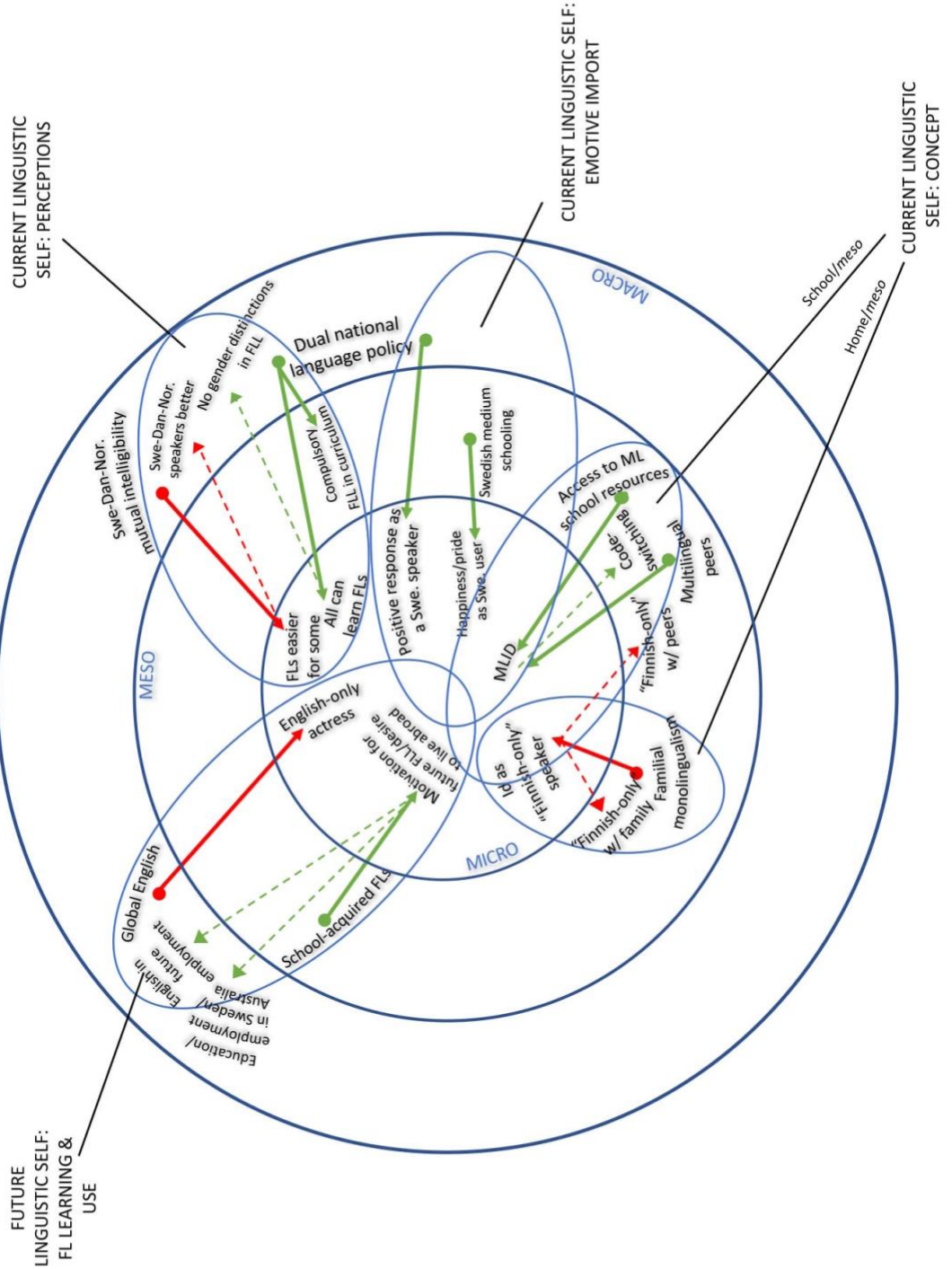
While the above question was intended to evoke personal opinion, her response appears to be one informed by her experience of languages education more generally. Therefore, while VF suggests that a potential hierarchy might be at play in terms of the national capacities for language learning, it would seem to be the case that this is perhaps more an expression of *macro* ‘fact’ discussed than VF’s personal opinion. Mutual intelligibility across the Scandinavian languages is a national context-level specificity quite clearly impactful in this representation.

VF’s presentation of personal attitude in terms of linguistic *inclusivity/non-inclusivity* is interesting not only in terms of revealing how an individual’s representation of self can fluctuate according to influential factors present in a particular sphere, but also in terms of demonstrating the inter-context level dynamicity of construction. Shifts in representation are linked to not only self-concept temporality, but also according to the linguistic capacities of those actors with whom VF interacts.

Participant 3’s high-level loading within the factor one array indicated her viewpoint is, with limitations, demonstrative of the more general view of the group. This appears largely the case in relation to VF’s broader ideas and opinions regarding language learning/use, although the individual nature of this analysis has highlighted the dynamic fluctuations which contribute to the unique construction of self within each context. In line with a complexity analysis of self-construction it is paramount to provide, as much as is possible, a holistic view of the myriad ways in which linguistic identity is developed at this level. Accordingly, this more ‘typical’ view will therefore be compared with a response indicated to be “less typical” of the group

The overarching system dynamics of this VF’s linguistic identity construction in terms of *inclusivity-exclusivity* is represented below.

3.8.2. Figure 7: System dynamics (VF), Linguistic inclusivity/non-inclusivity



3.8.3. Participant 3, EK

[MICRO]

The three subthemes explored in the previous analysis are equally applicable to EK's representation of *inclusivity/non-inclusivity* inter-context; namely, the construction of the linguistic inclusivity/non-inclusivity of the participant's current/future self-concept, secondly, the personal linguistic hierarchies enacted, and finally, EK's appraisal of the emotive import of her multilingualism.

EK presents a self-concept characterised by considerable *inclusivity* as regards her future language learning, in demonstrable alignment to VF. When prompted in interview one to review how she understands the future role(s) of her languages, EK indicates an openness towards the use of both her L2 Swedish and her L3 English.

I: *Do you think Swedish will have a big role in your future?*

EK: *Yeah I think I will want to study in Sweden, but I'm not sure yet [...] but something would be nice to be there and learn.*

I: [...] *And English?*

EK: *Yeah I also want to go to America and maybe live there*

Interestingly, EK's L4, French, is conspicuously absent from this inclusive stance towards future language use, as was also the case with VF. Unlike her classmate however, who stated only "*maybe, but maybe not*" to her future employment of French, EK underlines that she is, rather, unsure of the extent to which she would employ her L4 knowledge. This hesitancy to assert a clear function for this language aligns with the broader group stance with regards to the Q item statement *It is easy to imagine myself as a fluent speaker of French in the future*, which was given a (-2) ranking in the gestalt array. However, while perhaps ill at ease to envisage a clear future French self-concept, EK nevertheless emphasizes that she would "want that it would have a big role in the future", as such maintaining her *inclusive* attitudinal orientation. Certainly, the desire to maintain use of all her languages in the future has strong implications for the likelihood of EK's continued motivation for learning; this point is developed in greater detail in chapter six.

While perhaps less of a linguistic "opportunist" than VF, EK nonetheless reveals an equal *inclusivity* of attitude when responding to more general questions about her future language use:

I: [...] *And would you like to learn another language in the future?*

EK: *I would like to learn German more. And, I don't know! Spanish maybe.*

EK's openness of attitude is also mirrored in her rationale for agreement with closed item B12 ("*I want to carry on with languages after school*"), which is developed in the following terms:

EK: *Well, I don't know what I'm going to do in the future, but [...] I would want to learn new languages and carry on with the ones that I know, because I think that it would be really fun and important to me to learn more.*

This linguistic 'inclusiveness' reveals a general similarity between participants 3 and 5 at the *micro* level. We see that both students project a future self-concept receptive to the idea of utilising of their L1, 2 and 3 in future functions, as well as to undertaking additional language learning.

In terms of her appraisal of the emotive import of languages at the *micro* level, EK indicates alignment with VF. Here, EK's representation of self as a learner/speaker of multiple languages are evaluated with parallel positive appraisal, consistently *non-inclusive* as to the applicability of other emotions to the multilingual experience.

In response to the question "*Can you think of a time when you felt proud of the amount of languages that you know?*", for example, EK asserts her linguistic knowledge impacts positively on her self-construct on a daily basis:

EK: *Hmm, I think every day.*

I: *Every day?*

EK: *I'm really proud to know very many languages.*

So too, as was also the case with the answers provided by VF, EK's Q sort affords two of the second highest 'agree' categories to the '*pride*' and '*happiness*'-linked Q statements, which are both met with (+3) agreement. EK aligns with VF also in terms of the responses given to the emotion-linked items in the questionnaire. Item C8, "*I feel happy when I think about the languages I can speak*" is ranked with highest-level agreement, 'strongly agree', and EK's open response to question A1 accords with this "exclusive" stance:

When I speak in different languages I feel: *itseni etuoikeutetuksi, kun minulla on mahdollisuus puhua monta eri kieltä*

["I am privileged that I have the opportunity to speak many different languages"]

Both VF and EK's experiences of language learning/use is as such represented consistently in *non-inclusive* terms. This stability of inter-participant representation does much to underline the applicability of this stance to the broader gestalt viewpoint.

Thus far, EK and VF have aligned in their representation of the *micro* self-concept in linguistically *inclusive/non-inclusive* terms, including parallel fluctuations in attitudinal stance. However, in relation to her current self-

concept, EK demonstrates a first digression from her classmate's 'exemplary' view. Unlike VF's generally inclusive stance, EK evidences pronounced linguistic *non-inclusivity*, with a clear personal hierarchy at play in relation to the languages in her repertoire. Moreover, this representation is dynamic, redefined in relation to the context-level of focus.

At the *micro* level, EK demonstrates a very explicit orientation towards her L1, Finnish, and her L3, English. This is certainly interesting given the strong presence that her L2, Swedish, exerts in her *meso* context. EK is educated via this medium and is exposed to Swedish in the home sphere too; both her mother and maternal relatives are Swedish speakers. However, despite the strong presence of this language in these two *meso* environments, Swedish exerts only a minimal influence upon this participant's self-construction in *micro* terms. English, rather, holds particular focus for EK, and she cites both extrinsic and intrinsic motivations for its use.

In current self-concept terms, this particular linguistic hierarchy in current self-concept terms is indicated by the (+2) ranking of the Q statement *I think that some of the languages I know are more important to me than other ones*. This is not an exceptional placement in itself, and mirrors the agreement demonstrated by the group BSS Q sort. However, in relation to the additional statements that EK also ranks with a high level of agreement, the emergence of a *micro* orientation towards a certain language is evidenced. Both statements *English is the most widely spoken language in the world*, and *English is the most important language in the world* met concurrence (+1; +2). The dominance of these two statements linked to the *macro* "global" status of English within the agree categories sets EK apart from her peers; the gestalt Q sort displays that the latter item is met with only neutral feeling. The Q sort therefore provides a first impression of EK's orientation towards English, and additional qualitative data gathered from the questionnaire responses supports this. When EK is asked if she feels more motivated to learn a certain language in particular, she cites English as the language she believes is the most important for her to learn:

EK: Um, probably English because it's so world-wide that you must know really well to travel and understand other people, so I think that is probably the one that I want to know really well.

The extrinsic importance that EK affords to the acquisition of English as a means of communicating and travelling internationally is also suggested in her response to the open questionnaire item A13. Here, EK elaborates upon her perception of English as a language which enables global access:

[...] Ja tiet vievätsinut englannin kielen avulla ympäri maailmaa. Niin sanotusti englannin kieliavaa sinulle "portit" uusiin mahdollisuuksiin.[...]

[...And the roads represent the routes of the English language around the world. In other words, the "gates of English" are the "gates" for new opportunities.]

Beyond these *macro*-linked motivations, however, it is also evident that the impact of this language extends beyond its extrinsic function. Her English proficiency permits EK access to the anglophone media she enjoys, especially the American tv series *Keeping Up with the Kardashians*. This pastime would seem to be one which has contributed with some impact to EK's future self-concept, which is one she envisages living in the USA:

HS: [...] *what is it about the US that appeals to you?*

EK: *Um, probably because I watch so much tv and youtube and series on the computer, so I have seen so much about it and um, I'm interested to see what it is like, when I am there.*

Therefore, in addition to the importance EK assigns in *macro* terms to developing a knowledge of English, her L3 knowledge permits her access to the free-time activities she enjoys. However, despite EK's strong *micro* orientation towards English, in both intrinsic and extrinsic terms, this does not appear to impact in a negative manner upon her general motivations to acquire new languages, mirroring VF's attitude in this respect. Along with her statements confirming this intention, as referenced above, namely that it is both "fun" and "important" to her to continue develop her knowledge in this area, EK's placement of the Q statement "*Everyone can speak English today so there is not much point learning other languages*" matches her peers' ranking in receiving a (-3) position (*I definitely disagree with this*). Certainly, this positioning recalls EK's stance of *inclusivity* demonstrated in relation to her future self-concept, where the employment of multiple languages was clearly envisaged. As was also evidenced in the case of VF, there is demonstrable dynamicity of linguistic attitude constructed *intra-context*. The alignment of such representations, I suggest, is indicative of a particularly applicable characteristic of the multilingual experience in the Finnish context more generally.

[MESO]

It has been outlined in the previous section that EK's indicated preference for English at the *micro* level sets her apart from the broadly *inclusive* stance indicated by her classmate. The construction of a linguistic hierarchy also recurs in the *meso* context, but via a somewhat divergent representation.

Despite the explicit manner in which EK orientates towards English as a language of preference, certain more implicit statements and actions made by the participant in *meso* terms suggests that her L3 does not exert the same influence at the *meso* level. It is still the case that EK practises *linguistic non-inclusivity* here, but in this instance it is her L1, Finnish, which takes precedence. This divergence in linguistic hierarchy construction across the context levels demands attention; it not only demonstrates how a factor apparently particularly impactful at one level of context may not remain consistent with its representation at another, but also emphasises the necessity of considering each theme with a cross-contextual holism.

EK's emergent L1 preference is indicated, firstly, by her decision to respond to the written exercises in Finnish rather than English. While the students were encouraged to answer in whichever language they felt most comfortable, and translations of all the questions were provided in Finnish, EK's use of her L1 is notable as she was the sole student of the five participants to not use English to formulate her answers. Certainly, in terms of spoken proficiency in this language EK was no less capable than her peers. This orientation towards Finnish is also evidenced in interview responses linked to the linguistic practices in the home/*meso* sphere. EK elaborates upon her response to questionnaire item C5, for example, *Languages you use at school feel different to languages you use at home*, with "Finnish is the main language, I don't really speak any other languages [at home]". The apparent exclusion of other language in the home environment is strengthened by EK's (-1) disagreement ranking for the Q sort item *My family are multilingual*. A clear linguistic hierarchy therefore emerges as characteristic of this environment.

However, additional statements made by EK imply that this explicit construction of monolingual home practices may not be the reality. She states, for example, that she watches "very much English videos and on the internet I like to see some English videos and youtube and that kind of stuff". In addition, Swedish also has a presence in this sphere; in interview one, EK refers to her mother, a fluent Swedish speaker who was raised in Sweden, being a source of Swedish learning at home when she was younger, and for also taking the decision to educate EK through the medium of Swedish. It is therefore striking that EK positions herself as a Finnish-only user in this environment, as well as negating the language proficiencies of her family, despite what might therefore be seen as a fairly multilingual repertoire in the home/*meso* sphere. Certainly, the disagreement ranking with this latter Q item is remarkable, not only contrasting with the (+2) position given to this statement in the group array, but also because, in objective terms, EK's family is one of the more multilingual of those in the class. EK's *macro*-orientated opinions here may exert an influence in this assessment. In broad terms, this student asserts that a multilingual person is someone who "can speak with many people in different languages and understand them, and know some culture". Yet, she claims her own identity in the same interview as one of bilingualism, because while she knows "many languages [...] and can speak them fluently" she does not feel that she is yet a proficient speaker of French. It is possible that EK applies the same criteria to her assessment of her familial language repertoire. While her mother is a fluent Swedish speaker, EK asserts that her stepfather and half-sister have little to no knowledge of this language. In these terms, they do not meet her criteria for the statement of a multilingual capacity. We see therefore the impact of *micro*-orientated attitudes upon an assessment of linguistic ability in the *meso* sphere.

EK's implicit alignment with her L1 in the *meso* sphere indicates a first point of dissonance between her construction of self-concept and that of her fellow students. Interestingly, and also in contrast to VF's portrait, EK shows little demonstration of *linguistic inclusivity/non-inclusivity* in terms of her *meso*-school environment; this hierarchy seems to be at play only in EK's home sphere. This particular pattern of representation, I suggest, has strong links to EK's broader understanding of herself as a as a bilingual, rather than multilingual, individual.

This hesitancy in the assertion of a multilingual *identity* is a theme of relevance to all cases considered in the thesis, and as such will be explored in greater depth in the comparative analysis.

[MACRO]

EK's orientation towards an attitude of *linguistic inclusivity* or *non-inclusivity* demonstrates both consistency and dynamicity of orientation both inter- and intra-context level. These divergent constructions do much to underline the importance of a holistic consideration of context when aiming to model an individual's construction of self in complex dynamic terms.

The *micro* and *meso* self-concepts developed in the previous sections indicate that EK constructs a dynamic linguistic hierarchy dependent on the context level of focus. This stance of *non-inclusivity* towards language use is also evidenced in her *macro*-orientated opinions and attitudes, and a first example is provided by the 'general' conditions she understands as important to an individual's effective linguistic acquisition. For EK, language learning is not a skill accessible to all, and she understands success in this domain to demonstrate selectivity in certain ways. Firstly, preference is afforded to those who demonstrate adequate motivation to learn, as exemplified in the response to: "*Do you think that some people are better than others at learning languages?*"

EK: *Hmm, I don't know. If you really want to learn a language, I think you can, but if you don't really mind it or don't want to then that makes it really hard to know any languages.*

EK also outlines further potential hindrances to successful learning, in this case linked to gender:

I: *[...] do you think there's a difference in gender and language learning?*

EK: *Hmm, I think girls might be [better] because they are more motivated and boys are also, "I don't want to learn anything, and I just want to sleep and so on"*

EK's agreement with questionnaire item B4 "*Generally my female friends are better at learning languages than my male friends*", discussed in interview 2, also aligns with this view:

EK: *[...] I think the boys are like, with the attitude that they don't really care and they don't want to learn anything and they, [...] I think in my school and in Finland they are like, they want to do their own stuff, and they don't really want to focus on school, then instead like girls, they want to have a bright future and know and be good at school, and they want to know many languages I think.*

The citation of this opinion places EK at odds with her peers. Her (+2) placement of the Q statement "*I think generally girls are better than boys at learning languages*" is in stark contrast to that of the group view, where

the same statement receives a (-3) ranking. So too, VF also individually disagreed, stating that *“it doesn’t matter if you are a boy or a girl, you can learn languages if you want to.”* In EK’s case, her response indicates some traces of a *meso* source of influence for this particular view, an opinion which she also extends to her construction of broader language-learning tendencies. She explains that *“in [her] school”* and, therefore also *“in Finland”* she sees male learners as just wanting *“to do their own stuff”* rather than to focus on studies. The impact of this *meso*-level experience on the construction of EK’s opinions at broader levels of context is salient in two ways; firstly, it illustrates how an influence stemming from a particular contextual factor can be fluid, impacting upon the construction of beliefs relating to another level. Secondly, it highlights how *individual* in construction such a factor may be. Despite the identical *meso* experiences of the two participants explored thus far; VF and EK have both been in the same school from entry at age 5, and share the same classes this year including languages, they have nonetheless constructed very different attitudes based on the same contextual exposure.

Linguistic non-inclusivity at the *macro* level is displayed by EK in one further demonstration of orientation, once again towards her native Finnish. While in the *meso* context, this linguistic preference emerged in relation to EK’s representation of her home language use, here we see this somewhat ‘exclusive’ alignment with Finnish is linked to EK’s comprehension of national ability in language learning. In this case, she positions her immediate *macro* context, Finland, as a nation particularly skilled in the use of multiple languages:

I: *Do you think that certain countries are better or worse at learning languages than the Finnish are?*

EK: *Um, I think Finland is probably the most bilingual country, but I think that probably America, they don’t want to learn any other languages and they usually don’t learn that in schools.*

This statement is further strengthened when considered alongside EK’s Q sort rankings. The highest level of disagreement (-4) is afforded to the statement *I think that people from other countries are better at learning languages than the Finnish are*, and EK suggests in the interview two recall activity that she has afforded this ranking because *“Finland is really known as having great schools, and they know many languages”* whereas *“some countries don’t”*.

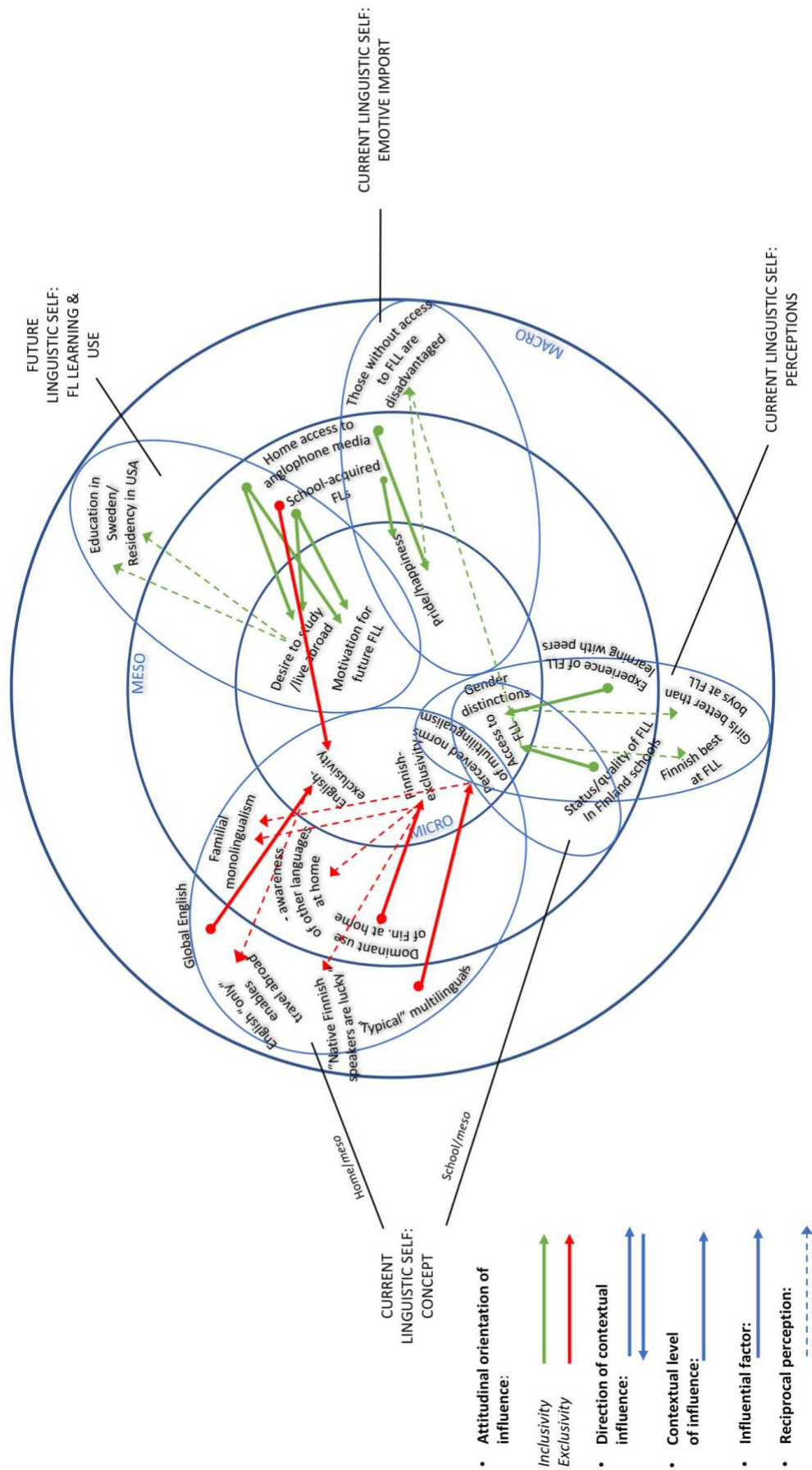
It is notable that this participant’s integral orientation towards her L1, as first emergent at the *meso* level, recurs too in her construction of beliefs as to the role of languages in *macro* terms. This inter-context consistency in representation certainly underlines the strength of this particular understanding, and also indicates that it is likely certain factors of influence rooted in either the *meso* or *macro* environment identifiable as the source. EK’s response above provides some insight, where she attributes Finland’s success in acquiring languages to the educational system. It is because Finland has “great schools” that they “know many languages”. In official terms, EK’s claim that Finland’s bilingualism is fostered at the school level is certainly supported; as outlined in the *macro* context review, the nation’s curriculum is dedicated to the maintenance of the two official languages, with the learning of both compulsory from a young age. However, in statistical terms EK’s experience of national bilingualism is blinkered; Laine (1995) indicated that only 10% of Finnish L1 speakers claimed to have equal

fluency in Swedish, and this number has been steadily decreasing over the decades (Nuolijärvi, 2011). Despite EK's residence in a strongly Finnish-only orientated commune, her L2-medium schooling appears to have a particularly strong impact upon her perception of the linguistic capacities of the Finnish population more generally. As such, we see the participant's school/*meso* L2-medium environment has undoubtedly contributed to this understanding of broader, *macro* level linguistic trends.

EK's less-than-significant loading on the BSS factor one array suggested that she demonstrated a viewpoint in considerable contrast to that indicated by her classmates. Certainly, some diversity in opinion has emerged when compared to the orientations displayed by the most significantly-ranking respondent, VF; EK indicated not only a stronger belief in the existence of certain conditions conducive to successful language learning, as well as the interplay of certainly linguistic hierarchies with her representation of self across the context levels. However, she also demonstrates examples of alignment with the factor one array, too. Especially, the consistency demonstrated within the individual as well as the group viewpoint as to the entirely positive emotive import of language learning reinforces the applicability of this appraisal as a trait characteristic of the Finnish group multilingual identity.

Both divergences and alignments are therefore evident between the two individual representations of the linguistic self-concept in relation to *linguistic inclusivity/non-inclusivity*. In all examples cited, however, it is clear that the importance of considering the individual's relationship with, and reactions to, their environments is paramount to an adequate understanding of linguistic identity construction. The system fluctuations evidenced in EK's self-construction across the three levels of context, as well as the static features, are illustrated below.

3.8.4. Figure 8: System dynamics (EK), *Linguistic inclusivity/Non-inclusivity*



3.9. [MICRO] The comparative view: Linguistic *inclusivity/Non-inclusivity* in the Finnish context

The depth of analysis conducted here renders it possible to see how two individuals with predominantly parallel contextual influences at the *meso* and *macro* level might construct divergent *micro* understandings of their own and others' language-using selves. The consideration of the theme of *linguistic inclusivity/exclusivity* has permitted such portraits to be expanded and to demonstrate how a complex analysis of multilingual identity development might be conducted. As an emergent variable unique in construction to this particular case, the analysis of the parallels across individual constructions within the boundaries of this theme reveals the unique contextual foundation that has resulted in the development of these particular facets of self.

- The representation of the self within the context of language learning is demonstrably individual and dynamic. Despite a comparative contextual history of access to, and learning of, different languages, the “outlying” and the “typical” view both display divergences from the group stance.
- Within the broader theme of *linguistic inclusivity/exclusivity*, commonality and divergence is identified in the representation of VF and EK's current language usage. While both participants demonstrate linguistic inclusivity at the *micro* level, temporality of construction is an intersecting factor. In future language-use terms, broadly, both indicate an openness to languages and language learning in general, demonstrating a clear future vision of the practical employment of their L2 and L3. In current self-construction, VF maintains this stance, but EK shifts towards an attitude of *non-inclusivity* in her implicit preference for L3 English. Alignment in attitude is reaffirmed, however, in the students' representation of the emotive import of their linguistic knowledge. In both cases there is consistency in the representation of the positive appraisal with which EK and VF outline their multilingual abilities.
- In *meso*-linked terms, in both cases indicate a certain *exclusivity* of attitude. Both VF and EK identify quite explicitly as *L1-only* users in the *meso/home* context, yet, this is *exclusivity* of use is undermined by certain implicit references. This “*compartmentalization*” of language usage in this *home/meso* sphere is a powerful influence in the participants' representation of the linguistic identities of their *referent others*, and also influences the students' relational *micro* positioning; their own linguistic repertoires are reconstructed according to that of the actors with whom they interact.
- Such linguistic *compartmentalization* is also extended to the counterpart *meso-school* environment. As might be expected in a context where the home is associated with familial *monolingualism*, the school environment is understood by the students to be the dominant source of multilingual acquisition and use, although this representation sits in some contrast to EK's familial links to Swedish. The representation of the school environment as the sole location in

which linguistic acquisition takes place is aligned with the students' own experience, and the impact of this particular understanding can be seen to move beyond the *meso* to import to participant understanding of broader *macro*-level issues. While EK and VF parallel their construction of multilingual capacities with regards to this issue, a move beyond the school-sphere reveals some divergences in attitude as to general capacities for language learning; gender, especially, is a *non-inclusive* element for EK, while VF makes little distinctions between male and female language-learning behaviours.

Chapter Four

Analysis: The English Context

4.1. Context #2: South-East England

The second round of data collection took place over the course of five weeks in April & May 2018 in a secondary school (henceforth referred to as 'BMA') located in a large town in Essex, south-east England. The participants ($n=8$) were taught through the medium of English, which is also the majority of the students' L1. One participant is a first language Italian speaker. All incoming Key Stage 3 students (ages 11 & 12) at this school study either French or Spanish, and have the option to continue these languages to Key Stage 4 (ages 14 & 15). In certain cases, a dual languages qualification at "GCSE" level (General Certificate for Secondary Education), compulsory examinations at the conclusion of Key Stage 4 (henceforth KS4), are awarded for the more able pupils. In these cases, students complete one language examination in their first year of GCSE study, and the second in the final year. The optional status of foreign language learning post-KS3 in this context makes those studying an L3 at this stage unusual. As such, the group was small in size, but all participants had taken the successive route to GCSE qualifications in both French and Spanish, therefore holding parallel experiences of language learning in the school/*meso* sphere.



● Research context #2: Location

4.2. [MACRO] Context Overview

The issue of language learning in the English context is one subject to considerable debate. Limited proficiency in foreign languages is often referenced as an acknowledged national characteristic met with a “sheepish complacency” (Booth, 2018). Attempts to mitigate such attitudes have been well-documented; 2019 saw the inauguration of a *National Recovery Program for Languages*, conceived by an All-Party Parliamentary Group, where the manifesto states a “long term commitment to transforming the reputation of UK citizens as poor linguists, reluctant to value languages other than English” (p.26). The exigent nature of the name of the program, along with its ambitious aims, underlines the concerns regarding language learning in this context. A combination of consistently decreasing student uptake of modern foreign languages at GCSE and “Advanced Level” (ages 16-18) study⁴ as well as questions regarding the difficult content and marking schemes of the same exams have contributed to generally negative perceptions of language learning in standard educational contexts. More recently, the potential impact of the UK’s exit from the European Union upon access to language learning has raised an additional concern. Such issues will be explored in greater detail in the sections to follow, alongside an overview of the structure and implementation of additional and foreign language learning in the English curriculum. This section is not intended as an exhaustive overview of the policies and practices regarding language learning in this context; the issues elaborated here have been selected according to their pertinence to the potential *macro-level* experiences of this particular group of students. The following *meso* and *micro* reviews will therefore reference certain issues raised here when relevant.

4.2.1. [MACRO] Languages in the English National Curriculum

Foreign language learning in schools in England is structured by the Department of Education via the National Curriculum. In line with the nature of devolved parliaments within the United Kingdom, the countries of Wales, Northern Ireland and Scotland set out their own educational policies and curriculums.

The governmental decision to remove languages from the list of compulsory subjects post Key Stage 3 in 2004 in England had a considerable impact on the uptake of this subject at GCSE, with a drop to only 40% participation in 2011 (Tinsley & Doležal, 2018). The 2014 introduction of the English Baccalaureate (EBACC), in tandem with the traditional General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) stream, re-implemented compulsory language learning at this level, resulting in an increase of MFL uptake in the same year for students following this qualification. This measure has not proved adequate to counter the reducing uptake for GCSE students however, with overall numbers falling to 47% in 2018 (Ibid., 2018). The government aims that 75% of

⁴ Entries for A level languages made up 6.4% of all entries in 1996, and has halved since this date. GCSE entries mimic this trend; in 1995/96, 439,000 candidates sat a languages GCSE, compared to only 273,000 in 2016/2017. *Briefing Paper 07388, January 17 2020*, House of Commons Library, p.28.

schools will implement the EBACC approach by 2022. However, The Languages Company (2019) report that this achievement seems unlikely, with GCSE numbers remaining *in statis* for the last several years.

4.2.2. [MACRO] Issues in Language Learning in the English Context:
Current Debates of Relevance

While debates regarding the status of, and attitudes towards, language learning in England are myriad, a common provocation is often the continuously lowering numbers of students opting to continue with languages beyond the compulsory stages. Under half of the national GCSE cohort in 2016/2017 (46%) took a modern language at Key Stage 4 ($n \sim 273,000$). (Long *et al.*, 2020). In terms of pupil preference, French remains the most popular language to study at this stage, accounting for almost half of the entries, followed by Spanish (~91,000) and German (~45,000) (National Statistics, 2017). These numbers stand in stark contrast to those recorded during the mid 1990's where over 80% of students took a modern language for GCSE (Long *et al.*, 2020). Interestingly, however, Spanish provides an exception to this overall downward trend, increasing from 5% uptake in this latter period to 15% in 2016/17, surpassing German as the second foreign language of choice in 2010/2011 (Ibid., 2020). This small pattern of growth however does little to reverse the global trend.

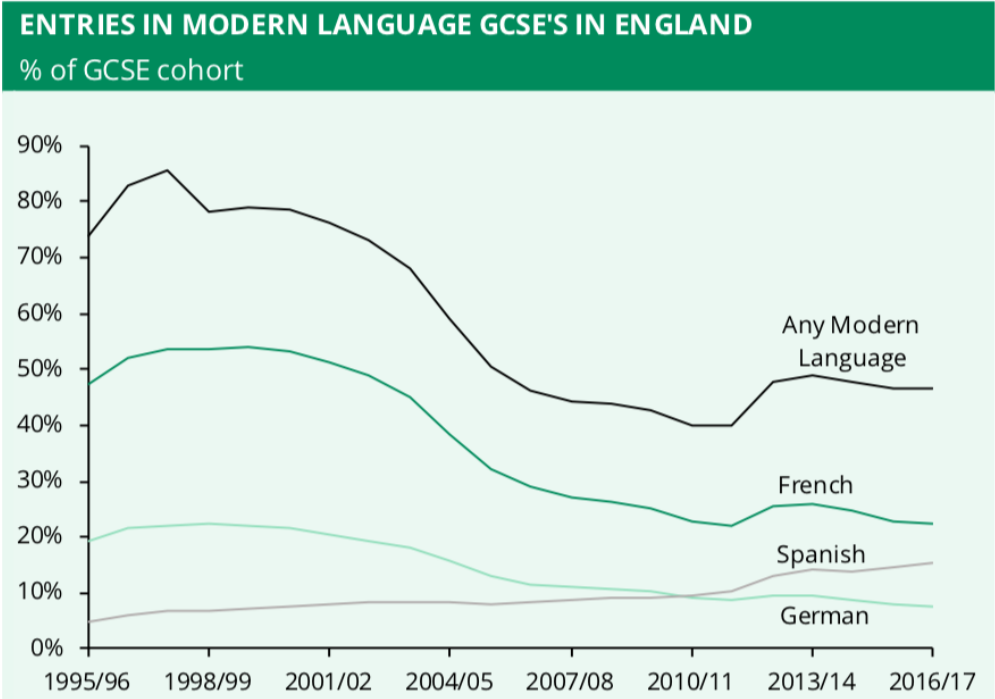


Figure 9: Entries in Modern Languages GCSEs in England 2016-2017⁵

⁵ Source: DfE. <https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/reviced-gcse-and-equivalent-results-in-england-2016-to-2017> [accessed 12/01/2020]

The final Key Stage 5 stages (ages 16 -18) also demonstrates a similar decline to that of Key Stage 4. Again, we see that Advanced Level (A Level) entries for the three main languages offered nationally (French, Spanish and German) have dropped continuously over the last decades. Respite from this trend is provided only by the increasing uptake of ‘other’ languages offered at this level, which includes exams in minority or ‘community’ languages (accounting for 7359 entries in 2017). Spanish, too, demonstrates a counter-increase in uptake, rising in 20 years from 4328 candidates in 1997 to 7350 in 2017 (DfE National Statistics, 2018).

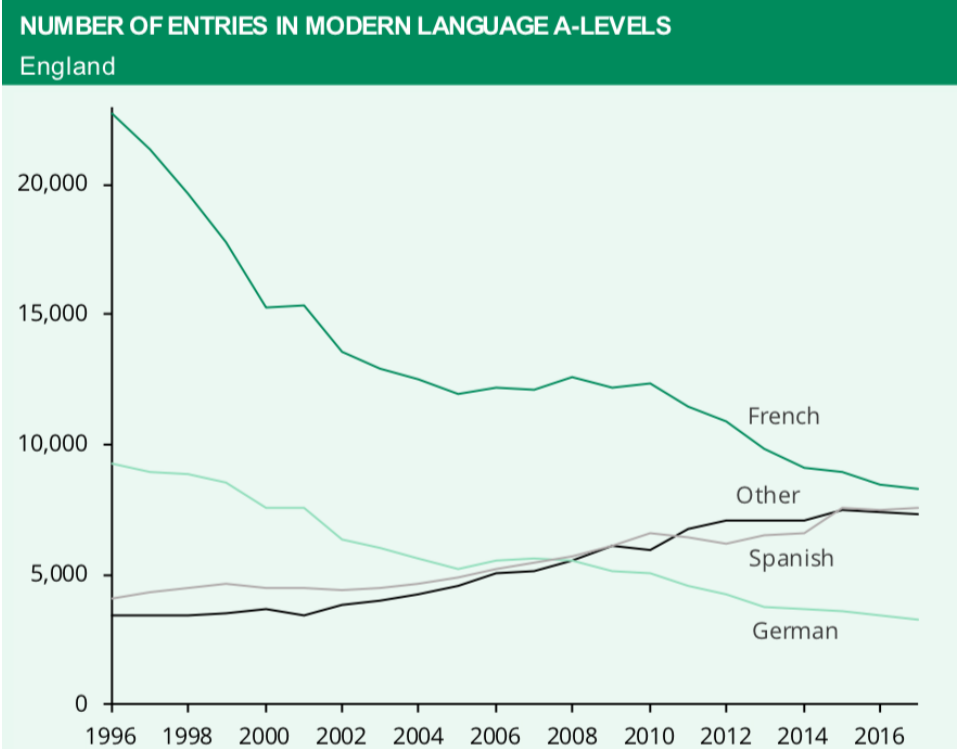


Figure 10: Entries in Modern Languages A Levels in England 2016-2017⁶

⁶ Source: DfE. <https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/a-level-and-other-16-to-18-results-2016-to-2017-revised>

4.2.3. [MACRO] Issues in Language Learning in England:

Potential Causes of Declining Uptake

In order to adequately contextualise the synthesis provided above, as well as the *macro*-level environment within which the participants in this case have opted to undertake multiple language learning, the reasons for the persistence of such downward trends are outlined here. It is not possible to include an exhaustive overview of all compounding factors within this review, and as such only those identified as pertinent to student comprehension of linguistic experience within this research case are detailed. Those factors deemed integral to decreasing uptake post-KS3 but less evidently impactful in the BMA student experience are the following: 1. *Student perceptions of the “difficulty” of language learning*; 2. *Divisions in access to language learning: SES/Location* and 3. *Limited contact between primary and secondary schools as to outgoing student FL proficiency*. These issues are detailed further in appendix 8 for reference.

Macro-linked attitudes and opinions with regards to the role of languages and language learning have the clearest impact upon student identification processes within the English context. The main outline of these issues are therefore outlined below:

- ***“Brexit” and language learning motivation***

Changes in perceptions regarding the necessity of languages are expected following the UK’s exit from the EU in 2020 (“Brexit”), with the expectation that language learning motivations may be adversely affected. Indeed, approximately 25% of teachers in the state sector indicate that this is already the case (Tinsley & Doležal, 2018), reporting that they have noticed a negative impact on student desire to learn a European language following the national referendum on 23/07/2016 (Ibid., 2018).

- ***National attitudes towards language learning***

‘Brexit’s’ impingement upon student attitude will in fact align with the already-present, annually-enduring and “very widespread” national perception that English speakers are “poor linguists, in terms of their attitudes, their motivation to learn and their levels of achieved competence” (Bartram, 2010, p.1). Alongside the global growth of English as an international *lingua franca*, the author also suggests that, for the school-age language learner, there has been for some time little enthusiasm demonstrated to learn a subject broadly perceived as less than useful for future employment (p.2). This, alongside recurrent national discourses of the UK population’s general “linguistic indisposition” (Leighton, 1991), often reproduced in the media, serves to aggravate the somewhat negative environment for language acquisition in England. Booth’s (2018) article referenced in 4.2, which appeared in the British national newspaper *The Telegraph* is a case in point.

While all issues outlined here may contribute to student representation of their linguistic experiences, the latter is particularly pervasive in the BMA case. The links between such *macro* constructions and the actions and attitudes of individuals at the *meso* and *micro* level will be drawn out upon each occurrence.

4.3. [MESO] BMA Context Analysis Introduction

This second stage of contextual analysis takes as its focus the Q sort tasks completed by the BMA participant cohort to set out the gestalt viewpoint. In terms of administration and triangulation, parallel procedures were applied as in the Finnish case. After completing the Q sort activity as a class group, those students contributing to the *micro*-level data collection by participating in individual interviews were shown images of their completed sorts and asked to provide additional information about their “most agree” and “most disagree” rankings, as well as more general questions linked to their opinions regarding the ease/effectiveness of the task.

The analysis conducted is again identical to the procedure described in the Research Methodology, therefore the full explanation and rationale of analysis decisions made during this process is provided on pg.55). The preliminary correlation table is included here:

Part. N... ↑	Participant	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5
1	MW	0.7924	0.1288	0.0348	0.0758	0.0117
2	JH	0.4183	0.2576	0.1245	0.1383	0.0358
3	KT	0.5933	-0.2921	0.0836	0.0814	0.0132
4	VS	0.5195	0.2618	0.1289	-0.2497	0.0995
5	JF	0.3053	-0.4141	0.2337	-0.1764	0.0441
6	O_BMA	0.6511	0.2037	0.0774	0.3208	0.3161
7	J_BMA	0.5258	-0.3288	0.1155	0.0647	0.0088
8	A_BMA	0.818	0.1031	0.0246	-0.2798	0.135

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5
Eigenvalues	2.8874	0.5685	0.1149	0.3103	0.1316
% Explained Variance	36	7	1	4	2
Cumulative % Expln Var	36	43	44	48	50

Figure 11: Preliminary correlation matrix for BMA_Q sorts

A considerable clustering of participants is evidenced upon the first factor and, as was also the case in the Finnish context, there is some inter-group opposition evidenced in the bipolar loadings on factor two. As such, despite no individual appearing to adhere to this second factor with above-threshold relevance (0.38), it was

determined necessary to maintain two factors for rotation as a means of better contextualizing the output from the rotation of factor one.

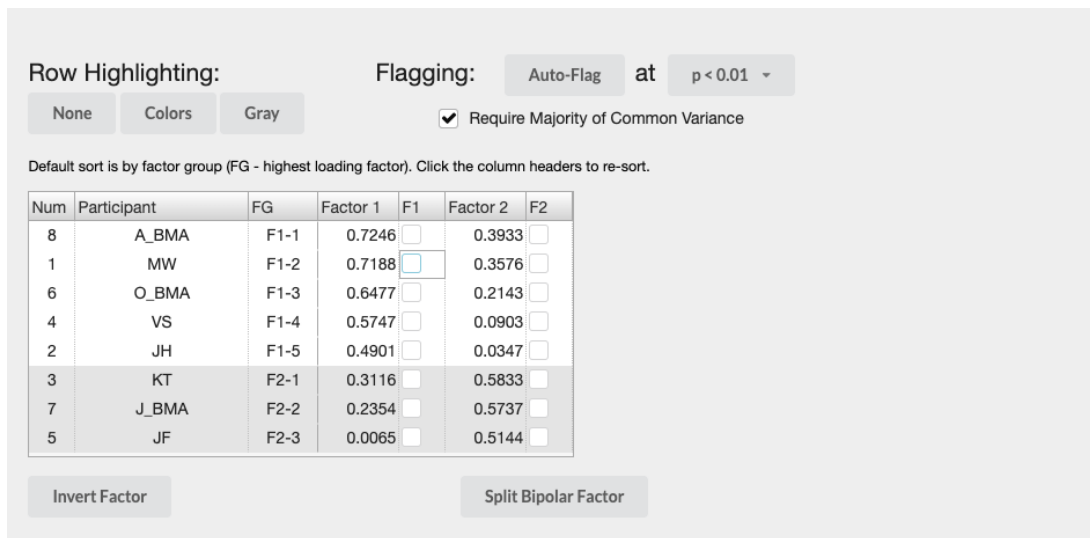


Figure 12: CFA Output [BMA]

A much clearer intergroup opposition emerges following rotation. We see the significant loading of five participants on factor one, all well above the *Kaiser-Guttman* threshold for significance, while three of the participants display opposition, all loading with >0.50 on factor two. Only one individual, A_BMA, loads significantly on both factors, although only slightly above threshold on factor two. As such, the output for the two factors are useful to aid the identification of the specificities of this intergroup opposition. The composite view indicated by participants 8, 1, 6, 4 and 2 is as such be examined via the review of factor one, and factor two will be used to explore the attitudinal positions indicated by participants 3, 7 and 5. While A_BMA loads significantly on both factors, it is not methodologically acceptable to compound Q sorts across factors; therefore, as the most exemplary respondent of factor one, participant 8 is included only with this factor's output. The two composite arrays for factors one and two are included below.

4	3	2	1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4
It's cool when you can speak a language that other people can't	I feel happy when I'm speaking a foreign language	I find it easy to imagine myself as a fluent speaker of LX in the future	It's easy to see how knowing different languages fits into my life	Native LX speakers are lucky	I think that knowing more than one language makes people cleverer	You need to have a certain type of personality to be good at learning a language	It's hard to see sometimes when I will use a language like L3 in the future	Everyone can speak English today so there is not much point learning other languages
I would like to try living in a different country in the future	I admire people that are multilingual	I think that I can express ideas in French that I can't in a language like English	Sometimes I feel like a different person when I speak in a different language	Certain languages are more important to learn than others	I think that some of the languages I know are more important to me than other ones	Sometimes it's hard to see the point of learning languages	English is the most widely spoken language in the world	Languages are an important part of my country's identity
I'm proud to be able to speak more than one language	I think that speaking more than one language will give me more opportunities in the future	I think generally girls are better than boys at learning languages	I feel like I'm part of a group when I'm speaking in another language.	English is the most important language in the world.	It's more important for people who can't speak English to learn languages than for people who do	Your tongue reflects your personality	I don't have the right personality for learning languages.	My family are multilingual
	Being able to speak more than one language is an important part of my identity	I feel interested by the culture of the language that I am learning	I think it would be a good idea for everyone to learn a foreign language	I find certain languages more interesting than other ones	I think that people from other countries are better learning languages than the X are.	To be multilingual you have to be fluent in at least two languages	There are more important subjects to learn at school than languages.	
	I am a multilingual person		It's easy to see how knowing different languages fits into the lives of my teachers/friends/family	I have a role model (someone I admire) who can speak more than one language	People were better at learning languages in the past then they are today	People around me don't think learning languages is important		
			My family think that it is important that I learn a foreign language at school	I feel like I can show another side of my personality when I speak in another language	If I were to visit a country abroad tomorrow, I think it would be easy to get around with English			
				It's easier to learn a new language if you have already learnt one before				

Figure 13: BMA Factor One Composite Q sort

	4	3	2	1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4
I think it would be a good idea for everyone to learn a foreign language	I think that speaking more than one language will give me more opportunities in the future	I find certain languages more interesting than other ones	I feel interested by the culture of the language that I am learning	People were better at learning languages in the past then they are today	Sometimes I feel like a different person when I speak in a different language	I feel like I can show another side of my personality when I speak in another language	I find it easy to imagine myself as a fluent speaker of LX in the future	English is the most widely spoken language in the world	
I'm proud to be able to speak more than one language	I admire people that are multilingual	Native LX speakers are lucky	I have a role model (someone I admire) who can speak more than one language	I feel like I'm part of a group when I'm speaking in another language.	Certain languages are more important to learn than others	It's easy to see how knowing different languages fits into the lives of my teachers/friends/family	I think that people from other countries are better learning languages than the X are	Everyone can speak English today so there is not much point learning other languages	
I think generally girls are better than boys at learning languages	If I were to visit a country abroad tomorrow, I think it would be easy to get around with English	Your tongue reflects your personality	My family think that it is important that I learn a foreign language at school	You need to have a certain type of personality to be good at learning a language	It's hard to see sometimes when I will use a language like L3 in the future	People around me don't think learning languages is important	My family are multilingual	Languages are an important part of my country's identity	
	English is the most important language in the world.	There are more important subjects to learn at school than languages.	I would like to try living in a different country in the future	I think that some of the languages I know are more important to me than other ones	I think that knowing more than one language makes people cleverer	I don't have the right personality for learning languages.	Sometimes it's hard to see the point of learning languages		
		It's cool when you can speak a language that other people can't	I am a multilingual person	It's more important for people who can't speak English to learn languages than for people who do	I feel happy when I'm speaking a foreign language	I think that I can express ideas in French that I can't in a language like English			
			To be multilingual you have to be fluent in at least two languages	Being able to speak more than one language is an important part of my identity	It's easier to learn a new language if you have already learnt one before				
				It's easy to see how knowing different languages fits into my life					

Figure 14: BMA Factor Two Composite Q sort

4.3.1. [MESO] The BMA Gestalt Stance: Q Task Analysis

The *meso* Q analysis revealed the emergence of two factors of significance in terms of the attitudinal orientation of the group. Factor one was the more populous of the two factors, with five participants loading significantly here and, importantly, all demonstrated fairly strong alignment with this view. So too, those three participants with higher loading on factor two also demonstrate a strong orientation to this attitudinal stance, also all well over the minimum threshold. Interestingly, the lowest loading participant on this factor, JH, is also the lowest loading participant on factor one. Evidently, neither view can therefore be seen to be overtly exemplary of this individual's attitudinal stance. Equally, while KT loads with the most significance on factor two (0.58), again, caution must be exercised when stating that this point of view is one entirely representative of individual opinion. While factor two is evidently the most relevant for this particular student, she also aligns with near-threshold significance with factor one (0.31). As such, while the *meso*-orientated analysis will align this student with the former factor, this is done so with the acknowledgement that her attitudinal stance will be considerably more complex than the view presented here. Qualitative data analysis provides a means of complementing this information.

4.4. [MESO] BMA Factor One & Two Discussion:

A bipartite representation of multilingual identity: Parallel experiences, divergent self-concepts.

Four themes of note emerged from the two factors of significance following qualitative analysis: 1. *Representations of current and future linguistic micro self-concept*; 2. *The role and function of L1 English*; 3. *The linguistic identities of referent others* and 4. *The emotive import of language learning/use*.

4.4.1. Representations of Temporal *Micro* Linguistic Self-Concept

This first theme of note is concerned with the representation of linguistic identity in current terms and future projections. Also evidenced in the Finnish context, considerable dynamicity was demonstrated between these temporal representations in this English case, and we also see notable discrepancies in construction between the two factor groups.

- **Future Self-Concept**

Factor one indicates a future self-concept formulated with strong reference to their language knowledge and therefore an overarching image of a well-developed future self emerges. The relevant Q item rankings for this representation are set out below:

No.	Q Item	England [1]	England [2]
1	<i>I find it hard to see when I will use a language like L3 in the future</i>	-3	-1
2	<i>I find it easy to imagine myself as a future speaker of L3 in the future</i>	+2	-3
3	<i>I would like to try living in a different country in the future</i>	+4	+1
4	<i>I think that speaking more than one language will give me more opportunities in the future</i>	+3	+3

This group is at ease to see when they might utilize their languages in the future; item 1 is met with (-3) disagreement, and they are also capable of projecting a self proficient in this language, too; item 2 receives a (+2) ranking. The placement of two other statements in “highly agree” columns demarcates a potential, extrinsic rationale for this well-developed future linguistic identity. Both items 3 and 4 are ranked within (+4) and (+3) categories of agreement, the former receiving the highest possible level of concurrence from the group. Students, therefore, appear to be supported in the formation of this strong future self by the existence of certain extrinsic motivations for their learning; living abroad, for example.

Despite factor two’s equal recognition of the future value of languages, also positioning item 4 with high (+3) agreement, they diverge from the factor one stance in relation to their capacity to project a well-developed future self-concept. The concurrence indicated by the first group as to the ease with which they can understand not only where they might employ their linguistic knowledge in the future, but also the extent to which they can project a proficient language-using self, is inverted in the factor two view, and especially as regards linguistic *proficiency*. They are able to envisage scenarios in which their L3 might be utilized, item 1, for example, is given a (-1) placement, but they are unable to assert a future self-concept fluent in this language, assigning a high level (-3) disagreement with item 2. Factor one’s indicated desire to live abroad was suggested to function as an extrinsic motivation to aid the development of their future self-concept, and certainly the lower agreement ranking given to this same statement by the factor two group (+1) would corroborate this causality. This suggests a reduction in the ‘vividness’ of the future self which will have potential repercussions for continued language learning motivation (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2013). This factor two stance aligns quite considerably with the Finnish construction here, a comparison developed in greater detail in chapter six.

- **Current Self-Concept**

A shift in temporal focus from future to current terms indicates that factor one's representation of their self-concept remains remarkably consistent across the two constructions. Their well-developed future self is matched in the comprehension of their linguistic capacities and this alignment manifests, firstly, in terms of the general conviction and comprehension of both *how* and *why* each individual is able to make use of multiple languages. The pertinent Q items are below:

No.	Q Item	England [1]	England [2]
5	<i>I don't have the right personality for learning languages</i>	-3	-2
6	<i>It's easy to see how knowing different languages fits into my life</i>	+1	0
7	<i>You need to have a certain type of personality to be good at learning a language</i>	-2	0
8	<i>Being able to speak more than one language is an important part of my identity</i>	+3	0
9	<i>I am a multilingual person</i>	+2	+1

It is clear that the factor one group understands themselves to possess the relevant character traits for learning languages via the strong negation of item 5, and they also demonstrate good insight into the ways in which they make use of their linguistic repertoire in daily life via the (+1) concord with item 6. The (-2) ranking of the *macro*-orientated statement 7 may somewhat negate the entailment understood by the group disagreement with the *micro*- '*I don't have the right personality [...]*', namely, that this is not so much a comment on personality-linked capacity because the group does not understand successful acquisition to be linked to such traits of character. However, the two positive agreement rankings afforded to the two statements explicitly linked to *micro* multilingual identity suggests that, regardless of the existence of such 'conducive' traits, the factor one group does understand themselves to be multilingual (item 9), as well as recognizing the role that their linguistic knowledge contributes to their identity (item 8). Despite the distinctions made by these items between the more *practical* use of languages and their theoretical influences, (+3) agreement is exhibited with both *Being able to speak more than one language is an important part of my identity* and with statement 9 (+2). As outlined in the review of the Finnish group's response to these same items, it may be the semantic difference in the entailment of these two statements that results in the different strength of response. In terms of *identification*, the group is convinced of the role of their multilingual repertoires, but they are less willing to state that they are *proficient* in these languages. This latter orientation adds additional depth to factor one's projection as future fluent L3 speakers: the ranking of this last future-

linked Q item may therefore be a statement of a future motivational goal, rather than currently-appraised factual statement.

Factor two demonstrated a somewhat less developed future self-concept than their BMA peers, and so it is perhaps not unexpected that the representation of their current language use also indicates lesser insight than the factor one view. In relation to their practical use of languages, there is neutrality indicated as to how languages “fit into” their lives, in some contrast to factor one’s (+1) agreement. This (0) ranking may suggest, firstly, that the use of their linguistic knowledge is not required on a frequent basis, and as such individuals may struggle to gain insight their role/influence upon self. Alternatively, it may also be the case that there has simply not been adequate participant reflection as to the ways in which language(s) do exert an impact upon their current lives. Certainly, the parallel neutral ranking of the more theoretically-informed item 8 suggests an uncertainty as to the role languages play in identification, too, which also suggests limited insight may be the cause of these lower rankings.

Despite the limited comprehension indicated by the above item placements, which places the factor two view at considerable odds with factor one, there is alignment to be found across the class view as to the disagreement shown with *I don’t have the right personality for learning languages*. The (-2) position afforded in the array here suggests this is a group which also does not understand themselves to be hindered in their language learning by any inherent characteristic or trait of personality. Despite this recognition, there is lesser willingness indicated by factor two to affirm their multilingualism. Item 9, afforded a (+2) ranking by factor one, is here ranked with *I sort of agree with this*. It is interesting to note the consistency across assertions of linguistic capacity in current and future terms; the greater the willingness to state a multilingual proficiency in current terms appears to be reproduced in the strength of the statement of future L3 ability. Some temporal stability therefore emerges in intra-group representation, although across the two factors these views remain divergent.

The demonstration of considerable opposition in the BMA cohort’s representation of the current and future linguistic concept indicates the dynamicity that can emerge, despite comparable linguistic exposure. For factor one, the acquisition of multiple languages is seen to be instrumental in the construction of individual identity, and also emerges as a foundation for a strong future linguistic self. The second factor group is less able to develop a strong linguistic identity, inhibited in their formation of a future concept by a potential lack of concept ‘*vividness*’, and they demonstrate, equally, a somewhat reduced insight into the ways in which their knowledge of multiple languages informs their current lives.

4.4.2. The Role & Function of L1 English

The emergence of this particular theme is unique to the English case and as such will be expanded in the *micro* vignettes to follow. This is perhaps not unexpected; as the students' native language⁷, it is necessarily represented in divergent terms to that of the Finnish composite view, for example, where it fulfilled the role of the individuals' L3. However, again differences in opinion are emergent across the two factor viewpoints, evidencing the fundamental difference in the representation of linguistic experiences by these groups.

The composite Q sort for factor one reveals a visual clustering of statements linked to this particular theme to the right-hand side of the grid. The impression of overarching disagreement with those statements linked to the idea of the influence of English on a global scale remains consistent when the view shifts to the specific. At *micro*, *meso* and *macro* levels, there is evident strength of belief as regards the limited function and role of this language.

No.	Q Item	England [1]	England [2]
10	<i>English is the most widely spoken language in the world</i>	-3	-4
11	<i>English is the most important language in the world</i>	0	+3
12	<i>If I were to visit a country tomorrow I think it would be easy to get around with English</i>	-1	+3
13	<i>Everyone can speak English today so there is not much point learning other languages</i>	-4	-4
14	<i>Native English speakers are lucky</i>	0	+2
15	<i>Languages are an important part of my country's identity</i>	-4	-4

In *macro* terms, English is not understood to be a language that imparts particular influence on an international level. There is very strong dissent with item 10 that "*English is the most widely spoken language in the world*" and neutrality as regards "*English is the most important language in the world*". This provides an interesting comparison with the perceptions of the Finnish group, where English was seen to be, contrastively, a language widely spoken around the world (+3), but also demonstrated a view consistently neutral as regards its importance on a global scale. This contrast in perception might well be explained by the objective and subjective entailments of the two items. The former statement, in semantic terms, is perhaps most likely to be interpreted in terms of 'fact', considering the number of global speakers of English. The second item, however, is entirely more subjective, and dependent on the individuals' own comprehensions of the *macro* influence of

⁷ Of the total class group (n=8), only one participant did not have English as their L1.

this language. In this way, it would appear that both groups are either uncertain, or indeed unwilling, to display a strength of concurrence concerning the *importance* of global English. As to its ubiquity, it may be the case simply that the English group are less informed than the Finnish participants. Statistically, English is outranked by Mandarin Chinese and Spanish in the number of speakers globally in terms of L1 usage, but has over 2 billion speakers if L2+ knowledge is also included.

This lack of concurrence shown with item 10 can certainly explain the (-1) disagreement ranking given to the statement “*if I were to visit a country tomorrow I think it would be easy to get around with English*”, and so too with suggestion of item 13 that English’s ubiquity renders language learning ‘pointless’. There is also the implication that this particular “disagree” orientation regarding the elevated status of the L1 is not just understood by these individuals in statistical terms. In a more explicitly *identity*-orientated viewpoint, participants also do not present their L1 knowledge as capable of imparting any sort of elevated or *non-inclusive* status to their sense of self; they feel neutral about item 14. So too, in *macro* terms, it is evident that English, as well as other UK minority languages, are not understood to play an influential part in the construction of a broader, national identity. Statement 15 is afforded the most strongly disagree ranking of (-4). Demonstrably, factor one is a group does not feel their L1 exerts a particular influence either at home or abroad.

The factor two array reveals a different understanding of the role and function of English. This is immediately evident from a first visual comparison between the factor one and factor two composite Q sorts, where both contrast and overlap in attitude emerges. These alignments and divergences across the two group views can be plotted according to the contextual level to which the items are linked.

Interestingly, it is the *macro*-orientated Q cards that receive the most consistent rankings across the BMA group. Item 15 is afforded equal (-4) disagreement in both arrays and it is thus clear that, for the English case, neither the students’ L1, nor other minority languages present, are understood to contribute to a national identity. Interestingly, for the factor two group, this statement is aligned in disagreement rankings with the two other *macro* -level statements, 10 and 13, which concern the global status of English. *English is the most widely spoken language in the world* and *Everyone can speak English today so there is not much point learning other languages* meet discord, again mirroring the factor one stance. A broadly-applicable orientation therefore emerges that English’s general function is understood to be limited, neither easing intercultural communication nor contributing to national identity. The class concurrence in this respect does much to confirm the context generalisability of this particular opinion.

Strikingly, however, this perceived lack of an international presence does not seem to impact factor two’s representations of the *importance* of English, both in the *macro* context(s) and in terms of the construction of identity in relation to their L1 knowledge, in evident opposition to their classmates’ view. This stance is most evident in the ranking of *macro* item 11, *English is the most important language in the world*, which is met with

(+3) agreement. This discrepancy in ranking between this item and partner statement 10 would seem to indicate that other factors, and not the English's global ubiquity, are contributing to this view.

A potential *micro* rationale for this placement emerges via factor two's emphasis upon the idea that being an L1 English speaker has some weight in their understanding(s) of self, and there is also agreement shown with the item "*Native English speakers are lucky*". Personal conceptions/emotive understandings of this language's import at the *micro* level, that is, that the students *themselves* feel fortunate to be native L1 speakers, may influence their ideas about the importance of English more generally. This apparent depth of insight into *micro* response to the use of a particular language stands in some contrast to the previous reviews where, overarchingly, the factor two view is characterized by a demonstrable lack of personally *meaningful* linguistic use.

This same movement of *micro* experience to *macro* understanding is also replicated in the positioning of *If I were to visit a country tomorrow I think it would be easy to get around with English*. Despite factor two's very strong disagreement with the statements 10 and 13, there is nonetheless strong concurrence with the idea that it is possible to *get around with English* when abroad. Again, it may be more personal, *micro*-orientated ideas that contribute to the formation of this view, for example, an individual experience of making use of English abroad, on holidays or school trips perhaps. We therefore see the impact of dynamic context-level specific influences across the broader student system.

The comprehension of the role and function of L1 English is demonstrably fluctuating both inter- and intra-group representation. The diversity of the class's responses to the Q items, despite comparable language use and exposure in the *meso* sphere, underlines the inherent dynamicity in this particular complex system. The specificities of these representations, and their impact upon individual identity construction, will be developed in depth in the learner case studies that conclude this chapter.

4.4.3. The Emotive Import of Language Learning/Use

The emotive import of language learning/use was a theme outlined as characteristic in the Finnish case, and it is interesting to note the same consistency of positive appraisal also emerges in the English context.

No.	Q Item	England [1]	England [2]
6	<i>It's easy to see how knowing different languages fits into my life</i>	+1	0
8	<i>Being able to speak more than one language is an important part of my identity</i>	+3	0
9	<i>I am a multilingual person</i>	+2	+1
16	<i>I'm proud to be able to speak more than one language</i>	+4	+4
17	<i>I feel happy when I speak in another language</i>	+3	-1

I'm proud to be able to speak more than one language; decided consensus is seen in both factors as to Q item 16, both ranking this statement with the highest-level agreement (+4). The most basic analysis certainly underlines the considerable strength of feeling across the groups as to this item, and it is also striking that this same statement was also afforded a (+4) ranking by the Finnish gestalt Q sort. Interestingly, however, the resounding pride felt by these students as to their linguistic repertoire is not dependent on the strength of import of individual multilingualism to identity. The composite view presented by factor one as regards this concept reveals that this group relies much more strongly upon their multilingual abilities when constructing a sense of self than their factor two peers. They underline that knowledge of languages is an *"important part"* of their identity (+3), they are at ease to understand the ways in which language use fits into their lives (item 6; +2) and they also feel themselves to be multilingual individuals (+2). They also demonstrate a well-formed future-language-using self, again indicative of a strong impact of languages on the construction of personal motivation/ambitions. Factor two, however, presents a stance at odds with this first group. These students afford neutrality to item 8 (0), and nor are they able to easily understand how the languages they know and use fit into their lives (0) which, in contrast to the former group, suggests to some extent that they do not actively use their multiple languages in a manner which is meaningful for them. So too, they are also less willing to assert a multilingual identity; item 9 is ranking with (+1), and show a much less developed future language-using self. *"I find it easy to imagine myself as a fluent speaker of French/Spanish in the future"*, for example, is met with (-3) dissent. Despite the evident weaker import of these students' linguistic knowledge to their construction of self, they nevertheless indicate equal assertiveness as to the pride they feel regarding the languages they know. The strength of multilingual identity *claimed* by individuals and the strength of *pride* regarding linguistic knowledge demonstrates little causality here.

It is a different case entirely, however, when the second emotive function of language learning and use is considered. Despite the pride felt by all students in relation to their language knowledge, there appears to be a stronger correlation between the strength of multilingual identity and the *happiness* individuals report experiencing when activating their different languages. Factor one forges a strong link between this emotion and multilingual use; item 17 is given a (+3) ranking, indicating some force of concurrence and, in addition, matching the ranking of emotive statements made by the Finnish group. Factor two, however, demonstrates discord with this view (-1). Certainly, the second group's difficulty in understanding the manner in which languages fit into their daily lives suggests that the use of different linguistic systems is perhaps not frequent enough for them to understand or reflect upon the ways in which they employ them. As such, the experience of emotions, like *happiness*, may also be less possible if usage is reduced. So too, it could be postulated that participant contentment may be linked to the extrinsic motivations that the multiple linguistic knowledge imparts. Factor one, for example, in the construction of a future L2+ using self, rank very highly the ambition to live abroad (+4), as well as stating that they "*admire people who are multilingual*" (+3). The practical employment of additional languages could represent the steps towards achieving these future ambitions. The development of skills that one envisages as important for a future self, or indeed that one admires in others, frequently endows the user with a sense of contentedness (Compton & Hoffman, 2013).

The two factor arrays indicate that that emotive import of language learning is not one consistently represented across the two groups. While one suggesting that linguistic acquisition/use generally results in positive appraisal, there is nevertheless a bifurcation of attitude in relation to student happiness. The alignment therefore of the two factor groups in their response to the *pride* they feel as a result of their language learning is striking when positioned within the generally more divergent viewpoints. This thematic construction is developed in greater detail in the cross-case analysis chapter.

4.4.4. Representations of the Linguistic Identities of *Referent Others*

No.	Q Item	England [1]	England [2]
18	<i>It's easy to see how knowing different languages fits into the lives of my family/friends/teachers</i>	+1	-2
19	<i>My family think it is important that I learn a foreign language at school</i>	+1	+1
20	<i>The people around me don't think language learning is important</i>	-2	-2
21	<i>I have a role model who can speak more than one language</i>	0	+1
22	<i>I admire people who are multilingual</i>	+3	+3

The *meso* multilingual identity presented by factor one reveals striking parallels in the manner in which these individuals represent both their own *micro* self-concepts and those of their *referent others*. This certainly aligns with the assertion by Tajfel (1981), among others, that the collective identity is as much a projection of one's own self-concept as it is the group's. The expansion of the first subtheme in this chapter demonstrated that these students understood languages to be important to their identities, that they felt that they had a good comprehension of the ways in which their knowledge of different languages fit into their lives, but were less willing to state that they believed themselves to be multilingual. The *meso* view presented is comparable in terms of item placement. Students find it "easy to understand how knowing different languages fits into the lives of my family/friends/teachers", equal to the (+1) ranking of *micro* item 6, and they also state (+1) agreement with statement 19, again aligned with the (-3) position given to *There are more important subjects to learn at school than languages*. So too, the broader *meso*-linked item 20 serves to corroborate this stance via the (-2) discord. This encompassing *meso* environment statement entailed by the item here underlines the general view suggested by factor one as regards those at this particular level of context. It is clear that it is not just parents who project the belief that it is a positive skill to acquire a language, the same is likely true of the individuals' teachers/peers also. Overarchingly, we see that this group demonstrates good insight into their own linguistic practices and those of others in their immediate context. It is less straightforward to identify the source of such *meso*-linked comprehensions, and whether such awareness has been achieved through discussion or through simple individual reflection upon this issue. However, the participants' agreement that their parents think that learning languages is "important" does suggest that there has been some dialogue around this subject, although this (+1) ranking suggests it may be somewhat limited.

In contrast, despite the suggestion that their parents understand the learning of languages to be important, there is absolute *disagreement* that the factor one students' families are multilingual (-4), and the "I disagree the most with this" ranking adds depth to this view of the *meso*-self. It therefore clear that the familial view evaluates language learning highly *not* because of previous linguistic experience in this domain. The

participants' denial of any familial linguistic knowledge also does much to suggest that the ranking of item 18 is perhaps chosen with reference to the repertoires of peers or of teachers, rather than to that of family. This negation also offers a contrast to *micro*-linked representations of linguistic identity, where the factor one group is in fact at some ease to assert a multilingual capacity (*I am a multilingual person*, +2), and is, by extension, therefore a skill quite exceptional within the home/*meso* sphere. This first indication of student perception of multilingualism as a *individualizing* feature of identity is explored qualitatively in the *micro* case studies to follow.

The factor two group has, for the most part, presented a linguistic self-concept distinct to that of the factor one group. This divergence was evidenced particularly strongly in their construction of their future and current self-concept, where they demonstrated indications that the use of multiple languages was demonstrably less meaningful for their individual identifications. Despite these fluctuations in cross-factor representation, in relation to the identities of their referent others, factor one and factor two are somewhat more aligned in their understanding. Again, there is strong disagreement that their families are multilingual (-4), placing their own (+1) assertion of multilingual capacity at some odds to the *meso*/home sphere. The cross-factor alignment in this opinion permits familial *monolingualism* to be asserted as a context-general variable. So too, as was the case for factor one, a lack of family language knowledge does not impact student understanding of the value their parents place on their linguistic acquisition. There is (+1) agreement shown with item "*My parents think that it is important that I learn a foreign language at school*", and (-2) discord that "*people around me don't think that language learning is important*". These parallel rankings serve to emphasize that *meso*-linked encouragement is clearly impactful for the participants across both composite views.

A second commonality of ranking concerns the manner in which participants present their understanding of a *meso*-orientated identity can be seen in relation to the placement of the *micro* item "*I admire people who are multilingual*". In one of few instances of commonality, we see that both factors rank this statement with (+3) concurrence, however, it is only factor two that indicates the equal existence of tangible role models who are also multilingual (+1), in opposition to the factor one view which ranks item 21 with only neutral feeling. This may suggest to some extent that the second group is especially informed by certain referent others at this particular level of context. Interestingly, however, the identification of a physical source of language learning motivation does not, in this case, necessarily presuppose a better developed linguistic self-concept on the part of the individuals themselves. In terms of the strength of the formation of the linguistic self, it is notably the factor one group that has demonstrated an identity considerably more influenced by language use/learning across the thematic representations elaborated here than the second cohort.

Only one example of inter-factor divergence in attitude is presented as regards the identities of student *referent others*, and, in fact, factor two's response to this Q item mirrors that of factor one in terms of linking strongly to the participants' understanding of their *micro* self-construction. It was suggested in the overview of the first factor's presentation of the linguistic identities of others that in the case of the items concerning

individual comprehension as to how the use of multiple languages “fits” into their lives that reflection and understanding at the *micro*-level is replicated at the *meso*-level. This is also the case in terms of factor two. This group demonstrated contrastive neutral understanding of the way that they used their own languages (0), and they show even less familiarity with the *meso*-linked comparable item 18. This is perhaps not an unexpected viewpoint to emerge; the posited lack of reflection upon their own linguistic usage may well extend to the practices of others, too.

The BMA participants’ general representation of the multilingual identities of others is notable in that just one case of inter-group deviation is notable in the individuals’ capacities to understand how those actors in the *meso* context employ their linguistic repertoires, with the viewpoints otherwise aligning across the class group. In particular, we see that there is striking overlap in terms of the understanding that, at the *meso* level, language learning is held to be important, but that in general these students do not identify their families as multilingual. The exceptional cross-factor corroboration of these ideas does much to underline the strength of conviction as regards these constructs; it is clear that for the English group that the home/*meso* sphere is not one characterized by a multilingual repertoire.

4.5. [MESO] Summary: The BMA Gestalt Stance

- The participants’ linguistic experiences in the *macro* - *meso* spheres are comparable across factors. At the *meso* level, the home environment is characterised as monolingual, thus demarcating the school sphere as the main source of linguistic exposure. The cohort as a whole followed the same fast-track GCSEs in French and Spanish over two years, and they are therefore are in possession of parallel linguistic proficiency in relation to their qualifications. Despite this alignment in linguistic experience, the divergent representations of the *micro* self-concept demonstrate the extent to which fluctuations in comprehension can emerge within a group. This dynamicity recurs both inter-and intra-context level.
- Most evident divergences in attitudinal stance can be found in student representation of the temporal *micro* self-concept. Factor one indicates greater insight into the ways in which their knowledge of additional languages informs both their daily actions as well as their identities, and they are able to transform this understanding into a developed and ‘vivid’ future self-concept. This is less so the case for the factor two group. While adhering closely to their peers’ understanding of their linguistic *capabilities* (*I am a multilingual person*), they do not translate this assertion into a strong statement of linguistic identity, and also demonstrate difficulties understanding how their linguistic repertoires contribute to their current self-concept in more practical terms. This reduction

in insight is mirrored, too, in the group's limited development of a strongly linguistically-orientated future self.

- Alignments were found in the group's representation of the linguistic identities of their *Referent Others*. These attitudinal orientations evidenced a mirroring of the *micro* linguistic experience with the projection of others' identities at the *meso*. Both factor one and two indicate alignment in group and individual view with the value of languages and language learning, encouraged by actors at this level. However, factor two's cited difficulties in understanding the role of languages in their own daily lives restricts their comprehension of these same processes for their *referent others*. The links between *micro-self* construction and the representation of the linguistic identities of others is thus evidenced as important to support a holistic understanding of multilingual identity in context.
- The emotive import of language learning, evidenced firstly in the Finnish case, re-emerges in this context as a particular theme of note. The highest level of agreement afforded by both factors to the statement of *pride* felt in one's languages is notable in its alignment with the Finnish stance. *Pride* does not presuppose *happiness*, however, with some inter group differences recorded in response to this latter item. It is suggested that the strength of student *linguistic identification* may play an integral role in influencing these rankings, and is analysed in cross-context terms in chapter six.

4.6. [MICRO] Context Analysis Introduction:

Exploring the individual in context

The BMA cohort *meso* review revealed the existence of two distinct attitudinal stances within the group. The qualitative analysis of these two factors identified four characteristic features as particularly illustrative of the ways in which these two diverging representations of linguistic identity manifest at the *micro*, *meso* and *macro* levels of context.

As in chapter three, the same rationale is set out here for the exploration of the comprehension and construction of multilingual identity at the individual level. It is essential for any research into the thorny issue of identity to explore, holistically, the manner in which the self is presented in both specific and in broader terms. The evaluation of self-construction of two participants in the group will complete this complex reading of multilingual identity within the English context. These *micro* portraits will consider the representation of linguistic self-concept with reference to one characteristic feature denoted by the two factors, and will also explore the manner in which this *micro* sense of self is negotiated in relation to both *meso* and *macro* factors present. The rationale for the decisions made for the selection and elaboration of this particular theme is set out below.

4.6.1. [MICRO] Rationale for the selection of the theme for expansion

A review of factors one and two for the BMA group revealed the emergence of four themes indicative of multilingual identity in this particular context: 1. *Representations of current and future linguistic self-concept*; 2. *Representations of the linguistic identities of referent others*; 3. *The role and function of L1 English* and 4. *The emotive import of foreign language learning*. While all subthemes identified in the *meso* analysis contribute weightily to this particular group's identity construction, the depth and breadth required for analysis at the *micro* level makes an in-depth expansion of all themes impossible within the word limit constraints of this thesis. As certain characteristic features of English multilingual identity are also evidenced in the Finnish case, themes 1, 2 and 4, these will therefore be explored in greater depth in the final comparative analysis. The remaining variable, student representation of the role and function of L1 English, is therefore selected as the focus of *micro* analysis for the following reasons:

- Contextually *unique* in representation and concerned especially with the individual understanding of self, the constructions of identity in relation to participant L1 will permit the dynamics of individual identity to be exploited, as well as the mapping of context-specific influences.
- The divergent representation of self in relation to this theme across factors one and two certainly demands greater qualitative attention to unravel the potential contextual influences resulting in these attitudinal stances.

- Important to note here is that, as was also evidenced in the Finnish *micro* review, reference to all the themes indicated above will form part of the analysis, as the dynamically-interlinked nature of a complex system makes the extraction of one impossible. As such, some insight is provided here as to the construction of the temporal self-concept, student representation of the identities of their referent others, and well as the emotional appraisals they make in relation to their linguistic knowledge.

4.6.2. [MICRO] Rationale for the selection of participants

The emergence of two characteristic factors within this particular context rendered the selection of participants evident, in contrast to the Finnish context. In this latter case, only one factor of above-threshold significance was identified in the *meso* gestalt view. In *micro* terms, this resulted in the most and least-attitudinally orientated participants being selected for further analysis.

In this instance, the quantitative output following factor rotation was utilised as the basis for individual selection; factor analysis via Ken-Q indicated the two students most aligned with factor one and with factor two. Participant A_BMA was the highest-ranking individual on factor one, with 0.72 alignment, with participant 3, KT_BMA was revealed to be the individual with a stance most typical of factor two, with 0.58 agreement. Both of these cases meet the threshold for significance. However, of the class group to complete the group tasks ($n=8$), time and access constraints during the research period permitted the focused tasks and interviews to be completed by only four individuals. As such, the substitution of A_BMA for participant 1, MW_BMA has been necessary as the former did not complete the full set of qualitative data collection activities. However, as the second highest-ranking participant on factor one, indicating 0.71 alignment, MW is also a highly corroborative candidate and is therefore also especially indicative of the attitudinal orientation presented by this factor.

4.7. [MICRO] Representations of the Role & Function of L1 English

The *meso*, gestalt view of this particular theme revealed both alignments and divergences in interpretation between factor one and factor two. *Macro*-orientated statements received the most corroborative rankings across the groups, with both factors finding agreement with the suggestion that languages do not impart any particular strength to national identity in this context and, equally, are not felt to contribute much impact on the global scale. The perception of this limited role of the students' L1 both at home and abroad, in *macro* terms, is not matched by the *micro* view where a divergence of the attitudinal stances presented by factor one and factor two emerged.

The *micro* analysis to follow here will seek to elaborate upon these alignments and divergences via a consideration of the *individual*. A greater comprehension of the ways in which two participants understand themselves in relation to these influences outlined above can provide insights as to the contextual sources of these perceptions and beliefs. Each strand will be considered separately in terms of its *micro*, *meso* and *macro* in order to fully elaborate upon the cross-level dynamics before the final synthesis is set out.

4.7.1. Factor One: Participant 1, MW

A qualitative analysis of the ways in which this student understands and represents the role and function of his L1 remains stable across the levels of context evoked during the qualitative tasks, although each is utilized to different effect by the participant. It is also possible to trace the dynamic influences intra- and inter-context of these diverging interpretations. These constructions are usefully considered in reference to three strands of representation. Firstly, English functions as a *hindrance*, both in terms of language acquisition and regarding the development of intercultural competences and this “limiting” role of English is also utilized as a *foil*⁸ with which he contrasts his own linguistic identity. The final strand of representation is an extension of the second; we see that the role fulfilled by L1 English as a foil for MW’s representation of self also promotes considerable *positive* import to this individual’s self-concept in broader terms.

- L1 English functions as a *hindrance*

MW’s representation of the role and function of his L1 remains remarkably consistent across the *micro*, *meso* and *macro* representations, although, as the section to follow will consider, this does not result in parallel outcomes for identity construction. At the most basic, individual and *micro* level, MW forges an intrinsic link between perception of *macro* ideologies and his own personal experience as a language learner. Overarchingly, he represents the possession of L1 English to function as a demonstrable *hindrance* to successful acquisition, with repercussions for the *micro* experience both at home and abroad.

[MICRO]

MW renders the strongly interlinked relationship between *micro* and *macro* context explicit across all representations of the function/use of his L1. The first representation concerns his domestic language learning, and suggests L1 English functions as a considerable limitation to successful acquisition because of limited

⁸ A literary foil is a structure permitting the highlighting of the traits of an opposing entity. While normally applied to a contrasting character, it may also be used for any comparison that is drawn to portray a difference between two things. [<https://literarydevices.net/foil/>]

accessibility to educational resources. In response to a question posed in interview two as to his experience of being a language learner in his local town, MW suggests that:

[...] It's difficult to find the books, resources, people to practice speaking with, because often in England people are just happy to be able to speak English, and they think that's enough.

An immediate connection is created between the participant's own *micro* experiences of the lack of materials and his perceptions of broader national attitudes towards language learning, which is also immediately evaluated in negative terms; the limited availability of resources is as such because the possession of L1 English is seen to be "enough" by native speakers. This overarching perception of reduced *macro*- motivation to acquire languages is a theme demonstrably present in English national consciousness, as outlined in section 4.2., and for MW, it appears that this *micro* understanding is well entrenched. In additional responses provided during the interviews, MW remains consistent in his view, as well as making the implication evident that L1 English does not equate to a lack of linguistic ability, but rather the ubiquity of this language in global terms results in a lack of impetus to learn other languages:

MW: I think that as a nation, we tend to be a bit more, um, a bit lazier when it comes to learning a language because English is such a global language now and, you know, a lot of people have learned to speak it that people have the assumption "oh everybody speaks English", you know, so what's the point in learning something like that.

In the formulation of all these responses, MW has explicitly created an inter-context link between his own *micro* experience of language learning, and the hindrances that ensue as a resident within the broader national context, and it is also the participant who experiences the *outcome* of broader ideologies. However, the strength of MW's individual understanding is such that it colours his reciprocal perceptions as a result, reversing the impact of such comprehensions. In this case, MW's understanding of the role of L1 English to impact national motivations to learn other languages is reproduced in his perceptions of the opinions of other *macro* contexts as regards this same issue:

MW: I think other countries would see us as quite in comparison to other countries a bit lazier in terms of not learning languages like they do [...] I think generally they tend to see Britain as fairly lazy with language learning just because English is so widely spoken nowadays.

It has been indicated thus far that, at the *micro* level of representation, an undesirable result of the *macro* function of English is the resulting limited access to resources. Beyond these practical implications, MW also demonstrates negative emotional responses to his L1 at the most individual level, and these *micro* experiences are reproduced in environments both at home and abroad. He suggests that, in domestic terms:

MW: [...] I find it **quite frustrating at times** because you know being in English and trying to learn a different language, you know, when I'm trying to find resources like, buying a Spanish film or book, I find that they're not readily available.

So too, when abroad, MW's identity as an English speaker limits his ability to practise other languages with native speakers, a scenario he also appraises negatively:

MW: [...] when you go abroad, they're always more willing to speak to you in English, you know. If you try and speak to them in Spanish, sometimes they reply to you in English, and **it's a bit annoying that way**.

L1 English is thus represented at this *micro*-level as a *hindrance* to attempts to learn other languages.

These influences understood to be responsible are interlinked; *macro*/national perceptions of English's global *lingua franca* status results in a scarcity of learning resources available, as well as colouring MW's linguistic experiences in both domestic and international environments.

[MACRO]

The *micro* impact of the *macro* function of L1 English have been characterised thus far as relating to both emotive and practical experiences. However, not only in relation to MW's *micro* self but also at the broadest level of representation, too, he understands L1 English to be limiting for native speakers, not only impacting upon general language learning motivation but also affecting national intercultural competence. Again, as in the *micro* case, these representations are understood to impact *macro* practices both at home and abroad. The *disagreement* ranking for the Q item *It's hard sometimes to see the point in learning languages* evidences the latter case:

MW: Yeah I disagree with that because most people who say, oh, what's the point of it, you know, I think, well, there's definitely a point of it because most people who are in a language class room, would have gone abroad at some point in their life, to Spain, to France, wherever it might be, and I'm sure that there's been a situations in which they haven't been able to fully express themselves [...] because there's a language barrier there, you know.

The suggestion here that *macro* L1 English-only speakers experience hindrances in international contexts as a result of limited linguistic competencies is reproduced in MW's representation of intercultural tolerance within the national context. Here, the participant suggests that this limited ability to communicate in a language other than their L1 results in a domestic 'expectation' of English for non-native speakers and, as a result, a lack of tolerance when these criteria are not fulfilled:

MW: [...] because you know, I think in England there is quite a cynical approach to people who don't speak English perfectly well, people you know comment on it and demand that they do.

MW's response to open questionnaire item A13 parallels this stance. Participants were asked to evaluate an advertisement for the international English teaching organisation, *Wall Street English* (see appendix 1), and while the BMA group responded with a variety of opinions to the poster, MW interprets the aims of this campaign in critical terms, referencing again his understanding of the *hindrance* of English and suggesting that, as above, it exists to the detriment of the presence of other languages in the *macro* context:

"This advert makes me feel like they are saying that English is the only path inwards and that it discriminates against other languages and cultures that wish to go into that country"

The entailment of this problematic function of English is further elaborated by the participant's response in interview two:

MW: I think it's sort of, saying that this language is the most superior one [...] I think it's sort of going on the fact that people think that English, you should be able to speak it, which, you know, isn't really the case. Not all the time.

There is therefore little fluctuation in MW's representation of the role of L1 English when expanding his representation to the *macro* functions of this language. Cumulatively, we see that this participant remains consistent in his construction of the *hindrance* of his L1; his own *micro* language learning experience is limited by broader, *macro*-linked issues linked to English's role as an international *lingua franca*. This also has repercussions for its native speakers, inhibiting both intercultural communication and understanding.

At this point it is necessary to reference a methodological consideration. Despite the clearly rendered dynamics between broader, *macro* level comprehensions of the ubiquitous nature of English and the resultant impact upon an individual's experience of linguistic acquisition, MW does not adhere to this view in the rankings of the affiliated statements in the Q sort task. Here, as might be expected, we see that the item *English is the most important language in the world* is afforded a (-1) position, yet also the Q sort cards *English is the most widely spoken language in the world* and *If I were to visit a country abroad tomorrow, it would be easy to get around*

with English are also met with (-3) and (-1) positions, respectively. The rankings corroborate those demonstrated in the *meso* factor array. This unexpected dynamicity in interpretation may well be explained by the stance from which participant 1 responded to the items; the interview promotes, by its nature, a response provided from the *micro* perspective. It may be that, in the case of the Q sort that this participant attempted to be more objective in his rankings; it emerged in interview two that MW has only visited Europe and may as such be unsure as to the reach of English as a *lingua franca* in more global terms. Overarchingly, this inconsistency demonstrates the value of triangulation when utilising mixed methodologies; the consistency demonstrated by MW during the first and second interviews certainly suggests some strength of feeling regarding this particular role/function of his L1, but nevertheless indicates the potential for dynamicity when considering constructions of attitude.

- L1 English *individualises* and promotes positive emotive import to self

MW's representation of the role of L1 English reveals an intrinsic link to exist between his perceptions of problematic *macro*-level functions and hindrances to language learning experienced at the *micro* level. The limitations imposed upon native speakers of this language is also understood to impact upon general national intercultural competencies. This latter theme is one that MW does not, interestingly, represent as fundamentally influential upon his individual self-concept, and it is outlined that it is his multilingual knowledge that permits him an exception from this perceived national norm.

MW: [...] *You know, when you learn a language you don't just learn the words, you tend to learn more about the country and the people in general, that sort of broadens your horizons as opposed to just being an English speaker and not having experience of other places.*

The expansion of this last implication reveals an implicit identification process which inverts the negative orientation set out in the previous section. This dynamic transformation of representation instead identifies a second function of L1 English as a means of providing this student an opportunity to *individualise* himself in contrast to both his *meso* and *macro* environments by presenting them as strongly monolingual 'foil' for his own multilingual proficiencies. Where MW is able to construct these oppositions successfully, he experiences demonstrably positive emotional reactions conducive to the maintenance of his multilingual identity.

[MESO]

MW's representation of his *meso* home sphere is thus one strongly characterised by monolingual English usage. This is demonstrated with clear consistency across the research tasks; he assigns the greatest disagreement ranking (-4) to the item *My family are multilingual*, aligning with the gestalt viewpoint in this

respect. Equally, the same *meso*-linked item (B2) in the questionnaire, “My parents speak more than one language” is met with *Strongly disagree*.

MW develops this stance during the interviews, where his response to a question as to whether his parents think language learning is important, for example, is met with not only concurrence, but also provides an opportunity for him to present his own multilingualism in contrast to his parents’ limited linguistic knowledge:

MW: *Yeah I’d definitely say so. My, both of my parents **although they only speak English themselves they see my studies of Spanish and French as quite important.***

So too, the participant’s representation of his sibling’s relationship with languages evidences the same focus on monolingualism. While emphasizing his sister’s lack of linguistic ability, by extension MW also underlines his role as the sole linguist within his family.

MW: *My sister learnt Spanish at school but she didn’t continue doing it after she left, so obviously her level’s sort of gone down quite a bit, **so now it’s just me being able to do it.***

MW constructs an identity here as representing a unique case of multilingualism in a predominantly monolingual *meso*-sphere. However, this function achieves more than simply permitting MW the ability to *individualise* himself, we also see that he experiences demonstrably positive emotive import to self as a result. A description of the practical use of his Spanish knowledge while on holiday elaborates upon this outcome:

MW: *[...] we went to a restaurant and the waitress comes over and everyone looks at me [...] and when I’m able to order everyone a drink and a meal and you know, like ask for the bill [...] **and they’re just there pointing at the menu, not really knowing what they’re doing, and I do, like, that’s quite a cool thing to have you know, that they can’t do.***

It is clear that MW understands his status as a linguist against the familial ‘monolingual foil’ in positive terms, and recalls an emotive reaction when able to successfully navigate a multilingual scenario with them. So too, simply reflecting upon his status as the unique multilingual individual in his *meso*-home context permits MW a parallel positive emotional outcome as to the more practical use of his languages:

I: *Would you say that you are the person that can speak the most languages in your family? And how does that make you feel?*

MW: *Um, it makes **me feel quite good actually***

This positive emotive outcome sits in some contrast to the first emotional appraisals outlined by the participant where, contrastively, he records experiencing both ‘frustration’ and ‘annoyance’ in response to the use of L1

English. His family's monolingualism, however, permits MW the opportunity to assert his own multilingual identity as a response, negating the potential 'frustration' he may experience, for example, when hearing strangers making use of English in a non-L1 context.

MW's representation of his school-based experiences parallels the structure of the *meso*/home environment. Here, the participant also constructs the school sphere as a foil for his own linguistic proficiencies, but does so via multiple representations. Firstly, MW sets out the number and the choice of languages he selects for his GCSE studies to be distinctive among his peers, and he also suggests that his own *micro* motivations for foreign language learning serves as an *individualising* feature. Again, it is also the case that where MW is able to effectively contrast his own linguistic repertoire with that of the broader *meso* environment, a positive emotional response ensues.

The *individualizing* nature of the selection of multiple languages for GCSE study in what MW perceives to be a broadly *monolingual* L1 English sphere is entailed by both open and closed item responses provided during the interviews and questionnaire task. MW creates a first impression of this constructed *meso* foil in his response to the questionnaire item: *It is unusual in this school to study more than one foreign language*, to which he affords "Strongly Agree". He provides additional detail when questioned about this particularly forceful concurrence in interview two, and in so doing makes explicit reference to his own *micro* position within this broader *meso* scenario (in bold):

MW: *I think it's unusual to learn two foreign languages, like that's, I've not seen that a lot [...], **especially one after the other, like I've done**, that's definitely less common.*

This assertion is interesting in that it evidences this participant's particular emphasis upon such self-individualization with a broader environment. It is, in fact, impossible for MW distinguish himself as a simply a 'linguist' in this sphere, because all students will have undertaken the learning of a foreign language in the early stages of their secondary school trajectory and therefore the environment cannot be characterized as entirely monolingual. MW therefore chooses to emphasise the unique nature of his language learning experience is to be found in that fact that he has studied two foreign languages at GCSE level.

MW: *[...] a lot of my friends have learnt French, cos our year in school principally chose French as an option [...], I wanted to do it because I enjoyed doing it, **so I did Spanish afterwards, you know, whereas other people wouldn't have done that.***

The choice of languages he has undertaken also sets him apart from his peers. MW notes how Spanish study in this context is more unusual and relates this to the idea again to the issue of the *monolingual L1 English speaker*, by extension contrasting his own linguistic identity against this norm:

MW: *Epecially um, as French, you know, tends to be one of the most learned languages, I think, and German, whereas Spanish I suppose isn't learnt as much, like, yeah, I just think that that's a bit more unusual really like saying that you're multilingual in England, being an English person.*

While, in fact, Spanish is the sole MFL increasing in popularity in post-compulsory stages in England, and is the second most popular language nationally for study at this level (CBP-7388, 2019), MW projects this same *micro* understanding to the perceptions of his immediate peers in the *meso* context; he implies that they, too, appraise him against a monolingual norm, and it therefore may be likely that his understanding of the 'rarity' of Spanish study is linked to his personal experience of the limited uptake of this language in the *meso* sphere.

Just as was evidenced in the home/*meso* sphere, we see that MW's successful self-*individualization* in this context is perceived in positive terms. He projects that his peers see his skills as "*impressive*" and that they think it is "*good that he can do that*". While stated in less explicit terms than those examples outlined in relation to his family, we can nonetheless infer that MW's representation of the evaluations of the attitudes of his immediate *meso* relationships represents, for him, a source of pride. Certainly, this entailment would align with the high level of agreement afforded to Q sort statements such as "*I am proud to be able to speak more than one language*" (+3).

[MACRO]

MW's immediate familial environment is consistently characterised as monolingual, and it is interesting to note the association this participant forges between his own, individual experiences of familial monolingualism with comments on broader perceptions of *macro* trends in language learning and use. Here, it emerges that the participant understands the foundation of most bilingual/multilingual repertoires in the English context is established in this home environment, outlining a perception that such linguistic exposure will come from LOTE-speaking parents:

"[...] most multilingual, bilingual people tend to come from families where their parents speak the language, or if they've lived in that country for so long."

MW's comprehension of the 'typical' scenario conducive to the development of a multilingual repertoire aligns with his broader representations of the generally *monolingual* L1-English speaking context. Again, it is clear that this participant only attributes the development of language skills in home contexts where, in fact, L1 English may not be present. This example offers an interesting parallel to the representations by the Finnish participants, and especially VF, who also understood Swedish knowledge to be transmitted most commonly within the home environment.

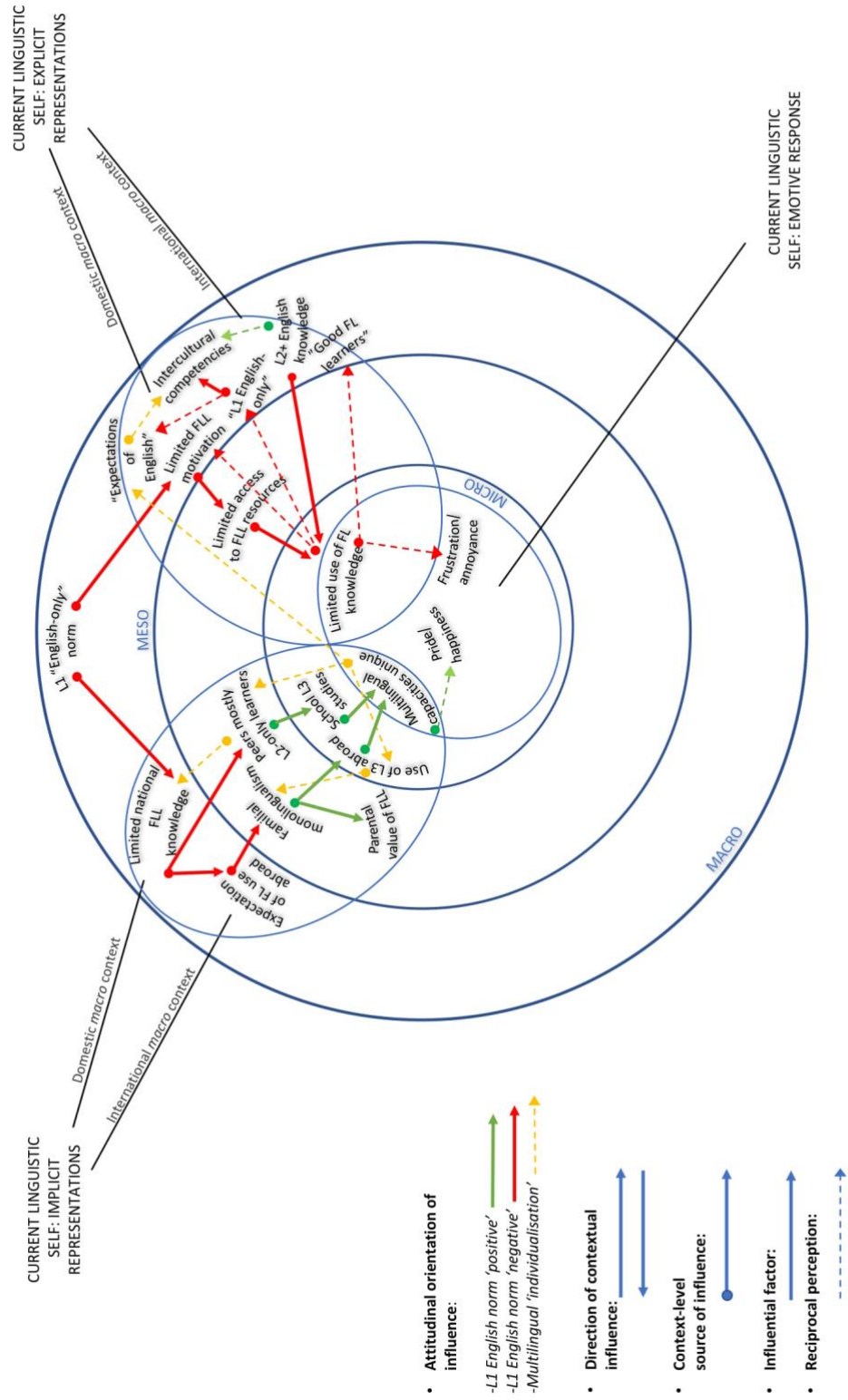
It was evidenced in the previous *macro* review that MW permitted himself an exemption from broader *macro* linked characteristics, especially the limited development of intercultural competencies, because of his knowledge of additional languages. In this case too, we see that the participant makes use of this *macro*-linked implication, namely that the native English-speaking home/*meso* environment is monolingual, as a means of distinguishing himself from national social norms.

MW: I just think that that's a bit more unusual really like saying that you're multilingual in England, being an English person. Whereas if your parents speak only English [...], if you can say oh, I speak this and this as well, that is quite an unusual skill

It is clear that MW attributes some rarity to those circumstances permitting the development of multilingual abilities within in an English-only speaking household, and implicitly situates himself as part of this group. So too, we see that this *individualization* again functions in parallel to those demonstrated in the *meso* sphere. Although stated in less explicitly positive terms than MW's linguistic experiences with his immediate family, we see nevertheless that this participant attributes emotional value to this skill at the *macro* level. He reaffirms the statement that being a "multilingual in England" is rare via his suggestion that those learning languages "*having no previous connections with it*" is something "*unusual and exclusive*". Particularly, the selection of the last adjective is notable in its entailment of both limited accessibility and high value and as such conducive to a positive emotive response. As MW has already explicitly positioned himself as in possession of such skills via the presentation of his *meso*/home context's monolingualism, we can therefore infer that the same emotive response is also the case here.

The individual system dynamics in relation to the role/function of L1 English are demonstrated in the following model.

4.7.2. Figure 15: System dynamics (MW): Representations of the Role & Function of L1 English



The gestalt BMA review revealed that both divergences and alignments in opinion exist across the two factors of significance. In the case of KT, we see both parallel and considerably disparate *micro* viewpoints emerge to those demonstrated by MW.

4.7.2. Factor two: *Participant 3, KT*

It has been evidenced that MW, in *micro*, *meso* and *macro* terms, understood his L1 presented only a hindrance to the successful acquisition of additional languages. Here, we see a recurrence of this particular attitudinal stance, but the consistency of this construction is limited to the *macro* -level of representation.

- **L1 English functions as a *hindrance***

[MICRO]

This most individual level of KT's representation of L1 English considerable fluctuations are demonstrated. In an inversion of viewpoint to that expressed by MW, this participant does not represent her L1 English knowledge to impact negatively upon her additional language learning processes. Rather, it emerges that KT understands her knowledge of English in fact *assists* her attempts to learn another language, firstly via the provision of metalinguistic strategies:

I: *Did you find your English helpful when you were learning languages in any way?*

KT: *Yeah. [...] it just helps, with like structure and sentences and stuff, and obviously similarities between certain words.*

The consistency of comprehension as to the aid L1 English offers at the *micro* level is also demonstrated by KT's response to questionnaire item A1 "*I am learning a foreign language at school because*", where she outlines its utility as a means of acquiring "*information about language that can be applied to other subjects*"

Interestingly, when prompted during interview two to develop upon her answer to this last response, KT again cites metalinguistic strategies as a main rationale for the reply. In this example, however, she outlines that she understands the role of her L1 English in the support of the acquisition of other languages to be, in fact, reciprocal. She also finds certain processes of language learning to be helpful for her English studies:

KT: *[...] I think [...] how I structure language and like how I would have had to plan my writing exams, I think helps my English. How I want to structure sentences and stuff like that.*

There is little evidence here that KT is overtly influenced in *micro* opinion by perceptions of broader, *macro*-level attitudes and practices, as was so clearly the case for MW. For MW, linguistic experiences were limited, both in domestic and international terms, by the perceived ‘ubiquity’ of his mother tongue. While KT does not understand her L1 to function as a limitation in this sense, she does however align with MW with respect to possession of English-only meaning possibly reduced intercultural competence. While for MW this theme manifested as a *macro*-linked representation, KT develops this understanding in relation to her own *micro* experience. In a second parallel to MW’s self-construction, KT also outlines that it is her knowledge of additional languages that permits her an exemption from this potentially negative outcome.

I: *If you could just speak English, do you think you might feel differently about yourself in any way at all?*

KT: [...] *So I think I would have been like **a lot more narrow-minded** if I hadn’t had done it, **I think it’s opened up my options**, and things like that.*

This idea also emerges in the open responses provided to item A1, where she states that a key factor in her decision to undertake language studies at school is to “*learn about other things, such as culture*”. The suggestion that the acquisition of additional languages provides students, in *micro* terms, with greater appreciation and understanding of other countries and cultures represents a key concurrence between these two participants’ attitudinal orientations and strengthens the relevance of this representation for general applicability to the BMA *meso* context. It is clear, however, that these are two students with generally mutually exclusive experiences of their L1 at this most individual context level.

[MESO]

A defining characteristic of participant 3’s *micro* representation of her L1 revealed a stance less consistent in than that of participant 1. KT’s understanding of the impact of her native language at the *meso* level mirrors this dynamicity. In this case, too, examples of potential L1 *hindrance* are cited, but it is clear that KT does not see her native language as impacting negatively in all spheres, unlike her classmate. Rather, her representations are bounded, and it is possible to trace the negative functions of English as particularly pronounced in the school sphere, but not at home.

In the home context L1 English has demonstrably little overt impact on KT’s construction of her familial life. When questioned as to the role of foreign languages at home, an L1 English-only environment, and whether it is a topic she discusses with her parents and sister, the participant summarizes their attitudes towards language learning in the following manner:

KT: *Not really. Not at home. So normally we don't talk about it very much. Yeah they're not really that bothered. I think they think that it's important, but it doesn't come up.*

This response is interesting; while acknowledging that her family understands language learning to be important, there is nonetheless an implicit understanding that the use of L1 English only is not considered to be a particular hindrance. This implication is strengthened by KT's presentation of her family's past experiences of foreign language acquisition. While her sister took Spanish at GCSE, and her mother took French at A level, she emphasises that these language learning experiences were limited, and demarcated within the school/*meso* environment. KT's explanation indicates that her own perceived future self-concept as a language learner aligns with her family's example:

KT: [...] *neither of them like, continued it, and I don't want to do it in future, but definitely to start off at least having one at GCSE, I think was important because they did it and I think you should have at least one language.*

Again, it is rendered quite clearly that despite a familial understanding that it is important to have "*at least one*" foreign language, linguistic knowledge is nonetheless confined within the boundaries of academic achievement. In a mirroring of her family's example, KT emphasizes that, for her, the importance of linguistic achievement is linked to the obtainment of a GCSE qualification. Again, this would do much to emphasise the entailment outlined previously; in this sphere, the potential problematic function of L1 English would be found only in the prevention of success in foreign languages examinations, and once this has been achieved, there is little motivation to continue gaining knowledge in this domain.

As such, in line with the implication KT outlines in her representation of languages in the *home* sphere, namely that foreign language learning is understood to have a role only in terms of potential academic achievement, we see that she sets out the role of L1 English in the *meso* school environment to be demonstrably more impactful.

It is interesting to note here that KT's construction of the hindrance of L1 English in the school sphere is based upon the same rationale as that indicated in her representation of the home/*meso* environment. She contrasts her own *micro* experiences with those of her peers who do not study languages, suggesting that a possession of an 'L1 only' limits not only academic options choices but also more general knowledge development. In these cases, it is the potential limitations to the academic experience that appear to concern this participant the most.

KT: *I think that's a waste, I wouldn't have been able to pick, like options without a language in it. I think it's definitely important to start out with one at least in year 9, when we've just done French, [...] because, they obviously have no idea, and I know like so much more than them in that field. That they would have no idea and I know quite a lot.*

In the school context, too, it is the potential reduction in subject options as a result of *only-English* knowledge that provides the basis of this representation of *hindrance*. While therefore aligned with MW in the broad statements of the 'problematic' function of L1 English at the *meso* level, the specificities of representation are interestingly divergent.

[MACRO]

KT's understanding of the role and function of her L1 at this broadest contextual level parallels the stance of her classmate much more closely. In *macro* terms, and in contrast to her *meso* and *micro* representations, it is clear that this participant considers 'English-only' considerably more problematic. As outlined by MW, it is the role of English as a global *lingua franca* that presents a first issue, impacting upon, firstly, national language learning proficiency:

KT: *I think that [English people] could learn a lot more. I think that we rely on other people to know English, especially when we go abroad and stuff, and I think that we should have to learn more [...], I think it's rare that English people know a lot of languages.*

So too, KT's rationale for the (-4) ranking of the Q sort statement "*Everyone can speak English today so there is no point learning other languages*" suggests that, as also outlined by MW, the possession of L1 English influences not only domestic linguistic proficiency but also results in a certain *laziness* of attitude, too:

KT: *I think we need to make an effort to learn other languages, because everywhere else makes an effort to learn English, so I don't think we should be lazy about it and just stop because everyone else knows our language. I don't think you can just stop, because it suits us because everyone else can speak our language.*

This same negative response is reflected in the broader group viewpoint, which also affords this statement a (-4) ranking, indicating alignment with her factor two peers.

In addition, and as was also the case for participant 1, these constructions of the *macro* relationship with L1 English can be seen to influence their interpretations of sources related to the function of this language in global terms. Questionnaire item A13, for example, '*Wall Street English*', prompted a response from MW which focused predominantly on the imperialistic function of English to the detriment of the presence other languages. KT also interprets this question in line with her representation of the function of L1 English in hindering national language learning motivations:

“It shows how Britain should try harder to learn languages, to help us work with and appreciate other countries, um, we should try harder to learn other languages, like other countries, as it will only help us in future for understanding other countries”

These examples suggest a strongly-held view that the use of L1 English exists with negative impact within the *macro* context, *limiting* national motivations to learn other languages and resulting in low linguistic proficiency. This stance recalls some of the national dialogues outlined in the beginning of this chapter, and certainly indicates the likelihood of *macro* impact in *micro* level perceptions here. The consistent and recurrent representation of this theme at this contextual level suggests some strength of conviction on the part of participant 3 as regards this issue. So too, we see that this comprehension also impacts upon KT’s construction of national multilingual identity:

I: *And would you say that the UK is a multilingual country?*

KT: *I wouldn’t. I know that there are lots of different cultures and stuff but I think most British people just rely on the fact that everyone knows English, so I don’t think that we feel that we have to learn other languages, so I wouldn’t say that British people are multilingual*

This overarchingly negative construction of the impact of L1 English on national linguistic attitudes/identification does demonstrate some fluctuation in stance at this *macro* level. Unlike the consistent attitudinal orientation represented by MW, KT suggests some broader functions of L1 English to have a more neutral outcome. The *macro-linked* Q sort statement *Native English speakers are lucky*, for example, is met with hesitant agreement (+1). While it is difficult to source the rationale for this ranking, the concurrence recorded here nevertheless indicates some limits in the extent to which KT applies an overall *hindrance* function to her L1 in *macro* terms. The same stance is also evidenced in her (+2) ranking of *“Languages are an important part of my country’s identity”*. This item itself is not exclusively-orientated towards the role of English in national identity construction, with the pluralisation of *“languages”* intended to invoke reflections upon the presence of minority languages as well. However, KT records a neutral response to questionnaire item A3 *“The Welsh/Gaelic/Irish/Scots languages are an important part of national identity”*. By extension, we might therefore infer that the higher agreement with the Q item is linked more specifically to the role of English in this process. By entailment, KT understands English to have a particularly influential role in the construction of national identity, which is again a considerably more positive evaluation of function.

Inter-context, KT demonstrates some alignment with MW’s stance as to the *hindrance* presented as a result of the role/function of her L1. However, with the exception of the perceived limitations to intercultural understanding and language learning motivation that results from an individual’s monolingual English status, there is otherwise divergence in the representation of the type of limitations experienced. An alignment in representation does occur, however, in the more implicit function of the L1 English-only context as a linguistic ‘foil’. In MW’s case, his overarchingly negative

response to the manner in which his native language impacts upon his linguistic experiences is inverted when provided an opportunity to successfully contrast his own multilingualism against the broader, *monolingual* context. This *individualisation* results in positive emotive appraisal of self. While less dominant in its presentation than that of MW's case, participant 3 also indicates a similar tendency; for KT, her knowledge of foreign languages acts to *individualise* her at both the *meso* and the *macro* level. So too, when a successful contrast from the monolingual 'norm' is achieved, demonstrated reciprocity in positive emotional response at the *micro* level ensues.

- **L1 English individualises and promotes positive emotive import to self**

[MESO]

The preceding section suggested that KT applies particular, and dynamic, emphasis to the role of her L1 in relation to academic attainment. In line with this context-specific representation, KT utilises the academic environment as her first location of linguistic *individualisation*. The compulsory nature of language learning in the early stages of secondary school education in this case means that KT is unable to contrast her own skills with a broader context of monolingualism as most, if not all, students will have undertaken some language learning. We see therefore that she applies a strategy parallel to that demonstrated by MW; it is her *dual* language learning that sets her apart from her peers.

KT: ***It's different to most people, most people have only done one. It separates me from other people.***

So too, we see immediate positive appraisal resulting from this comparison:

KT: ***I am quite proud that I have learnt so many languages, because I didn't think that I would be able to do it, I did them in quite a short amount of time. I think it's quite impressive.***

Likewise, when prompted in interview two to provide additional reasoning for her (+4) ranking of Q sort statement *I'm proud to be able to speak more than one language*, KT links her positive emotive appraisal to the capacity of her language knowledge to *individualise* in academic terms:

KT: ***Yeah, I think it was quite a challenge, I don't think many people put in that environment would have been able to learn a whole language in one year, and when I did Spanish [...] that's very rare, so I was quite happy with that.***

Again, we see an explicit alignment between KT's construction of an achievement she considers to "very rare" in "that environment" and the experience of both pride and happiness as a result. In another interesting alignment with a perception illustrated by MW, we see that KT also indicates her choice of Spanish to contribute to this *individualisation*. Again, it is likely that *meso*-linked experiences of the limited uptake of this particular language at GCSE has influenced this understanding.

The construction of KT's linguistic knowledge as a means of individualisation at the home/*meso* sphere is less pronounced. Indeed, a first review suggests that this participant, rather than contrasting her abilities, in fact aligns her linguistic knowledge with that of her family. As outlined in the preceding review, KT is not only encouraged to start the process of language acquisition because of her mother and sister, but also to limit her future language learning following their example. As such, there is little evidence that this individual understands her knowledge of French and Spanish to *distinguish* herself from her family; indeed, there is a strong suggestion that she mirrors familial practices in this respect.

However, other data would seem to indicate that KT does strive to *individualise* herself in certain ways. A first example can be seen in the contrasting rankings of Q sort items *My family are multilingual* and *I am a multilingual person*. The latter card is positioned in a (+4) position, *I agree the most with this*, while the former is ranked with the strongest disagreement ranking, (-4). These divergent ratings are certainly striking when the apparent alignment in language learning trajectories with the participant's mother and sister, outlined above, is considered. The stimulated recall session in interview two prompted the KT to provide further information to justify these positions. When questioned, for example, regarding her strong concurrence with the statement *I am a multilingual person*, the following reply is provided:

KT: *Technically, I guess, I was at one point. I could. I think last year I would have been. I would have counted myself as, because I could have spoken to you in multiple languages, but I don't think I can now, so I wouldn't call myself multilingual now, but I could be, and I could have been. If I'd continued.*

Conversely, KT provides the following rationale for the strongest disagreement shown with the former Q item:

KT: *Um yeah, so my sister did Spanish GCSE but hasn't continued it from then, and my mum did French A level, but hasn't continued it at all. But I think that they also respect people that know other languages but they don't...*

I: *They don't speak them...*

KT: *No*

While subtle, it is nonetheless implied that KT's prior experience of learning multiple languages serves to render her more capable of claiming an identity as multilingual, although she does hedge this implication in temporal terms in developing her open response. It is interesting to note the dynamics of construction here in terms of the student's willingness to assert her multilingualism. However, despite also demonstrating a somewhat parallel language learning history, KT does not afford this same identification to her family. It seems possible that she evaluates this potential to assume multilingualism with regards to the quantity of languages known at the time. There is no suggestion that the participant understands either her mother or her sister as possessing a past multilingual identity, learning only one foreign language each. However, KT's past capacity to communicate "*in multiple languages*" permits this greater claim to a multilingual identity. This *meso*-orientated individualisation also provokes a positive emotive response from the participant. When asked if she understands herself to have a largest repertoire of languages in her family, KT agrees and states that:

KT: *I like it! I like that I have beaten my sister, technically.*

While much less pronounced than the portrait constructed by MW, and despite explicit links between her own and her family's language learning trajectories, it is clear that where successful distinguishing of linguistic abilities occurs, KT nevertheless experiences some positive emotive response.

[MACRO]

This broadest level of contextual representation, again, provides KT with means to develop a self in contrast to a general *macro* stance. This representation is demonstrably dynamic and, interestingly, underlines this participant's lack of conviction as regarding her multilingual proficiency, in some contrast to the identification asserted in relation to her family. KT's *individualization* does not occur in linguistic terms, here the participant rather positions herself within the broader *macro* L1-English identity. Rather, it is in terms of the impact of languages upon identity formation that permits KT to distinguish herself from the perceived national norm. This latter point, especially, is of particular interest when considering the influence of the linguistic experience upon self-concept.

As was also indicated by MW, KT presents the national standard regarding languages and language learning to be one of generally low linguistic proficiency and low motivation. Interview one provides a first indication of this view as regards capacity:

I: *Do you think that as a nation we're quite good at learning languages?*

KT: *I don't think we are [...] I think it's very rare that English people know a lot of languages*

And so too, regarding motivation:

KT: *I think that we could learn a lot more. I think that we rely on other people to know English, especially when we go abroad and stuff, and I think that we should have to learn more, and continue more languages.*

This same view also recurs in KT's representation of the opinions of alternative *macro* contexts regarding the links between this case and language learning. This particular item, which asked participants to reflect upon the question "if you asked someone else in another country what they thought about British people and language learning, what do you think they would say?", was designed to encourage the participants to provide a neutral response as possible by encouraging them to shift their perceptions to a *macro* actor. However, the same *micro* stance regarding motivation to acquire other languages colours KT's construction of this alternative view:

KT: *They might say a similar thing, because I think lots of other countries learn to speak English, and I think they probably notice when we go over there and no really makes an effort to learn other languages. So they'd probably say a similar thing, that we don't try enough, I think.*

It is striking that KT does not make any overt statement to separate herself from this broader stance, either in terms of capacity or in terms of the reliance upon others to utilize English. This representation of the restrictions imposed by knowledge of *L1 English* is certainly consistent when responses to additional tasks are considered; we see that the Q sort task statement *I think that people from other countries are better at learning languages than the British are* is given a (+2) agreement ranking, along with the parallel *macro*-orientated item, *I think it would be a good idea for everyone to learn a foreign language* (+3). Overarchingly, there appears a minimal willingness to attribute a multilingual identity to the *macro* self, and, by extension, her own identity within this broader construction. This stance results in the negation of multilingualism not only at the *macro* level but at the *micro*, too.

However, we do see that some *individualization* occurs at the *macro* level, although again the attitudinal stance presented by KT does not serve to strengthen her claims to a multilingual proficiency. Rather, she presents certain elements of this perceived *L1 English*-only context background to be in neutral contrast with her own construction of self in terms of, firstly, the language learning strategies employed, and secondly, in terms of the impact upon self more generally.

This first point of contrast is evident in KT's recognition and description of the manner in which she undertakes her learning. In response to a question posed in interview one which required participants to suggest traits that they felt might be typical of someone multilingual, KT underlines the disparity between an approach employed by someone good at humanities, who she suggests are more suited to language learning, and her own approach:

KT: *I think people that are more invested in like more English, humanities side, just like, understand how to learn it better. I think I did it more in like a systematic way, so I knew that I would need to know those words, whereas other people, would just like learn to naturally speak [...]*

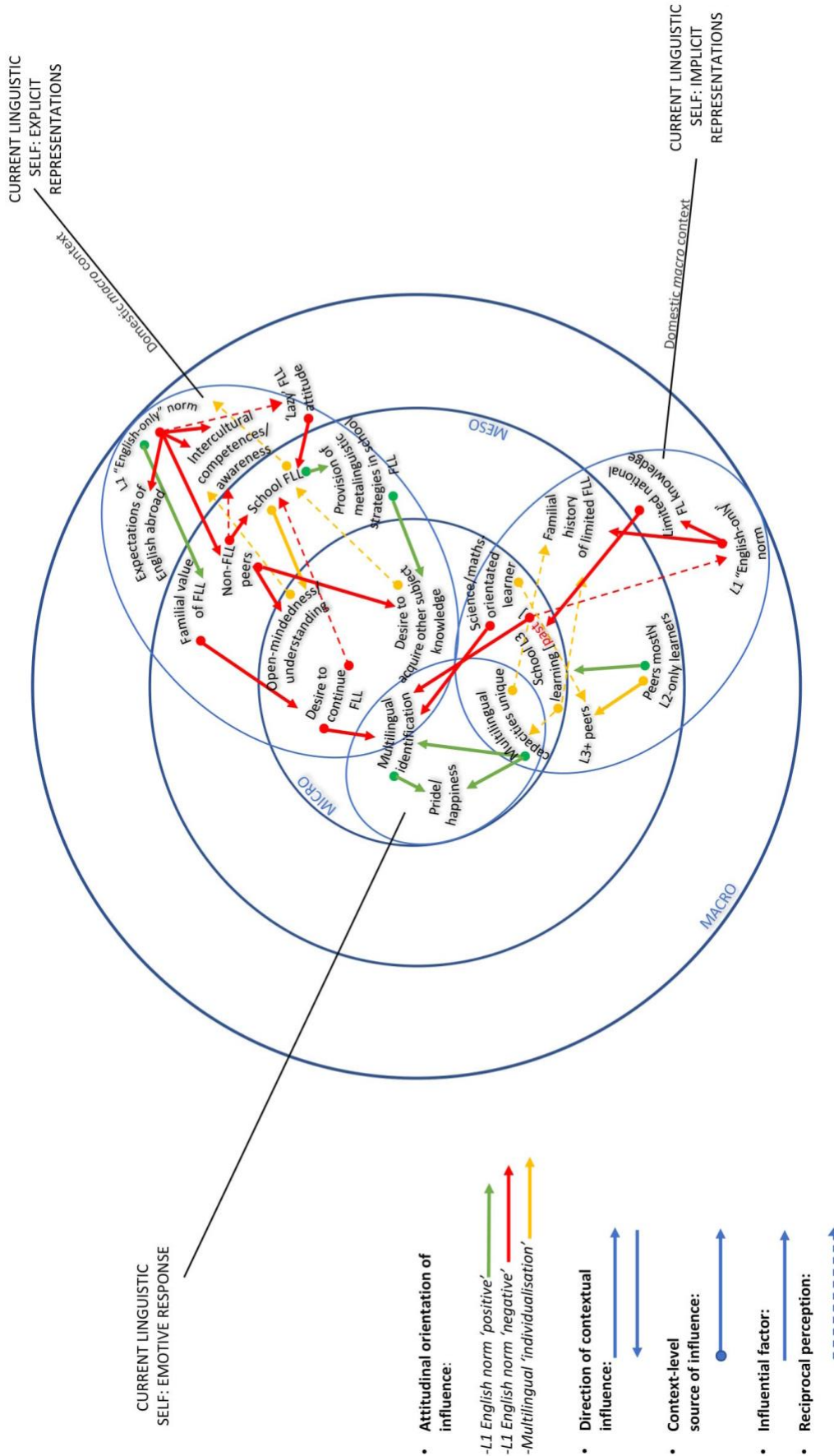
This same attempt to distinguish her own language learning from the broader *macro* standard also informs KT's understanding of the ways in which her *micro* identity is impacted by her linguistic knowledge. She is explicit, in this case, in the limited effect of this construction upon her sense of self more broadly, and underlines this is a fundamental divergence between her own experiences and those of others:

I: *Do you think there's a link between the type of languages that you know, or the languages that you speak, and the type of person that you are, or maybe the type of personality that you have?*

KT: *I see it in other people, like that I've done subjects with, but not me personally. I think I'm more of like, a science, maths kind of person. [...]. I'm not sure my personality links with languages. But I see it in other people, just not me.*

KT's *macro*-linked representations offer little indication that this distinguishing attitude results in any positive import to self in emotional terms, and this is likely linked to the focus here upon multilingual *identification* as opposed to *proficiency*. While KT experiences both *pride* and *happiness* following her successful achievement of dual language qualifications, her limited identification as a multilingual speaker in more general terms limits her expression of such emotional values. We therefore see a clear contrast here between this participant's stance as regards the emotional value of the linguistic self-concept and that of MW, who is demonstrably more responsive to the identity-linked statements of the multilingual self. The model below outlines the system fluctuations in relation to this particular theme.

4.7.3. Figure 16: System dynamics (KT): Representations of the Role & Function of L1 English



4.8. [MICRO] The comparative view: *The role and function of L1 English in the English context*

The BMA case revealed two factors of significance to be in existence in the *meso* gestalt view. The *micro*-individual view presented in the preceding section has elaborated how the attitudinal stance of those students aligned with factors one and two may manifest in practice.

- For participant 1, the unique representation of the role and function of L1 English existed in two key manifestations. MW understands his native language to act to the detriment to his foreign language acquisition; English is considered a *hindrance* due to certain limitations in the individual's domestic *meso* and *macro* context. Additionally, the ubiquitous presence of this language in global terms restricts progress to individual acquisition when abroad.
- Conversely, however, a second representation revealed that the participant's L1 fulfils an implicitly positive function in terms of identity construction. In this case, the construction of the *monolingual L1 English* context is utilised by MW as a means of *individualisation*, distinguishing him as a linguist amongst peers, family and within socio-national norms. When successful in this contrast of self with an *L1 English only* 'foil', the experience of positive emotive import to the *micro*-self ensues and the experience of both "*pride*" and "*happiness*" is reported. This particular relationship does much to emphasise the intrinsic links between the projected self, the *micro* identity and the broader context in question.
- KT, the representative 'typical' participant for the factor two view, aligns and diverges from her peer's representation. While she understands L1 English to function as a hindrance in terms of the development of *macro* intercultural competences and to the potential *micro* impact upon the academic achievement that the participant values very highly, KT also understands English to help her language learning processes, providing her with strengthened metalinguistic strategies which she is able to transfer between her L1, L2 and L3.
- Concurrence can also be found between KT and MW's utilization of the L1 '*English-only*' context as a foil with which to contrast their own multilingual capacities to positive effect, although the manner in which the two individuals achieve this is divergent. For KT, especially, this function is focused upon the representation of the academic sphere.
- These two portraits emphasize that the divergent dynamicity of the relationships between context influence and individual, even when resulting in parallel outcomes for self-construction. The relationship between self and context emphasizes the extent to which reciprocity is also a fundamental feature of such cases.

Chapter Five

Analysis: The French Context

5.1. Context #3: North-West France

The third stage of research took place over the course of five weeks in September and October 2018 in a lycée (“LDR”) located in a small, rural city in the Pays de la Loire, to the north-western side of the country. A French-medium school, the students ($n=14$), aged between 15 & 16 reported consistently parallel language learning backgrounds in their demographic data, with all participants except one indicating French as their L1. The experience of this group was also aligned in terms of their exposure to languages at school; all were in the process of acquiring two foreign languages (English and Spanish) and recorded between six-seven years of English learning, and three-four years study of Spanish. All students took part in the class-based exercises, the questionnaire and Q method tasks, with four students also contributing to the individual activities.



5.2. [MACRO] Context Overview

The national historical and cultural weight of influence borne by the French language, *la langue française*, has often existed to the detriment of the presence of other languages in this context, and especially regional-minority languages such as Breton, Occitan and Basque, especially as the official status of the national language, French, is prioritised in all situations. This stance is a result of the centralism following the French Revolution in the 1790s where the country's unification was established under the premise of "one nation, one language" and is a situation "long accepted by the majority of French people" (Judge, 2002). More recently, the unification of the French state via *la francophonie* was a means of ensuring cultural links between the mainland and France's overseas territories.

Actions to demolish the use of regional languages was instigated from the Third Republic in the 1880s, where schools, especially, were tasked with punishing transgressions in language use (Lodge, 2001), until the application of the 1951 *Loi Deixonne* which gave formal status to four minority languages in educational contexts, although remaining entirely optional in uptake. Despite this act, the value of *la langue française* continued to be emphasised, with the president Georges Pompidou famously stating in 1974 that "*there is no place for minority languages in a France destined to make its mark on Europe*" (p.118, Wardhaugh, 1987). Despite this broader stance, regional efforts to maintain minority languages have nevertheless been quite consistent; *les écoles Diwan*, for example, were established in the late 1970's in Brittany and offered Breton-French medium education for the entirety of compulsory education. More than 400 institutions are noted to offer this stream today (<http://www.fr.brezhoneg.bzh/>, 2020).

French membership of the EU from 1993 has impinged somewhat upon the '*one nation, one language*' ideal, as to demand monolingualism in, for example, the French workforce would be a contravening of certain EU laws. However, the stance towards the presence of other languages within this *macro* context remains somewhat problematic even in the modern period. In 1994, law 94-665, (the "*Toubon Law*", mandating the use of the languages in French private professional contexts), was enforced to emphasise French as "the only official, national, administrative and daily language of the French Republic, as stated in the article 2 of the Constitution"; there was also no concession made for French regional languages in this legislation. In 1999, France signed 39 articles of the European Charter of Regional or Minority Languages, but these remain unratified due to the Constitutional Council's consideration that the charter contained clauses "incompatible" clauses with the same article 2.

The early 2000's indicated evolution in official stance towards minority languages: 2001 saw the foundation of the "General Delegation for the French language and the languages of France" (DGLFLF) within the government's Ministry of Culture, an act of official recognition of the country's linguistic diversity, and a 2008 Constitutional revision added article 75-1 which "recognises the patrimonial value of regional languages" as

important to French heritage (Perrin *et al.* 2017). There remains, however, little statistical evidence as to the presence of minority language speakers in France today, as the use of these languages are assumed a private matter outside the concerns of the French secular state, much as is the case with religious practices (Judge, 2002). The most commonly cited statistics for the number of French minority/regional speakers evidenced in the current documentation are from a special ‘family’ census conducted by INED (The French Institute for Demographic Studies) in 1999, which reported that 26% of adults in mainland France acquired a language other than French from their parents (DGLFLF, 2016), however, both immigrant and regional language speakers are compounded within this total. Since then, it is localised efforts that account for the most up-to-date insights into the current status of regional/minority speakers in the country, maintained by government-linked bodies such as the *Office Publique de la Langue Basque*⁹ and the *Office Publique de la langue Breton*¹⁰. Progression is evident in the promotion of the use of these languages, especially so in the French region of origin, but there nevertheless remains in certain scenarios some unease with which the official language and LOTFs co-exist in this context.

5.2.1. [MACRO] Languages in the French National Curriculum

The French Ministry of Education sets out their ambitious aims for modern foreign language learning in direct terms. In line with the European Union’s 2020 strategic framework for the promotion of multilingualism, the government prioritises languages education, from the “youngest possible age” and with a focus on “at least two foreign languages”. Other aims, alongside the study of at least two foreign languages at school, are to “unlock languages through interdisciplinary approaches”, “improve student awareness of inter-comprehension across languages” and, importantly: “Différencier les degrés de maîtrise linguistique [...] en fonction des besoins des personnes” while developing “le concept de compétences partielles : le peu que l'on sait d'une langue a déjà de la valeur” [*Differentiate levels of language proficiency for individual needs [...] while developing the concept of partial competencies: the little one knows of a language is already valuable*] (Senat.fr, 2020)

This focus on “la promotion du plurilinguisme” [*the promotion of multilingualism*] sits in some contrast to some more general attitudes as regards the presence of multiple languages in the national context. Multilingualism is clearly encouraged in the educational sector, but with the focus of such efforts most evidently on the extrinsic benefits offered by the knowledge of other European languages rather than those already present in the French context. So too, overt encouragement of multilingualism via the use of these languages in other spheres is less evident. One commonly-cited ambition of 1994’s *Loi Toubon*, for example, was to limit the increasing presence of English in French private professional contexts (Saulière, 2014).

⁹ Source: <https://www.mintzaira.fr/fr.html> [accessed 14/03/2020]

¹⁰ Source : <http://www.fr.brezhoneg.bzh/> [accessed 14/03/2020]

5.2.2. [MACRO] Languages in the French National Curriculum: Structure

Modern foreign language learning [*L'apprentissage de langues vivantes*] is compulsory from the middle years of *École Primaire* (U.K primary school equivalent) stages of the French national education system. The initiation to language learning was somewhat “varied” in terms of the standard starting age at this level until 2002 when statutory regulations were introduced to ensure all pupils commenced study of a modern foreign language (*langue vivante 1*; LV1) from CE1 (ages 7&8). The learning of at least one language remains compulsory for students enrolled in *Collège* (lower secondary school) but a second compulsory LV is normally introduced from ages 11&12, alongside additional cultural studies. The LV2 can also be a regional language. Dual language study continues to the *lycée* stages, the U.K upper secondary equivalent (Éduscol, 2012). The LV1 of choice for most students is English, in 2014-2015 it was reported that close to 96% of *lycéens* (~5,250,000 pupils) were studying English as their first foreign language, and 73% of school-goers reported their LV2 was Spanish (Éduscol, 2015). The ‘hegemony’ of the LV1 English- LV2 Spanish coupling is an enduring issue in national language learning in this context (Legendre, 2002). The LDR cohort epitomise this trend, all undertaking L2 English and L3 Spanish studies.

5.2.3. [MACRO] Languages in the French National Curriculum: Medium

Since 1992, certain establishments can offer *sections européennes/de langues orientales* from the secondary stages where non-linguistic disciplines such as history or geography are taught through the medium of a European or Asian language. Currently seven languages are offered in the European stream and four languages in the *sections orientales*. This equates to an additional two to three hours per week of language exposure, and students are expected to achieve “un niveau proche du bilinguisme” [*almost bilingual proficiency*] in the language by the final year of education (ONISEP, 2017). In 2010-2011, ~300,000 students were educated within a European or Asian section. The most common medium for schools offering a European stream is English, accounting for 68% of student entries in this same year (Emilangues, 2018).

The school context in which this research took place offered a European section stream in English for the more able students, and approximately 1/3 of the class group participating in the research were also benefitting from additional language exposure. None of the four individuals considered for the *micro vignettes* were part of this group.

5.2.4. [MACRO] Issues in Language Learning in the French Context:

Current debates of relevance

This overview, again, is not exhaustive and therefore takes a focus only upon those issues deemed pertinent for the contextualization of the LDR *meso* and *micro* reviews.

It is interesting to note some parallels in concerns regarding the state of modern foreign language learning in both French and English schools. The question of transparency in ability during the transition from the primary school level to early secondary *college* is one such parallel. The standardization of language learning practices in *école primaire* from the earliest stages has eased this issue (Legrandre, 2003) and this has also helped to increase numbers of young learners of languages: 87% of *école primaire* students studied a language from the earliest stages in 2014, compared to 69% in 2005 (Fournier *et al.*, 2017). Another commonly-cited issue relates to the ‘hegemonic’ presence of English as the most commonly selected LV1, with the LV2 of choice most often Spanish, has raised concerns as to the linguistic diversity present in schools across the country (Legrandre, 2003).

The two issues below are most pertinent for the following review, and are thus outlined in detail here:

- ***National attitudes and realities regarding linguistic proficiencies***

A second overlap in socio-national concerns between the French and English case regards the conversation surrounding language proficiency levels achieved by the French population. Mons (2015) reports that “alongside baguettes and berets, the poor mastery of foreign languages by the French has become one of our national stereotypes”. There are suggestions that this perception of limited proficiency is founded partly in the educational sphere. A report by the French National Council for Educational Evaluation revealed that ¾ of students at the end of 3eme (ages 14&15) were unable to produce an English “globalement correct” (CNESCO, 2019, p.2). Measures such as increased focus on oral expression are recommended, but the challenge of addressing national perceptions remains an enduring issue (Ibid., 2019).

- ***The presence of immigrant/regional-minority languages in educational contexts***

The change in official stance as to the presence of regional and immigrant-minority languages in the French educational sphere is one recently implemented and still problematic. 2002 saw the encouragement of the greater integration of LOTFs in the curriculum by the then-President, Jacques Chirac, that the recognition of languages and cultures of students from immigrant backgrounds in France would be a “undeniable advantage” for the French education system. This call was rendered considerably more urgent following the findings

outlined in the 1999 ‘familial’ census that in fact the family was no longer a strong source of transmission for regional or immigrant languages in the country; 65% of respondents recording knowledge of such additional languages reported that they spoke to their children only in French at home. This placed additional responsibility on the school as a means of promoting the use of LOTFs (Legrandre, 2003). However, issues surrounding the implementation of the indication, curriculum, and induction, as well as the “poids de l’idéologie unilinguiste” [*the weight of the one-language national ideology*] continue to endure (Alen-Garabato & Cellier, 2009). The learning of regional-minority languages remains optional, while languages such as Arabic are available to only those students following the special *sections de langues orientales*.

5.3. [MESO] LDR Context Analysis: Introduction

The outline of the broad national context in relation to languages and language learning is done so above to contextualise the reviews to follow. When applicable, the links between macro-linked influences and *meso* or *micro* identity construction will be developed with reference to the above sections.

5.3.1. [MESO] The LDR Gestalt Stance: Q Task Analysis

To set out the *meso* context view for the French cohort, the participants’ completed Q sorts were translated into English, input and analysed via the KEN-Q Sort data tool, with centroid factor analysis employed to produce the preliminary correlation matrix. Two factors were indicated as significant and were thus maintained for rotation.

Part. N...	Participant	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Factor 6	Factor 7
1	LDR_ESA	0.815	-0.0276	0.113	0.0047	0.1427	0.0457	-0.293
2	LDR_AC	0.8098	-0.0583	-0.2147	0.0518	0.1096	0.029	-0.2639
3	LDR_MME	0.2348	0.4873	0.0801	0.162	-0.3048	0.1099	0.1138
4	LDR_A	0.7189	-0.2712	0.1396	0.0751	0.2367	0.1207	0.1644
5	LDR_M	0.5784	-0.1634	0.0722	0.0269	-0.3438	0.1554	0.1005
6	LDR_ASD	0.5625	-0.3364	-0.0081	0.1044	-0.3162	0.1214	0.1649
7	LDR_C	0.5595	0.4572	0.0914	0.1395	0.1464	0.0477	-0.123
8	LDR_CLA	0.7291	-0.2285	0.3389	0.1202	-0.0837	0.0003	-0.1597
9	LDR_RM	0.5285	0.0431	-0.3465	0.1122	-0.0913	0.0013	-0.2273
10	LDR_OBG	0.6433	0.3294	0.1187	0.0669	0.1254	0.0363	0.1331
11	LDR_ML	0.5159	-0.2876	-0.2107	0.1268	0.0936	0.0223	0.0169
12	LDR_PH	0.5747	0.083	0.4208	0.1107	0.0242	0.0031	0.0249
13	LDR_SH	0.679	0.3496	-0.335	0.1926	0.1014	0.0265	0.1087
14	LDR_PN	0.629	-0.3073	-0.1801	0.1257	0.081	0.0177	0.1907

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Factor 6	Factor 7
Eigenvalues	5.5337	1.1329	0.7135	0.1784	0.4781	0.0736	0.3919
% Explained Variance	40	8	5	1	3	1	3
Cumulative % Expln Var	40	48	53	54	57	58	61

Figure 17. Preliminary correlation matrix for LDR Q Sorts

As was evidenced in the English case, there is some bipolar loading on factor two which suggests some intergroup opposition is occurring in this context. While the cumulative explained variance as a result is, as in other contexts, below the threshold for significance following CFA, the comparative PCA outcome was somewhat higher at 55%. In both approaches, this is below the normally accepted 60% threshold for reliability, but the outcomes are nevertheless maintained here for analysis, again following the rationale set out in the methodology section.

Row Highlighting: Flagging: Auto-Flag at p < 0.01

None Colors Gray Require Majority of Common Variance

Default sort is by factor group (FG - highest loading factor). Click the column headers to re-sort.

Num	Participant	FG	Factor 1	F1	Factor 2	F2
4	LDR_A	F1-1	0.7429	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	0.1961	<input type="checkbox"/>
8	LDR_CLA	F1-2	0.7264	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	0.2369	<input type="checkbox"/>
2	LDR_AC	F1-3	0.6934	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	0.4223	<input type="checkbox"/>
14	LDR_PN	F1-4	0.6906	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	0.1146	<input type="checkbox"/>
1	LDR_ESA	F1-5	0.6798	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	0.4503	<input type="checkbox"/>
6	LDR_ASD	F1-6	0.6534	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	0.0523	<input type="checkbox"/>
11	LDR_ML	F1-7	0.587	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	0.065	<input type="checkbox"/>
5	LDR_M	F1-8	0.566	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	0.2024	<input type="checkbox"/>
12	LDR_PH	F1-9	0.42	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	0.401	<input type="checkbox"/>
9	LDR_RM	F1-10	0.4055	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	0.3418	<input type="checkbox"/>
7	LDR_C	F2-1	0.1905	<input type="checkbox"/>	0.697	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
13	LDR_SH	F2-2	0.3503	<input type="checkbox"/>	0.6786	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
10	LDR_OBG	F2-3	0.3328	<input type="checkbox"/>	0.6415	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
3	LDR_MME	F2-4	-0.0914	<input type="checkbox"/>	0.5331	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

Invert Factor Split Bipolar Factor

Figure 18: CFA Output [LDR]

Factor one accounts for the majority of the group stance, with 10 of 14 respondents demonstrating above threshold alignment with this view. Factor two, in contrast, sees only 4 significant loadings. There are also two instances of confounding significance across the two factors, participants 1 and 2 (LDR_AC and LDR_ESA), which does indicate a somewhat more even divide in group attitudinal orientation. Both participants demonstrated greater loading on this latter factor, 0.69 vs 0.42 for LDR_AC and 0.68 vs 0.45 for LDR_ESA, and as such were aligned with this group. Again, as was the case for the Finnish group, it is not unexpected that such confounding cases have occurred given the small size of the group, but a duplication of these particular Q sorts would evidently skew the final arrays.

There is also evidently a notable close loading of some participants across the two factors. For the purposes of analysis, the two factors will be evaluated with relation to their divergences as much as their agreements, but these cases of close cross-factor rankings indicates that overlap in attitudinal stance will likely occur. As outlined, this is certainly the case for participants 1 and 2, both loading with significance across the two factors. While not significant in the 0.34 alignment with factor two, participant 9 LDR_RM nevertheless demonstrates

only small variance across both factors (0.41 vs 0.34). Participant 3 represents a striking case as the sole instance of bipolar loading, demonstrating significant alignment with factor two (0.533) and negative loading on factor one (-0.09). She thus shows the greatest variance in the group across these attitudinal stances.

The two final factor arrays produced are set out below; factor one demonstrates the gestalt view of participants 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 11, 12 and 14, and factor two aligns with the subjective responses of participants 3, 7, 10 and 13. The characteristic themes to emerge from these two comparative views are set out in the following section, and the composite factor arrays produced provided below:

4	3	2	1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4
I think that speaking more than one language will give me more opportunities in the future	I feel interested by the culture of the language that I am learning	I admire people that are multilingual	I think that some of the languages I know are more important to me than other ones	It's cool when you can speak a language that other people can't	Sometimes I feel like a different person when I speak in a different language	My family are multilingual	I find it easy to imagine myself as LX in the future	I don't have the right personality for learning languages.
My family think that it is important that I learn a foreign language at school	I find certain languages more interesting than other ones	I'm proud to be able to speak more than one language	I have a role model (someone I admire) who can speak more than one language	I feel happy when I'm speaking a foreign language	I think that I can express ideas in French that I can't in a language like English	People were better at learning languages in the past then they are today	People around me don't think learning languages is important	You need to have a certain type of personality to be good at learning a language
I think it would be a good idea for everyone to learn a foreign language	Languages are an important part of my country's identity	I would like to try living in a different country in the future	It's easier to learn a new language if you have already learnt one before	I feel like I can show another side of my personality when I speak in another language	It's hard to see sometimes when I will use a language like L3 in <u>the future</u>	I feel like I'm part of a group when I'm speaking in another language.	Your tongue reflects your personality	Everyone can speak English today so there is not much point learning other languages
	If I were to visit a country abroad tomorrow, I think it would be easy to get around with English	English is the most important language in the world.	To be multilingual you have to be fluent in at least two languages	I think that people from other countries are better learning languages than the X are	It's easy to see how knowing different languages fits into the lives of my teachers/friends/family	Sometimes it's hard to see the point of learning languages	I think generally girls are better than boys at learning languages	
		Being able to speak more than one language is an important part of my identity	Certain languages are more important to learn than others	There are more important subjects to learn at school than languages.	Native LX speakers are lucky	I am a multilingual person		
			English is the most widely spoken language in the world	It's more important for people who can't speak English to learn languages than for people who do	I think that knowing more than one language makes people cleverer			
				It's easy to see how knowing different languages fits into my life				

Figure 19: LDR Factor One Composite Q sort

	4	3	2	1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4
To be multilingual you have to be fluent in at least two languages		There are more important subjects to learn at school than languages.	I think that I can express ideas in French that I can't in a language like English	Languages are an important part of my country's identity	Certain languages are more important to learn than others	It's hard to see sometimes when I will use a language like L3 in the future	It's easy to see how knowing different languages fits into the lives of my teachers/friends/family	You need to have a certain type of personality to be good at learning a language	Sometimes I feel like a different person when I speak in a different language
Sometimes it's hard to see the point of learning languages	English is the most widely spoken language in the world	It's more important for people who can't speak English to learn languages than for people who do	It's easier to learn a new language if you have already learnt one before	I think that knowing more than one language makes people cleverer	I think it would be a good idea for everyone to learn a foreign language	I think that people from other countries are better learning languages than the X are.	I feel like I'm part of a group when I'm speaking in another language.	I think generally girls are better than boys at learning languages	It's easy to see how knowing different languages fits into my life
I find certain languages more interesting than other ones	I think that speaking more than one language will give me more opportunities in the future	I admire people that are multilingual	I feel interested by the culture of the language that I am learning	Being able to speak more than one language is an important part of my identity	English is the most important language in the world.	I have a role model (someone I admire) who can speak more than one language	I find it easy to imagine myself as a fluent speaker of LX in the future	I am a multilingual person	
	I'm proud to be able to speak more than one language	My family think that it is important that I learn a foreign language at school	If I were to visit a country abroad tomorrow, I think it would be easy to get around with English	I don't have the right personality for learning languages.	People were better at learning languages in the past than they are today	People around me don't think learning languages is important	My family are multilingual		
		I would like to try living in a different country in the future	It's cool when you can speak a language that other people can't	I think that some of the languages I know are more important to me than other ones	I feel happy when I'm speaking a foreign language	Everyone can speak English today so there is not much point learning other languages			
				Native LX speakers are lucky	Your tongue reflects your personality				
				I feel like I can show another side of my personality when I speak in another language.					

Figure 20: LDR Factor Two Composite Q sort

5.4. [MESO] LDR Factor One & Two Discussion:

Ideal and actual selves: Discrepant representations of language-learning desires and realities.

The introductory review set out above identified some intergroup attitudinal divergences, especially in the case of participant 3, as well as some confounded cases. An abductive review of the factor arrays resulted in the identification of four particularly emergent themes. 1. *Representations of current and future linguistic self-concept*; 2. *The role and function of L2 English*; 3. *The linguistic identities of referent others*; and 4. *The emotive import of language learning*. As was the case for the English and the Finnish groups, there are inter-factor similarities and divergences to be noted. As themes 1, 3 & 4 are also recurrent across the three cases, they are considered in greater detail with reference to the three contexts in chapter six.

5.4.1. The Role & Function of L2 English

The first subtheme of focus is student comprehension/representation of English as their second language at, especially, the *macro* level. In this particular context, students have been exposed to English from the age of 8-9 during studies at the *école primaire* stage, therefore a majority of the participants have English as their L2. Two participants recorded a second language other than English in their demographic data, however, it must be noted here that the accuracy of this number is somewhat hazy. Two other participants taking part in the additional qualitative activities revealed during the interviews that they had a home language other than French, despite omitting this information on the questionnaire. It is therefore unclear if other students also had additional linguistic knowledge they felt unwilling to record. For the purposes of analysis however it will be assumed that, unless stated otherwise during additional tasks, the languages listed on the questionnaire form the entirety of an individual's linguistic repertoire.

Both agreement and divergence is revealed in student representation of the role/function of English. These discrepancies can be seen, broadly, to parallel comprehension of the *influence* versus the *ubiquity* of this language. Factor one demonstrates notable agreement with statements pertaining to both the international presence and importance of English, while the factor two group is much less aligned with the belief that their L2 represents a language with strong global influence. While explicitly linked to *macro*-level issues, student attitudes towards their L2 also reveals distinctions in *micro* self-linked comprehensions. The comparative Q rankings are set out in the below table:

No.	Q Item	France [1]	France [2]
1	<i>English is the most important language in the world</i>	+2	-1
2	<i>English is the most widely spoken language in the world</i>	+1	+3
3	<i>If I were to visit a country abroad tomorrow I think it would be easy to get around in English</i>	+3	+1
4	<i>It's more important for people who can't speak English to learn languages than for people who do</i>	0	+2
5	<i>Everyone can speak English today so there is not much point learning other languages</i>	-4	-2

The discrepant factor stances are evidenced immediately in the rankings of the Q items 1 and 2. As elaborated in the Finnish/English cohort *meso* review, the semantic divergences between these two statements can provide interpretations as to the underlying rationale of each position. The statement as to English's "widespread" status is more objective in its phrasing, whereas the former item pertains rather to individual opinion. Factor one and two are in quasi-agreement as to the more 'factual' Q item 2 that their L2 is the world's most ubiquitous language, the former group indicating a (+1) and the latter group a (+3) agreement. Certainly the (+1 *I sort of agree with this*) ranking does suggest some hesitancy as to the extent of English's international presence, with (+3 *I definitely agree with this*) asserting a much greater certitude. These diverging strengths of opinion could be related simply to knowledge as to English's number of speakers globally, and as such is perhaps less revealing of student attitude. These rankings do, however, help to reveal participant understanding of the *macro* level function of English when compared to their positions of the partner statement 1. This second item receives different responses from the two groups, factor one indicates (+2) agreement, while factor two is in (-1) disagreement. In the case of the second group, their concurrence as to the ubiquitous nature of English could indicate equal alignment that this language is also *important* in international terms. Indeed, a high ranking for *ubiquity*, matched with an equal agreement with strength of influence, would confirm this view, as was the case in the Finnish context. However, we see instead a different manifestation of attitude; a greater strength of agreement with the *importance* of English juxtaposed with reduced understanding of its presence of global terms. Additional considerations, beyond ubiquity, are therefore likely being applied in this group's understandings of the *macro* relevance of this language. Factor one, however, aligns more with the Finnish view as to the correlation between English's global presence and global importance.

While Q factor analysis may never reveal definite answers, and as such is most useful when triangulated with additional qualitative data, it is nonetheless possible in this case to infer that other perceptions of the role/function of English may be contributing to these divergent stances and, in fact, these attitudes also reveal student comprehensions of their own *micro* linguistic identities. The differing agreement strengths afforded to item 3, *If I were to visit [...]*, (+3) in factor one, and (+1) in factor two, provides a first *micro*-self insight. The strength of these agreement rankings inverts those indicated by the two groups as regards English's

international ubiquity; in the case of factor two, especially, the strong (+3) agreement with this *macro* statement is somewhat mismatched with the more hesitant (+1) with item 3. A focus on the context-linked semantics of the statement itself can reveal a rationale for these differences; linked rather to the *micro* linguistic experience of L2 use, statement 3 can refer as much to individual proficiency in this language as to its general presence in global terms. In this context, it appears likely that this item is being interpreted in differing ways by the two factor groups. The (+3) agreement indicated by the factor one group may adhere to implications of this language's function as an international *lingua franca*, aligning with their assertions that this is a language both *important* and *wide-spread* in global terms. Factor two, however, appears to utilize their ranking of this item as a means of *micro* self-concept expression. Their (+1) ranking of this item stands in some contrast to their assertion of English's global ubiquity (+3), and also offers a comment upon their negation of English's international social capital. Perhaps unable to envisage a *micro* self with the adequate L2 proficiency to "get around" when abroad, they as such find disagreement with this item. This attitudinal orientation would also offer some explanation for the differing positions afforded to *It's more important for people who can't speak English to learn languages than for people who do*. Factor one, affording a neutral ranking to this item, is not in clear disagreement with this idea, but nor is the suggestion that knowledge of English should be prioritized over other languages negated. Factor two, conversely, *does* suggest that English abilities should be emphasized via its (+2) ranking. These rankings would align with the *micro* opinions of English proficiency previously suggested. It may be that negative or frustrating experiences in their L2 supports factor two's assertion of the value of learning English for others.

5.4.2. Representations of the Linguistic Identities of Referent Others

This subtheme speaks to the manner in which the linguistic attitudes/ proficiencies of actors in students' home and school *meso* contexts are constructed. In this particular case, the representation of the gestalt comprehension is noteworthy in that it remains similar across both factors, the only alignment of such consistency occurring in this context. Despite these parallels, there are nevertheless subtle distinctions to be made regarding the manner in which this variable is constructed by the two cohorts, and the analysis can be separated into two main representations: *use* and *attitude*. At the most basic level of representation, these constructions are distinct in that the first, *use*, is linked to student perspective of the multilingual identities of others. The second is, rather, a projection, a perception of another's perspective. However, the nature of such participant inference, as also outlined in the previous contexts, is valuable for considerations of *micro* self-constructions because it can reveal much as regards individual opinions towards the same issues.

No.	Q Item	France [1]	France [2]
6	<i>My family think it's important that I learn a foreign language at school</i>	+4	+2
7	<i>People around me don't think learning languages is important</i>	-2	-2
8	<i>My family is multilingual</i>	-2	-3
9	<i>It's easy to see how knowing different languages fits into the lives of my teachers/friends/family</i>	-1	-2

The second construction outlined above is concerned with student understanding of the perceptions of *meso*-others regarding the *value* of the learning/use of different languages. In both cases there is a high level of corroboration with the suggestion that the family understands language learning to be important, with this Q sort statement receiving the highest level of agreement (+4) in the factor one array, and (+2) in factor two. The linked item 7 is, likewise, afforded a (-2) ranking by the latter group and (-3) disagreement by factor one, inverting the agreement demonstrated by this same group as to familial comprehensions of the importance of languages. This item, which is broader in its phrasing than the first, potentially provokes student reflections upon the representation of language learning not only within the family, but also at school and within their peer group. Despite the equal discord demonstrated by both factor one and two with this latter statement, there are limitations to the extent that it is possible to suggest that this ranking links to the comprehensions of attitudes of all actors present in this *meso*-context. The equal strength of agree-disagree positions between items 6 and 7 evidence the likelihood of the particular influence of familial values upon the positioning of the two statements, providing an illustration as to one facet of the *meso* environment in which individual opinions as regards the utility of language learning will be developed.

While the impact of parental/family values is marked, it is less straightforward to trace the influence of the school/*meso* sphere in terms of the promotion of language learning at the *micro* level. The item *There are more important subjects to learn at school than languages* does not receive a negative position in either factor array, in contrast to the hypothesis that strong encouragement of this subject within the school context would result in disagreement with this statement. Surprisingly, too, given the evident encouragement for language learning in the family/home sphere, factor one records only neutrality in response to this statement. *Meso*-linked influence thus appears to have little impact upon *micro* perception in this respect. This is unexpected; it is broadly recognized in the literature that parental encouragement is one of the strongest motivational factors for student success in language learning (Bartram, 2006; Heinzmann, 2013).

In a stronger assertion of negation than their factor one peers, the second group positions this same statement with (+3) agreement. The notable agreement that other subjects are more important than languages reinforces the suggestion that any encouragement within the school/*meso* sphere is somewhat ineffectual. By extension, it is therefore possible to demarcate familial influence upon the motivations of the class group as a whole.

While there is evident agreement that the family *asserts* the value of language learning at school, the *impact* of this promotion upon student *micro* evaluation seems diminished.

The next representation concerns the linguistic *use/knowledge* of others, and is thus more direct in its construction. These Q items do not require any 'projection' of perception on the part of the students, and as such are more explicit in their revelation of links between individual understanding of the linguistic identities of *meso* others and *micro* self-comprehension.

Once again the LDR cohort indicate alignment in comprehension, although the strength of their demonstrated agreement/disagreement is divergent. While the parents of participants clearly promote the learning of foreign languages, there is strong student disagreement that LDR families are multilingual; item 8 is met with (-2) in factor one and (-3) disagreement in factor two. It is somewhat challenging to untangle the rationale for this based on data from the Q sort task alone, however, it is evident in student constructions of *macro linguistic* identities that the LDR class assert certain *exclusive* criteria regarding statements of multilingualism; both groups feel it is necessary to possess both fluency and the required *quantity* of languages to claim a multilingual identity: *To be multilingual you need to be fluent in more than two languages* (+1; +4) . As such, it is possible that the same standards have been applied to the repertoires of actors in the *meso*/ home sphere as well.

This reluctance to claim a familial multilingual identity also offers additional insight into participants' own linguistic self-concepts. The second *meso* use-orientated statement, *It's easy to see how knowing different languages fits into the lives of my teachers/friends/family*, receives a negative response in both the factor one (-1) and factor two (-2) arrays. The entailment of this ranking suggests that participants *themselves* have difficulty understanding the manner in which their *referent others* employ their linguistic repertoires, and this may thus result in a lack of comprehension of the manner in which family practices do, in fact, span multiple language use. Again, the employment of strict linguistic criteria (*use/quantity*) would again also have an impact on individual interpretation. Finally, such a reluctance to state familial multilingualism may also result from *micro*-linked perceptions of personal capacity. This negation of multilingual identity also occurs at the *micro* level; the item *I am a multilingual person*, in both factor one and factor two, matches the parallel *meso*-orientated statement in terms of disagreement noted. Again, it is difficult to rely entirely on the data obtained from the Q sort task, although it does suggest that, certainly at these two contextual levels, a multilingual identity is not understood to be characteristic of either the individual or the group. This particular example does much to evidence the reciprocity between *micro*-orientated attitudes and *meso/macro* representations.

In the representation of the perceptions and use of languages at the *meso* level, factors one and two align in opinion. Both cohorts perceive their families to promote the value of language learning at school but, conversely, show disagreement that the actors themselves have multilingual repertoires. The two groups also cite difficulties in personal perceptions of the manner in which the linguistic repertoires of others inform their

daily lives. Divergences in viewpoint are demonstrated only in the instance of the impact of the promotion of language by *meso* sphere actors; for factor one, this results only in neutral feeling as regards the value of languages as a subject at school, whereas for the factor two group it would seem to be clear that this plays no role in their valuing of this subject.

5.4.3. Representations of Temporal *Micro* Linguistic Self-Concept

This analysis elaborates upon participant understanding and representation of their own, individual linguistic identities, including proficiency and patterns of use. In contrast to the previous subtheme outlined, divergent constructions are clearly evident across the two factor stances in relation to this variable, as well as considerable dynamicity of representation both intra and inter-array.

- Future Self-Concept

Factor one indicates that the participants in alignment with this group view have strong convictions as to the value of language learning as well as the impact that this will have for their future selves.

No.	Q Item	France [1]	France [2]
10	<i>I think that speaking more than one language will give me more opportunities in the future</i>	+4	+3
11	<i>Sometimes it's hard to see the point of learning languages</i>	-2	+4
12	<i>I would like to try living in a different country in the future</i>	+2	+2
13	<i>It's hard to see sometimes when I will use a language like LX in the future</i>	-2	-1
14	<i>I find it easy to imagine myself as a fluent speaker of Spanish in the future</i>	-3	-4

One of the three strongest agreement categories (+4) is afforded to item 10, *I think that speaking more than one language will give me more opportunities in the future*, and this understanding is strengthened by the paralleled negative ranking (-2) of item 11. There is therefore a comprehension evident that linguistic knowledge will benefit student future-selves. In addition, some indication is offered as to what such potential future outcomes might be. Item 12, *I would like to try living in a different country in the future* is ranked with (+2) agreement, and the suggestion that *It's hard to see sometimes when I will use a language like Spanish in the future* is afforded a negative (-2) ranking. This particular view offers both a comment on the perception of

the extrinsic value of this skill, as well as suggesting that that this group has a vivid image of their future self-concept; participant understanding of where, and through which medium, this usage may take place is stated in clear terms.

It is therefore interesting to note that, despite the considerable strength of feeling demonstrated with the above usages, there is however little additional evidence of the formation of a strong self-concept as a linguist as a response to this understanding. In contrast to the assertions of the value of language learning for future opportunities, for example, and the relative ease at which factor one suggests it is possible to see the future utility of a language like Spanish, we see that the item 14 is met with strong (-3) disagreement. This is certainly an interesting juxtaposition, and implies that the recognition of the *utility* of Spanish may be linked to statements of individual proficiency in this language; the sole differentiating phrasing between this item and item 13, met with agreement, is the statement of future *fluency*. This example recalls broader French *macro*-linked concerns as to achievements of proficiency in foreign languages at school. While individuals present a strong belief in their idealized values of future language-use, they appear doubtful as to their achievement of proficiency in their L3.

In general concordance with the view presented by factor one, factor two also demonstrates some agreement with the *value* and importance of language learning for the future self. Again, item 10 is afforded strong agreement (+3), and parallel agreement rating with a desire to live abroad (12; +2). These participants also clearly understand the future utility of their language studies, and are able cite potential future examples of their language skills in action. However, in contrast to the attitudinal stance indicated in factor one, there is some evidence that these assertions are more limited in their application to the *micro* self. The strongest agreement category (+4) is afforded to *Sometimes it's hard to see the point of learning languages*, and equally to the suggestion of future proficiency (14; -4). The rankings for these last two items does much to negate the overarching view suggested by the first two Q placements. The *micro* concept-orientated semantics of the two highest agreement/disagreement items suggest that this group, too, has the same difficulty as their peers in applying their comprehensions of the theoretical value of language learning to their own, individual identities. We see thus the recurrence of the discrepant *ideal* and actual self emergent here (Higgins, 1987), a trait characteristic of this particular context and explored in greater detail in chapter six.

- **Current Self-Concept**

Factor one's generally well-developed future self-conceptualisation was hindered by their doubts as to the achievement of L3 proficiency. A review of this group's comprehension of their current linguistic identity provides additional insight as to the limitations in their *actual* self-concept responsible for this future-orientated outcome.

No.	Q Item	France [1]	France [2]
15	<i>Being able to speak more than one language is an important part of my identity</i>	+2	0
16	<i>I don't have the right personality for learning languages</i>	-4	0
17	<i>It's easy to understand how knowing different languages fits into my life</i>	0	-4
18	<i>I am a multilingual person</i>	-2	-3

In terms of the *importance* of languages, this group again assigns the same value to their comprehension of current self as was demonstrated in future-terms. They assert that knowledge of multiple languages is important in their self-concept formation, item 15 receives a (+2) ranking, and also that they feel strongly that their personalities are conducive to successful acquisition; item 16 is ranked with (-4). In terms of proficiency, however, the perceived 'importance' of languages to self- construction does not presuppose an actual, active identification as a competent multilingual learner and user. There is, firstly, an indication that the participants, although certain that their languages inform their identity, are ill at ease to understand how their use of different languages "*fits into*" their lives on a daily basis (0). So too, and in parallel to the difficulties indicated in terms of the construction of a proficient future Spanish speaker, we see that students are also unable to align the perceived *importance* of language learning to self in a willingness to assert a strong current linguistic identity. Statement 18, *I am a multilingual person*, receives a (-2) ranking.

Factor one's stance is paralleled in factor two's construction of their current linguistic self-conceptualisation. In this case, there was a much clearer divergence between this group's comprehension of the theoretical future value of language learning and their abilities to translate these perceptions into their own idealized selves. In current terms, this discrepancy re-emerges and also underlines a potential cause; these difficulties established may well be linked to the apparently limited impact of languages on student identification. Students in this group do not indicate a strong understanding of the ways in which their linguistic knowledge '*fits into*' their current lives (-4), as well as demonstrating a hesitancy in the assertion of general capacities as language learners via the (0) ranking of *I don't have the right personality* [...]. In more identity-orientated terms, too, this group feels neutral as regards item 15. This reluctance is also emergent in the (-3) ranking of the item *I am a multilingual person*, mirroring the (-2) position of this same item by their factor one peers.

While aligned in opinions regarding the future *value* of language learning, both factor groups are unable to translate these understandings into tangible concepts for their current or future linguistic selves. The first factor group indicates that languages impact upon their current identification as a language learner/user both

in terms of theoretical and practical identification, but their inability to overcome concerns regarding current linguistic *proficiency* in their L3 inhibits the successful formation of their future linguistic self. Factor two, however, while aligned with factor one in relation to their understandings of the extrinsic benefits their linguistic knowledge may impart, is unable to translate these idealized outcomes into a strong identification as a linguist in current or future terms.

5.4.4. The Emotive Import of Language Learning/Use

The '*emotive import*' of student language learning is concerned with participant appraisal of their emotional response to their use/learning of multiple languages.

Strikingly, an immediate alignment in agreement between factors one and two, and, indeed, also with the English and Finnish groups, is evidenced in the position of the item *I'm proud to be able to speak more than one language*. Although the French group is somewhat less assertive in their rankings, factor one nevertheless ranks this statement with (+2) position, and factor two with a (+3) agreement. The selection of this particular item as the first to review here has been done as a means of drawing direct parallels with the preceding review. It was noted that the LDR cohort as a whole demonstrated hesitancy in the statement of a multilingual repertoire in both current and future terms, as well as an unwillingness to confirm their proficiency in their additional languages. Overarchingly, there is little suggestion that students felt confident in the statement of their linguistic capacities, and the negative ranking of *I am a multilingual person* negates claims to a strong multilingual identity. The phrasing of *I'm proud* [...] does conversely suggest some implicit understanding on the part of the participants that they do possess some linguistic ability; it is this capacity which renders them *proud*. The development of more assertive claims to linguistic proficiency would therefore have implications for both groups' future self-concept; the implicit statement of linguistic abilities could suggest a dynamicity in identification is in progress here. The correlation between *pride* and *proficiency* is one relevant to all contexts and as such is explored in greater detail in the comparative chapter.

The mutual agreement indicated by the French groups as to the *pride* they experience as a result of their language knowledge indicates the emotional response of linguistic usage, upon a first review, is a positive one. It is therefore interesting to note that it is only this item linked to the emotive value of language learning that is evaluated with such agreement. Conversely, students do not demonstrate a parallel stance as regards the item statement *I feel happy when I am speaking a foreign language*; factor one affords a neutral position, and in greater contrast to their (+3) ranking of *pride*, factor two indicates (-1) disagreement. These responses indicate a fundamental divergence in the student linguistic experience. While it has been suggested that *pride* may be linked more closely to ideas of student *progress/proficiency* in a particular language, happiness seems less likely linked to this facet of language learning. The neutral ranking afforded by factor one, which suggests they neither confirm nor negate the experience of this particular emotion, therefore could simply be a statement of

'a'-emotion. It is therefore possible that *happiness*, or indeed, *unhappiness*, are emotions simply not associated with personal linguistic experiences. It may also be the case that, assuming student emotive response is linked to the appraisal of linguistic capacity, it is also their perceptions of progress towards, rather than achievement of, multilingualism that results in this neutral feeling. They may be *proud* to be developing skills in their language learning, but their inability to assertively claim a proficient repertoire may be impacting upon this neutral response as to *happiness*. Certainly, the links that the factor one group forges between knowledge of multiple languages and both identity formation and future extrinsic opportunities would clarify why falling short of their *idealized* self-concepts in this respect would result in such an emotive outcome.

Factor two's ranking of this same item can be justified via this same relationship between positive emotional response and linguistic proficiency. In this case, there is much clearer division in appraisal of *pride* and *happiness*, the former item being met with demonstrable agreement (+3) and the latter with a (-1) position. The negative ranking of this last item suggests that this group is experiencing quite strongly the inverse of "happiness" in response to their language use. It has been demonstrated previously that linguistic ability is not understood by this group to be characteristic, and it may be therefore that it is simply the process of learning, despite these limitations, which results in these strong feelings of *pride*. Just as was also the case for the factor two group, it may well also be these same limitations that result in some sentiments of *unhappiness*. The group's recognition that they possess neither linguistic proficiency nor a strong linguistic identity reinforces the discrepancy between their actual linguistic self-concepts and the ideal outcomes of their language learning. The experience therefore of 'unhappiness' is perhaps not unexpected in this respect.

5.5. [MESO] Summary: The LDR Gestalt Stance

- The *meso* LDR review suggested that there would likely be inter-group correspondence as regards certain issues. This has been evidenced in relation to the representation of the value of languages asserted in the home/*meso* sphere, and also in the contrastive limited motivation stemming from language learning in the school environment. These two cases are unique examples of inter-group attitudinal alignment in the French context. Distinctions in opinion are expressed in relation to the temporal self-concept, student emotional response to language use, and also the comprehensions of the role and function of their L2, English.
- In emotive terms, the second factor group indicates that they experience less *pride* and *happiness* as a result of their linguistic knowledge than that expressed by their factor one peers. This is suggested to link to student conceptualisation of their own linguistic proficiencies, as well as the strength of their identification as a linguist.

- Student comprehension of the role/function of their L2 English knowledge can also be analysed via the lens of linguistic proficiency. Especially for the factor two group, it emerges that reduced confidence in *micro* abilities in English impacts upon their association of the *macro* value of this language.
- Divergences in self-construction also influences *micro* future/current self-concept development. In both cases, it appears that limited confidence in student L3 ability impacts upon the extent to which participants can envisage the successful future employment of this language. For the factor two group, this hindrance to self-concept development is compounded by their lesser identification as multilingual speakers, resulting in a very limited self-representation as a linguist.

5.6. [MICRO] Context Analysis Introduction:

Exploring the individual in context

The *meso*- level review, elaborated above, sets out the emergent constructions of linguistic identity demonstrated by the two factor arrays. Four particularly striking themes were noted as pertinent for a review of this class stance. As was the case with the previous two cases, this final section will focus on the representation of the *micro* identities of two individuals from the French context as a means of elaborating the *specific* within the more general viewpoint already outlined. The rationale for the theme through which these vignettes (Norton, 2003) will be analysed, as well as selection of the two participants, is provided below.

5.6.1. [MICRO] Rationale for the selection of theme of expansion

The gestalt LDR review indicated that the following themes are pertinent for considerations of multilingual student identity development in this particular case: 1. *Representations of temporal micro linguistic self concept*; 2. *The role and function of L2 English*; 3. *The linguistic identities of referent others*; and 4. *The emotive import of language learning*.

The selection of a single theme for expansion is necessary due to the constraints of length of this thesis; all four themes identified are equally applicable to an evaluation of multilingual identity. As those recurrent in representation across all three contexts analysed are developed in greater depth in the final synthesis chapter they are thus omitted from the *micro* view, although as in the other cases, where they intersect with student representation of a subtheme they are addressed. Theme 2 demonstrates a contextual 'uniqueness' in representation and as such provided a valid thematic lens through which individual multilingual identity could be analysed. However, the selection of the first theme as the focus was made in preference to the second because of its especial pertinence for comprehensions of

the linguistic self-concept. As both factors one and two indicated that students in the LDR case have difficulty translating their idealised self-concepts into strongly-developed current/future linguistic identities, an analysis of the manner in which these difficulties manifest in individual terms may help to identify the contextual influences that contribute to these particular attitudinal stances.

5.6.2. [MICRO] Rationale for the selection of participants

As was the case in the English context, the emergence of two factors of significance in the gestalt analysis provided the two subgroups from which individual participants were selected. In this case, participant LDR_A is the individual most strongly aligned with factor one, demonstrating considerably above threshold orientation (0.7429), while LDR_C aligns most significantly with factor two (0.697). Unfortunately, the constraints of time during the research placement meant that it was not possible to conduct the additional, individual tasks with these particular students; therefore, LDR_AST will be considered in place of LDR_A to elaborate factor one's attitudinal stance. As the participant ranking most significantly with this factor viewpoint of all the individuals who also took part in the additional interviews, AST is a fitting candidate for the *micro* review. In the case of factor two, I made the decision to consider the stance of LDR_MME in lieu of her classmate LDR_C. While ranking with above threshold significance with the factor two viewpoint, LDR_MME is also the only participant in the group to display a negative loading on factor one, indicating a clear oppositional orientation to the broader viewpoints characterised by this factor. She therefore provides an interesting outlying case to develop in relation to *micro* identity construction for the second factor, and, considering the alignments and divergences of this individual stance with the factor two participants will permit an appropriate depth of analysis to be achieved.

5.7. [MICRO] Representations of Temporal *Micro* Linguistic Self-Concept

The *micro* review to follow will consider the manner in which traits of the temporal self-concept are reconstructed at the individual level. A shift from the broad to the specific will be utilised to demonstrate how such constructions demonstrate dynamicity at the individual level, both inter and intra-context.

5.7.1. Factor one: *Participant 6, AST*

Discrepancies in the representation of the *micro* linguistic self, especially regarding the negation of multilingual proficiency, is indicative of the stance of a considerable number of individuals in the LDR context. Participant 6's representation of her *micro* self as a linguist in current and future terms, as well as her willingness to claim a multilingual identity, adheres to this orientation.

[MICRO]

AST generally demonstrates considerable difficulties recognising the relationship between her knowledge of languages and her *micro* self-concept. Where she does show particular insight into her linguistic habits or behaviours, it emerges these comprehensions are aided by impactful *meso* factors. This *meso* to *micro* influence suggests a unilateral direction of impact that is somewhat unique in the cases explored thus far. This construction is interesting in that it also results in AST possessing considerably greater insight into the language use of actors at the broader context levels than her LDR peer group.

A recurrent theme of AST's qualitative responses provided during the research was that she seemed to have considerable difficulty in maintaining a sense of self as a linguist. Despite learning three additional languages at school, she is unable to connect this knowledge with her linguistic practices. Her responses to questions linked to her use of metalinguistic strategies in interview one makes this discrepancy explicit:

I: *Est-ce que tu trouves que l'anglais est utile, tes connaissances d'anglais pendant tes cours d'espagnol ?*
[Do you find that English is useful, your English knowledge during your Spanish lessons?]

AST: *Je dirais pas trop, il y a des mots d'anglais qui se ressemblent des mots d'espagnol. Du coup [...] pas vraiment.* [Not too much, there are some English words that are similar to Spanish words. But [...] not really]

Equally, AST records a *strongly disagree* response to questionnaire item C19: *Je pense souvent aux langues que je connais pendant mes cours de langues au lycée* [I often think about the other languages I know when I'm in the languages classroom at school].¹¹ This stance is interesting given AST's extensive experience as a language learner, recording a six year history of English learning and five years exposure to Spanish at school. In addition, she has been taking Latin "*since collège*", implying at least two years' experience in the acquisition of an ancient language alongside her L2 and L3. Despite this considerable linguistic exposure, however, AST has little explicit understanding of the manner in which her languages background interplays with her current acquisition. While the interview question itself was developed to probe student metalinguistic strategy use, the participant focuses on what might be considered the most basic typological similarities between languages, the vocabulary. In this sense, it is certainly not unexpected that AST does not find English particularly helpful in this respect. Spanish, evidently, bears considerably greater similarity to her L1 than her L2. However, when considered alongside the disagreement afforded to item C19, as well as the (-2) ranking for Q sort item *It's easier to learn a new language if you have learnt one before*, it would certainly seem that AST does not associate the more implicit functions of the multilingual repertoire in additional learning with her own,

¹¹ Interviews and methodology tools were administered in French, henceforth English translation will be cited directly.

individual experiences. Likewise, her stance remains consistent when asked to consider her future language learning:

I: *Do you think it would be easier to learn other languages in the future now that you have already learnt two at school?*

AST: *Um, I don't know. I think ... it depends.*

Of course, it is acknowledged that implication of restricted *micro*-self insight based uniquely on a participant's lack of explicit awareness of strategy use would be somewhat reductive, although AST's limited understanding certainly stands in some contrast to the French Ministry of Education's *macro*-aim to improve "*inter-comprehension*" in language learning (Sénat.fr,2020). It was indicated by the factor one gestalt view that insight as to personal multilingual ability is not the case for this group, and AST's responses here would certainly align with this stance. However, this limited *micro* insight also extends to AST's understanding of the functions of languages in more emotive/cognitive terms, indicated by the following stimulated recall response in interview two. When asked to provide additional information for her "*don't know*" response for item C1: "*Being able to speak another language gives me the opportunity to learn more about myself*", she states that:

AST: *I don't really find that. I don't really know, but I haven't learnt anything about myself from learning another language.*

Rather than a particularly strong lack of *micro* insight, it may be simply the case that AST does not understand her language learning to inform her self-concept in a particularly forceful manner. However, the consistency of responses to, for example, the Q sort item *I find it easy to see how different languages fit into my life* (-1), despite such considerable exposure to languages at the *meso* level, would suggest the former case is most likely. Equally, Q items linked to insight into the concept of the 'plurality' of language learner identity are also met with equal disagreement. *Sometimes I feel like a different person when I speak in another language* also receives a (-1) position, and the statement *I feel like I can show another side of my personality when I speak in a different language* is met with only neutral feeling. An overarching impression is provided that for this participant her *micro* identity remains somewhat opaque. This representation also sits in contrast to the broader group view that, on the whole, indicated good understanding of linguistic self-conceptualisation.

AST's limited self-concept insight outlined above does not, interestingly, recur in her future-self conceptualisation. Here, she is able to express both an awareness of the aid her future language knowledge will afford her, as well as a demonstrably clear image of scenarios in which she sees herself making use of her L3. In interview one, for example, she makes considerable reference to her desire to use Spanish in the future to travel, and that she believes that knowing this language would permit her to "*discover some of the history*" and the culture of Spain that she states she is particularly interested in. This representation remains consistent

across the qualitative tasks, indicative of some strength of feeling. When asked about her envisaged use of Spanish, AST states that her main rationale for such is “*pour voyager*” [to travel], and responds to questionnaire item A1 in the same terms: *I am learning a foreign language at school “because later on I would like to travel”*. In all cases, AST identifies actions as a Spanish speaker and integrates this understanding strongly within her self-projection. This perception as to the extrinsic outcomes her L3 will permit her to achieve in the future is indicative of a potentially vivid self-guide (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2013) and mirrors that also presented by the factor one cohort more generally.

This particularly insightful *micro* stance stands in some contrast to AST’s previous self-concept assertions and is as such unusual. In fact, it emerges from the additional qualitative data that this more developed view is encouraged by a *meso*-linked influence. For AST, it is evident from the beginning of interview one that her ‘mamié’ [grandmother] fulfils the role of a language learning model; the participant elaborates upon her grandmother’s linguistic experiences in both interviews, providing information about her acquisition of Spanish, as well as her travels through Cuba and Peru thanks to her fluency. She also states that her “*envie*” [desire] to learn Spanish stems from a motivation to emulate her grandmother’s example, and to enable AST to travel, as she did. The function of this relationship in linguistic terms is one the participant clearly recognises; she ranks Q sort item *I have a language learning role model* with the strongest (+4) agreement. AST is thus aided in her *micro* constructions by the presence/example of this *meso* Referent Other.

Yet, despite a tangible example of a successful Spanish learner with whom AST frequently interacts, as well as a vivid conceptualisation of her future L3 self, AST is nevertheless unable to translate these idealised understandings into more practical projections. As AST aligns with the group stance in relation to her understanding of theoretical future language use, it is therefore perhaps not unsurprising that she also demonstrates the same difficulties in the *solidification* of this identity. Again, this discrepancy is linked to limits in student confidence in L3 proficiency; AST’s Q sort affords a (-2) ranking to the item *I find it easy to imagine myself as a fluent speaker of Spanish in the future*, paralleling the factor one placement. It is clear that her inability to project an image of herself as a proficient speaker has a powerful impact; she ranks both *It is difficult sometimes to see when I will use a language like Spanish in the future* and *It is sometimes difficult to see the point of language learning*” with (+2) agreement. The impact of perceived limited language proficiency is evidently damaging. indeed, AST’s stance is thus more restricted than that of her factor cohort, aligning more closely with the factor two viewpoint who also indicated considerable difficulty in reducing the discrepancy between future *ideal* language use and self-concept development.

[MESO]

AST's limited insight into her *micro* linguistic identity is contrasted with her understanding of the role of languages in the lives of the actors in her immediate *meso* context, her *referent others*. Interestingly, AST displays greater confidence confirming knowledge of the linguistic behaviours of those around her than in her own *micro* identity. As was evidenced in the *micro* case, however, AST's representation continues to demonstrate dynamicity across the two *meso* spheres. For the most part insightful as to her understanding of familial language use, her presentation of the school context is demonstrably less consistent. And, in accordance with her *micro*-representation, AST's comprehension of her own linguistic practices within these two environments remains somewhat ill-defined.

A particularly evident first comparison indicating AST's increased confidence in her representation of linguistic identity at the *meso* level can be found in the (+1) ranking of Q sort item *It's easy for me to see how the people around me use different languages in their everyday life*. This stands in contrast to the (-1) positioning of the same *micro*-orientated statement, *It's easy for me to understand how knowing different languages fits into my life*, and demonstrates an assertiveness maintained in AST's presentation of familial multilingual language use. Along with the example of her grandmother's extensive use of Spanish, AST also confirms in interview one her parents' knowledge of English, her mother having travelled in Ireland when she was younger, as well as outlining that as her father "*spent some time in Mexico*" he had experience speaking Spanish there. Her younger siblings are also language learners; the participant states that her brother learns the same languages as her, Spanish, English and Latin, and her eight-year-old sister is studying English. The examples as to the range of languages known by her family, as well as the travels her parents and grandmother have undertaken in order to consolidate their knowledge, certainly indicates good insight on AST's part as to her family's linguistic experiences. So too, her strong agreement (+3) agreement with the idea that *My family think it's important to learn a foreign language at school* in the Q sort task, along with the highest *Strongly agree* ranking for the comparable questionnaire item *My parents think it's important to learn languages*, indicates that this familial value is recognised. This agreement matches the (+4) indicated by factor one and thus indicates this attitude is a characteristic feature of this viewpoint.

This confidence in the statement of insight into family linguistic practice also extends to a willingness to assert familial linguistic identity. *My parents speak more than one language* receives a "strongly agree" response in the questionnaire and, most explicitly, the statement *My family is multilingual* receives a (+3) ranking. In this respect, AST's stance is in contrast with the factor one view, where the same item is met with (-2) disagreement and suggests AST's assertion of familial multilingualism is somewhat exceptional in this context.

Yet, despite this confident representation, AST's construction of familial language use appears more troublesome for her when AST inserts herself into the representation. Much as the *micro* review demonstrated

that her construction of identity appeared better-developed when stemming from a strongly defined *meso* influence, AST appears to be more confident in the functioning of the linguistic identities of other actors than of her own within this home sphere. A first example of this stance is indicated by the response of “*I don’t know*” to interview one question: “*Who can speak the most languages in your family?*”. The data provided by the participant confirms that it is indeed AST and her younger brother who have the widest range of linguistic knowledge, both in the process of learning three additional languages at school. Interestingly, too, when questioned as to which languages appear frequently in her home life, AST responds with the statement “*On parle seulement le français à la maison*” [We only speak French at home]. This is certainly an interesting omission given the participant’s clear assertion of her family’s multilingual identity, as well as her descriptions of the ways in which the use of other languages appears in the home, such as practising Spanish with her grandmother. It is therefore clear that AST encounters considerable difficulty in maintaining insight into *meso* linguistic practices when her own self-concept is also involved in the interpretation.

The representation of the school/*meso* sphere also demonstrates considerable fluctuation. Statements made by the participant during the two interviews suggest that AST makes use of her linguistic knowledge in this *meso* context in diverse ways but, as was also indicated in her *meso-home* representation, she does not connect these actions with her own identification as a language user. In response to a stimulated recall question in interview two, for example, when asked to provide further detail about her response to the question “*How would you feel if you could only speak one language?*”, the participant replies that it would be “*strange*” because one practice she enjoys is engaging in code switching with her friends. When asked to elaborate, she responds that:

AST: *I love speaking in different languages with my friends. Sometimes if there’s a sentence in French we [put it into] Spanish or English, just for fun.*

Despite this assertion of evidently multilingual practices, when questioned explicitly as regards the role/function of use of these languages in this particular *meso* sphere, AST is unable to transfer these particular behaviours to the representation of her school experience. When asked whether languages and language learning ever provide a topic of conversation with her school friends, AST rather responds in the negative, asserting that this “*not really*” the case. So too, she responds to “*Do you find your knowledge of languages helpful in other areas of school life?*” with “*I don’t really need them [languages] apart from in my lessons*”. Overarching, it is likely that this latter response, which suggests a clear demarcation of language use to within the classroom only, may be responsible for this omission of the linguistic practices that occur in other spheres. AST’s description of her peers’ engagement in code switching is also, importantly, given in a response to question formulated outside the set of items focused explicitly on her *meso* experience. The phrasing *How would you feel if you could only speak one language* appeals rather to the participant’s *micro-* self, a facet of identity construction which AST appears to find opaque in interpretation. As such, her inability to translate such practices into her description of the school environment mirrors the same difficulty demonstrated in the

linguistic self-construction in both the *micro* and home/*meso* sphere, with the result that, overarchingly, the representation is one where language use is demarcated, despite more implicit evidence existing to suggest the contrary. A secondary strand of school/*meso* representation provides some indication as to the source of such 'bounding' here, namely that both *meso* and *macro*-linked factors subvert experiences/actions contributing to AST's linguistic *micro*-self.

The first example links to AST's understanding that her language use at school is restricted to her lessons. In an extension of the first outcome, which resulted in a limited awareness of her multilingual practices at school, comprehensions of this 'bounded' nature exerts a more negative impact upon AST's linguistic identification. When asked in interview one if she understands herself to be a multilingual person, for example, she inverts her (0) Q sort response by instinctively replying in the affirmative. However, after some reflection upon the question, she finally negates this *micro*-linked response with a rationale based upon her experience of language use as, again, 'restricted' to the *meso*/school sphere.

AST: *Well, finally I would say no because to be multilingual, that's someone who speaks languages fluently and we only speak them during language lessons and not fluently.*

AST's *micro* comprehension is, thus, impacted by a clear *meso*-linked influence, here in demonstrably negative terms. While, evidently, the same concerns as to proficiency recur here, we see too that it is the school sphere that encourages her negation of a multilingual identity. While she does not speak her additional languages 'fluently', she situates this explanation within the school context, because she "*only speaks them [languages] during lessons*".

Despite her statement to the contrary, AST is in fact uniquely placed among her peers to claim a multilingual identity, undertaking the study of three additional languages (English, Spanish and Latin) during her lycée education; the study of an L2 (normally English) and an L3 only are compulsory in the French curriculum. AST omits her three-year history of optional Latin learning in the demographic data recorded during the questionnaire activity, stating only English and Spanish as her two additional languages and, when asked to provide an open explanation of her linguistic studies in the first interview, the participant positions herself alongside her peers as "compulsory"-only language learner, stating simply that that in schools in France "*we have to take English, and then we can study either German or Spanish*". AST's placement of self within this *meso*-context 'norm' in terms of language learning is, interestingly, done so via the use of a clearly *macro*-linked rationale; in her response to the former question, the participant stresses the broader national foundation of her answer, that "*in schools in France*" the study of an L2 and L3 only are obligatory. Her decision to utilize this explanation in response to an explicitly *micro*-linked question suggests that the participant's experience of the *meso* implementation of the national curriculum is impacting in no small way upon her representation of individual actions.

The reviews outlined have indicated that the individual construction of linguistic identity for this participant is heavily impacted by experiences and influences rooted in the *meso*, and latterly, the broader *macro* context. The motivation AST finds to continue her Spanish studies as a result of her grandmother's encouragement is the sole positive influence stemming from *meso* to *micro* levels. Other examples indicate that, despite implicit suggestions of linguistic choices/behaviours conducive to the development of a strong linguistic identity, they act, in fact, with the opposite effect, restricting participant self-insight and discouraging the assertion of a multilingual identity.

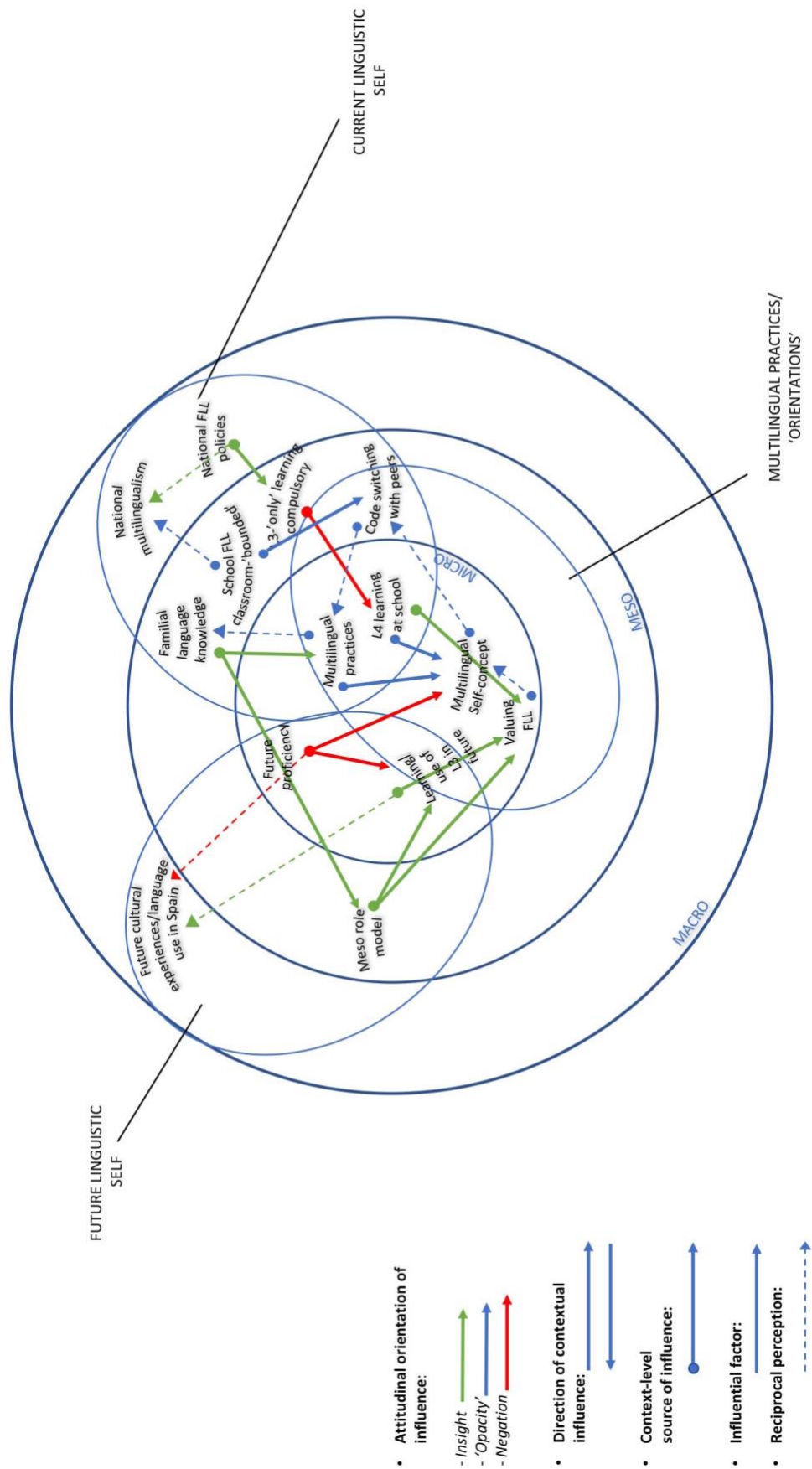
[MACRO]

A shift of focus from the *meso* to the *macro* sphere reveals once again the unusually forceful impact of this former context level upon AST's understanding of her linguistic identity. Despite the participant's perception of the demarcated, and thus limited, role of languages within the school/*meso* sphere, it is this same context that has the greatest influence on the participant's construction of her *macro* context.

An explicit example of such influence is found in responses to questions posed during interview one. When asked if she believes that France is a "*pays plurilingue*" [multilingual country], AST's affirmative response has its foundation in *meso*-linked knowledge "*because in some schools they teach Chinese or Italian*". The same rationale is also employed when elaborating her answer to *Is it encouraged to learn foreign languages in France?* Here, she concurs with the question because at both "*college*" and "*lycée*", it is "*obligatory to study languages*". Despite the divergence in national *macro* linguistic policy and curriculum, AST's interpretation of these questions offers an interesting parallel to those given in the Finnish case, where both EK and VF also indicated that their experiences at the *meso* sphere strongly coloured their view of broader national/social issues in Finland. Conversely, it contrasts with the attitudinal stance demonstrated by the English participants, who understood the *macro* sphere to be strongly linked to generalised, societal perceptions of the role of English as a global *lingua franca*.

In *macro*-terms, as was indicated in the *micro* review, the influence of *meso*-linked experiences have a somewhat disproportionate impact upon this participant's understanding of the role and function of languages at this broadest level. However, unlike the two preceding analyses which both demonstrated considerable dynamicity in terms of the manner in which AST presents her understanding of self within *meso* and *micro* terms, this last representation of contextualised understanding demonstrates consistency throughout.

5.7.2. Figure 21: System dynamics (AST), Representations of the Temporal Linguistic Self-Concept



5.7.2. Factor Two: *Participant 3, MME*

The gestalt attitudinal stance indicated by factor two is somewhat restrictive in its inter-group applicability; only 6 of 14 participants loaded with significance here after factor rotation, two of whom were confounded cases and were thus disregarded. MME's orientation was considerably above threshold (0.53); however, she also demonstrated a negative loading on the alternative factor, the only individual to do so, and therefore provides a somewhat exceptional, outlying stance. Despite not being able to complete the questionnaire, I therefore felt strongly that MME's unique stance merited additional consideration, despite the more limited qualitative data available for analysis.

[MICRO]

Both factors one and two demonstrated parallels in terms of comprehension of their current linguistic selves. Alignments were indicated in the students' reduced capacity to present well-formed linguistic self-concepts, and especially as regards multilingual proficiency. Discrepancies are found in participant understanding of the role of languages in identity formation, with factor one indicating that they feel language learning does impact upon their *micro* concepts, while the second group remain only neutral. MME presents an interesting contrast to both stances, in fact explicitly *denying* the role of languages in this process. This representation is maintained across her *micro* self-construction.

Although a respondent statistically *typical* of the factor two stance as regards current *micro* identity construction, MME's divergent attitudes are generally discordant with the overarching beliefs presented by this group view. Interestingly, the differences here can be attributed to what has been previously termed as the difference between the 'idealised' understanding of language use and actual self-construction. While the factor two group are in alignment with the theoretical suggestion that languages have influence upon self-construction, they do not represent this impact in more evident, practical terms. MME, however, in fact *negates* any implication of the former but, contrastively, her qualitative responses nevertheless indicate some implicit understanding that her identity is informed by her linguistic knowledge. MME's example thus contrasts with the current *micro*-self presented by AST who clearly asserts the importance of languages in her life, but also demonstrates limited insight into her *micro* linguistic identity.

This 'minimisation' of the impact of languages upon MME's construction of current *micro*-self is illustrated, firstly, in the participant's perceptions of her emotive responses to her language learning. The question *Can you remember a good experience during your language learning?*, for example, is met with the reply that she "*only wanted to learn languages her for the sake of learning them, and that's all*". So too, when asked if she

“feels proud” when she thinks about her language learning, MME replies simply with “no”. Both these formulations align with the implications outlined above that this is a participant who does not experience particularly notable import to self as a result of her linguistic knowledge, and in this case this also extends to her emotional appraisal of her multilingualism. MME’s Q sort reveals a consistency of response here, too. *I feel happy when I speak in a foreign language* is afforded a (-3) disagreement, whereas *I feel proud to be able to speak more than one language* is met with (0) neutrality. While the former statement is also met with (-1) disagreement by the gestalt factor two group, MME’s ranking of the latter item stands again in considerable contrast to the (+3) agreement indicated by the same array. These representations do much to strengthen the suggestion that MME does not assume causality between her self-concept and the languages that she knows.

MME maintains this strength of orientation in relation to other identity-linked statements in the research tasks. Interview one’s question *Do different languages play an important role in your life*, for example, is met with a certain hesitancy indicated by the conditional formulation of her reply. In contrast to AST, who considers this question in relation to her familial language usage, MME does not reference current language behaviours, but rather responds simply that “if” she decided that she “*would like to go to England or Spain*” she might be able to use her linguistic knowledge there. This focus on theoretical scenarios is an interestingly non-committal response, and is even more striking when considered in relation to her classmate’s focus on her family’s multilingual practices. In fact, it emerged towards the conclusion of the first interview that MME possesses two L1s, French and Fula, the latter being used exclusively with her parents in the home sphere. Her omission of this knowledge in her response could indicate that the participant characterises her *micro* identity uniquely by those languages she utilises in her school/ *meso* environment, English and Spanish. However, given that Fula is the principal means of communication with her parents, indicating that MME employs a bilingual repertoire on a daily basis, the suggestion that both this language and French has such limited impact upon her *micro* self-construction is certainly surprising.

In future-linked terms, too, we see that the same representation of linguistic self-concept is maintained; the participant attributes little value to the role of languages in her perception of her future identity. This attitude is rendered explicitly in her ranking of the associated items in the Q sort, which again contrasts with the viewpoint represented by factor two. We see that the group stance indicates a generally good understanding of the ways in which student Spanish knowledge will be used in future: *It’s hard to see sometimes when I will use a language like Spanish in the future* is afforded a (-1) ranking; participant 3, however, indicates parallel (+1) agreement with this stance. So too, the factor two viewpoint states confidence in their understanding that knowledge of more than one language will offer opportunities in the future (+3), whereas MME remains only neutral with regards to this statement. MME maintains this attitude towards the role and function of languages in her future is also indicated in answers provided during the two interviews. In general terms, the participant’s response to the question *Would you like to continue your languages after school*”, is simply “*non, je pense pas*” [no, I don’t think so].

Despite MME's significant alignment with the factor two view, the apparently limited impact of languages upon her understanding of her current and future identity places her at odds with the stance of her peers. However, there is some suggestion outlined in the comparative Q sort responses that participant 3's explicit representation of self as an individual minimally influenced by her language knowledge is perhaps less so the case when more implicit statements of practical language use are considered, further separating her from the gestalt stance. Factor two, for example, have difficulty understanding how the different languages they know "fit into" their lives (-4), as well as indicating hesitancy in their willingness to state that *I am a multilingual person* (-3). MME, however, remains neutral in response to these items. Her item ranking thus aligns more closely with the factor one stance here, despite her negative loading on this view. It is MME's neutral rankings that are interesting here, suggesting neither affirmation or negation but simply allows her stance to remain 'non-committal'. Despite demonstrating traits more indicative of linguistic insight in the Q sort, she chooses to explicitly negate these capacities during the interviews, outlining her overt disagreement during the interview tasks as to the suggestion that her linguistic experiences impact upon self-construction. The greater *micro*-insight MME demonstrates might well be linked to her bilingual home repertoire and therefore the greater exposure to multiple languages she experiences on a daily basis. The reasons for reluctance to report this information both on the demographic data as well as during the interview discussion are unclear, but it may well be an attempt to align herself with her peers in terms of L1 identity as a 'French-only' speaker. This stance offers an interesting contrast to that of the English cohort, who promoted such additional language knowledge as a means of positive *individualisation* within the group.

[MESO]

The representation of self in relation to this *meso* context maintains much consistency with the construction of her *micro* identity; MME's use of language at this level also appears to offer little contribution to her understanding of self-concept. Unlike her previous *micro* construction, however, there is no evidence in *meso*-linked examples that she possesses additional, implicit awareness of the impact of her linguistic knowledge, resulting in a construction more 'explicit' in this sense.

MME's representation of her linguistic identity in relation to the school/*meso* environment provides a first illustration of the, again, apparently minimal impact of language use within this particular sphere. This case also provides an unusual example of the alignment of individual and group, as such also an interesting demonstration of fluctuation in the gestalt view, which indicates that the use of languages afforded some input into the participants' understanding of their *micro* identities. As such, factor two individuals suggest the impact of their learning at school does not seem to influence ideas or identities with regards to languages. This is certainly an unusual outcome given that this is the environment in which the majority of student linguistic exposure occurs.

AST's representation of her languages in school was notable in that their use was understood to occur solely within her lessons, which inhibited her ability to recognise other, multilingual behaviours outside the classroom. For MME, we see the same comprehension of the bounded nature of language use represented here, but unlike her classmate she does not report any linguistic behaviours being utilised outside this particular environment. Her response to the question "*Do you find your languages play a role in your life at school outside your language lessons?*" matches almost word for word the answer provided by AST to the same question, namely that "*It is just during [language] lessons*" that she employs them. So too, as was also the case for AST, MME does not report much discussion with her school friends about languages or language learning. Her reply to "*What do you think your friends think about people who can speak multiple languages?*" is simply "*I don't know, we never talk about it*". These responses present a strong implication that the reflection upon, or indeed discussion of, linguistic practices in the school context is minimal. This limited engagement in the topic of languages in the school sphere provides evidence for her strong disagreement (-3) with the Q item *I find it easy to see how using different languages fits into the lives of people around me*. In this respect, MME is in considerable contrast to AST who demonstrated (+1) agreement with this same item, but is unusually aligned with the factor two array, which also shows (-2) discord with this suggestion. Unlike AST, we are left with a strong implication that comprehension of the nature of language learning in school as 'bounded' is quite explicitly the case for this participant.

While MME offers a consistent construction of experience in the school/*meso* sphere, there are indications that her home sphere representation is more aligned with her *micro*-self-concept; explicitly negating the impact of the languages present, she nevertheless provides some implicit suggestions of the ways in which languages are, in fact, influencing her self-construction in this context.

The participant's rankings of the *meso*/home-linked Q sort items all suggest the somewhat limited role of languages in this sphere. *My family think that it is important to learn a language at school*, for example, is met with (-3) response, and MME's response to *Do your parents think it's important to learn languages at school?*, is simply that "*I don't know*". There thus appears little reflection upon the use or function of languages in this sphere. This is further emphasised by the (-3) disagreement afforded to *I find it easy to see how the people around me use languages in their daily lives*. This is an incongruent ranking given MME's bilingual home repertoire and, certainly, her description of her family's language behaviours at home in the final stages of the interview, namely, that she communicates mostly in French with her siblings and in Fula with her parents, implies both insight and experience as to the linguistic practices of her *Referent Others*. Equally, when asked as to who she believes knows the most languages in her family, again, MME negates any insight, stating only that "*I don't know*" and then asserting that because "*everyone [her siblings] goes to school, we all learn English*". The response here presents, again, MME's explicit demarcation of multilingualism as a trait characteristic of the languages classroom only; linguistic abilities are attributed solely to her siblings who also attend English lessons. As her family's use of Fula is disregarded, her description of her and her siblings' knowledge of English as the foundation for their additional language knowledge is striking. Her (0) ranking of the Q item *My family*

are multilingual, too, adds weight to the suggestion that this participant negates her home bilingualism in her identity construction. As the main means of communication with her parents, it is therefore evidently the case that MME utilises two languages at home daily, unlike AST, yet we see her (0) ranking of the Q item stating familial multilingualism to be in clear contrast to participant 6's (+3) response. MME's representation also contrasts with the general factor two stance towards this Q item, which indicates a (+2) agreement with *My family think that it is important to learn a language at school* to participant 3's (-3). As a result, any indication of overt familial multilingualism is denied here.

An overarching representation therefore emerges of a certain 'reluctance' to acknowledge her multilingual repertoire. The evident sensitivity of the topic for MME made further questioning during the interviews unsuitable, but certainly her stance would align with the official national stance as to the status of minority and immigrant languages; as outlined in the first section of this chapter, the status of home language use is considered a private practice resulting in the limited data as to numbers of current speakers of LOTFs. Certainly, it may be the case that the participant felt that this usage was separate to her school, and therefore 'public' language use, and as such did not wish for the two to be compounded. Certainly, there is nevertheless some suggestion that the relationship between the languages MME employs in different spheres is somewhat uneasy. Yet, despite these more explicit orientations towards negation of language use upon self-construction, MME is revealed nevertheless to be considerably more assertive in the statement of home/*meso* multilingualism than her peers. Both factor one and two rank *My family are multilingual* in negative terms, (-3) for the latter and (-2) for the former group. As such, despite an apparent attempt to 'minimise' her home language use, MME's neutral ranking is nevertheless more affirmative of her family's multilingualism of this item than the LDR cohort as a whole.

[MACRO]

MME's linguistic identity in relation to the *macro* environment indicates a unique example of the explicit recognition of a particular role fulfilled by a language. Here, her representation of the *macro* function of English offers an inversion to the consistency with which this participant represents the role of her native French as generally 'minimal' in impact across the context levels. It is certainly interesting that the sole *explicit* representation of linguistic influence by this participant across all contextual representations is not sourced from those languages employed in MME's daily life, but rather from a language she encounters for the most part in the 'bounded' environment of the languages classroom.

In broadest, *macro* terms, MME attributes considerable value to the knowledge of English, showing both (+4) agreement that it is both "*widespread*", and also affording a (+2) ranking to *I think it's more important for people who don't speak English to learn languages than for people who do*. The rationale for this opinion is

rendered in more explicit terms in response to a question in the second interview, where MME also evokes a *micro* self-representation guided by her understanding of her L2.

I: *If you weren't a French speaker, if you had for example English as your first language, do you think that you would be a different person?*

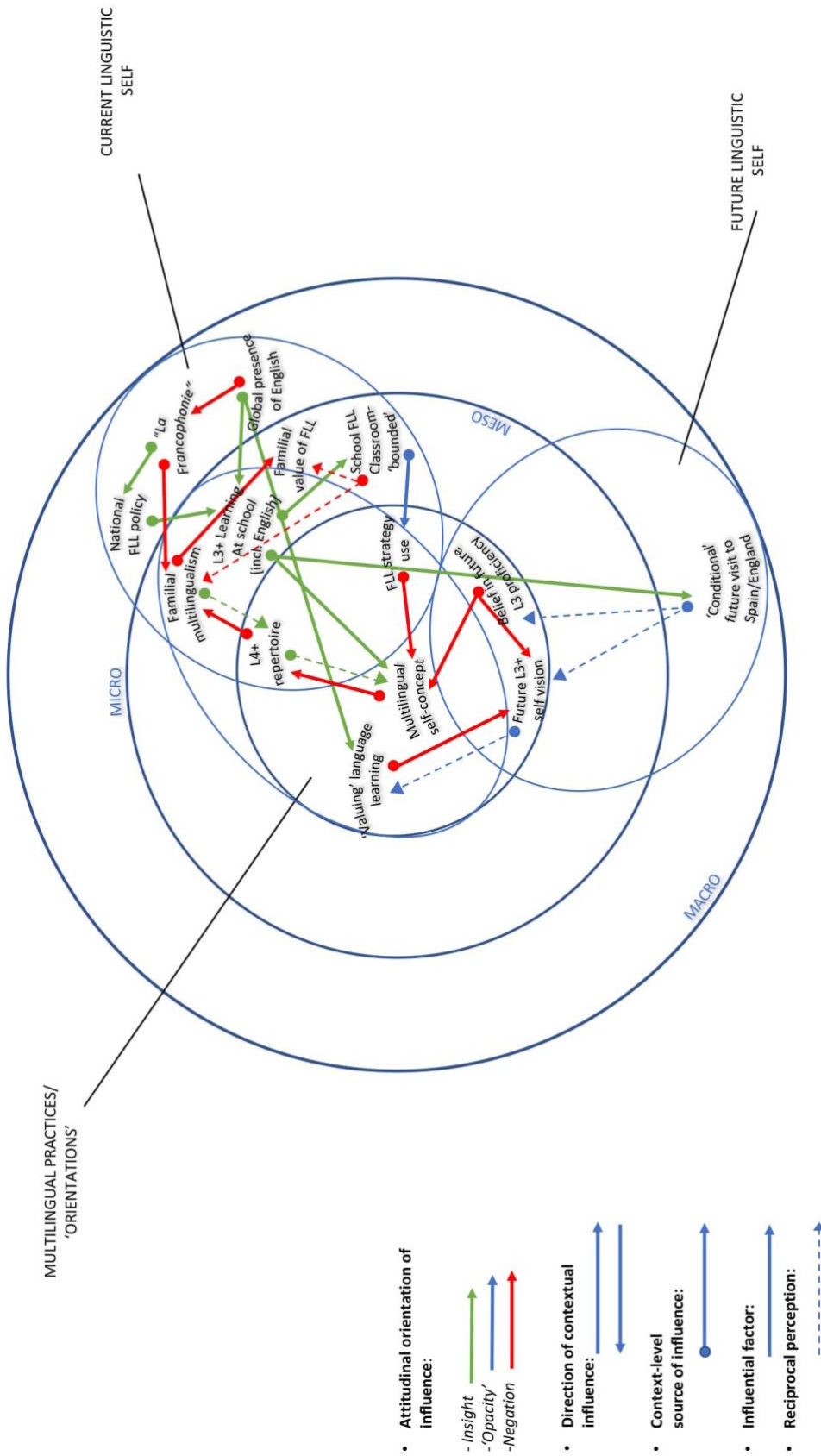
MME: *Yes I think so [...] if I was an English speaker I would ask myself why I had to learn a language like Spanish.*

The above statement could certainly be interpreted as a comment upon the greater linguistic capital of certain languages. And indeed, her response to those Q items linked to her L1 suggest that this may be the case.

The disagreement afforded to both statements, *Native French speakers are lucky* (-1) and *Languages are an important part of my country's identity* (-4), indicates that this participant does not understand her L1 to offer any advantage to its individual speakers, and nor does she perceive that it contributes to national identity construction. This latter point stands in considerable contrast to the *macro* ideological values of *la francophonie*, outlined in section 5.2., which underlines the intrinsic links between France's national identity and the employment of the French language. Certainly, participant 3's strong discord with the importance of the French to national identity is in clear contrast to the views of her peers; factor one indicates (+3) agreement with this item, while factor two indicates (+1) agreement, and also placed MME's representation of the *macro* role of her native French in considerable opposition to her perceptions of English. We see therefore a return to the representation, in *macro* terms, to that demonstrated by MME's *meso* and *micro* constructions; again, there little relationship explicitly evidenced between the use of this and broader *macro* identification.

MME has thus remained broadly consistent across *micro*, *meso* and *macro* representations, although examples both of implicit and explicit linguistic impact have emerged, the former in *micro* terms, the latter in relation to the *macro* function of English. Such dynamicity reinforces MME's outlying status; across the three context-linked constructions she is often found in attitudinal contrast to both the factor one and factor two viewpoints.

5.7.2. Figure 22: System dynamics (MME), Representations of the Temporal Linguistic Self-Concept



5.8. [MICRO] The comparative view: *Representations of Temporal Micro Linguistic Self-Concept in the French context*

The close alignment and near confounded rankings across the LDR cohort indicated in the *meso* review suggested a strong likelihood that cases of inter-factor alignment would occur. And indeed, the stances of MME and AST parallel this hypothesis in certain representations. The former participant, while a statistically significant factor two candidate, nevertheless indicated a better-developed insight as to her current self-concept development as well as a *micro* claim to a multilingual identity more closely orientated with the factor one construction. So too, AST's limited insight into her linguistic behaviours was more similar to the factor two stance. These dynamic fluctuations underline a methodological issue exemplified by the French context and evidences the necessity of considering the *micro* construction with as much focus as the general; the inherent fluctuations in the system are lost if the individual does not play an equal role in informing the representation.

- It was indicated that the influences located at AST's *meso*-context level had particular import to her *micro*-self-construction. However, despite the presence of a strong language learning role model whose example permits AST to develop a strong conceptualisation of her aims of her language learning, she is unable to translate this understanding into her representation of her own linguistic identity. She is unable to connect her linguistic knowledge with current or future behaviours, and demonstrates greater insight into the linguistic capacities of her referent others than as to her own sense of self in relation to her multilingualism. The limited strength of her future linguistic self-concept mirrored the factor one representation in this respect.
- MME, in some contrast, indicated explicitly that her linguistic knowledge played little function in her comprehension of self as a language learner/user, but more implicit orientations revealed she in fact demonstrated a greater depth of understanding as to her own *micro* linguistic behaviours than both her factor one and factor two peers. This same discrepancy also emerged in relation to her willingness to assert a multilingual identity. While her neutral ranking of this latter item indicated a certain "non-committal" attitude, it nevertheless was greater in agreement than the LDR group stance cross-factor. This developed insight was cited as likely the result of her bilingual familial repertoire.
- MME maintained a 'minimisation' of her linguistic knowledge in her overt representation of the home/*meso* sphere as a monolingual space. This construction stands in some contrast to AST's understanding of her family's language use which she represents as demonstrably multilingual, in

contrast to her own self-construction, and thus portrayed a usual stance within the factor one gestalt view in this respect.

- Alignment in stance between AST and MME is found, however, in the representation of the *meso*/school sphere. Language learning here is represented in very demarcated terms, use occurs only within the boundaries of the classroom. The representation of the 'bounded' nature of language-use within the school environment also impacted upon AST's ability to subsume multilingual behaviours that occurred in this sphere, such as code-switching, into to her construction of her *micro* identity.
- The French case evidenced some particularly strong system dynamics to be at play within MME's and AST's *micro* representations. While for MME it was posited that broader, *macro*-linked questions as to the role/function of minority languages are a contributing factor to the 'minimisation' of her linguistic self, for AST it emerged that certain referent others at the *meso*-level were inherently intertwined with her comprehension of identity as a language learner and user.

The preceding analysis chapters have responded to the first and second research questions identified by this work via the analysis of both group and individual constructions of linguistic identity in relation to the emergent themes identified by the *meso* Q sort activity. All themes are environmentally-specific in their unique constructions, but certain traits are also indicated to be unique to a particular context, too; where this is the case, they have been elaborated in relation to their enactment in *micro* construction. In the Finnish case, the emergence of linguistic *inclusivity/non-inclusivity* was examined, while the analysis of the England participants' *individual* self-construction focused on the role of L1 English as an influential factor. The rationale for the selection of these particular themes from those identified in the group viewpoint review is set out in the introduction to each analysis chapter. In the French context, it was noted that student representations of their knowledge of L2 English was a distinguishing example of context-specificity, but the limited data available in the *micro* cases meant that an appropriately in-depth individual analysis would have been impossible. As such, the unusually divergent representations of current and future linguistic self-concepts between the two individual participants, as well as student '*willingness to claim*' a multilingual identity, identified this construction as a theme pertinent for elaboration. As such representation is, however, integral to an understanding of cross-context multilingual identity construction this theme will also be addressed here in comparison to the Finnish and English data.

Chapter Six

Comparative Synthesis: *Themes Emergent Cross-Context*

Thus far this work has taken a strong focus on the context-*specific*, and has set out the possible environmental sources of influence for each construction of linguistic self, both in group and in individual terms. This final comparative chapter will consider those recurrent themes emergent across the three research cases. Here, their representations will be synthesised and those traits indicative of generalisability, as well as the root causes for any contextual-specificity, will be discussed. Therefore, this last section will address the thesis's third research question

RQ3. Do emergent themes recur cross-contextually and to what extent are these indicative as generally applicable to the multilingual self-concept?

The intrinsically interrelated nature of the themes that emerged in the *meso*/group-focused analysis lead to the appearance of some subthemes within a review that were, in fact, associated with a broader construction. The English case, for example, revealed that the emotive import of language use was fundamental to student attitude towards their L1. Where this has been the case, the individual references will also be included in this final review. The three themes striking in their cross-case occurrence are the following:

- *The Emotive Import of Language Learning/Use*
- *Self-Identification & Referent Others*
- *Representations of Temporal Micro Linguistic Self-Concept*

6.1. [Comparative] The Emotive Import of Language Learning/Use

The socially-embedded nature of self/identity reinforces their status as results of *perceptions* of one's own behaviour, and of the behaviour of others in the environment, including the "cognition, **emotion** and action as they occur in patterns of situations" (Maddux & Gosselin, 2012, p.199). 'Self' and 'identity' are therefore not brought into, but rather created in response to these interactions, and are as such subject to change as a result of these multi-faceted interactions. The literature review sets out in detail the intersection between the experience of emotion and the construction of self-concept, in both broader theories of psychology as well as the specific role such comprehensions have enacted in the bi- and multilingual learning literature. Addressing the presence of such emotions in additional language learning is recognised to have potential educational

implications; MacIntyre & Gregersen (2012), for example, outline that such “positive-broadening” emotions can be “harnessed in service to cognitive and other human goals” (p.210), including promoting student motivation.

The links between student emotive response to language learning and comprehension of self has been demonstrated as a key emergent theme across all three contexts explored in this work. In the broadest, *meso*-orientated analysis, the relationships between the rankings of two Q items, *I am proud to be able to speak more than one language* and *I feel happy when I speak in another language* and the positioning of other self-orientated statements, *I am a multilingual person*, for example, were explored as a means of evaluating student emotional appraisal of their linguistic usage. Overarchingly, in purely ‘emotion’-orientated terms, a strikingly high agreement ranking of the item *I am proud* [...] was noted cross-contextually, while the latter, *I feel happy* [...] showed much more variation in response. The intersection of these emotional values with statements of self was much less consistent in representation, although some small patterns in relationship were evidenced. Resultantly, therefore, it is clear that student *pride*, regardless of educational context, language learning background or social environment, is an evident, generalizable response to the processes of multilingual learning. However, the outcome in relation to linguistic identity formation remains contextually-specific.

The Finnish group is one of three *gestalt* factors to rank Q item *pride* in the strongest (+4) agreement terms. So too, a review of the individual ranking demonstrated that only one of the four participants aligning with this factor viewpoint, RP (+2) did not attribute this statement with the same (+4) concurrence. Despite participant EK’s lack of significant alignment with this overarching group stance, she also indicates a (+3) agreement ranking in her individual Q sort. The consistency in emotional response representation forms the basis of one of the most stable subthemes of the broader *linguistic inclusivity/exclusivity* demonstrated by the group, and this is also true of the individual vignettes. Both EK and VF demonstrated that pride is a characterising trait of their linguistic abilities, VF responding, for example, to the question “*What does multilingualism mean to you?*” with the phrase “*I am proud of it, and I like it*”. Indeed, the strength this *micro* comprehension of the positive emotional reaction to language learning was demonstrated to impact upon student construction of linguistic experiences at the *macro* level, too, where individuals without access to languages as a result of limited educational resources were positioned to be at a considerable emotive disadvantage, in contrast to what is termed the “*privileged*” Finnish group. The strong implication outlined here that *pride* represents a characterising trait of the Finnish multilingual experience certainly has clear *meso*- school-linked sources, and this is rendered clear in EK’s assertion that she feels *pride* every day; a result perhaps of her daily bilingual repertoire in this sphere. The Finnish group is the sole case to follow L2-medium schooling, with the majority of the participants’ familial communication being held in the L1, and as such extensively activate at least two languages on a daily basis. Indeed, such was the regularity of this multiple language use that it was noted in the *meso*-*gestalt* review that multilingualism was a trait represented as one *normalized* by the Finnish participants. It is therefore interesting to note that, despite the fact that utilisation of multiple languages has become somewhat usual for these students, they nevertheless continue to experience strong emotive reactions to its quotidian use.

Happiness, however, is indicated to be a much less characteristic emotive feature of the experience of multiple language use for this group. In contrast to the decisive (+4) ranking of the first Q item, we see that the gestalt factor view ranks *I feel happy when I speak in another language* to receive only a (+1: *I sort of agree with this*) position. EK places herself in some contrast to the general stance indicated here in her (+3) ranking of this same statement. In the broadest *meso* terms therefore we see that multilingualism, as defined by this context, makes distinctions in statements in the value of the emotion they experience when utilising their linguistic repertoires. *Pride* is unquestionably characteristic, while *happiness* much less so the case.

The English cohort both adheres and diverges with this differentiation. In relation to the *pride* felt when making use of multiple languages, both England factor one and factor two are in decided agreement with the relevance of this emotion to their experience. In parallel rankings to the Finnish group, we again see a strongest agreement (+4) position afforded by both groups to this Q item. Indeed, this is represented in clear terms in the individual portraits. Despite evidencing very different constructions and experiences of self within their language learning trajectories, both MW and KT underline that *pride* is a commonly-felt emotion; indeed, in both cases their perceptions of the *individualising* nature of their multilingual proficiencies offering a contrast to their “L1 English-only” environment acts to promote feelings of pride. So too, context-source specificity was also suggested during the individual reviews, where it was evidenced that it was also the *nature* of their language learning processes that promoted feelings of pride for MW and KT. The fast-track nature of their dual language GCSE studies is an achievement both refer to as one defining feature of their positive experience in language learning. KT renders this emotive source evident in the following:

Um, I am quite proud that I have learnt so many languages, because I didn't think that I would be able to do it, I did them in quite a short amount of time.

Certainly, overlaps between the English and Finnish stance as regards this emotive appraisal of language use are clear: *Pride* is a characteristic trait of multilingual learning. *Happiness*, however, appears to be less so. While factor one does afford this second item a (+3) agreement, factor two is more hesitant, indicating a (+2) ranking in some opposition to their (+4) ranking of *pride*. While, as in the Finnish case, some agreement is indicated, there is evident fluctuation in opinion as to the strength of this emotional value across the general student experience.

In relation to the *pride* experienced as a result of their linguistic knowledge, the French group's correlation with the Finnish and English opinion is evident in that both factors one and two assert greater agreement with this emotion than with that of *happiness*. Factor one indicated (+3) alignment with “*pride*”, with factor two showing (+2). It is however less easy in this case to gauge contextually-generalizable sources for this reasonably high-level ranking, however. AST feels proud when she is able to speak with her grandmother in Spanish, and thus indicated that the realization of a language learning motivation is the source of such an emotional reaction. MME, however, demonstrated little evident impact of language learning upon her explicit self-construction, and as such

she did not provide tangible examples of potential context-based sources. When considering *happiness* as a result of language learning, however, it is clear that neither French factor understands this to be an integral trait of their linguistic experiences. Factor one ranks this statement with neutral feeling, while factor two indicates (-1) disagreement, thus offering clear contrast to the Finnish and English view as regards the role of this emotion in the process of multilingual use. This divergence in opinion is relevant for overarching comprehensions of the associations between these emotions. The consistent agreement rankings of Q items *pride* and *happiness* by the Finnish and English groups would suggest that the presence of one might presuppose the existence of the other. The French rankings however indicate that this is not the case; certainly in the construction of the experience of *pride* here, it is evident that the parallel positive experience of *happiness* is not a prerequisite for this response.

Thus far, it has emerged that student representations of *happiness* in relation to language learning have been evidently dynamic in response cross-case, and therefore also with regards to their interpretation. However, while certain limitations are implicated by the lesser agreement by the French groups as regards the Q item ranking, it is nevertheless evident that *pride*, here, is a generalizable trait of the multilingual experience of participants. In terms of the individual experience, however, it is relevant that the majority of the representations regarding the experience of this emotion are cited in relation to the practical employment of different languages, rather than more abstract reflections upon the self in relation to linguistic knowledge. For the Finnish group it is the 'normalization' of their daily multiple-language use that results in such a response, whereas for the English cohort, generally, it is the unusual nature of their multilingualism in employment that sets them apart from the broader context and therefore imports positively to self-construction. MW's example of ordering from a menu in Spanish for his family provides an example of such usage invoking *pride*. For the French group, however, it may be rather their lack of the practical language use that is the cause of their lower rankings for this item. The group *meso* review set out cases of 'self-discrepancy' that existed between their current language use and projected *ideal* selves, a concern that was linked especially clearly to both groups' limited belief in their actual and future proficiency levels. Certainly, this stance would suggest a rationale for their lesser agreement as to *pride* in their learning in line with that applied to the Finnish and English cases; a limited proficiency in a language by extension suggests limited practical use.

This emergent correlation between *pride* and *proficiency* is reinforced by the intersecting rankings of more identity-orientated Q items and the statement of *pride*. While both statements *I am a multilingual person* and *Being able to speak more than one language is an important part of my identity* are intended to be self-concept orientated, as outlined in the *meso* group reviews, it emerged that the former is considerably more fluid in interpretation, often understood to be as much a statement upon linguistic capacity as it is linked to the possession of a multilingual identity. When comparing this item with the context-specific statements of *pride*, it is evident that some correlation exists between the strength of agreement afforded to both. This is indicated in the graph below.

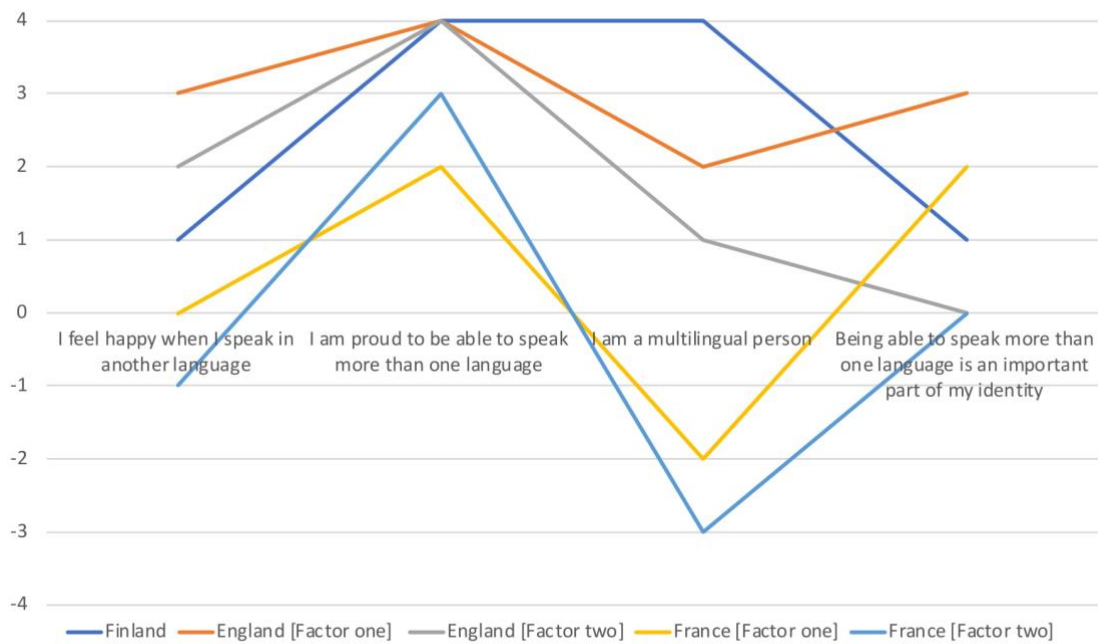


Figure 23: Q Sort rankings: *Multilingual identity/proficiency & emotions*

Accordingly, we see that the Finnish and English groups indicate a stronger agreement with both items, in line with the qualitative evidence provided that suggested a link between *pride* and practical use. The French (-2;-3) sorting of *I am a multilingual person* aligns too with the suggestion that *proficiency* was a particular point of hesitancy for both factors; correspondingly, we see too a lower ranking for '*pride*' as a result.

In contrast to the consistent context agreement as to *pride* in the student learning experience, the nature of the responses to the Q item *I feel happy* [...] are somewhat more dynamic. These fluctuations evident across the rankings of the emotion items have been addressed in research under what has been termed the 'fundamental' differences in their value. Theorists aligned with appraisal theory have suggested that the distinction is linked to the *process* of experience, with "basic" and 'universally-experienced' emotions, like *happiness*, requiring little reflection or engagement on the part of the individual, while "self-conscious" emotions, like *pride*, are exhibited as a response following "some form of self-evaluation" (Tracey & Robbins, 2004, p. 104). This distinction here between emotional values certainly aligns with the expression of the Q sort arrangements, but the notion itself of self-conscious vs conscious emotions has been considered as a misleading dichotomy by Lieberman (2019), for example. Zajonc (1984) indicates that such a stance reduces the emotional system to one under the "complete cognitive control" which has "questionable adaptive value" (p.122). In Lieberman's phrasing, it would be "impossible" for people to "go through all the possible appraisal dimensions consciously, prior to the generation of an emotional state" (2019, p.28). What is perhaps more applicable in this case is that student experience of *happiness*, distinct to that of *pride*, is aligned with the function of this former emotion in the

Positive Psychology literature. MacIntyre & Gregersen (2012) indicate that basic order emotions, such as “joy”, are often understood in common usage terms, such as “cheery” or “jovial”. In fact, the experience of happiness in *Positive Psychology* terms is strongly self-orientated, linking rather to the concept of *eudaimonia*, the idea that one is being “true to oneself” and in “the pursuit of genuine engagement” (p.208); in the relevant literature often referred to as “flourishing” (Compton & Hoffman, 2013). It is this state which is most conducive to *flow* (Csikszentmihalyi, 1975), a state of mind which permits not only an increased sense of subjective wellbeing (Nakamura & Csikszentmihalyi, 2009), but also the development of individual motivation or other such goal-orientated behaviour. Cantor & Sanderson (1999) utilize this conceptualisation of happiness as the basis for their theory of *Engagement Perspectives*, which asserts that those engaged in activities they find intrinsically motivating, that have been freely chosen and that have as aims realistic personal goals foster a greater contentment than less involved in less individually-meaningful tasks. The experience of *happiness* in these terms is therefore intrinsically combined with actions pertinent to individual, intrinsic construction of self. And indeed, in the case of the responses provided in the *meso* Q sort arrays, we see that this correlation holds when exploring the relative rankings of the item *I am happy when I speak in another language* and the most self-orientated statement *Being able to speak more than one language is an important part of my identity*.

The English context, in practice, adheres to Cantor & Sanderson’s outline of the successful fostering of subjective wellbeing; these students are the only participants of the three contexts to be engaged in optional, “*freely chosen*” language learning and to therefore most closely align to the suggestion that this has some intrinsically-motivated source. Indeed, the exemplary participant for factor one, MW, evidences this link between languages and intrinsic self-motivation in very clear terms throughout the additional activities. It is language that permits him to align himself with his sports role models, to distinguish himself from the broader, ‘monolingual’ *macro/meso* context and to successfully overcome personal learning challenges, all with resultant experiences of wellbeing. Factor two was less clearly-orientated towards intrinsically-bound motivations for undertaking language learning; as the individual participant KT suggests, for her the selection of languages at GCSE level was done so, partly because she “enjoyed” her previous linguistic experiences, but mostly for academic purposes, although the unusual nature of her dual language learning was nevertheless a source of positive emotive import. This differentiation in the self-motivational factors is reproduced in the rankings of the two Q statements outlined above. England factor one, the most intrinsically identity-linked example of language learning ranks *I feel happy [...] with (+3) agreement*, the highest-level ranking to be demonstrated across the three cases. Factor two also affords this item a (+2) position, again aligning to the conceptualisation of individual wellbeing resulting from the engagement in voluntarily selected activities. The suggestion that languages are linked to identity however is ranked lower than by factor one, indicating only (0) feeling. When considering KT’s individual statements of motivation in relation to *Engagement Perspectives*, however, we can posit an explanation will lie with the less intrinsic nature of her motivation to learn languages. Alongside her more explicit recognition she is unconvinced that her “*personality links with languages*”, she also outlines the main motivational factor in her learning is “*to look good on a CV*”. This dominant extrinsic motivation, in contrast to the requirement of the fulfilment of the ‘contented’ engagement outlined above, is a possible source of this lower ranking. In both cases

however, it is relevant that it is the 'freely-chosen' engagement in language studies which appears to be particularly conducive to the experience of *happiness*, regardless of the personal motivating factors to do so.

In contrast to the highly-scoring England factors, the Finnish group, despite the comparable nature of both their linguistic *pride* and proficiency, match their low agreement with *happiness* with the equally reluctant (+1) position of "[...] *identity*". This certainly strengthens the suggestion that the two emotional values of *pride* and *happiness* are not comparable and should not be compounded in explorations of positive emotive import in learning experiences. This much more limited association with *happiness* can again be linked to the requirements of subjective well-being outlined in an *Engagement Perspective*; unlike the English groups, the Finnish students are undertaking compulsory multilingual learning, and hence their choice of multiple language study is neither a reflection of personal interest, nor an expression of identity-orientated motivation. It is this obligatory nature of their language studies that may also explain the very low ranking of the final Q statement; the English group gained much positive emotive value from their language knowledge as a means to disassociate themselves from their 'monolingual' environment. For the Finnish participants however, their linguistic capacities are both shared and *required* by their *meso/school* environment, and as such form a normal feature of their daily experiences. This skill certainly provokes positive emotional responses from the students, but the representation of the perceived *normality* of this skill within their environment may explain the limited agreement with the suggestion that their multilingualism is integral to their construction of self.

The context stances thus far as regards the links between the experience of *happiness* in language learning and expressions of linguistic identity have adhered to expectations following an *Engagement Perspectives* approach. The French groups are somewhat less adherent to the outlines in their responses. Certainly, the low *happiness* rankings afforded by both factors follows the Finnish rationale in that multiple language learning in this context is, again, compulsory and as such does not form an expression of strongly self-motivated, voluntary action. French factor two also adheres to theoretical expectation as regards the links between *happiness* and expressions of identity in this respect in the correspondingly low (0) ranking of *Being able to speak more than one language is an important part of my identity*. Factor one however shows a surprisingly high (+2) agreement with this item, indeed recording the second highest score of the three contexts, despite the (0) position given to *I feel happy [...]*. However, we see that the suggestion that this group understands identity to be linked strongly to their language knowledge without the associated positive emotive import in fact aligns, again, with the broader pattern of *meso*-group construction behaviour. Here, too, we see a recurrence of a discrepancy between what could be termed a more 'theoretical' statement of identity and the practical experience of this particular construction. In this case, it is the emotive response that is inhibited as a response to limited capacity in self-conceptualisation.

6.1.1. Conclusions

A comparative view of the emotive import of language learning in the English, French and Finnish contexts has revealed both cross-case generalizations as well as case-specific constructions. Importantly, this review has indicated the fundamental divergences in the experiences of *pride* and *happiness* in language learning. This difference in experience offers itself to be an asset in terms of the potential implications fostering such emotions during multilingual learning may have, as are outlined in chapter seven.

The experience of *pride* in relation to multiple language use reveals a striking example of inter-context generalizability; here, despite participants' very different linguistic backgrounds, educational environments and broader social/national attitudes as regards language learning, *pride* is shown to be a consistent response to multilingual learning. This emotion was demonstrated to be especially strong in examples where student proficiency in the languages studied was also understood.

Happiness in these cases was demonstrated to align in construction with the theoretical expectations set out by Cantor & Sanderson's (1999) *Engagement Perspectives*; high levels of student contentment were recorded where the process of language learning was indicated to be strongly identity-orientated, the result of individual choice and of intrinsic motivational factors. Where languages were not seen to be integral to self-construction, as in French factor two, the correlated experience of *happiness* was negligible. This emotion, unlike, *pride*, is considerably more context-specific; *macro* attitudes towards languages education in the *meso*/school environment (the obligatory/optional nature of language learning in the curriculum, for example) as well as *micro* constructions of self in relation to linguistic knowledge are inherent to the extent of *happiness* experienced by the individual. Considerations of context are therefore essential to glean an appropriate depth of comprehension of the relationship between individual and emotion.

6.2. [Comparative] Self-Identification & Referent Others

A second cross-case emergent theme concerns the linguistic attitudes and identities of participants' "*referent others*" in the *meso* and *macro* context. Considerations of such representation is based upon the tenet that self-reference occurs as a response to group-category membership, a fundamental theme in social identity development perspectives (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Sedikides & Brewer (2001) underline the intrinsic function of self-other comparisons in their tripartite model; all a person's 'selves', the individual, the relational and the collective, are based upon the comparison of oneself with others. Here, therefore, a discussion of such constructions is especially helpful in gaining greater insight into individual self-construction because the "ubiquitous" process of developing identity in relation to one's environment is done so with the goal of acquiring information about one's own conceptualisation (Gibbons & Buunk, 1999). In particular, linguistic identity is an interesting marker for self-representation processes because, unlike "visible identities", such as race or gender, which offer category memberships "difficult to wholly deny" (Deaux, 2000, p.9), it offers grounds more fertile

for self-ascribed identification. Miyahara's (2015) study of the motivational trends of peer *returnees* in the Japanese EFL context demonstrates such a process in relation to language learning. Therefore, an enhanced understanding of the ways in which participants present the identities of the actors present in both the *meso* and *macro* sphere is a pertinent measurement of the extent to which students categorize their own identities in relation to the perceived viewpoint and well as the potential motivations for assimilation with such groups.

The representation of the attitudes and identities of others in relation to language learning, generally, depicted much mirroring of individual *micro* stances in the Finnish and French contexts. The table below sets out the rankings of the linked Q items.

No.	Q item	Finland	France [1]	France [2]
1	<i>I am a multilingual person</i>	+4	-2	-3
2	<i>My family are multilingual</i>	+2	-2	-3
3	<i>Being able to speak more than one language is an important part of my identity</i>	+1	+2	0
4	<i>Languages are an important part of my country's identity</i>	+1	+3	+1
5	<i>It's easy to see how knowing different languages fits into my life</i>	+2	0	-4
6	<i>I find it easy to see how knowing different languages fits into the lives of my friends/family/teachers</i>	+2	-1	-2
7	<i>There are more important subjects to learn at school than languages</i>	0	0	+3
8	<i>My family think it's important to learn a language at school</i>	+1	+4	+2

Both cases align almost completely in their agreement with those Q statements pertinent their own and others' multilingualism, although we see divergences in stance with respect to statements 1 and 2 across the two context groups; the Finnish group asserts a claim a multilingual identity on both accounts, while the France factors both negate this opinion. The same pattern is also evidenced with regards to personal insight into language use in an individual's daily life; statement 5 and 6 evidence, again, equal agreement on both counts by the Finnish group, and somewhat aligned disagreement by the two French cohorts. The less hesitant (-1) disagreement factor one

indicates for statement 6 is comparable to their neutral ranking of the *micro*-linked item. Factor two's greater discord with item 6 is closer in alignment to their (-4) positioning of item 5.

Finland and French factor one align in their low agreement with the possession of insight into the manner in which language use can inform identity; the first group is very consistent in their hesitant (+1) responses across both items 3 and 4, whereas the latter is more confident in understanding their own than others' patterns of linguistic identification. This concurrence between the French factor one and Finnish group is also clear in their responses to statements 7 and 8; while the French group here indicates a discrepancy in comprehension of the *micro* and the *macro*-perceived value of languages, both cohorts aligned in their neutral feeling that there are "*more important subjects to study at school than languages*". The second French group meets the agreement indicated by the two other factors as regards *micro* statement 8, but indicates a much closer (+3) agreement with the *macro* statement, too. While divergent across the context representations, intra-case we see demonstrable alignment of self-construction with that understood to be characteristic of the group's referent others.

In contrast, the English cohort indicates clear divergences of the *micro*-self from perceptions of broader identities. This stance has been previously illustrated as key element in individual self-concept; participant multilingualism permitted them to distinguish themselves within an understood to be "monolingual" environment, set out below:

No.	Q item	England [1]	England [2]
1.	<i>I am a multilingual person</i>	+2	+1
2.	<i>My family are multilingual</i>	-4	-3
3.	<i>Being able to speak more than one language is an important part of my identity</i>	+3	0
4.	<i>Languages are an important part of my country's identity</i>	-4	-4
5.	<i>It's easy to see how knowing different languages fits into my life</i>	+1	0
6.	<i>I find it easy to see how knowing different languages fits into the lives of my friends/family/teachers</i>	+1	-2
7.	<i>There are more important subjects to learn at school than languages</i>	-3	+2
8.	<i>My family think it's important to learn a language at school</i>	+1	+1

In *meso* terms, we see that both factor one and factor two display inverted opinions as regarding explicit linguistic identity claims, assuming a multilingual status for themselves and negating this in the case of the home environment. So too, a contrastive stance is demonstrated in student understanding of the role of languages in identity formation. Both groups rank the *macro* role of languages in forming national identity in very low (-4) terms, while in *micro* terms there is evidently some impact upon self-concept, in very explicit terms for factor one, statement 3 is afforded a (+3) ranking, with lesser, but still *macro*-contrastive, neutrality indicated by the factor two group (0).

The overlaps in cross-factor arrangement do not extend to other self-and-other comparable statements, however. We see that factor one demonstrates some insight into the ways in which both they and the other actors in their immediate *meso* environment make use of their languages in daily life. Statements 5 and 6 are both given a (+1) ranking; *micro* reflects *meso* in this respect, as has been indicated in other contexts outlined. Factor two indicates neutral feeling as regards their own language usage, but contrasts this demonstrably with the (-2) placement of the latter item. Likewise, while factor one also indicates that perceptions of the value of languages are demonstrated by both their family and in their own attitudinal stance, factor two agrees (+1) with item 8, but also shows (+2) concord with the suggestion that there are also more *important subjects to learn at school*, indicating some evident divergence between personal and *meso* opinion exists here.

Overarchingly, the divergent attitudinal orientations towards linguistic identity development cross-context compromises inter-case generalizability. This once again reinforces the strength of specific environment in perceptions of *micro* identity and that of the referent other. However, exploring the relationship between the constructions of *meso* and *macro* perceptions of opinion and their own representation of self can reveal key indications of the motivations for such identification. Particularly, the emotional response of group membership as a motivating factor for maintaining an alignment is applicable here. As has been extensively recognized in the social psychology literature, alongside the cognitive dimensions of self-categorization, the emotive functions of relational appraisal, if positive, can strengthen a collective identification. Negative intergroup comparisons, however, will result in attempts to achieve a more “positive identity” by engaging in certain strategies, such as leaving the group or “challenging the social group hierarchy” (Cameron, 2007, p.242).

In the French and Finnish cases it is evident that a negative appraisal of the group stance has not been the case. In positioning individual identities in congruence with the group social expected norms, as is indeed broadly the case for both contexts, it is clear that students perceive their *meso* and *macro* environments to be in alignment with their own self-perception, as such strengthening individual adherence to the *collective* self. Certainly, in strongly *linguistic identity*-orientated terms, we see that individual values are matched by social values; most

explicitly, the alignment in both contexts as regards items 3 and 4 renders this clear. As a result we see little motivation therefore to express a self in divergence from this 'ingroup'.

The inverse is the case for the English cohort, as has been outlined above. In this case we see evident discrepancies in student perceptions of their own linguistic self-concepts and the broader stances set out as regards the attitudes/identities of referent others, with the exception of familial encouragement for language learning. This stance would suggest that, in relation to Sedikides & Brewer's (2001) conceptualisation of the self, the *individual* facet of self-concept is particularly powerful here, with the participants evidencing clear attempts to distinguish their views from those of the broader context. There is also little evidence, by extension, that their *relational* self would indicate reliance upon appraisals from these referent others in terms of their language learning. This negative individual appraisal of broader social categorization results in the predicted behaviour of a dissatisfied *ingroup* member as set out by Cameron (2007); we see evident employment here of the strategy of group 'evacuation'. Both factors one and two position themselves quite clearly as outgroup members in this respect, and this strategy use was rendered in even clearer terms in the *micro* vignettes outlined in chapter four. What is however interesting to note here is that, despite the motivational stimulus being sourced from a negative appraisal, in fact the resultant effect upon individual linguistic identity is demonstrably *positive*. We have seen previously that the contrast between *micro* multilingualism and *meso/macro* monolingualism results in very clear positive emotive import to self for the participants in question, thus encouraging the continued employment of additional languages in context, and, by extension, continued denial of membership with the broader collective identity. In regards to the *meso* stance, we see that such asserted divergence from the ingroup stance results in the increased explicit demonstration of opposing views as regards the effect of languages upon identity, for example the (+2) vs (-4) rankings of factor one for items 1 and 2. Regardless of the motivation source of such statements, whether to demonstrably indicate membership with the outgroup or based in more self-congruent reflection, it is clear that such willingness to assert a multilingual identity results only in positive import for self-concept development and language learning motivation.

6.2.1. Conclusions

In this case it is evident that environmental specificity undermines the potential for inter-context generalizability here. Although the Finnish and French groups indicate 'contented' membership with the group identity they present, an accentuated *collective* self, the English cohort reveals itself to be in demonstrable contrast to their broader context. All three cases, however, demonstrate interesting implications for individual linguistic identity development. The French and Finnish contexts, although potentially lacking in evident motivational 'action' as a result of incongruent group identification, nevertheless find themselves in line with a contextual view that they perceive to assert the importance and value of languages, and therefore conducive to the development of a multilingual identity. It is interesting to note, however, that despite these identity

categorisation similarities, the *meso* reviews in chapters three and five nevertheless demonstrate that in practice the extent to which a well-developed linguistic self-concept is presented can be extremely divergent cross-context. The English group, however, must actively position themselves in contrast to the group view in order to assert a strong linguistic identity. While in all three cases the resultant outcomes for student self-concept may be the same, the processes to achieve either explicit in- or out-group membership can place very different demands on the individual.

6.3. [Comparative] Representations of Temporal Micro Linguistic Self-Concept

The final theme to be reviewed here in cross-context terms also formed the basis of the *micro* French review set out in chapter three; in this last case the divergent nature of the two participant comprehensions of self in relation to this theme indicated it to be a valuable theme for additional analysis. Constructions of self-concept in relation to language learning are however evidently especially pertinent for a review of multilingual identity representation and thus will also be developed here.

The impact of the self-concept in language learning is well-recognised in the literature, and Dörnyei's (2009, 2010) work in particular is often cited as underscoring the importance of such self-knowledge for engagement and motivational purposes. His theories are set out in greater detail in the literature review. In particular, his *L2 Motivational Self System* emphasises the transitions in the understanding of the self-concept from current to future terms; it is the attempts to realise the features identified in this 'ideal' future identity that can result in "energising goal specific behaviour" (Dörnyei, 2014c, p.7). In relation to the final research question to be answered, the congruence between student current and future selves in relation to comprehension as a multilingual individual will also be examined.

- Current Linguistic Selves

Across the three groups it is interesting to note that there is some divergence in strength of stance as regards the future and the current comprehensions of self. The French and English factors indicate that they are able to rely upon insights into sense of self in current terms; statements as to multilingual proficiency and identity are met with agreement rankings (although with some evident differences in strength of belief). As has been outlined in section 6.1. of this chapter, there is a strong implication that students understand the Q item *I am a multilingual person* to be functioning in linguistic proficiency-orientated terms, and thus this will be understood in this sense here.

No.	Q item	Finland	England [1]	England [2]	France [1]	France [2]
1	<i>I am a multilingual person</i>	+4	+2	+1	-2	-3
2	<i>I don't have the right personality for learning languages</i>	-4	-3	-2	-3	-2
3	<i>Being able to speak more than one language is an important part of my identity</i>	+1	+3	0	+2	0

Statement 1's *proficiency* entailment is met with strongest (+4) agreement by the Finnish group and (+2, +1) agreement by the English factor arrays. This concord is reinforced by the negative rankings afforded to the second-capacity orientated item 2, assigned disagreement positions by both the Finnish and English factors one and two. In terms of current *ability* then, while the English group does show some hesitancy as to the assertion of a strong multilingual identity, there is a general understanding indicated across the two cases that participants have ability in their language learning.

The French cohort is less straightforward in analysis in relation to their understanding of their current linguistic abilities. There is a clear suggestion from the (-2; -3) rankings of statement 1 by both factors that they do not feel that their linguistic capabilities are equal to the claiming of a multilingual identity. They do, however, disagree with the suggestion that they are fundamentally lacking in the traits necessary for language learning; item 2 given appraised by both in negative terms. We do therefore see some cross-context applicability in the student belief they possess the necessary character traits for successful language learning, but there is some lesser strength of agreement for the English case, and indeed disagreement for the French cohort, that these linguistic abilities are permissive to the claiming of a multilingual repertoire.

The differences in the emotional evaluations of the use of additional languages outlined reinforced the clear divergence in student belief in their possession of a multilingual identity equates a multilingual proficiency. Here, student representation of current self-concept in relation to their linguistic identities also indicates that the assertion of multilingual repertoire does not presuppose the claiming of a strongly-developed linguistic identity, and indeed vice versa.

The French and Finnish cases can provide two opposing examples here. The Finnish group, despite stating a very strong multilingual proficiency responds with only (+1) agreement with the item *Being able to speak more than one language is an important part of my identity*. French factor one, however, moves from (-2) appraisal of the

first item to (+2) agreement with item 3, and their factor two counterparts, while indicating strong disagreement with item 1, are nevertheless not convinced that languages do not play a role in their self-construction (0).

The first section of this review outlined that a likely rationale for the low agreement with the identity-orientated item on the part of the Finnish group is likely a response to the overarching *normalisation* of their linguistic abilities through daily use. For the French group however, this discrepancy between proficiency and identity-linked statements reinforces the analysis outlined in chapter five, namely that that this group experiences some 'self-discrepancy' in ideal and actual-self representation with regards to, especially, proficiency. The recurrence of this same misalignment here between the perception that languages are conducive to identity development yet an unwillingness to state linguistic capacity indicates that this context's fluctuating self-concept is one enduring, but also representative of a dynamism where a future-self-guide would be particularly effective. This suggestion will be validated in relation to this factor's construction of a future self-concept.

The Finland and France examples indicate possible directions of attitudinal orientation as regards linguistic identity and/or proficiency. The inverted scenarios set out above are interesting firstly in the inherent dynamicity of self-construction they emphasise, but secondly in the potential pedagogical implications they raise; both offer suggestions of discrepancy in viewpoint which could be addressed with appropriate educational intervention. This is discussed in greater detail in chapter seven.

The English group also present some interesting outcomes as regards their evaluation of self in relation to their linguistic proficiency and multilingual identity. England factor one provides a unique example cross-context of a group equally convinced as to both, item 1 receives a (+2) position, item 3 a (+3) ranking. The second factor array does not match their peers' strength of agreement here, but do indicate consistency in opinion as to both proficiency and identity; item 1 receives a (+1) agreement and item 3 is ranked with a neutral score. While dissimilar in the extent to which they are able to assert the above, factor two's aligned comprehension nevertheless asserts some causal relationship exists between the two statements of capacity and self-concept.

- **Future Linguistic Selves**

It was suggested in response to, for example, the French representation of the current linguistic self that the apparent discrepancy between their identification with a linguistic identity but the somewhat limited belief in *proficiency*, especially evident in the (+/-) rankings of the linked items by French factor one, can be seen to be representative of the theoretical space in which a future-self guide would be particularly beneficial in promoting learner motivation, despite the 'gap' in these facets of self-concept. The future self-guide is a fundamental factor in ensuring the '*Motivational*' element in the *L2 Self System*. However, certain preconditions exist to the formation of such a facet of self; Dörnyei & Ushioda (2011) set out that for future self-concept to be capable of inspiring motivation actions, it must be a self-concept that first of all, in fact "exists" for the learner, and, this being the case, it must be *plausible* or 'possible' in construction, *vivid* in imagination and sufficiently *different* to

the current self to inspire action (p.9). While this theoretical interpretation is explicitly developed in relation to the bilingual repertoire, applications of this framework in scenarios of simultaneous additional language learning such as the study by Dörnyei & Chan (2013) also demonstrates its validity in contexts of multilingual learning, as is the case here. A consideration of the French factors' responses to the Q sort items orientated towards perceptions of their future linguistic identity, specified in the table below, indicates the extent to which their representations match these criteria, and hence the likelihood of the motivational 'action' they will assert to reduce the discrepancy between this and their current constructions of identity/proficiency.

No.	Q item	Finland	England [1]	England [2]	France [1]	France [2]
4	<i>I find it hard to see when I will use a language like LX in the future</i>	-1	-3	-1	-1	-1
5	<i>I find it easy to imagine myself as a fluent speaker of LX in the future</i>	-2	+2	-3	-3	-4
6	<i>I think that speaking more than one language will give me more opportunities in the future</i>	+3	+3	+3	+4	+3

Both French factors one and two indicate considerable alignment in their rankings of the associated Q items. Identical (-1) rankings are afforded to item 4, which indicates some insight into potential future usage but, contrastively, there is even greater disagreement felt towards 5. *I find it easy to imagine myself as a fluent speaker of LX in the future*. For considerations of the resultant future self-guide that might emerge as a result here, it is clear that students are not convinced that they see a functional future use for their L3, and nor do they seem capable of presenting a future concept 'vivid' enough in representation to invoke action. However, both factors do appear aware of the value of additional language knowledge in the future: statement 6 is met with strong (+4; +3) agreement. This interesting contrast between the participant capability of 'envisioning' scenarios of future language use, yet still recording difficulties asserting a self-concept with adequate proficiency to achieve this mirrors the discrepancy in current self-representation indicated by *micro*-linked statements 1 and 3. Interestingly, too, is the emergence that while this class group's future self-vision is not yet adequately feasible to ensure the development of a strong future self-guide, it is however somewhat well-formed in terms of its "plausibility"; participants may not be able to see themselves clearly as fluent multilingual speakers, but they do understand that their future lives will offer opportunities for the use of additional languages. Two implications might be identified here: firstly, that an amelioration in student perception of *micro*-current and future linguistic proficiency could result in a shift towards a better-developed future self-guide, hence an assurance for their

language learning engagement and motivation, and secondly that a willingness to 'claim' a multilingual identity remains as inherently dynamic in future terms as it is in current construction. This is explored in greater detail in chapter seven.

In current self-concept terms, the Finnish cohort inverted the French stance as to the relationship between multilingual *identity* and *proficiency*, prioritising the latter and somewhat 'hedging' the former. It is therefore interesting to note that in terms of their construction of their future self-concept, almost identical rankings occur across the two cases as to item 4 (-1), item 5 (-2) and 6 (+3). Certainly, the (-2) ranking of the statement linked to student capacity to construct a linguistically-proficient future self is unusual in this case, especially given the Finnish group's strong identification as multilingual. Here, it may be the case that the Q item's specific reference to the student's L4, French, was the cause for this lower ranking. While the breadth of the statement *I am a multilingual person* permits the students to consider their overall language knowledge generally, and here would assume that the Finnish group also took their fluency in Finnish, Swedish and English into account, the decision to demarcate this last statement in relation to the students' latest addition to their repertoire is therefore a limitation of this Q statement, and is developed in detail in chapter seven. Indeed, the individual Finnish *micro* analyses would certainly suggest this limitation to be the case; both VF's and EK's future conceptualisation as speakers of both Swedish and English were well-developed, envisaging both future professional and academic contexts for their use. Despite this particular limitation, however, the equal divergence between future opportunity and future proficiency indicated by the French and Finnish groups offers a second implication of the malleability of such dynamic opinions. As was indicated in relation to discrepant current self-concepts, here too, an amelioration of student *proficiency* belief, in general terms for the French cohort and in relation to their L4 for the Finnish group, could by extension strengthen the development of a future self-guide, along with the implications for learning motivation this entails.

It is also relevant to note here that it is not the case that either a lack of self-belief in proficiency or in identity is more likely to result in limitations in future self-concept. Once again, despite the implication that the participants' future-self construction might be compromised, the dynamic divergence between their current self-constructions and understanding of their future linguistic identities reveals itself to be the potential site of transformation.

The English group revealed a contrastive trend to the French and Finnish groups in their current self-construction, indicating some correlation between perceptions of *proficiency* and *identity*. However, once again, and in line with Dörnyei's (2014c) assertion that the existence of a future self-guide cannot be assumed to automatically be the case for language learners, it is only England factor one that remains consistent in the mirroring of the strength of the current self-development with their future projections. This group is evidently in possession of a well-developed future linguistic identity, as was indicated in the *meso* review in section 4.4.1. They understand, firstly, that knowledge of additional languages will not only afford them additional opportunities in the future (+3), but they are at ease to imagine when the need for their languages will arise (-3), as well as demonstrating

that this self is 'visually' well-constructed in terms of proficiency; item 6 receives a (+2) ranking. Conversely, factor two aligns with the orientations set out by the Finnish and the French cohorts as regards the future self, aligned with the general agreement that languages will offer them future opportunities (+3), and that they can envisage when such opportunities may occur (-1), but nevertheless unable to associate this self with future linguistic proficiency (-3). This limitation in future self-construction as a fluent speaker is in some contrast to factor two's statement of current multilingual proficiency, which they afforded a (+1) ranking. It is less likely the case that it is the language-specificity of the Q item statement which has resulted in this ranking, as both English groups have attained equal levels in proficiency in their L2 French and L3 Spanish, having taken both at GCSE level. As such it is more likely that this judgment has been made in relation to perceptions of their multilingual capacities. Despite, therefore, the alignment in ranking strength afforded to the current self-statements by this factor group, it is not clear that such correlation will automatically support the development of a more tangible future self, in contrast to both well-developed temporal self-concepts outlined by the factor one group. In this particular case, it is again likely that the emergence of both a vivid and feasible future self-guide would need to be assured via a positive shift in belief as to future linguistic proficiency.

6.3.1. Conclusions

In the broadest terms, the data here has illustrated that there is often little consistency in construction between a group's current and future self. While, evidently, both facets contribute to the holistic view of learner identity, the divergences in representation evidenced here suggests that the compounding of these two temporal representations would be reductionist, and would lose sight of some dynamicity of construction inherent to a learner's sense of self. Certainly, the value of a complexity systems approach is highlighted here as providing a means of mapping these differing, yet integrally, interrelated constructions in terms of their "complexity, temporality and dynamism" (Mercer, 2016, p.18). It also underlines that such facets of the complex self are in constant transition; the capture of any features 'typical' of such a system cannot be assumed to necessarily remain the case.

Student construction of current and future self-concept in relation to their language learning reveals both complex context specificity as well as an interesting example of cross-case generalisability. The construction of current linguistic identity by the three context groups is evidently divergent, showcasing the considerable dynamicity in identity development that this analysis has assumed. Contrastive directional *proficiency vs identity* rankings are demonstrated by the French and Finnish groups, the former group aligning more with suggestions of linguistic *identity* than multilingual proficiency, especially the factor one cohort, and the Finnish case indicating the inverse to be more demonstrative of their current self-concept. The divergent strength of agreement rankings as to *identity* indicated by the French factors also underlines the fundamental dynamicity that must be assumed in intra-case self-construction. Despite largely parallel student linguistic backgrounds, as well as equal exposure to their L2 and L3 learning over the last three years, the emergent outcomes in relation to linguistic

identity are not completely parallel across the group. It was suggested that discrepancy in strength of belief between these two linguistic concepts demonstrated by the two contexts could be targeted by appropriate educational interventions; this will be developed chapter seven.

Despite the clear divergence in current self-comprehension, some inter-context generalisability was indicated in the manner in which French and Finnish factors presented their understandings of their future linguistic concept. Both groups indicated some awareness of the future opportunities to be offered to them as linguists, but were ill at ease to assert their future linguistic *proficiency* in their additional language. The alignment in rankings across both cases does however confirm that current rankings do not automatically presuppose certain orientations in future rankings. This gap in comprehension of the utility of languages in future and the difficulties indicated in claiming a strong level of future capacity has been discussed in relation to Dörnyei's theorisation of the *future-self guide*. Somewhat paradoxically, it is this limited belief in future proficiency that may be the most effective target for a reduction in deficit between certain facets of self.

This 'gap' in future self-construction is also evidenced by the English factor two group, again a somewhat unexpected generalisation following this cohort's alignment in understanding as to the role of languages in informing both their current identities as well as statements of proficiency, in contrast to the other two contexts. This group was, however, more limited in their agreement with these items than their factor one peers, which may offer some rationale as to the suggestion that they understand their future linguistic proficiency to be limited, as such indicating that they do not foresee much improvement to occur in their language learning levels. Nevertheless, this discrepancy suggests some cross-context applicability exists in the assumption that, regardless of the strength and manner of the current self-construction, an apparent lack of student confidence in the future self-concept may be causally linked to perceptions of proficiency.

The England factor one group is the only cohort to demonstrate a strength of understanding of current linguistic *identity* and *proficiency*, and to be also able to translate these perceptions into a well-developed future self-concept. In so doing, it is clear that their transition of focus from present self to future linguist demonstrates the features set out by Dörnyei (2014) as necessary for a successful future self-guide; their future identity is "plausible", and there is also recognition of the extrinsic merit of languages for their future selves, an additional potentially motivating factor. A combination of these beliefs would certainly suggest the likelihood of the members of the factor one group remaining engaged in their language learning in future.

6.4. [Comparative] Summary: Final Outcomes

The development of the three emergent themes to have cross-context recurrence has identified the similarities and differences in linguistic self-representation, as well as suggesting the potential sources for such divergence. The inherent dynamism and complexity of multilingual identity construction suggests that in all thematic stances, the consideration of context-specificity is key. This is especially the case when addressing the potential pedagogical implications of student self-comprehension. While assuming a context-specific approach is maintained, there are nevertheless some interesting features of multilingual identity to emerge across all three cases.

- *Pride* in relation to multilingual learning is a strikingly generalisable feature of multilingual identity construction and is evidenced to be a consistent individual response to the use/learning of multiple languages, and especially so when students assert the possession of linguistic proficiency.
- The existence of student *pride* does not presuppose that an individual will also feel *happy* as a response to their language learning. This emotive response is suggested to be most applicable in cases where a high level of student identification as a multilingual individual occurs. Additional research would be necessary to determine whether this causal relationship is reproduced in comparable circumstances and a context specific approach would be essential in any educational intervention.
- A review of the representation of the linguistic identities of participants' *referent others* allows some insight into the extent of the assimilation of individual and group standpoint; understanding the alignments and divergences are helpful for identifying the extent to which a student understands themselves in congruence or in opposition to their broader social environment. Both cases have potential implications for language learning/use motivations. An opposing stance to the overarching *meso/macro* view can offer some impetus for 'motivational' action in contexts where languages are not valued in broader social terms. The England case is a paradigm of such a catalyst. However, an alignment with the *collective* self does not necessarily limit an individual's potential for language learning, assuming that this context prioritises and encourages the learning and use of additional languages. A 'contented' individual-group alignment in this case would indicate an environment conducive to the development of a multilingual identity; conversely, such identification with the *collective self* would be problematic for ensuring multilingual 'motivation' if the broader context did not prioritise the use of languages. Therefore, student representation of the linguistic identities of others is an invaluable tool for identifying their individual orientation towards the use and learning of their multiple languages and for permitting a *holism* of understanding of the intrinsic relationship between group and individual. Importantly, the context-specificity indicated in each case's representation of this theme does urge

caution in stating inter-case generalisability, despite the broader parallels between the French and Finnish groups.

- While evidently integrally inter-linked and interrelated, the review of student representation of their current and future linguistic identities indicated some benefit in considering these two self-concepts separately. Little consistency was demonstrated between student representation of their current identity as a linguistic and their capacity to maintain this stance when projecting a future self-concept.
- Student perceptions of linguistic *proficiency* revealed itself to be a limitation in the construction of a strong multilingual self-concept cross-thematically. There was particular difficulty evidenced for four of the five factor groups in the assertion of a such future capacity in their L3/4, despite some current-self statements to the contrary. This incongruence underlines the inherent dynamism that must be assumed when evaluating the temporal construction of identity. In uniquely current terms, too, nor should individual comprehension of linguistic *identity* and linguistic *proficiency* be compounded. Both are demonstrated to be contributing traits to student multilingual self-construction, but to assume causality between the two is reductionist. The divergences in assertion intra-case as to possession of these two facets of self reinforces the fundamental dynamicity in identification processes. Importantly, it is also this inherent dynamicity that is indicated to be the site of potential pedagogical intervention.

Chapter Seven

Conclusions

7.1. Chapter aims

The conclusion takes an analytical and a reflective approach. Firstly, a brief synopsis of the key findings is provided. The theoretical implications are then reviewed and linked to the original objectives set out in chapter one, and the methodological conceptualisations employed are discussed as to their effectiveness at meeting the research aims, and potential improvements are elaborated. The implications arising from the results of this study are developed, the limitations outlined, and finally potential future avenues of empirical inquiry in multilingual identity construction are identified.

7.2. Overview of research findings

This work's focus on both the individual and group construction of multilingual identity was developed in response to calls in research, discussed in chapter one, for empirical work that examined this phenomenon in both *holistic* and specifically *multilingual* terms. This study therefore provides additional empirical insight into the characteristics of L3+ learner identity *in context*, a much-needed redirection of applied linguistic research focus for today's global plurilingual age. In line, too, with the necessitated 'holism' in identity research, cross-case recurrent characteristics are also examined to identify those applicable to the multilingual self-concept *in general*.

Representations of self-concept unique to both context and to learner were evidenced in the Finnish, English and French analyses, and the dynamic relationships between individual and environment were evaluated to exemplify the impact of a particular theme upon linguistic identity development. The six *micro* portraits developed as a result of this focus revealed both similarities and considerable discrepancies in individual representations of variables. Cross-case, three themes emerged as recurrent in all contexts; *The emotive import of language learning/use*; *Self-identification & Referent Others*, and finally *Representations of micro temporal self-concept*. The constructions of these variables across student representations were evaluated in chapter six with a view to ascertaining the extent of their "generalisability" (Henry, 2012) to multilingual identity. Additional insight as to the construction of generally applicable variables is useful for the pedagogical "operationalisation" of the linguistic self-concept; section 7.5. develops these implications.

The four analysis chapters preceding this conclusion respond, cumulatively, to the three objectives identified in the opening of this thesis and the resultant findings thus pertain as much to an empirical understanding of the individual self-concept as to that of a group.

7.3. Implications of Research

As outlined in section 2.2.1, the complex “way of thinking” adopted in this work informed all aspects of the research, in epistemological and theoretical terms, and also in practical operationalisation. Therefore, particular importance was placed upon the successful meeting of theory and methodology to ensure that, firstly, the conceptualisation of learner self was both adequately *holistic* and *complex* to account for multilingual identity development, but also that the particular ‘challenges’ in the use of complex systems theory were mitigated. This convergence is evaluated as successful in meeting the aims of the research objectives, yet has also resulted, to an extent, in the ‘intertwining’ of both where the outcomes cannot be evaluated without reference to the other. The discussion of the implications below of the research therefore reflects this theoretical and methodological ‘synthesis’.

7.3.1. Theoretical Implications

The case-focused structure of this research permitted the evaluation of multilingual identity construction in context-specific terms. The paucity in empirical work with this focus, outlined in section 1.3.3, necessitated the maintenance of *holism* to capture the multifaceted negotiation of self in relation to context, as well as to identify the specifically-impactful variables in each study. The focus on the group construction of multilingual identity permitted a first overview of typically characteristic representations in a particular case, while the addition of an individual-focused evaluation offered insight as to the specific nature of their contribution to the process. Thus, a focus on both the group stance as well as the individual experience was taken; the analyses are as such mutually reciprocal.

RQ1. *What characterises the L3+ learning/using experience in different contexts, and how do these characteristics contribute to student identification as multilingual?*

It emerged across the three cases that responses to multilingual learning/use were in all cases *context-specific*, exemplifying Singleton *et al.*'s (2013, p.5) assertion that, while plurilingualism may not display limitations in terms of geography or societal type, the relationships which characterise the phenomenon “have particular characteristics” and “develop in a specific manner *in each context*”. Environment ‘specificity’ is thus an essential tenet of any theorisation of multilingual identity. The Finnish case, for example, demonstrated attitudes of *linguistic inclusivity/non-inclusivity* in their representations of linguistic practices. The broader view was overwhelmingly *inclusive*, and was argued to be a response to the ‘normalisation’ of the multilingual repertoire in this case. Individual representations were considerably more dynamic in construction, evidencing fluctuations between both *inclusive* and *exclusive* attitudes. The English case evidenced the same complexity of

construction when considering the individual view in relation to the group orientation. In this context, group strength of opinion as to the role and function of the student's native language, and thus their identification as L1 speakers, was a striking outcome from the *meso* review and demonstrated mixed negative/positive orientations across the two factors. The individual vignettes offered further detail as to this emergent construction and revealed the dynamic responses provoked by (self)-ascribed identification as an English speaker. Finally, data from the French context revealed particularly divergent representations of student temporal self-concept were at play in the LDR group. The shift from gestalt to specific indicated that individual self-construction both mirrored and digressed the broader gestalt viewpoint, but in all cases alignment was found in discrepant assertions of student *ideal* linguistic self-concept and their perceptions of actual identification.

RQ2. *What are the system dynamics at play in each context and how do these influence participant representations?*

Theory and method were especially convergent in the response to this second research objective which is also intrinsically linked to findings related to the first. The theoretical *nested* structure of both the case itself, focusing the analysis upon national *macro*, group *meso* and individual *micro* attitudes and experiences permitted cross-level influences to be identified and elaborated to provide a view of the system in its broadest *level of granularity*. It emerged, for example, that the *meso* English stance appeared especially influenced by *macro*-level ideologies as regards the global status of their native language. A focus upon the individual learner, focused upon the *micro* level of this system and also analysed in relation to their reciprocal *nested* representations, allowed the influence of the particular system dynamics upon participant to be exemplified. In all cases such constructions were evidenced as dynamic and unique to each learner. The Finnish participants, EK and VF, for example, presented attitudinal orientations influenced particularly by *meso*-context linked experiences, demonstrating the re-constructions of linguistic identity in relation to others also present in these spheres. The *meso*-level also emerged as especially impactful upon French participant AST's self-concept development, where the linguistic examples of certain *referent others* enabled, with positive effect, the development of an idealised future L3 self. Conversely, *experiences* at this same sphere also asserted a negative influence in relation to AST's actual self-concept representation. The dynamics of the English case established, alternatively, that national *macro*-level attitudes and experiences contributed a particular impact upon participant self, both representing a *hindrance* to effective language learning but also, implicitly, providing a means of positive student *individualisation*. The analytical approach, structured by both the conceptualisation of learner and system as *nested*, permitted both the dynamics of each context system to be described as well as the influence upon learner identity(ies) to be demarcated.

RQ3. *Do emergent themes recur cross-contextually and to what extent are these indicative as generally applicable to the multilingual self-concept?*

The identification of the emergent characteristics in each case, directed by the first two study objectives, also responds to the final aim of this work, itself a response to Henry's (2012) call for greater insight into the "generalisability" of results in language learner identity research. The holistic design of the research intended to capture a breadth of potentially impactful factors upon multilingual identity construction in diverse contexts. The identification of three themes recurrent cross-case were identified: *The emotive import of language learning/use*, *Representations of micro temporal self-concept* and student *Self-identification* in relation to their *Referent Others*. In all cases it is recognised that alignments in stance across the groups is tempered by the context-specific nature of each construction, however, certain emergent indications of generally 'applicable' traits were indicated. The strength of student identification as linguistically 'proficient' in their languages was causally linked to the strength of *pride* felt as a response to language learning. The experience of *happiness*, conversely, did not link to considerations of fluency level but was, rather, more typical of students "intrinsically engaged" with their studies, aligned in representation with Cantor & Sanderson's (1999) theorisation of *Engagement Perspectives*.

The evaluation of the context's broad *micro* self-concept construction revealed a general dynamicity existed in the strength of student self-construction in temporal terms, with the English case being the sole group to demonstrate a consistently well-developed concept in both current and future representations. This outcome suggested some analytical value is gained from considering these constructions separately. The analysis of the fluctuating stances, 'actual to ideal', is argued to provide a means of ascertaining the likelihood of the existence of an effective 'future-self guide', following Dörnyei & Ushioda's (2013) heuristics. There are implications for pedagogy to be taken from all three themes cited here, and these are addressed in detail in section 8.2.2.

In broadest terms, the utility of a complexity approach as a means of adequately theorising the dynamicity of the L3+ learner linguistic identity has been re-confirmed and, importantly, its general *applicability* has been demonstrated; employed in three very divergent multilingual contexts, a conceptualisation of these student selves as complex in all cases permitted the identification of intra- and inter-case emergent representations. We see, for example, that complexity has permitted the effective depth of modelling and analysis of the comparative system outcomes. Student emotional appraisal of their language using/learning experience analysed within this framework permitted the strongly characteristic emotion of *pride* in L3+ learning to be identified, as well as underscoring the causal links between this emotion and perceptions of *multilingual proficiency*, and that of the more fluctuating interpretation of *happiness*, along with its potential alignment with the strength of participant *multilingual identification*. So too, the construction of student temporal self-concept development is modelled with the depth necessary to allow the full dynamicity of this phenomenon to emerge; while inter-case constructive similarity was indicated in the discrepancy evidenced between current and the future self-representation, the directional influence of the system and the final, temporal representations to emerge were distinct in each. Complexity is able to account for these resultant conceptualisations, as well suggesting as a result that a most holistic viewpoint is gained via the analysis of these phenomena both as separate constructions as well as in *actual* and *ideal* terms.

Finally, complexity theory is shown to be permissive to the integration of additional conceptualisations to fully account for an indicated nascent trait. It has been suggested that the evaluation of student self in relation to their representations of the linguistic identity of the collective group is a useful means of strengthening researcher insight into the former, as well as underlining the potential motivational *action* that might ensue. While, again, distinctions in strength of in-group alignment were evidenced, all representations were effectively bridged by theories of relationship between individual and their *Referent Others* (Gibbons & Buunk, 1999; Cameron, 2007). An empirical assumption that an individual is inherently complex and dynamic invites such meta-theorisation, and in so doing avoids the reductivism often evidenced by other conceptualisations by avoiding “erroneous inferences about the causes of system behaviour” (Papachristos, 2012, p.7).

7.3.2. Methodological Implications

The rapid development of the recently-defined ‘distinct’ field of multilingual self-development underlines the necessity that conceptualisations of this phenomenon provides empirical flexibility and is conducive to adequate research innovation. The ‘complexification’ of identity employed in this work was permissive to exploratory work as well as to mixed methods, the latter underlined by Gilmore as non-negotiable when seeking to gain a rich and “nuanced” view of “the various components present” in a system (2016, p.198). Especially, the flexibility offered by the latter as a means of integrating newer methodologies like Q Methodology alongside more traditionally-employed SLA tools was revealed to be a particular asset of a complexity approach.

One of the key objectives of this research was to overcome the well-documented “challenges” posed by the adoption of complexity in practice. Issues are multiplex and are linked to both the appropriate demarcation of a context asserting an empirical value, as well as the adequate means of the inclusion of psychological, emotional or “historical” elements of context “internal to the learner” (Ushioda, 2014, p.49). The former, especially, is an exigent consideration because the very nature of a complex system means that the interrelated elements in flux cannot be separated (Mercer, 2016).

Empirical concerns regarding the appropriate demarcation of the system while maintaining “phenomenological validity” (Hiver & Al-Hoorie, 2016, p.744) have also been addressed. While a more theoretical concern, this issue has implications for the successful operationalisation of complexity and is thus discussed here. This work argues that the successful definition of a particular dynamic system, and thus the ‘bounding’ of the research analysis focus, can be found via the adoption of a nested approach which considers *both* the group and the individual view; this prioritises holism in analysis and therefore mitigates any potential for reductionism when defining the boundaries of the system, as can often be the case (Ushioda, 2014). So too, the strong empirical focus on *context* inherent within this theorisation also strengthens the validity of the analytical outcomes,

meeting Larsen-Freeman & Cameron's assertion that contextual factors are a "major determinant" of a system's behaviour, and can as such be "formalized into the system parameters" (2008, p.68). The nested and co-constructive *macro-meso-micro* levels permits the identification of emergent influences as well as offering both the *breadth* and *depth* of insight deemed essential for a successful complexity-orientated study (Gilmore, 2016). This particular function makes a strength of contribution to knowledge building equal to that of the first point outlined in this section.

A second asset of a complex approach is its capacity to establish the cross-context divergences in as much detail as their alignments. The same detail of context dynamicity is demonstrated when shifting the view to each individual-in-context. Alongside the three recurrent cross-case themes, the *inclusivity/non-inclusivity* orientations evidenced in the Finnish case were characteristic of the student multilingual experience, typifying their portrayals of the emotive evaluations of their language learning, their comprehensions of the linguistic identities of their relational *meso* actors, as well as their distinctly individual current/future self-concept development. The England participants demonstrated a dynamic, and in the case of MW, particularly negative, relationship with their L1, utilising their identification as native English speakers with multilingual knowledge as a means of *individualising* themselves within the perceived '*monolingual*' *macro* norm, experiencing positive emotive import to self when successful in such representations. Finally, a context-focused conceptualisation of learner identity also indicated the specificities of current and future self-concept development in the French context, where a comparison of the two individuals MME and AST demonstrated that significant alignment with one viewpoint established by the Q sort task did not fully account for their temporal self-representations and permitted the identification of strongly impactful context-level linked influences that offered explanation for these divergences in stance. *Macro* factors linked to the role of LOTFs in environments beyond the home/*meso* sphere is posited to direct much of MME's 'minimisation' of her linguistic identity, and for AST it has been suggested that, while demonstrating difficulties constructing a well-developed linguistic self-concept, certain of her *meso*-relational others have an especially powerful impact upon AST's idealised multilingual identity. As such, a nested context approach in practice not only indicates the effective 'demarcation' of the particular system to be evaluated, but also supports a depth of insight to support and develop those gained from the broader complex view.

Finally, a further contribution to work in complexity theory is offered via the integration of the multilingual learner models. These aids have two implications; firstly, they offer a means of demonstrating the final outcome of the complete, practical 'operationalisation' of a complex systems approach to L3+ identity development. The adequate visual mapping of a particular system permits research transparency and therefore enables the models to be integrated in other work. They also offer a tangible means of 'decomplexifying' the complex; an often-cited theoretical issue in complexity is linked to the question of gaining 'full comprehensibility' of a particular system: "*if everything is interconnected, how is it possible to study anything apart from everything else?*" (De Bot & Larsen-Freeman, 2011, p.18). These models are a potential solution for examining a particular system in isolation, as the images in this study offer, enabling a *depth* of insight, and they are also conducive to the integration of the additional system dynamics in relation to other themes of

note. This latter approach therefore permits the examination of the “complex whole” and thus ensures a *breadth* of insight can also be achieved. Overarchingly, they represent the visual cumulation of the holistic analysis of L3+ identity construction.

7.4. Research Limitations: *Empirically Modelling Multilingual Identity*

The strengths of complexity theory as a means of effectively analysing and modelling multilingual self-construction are evidenced above. However, as with any theorisation addressing the notoriously thorny issue of identity, certain limitations, both theoretical and methodological, are acknowledged here.

7.4.1. Theoretical Limitations

The key research concept, namely, student identity is a ‘thorny issue’ difficult to apply in practical research terms. It is recognized that conceptualizing this phenomenon via a complexity lens is only one means of theorizing the relationship between individual and language, and a different approach would, of course, yield very different analytical outcomes. However, as one of few studies to demonstrate a possible approach to the operationalization of complex identity in multilingual contexts this limitation is also felt, conversely, to be a strength of this research.

The operationalisation of complexity theory in empirical work is not without unique challenges, many of which are recognised in the literature. Mercer (2016) and Ushioda (2014) both note as a particular difficulty to be found in a complexity approach the effective ‘demarcation’ of the system to explore. A systems approach assumes that any complex phenomenon under investigation will never exist as a system “in its own right” (Mercer, 2016, p.18); any set of interlinking variables will be subsumed by and subsuming of other systems. To take an “all or nothing” approach is “hardly practical” (Ushioda, 2014, p.52), but it must be acknowledged that in setting the *level of granularity* (Hiver & Al-Hoorie, 2016, p.744) with which the system is analysed will exclude other interlinked and influential elements. The constraints of PhD research, in terms of both the time allotted and the scope appropriate, necessitated the strict demarcation of the system boundaries that were employed, structured by both the length of data collection possible and via the context-nested structure. It is recognized that this work offers only one direction of insight into the extremely complex nature of multilingual identity development, and as such a different focus with the same data would produce very different outcomes. I believe nevertheless that this study maintains empirical validity. The use of multiple, complementary methods as well as a strong focus upon group and individual experience as a further means of qualitative validation, aligns with Hiver & Al-Hoorie’s (2016) suggestions that the setting the appropriate *level of granularity* maintains the phenomenological validity of a particular case under exploration. Any complexity study must be understood to only ever offer a “fragment” of insight into the dynamic structuring of a particular

system (Mercer, 2012), such is the very nature of such complex phenomena. As such, this study asserts a value in offering another such 'snapshot' view to the field of multilingual identity construction.

7.4.2. Methodological Limitations

It is outlined above that setting the "*level of granularity*" of a system will, unfortunately, necessitate the exclusion of data from the final analysis. Limitations linked to the more practical elements of research with a complexity view also link to the challenges of ensuring adequate breadth of insight into a particular system is achieved.

The exploratory, multiple case-study design of this study offered some particular challenges in respect to the above. In seeking both general inter-context *applicability*, directed by research objective three, and the context *specificity* outlined by research objectives one and two, it was necessary to obtain both a *depth* and *breadth* of data. While the development of the data collection tools utilized in this study, questionnaire, interview protocol and Q method, was theory-driven, it was essential to ensure that they pertained to the group and individual view, and also remained applicable to diverse contexts of multilingual learning. As such, generalisations of relevant theory were necessary, and it is recognized that it is likely the case that context-specific representations contributing to student self-concept may not have emerged as a result. Certainly, future research utilising a parallel research paradigm could overcome this shortcoming by taking a greater depth of analysis within each context, either in temporal terms or in relation to the breath of thematic data focus.

Quite early on in the writing up stages it became evident that the constraints of thesis word-length necessitated the exclusion of one context from the final work in order to maintain the appropriate detail of analysis for the remaining three case studies. As such, it was not possible to adhere completely in the comparative analysis to the ideal design of the study which paired contexts according to *macro* national language policy (two cases were set in dual official language contexts, two in officially monolingual nations) and *meso/school* environment (two L1-medium educational contexts, two L2-medium contexts). The integration of the Welsh case may have illuminated additional, L2-medium/dual language policy emergent themes. A focus on either individual or group-specific viewpoint would allow the consideration of additional data, but would in turn be reductionist in relation to the work's research objectives. As such, the focus on both specificity and potential cross-case applicability was selected in preference to the inclusion of the additional context.

Finally, certain issues that emerged during the research process in relation to the practical employment of Q methodology are addressed here.

Firstly, and linked to the first methodological limitation outlined in this section, the nature of the exploratory, multiple case-study approach rendered the refining of the Q item set somewhat challenging to meet both demands of context-specificity while remaining applicable in multiple contexts. While all the methodological tools were developed in relation to the theories evidenced as likely most applicable in the literature, it is recognized that the items included in the set are the product of my own interpretations and hypotheses as to the construction of multilingual identity within a complexity epistemology. Again, as outlined in relation to the conceptualisation of identity as *complex*, in practice, too, a different paradigm may have resulted in the identification of a different Q set.

So too, the practical requirements for the successful completion of the Q method activity, and indeed the other qualitative tasks, during the data collection period made it impossible to include all potentially pertinent thematic items which would have demanded a Q sort with at least 100 statements. The project's pilot revealed that the sorting of 43 items permitted adequate student reflection within the 30 minutes available for the task and as such the Q set was restricted to those statements deemed most appropriate following the literature review. In circumstances where additional time had been available, the task would have been additionally effective if re-administered towards the end of the placement and only focused on those emergent, cross-contextually relevant themes, for example, student emotional appraisal or perceptions of future self-concept. This would necessitate a change in research design structure and the completion of the Q sort following the identification of the inter-case themes, but is certainly an approach applicable to future empirical work.

Finally, the use of Q methodology in this study confirmed Watts & Stenner's (2005) recommendation that this tool be used only in conjunction with other methods. While proving to be an excellent stimulus for the stimulated-recall interview as well as the confirmation of individual emergent themes when completing the *micro* analysis, the Q set was confirmed to only ever provide a "snapshot or temporally frozen image of subject positions" (p.71). While combining the data from this task with that gained from other methods, as well as orally verifying the Q sort organization with the participants themselves ensured that the interpretations made were justified, it was occasionally the case, as evidenced by both KT and AST in relation to the Q statement *I am a multilingual person*, that confirmation in the Q task was later negated. In-depth follow up discussions would be a necessity for any researcher utilizing this tool in isolation.

Finally, the employment of the Q sort to outline the *meso*-gestalt view must also be evaluated. However, again it would be recommended that a focus on group identity via the use of Q methodology is best complemented by individual-orientated data to ensure the system is analysed in full holistic complexity. As was evidenced especially in the French case, participants loading with significance on one factor demonstrated some representations more characteristic of the other factor of note. The identification of these traits was an asset to the comprehension of the complex dynamics of the system in question, but this discrepancy in attitudinal orientation would have been lost had an individual view not been taken. Certainly, however, as a means of

gaining some insight into the 'broadstrokes' thematic representations, Q methodology proved to be an effective tool.

7.5. Research Implications for Pedagogy

Work by Ushioda (2011) and Castillo Zaragoza (2011) underscores the potential beneficial outcomes of identity engagement in language learning. These studies have found that learners who are able to "speak as themselves" (Ushioda, 2011, p.14) are more likely to be engaged and motivated in their learning and, by extension, will also be supported in their more general social development (Taylor *et al.*, 2013).

Despite the increasing recognition in the literature that "the process of education has a fundamental role to play in identity formation" and that the social and relational-self affordances of the foreign languages classroom are a "hitherto underused space" (Fisher *et al.*, 2018, pp.11-12), the paucity of empirical work thus far focused on the identity construction of L3+ learners has limited insight into the specificities of this particular phenomenon. Thus, possible implications for teaching in contexts of multilingualism remain still somewhat opaque. This thesis has analysed cross-case emergent themes in relation to their general applicability as characteristic of the multilingual experience. The statement of broad-stroke 'generalisations' is difficult, and indeed to do so would disregard the context-dynamic specificities assumed by, and indeed elaborated within, each context. However, certain recurrent 'directions' of representation/attitude have been identified which offer potential implications for languages pedagogy. Especially, the question of discrepant student perceptions as regards their multilingual *proficiency* and their multilingual *identity* emerged as a particularly influential in orientating certain self-constructions.

- Student Emotional Appraisal

While it has been noted that *happiness* and *pride* fulfil different functions in the construction of the multilingual self, the essentially positive nature of both these emotions underlines the value in seeking to foster their presence in the learning process. The data has indicated the concepts of self that link most evidently to the experience of these emotions; therefore, it may be the case that increasing student awareness of these dynamic factors may result in higher levels of positive emotionality in language learning. In the example of *pride*, it was demonstrated to be the case that a greater agreement with suggestions of linguistic proficiency increased the extent to which students agreed that they were "*proud to be able to speak more than one language*". Fluctuations in standard terminology as regards capacity in languages could be exploited to positive effect here; encouraging awareness of the range of definitions available, and prompting students to reflect upon and redefine what *proficiency* could mean in their particular context could all help to support the development of *pride* in relation to student language learning. Fisher *et al.*'s (2018) work offers a practical, educational intervention that

can be usefully employed in future research to achieve such ends. Their *participative* approach to the development of multilingual identity in the languages classroom identifies the fostering of student reflection and reflexivity as a means of encouraging the (re)-negotiation of self within a more encompassing, “umbrella” identification that holds the act of language-learning itself, regardless of linguistic proficiency, as permissive to the claiming of a multilingual identity.

Likewise, the considerably fluid nature of the experience of *happiness* demonstrated also serves to indicate some potential responses in pedagogy. More evidently *identity*-linked than the experience of *pride*, a focus on the ways in which languages inform one’s own self-concept is indicated to be avenue that leads to greater student contentment in learning, and aligns with the theoretical standpoint indicated by Fisher *et al.* (2018) who outline a “participative” classroom approach is best placed to encourage such identity-orientated learning. Moreover, an increased sense of contentment in relation to language learning has implications both within and beyond the classroom. Student happiness in relation to learning is indicated to improve both motivation and attainment (Gutman & Vorhaus, 2012) and indeed, such increased levels of contentment in relation to academic experiences are linked to higher levels of wellbeing in adulthood (Chanfreau *et al.*, 2013).

While the implications of engagement with the role of emotions in learning are indicated to be more generally applicable, the specificity of the nature of self-construction in relation to emotional experience outlined does indicate that considering context specificity is essential for appropriate measures to be implemented.

- **The Temporal Self-Concept**

Representations of the current and future linguistic self in cross-context terms have indicated interesting divergences in relation to the traits participants believe to be overarchingly characteristic of their multilingual identities.

The dynamicity present across the current self-construction would, at a first view, suggest little justification for generalisable statements, but in fact the perceptions of *identity* and *proficiency* in language learning existing as potentially dominant-subordinate facets of self offers some indication as to the sphere of focus to support the strength of student perception of the role of these two constructs. It cannot be assumed that the presence of belief in, for example, student *proficiency* in language learning will equate to equally strong *identification* as a linguist, and vice versa; hence the recognition of the dominant trait can permit the focus of an educational strategy to augment the perception of the lesser facet of self. The Q sort task could be usefully employed by educators to identify these potential discrepancies. This focused educational strategy and, importantly, one that is *relevant* to traits identified as characteristic of the specific context, could therefore result in stronger overall student identification as ‘*multilingual*’, as indeed was indicated by the England factor one group.

Such interventions focused on current student representation of self can have impact on future self-representation. In this case, the focus of any such strategy could also offer additional motivational outcomes. The divergence in the temporal view of the self-concept outlined by participants here aligns with Dörnyei's theorisation of the *future-self guide* and, with the exception of the England factor one group, it was the 'vividness' of this construct that appeared to be lacking for French, Finnish and England factor two cohorts in terms of their future linguistic proficiency. An increase in self-belief as regards this facet of future self would in theory therefore augment the likelihood of "goal-specific behaviour" (2014, p.7). Again, the capacity of the Q sort task to identify this specific element of future self-construction as limiting for students cross-contextually confirms its utility for the classroom context. Certainly for educators eager to 'energise' such motivational behaviour in their students, targeting the facet of self-representation preventing the effective development of a *future-self guide* would permit remediation. Again, gearing the approach to meet the context-specificity of such a representation would be essential.

- **Self-Identification & Referent Others**

A consideration of the self-identification processes in the three contexts indicates that regardless of *meso* and *macro* categorisations, all groups indicate self-identification processes, whether in line or divergent from the broader stance, that promote the development of linguistic identities. The French and Finnish cases, indicating that the *micro* value placed upon languages in the process of identity development is matched by the broader social and national view, does not therefore provide great insight as to the potential educational strategies that might be utilized as a result. It is clear that in cases where context values language learning and use, the individual will be supported in developing a parallel view. However, such alignment with the broader social stance would certainly prove problematic if the overarching attitudinal orientation was negative towards the learning/use of multiple languages. We might, however, look to the English context for some indications as to how the assertion of a strong linguistic identity might be fostered in such a social environment. In this particular context, the development of a multilingual identity was not compromised because participants indicated themselves willing to assert membership of the social 'outgroup' in relation to linguistic attitudes/identity. As such, educational approaches in contexts less conducive to the development of a well-formed linguistic self could be usefully based upon strategies to encourage students to reflect upon their language use, whatever the proficiency level, in contrast to perceived norms; encouragement of 'outgroup' membership, although requiring additional action on the part of the individual, would nevertheless support multilingual self-construction. As ever, however, considerations of the contextual specificity in terms of identifying such social norms of perception would be essential to enabling effective comparisons to be made.

7.6. Future Directions

The main aims of this thesis have been to define the context-linked specificities of multilingual identity construction, as well as seeking to identify themes applicable inter-context, responding to Henry's (2012), among others, call for a greater understanding of the nature of these variable interactions within the complex negotiation of self in multiple language learning. The theoretical and pedagogical outcomes set out above identify those outcomes most applicable as a focus for future research.

In methodological terms, continued research into L3+ identity construction via the lens of complexity would add still much needed empirical weight to this theoretical domain. Particularly, the integration of the multilingual learner models into this conceptualisation offer a means of both replicability and theory development; as stated, while utilised here to visualise the individual representation of a theme in isolation as a means of 'decomplexifying' the complex, they also have the potential for application as a model for both the dynamics of group identification as well as to demarcate the entirety of the thematic interrelations of an individual's complex system. The use of the models would confirm their general applicability within complexity research as well as permitting a means of consistent comparability across such studies.

In more practical terms, an empirical, in depth focus upon the three emergent cross-context themes would add weight to their potential applicability in pedagogical terms. The emotive import of language learning to self-construction, the process of self-identification in relation to an individual's *Referent Others* and alignments/divergences in temporal self-construction have been identified as fundamental, generally applicable facets of multilingual identity construction, but the structure of this research has made the depth of insight necessary to affirm the specificities of their development impossible. Studies taking a focus on one of these emergent representations would be valuable in identifying the exact nature of their constructions *in context* and, especially, research with an interventionist approach focusing on one of these emergent themes would be useful in confirming the hypotheses outlined in section 7.5. It has been posited that discrepant perceptions of student multilingual *proficiency* or *identity* impacts upon the strength of student experience of *pride* or *happiness* and may also have a negative effect upon the maintenance of a well-developed self-concept in current and/or future terms. Studies with a focus on increasing self-belief in relation to linguistic identification/capacity would be invaluable in confirming their potential application in supporting multilingual identity development. So too, it has been outlined that the relationship between an individual's self-construction and the relational positioning of the collective stance indicates the extent to which a student may be incited to motivational action to either align/diverge from the group view. Again, both orientations offer implications for educational practice, but additional research is needed to explore the extent to which such context-specific constructions could be exploited in the languages classroom.

7.7. Concluding Thoughts

Japyassú and Laland outline in a 2017 article published in *Animal Cognition* that their research into the behaviours of spiders suggests that the insects possess what the researchers term “extended cognition”, external processes of thought in which they represent in the patterns of the spun webs that house them.

This image is a paradigm of the complex relationship between multilingual learner and context that has emerged in this research, where such “webs of significance” (Geertz, 1973) are exemplified in all contexts. Student self-concept representation is both supported and developed by the environments that surround them but, just as no two spiders’ webs are alike, each learner reciprocally informs the system in a fundamentally individual process. The divergent representations of self evidenced in the *micro* findings have revealed the extent to which those processes “internal to the learner” (Ushioda, 2014) are reproduced in the understanding of their multilingual context. Maintaining a focus on the individual is therefore a priority in research seeking to fully understand the construction of L3+ identity, and a view informed by complex systems is underscored as an effective means of evaluating and modelling this phenomenon. This is perhaps not an unsurprising outcome. After all identity *is* complexity in its most essentially human form.

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Appendix 1. Attitudinal Questionnaire [Finnish Version]

Questionnaire

Kyselylomake

Section A:

Thank you very much for taking the time to complete this questionnaire. I'm looking forward to learning a bit more about you and your languages 😊

Olen iloinen, että saan tilaisuuden oppia hieman enemmän sinusta ja kielistäsi.

For this first question, please complete the blank sections of the sentences below with your own ideas. And please don't worry, there are no right or wrong answers!

Täydennä alla olevat lauseet niin kuin sinulle sopii. Huomaa, että tässä ei ole oikeita tai väriä vastauksia!

A1.

For me, being able to speak more than one language is

Kyky puhua useampaa kuin yhtä kieltä on minulle

.....

because.....

koska

.....

I am learning a foreign language at school because

Opiskelen vierasta kieltä koulussa koska -

.....

.....

.....

.....

When I speak in different languages I feel

Puhuessani eri kieliä tunnen

.....

because.....

koska

.....

Section A:

This section has some general statements about learning languages in Finland. Please circle the answer that you think best fits how much you agree or disagree with these statements.

Tässä osassa on yleisiä käsityksiä oppimiskielistä Suomessa. Valitse vastaus, joka on sinun mielestä sopivin ympäröimällä se.

For example, I would show that I agreed very strongly with the statement Q1 below by circling SA:

Esimerkiksi, jos mielestäni sopivin vastaus on SA ympäröin sen.

Q1. Emojis were a good invention

Emojit olivat hyvä keksintö

SA A N D SD DK

SA: Strongly Agree

Täysin samaa mieltä

A: Agree

Samaa mieltä

N: Neither Agree nor Disagree

Ei mielipidettä

D: Disagree

Eri mieltä

SD: Strongly Disagree

Täysin eri mieltä

DK: Don't Know

En tiedä

**And please don't worry, there are no wrong or right answers!
*Anna mielipiteesi, ei ole olemassa väärää tai oikeita vastauksia***

A1. In general, Finnish people are good at learning foreign languages.

Yleensä ottaen suomalaiset ovat hyviä oppimaan vieraita kieliä.

SA A N D SD DK

A2. The Finnish/Swedish/Sami languages are an important part of national identity.

Suomenkieli / ruotsinkieli / saamenkieli ovat tärkeä osa kansallista identiteettiä.

SA A N D SD DK

A3. It's important to be able to speak a foreign language in Finland.

Suomessa on tärkeää, että osaa puhua vierasta kieltä.

SA A N D SD DK

A4. Once you have learnt English, it's not so important to be able to speak another foreign language.

Kun olet oppinut englantia, ei ole tärkeää oppia puhumaan toista vierasta kieltä.

SA A N D SD DK

A5. It's important to have rules and regulations so that you know when certain language(s) should and should not be used.

Säännöt ja säädökset ovat tärkeitä määrittelemään milloin mitäkin kieltä tulee käyttää.

SA A N D SD DK

A6. Finnish can express things that other languages can't, and the opposite is also true.
Suomenkielellä voi ilmaista asioita mitä muilla kielillä ei voi ilmaista, ja päinvastoin.

SA A N D SD DK

A7. Different languages have different functions and uses.
Eri kielillä on erilaisia toimintoja ja käyttötapoja.

SA A N D SD DK

A8. Everyone who lives in Finland should be able to speak Finnish.
Kaikkien Suomessa asuvien tulisi osata puhua Suomea.

SA A N D SD DK

A9. The Finnish language is an important part of national identity.
Suomenkieli on tärkeä osa kansallista identiteettiä.

SA A N D SD DK

A10. More people in Finland should learn to speak a foreign language.
Useampien Suomessa asuvien ihmisten tulisi opetella vieras kieli.

SA A N D SD DK

A11. Finland is a multilingual country
Suomi on monikielinen maa

SA A N D SD DK

A12. What do you think are the most important reasons for learning a foreign language generally?
Mitkä ovat mielestäsi tärkeimmät syyt vieraan kielen oppimiseen yleensä?

Please put number 1, 2 or 3 for the top three choices that you think fit with your ideas the best (1 = you think this is the most important reason; 2 = the next most important reason; 3 = the third most important reason).
Laita numerot 1, 2 tai 3 kolmen parhaimman vaihtoehdon mukaan, jotka mielestäsi sopivat ajatuksiisi parhaiten (1 = tärkein syy, 2 = seuraavaksi tärkein syy, 3 = kolmanneksi tärkein syy).

- ... To learn about other cultures and other people
Oppia tuntemaan muita kulttuureja ja niiden ihmisiä
- ... To get a good job in the future
Mahdollisuus saada hyvä työpaikka tulevaisuudessa
- ... To understand a bit more about yourself
Oppia ymmärtämään hieman enemmän itsestäni
- ... To learn more about the way language works generally (e.g. grammar, tenses)
Saada lisätietoja siitä, miten kieli toimii (esim. kielioppi)
- ... To be able to live abroad in the future
Mahdollisuus asua ulkomailla tulevaisuudessa
- ... To be able to study other subjects in school/at university (e.g. international relations/world history)
Mahdollisuus opiskella tiettyjä oppiaineita koulussa / yliopistossa (esim. Kansainväliset suhteet / maailmanhistoria)
- ... To be able to use international resources easily (e.g. to watch foreign films/to use foreign websites)
Mahdollisuus käyttää kansainvälisiä resursseja helposti (esim. katsella ulkomaisia elokuvia / käyttää ulkomaisia nettisivustoja)
- ... To be able to speak with family/friends
Kyky puhua perheen / ystävien kanssa
- ... Because you enjoy it
Koska nautin siitä

If there are any ideas missing from the list that you would like to include, please add them here!
Jos luettelosta puuttuu ideoita, jotka haluat sisällyttää, lisää ne tähän!

.....

.....

A13. *Wall Street English* is an international organisation of English language teaching centres. This is one of the posters advertising their English language courses from 2014:

Wall Street English on englantilaisten kieltenopetuskeskusten kansainvälinen järjestö. Tämä on yksi julisteista vuodelta 2014, jotka mainostavat englanninkielen kursseja.



I would love to know how this advert makes YOU feel, what message you think that the company is trying to send and whether you agree or disagree with the advertising message.

Olen kiinnostunut tietämään mitä tunteuksia tämä mainos sinulle tuottaa, ja mikä sinun mielestäsi on se viesti jonka kyseinen yhtiö haluaa antaa. Kerro myös oletko samaa mieltä vai eri mieltä viestin kanssa.

Please feel free to write as much as you want in the box below! (Some suggestions to get started might be: Do you like/dislike this advert, and why/why not? Who do you think the figure is supposed to represent? Would this type of advert also work for Chinese/French/Sami language schools?)

Kirjoita vastauksesi alla olevaan laatikkoon.

Mieti esimerkiksi:

Pidätkö mainoksesta? Miksi/miksi et?

Ketä kuva sinun mielestäsi esittää?

Onko tämän kaltainen mainos mielestäsi sopiva myös kiinankielen/ranskankielen/saamenkielen opetukseen?



Please turn over for the next section 😊

Käännä seuraavalle sivulle 😊

Section B: This section has some statements about languages and the people around you.
Tässä osiossa on lausuntoja eri kielistä ja ympärillä olevista ihmisistä.

B1. This stick figure represents someone who is multilingual (a person who can speak more than one language). I'd be really interested to know a bit more about what type of person you think this might be, and what kind of personality you think that someone who is multilingual might have. Perhaps certain ideas come to mind straight away!

Tämä tikkuhahmo kuvaa monikielistä henkilöä (henkilö, joka osaa puhua useampaa kuin yhtä kieltä). Olisin todella kiinnostunut tietämään, millaiseksi tämän henkilön kuvittelet, ja millaisen persoonallisuuden ajattelet monikielisen henkilön omaavan. Ehkä tietyt ajatukset tulevat mieleen heti!

There's a few sentences for you to complete yourself with characteristics of a multilingual person, as well as some blank boxes for you to write your own suggestions too. These can be very general ideas or specific, if you think of any. Use up as much of the space as you would like!

Tässä on muutamia lauseen alkuja. Täydennä lauseet niin, että ne kuvaavat sinua monikielisenä ihmisenä. Alla on myös tilaa kirjoittaa omia ehdotuksiasi, jotka voivat olla yleisiä tai hyvin yksityiskohtaisia.

I am ...
Olen...

I am a..
Olen...

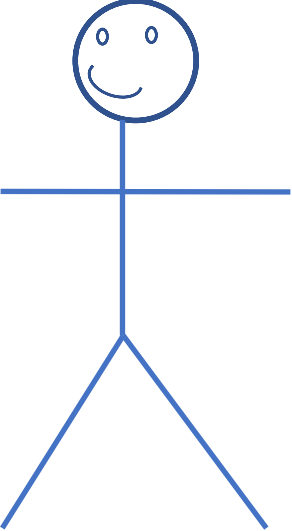
I am a...
Olen...

I'm good at...
Olen hyvä...

I like...
Pidän...

I don't like...
En pidä...

I'm not good at...
En osaa...



Blank boxes for writing suggestions are provided around the stick figure.

Please circle the answer that you think best fits how much you agree or disagree with these statements.

Again, please don't worry, there are no right or wrong answers!

Valitse vastaus, joka on sinun mielestä sopivin ympäröimällä se. Anna mielipiteesi, ei ole olemassa väärää tai oikeita vastauksia

B2: My parents speak more than one language.
Vanhempani puhuvat useampaa kuin yhtä kieltä.

SA: Strongly Agree
Täysin samaa mieltä

A: Agree
Samaa mieltä

N: Neither Agree nor Disagree
Ei mielipidettä

D: Disagree

Eri mieltä

SD: Strongly Disagree

Täysin eri mieltä

DK: Don't Know

En tiedä

SA A N D SD DK

B3: It's unusual in this school to learn more than one foreign language.
Tässä koulussa on epätavallista opiskella useampaa kuin yhtä vierasta kieltä.

SA A N D SD DK

B4: Generally, my female friends are better at languages than my male friends.
Yleensä naispuoliset ystäväni ovat parempia oppimaan vieraita kieliä kuin miespuoliset ystäväni.

SA A N D SD DK

B5: My parents think that it is important to learn languages.
Vanhempani ovat sitä mieltä, että on tärkeää oppia vieraita kieliä.

SA A N D SD DK

B6: More girls learn languages than boys at school.
Enemmän tyttöjä kuin poikia opiskelee vieraita kieliä koulussa.

SA A N D SD DK

B7: It is easier to learn a foreign language when you have learnt one before.
On helpompi oppia vieraita kieliä, kun osaat jo yhtä vierasta kieltä.

SA A N D SD DK

B8: Language learning is a personal/individual process. Everyone does it differently.
Kielten oppiminen on henkilökohtainen / yksilöllinen prosessi. Jokainen oppii erilailla.

SA A N D SD DK

B9: Language learning in school is different to using a language elsewhere (at home/on holiday).
Kielten oppiminen koulussa on eri asia kuin kielen käyttäminen muualla (kuten kotona / lomalla).

SA A N D SD DK

B10: Some people are just “better” at languages than other people.
Vieraiden kielten opiskelussa jotkut ihmiset ovat vain "parempia" kuin muut.

SA A N D SD DK

B11: Certain languages are more useful than others to learn at school.
Tiettyjä kieliä on hyödyllisempää opiskella koulussa kuin toisia.

SA A N D SD DK

B12: I want to carry on with languages after school (at A level/ University/in my spare time).
Haluan jatkaa kielten opiskelua koulun jälkeen (yliopistossa / vapaa-ajallani).

SA A N D SD DK

B13: I think that knowledge of a foreign language would help me to learn another language in future.
Mielestäni vieraan kielen tuntemus auttaisi minua oppimaan toista vierasta kieltä tulevaisuudessa.

SA A N D SD DK

B14: I think it's easy to see how knowing different languages fits into the lives of people around me.
Mielestäni on helppo nähdä, kuinka eri kielten osaaminen sopii ympäröivien ihmisten elämään

SA A N D SD DK

Section C: This section is specifically about YOU and your ideas and thoughts about languages. Please circle how much you agree or disagree with the following statements:

Tämä osio käsittelee erityisesti sinua ja sinun ideoita ja ajatuksia kielistä. Valitse myröimällä se kuinka paljon olet samaa mieltä tai eri mieltä seuraavien toteamusten kanssa:

C1: I feel like I'm a different person when I speak another language.
Minusta tuntuu, että olen eri henkilö, kun puhun toista kieltä.

SA A N D SD DK

SA: Strongly Agree
Täysin samaa mieltä
A: Agree
Samaa mieltä
N: Neither Agree nor Disagree
Ei mielipidettä

D: Disagree
Eri mieltä
SD: Strongly Disagree
Täysin eri mieltä
DK: Don't Know
En tiedä

C2: I find it quite easy to imagine myself as a fluent French speaker.
Minusta on helppo kuvitella itseni puhumassa sujuvaa ranskaa.

SA A N D SD DK

C3: It's important for me to be seen as multilingual.
Minulle on tärkeää että minut tunnustetaan monikieliseksi.

SA A N D SD DK

C4: I try and spend time outside my lessons using the foreign language I am learning at school.
Yritän viettää aikaa oppituntien ulkopuolella käyttämällä koulussa oppimaani vierasta kieltä.

SA A N D SD DK

C5: Languages you use at school feel different to languages you use at home.
Ne kielet joita käytetään koulussa tuntuvat erilaisilta kuin ne joita käytetään kotona.

SA A N D SD DK

C6: Being able to speak another language gives me the opportunity to learn more about myself.
Kyky puhua toista kieltä antaa minulle mahdollisuuden oppia lisää itsestäni.

SA A N D SD DK

C7: I have a language learning role model (someone I admire who has inspired me to learn a new language).

Minulla on kieltenoppimisen roolimalli (joku jota ihailen, joka on innoittanut minua oppimaan uutta kieltä).

SA A N D SD DK

C8: I feel happy when I think about the languages I can speak.
Olen iloinen, kun ajattelen kieliä, joita osaan puhua.

SA A N D SD DK

C9: I identify strongly with the culture of the foreign language I am learning at school.
Tunnen voimakasta yhteenkuuluvuutta sen kulttuurin kanssa jonka kieltä opiskelen.

SA A N D SD DK

C10: I think I'm naturally good at learning languages.
Luulen, että olen luonnollisesti hyvä oppimaan vieraita kieliä.

SA A N D SD DK

C11. My goal is to speak every language I have learnt fluently.
Tavoitteenani on puhua sujuvasti jokaista kieltä jota opiskelen.

SA A N D SD DK

C12: I have always been interested in languages and language learning.
Olen aina ollut kiinnostunut vieraista kielistä ja kielten opiskelusta.

SA A N D SD DK

C13: I think I am a proactive language learner.
Mielestäni olen proaktiivinen kielten opiskelija.

SA A N D SD DK

C14: Being able to speak more than just Finnish/Swedish is an important part of my identity.
On tärkeä osa identiteettiäni osata puhua muitakin kieliä kuin vain suomea/ruotsia

SA A N D SD DK

C15: I would be a different person if I had learnt another language as a first language instead of Finnish/Swedish.

Olisin ihan eri ihminen, jos olisin oppinut toisen kielen ensimmäisenä kielenä suomen / ruotsin sijasta.

SA A N D SD DK

C16: I often volunteer to use my foreign language skills when the opportunity arises.

Sopivan tilaisuuden tarjoutuessa käytän usein vieraan kielen taitojani.

SA A N D SD DK

C17: I can imagine myself using a foreign language like French in the future (in my job/on holiday/with friends from abroad).

Tulevaisuudessa voin kuvitella käyttäväni vierasta kieltä, kuten ranskaa, työssäni/lomalla/ ulkomaisten ystävien kanssa.

SA A N D SD DK

C18: Being multilingual is having multiple ways of expressing yourself.

Monikielisellä on useita tapoja ilmaista itseään.

SA A N D SD DK

C19: I often think about the other languages I know when I'm in the languages classroom at school.

Ajattelen usein niitä keiliä joita osaan, kun olen koulun kieliluokassa.

SA A N D SD DK

C20: If I could only speak one language before starting school, I might not have been interested in learning a foreign language.

Jos olisin osannut puhua vain yhtä kieltä ennen koulun aloittamista en ehkä olisi kiinnostunut uuden vieraan kielen oppimisesta.

SA A N D SD DK

C21: I am a multilingual person.

Olen monikielinen.

SA A N D SD DK

Section D: Demographic Information

A1. Name:
Nimi

A2. Age:.....
Ikä

A5. Language(s) I can speak and the years I have learnt them for:
Kielet joita osaan puhua ja miten kauan olen opiskellut niitä:

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

A3: Gender:.....
sukupuoli

(Please leave blank if you'd rather not answer)
(Jätä tyhjäksi, jos et halua vastata)

A4: Nationality:
kansalaisuus

(Years)
vuotta

(Years)

(Years)

(Years)

(Years)

Thank you very much for your answers! ☺
Paljon kiitoksia vastauksistasi!

Appendix 2. Interview One Protocol

BMA Interview V.1 (March 2018)

Interviewer prompts:

Check consent again for audio-recording

No right or wrong answers

Just between you and me

If you don't understand any of my questions please just let me know!

1. [Micro]

- You're learning French at school this year – any other languages, ex Spanish?
- What made you pick languages, and what made you pick French this year?
- Can you remember what you were thinking when you decided to take French? Have you learnt it before?
- Would you like to learn another language in the future?
- Do you think it would be easier to learn another language now that you have learnt multiple languages at school?

- You're learning French and you've learnt Spanish- a lot of languages going on! I'm really interested to know where do you think your Spanish fits into to your French lessons would you say?

- What about where languages fits into your school life generally?

- What role do you think your English play in the French classroom?

- If you could give three words that sums up how you feel about being able to speak more than one language, what would they be?

- Do you think that there is a link between the languages you know and the type of person you feel that you are? For example, if you had learnt French or Spanish as your first language do you think that you might be different?

- What if you were just able to speak English, do you think that you would feel differently?

- Can you think of anything in your life that has affected the way that you think about or learn French/Spanish?

- For example, a time where you felt that you were particularly motivated and excited about language learning? Holiday? What about languages in general, for example, knowing Spanish?

- Can you think of a time that you felt very proud of your language knowledge? Where? Why? What about frustrated or fed up?

- I have a question generally now about the word 'multilingualism'. What do you think it means?
--Who do you think it might typically apply to- typical example of someone who is multilingual?

- What do you think makes someone 'multilingual'?
- Would you say that you are multilingual? Why/why not?
- So having just asked you about whether you thought you would call yourself multilingual, I wonder if you found that hard to answer? What do you think it is about the idea of being multilingual that made it hard to answer about yourself?
- What role do you think languages will play in your future? French? And Spanish? What would you like to do with your languages?

2. [Meso]

- What about your family? Can they speak any other languages? Do you think that they think language learning is important? Where do languages fit into your life at home? Do they?
- Would you say that you can speak the most languages in your family? How does that make you feel?
- Has anyone in particular inspired you to learn a language? (Role models?)
- Do you talk about language learning with your friends?
- What do they think about being able to speak languages?
- Do you have friends who can't speak any other languages? How do they feel about your knowledge of languages?
- Do you think that some people are better or worse at learning languages than others? Why/why not?
- What about gender – are boys or girls generally better at learning languages would you say?
-
- Do you think that it's unusual to learn foreign languages at school? How do you feel about that?

3. [Macro]

[I. Prompt: We spoke before about the word "multilingualism", and what you thought about it. I've got some very general questions now about the idea of being multilingual, and there are no right or wrong answers]

- If you had to describe the relationship between British people and language learning, what would you say, do you think as a nation you're good at learning languages??
- Would you say that the UK a multilingual country?
- Is it encouraged to learn languages in England would you say? Who encourages you?
- How is it to learn languages in H-?
- What do you think people from other countries think about the British and language learning?
- Do you think other countries are better/worse at learning languages than in England?
- Do you think that English is an important language to know today generally? Why do you think that might be? Why do so many people know English?

Appendix 3. Example: Stimulated Recall Interview Protocol

XX
Interview #2
[BMA] 30/04/2018

- [Again] Are you multilingual?
- Positives and negatives of learning a language?
- Choice to learn Spanish because you really enjoyed French: why do you think that was?
- You said you would like to learn German because a new language and would be quite a “challenge”; is that something you like about language learning?
- Is confidence something that is quite important in language learning?
- We spoke a bit last time about where English fits into your language learning, and you mentioned that it doesn't help much perhaps when you're learning Spanish, it can be detrimental in some ways when your language learning. Can you tell me a bit more about that?
- Language learning makes you more open and culturally understanding. Can you tell me more?
- Languages and future: work and maybe live abroad. Can you tell me more? Where?
- Linked hobbies (tennis) and languages- expand more?
- Spanish is your preferred language out of French and Spanish? Why is that?
- How do you think we could encourage British people to learn more languages?

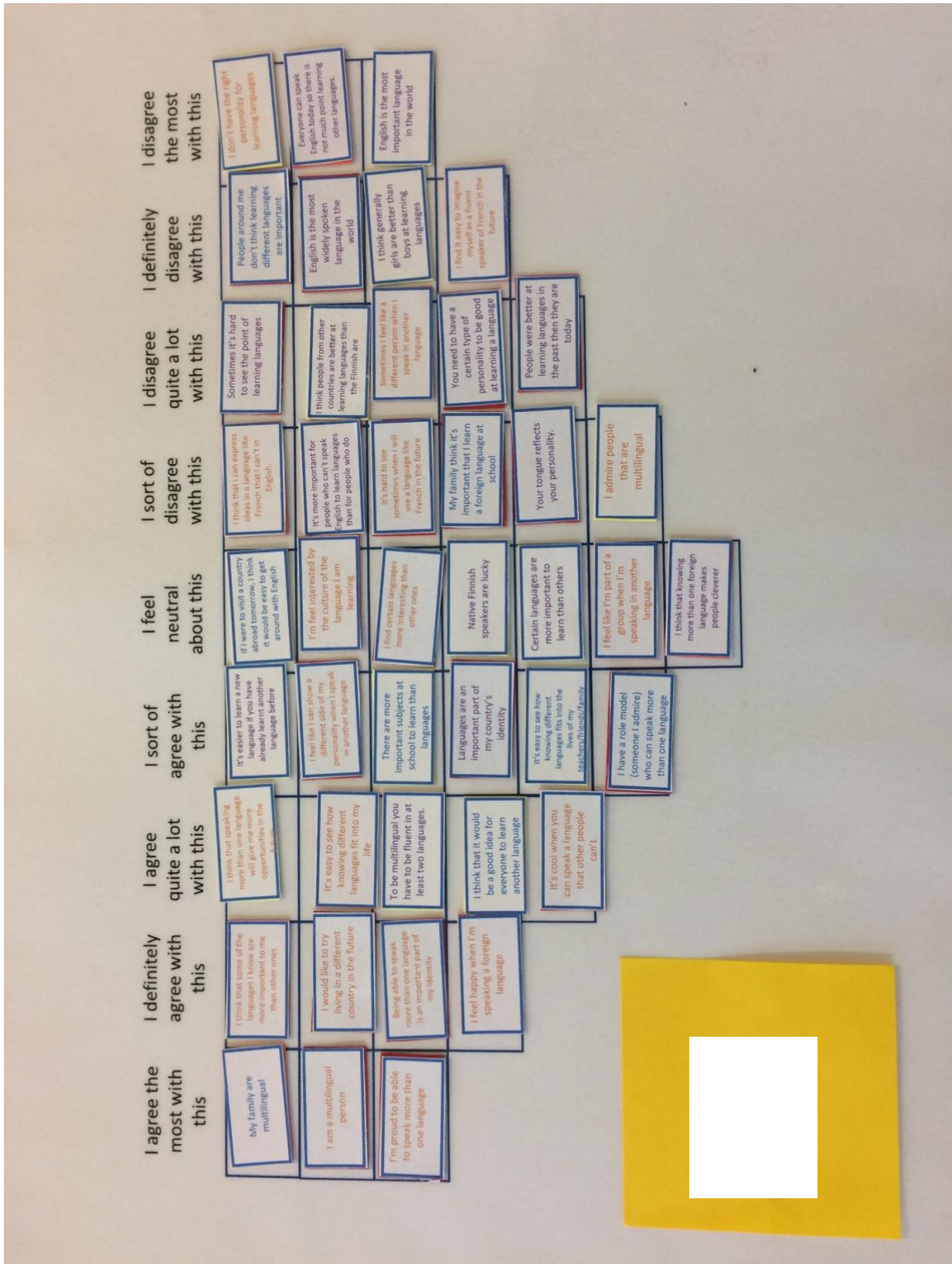
Q Sort

- Straightforward or difficult task?
- Any opinions that seemed striking/shocking/unexpected? Any you couldn't put where you wanted?
- Do you agree with your rankings still?
- Ask to explain *Most agree-most disagree-neutral* statements

Questionnaire

- Discuss rationale for items: A3, A6, A7, A8, A10, B5, B6, B11, C3, C4, C9, C12, C16, C17, C18, C19, C21

Appendix 4. Example: Completed Q Sorts [Finland & France]



Je suis plus que d'accord	Je suis totalement d'accord	Je suis d'accord	Je suis légèrement d'accord	Je suis neutre	Je suis en léger désaccord	Je suis en désaccord	Je suis en désaccord total	Je suis en (le plus) désaccord
Il y a des matières plus importantes que les langues au lycée.	Pour être considéré comme multilingue, il faut parler au moins deux langues.	Il est plus facile d'apprendre une nouvelle langue quand on en a déjà appris une autre auparavant.	Ma famille pense qu'il est important d'apprendre une langue étrangère au lycée.	La culture de la langue que j'apprends m'intéresse.	Il est plus important d'apprendre certaines langues que d'autres.	Je pense que les personnes étrangères sont meilleures en langues que les Français.	Je sens que j'appartiens à un groupe quand je parle une autre langue.	Votre langue reflète votre caractère.
Je suis fier(e) de pouvoir parler plus d'une langue.	C'est cool quand on peut parler une langue que les autres ne parlent pas.	Je trouve certaines langues plus intéressantes que d'autres.	Ma famille est multilingue.	Il est facile pour moi de m'imaginer comme locuteur courant d'espagnol à l'avenir.	Je suis une personne multilingue.	L'anglais est la langue la plus importante au monde.	En général, les filles sont meilleures en langues que les garçons.	Les personnes dont la langue maternelle est le français sont chouchoutées!
Les langues sont un élément important de l'identité de mon pays.	Je pense que certains des langues que je connais sont plus importantes (pour moi) que les autres.	Je pense que je peux examiner des idées en français que je ne peux pas exprimer dans une autre langue, comme l'anglais.	Je pense que ce serait une bonne idée que tout le monde apprenne une autre langue.	J'aimerais essayer d'habiter à l'étranger à l'avenir.	Il est plus important pour les personnes qui ne parlent pas l'anglais d'apprendre les langues que pour celles qui le parlent.	Tout le monde peut parler l'anglais de nos jours. Il ne sert donc à rien d'apprendre d'autres langues.	Il est quelquefois difficile de voir l'utilité d'apprendre les langues.	Selon moi, connaître plus d'une langue étrangère rend les gens plus intelligents.
	Quelquefois je me sens comme une autre personne quand je parle dans une langue différente.	L'anglais est la langue la plus largement parlée au monde.	J'ai un modèle (quelqu'un qui m'inspire) qui peut parler plus d'une langue.	Il est quelquefois difficile de voir quand j'utiliserai une langue comme l'espagnol à l'avenir.	Si j'étais amené(e) à visiter un pays étranger, je pense que je me débrouillerais en anglais.	Je me sens heureux(se) quand je parle une langue étrangère.	Il faut avoir un profil spécifique pour être bon en langues.	
	Être capable de parler plus d'une langue, c'est un élément important de mon identité.	Je crois que je peux montrer un autre côté de ma personnalité quand je parle une langue différente.	Je pense que je peux parler plus d'une langue me donnera plus d'opportunités à l'avenir.	J'admire les personnes multilingues.	Il est facile pour moi d'expliquer comment j'utilise différentes langues dans ma vie.	Les gens étaient meilleurs en langues dans le passé qu'à l'heure actuelle.		
				Les gens qui m'entourent ne pensent pas qu'il est important d'apprendre les langues.	Il est facile pour moi de voir comment les personnes qui m'entourent utilisent leurs différentes langues dans leur vie.			
				Je n'ai pas la « bonne » personnalité pour apprendre les langues.				

Appendix 5. Parent/Carer Research Consent Form

**PARENTAL CONSENT FORM
(for parents/carers of children)**

NAME OF PARTICIPANT:

Title of the project:

Multilingualism: Empowering Individuals, Transforming Societies (AHRC)

Strand 4 (PhD Research)

Contact details of researcher:

Harper Staples University of Cambridge 17 Mill Lane Cambridge CB2 1RX United Kingdom <p style="text-align: right;">Email: hs615@cam.ac.uk Contact number: +447966 656918</p>

1. I agree that my daughter/ soncan take part in the study relating to the above project. I have read the Participant Information Letter which is attached to this form. I understand what my child's role will be in this research, and all my questions have been answered to my satisfaction.
2. I understand that my daughter/son is free to withdraw from the research at any time, for any reason and without prejudice.
3. I have been informed that the confidentiality of the information my daughter/son provides will be safeguarded.
4. I am and my daughter/son is free to ask any questions at any time before and during the study.
5. I have been provided with a copy of this form and the Participant Information Letter.

Data Protection: I agree to the researcher using personal data which my daughter/son has supplied.

Name of parent/carer of participant

(print).....

Signed.....Date.....

I give permission for information provided during the study to be used as part of the research as outlined in the Participant Information Letter:

Yes
No

I give permission for the interview to be audio recorded:

Yes
No

If you wish to withdraw from the research, please complete the form below and return.

Title of Project: *Multilingualism: Empowering Individuals, Transforming Societies* (AHRC)
Strand 4 (PhD Research)

I WISH TO WITHDRAW FROM THIS STUDY

Signed: _____ Date: _____

Appendix 6: French Research Stage Agreement [*Convention de Visite*]

**CONVENTION DE STAGE D'OBSERVATION ET DE PRATIQUE ACCOMPAGNÉE
DANS UN ÉTABLISSEMENT PUBLIC LOCAL D'ENSEIGNEMENT**

Il est convenu entre :

L'établissement d'enseignement supérieur : Université de Cambridge

représenté par

X

L'étudiante

STAPLES Harper

L'établissement d'accueil : LGT [LDR]

représenté par

le Proviseur, XX

Article 1 – Objet de la Convention

La présente convention régit les rapports entre les différentes parties pour la réalisation d'un stage s'inscrivant dans le cadre du projet de recherches de l'étudiante.

Article 2 – Modalités du stage

3.1 Lieu de stage (désignation de l'établissement)

Etablissement : X

Adresse : X

Commune : X

2.2 Durée et dates de stage

Le stage se déroule :

- 3 semaines du 10 au 28 Septembre 2018

2.3 Déroulement

Le stage se déroule dans les conditions suivantes :

- Nombre de semaines de stage : 5
- Nombre d'heures par semaine de stage : à confirmer
- Nombre de jours de présence effective : à confirmer

2.4 Accueil et encadrement, noms et fonctions des responsables du stage :

Au sein de l'établissement d'enseignement supérieur :

Nom du responsable du stage : Dr. Linda FISHER

Au sein de l'établissement :

Nom du professeur : XX

2.5 Gratification et avantages

L'étudiante ne perçoit aucun salaire ni gratification.

2.6 Discipline, confidentialité

Durant son stage, l'étudiante doit respecter l'organisation de l'établissement qui l'accueille, et notamment pour ce qui concerne les horaires, le règlement intérieur, la confidentialité et les dispositions relatives à la sécurité qui doivent, à cette fin, être portées à sa connaissance.

2.7 Interruption, rupture

En cas de décision d'une des trois parties d'interrompre définitivement le stage, celle-ci devra immédiatement informer les deux autres parties par écrit des raisons qui ont conduit à cette décision. L'interruption du stage n'intervient qu'à l'issue d'un préavis de 5 jours.

En cas de manquement à la discipline et/ou de faute grave, le chef d'établissement se réserve en tout état de cause le droit de mettre fin au stage, après en avoir informé l'établissement dont relève l'étudiante.

Article 3 – Evaluation du stage

Les conditions d'évaluation du stage sont convenues entre l'établissement d'enseignement supérieur et le chef d'établissement d'accueil. Elles sont de la responsabilité de l'établissement d'enseignement supérieur.

Fait à

Cambridge

le 29 Août 2018

L'établissement d'enseignement Supérieur

L'établissement d'accueil

L'étudiante

STAPLES Harper

XX
Interview #1
BSS 08/02/2018

I: Ok that's brilliant, great so um thank you so much for talking to me, I'm just going to start with some really general questions, if that's alright. Um where did you learn Swedish?

P: Er, when I started to go to kindergarten, with er, in the same school...

I: Ok, in this school?

P: Yeah this school has a kindergarten across the street.

I: Oh wow, oh so you've been in this school for a long time then.

P: Yeah

I: Yeah, ok, so it's like a second home, you must know everything really well?

P: Basically.

I: Ok brilliant, and I'm just wondering if you have any particular memories of times when you were learning Swedish? A time maybe when something made sense to you finally or?

P: [Laughs] Er, I don't really have any memories about that, it's just been sort of natural.

I: Yeah, great yeah! I suppose when you've been learning from such a young age

P: Yeah

I: Ok brilliant thank you. Um so you're learning French at school this year

P: Yes

I: Have you ever learnt any other languages at school, apart from English?

P: Er, no not really, well we do have Finnish lessons but...

I: Of course, yeah. Of course Finnish too. OK, brilliant. And what made you pick French?

P: Er I don't really know, it's just er a nice language I suppose and I wanted to learn.

I: Ok great yeah, so it's a nice language, um do you find that it's quite easy, does it come quite easily to you?

P: Er I'd say so.

I: Yeah? Ok brilliant, that's great. Thank you. Um, ok and would you like to learn another language in the future?

P: Sure.

I: Yep? Any, do you have any ideas about what language you might like to learn?

P: Maybe German or Russian.

I: Oh wow, wow. Russian, ok. That's really, have you ever been to Russia, or?

P: No.

I: Ok would you like to visit at some point?

P: Maybe.

I: Yeah? That would be really exciting. Brilliant, um, ok and do you think it would be, obviously now you've learnt Swedish, English and French, do you think it would be easier to learn another language in the future?

P: Er, I guess it depends on what language it is. If it's like a Chinese, maybe it helps a bit but it probably doesn't because it's such a different language.

I: yeah, ok, so maybe if the language system's quite similar to a language you've learnt, it might be easier?

P: Yeah

I: Ok, great! Thank you very much, And ok so just a question now generally about school life and languages, so I think you guys are amazing, you're learning French in a Swedish speaking school in Finland, so you've got kind of like, languages, all different directions coming at you, um, where do you think, does Finnish fit into your French lessons in any way here, do you notice?

P: Er, no not really. All of the education is in Swedish.

I: Ok, and does, um, Finnish sort of ever, do you rely on it in any way in French?

P: Um, maybe sometimes when you don't know a word in Swedish it comes up.

I: Ok great, so if say, would you sort of normally, if the word, when you're learning French, are you sort of thinking about it in Swedish and then maybe if you still, go to, you would go to Finnish after that if you're still, if it still doesn't quite make sense or?

P: Mmm er, can you

I: Yeah of course, yeah yeah. So um, obviously you're learning in a Swedish school so your, everything's in Swedish, I'm just wondering if, for example, if you would ever use Finnish to help your French learning, I don't know, like if something makes more sense to think about it Finnish than it does in Swedish? Or..

P: Maybe. With some things. But um,

I: Yeah. I don't know at all, you'll, yeah that's great! Ok that's brilliant. Um, and what about English, does that ever, do you ever use that in your French lessons?

P: Er, well, sometimes, when a word sounds sort of familiar so.

I: Ok, so vocabulary maybe if it's similar to the English word? Ok that's brilliant, thank you. Um, ok and so just a general question now, um if you could give three words that sum up how you feel about knowing different languages, what would they be?

P: well, [laughs]

P: I'd guess, happy [laughs],

I: Yeah, great!

P: Er, I guess there's sort of, pride in being able to use so many languages and to er, ...

I: Yeah, no that's brilliant, yeah those are great words. Thank you. So um, it's really interesting that you said "Happy", is that something that you feel quite a lot when you're learning languages or using different languages?

P: I'd er, say so.

I: Yeah?

P: It's fun.

I: Yeah that's great, so it's fun. And you feel kind of proud of your language knowledge too, yeah?

P: Yeah

I: IS that something that you feel quite a lot too?

P: Not usually, but when you read stuff you think, ok so it comes up.

I: So when you think about now, kind of speaking English and, yeah yeah that's brilliant, thank you. Um ok, great, so I think we've, this kind of links really to my next question, um kind of um, the words you gave sort of suggest that there's, the languages sort of affect the way that you feel sometimes, um do you think that's there's a link between the languages that you know and your personality? Or the way that you feel in different languages?

P: Er, maybe. [Laughs]. Can you actually?

I: Yeah of course, yes. So, um, let me see if I can explain, er phrase it in a different way. Um so, kind of, do you think that there's maybe a link between your personality and the languages that you know or,

P: Er there's probably no link. But maybe it has a tiny amount of influence when it comes to which language I pick.

I; Oh that's really interesting! Yeah! Can you tell me a bit more about ...

P: Well [pause]

I: If you want to take a bit more to think about it, I know that it's quite difficult that's fine absolutely, it's difficult to phrase it sometimes, isn't it.

P: I'd er guess that I like er complexity and er just er I guess that I like to pick just French because I found it a complex and challenging language and I like a challenge.

I: Wow, amazing, ok, brilliant, yeah. So, kind of choice of French kind of links to your sense that you kind of like to challenge yourself and

P: Yeah

I: Brilliant, that's great. Thank you. Um, ok, and so this kind of um, a related question but slightly different, and it's just really to do with your native language and if you felt say if you'd been born with French as your native language, or say, English, or I don't know Russian as your native language, do you think you might have developed a different personality or would have been different in any way?

P: I don't really think. Maybe, because culture is a part of language. Maybe it would have had some influence but

I: Really, yeah ok so because you would have grown up in a different culture,

P: yeah

I: Very interesting, ok great. Thank you. Um, ok alright and just a question now just about if you were only able to speak Finnish, do you think you would feel differently or?

P: Er, yeah it would be probably way more boring because

I: [laughs] yeah

P: it would be a challenge to visit other countries because you couldn't really communicate with anyone there.

I: So life would be a bit more boring, if you could just speak Finnish?

P: Yeah

I: Ok brilliant, that's great thank you. Er ok and just a question now about your French learning, um was there anything in your life that you can think of or remember that influenced you to pick French or study French?

P: Um no not really, I don't think so.

I: Ok, just that part of your personality is that you like a challenge.

P: Yeah

I: Ok brilliant. Umm, ok and do you have, um, perhaps an example of a time that you felt particularly motivated about language learning? Um so you've said it's quite cool when you go to different countries and speak in a different language, was there anything that you remember?

P: Er, well I've always felt motivated to continue studying languages when I see that I am making some progress when it comes to learning.

I: Ok great so when you can see how much improvement you've made

P: Yeah

I: You find that motivating? Ok that's brilliant. Ok, so you would, sort of, if you got like a really good test result back.

P: Yeah.

I: Ok, that's brilliant, thank you. Um and I guess just sort of the opposite question now, has there been a time when you felt really frustrated about language learning?

P: Er, well when it seems like you stop progressing and the test results aren't good.

I: {laughs} I can completely understand that, I've been there very many times. Yeah, ok, that's great thank you. Um, ok so um, just some more general questions now, um you can probably tell from yesterday that the word multilingualism was coming up quite a lot, so you'll know that this is something I'm quite interested in, um so I'm just really interested um, to hear sort of, um what the word multilingualism means to you?

P: Um, well, it means that you can speak multiple languages and you're able to speak them fluently.

I: Ok, very, that's really interesting. Great so that actually links to my next question, which is, do you think that um, there's um, sort of, a level of languages that you need to have to call yourself multilingual? Do you think it is fluency?

P: I'd say so. Because if you only know like two words of the language you can't. it's hard to.

I: Ok great yeah. So it's important to have a really good level of competence. Ok that's brilliant thank you. Um and again there's no correct or wrong answer to this, I'm just really interested to know what you think about it, um, do you think there's sort of typical examples of someone who's multilingual or is multilingualism likely to apply to someone in particular more than others?

P: Er, well of course if you know more languages its more likely to apply to you, but I think it's hard to say multilingual. It might have to do with if they're the sort of person who would like to study further languages and are good with languages.

I: Ok, so it might have to do with if you're naturally good at learning languages? Ok brilliant! Great that's really great thank you. Um and ok and would you say that you're multilingual?

P: Er, I guess, I'd say so.

I: Yeah, yeah, I would definitely say so that's brilliant, thank you. Um, ok and just a question linked to that question, um, do you think it's quite difficult to answer if you're multilingual or not?

P: I er maybe. It depends.

I: Yeah? Did you find it a difficult question to answer?

P: Er, no, no not really, because I know that.

I: Yeah?

P: Yeah

I: Ah that's brilliant, that's great thank you. Um perfect, ok, and just a question now about languages and your future, so I'd love to know, kind of, um, how you think about how languages will play a role in your future maybe in your career, at university, so, um if we could start with Swedish, do you think that Swedish will fit into your life in anyway?

P: Hmm I suppose it might if I go to study like, like in Hanken there's the Swedish courses,

I: Yeah, at university?

P: Yeah

I: What would you like to study?

P: I've been thinking about Economics or maybe medicine.

I: Oh wow, wow. Ok brilliant, and you would like to maybe do that in Swedish, or some courses would be in Swedish?

P: I'd be interested.

I: Yeah? Ok ah that's amazing, wow wow. A doctor that's a long amount of training isn't it?

P: Yeah

I: Ok, amazing. And would you like to study in Sweden or is this a university in Finland? I'm not very good with my Finnish cities!

P: I've always wanted to be more abroad for studies so yes I think that I would consider at least studying for a while in Sweden.

I: In Sweden? Ah ok, amazing, brilliant that's great.

P: And of course here is basically mandatory to have some form of Swedish education, so probably here too.

I: Ok, yeah so a little bit here too. Ok. That's great thank you. Um ok and what about English? Do you think English will fit into your future as well?

P: Yeah I think it will fit into my future in quite a large degree.

I: A large degree, ok

P: Yeah, as it's a very international language and basically it's a must have when you want to do something or, the same thing applies here that I want to go and study abroad, to like England or, so, I see myself using English a lot in the future.

I: Yeah ok you'd like to study at an English-speaking university at some point?

P: Yeah

I: Ok in the UK or the US or?

P: In the UK probably.

I: Ok wow, do you have any places you'd like to go, or?

P: Er no.

I: Ok, not really just anywhere, yeah? Ok. Ah that's brilliant, I'm at university in the UK as well, it's an interesting place to study, it's definitely interesting. Um, ok and what about French? Do you think French will fit into your future in anyway?

P: Er maybe it will help in some degree if I have an acquaintance in the future who speaks French it might help to communicate better.

I: Oh ok, great

P: Like a co-worker that's French, it might help then.

I: Oh amazing! Yeah that's great. So if you had like friends, you would want to speak to them in French, that's great! Yeah yeah that's brilliant, thank you. Um ok so languages are going to fit into your future in quite a big way, it sounds like! Ok.

P: Yeah.

I: Ok so I've just got some questions now about your family and languages, if that's alright. Um so does your family speak Swedish as well?

P: Um, well my little sister goes to the same school. So

I; Oh she comes here too? Ok, so she's speaking Swedish at school.

P: Yeah.

I; And what about your parents?

P: Well my parents, they did have Swedish at school but they don't really use it, and er, my mother did take German, and I think my dad did too, or, he didn't take French, but they did it continually. But my dad uses English quite a lot because he works with many, er [laughs]

I; So, he has to use English in his job quite a lot. Ok that's brilliant, that's great. Um so do they think, they think that language learning is quite important?

P: Yeah, my father has always encouraged me to continue with French

I: Oh has he? Yeah. Ok that's great, thank you. Um ok and so does Swedish fit into your life at home at all? Do you use Swedish at home?

P: Well when I help my little sister with homework.

I; Oh really

P: Sometimes it comes up.

I: You're a nice big brother. How old is she?

P: She's 9.

I: Wow, ok so you're a really nice big brother. You must be very helpful to have around at home when she's got Swedish homework. Um ok great, and um, does English fit into your life at home at all? Do you use English?

P: Well not really, my parents are... well I use it when I'm of course on the computer and I do have a few people who I talk to in English.

I: Ok, like online?

P: Yeah

I; Ok, great, just with social media?

P: Yeah

I: Ok great, so you use English then. Are they friends from abroad or..

P: Yeah abroad

I; Ok so you would use English to communicate. Ok. That's great thank you. Um would you say that you can speak the most languages in your family?

P: Er, probably.

I: Yeah? Ok that's brilliant, and how does that make you feel?

P: Hmmm maybe happy that I decided to continue studying languages.

I: Brilliant, yeah, so you feel positively and...

P: Yeah

I: That's great thank you. Um ok and just a little question that came up yesterday, just about role models and language learning? Just wondering if you have any language learning role models, someone who maybe inspired you to learn, to carry on with your language learning?

P: Er not really. At least not consciously. But there might have been like, someone that I watched on youtube that might have influenced the want to keep studying, or that might have been more of a positive thing and basically function as sort of encouragement.

I: Ok that's really interesting, so yeah, watching something online in English and you're kind of motivated to keep learning English and .. ok that's amazing thank you very much. Um ok and just a question now about language learning and your friends, is that a topic that ever comes up, do you ever talk about language learning with friends?

P: Er maybe sometimes when we are comparing school works, between French and English. Excuse me, between French and German.

I: Ok so you have friends who are taking German in other schools?

P: Or here.

I; Oh of course you can take German here as well can't you. Ok. That's great. Um and do you have any friends who can't speak Swedish?

P: Er well of course

I: Or to the same level that you can I mean?

P: Er, no, mainly ...

I: Ok so most of your friends can speak Swedish as well? Do you have friends in different schools who do maybe their Swedish lessons every week but who learn through Finnish normally?

P: I don't really have quite a lot of friends in other schools so ...

I: Ok, ok, so most of your friends will be bilingual like you

P: Yeah

I: Or multilingual like you are. Ok that's brilliant thank you. Um, ok and just some more general questions now. Do you think certain people are better or worse at learning languages than other people, and who might they be?

P: Er, well, I guess it depends on personality, because, of course it depends a lot on hard work and personalities that are motivated quite a lot it's easier to continue to study and of course if you're naturally good with learning languages that helps too.

I: Ok great so if you've got a natural capacity to learn you might be more motivated.

P: Yeah

I: Great answer thank you. Ok and just a more general, maybe stereotypical question. Do you think that boys or girls are better at learning languages?

P: Er maybe it's more like er boys are more like, their puberty gets in there a little bit later so it might disturb a certain amount when it comes to learning languages

I: Ok, because maybe the age when you have the option to take languages, you might be...

P: Yeah you might find something more fun

I: Ok ok so you think that maybe there's associations that boys have with learning languages as being less fun?

P: Maybe

I: Maybe? Ok, that's great, brilliant answer, thank you. Alright, and um, do you think it's unusual to learn foreign languages at school?

P: Er, no

I: No? It's a common thing to do.

P: Yeah very common

I: Ok. Brilliant that's great thank you. So just my last set of questions now, um just really general, again there's no right or wrong answer, um, I'm just really interested to have your opinion. Um. So just the idea of multilingualism and the idea about being multilingual. Um this is maybe a difficult one to answer, it's a bit abstract, but if you had to describe the relationship between Finnish people and language learning how would you describe the relationship. Do you think it's a good relationship, do you think it's a positive one? Are Finnish people generally quite good at learning languages?

P: I'd say it depends on the language. Some people might be dissuaded from learning further languages as Swedish is basically mandatory when you go to high school.

I: Ok, yeah. So, that's really interesting, so some people be discouraged?

P: Yeah.

I: What might it be that discourages them do you think?

P: Well basically because it's forced, then it isn't fun. Language learning should be fun.

I: Ok, so if somethings compulsory then, yeah if you have to do it but you're not necessarily interested then it might but you off learning other languages in the future? Ok that's really great thank you. Er and would you say that Finland is a multilingual country?

P: Er yes.

I: Ok. That sounds like it's an easy question to answer?

P: Well, we do have a Swedish speaking minority, and we do have two official languages, so in a judicial way we're a bilingual country.

I: Yeah, that's brilliant, that's great thank you so much. Great answers. And would you say that it's encouraged to learn languages in Finland?

P: Er well I'd say to a degree because we do have French and English, and then you have the opportunity to keep studying those.

I: Ok yeah. And who is it would you say that is encouraging? Do you notice encouragement coming from all areas? School, home? Like maybe wider or? Is there one place you notice in particular that really encourage you?

P: I'd say for me it comes from home, but for many people it comes from school because languages are a thing that's necessary. It will become a large part of work life and everything like that because people are very connected internationally.

I: Ok ok, that's really interesting. So far you in particular your family have been very encouraging to learn languages, but equally, at school you notice that there's, kind of, language learning is emphasised to be something that's important for your future career.

P: Yeah.

I: Ok that's brilliant, thank you very much. Perfect. So these are just my few last questions. Um, I'm just wondering how it is to learn languages, to be a language learner in Pori, which I know is a more Finnish speaking area. Do you notice there's a difference, do you think it would be different to learn in a more predominantly Swedish speaking area or?

P: Mmm well there might be no difference in the education, but you might not have the chances to actually use your language skills in the real life outside the classroom.

I: Ok, so maybe you could use a bit more Swedish outside, or

P: Yeah

I: Ok, that's great thank you. Um, ok and again, a bit more of an abstract question so it's fine if you don't know. Um do you think, what do you think other people might think about Finnish people and language learning? Do you think, what do you think other people might think about Finnish people and language learning, do you think in an international way do you think people think about Finland and language learning abroad do you think you guys are good at learning languages?

P: They should to a degree because Finnish is painted as a very hard language to learn so...

I: And I can say from experience I think it is a very hard language to learn, I'm very impressed with you guys, you, yeah it's super impressive. Ok. And do you think that there are other countries um, are worse at learning languages than the Finnish are?

P: I don't think so, it might just come down to the education.

I: The education? So you don't think there's a clear answer, oh like this country will probably be worse at learning languages.

P: Yeah

I: Ok. Just to do with the education system. Ok that's brilliant. Thank you. And just my last question now, thank you so much for your answers. Um do you think that English is quite an important language to know today?

P: Yes. It's far greater internationally than it was 20, 50 years ago so basically you do have a lot of communication with people from other countries and English is quite a universal language so it's a very useful way of communicating, so yes it's very important.

I: Ok, that's amazing, that's brilliant. That's so interesting that you mentioned the difference between the years as well, so you notice, you think today that it's even more important to know English for communication. Ok that's amazing. Um, and why, just a final question now, why is it, do you think, there's no right or wrong answer, [...] what is it that you think encourages people to learn English today?

P: Well, to some it's just basically, that's a good question

I: What do you think?

P: Well maybe to some people it just comes because many people start from a very young age watching youtube videos so it comes just kind of automatically, the English language

I: Just automatically, the internet, and communication that way.
That was brilliant thank you so much that's all my questions.

Appendix 8. [MACRO] Additional Issues in FLL in the English Context

1. The “Difficulty” of Language Learning: *Perceptions and reality*

An enduring issue contributing to the declining uptake of language learning in the English context is the common belief that languages are one of the more difficult exam subjects to undertake at Key Stages 4 and 5. Indeed, Tinsley and Doležal (2018) report that this belief does much to undermine measures taken by schools to improve uptake. Indeed, despite the elevation in student numbers taking a language GCSE in line with the new EBACC policy, only 6% of participating schools noted an increase to post-16 study, with many report respondents stating that “they were not inclined to take a language as it is ‘the most difficult GCSE’ they are studying” (Ibid., 2018).

However, the reality of the format of the new GCSE and A Level formats does much to compound these perceptions. A British Council Language Trends Report (Tinsley, 2019) found that “a large majority of teachers” (71% at state secondary schools and 64% at independent schools) said they were concerned about the difficult content of language exams. So too, comments provided by respondents in the previous year’s report indicate that, alongside the fact that the new GCSE is seen as more rigorous and demanding for pupils, there were also concerns regarding the new grading structure and the difficulty of languages GCSEs compared to other subjects (Keating, 2019).

2. Divisions in access: *SES/Location*

A second issue of focus concerns the uneven access to foreign language learning within the country. Increasingly, it is seen to be the case that there are clear divisions between practices in the north and south of the country, and also with regards to the social economic status of the school catchment area. Especially, it is often the case that those institutions in the highest quintile for the governmental free school meals scheme (FSM), one measure of low SES, report the lowest hours of MFL teaching. It is noted in the same report that more than one third of state schools (34%) state that entire groups of Year 9 pupils are not taught languages. This practice is seen to be most often the case in schools located in the North of England, also most often those to be categorized as “requiring improvement” by OFSTED, and with a high majority of students qualifying for FSM. Schools in the independent sector, conversely, have higher levels of uptake, as well as more languages on offer and greater opportunities for international experiences (Tinsley & Doležal, 2018).

Unequal access to languages and language learning in SES terms also impacts upon opportunities for student intercultural experiences, a key element of successful languages education. It is reported that school trips and exchanges abroad are much more common in the independent sector, and those state schools offering access to trips to foreign countries are most likely to also have the lowest levels of FSM eligibility. Funding is cited as

the greatest barrier to international experience for students in lower SES areas. These limited opportunities for certain pupils to gain greater intercultural understanding is certainly to the detriment of their overall language learning experiences; a House of Commons Library Briefing paper from 2019 states that at secondary and post-16 level, attitudes towards language learning is, for the most part, positive. However, it was also noted that students' "intercultural understanding [...] was weak in a majority of the schools visited because they did not have good opportunities to develop it" (p.8)

3. Limited contact between primary and secondary schools

A final point pertaining to the decreasing interest in language learning at the secondary level is the declining contact between primary and secondary schools with regards to the proficiency and history of incoming Year 7 students. Only half of primary schools (47%) reported maintaining some form of communication with local secondary schools, and secondary schools often cite barriers to communication with local primary schools due to the large number of catchment feeder schools. As such, previous surveys have often detected mismatches between what primary schools claim to achieve with pupils and the expectations of the Key Stage 3 teachers (Evans & Fisher, 2010). This can often result in the hindrance of "coherent progression" in learning, and can have additional impact on the smooth transition between primary and secondary (Tinsley & Doležal, 2018).

4. Brexit and language learning motivation

The impact of Brexit (Britain's departure from the European Union resulting from a nation referendum on 23/07/2016) has had considerable impact upon student and parental attitudes to language learning. 25% of teachers in the state sector, and 15% of teachers employed in independent schools, report that there has been a negative impact on student motivation to learn a European language post-Brexit, while ~30% in both sectors suggest that "pupils have mixed attitudes towards languages" following the country's decision exit the EU (Ibid., 2018). An article published in *The Guardian* in July 2019 also underlines that parental perceptions contribute to this declining interest in MFL. Teachers have recounted cases of "parents mentioning that they do not believe their son or daughter should be studying a language as it is little to no use to them now that we are leaving the European Union" (Adams, 2019). The impact of parental/carer attitudes towards language learning is well-cited in the literature as an intrinsic factor in developing student motivation in L2+ learning (Bartram, 2006); as such limited support in the home sphere is evidently detrimental to pupil uptake.

A reality serving to compound the impact of such negative perceptions of language learning in the new national context is the stark reality that a majority of both state and independent schools employ at least one member of MFL staff who is an EU citizen; 67% in the state sector, 79% in the private sector (Tinsley, 2019). The short supply of domestic citizens holding the appropriate qualifications to teach languages is an additional issue to be remedied to ensure access to high-quality teaching is maintained.

