

L3 Motivation

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Alastair Henry



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Abstract

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The purpose of this thesis was to study secondary school students' motivation to learn a second foreign language in addition to English. In addition to the empirical investigation of L3 motivation over a program of study and the testing of the widely-held assumption that L2 English impacts negatively on L3 motivation, the aim was also to contribute to the conceptual development of self-based motivation theory by examining the evolution and development of language-speaking/using selves, and by addressing the issue of interference between different self-guides.

In Studies I and II the L3 motivational trajectories of two samples of secondary school students (n=532, n=169) were mapped across grades 4 – 6 (Study I) and grades 6 – 9 (Study II), with a particular focus on differences in the trajectories of girls' and boys' ideal language-speaking/using selves. The results of Studies I and II revealed a pattern where initial gender differences, although remaining stable after a year of learning, thereafter follow different developmental paths. While boys' ideal L3 selves declined by the end of grade 9, girls' ideal L3 selves became stronger. Although a similar pattern was found for L2 English selves, the gender gap here was not as marked.

In Study III the hypothesis that, as a result of negative cross-referencing between ideal L2 and ideal L3 selves, L2 English would have a negative effect on L3 motivation was tested in a sample of 9th grade students (n=101). Analysis of the data indicates that students are aware of the ideal L2 English self in L3 learning situations and support was found for the hypothesised negative effect on L3 motivation, with the impact being stronger among boys. In Study IV the hypothesised processes of negative cross-referencing were examined in a series of in-depth interviews with four participants selected using a maximum variation sampling strategy. Analysis of the data revealed that when cross-referencing takes place, some students seem to invoke counteracting resources. In the discussion of the findings it is suggested that, rather than *interference*, *competition* may provide a conceptually more coherent descriptor of the processes of cognition that take place in the working self-concept when more than one possible language self is active. The implications of the findings for theoretical development are discussed in relation to both qualitative applications of the L2 Motivational Self System (Dörnyei, 2005), and the proposed ID component in the Dynamic Model of Multilingualism (Herdina & Jessner, 2002). Finally, the educational implications of the findings are discussed and a series of proposals for classroom interventions are put forward.

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Henry, A. and Apelgren, B. M. (2008). Young learners and multilingualism: A study of learner attitudes before and after the introduction of a second foreign language to the curriculum. *System* 36 (4), 607-623.

Study II

Henry, A. (2009). Gender differences in compulsory school pupils' L2 self-concepts: A longitudinal study. *System* 37 (2), 177-193.

Study III

Henry, A. (2010). Contexts of possibility in simultaneous language learning: Using the L2 Motivational Self System to assess the impact of global English. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 31 (2), 149-162.

Study IV

Henry, A. (2011). Examining the impact of L2 English on L3 selves: A case study. *International Journal of Multilingualism* 8 (3), 235-255.

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Prologue

The purpose of this prologue is to provide readers unfamiliar with the field of language learning motivation with a basic orientation. Because readers with backgrounds in general education may not be familiar with specific theories of second language learning motivation, the motivational landscape within which this thesis is located is mapped out by situating key theories of language learning motivation within the broader context of social psychology. Thereafter key terminology is explained and a list of systematically used abbreviations is provided.

Mapping motivation

Anyone who has come into contact with processes of language learning will have undoubtedly encountered discussions on the importance of motivation. However, not only can it appear that there are a number of highly distinct models on offer, but it can often also seem difficult to relate them to one another and to more commonly known models of motivation in ‘mainstream’ psychology. As a means of situating the work carried out here, an overview of the motivational terrain may therefore be of value. This, it is hoped, will enable the reader to position the models referred to in this thesis in the context of more general concepts of motivation, and in relation to models specific to second language learning.

Social psychology is the study of the way in which the individual is influenced by others in the environment and, in Allport’s (1954) classic definition, involves attempts to explain how our thoughts, feelings and behaviours are influenced by the actual, imagined or implied presence of others. Put another way, social psychology is about the ways others influence what we do. As Fiske (2010) explains, Allport’s definition unpacks into a cause (others) a verb (influence) and an effect (thoughts, feelings and behaviours). Definitions can however be deceptively simple and social psychology encompasses a wide range of different ideas, concepts, theories and concerns (Fiske, Gilbert & Lindzey, 2010). Motivation is a central concern of social psychology and major theories of motivation have been developed within three broad fields of interest; *attitudes*

and *intergroup relations*, theories of *attribution* and *self-determination* and, finally, *the psychology of the self*.

As Fiske (2010) explains, *attitudes* involve evaluation. Eagly and Chaiken (1998, p. 269) define attitudes as “evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favour or disfavour”, while Petty and Wegener (1998, p. 323) describe an attitude as “an overall evaluation of persons (including oneself), objects, and issues”. The effect and function of attitudes has been a fundamental concern of social psychology from its beginnings in that, as Fiske (2010) points out, the functions of attitudes correspond to core social motives. Because attitudes categorize entities, this allows the individual to decide what to approach or avoid (object appraisal), and how to align oneself with important standards or norms of social approval (value expression) (Fiske, 2010). Social identity theory, which holds that intergroup relations are determined by the awareness of and attitudes to other so-called ‘out-groups’ (Tajfel, 1978), provides an example of the ways in which theories of object appraisal and value expression have been developed. It is therefore not surprising that when motivation to learn a foreign language first began to be investigated in the late 1950s, attitudes to members of another group – i.e. the speakers of the target language – formed the theoretical base for the core concept of integrativeness developed in the work of Gardner and his associates (Gardner, 1985). In addition to Gardner’s work, another prominent theory of second language learning motivation, Giles and Byrne’s (1982) Intergroup Model with its focus on in-group identification and ethnolinguistic vitality, is also a product of classic attitude-based social psychology. Other examples of theories drawing on attitudinal social psychology well known in the second language field are Clément’s (1986) linguistic self-confidence model, Schumann’s (1986) theory of acculturation and Clément and Noels’ (1992) situated identity theory.

Attribution is the process of assigning causes for our own behaviour (Hogg & Vaughan, 2005) and theories of attribution concern judgements about our own behaviour and that of others. In explaining motivated behaviour, theories of attribution have been highly influential, none less so than the work of Weiner (1986) who was interested in the attributions made for experiences of success and failure. Similar to attribution theories, the focus of Bandura’s (2001) theory of self-efficacy is on introspection and self-evaluation. Here however the focus is on the individual’s self-perceived ability to perform particular tasks. In directing behaviour, assessments of self-efficacy, the anticipated energy and effort needed, and the likelihood of success will be important determining factors. While highly influential as ‘mainstream’ theories of motivation, neither of these two directions

has been specifically adapted to second language learning. *Self-determination theory*, on the other hand, has had more of an impact in the L2 field. With a starting point in the long-established extrinsic/intrinsic dichotomy and the assumption that intrinsic motivation, because it is self-relevant, represents a ‘truer’ and more powerful form of motivation, Deci and Ryan (1985) have argued that extrinsic motives can also exert a powerful influence on behaviour if they are/become internalised. Self-determination theory in the L2 field is primarily associated with extensive work carried out by Noels and her colleagues (e.g. Noels, Pelletier, Clément & Vallerand, 2000). In particular, the research carried out by Noels’ group indicates that, in the long term, intrinsic motives linked to the enjoyment of learning may not be sufficient to sustain focused learning behaviour and that the personal value and importance of learning the language may have a more enduring motivational effect.

The third broad field of social psychology that has generated theories of motivation with applications in the context of language learning is the *psychology of the self*. Self psychology is an enormous field and concepts range from the inner and the material self, to the interpersonal self, the social self, the relational self, the societal self and the agentic self (Fiske, 2010). As Fiske (2010, p. 180) makes clear, for social psychologists the self-concept or the “cognitive representation of the self” has been a major concern. In directing attention to cognitive representations, focus has been placed on self-knowledge and the content of people’s beliefs about themselves. The social psychology of the self has produced a number of theories of motivation including, for example, Bem’s (1967) self-perception theory, Higgins’ (1987) self-discrepancy theory and Markus and Nurius’ (1986) theory of possible selves. Up until the beginning of the current century, theories of the self and self-related motivation had not been considered by scholars working in the field of language learning motivation. However, the work carried out by Dörnyei and Csizér (2002) and Csizér and Dörnyei (2005a) introduced the concept of the second language-speaking/using self as a motivational driving force and, by the end of the decade, a paradigm shift had taken place with Dörnyei’s L2 Motivational Self System model (Dörnyei, 2005, 2009a) replacing Gardner’s Socio-Educational model as the blueprint for most motivational research.

Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used in this thesis:

<i>FL</i>	Foreign language.
<i>L2</i>	Second language.
<i>L3</i>	Third language.
<i>SLA</i>	Second language acquisition.
<i>TL</i>	Target language

Terminology and Definitions

Second and third languages

The central focus of this thesis is on the motivation to learn a language that is neither a ‘first’ nor a ‘native’ language. Neither is it English (the language which is a compulsory subject in the Swedish National curriculum and in this thesis is referred to as the L2).

The nomenclature used to describe languages in addition to a person’s native tongue (L1) that are learnt/spoken is extremely varied, with the terms ‘second language’ and ‘foreign language’ commonly used. In this thesis I use the term ‘third language’ – abbreviated as L3 – to denote the languages that, in accordance with the Swedish Compulsory School Ordinance (*Grundskoleförordning*), can be learnt in the ‘Language Choice’ curricula component, and which in Paragraph 17 are designated as French, German and Spanish. In this regard, two specific comments need to be made. First, it needs to be recognised that the use of the terms L2 and L3 does not mean that for *every* student in these studies, English and one of French, German or Spanish, will be their *actual* second and third languages. A proportion will have multilingual backgrounds and for these students English could be a third or fourth language and French/German/Spanish a fourth or fifth.

The second comment relates to the terminology used in the four separate studies and that used in the overarching text. Because the focus of the thesis is on the motivation to learn a third language (French/German/Spanish) in a context where the second language (English) has a privileged status in society, is prominent in social discourse and is a central part of the curriculum (Simensen, 2010), I have approached the topic from a ‘third language acquisition’ perspective (Cenoz & Jessner, 2000). Third language acquisition, as Dörnyei (2007) notes, is a relatively new field of research and is rooted in the notion that

the acquisition of an L3 is more complex than the acquisition of an L2 due to the fact that “both the process and the product of acquiring an L2 can potentially influence the acquisition of additional languages” (p. 24). However, having said this, an L3 perspective has not been systematically adopted across the four studies. Indeed, it is only in Study IV that L3 terminology is used. As a consequence there are inconsistencies between the terminology used in the overarching text and the terminology used in Studies I, II and III. Because this could cause confusion for the reader, the following clarification is provided.

Unless otherwise stated, the terms ‘second language’ and ‘second language learning motivation’ are used generically and cover the learning of a language other than the native tongue. When referring to the empirical studies, ‘L2’ and ‘L2 motivation’ refer to English and English language learning motivation. In Studies I, II and III, ‘FL’ is used to refer to French, German and Spanish. In Study IV, and in the overarching text, these languages (together with Russian) are referred to using the term ‘L3’.

Multilingualism and plurilingualism

In recent years there has been a shift in the terminology used by researchers working in the L3 field. In Europe, *multilingualism* is the term used to denote the study of the societal dimensions of multiple language acquisition, while *plurilingualism* refers to the study of the individual’s repertoires and agency in several languages (Jessner, 2008a; Moore & Gajo, 2009). The following definition of plurilingual competence is provided by the Council of Europe:

Plurilingual and pluricultural competence refers to the ability to use languages for the purposes of communication and to take part in intercultural interaction, where a person, viewed as a social agent has proficiency, of varying degrees, in several languages and experience of several cultures. This is not seen as the superposition or juxtaposition of distinct competences, but rather as the existence of a complex or even composite competence on which the user may draw. (Council of Europe, CECR, 2001, p. 168)

As Moore and Gajo explain, while both terms are etymologically similar, plurilingualism embodies a shift in the locus of linguistic and cultural contact to the individual. In so doing it focuses lifelong learning and the “reservoir of co-ordinate experiences developing differently in relation to individual biographies and social trajectories.” (Moore & Gajo, 2009, p. 142). In this thesis I use the term ‘plurilingual’ when focusing on the language learning and language skills of

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individual learners, and ‘multilingual’ when referring to the societal dimension of multiple language acquisition.

Chapter One:

Introduction and points of departure

This thesis comprises four empirical studies based on four different sets of related data. Studies I and II are *descriptive* and map the language learning motivational trajectories of secondary school students across grades 4 to 9. Studies III and IV are *exploratory*. Here the effects of L2 English on L3 (French, German, Spanish) motivation are investigated. The thesis has two broad points of departure, one empirical and one theoretical.

The empirical point of departure: The impact of L2 English on L3 motivation

While research has shown that in countries where English is the native language, motivation to learn foreign languages is often lacking (e.g. Williams, Burden & Lanvers, 2002), and that in non-native-speaking contexts where there is a selection of L2s on offer, or when it is studied simultaneously alongside another foreign language, English is more popular (Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005b; Csizér & Lukács, 2010), there is a lack of research on the *effects* of L2 English on L3 motivation. Indeed, as Dörnyei, Csizér and Németh (2006) point out, while the effects of language globalization have been widely discussed in the L2 literature, conceptual discussions have been far more numerous than studies based on empirical data. Despite the lack of empirical support, it is nevertheless widely believed that in technologically advanced countries, such as for example Sweden and Norway, where English can be regarded as a second rather than a foreign language (Phillipson, 2003; Viberg, 2000) and is encountered across a wide range of social practices in most people's daily lives (Simensen, 2010), L2 English has a directly negative impact on motivation to learn other languages (Glaser, 2005; Krumm, 2004; Phillipson, 2008). One of the purposes of this thesis is therefore to address this question in empirical research. In Studies I and II L3 (French, German & Spanish) and L2 (English) motivational trajectories are plotted over the span of six school years. Studies III and IV examine the impact of L2

English on L3 motivation. Additionally, in Studies I, II and III, focus is directed to gender differences.

The theoretical point of departure: Temporal change and interference

The theoretical focus of the thesis is centred on two of the six directions for future research identified by Dörnyei and Ushioda (2009) in the concluding chapter of *Motivation, Language Identity and the L2 Self*. The first concerns the temporal evolution/change/development of future self-guides and the question of their stability. While, as the authors point out, self-guides would on the face of things appear to be fairly robust, research is required to better understand their emergence and subsequent evolutionary patterns. In Studies I and II measures of female and male students' L3 and L2 ideal selves across six school grades are examined, thus providing an opportunity to consider *temporal* changes.

The second issue focuses on learners who are simultaneously engaged in the study of more than one foreign language, and the question of *interference* between their different ideal self images. Although Csizér and Dörnyei (2005b) and more recently Csizér and Lukács (2010) have shown that L2 selves differ depending on the combination of languages studied, little is known about the ways in which language selves impact upon one another. Thus in Study III the hypotheses that language selves are referenced with one another and, specifically, that L3 (French, German, Spanish) self-concepts are appraised negatively in relation to the L2 English self-concept, were tested. Additionally, the effects on L3 motivation were also examined, as were gender differences. To gain insights into the ways in which the hypothesised impact of the L2 on the L3 might be manifested in cognition, in Study IV interviews were conducted with a series of focal learners.

Purpose

The purpose of this thesis is to investigate L3 motivation in situations of simultaneous L2 and L3 acquisition. Specific aims have been,

- to map out the trajectories of students' L3 (French, German, Spanish) selves between school grades 4 to 9, to compare these with similar trajectories for L2 English selves, and to investigate gender differences,

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- to investigate the impact of L2 English on L3 (French, German, Spanish) motivation,
and,
- to examine processes of cognition in situations in L3 learning where the learner is aware of L2 English.

Chapter Two: Theoretical Underpinnings

Part One An overview of L2 Motivation theory

Introduction

In Part One of this chapter I provide an overview of theories of L2 motivation beginning with the social psychological approach and moving on to the self-based approach and a discussion of Dörnyei's L2 Motivational Self System. In Part Two I sketch out the background to the three specific research challenges central to the work carried out in this thesis. Here I examine Dörnyei's process approach, Ushioda's 'Person-in-Context Relational' approach, Dynamic Systems Theory and, finally, the multilingual paradigm.

In providing an overview of L2 motivation research as a means of theoretically situating the studies in this thesis, I have decided against treading a path that normally involves an initial survey of theories of motivation in mainstream psychology, followed thereafter by a chronology of the development of L2 motivation from the 'social psychological period' up to the current 'socio-dynamic' period (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011). In addition to the fact that comprehensive surveys of this type can be found elsewhere (e.g. Dörnyei, 2005; Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011; Ryan, 2008), there are other specific reasons for this choice. While space limitations mean that any survey of general theories of motivation could only be cursory, the reason for not including an overview of mainstream paradigms (other than the brief overview provided in the Prologue) is that such knowledge is not crucial in terms of situating the research objectives pursued in this thesis. The reason for not providing a chronological survey of L2 motivational theories is, on the other hand, primarily pedagogical. Explication of the evolution of the self-based paradigm is, I would argue, best accomplished in the context of the criticisms of the social psychological paradigm that emerged around the time of the millennium shift. Thus, rather than covering the 'process-oriented' period (Dörnyei, 2005; Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011) as a distinct chronological stage interposed between the 'social psychological' and 'socio-

dynamic' periods, I will instead make reference to it in the context of the research objective of this thesis, namely the study of L3 motivation.

L2 motivation research as a unique field of inquiry

As Dörnyei and Ushioda (2011) point out, the study of L2 motivation has evolved as a highly independent and self-contained field that has forged its own path largely without reference to trends and developments in mainstream psychology. Thus, while the study of motivation in other branches of psychology has been characterized by a rather wide range of theories – e.g. expectancy-value and attribution theories, self-efficacy and self-worth theories, goal theories and self-determination theory – the social psychological approach pioneered by Robert Gardner in the late 1950s has dominated the L2 motivation field.

Its relative insularity as a research discipline is perhaps not the only sense in which L2 motivation might be regarded as something of an anomaly. It is hard to find any other area of formalized learning where the theoretical frameworks of motivation employed have, first, been specifically developed to tap into processes of motivation regarded as entirely unique to the subject, and, secondly, where a single model/approach has dominated the field. To be sure, motivation is a highly important determiner of success in all forms of instructed knowledge acquisition. However, when scrutinizing research that, for example, has focused on the motivation to engage with and learn mathematics, science subjects, the social sciences and history, it is immediately apparent that the concepts of motivation generally employed tend, largely, to consist of generic frameworks complemented by subject-specific components. This is not the case in SLA.

Why then has the study of L2 motivation developed in such a unique manner, largely independent of both the influence of mainstream theories *and* frameworks of motivation employed to explain other forms of formalized learning? The answer, as Dörnyei (2005) has suggested, lies in the conviction held by applied linguists – neatly summed up by Williams below – that second languages are qualitatively different to other educational subjects in that they involve learning processes that encompass a unique combination of cognitive and affective factors:

There is no question that learning a foreign language is different to learning other subjects. This is mainly because of the social nature of such a venture. Language, after all, belongs to a person's whole social being: it is part of one's identity, and is used to convey this identity to other people. The learning of a foreign language involves far more than simply learning skills, or a system of rules, or a grammar; it

CHAPTER TWO

involves an alteration in self-image, the adoption of new social and cultural behaviours and ways of being, and therefore has a significant impact on the social nature of the learner. (Williams, 1994, p. 77)

Because L2 acquisition presupposes active engagement in social practices mediated by the L2, this means that there must be a willingness on the part of the learner to *identify* and communicate with others in the language being learnt. This involves a form of decentering uniquely demanded of the language learner. As we shall see, although views about the nature of this *identification* have largely shifted from one that is external (i.e. with other speakers of the language) to a more internalised identification (i.e. ‘me-as-a-foreign-language-speaker’) (Dörnyei, 2009), this remains an aspect unique to language learning.

The social psychological approach

As Williams’ (1994) encapsulation of the multi-dimensionality of the challenge involved in learning a language intimates, success in language learning involves more than just intelligence and aptitude; the learner needs, additionally, to have a desire to make use of the language in social interaction. It is the recognition of this social element in language learning that underpinned the work carried out by Gardner and his associates in the late 1950s and their identification of motivation as a key determinant (alongside aptitude and intelligence) of language learning success. Their pioneering work is centred on the notion that language learners are engaged in social practices and that in order to be successful, the TL must be incorporated as part of their social identity. Although today this is taken for granted, in the 1960s it was radically new in that it involved the integration of individualistic and social psychology (Dörnyei, 2005).

The defining feature of Gardner’s work is the notion that language acquisition involves the learner’s identification with another/other group(s) of individuals who speak the TL. Because this also involves an awareness, understanding and even acquisition of the beliefs and value-systems of the culture with which TL speakers are associated, the learner’s identification with another/other culture(s) becomes a decisive factor. Gardner offers the following explanation:

In the acquisition of a second language, the student is faced with the task of not 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 /.../ Furthermore, the student is not being asked to learn about them; he is being asked to acquire them, to make them part of his own language reservoir. This involves imposing elements of another culture into

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one's own lifespace. As a result, the student's harmony with his own cultural community and his willingness or ability to identify with other cultural communities become important considerations in the process of second language acquisition. (Gardner, 1979, p. 193)

As a means of encapsulating the ability of the learner to incorporate elements of another culture into her/his own 'lifespace' and her/his willingness "to identify with other cultural communities", Gardner developed the theory of integrativeness. In particular he identified a series of factors that impacted upon motivation and, in his multi-level Socio-Educational Model of Second Language Acquisition, mapped out their relationships to one another. In Gardner's model *integrativeness* operates at three levels. At the highest level is *Integrative motivation*. This, Dörnyei (2005) notes, is an empirically-based construct comprising three constituents: *Integrativeness*, *Attitudes towards the learning situation* and *Motivation*. In its turn *Integrativeness* subsumes three additional dimensions: an *Integrative Orientation*, *Interest in Foreign Languages* and *Attitudes toward the L2 Community*.

Gardner's theory of L2 motivation dominated research in the field for more than three decades. Although much of the research carried out was conducted in Canada, the findings of other studies from differing ethnolinguistic settings demonstrate that integrative motivation has good construct validity (Masogret & Gardner, 2003). Additionally, another reason why Gardner's Socio-Educational Model proved to be so resilient may lie in the fact that he also provided researchers with a tool – the Attitude/Motivation Test Battery (AMTB) – with which the construct could be operationalized in empirical inquiry (Dörnyei, 2005). The AMTB is an instrument that taps into all of the constituents of the Socio-Educational Model and has been found to have good psychometric properties including construct validity (Dörnyei, 2005).

Though dominating the field since the 1960s, Gardner's theory of integrativeness has in the last decade been subject to increasing criticism, so much so that Dörnyei (2009a) makes the point that few scholars today include the concept in their research paradigms. In the following section I will attempt to account for the resurgence of interest in conceptual inquiry into the core constructs of L2 motivation that have taken place on the back of the critique of the concept of integrativeness.

Challenges to the concept of integrativeness

The dominance of Gardner's work

There are perhaps two factors that can explain the longevity of Gardner's theory of integrativeness. First, as Dörnyei (2005) points out, Gardner's theories were far ahead of their time. In essence Gardner and his associates, who from the late 1950s onwards mainly conducted their research in areas of Canada with coexisting Anglophone and Francophone communities, had initially a greater interest in intercultural communication and affiliation than in language learning motivation. However, because they regarded language use as a facilitator of cross-cultural interaction, they hypothesized that students' attitudes to the other language group would be the major contributing factor to success in learning the language which, in turn, would predict levels of affiliation (Dörnyei, 2005). As Dörnyei (2005) points out, the inclusion of attitudes to groups (i.e. a social psychological perspective) was at the time radically new and it would be at least another couple of decades before mainstream psychology 'caught up' in terms of the recognition of a social element in constructs of motivation. Secondly, as Dörnyei (2005) notes, many of the scholars who have been working in the L2 motivation field – but, interestingly, not Gardner himself – have approached the subject from a background in either educational science or linguistics. One of the consequences of this may, in retrospect, have been the uncritical embracing of a complex conceptual framework without the benefit of insights from other areas of psychology. This, as Dörnyei (2005) points out, can explain why, throughout the 1960s, 70s, 80s and early 1990s, the theory remained relatively unmodified. However, as a review of the literature demonstrates (e.g. Coetzee-Van Rooy, 2006; Lamb, 2004; Ushioda, 2006), from the early 00s onwards questions as to the validity of the concept of integrativeness when employed outside of the Canadian context became increasingly common.

The 'problem' of integrativeness

In one of the first critiques of the concept, Dörnyei (1990) suggested that integrativeness is problematic because in contexts other than the bilingual setting in which it was initially developed, it may be unclear what the target of integration actually is. Thus, at an early stage, Dörnyei argued that when the TL is a foreign language, the notion of integrativeness needed to be broadened:

In FLL contexts, and particularly when the target language is an international language, the [integrative motivational] subsystem is not so much determined by attitudes toward the target language community as by a more generalized

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disposition toward language learning and the values the target language conveys.
(Dörnyei, 1990, p. 65)

Nevertheless a realignment of the concept of integrativeness to an FL context such as Dörnyei originally proposed continued to be problematic in that an identifiable TL community was still envisaged. But what if there is no obvious (identified or identifiable) community of speakers with whom the learner desires to establish an affinity? Or, more to the point – and particularly in relation to English as a global language – what if that community is so widespread, omnipresent and diverse that the type of tangible identification implied by integrativeness is simply impossible? Thus, in line with the view held, amongst others, by Arnett (2002) that in a globalised world many people develop ‘bicultural’ or ‘hybrid’ identities that include localised as well as global components, Dörnyei and Csizér called for a more radical overhaul of the concept of integrativeness suggesting that the motivational element captured by the term might instead relate not so much “to any actual, or metaphorical, *integration* into and L2 community as to some more basic *identification process* within the individual’s *self-concept*” (Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002, p. 456).

While it is the problem of a hard-to-define target community that in recent years has undermined the conceptual validity of integrativeness when employed outside of bilingual settings (see e.g. Coetzee-Van Rooy, 2006), there are additional problems involved in the inclusion of the concept in research designs. One is the ambiguity arising from its use at three different levels in Gardner’s model (Dörnyei, 2005). This lack of clarity may have led to a tendency to see Gardner’s theory as the sum of two dimensions; one that is social and intersubjective in nature i.e. *integrativeness/integrative motivation*, and one that focuses on the utility and long-term personal advantages of language learning and which is referred to as the *instrumental orientation/instrumental motivation*. This is a dichotomy that is not supported by the Socio-Educational Model and, as Dörnyei (2005) suggests, probably derives from the operationalization of Gardner’s theory of the *Integrative Motive* in the AMTB.¹

Even though instrumental motivation is not a central element in his theory, popular interpretations of Gardner’s work have nevertheless tended to emphasise the differentiation between these two dimensions (Dörnyei, 2005). As

¹ The AMTB is comprised of 13 mainly multi-item scales, one of which is *Integrative orientation*. Another is *Instrumental orientation*. Appearing next to each other in the AMTB, both are measured by similarly worded Likert item scales.

with the question of a target community, this division has also been questioned. For example Lamb (2004) in his qualitative study of Indonesian learners of English came to the conclusion that in the aspirations of young people participating in a globalized society it was impossible to distinguish integrative and instrumental orientations as separate concepts. Most importantly, Dörnyei and his associates (Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002) found in their Hungarian cohort studies a strong relationship between instrumentality and integrativeness that cast doubt on their conceptual separation.

For all of these reasons the time was ripe for change and, since Dörnyei and Csizér's (2002) groundbreaking article, the last ten years have seen the development of theories of L2 motivation that move beyond a social psychological approach employing instead theories from cognitive psychology.

Motivation and the L2 self

Building on the empirical work carried out in Hungary and in an extension of the idea that the motivational force captured by the concept of integrativeness might be better understood as relating to an internal identification process within the individual's self-concept, Dörnyei (2005) developed the L2 Motivational Self System. As he explains in his book-length analysis of his Hungarian cohort studies, (Dörnyei, Csizér & Németh, 2006) not only was a self-based conceptualization of L2 motivation intuitively more appealing but, importantly, the data supported a realignment of integrativeness as a component of the learner's self. Indeed, rather than negating previous theoretical conceptions, the model is best regarded as the synthesis of past research on motivational dimensions of L2 learning with a self-based approach centred on the work carried out at the interface of personality and motivational psychology by Markus and Nurius (1986) and Higgins (1987).

Markus and Nurius' theory of possible selves

Generally speaking, theories of the self relate to ways in which individuals perceive themselves in a range of different domains. The contribution of Markus and Nurius' (1986) theory of possible selves to self-concept research is the provision of a conceptual link between theories of the self and theories of motivation. Functioning as representations of the self in future states, possible selves are experientially based. While highly personalized, possible selves are also distinctly social, "the direct result of previous social comparisons in which the individual's own thoughts, feelings, characteristics, and behaviors have been

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contrasted with those of salient others”. As Markus and Nurius point out, “what others are now I could become” (Markus & Nurius, 1986, p. 954).

As Markus and Nurius (1986) explain, possible selves are not just *any* set of imagined roles or states of being. Rather, they represent distinct and *enduring* aspirations, hopes and fears. Thus the repertoire of possible selves contained within the individual’s self-system form the “cognitive manifestations of enduring goals, aspirations, motives fears and threats [and] provide specific cognitive form, organization, direction, and self-relevant meaning to these dynamics” (Markus & Nurius, 1989, p. 158). Possible selves provide a link between the self-concept and motivation in two important ways; by functioning as incentives for future behaviour and by providing an evaluative framework for interpretations of the current self. Put another way, possible selves can be said to form blueprints for motivated behaviour (Markus & Nurius, 1989).

In order to understand the function of possible selves in creating and directing motivated behaviour, three salient points need to be stressed. The first and most important is that to function as a possible self, the representation must be tangible. Thus, to have a motivational effect, the image that the individual possesses of her/himself in a future state must be more than a diffuse, unformed and general view. Instead it must be tangible, lifelike and authentic. When a possible self has motivational power it will be perceived by the individual as being as real as the here-and-now self. In explaining how possible selves are clothed in the same imagery as current selves, Markus and Nurius offer the following illustration:

In surveys of the possible selves of college students, we find, for example, that the female student who fears she will not get married carries with her much more than a shadowy, undifferentiated fear of being unloved. Instead the fear is quite personalized and has a well-elaborated self associated with it, i.e., herself as uncared for and miserable, coming home from a dull job to an empty apartment, and watching others live exciting lives. Similarly, from a study of possible selves of delinquents, we find that the boy who hopes to stop using drugs and to be different does not harbor this hope in vague abstraction but rather holds a vivid possible self, i.e. himself as clean, buying lots of clothes, having a car and lots of friends who admire him, and living a life rather like Michael Jackson’s. (Markus & Nurius, 1989, p. 158)

It is this imaginary element – the envisioning of the self in the future in a way that involves a combination of fantasy and experiential self-knowledge – that is the distinguishing characteristic of possible selves and which Dörnyei believes

makes future selves ideally suited to function as “the lynchpins of a broad theory of L2 motivation” (Dörnyei, 2009a, p. 17).

The second important point that needs to be noted is that in addition to their identification of the “ideal selves that we would very much like to become” and the “selves we could become”, Markus and Nurius also point to possible selves of a negative type; the “selves we are afraid of becoming.” These “dreaded” possible selves could be “the alone self, the depressed self, the incompetent self, the alcoholic self, the unemployed self, or the bag lady self” (Markus & Nurius, 1986, p. 954). In subsequent work Oyserman and Markus (1990) have suggested that maximum motivational force will be generated when a particular ideal self is *balanced* by a feared self. Balance, as defined by Oyserman and Fryberg, refers to the construal of both positive expectations and fears in the same domain. Thus they point out that people with balanced possible selves will not only have a “positive self-identifying goal to strive for”, but will also be aware of “the personally relevant consequences of not meeting that goal” (Oyserman & Fryberg, 2006, p. 20). Such a balance is thus likely to result in enduring forms of motivation that simultaneously involve elements of striving to attain an ideal self *and* avoiding a feared one.

Finally, a third point that needs to be made relates to the relation between possible selves and other self-conceptions that, because of their importance in defining the self, can be considered as “core” components. While core conceptions will, as Markus and Nurius (1986) explain, be “chronically accessible” in cognition, possible selves on the other hand are domain-specific and thus situationally-dependent. Thus, in studying the effects of any particular possible self on motivation, Markus and Nurius suggest that this may be done most effectively by focusing on *processes* of cognition that take place at specific instances in time. This involves looking at the *subset* of the person’s total repertoire of self-conceptions – i.e. a constellation comprising both core, stable views of the self as well as situationally-salient domain-specific selves and self-knowledge – that is active in cognition at any particular point in time. This Markus and Nurius (1986, 1987) refer to as the ‘working self-concept’:

The value of considering the nature and function of possible selves is most apparent if we examine not the self-concept, which is typically regarded as a single, generalized view of the self, but rather the current or *working* self-concept. Not all self-knowledge is available for thinking about the self at any one time. The working self-concept derives from the set of self-conceptions that are presently active in thought and memory. It can be viewed as a continually active, shifting

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array of available self-knowledge. The array changes as individuals experience variation in internal states and social circumstances. The content of the working self-concept depends on what self-conceptions have been active just before, on what has been elicited or made dominant by the particular social environment, and on what has been purposefully invoked by the individual in response to a given experience, event or situation. (Markus & Nurius 1986, p. 957)

In the context of L2 motivation where, for most learners most of the time, possible L2 selves are likely to be highly contextually-dependent, a focus on the working self-concept may be of particular importance in the operationalization of research objectives.

In a parallel paper Markus and Kunda (1986) examine the theory of the working self-concept more thoroughly. In particular they focus on the way that the supposed stability of the self-concept can in fact mask “significant local variations that arise when the individual responds systematically to events in the social environment” (Markus & Kunda, 1986, p. 859). Specifically they show how different self-conceptions become active in the working self-concept when triggered by self-relevant events. They also explain how, when challenges to cognitively active selves arise as result of a contextual event/situation, the incursion of a negative self-conception into the working self-concept can be offset by the recruitment of counteracting positive self-conceptions and self knowledge.

Higgins’ Self-discrepancy theory

Addressing similar issues to Markus and Nurius, Higgins (1987) developed the theory of *self-discrepancy* as a means of explaining how discrepancies between different domains of the self – for example between the actual self and an idealized version of the self – could be related to different types of emotional vulnerability. The theory suggests that there are three basic domains of the self. These are:

The *actual* self, which is the representation of attributes that you believe that you do in fact possess,

The *ideal* self, which is the representation of attributes that you would ideally like to possess, and,

The *ought* self, which is the representation of the attributes that you believe you should possess.

While the *actual self* constitutes the person's *self-concept*, the *ideal* and *ought* selves function as *self-guides*. The main tenet of self-discrepancy theory is that individuals are motivated to reach a condition where the self-concept is aligned as closely as possible with their specific self-guides. However, not everyone will possess either a functional ideal or ought self-guide – let alone both. This, Higgins (1987) explains, is why many people lack motivation.

Although the identification of different facets of the self is in itself by no means novel, the innovation in Higgins' theory was the introduction of the notion of 'standpoints'. Higgins' argument is that it is not enough to distinguish between different domains of the self; we also need to know from whose *perspective* the self is perceived. In identifying two particular standpoints – the person's *own* perspectives and the perspectives of *others* – Higgins argues that such a distinction enables different emotional/motivational conditions to be related to different self-state conditions (Higgins, 1987). In particular, importance has been attached to the *other* standpoint in relation to the *ought* self. In contrast to the *ideal* self, it is regarded as being constituted both by own perceptions, e.g. the need to avoid potentially negative personal outcomes, as well as the need to conform to the expectations of others.²

Conceptual differences in Markus and Nurius' and Higgins' theories

In his discussion of the work conducted by Higgins and by Markus and Nurius and its application in the L2 motivational framework, Dörnyei (2009a; 2009b) raises a number of points that are worth noting here. First, there is an important conceptual difference in the way that the two theories regard the nature of future-oriented self-guides. While Markus and Nurius (1986) take the view that the individual possess a range of different domain-specific possible selves (only a selection of which will at any point in time be active in cognition in the working self-concept) Higgins (1987) talks in terms of a single ideal and a single ought self. These take the form of composite self-guides that encapsulate a range of different attributes (Dörnyei, 2009a).

The second point worth noting is that, unlike Markus and Nurius' notion of a 'feared self', the two self-guides in Higgins' theory of self-discrepancy lack any obvious counterbalance (Dörnyei, 2009a). However Dörnyei also notes that in a

² In his discussion of Higgins' work Dörnyei (2009a) draws attention to the lack of clarity concerning the extent to which the ideal self derives from the perspectives of others. This, he points out, means that it becomes difficult to separate it from the ought self. As a consequence, Dörnyei explains, the 'other' element is not normally regarded as being included in the ideal self.

subsequent reworking of his theory, Higgins (1998) points out that the motivational effects of the ideal and ought self-guides are substantially different from one another. While ideal self-guides have a *promotive* function, ought self-guides have a focus on *prevention*. Thus, while the former focus on hopes, aspirations, desires, and anticipations of accomplishment, the latter involve the consequences associated with a failure to achieve self-set goals and to match up to the expectations of others.

Finally, there is an important conceptual difference in the way that Markus and Nurius' and Higgins' theories account for the generation of motivation. For Markus and Nurius motivation derives from the imagery of the self in a future state. Further, the representation of the self in a future state is, they argue, phenomenologically analogous to the way in which the current self is perceived. That is to say that the framework of imagery from which the ideal self is constituted is experiential, meaning that the image generated is a reality for the individual. This is a crucial, although as Dörnyei (2009a) points out, often overlooked element in Markus and Nurius theory and it is in this respect that the two theories differ substantially. Higgins' adopts a more cognitive approach and his self-discrepancy theory lacks an imagery component. Instead, motivation is regarded as deriving from the recognition of a discrepancy between the individual's actual and ideal selves and a concurrent desire to reduce that gap. Similarly, where the focus is preventative, motivation comes about as a result of the desire to reduce the discrepancy between the actual self and the projected behavioural standards encapsulated in the ought self. Thus, as Hoyle and Sherrill (2006) point out, in Higgins' theory future self-guides are referential in nature and function as 'points of comparison' in guiding behaviour.

The L2 Motivational Self System

The L2 Motivational Self System (Dörnyei, 2005, 2009a) is a broad construct comprising three dimensions:

The Ideal L2 Self. This refers to the L2-specific facet of one's self. Thus, if the person we want to become is someone who can speak the L2, the *Ideal L2 Self* will function as a powerful motivator as a result of the desire to reduce the discrepancy between the actual – i.e. the currently less-L2-proficient-than-desired self – and the idealized view of the self as someone with L2 proficiency.

The Ought-to L2 Self. This dimension refers to the attributes that one believes one ought to possess – including for example duties, obligations and responsibilities

needed to avoid potentially negative outcomes. This dimension is less internalized than the *Ideal L2 Self* and corresponds to Higgins' (1987) ought self.

The *L2 Learning Experience*. This concerns situated or 'executive' motives that are related to the environment(s) in which the language is learnt and includes aspects such as the impact of the teacher, the curriculum, course materials and peer group attitudes to L2 learning.

In addition to the above descriptions of each dimension (Dörnyei, 2005, 2009a), two important additional explanations are necessary. First, although the *Ideal L2 Self* can – and should – be regarded as the L2 Self equivalent of integrativeness, it needs to be pointed out that instrumental motives can also be included in this dimension. Indeed Dörnyei (2009) makes the point that *internalized* instrumental motives – such as for example the vision of oneself as possessing L2 skills as a part of being professionally successful – would be included here. Other, less internalized instrumental motives – such as the need to do well on an L2 exam in order to improve a final grade – would be encompassed within the *Ought-to L2 Self*. Further, the degree of internalization corresponds with Higgins' (1987) view that while future ideal self-guides have a *promotion* focus in that they encapsulate hoped-for and thus positive end states, ought selves have a *prevention* focus as they concern self-perceived obligations and responsibilities and relate to the avoidance of feared end-states (Dörnyei, 2009a).

As a means of testing and validating the model a number of studies from differing cultural settings and with students of different ages have been conducted (Al-Sheri, 2009; Csizér & Kormos, 2009; Ryan, 2009; Taguchi, Magid & Papi, 2009). The results, Dörnyei (2009a) reports, all provide solid support for the conceptual validity of the model, providing good correlations between integrativeness and the Ideal L2 Self and between the Ideal L2 Self and the criterion measure of intended effort. Further support has also been found for the division of traditional instrumental motives into distinct 'promotive' (linked to the Ideal L2 Self) and 'preventative' (linked to the Ought-to L2 Self) forms (Dörnyei, 2009a).

Part Two A focus on non-linear systems

In this second part of the chapter I will now turn attention to the discussion of three avenues of research central to the work carried out in this thesis. All three can be regarded in broad terms as having a focus on change. I will begin by focusing on the process approach to second language learning motivation

(Dörnyei & Ottó, 1998) noting, in particular, its limitations. I will then examine and discuss Ushioda's (2009) 'Person in Context Relational' view of motivation before moving on to consider Dörnyei's (2009b) arguments in favour of Dynamic Systems Theory (DST) as an approach suited to addressing the complexity of motivational ebbs and flows. Following on from this, and taking DST as a starting point, I will then examine the ways in which scholars working within the multilingual paradigm have approached the complexity inherent in psycholinguistic systems that encompass more than two languages. Here I will focus in particular on Herdina & Jessner's (2000, 2002) Dynamic Model of Multilingualism.

Change, fluidity and context

If the origins of the L2 self paradigm can be traced back to Dörnyei's Hungarian research (Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005a; Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002; Dörnyei, Csizér & Németh, 2006) and his book-length survey of individual differences in second language learning (Dörnyei, 2005), it is in his and Ema Ushioda's co-edited anthology *Motivation, Language Identity and the L2 Self* (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2009) that the different aspects of the model are explored in detail for the first time. Although this collection of papers is important for many reasons – not least in terms of a number of studies confirming the conceptual validity of the L2 Motivational Self System (Al-Sheri, 2009; Csizér & Kormos, 2009, MacIntyre et al., 2009a; Ryan, 2009; Taguchi et al., 2009) – it is particularly noteworthy that the authors set out a comprehensive agenda for future research. As Dörnyei and Ushioda explain, because the self is now central to the understanding of language learning motivation, much future research is likely to involve the investigation of its fluidity, the interrelatedness of different selves/self-facets and their contextual dependency. As they point out, not only is a focus on fluidity and change wholly in line with their joint commitment to gaining a better understanding of the dynamic, non-linear and situated nature of motivational processes, but is also a research avenue that can be facilitated by a self-based approach. This is a possibility similarly highlighted by MacIntyre et al. (2009a) in their critical analysis of Dörnyei's model. In particular MacIntyre and his colleagues point to the potential inherent in a possible selves approach to L2 motivation to account for changes and fluctuations in the micro-context and the ability of the model to integrate multiple and sometimes conflicting motives. In making this assessment they too identify fluidity as an important avenue for future research:

Language learning is integrated with all of the other activities in which a learner occupies his or her time, and we can enhance our understanding of the learner by

asking about the relative importance of various motives, language-related and otherwise. This is an area that can and should be explored, and seems easily approached from a possible selves perspective. The self, like motivation, is multifaceted and constantly changing (Greenwald & Pratkanis, 1984; Markus & Wurf, 1987) and the open-ended format typically utilized in possible selves research (for an example, see Oyserman, 2004) allows researchers to examine a wide variety of motivational and identity-based qualities. (MacIntyre et al., 2009a, p. 52)

The Process Model of L2 motivation

As Dörnyei and Ushioda (2011) point out, it is only within the last decade or so that motivational change, at both the macro and micro levels, has become a focus of enquiry. It is thus interesting to note that, prior to his work on possible selves and the development of the L2 Motivational Self System model, Dörnyei carried out a considerable amount of work on the dynamic character and temporal variation of L2 motivation.

As has been previously discussed, second language learning motivation has historically forged its own path largely separate from developments in mainstream motivational theory. While on the one hand innovative and ahead of its time, the social psychological paradigm can in other respects be criticized for lagging behind developments in cognitive psychology. One area that the social psychological approach has failed to take proper account of is the basic assumption in contemporary motivational psychology that motivation is inherently dynamic and characterized by a continual ebb and flow (Dörnyei, 2005). This fluidity is a fundamental feature of motivational processes at both macro and micro levels and can be observed at the task level (Dörnyei, 2002), over a course of study (see e.g. Gardner et al., 2004) and across the lifespan (Shoaib & Dörnyei, 2005).

Rejecting the notion that motivation is static and temporally/situationally invariable, Dörnyei and Ottó emphasised instead its inherent dynamism:

One basic assumption of this paper is the belief that motivation is not so much a relatively constant state but rather a more dynamic entity that changes in time, with the level of effort invested in the pursuit of a particular goal oscillating between regular ups and downs. (Dörnyei & Ottó, 1998, p. 45)

In an ambitious attempt to develop a theoretical framework that could account for the temporal dimension of L2 motivation, Dörnyei and Ottó developed the Process Model of Second Language Learning Motivation (Dörnyei, 2000, 2001;

Dörnyei & Ottó, 1998). Drawing on Heckhausen and Kuhl's (1985) Action Control Theory, the Process Model conceptualizes motivation as comprising three distinct stages; a *preactional stage*, an *actional stage* and a *post-actional stage*. Simply explained, while the first of these stages involves the selection of the goal or task to be pursued, the second comprises the executive elements involved in committing to a particular course of action, with the final stage involving critical retrospection. Each stage is characterized by distinct motivational processes. In the *preactional stage* the main motivational influences are goal properties (e.g. relevance and proximity), values associated with the learning process, outcomes and consequences, attitudes towards the L2 and its speakers, expectancy of success, environmental factors, learner beliefs and strategies. In the *actional stage* the main motivational influences involve the quality of the learning experience, sense of autonomy, social influences from e.g. teachers and peers, reward and goal structures and the use of self-regulatory strategies. Finally, in the *post-actional stage* the main motivational influences are likely to be attributional factors, self-concept beliefs, teacher feedback and grades.

In dividing the process up into three distinct stages, the model not only offers a comprehensive account of L2 motivation, but has the added ability of being able to embrace other motivational constructs relevant to the different stages. For example, elements of Gardner's social psychological construct could usefully be incorporated within the preactional stage. However, despite – or perhaps because of – its sophistication and comprehensive scope, the model does not appear to have generated many empirical studies (cf. the L2 Motivational Self System that has already generated more than two dozen studies). Dörnyei (2005) recognizes this, explaining that by theoretically identifying clearly-defined stages, the model becomes difficult to apply in empirical inquiry. Where, in an educational context does action commence, and at what points do transitions from one stage to another take place? Further as Dörnyei (2005, p. 86) explains, “the task-specific behaviour characterizing a concrete learning activity is not entirely independent of the actional character of the whole course, and this behavioural domain is further embedded in the complex tapestry of other activities in the particular school”.

This observation leads us to the second problem that Dörnyei has identified, namely the difficulty of separating actional processes from other events. This he explains in the following way:

[This] problem is related to the fact that the actional process does not occur in relative isolation, without any interferences from other ongoing activities the

learner is engaged in. Instead, people are typically involved in a number of parallel action processes, an issue highlighted by Atkinson and Birch (1974) in their Dynamic Action Model more than 30 years ago. This multiple engagement means that various action episodes can be simultaneously active; for example, a new action may be initiated while the success of the previous action is still being evaluated. This is particularly valid for classroom contexts where student motivation and achievement are the product of a complex set of interacting goals and intentions of both academic and social nature (Juvonen & Nishina; Wentzel, 1999). Whereas academic motivation is – hopefully – an important facet of the learners’ general disposition toward attending school, the classroom is also a social arena in which students go through some of the key developmental experiences of their lives, such as establishing friendships, falling in love, and experimenting with increasingly elaborate personal identities. Thus, academic goals will be accompanied by different social goals and practicing teachers know all too well how such social agendas can modify or disrupt the academic action sequence. (Dörnyei, 2005, p. 86)

While Dörnyei’s intention here is to highlight the limitations of the Process Model, he goes beyond the problem of the difficulties (impossibility?) of dissociating particular channels of action from the strands of other ongoing activities and points in the direction of the increasing attention currently focused on the role of context in understanding motivated behaviour (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2009, 2011). As Dörnyei makes clear in his critique, motivation is the product of complex sets of interacting goals and intentions, both academic and social. Thus in suggesting that “social agendas can modify or disrupt the academic action sequence”, his point is that motivational intensity is highly contextually-dependent and will change as a result of the flow of social interaction taking place during periods of learning/acquisition.

A Person-in-Context Relational view of motivation

It is not only in L2 motivation where focus on the situatedness of the cognitive and affective processes of learning has become increasingly important, but in SLA research generally (see e.g. Lantolf & Thorne, 2006). Often referred to as the ‘social turn’ in SLA (Lafford, 2007), since the beginning of the previous decade a range of sociocultural (e.g. Lantolf & Thorne) and poststructuralist (e.g. Norton, 2000; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004) perspectives have been having an increasing impact on language acquisition theory. In the L2 motivation field Ema Ushioda (2001, 2006, 2009) has carried out important work that has involved a radical rethinking of the role of context and the assumption that it is possible to identify causal relations between activities, actions and events, and motivational

outcomes. In critiquing what she sees as the ‘Cartesian distinction’ between individual and social environments, in her ‘Person-in-Context Relational’ approach, Ushioda (2009) regards L2 motivation as emergent from the active agency of unique individuals who are both a part of and actively shape specific social contexts. Thus, rather than talking in terms of the ‘context dependency’ or even the ‘situatedness’ of motivational processes, Ushioda prefers to focus on what she sees as the mutually constitutive and dyadic relationship between individual and context out of which motivational behaviours develop. Similarly, she regards the search for linear trajectories between events and responses as problematic since the event and the response will never be neatly separable (Ushioda, 2009).

In mapping out an agenda for research that seeks to go beyond ‘context as background variable’ and ‘cause/effect’ approaches, Ushioda offers the following succinct yet incisive mission statement:

Let me summarise then what I mean by a person-in-context relational view of motivation. I mean a focus on real persons, rather than on learners as theoretical abstractions; a focus on the agency of the individual person as a thinking, feeling human being, with an identity, motives and intentions; a focus on the interaction between this self-reflective intentional agent, and the fluid and complex system of social relations, activities, experiences and multiple micro- and macro-contexts in which the person is embedded, moves, and is inherently part of. My argument is that we need to take a relational (rather than a linear) view of these multiple contextual elements, and view motivation as an organic process that emerges through the complex system of interrelations. (Ushioda, 2009, p. 220)

In advocating the need for a relational rather than a linear approach, Ushioda (2009) recognises that socioculturally-inspired perspectives such as hers are ontologically at odds with the vast body of previous L2 motivation research that is rooted in the positivistic paradigms of social and cognitive psychology. It is therefore particularly interesting that in her paper she also discusses how the *possible selves* and *person-in-context relational* approaches to L2 motivation might share common ground in terms of the ‘L2 learning experience’ component of Dörnyei’s (2005) model. Ushioda bases this idea on Dörnyei’s (2009a) description of the relationship between future and current selves.

In explaining the function of future self-representations, Dörnyei emphasises the experiential element of possible selves, making the point that possible selves “involve images and senses, approximating what people actually experience when they are engaged in motivated or goal-directed behaviour” (Dörnyei,

2009a, p. 15). Thus the mental imagery involved in a possible self, i.e. a projection of the self in a future state, will in all salient respects be similar to that from which the current 'here-and-now' self is constructed. Thus, as Ushioda explains, active involvement in language learning will mean that the individual will engage with their possible selves as future L2 users/speakers in the context of current language competence, learning activities and communicative opportunities. From a research perspective this means, in turn, that lines of enquiry with a focus on possible selves would be entirely commensurate with a view of motivation as emerging organically from social relations:

In short, a person-in-context relational view of motivation may, through the analysis of relevant discourse data, help to illuminate how language learners' current experiences and self-states (characterised broadly as 'L2 learning experience' in Dörnyei's L2 Motivational Self System), may facilitate or constrain their engagement with future possible selves. (Ushioda, 2009, p. 225)

Having identified the compatibility – in the 'L2 learning experience' dimension – of Dörnyei's macro-level model and Ushioda's micro-level conceptualisation of the organic and socially-emergent nature of L2 motivation, the two scholars go a step further. They suggest that their respective positions can be integrated at a more systematic level within a dynamic systems theory framework (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2009).

Dynamic Systems Theory

At around the time that he developed the L2 Motivational Self System, Dörnyei also began to recognise that previous attempts to conceptualise L2 motivation failed to account for interactions between different motivational forces and, in particular, the dynamic 'ebb and flow' of motivation evident when working with a task, during the course of a lesson, or indeed over a program of study. Linear, cause and effect models, no matter how sophisticated (c.f. Dörnyei and Ottó's process model), seemed to be inadequate in accounting for the multiple interactions of different motivational components. Further, in line with the current trend of viewing language acquisition as a practice that is constituted in social interaction, Dörnyei (2009b) and Ushioda (2009) have argued that context needs to be understood as a non-dissociable element in the motivational process. Dörnyei (2009b) has thus suggested that L2 motivation needs to be reconceptualised, and that Dynamic Systems Theory (DST) offers one way of understanding the complexity of the multiple interactions at play when language learning is in focus. Before moving on to examine DST, it is important to note that such a reconceptualization does not, as Dörnyei makes clear, involve "a

radically new conceptualization of the actual motives that affect behaviour or the nature of these motives, but rather [a] conceptualization of their relationship to behaviour” (Dörnyei, 2009b, p. 105).

As is now recognised by an increasing number of scholars (e.g. Cameron & Larsen-Freeman, 2007; de Bot, Lowie & Verspoor, 2007; Ellis & Larsen-Freeman, 2007; Jessner, 2008b; Larsen-Freeman, 1997) the importance of DST to the study of SLA lies in its recognition of the non-linear, socially-constructed and contextually-situated nature of acquisitional processes. In essence a dynamic system involves two or more *interlinked* elements which *change* over time (Dörnyei, 2009b). These deceptively simple requirements can give rise to enormous complexity as interactions between the elements will result in changes in their respective developmental trajectories which, in turn, will impact upon the developmental trajectory of the system as a whole.

The potential of DST can perhaps best be appreciated by considering its six key features (Dörnyei, 2009b). Four of these characteristics could be said to concern system dynamics. An important characteristic of dynamic systems is their sensitivity to and dependence on a so-called *initial condition*. This, as Dörnyei (2009b) explains, is commonly referred to as the ‘butterfly effect’, and involves the recognition that, in themselves, minor events such as a butterfly flapping its wings can, within a larger system such as a weather pattern, theoretically have a major effect. In an SLA context the initial condition, i.e. the point in time which a study begins, could, depending on the learner’s motivational disposition, have a very distinct effect on its subsequent trajectory. The second characteristic is the *non-linearity* of the system’s development. From a DST perspective language acquisition trajectories are fluid, contextually-constituted, uneven and irregular. The third characteristic of a dynamic system is that it often comprises a series of subsystems that, over time, cohere, become aligned or *co-adapt* with one another. Finally, dynamic systems are said to have a *self-organizing* capacity. That it is to say that over time, fluid and radically dynamic systems, although never entirely static, will nevertheless normally achieve an equilibrium that is more complex than the sum of the individual parts.

The two remaining characteristics are perhaps more methodological in nature and concern the ways in which complex systems can be studied. The first of these is the extremely important concept of *attractor and repeller states* and is a notion that is linked to the system’s capacity for self-organization. At the point in time where a system reaches a form of contingent equilibrium the separate

elements are less susceptible to change. Seen from another angle, the system could be said to be drawn towards an *attractor state* – which is characterized by stability – and away from *repeller states* which generate greater fluctuations within the system. In order to illustrate this conceptually difficult but important idea, de Bot, Lowie and Verspoor’s (2005) metaphor of a ball rolling over a surface with holes and bumps is particularly illuminating:

The ball’s trajectory is analogous to development, the holes can be seen as the attractor states and the bumps as the repeller states. If the ball is a light beach ball that is blown around by a fresh breeze on the beach, we can easily visualize that the movement of the ball will be shaped by the joint impact of the terrain and the environment, and the overall trajectory will include phases of stillness when the ball is settled into attractor states (i.e. holes). (Dörnyei, 2009b, p. 106)

Consequently, dynamic systems can be regarded as having two basic behavioural tendencies. They may either be in relatively stable periods, where the attractors are strong and behaviour is predictable, or, conversely, they may enter periods of greater instability characterized by weak or changing attractors (Dörnyei, 2009b). The importance, from a research perspective, of the concept of attractor and repeller states is that it becomes possible to identify factors that are likely to have *attractor/repeller* functions. Finally there is the issue of *noise*. In stark contrast to the positivist tradition that has informed much motivational research, in DST non-systematic variation and idiosyncratic differences are important in understanding the processes taking place. Thus, as Dörnyei (2009b, p. 107) concludes, “this means, in effect, that what has been considered as ‘noise’ in quantitative studies does matter and should not be eliminated through the quantitative focus on the central tendency at the group level”.

There are a number of reasons why a DST approach to L2 motivation would be compatible with the L2 Motivational Self System. First, ideal and ought-to L2 selves are experientially grounded, contextually-constituted and situationally-construed. Second, in determining the strength and direction of motivated behaviour, the three elements of Dörnyei’s model interact with one another. These interactions are likely to differ as a result of micro- and macro-contextual fluctuations. Finally, because possible selves encompass motivational, cognitive and emotional elements, it would seem that the L2 motivational self system would be well suited to use in DST-inspired inquiry (Dörnyei, 2009b).

The Multilingual Paradigm

In identifying dynamic systems theory as offering a way of understanding the long-recognised ebb and flow of motivation emergent from the multiple and complex interactions at play in language acquisition processes, Dörnyei (2009b) opens the door to the inclusion of ‘external’ factors. That is to say those factors that the Process Model recognised, but could not account for. In a similar way, researchers working within the multilingual paradigm, in particular Ulrike Jessner and Philip Herdina (Herdina & Jessner, 2000, 2002; Jessner, 2008b), have also recognised the potential of dynamic systems theory in offering a conceptual framework for understanding the complex psycholinguistic effects at play when an individual is engaged in the learning and/or maintenance of more than two language systems. While the interest of scholars of multilingualism is directed towards the complexity of multilingual acquisition and the effects of metalinguistic knowledge, it is interesting that, like Csizér and Dörnyei (2005b), they too recognise that because most learners have a limited capacity and resources for language learning, language systems are likely to compete with one another. The nature of such competition can best be understood, they argue, by adopting a DST perspective (Jessner, 2008b).

As Cenoz and Jessner (2000) make clear, plurilingual acquisition is an extremely common phenomenon. Jessner (2008a) argues that, today, multilingualism is the rule, not the exception, while Aronin and Singleton (2008) have suggested that in the current form of globalization, multilingualism should be regarded as the new linguistic dispensation. It is thus not surprising that researchers working within the multi-/plurilingual field have consistently criticized mainstream SLA research for failing to take account of the diversity of multilingual acquisition settings and the complexity of plurilingual acquisition processes (De Angelis, 2007). Since it is the recognition of an inherent complexity in plurilingual acquisition that distinguishes it from SLA (for a discussion see Cenoz, 2000; Cenoz & Genesee, 1998) it comes as no surprise that scholars of plurilingualism have been among the first applied linguists to be attracted by DST. For example, in their chapter in the influential anthology, *English in Europe: The acquisition of a third language* (Cenoz & Jessner, 2000), Herdina and Jessner describe how it is the dynamism of multilingual systems that make them truly complex (thus making DST approaches particularly attractive):

The claim that a multilingual system is a complex system should not be equated with the claim that multilingual systems are complicated ones. *Complicatedness* must be taken to refer simply to the number of factors involved which make the system

more difficult to understand from a reductionist position. The *complexity* of a system, however, should be taken to imply that – due to the recursive relations between the factors contained in it – the system develops its own dynamism or, in other words, becomes autodynamic. (Herdina & Jessner, 2000, p. 95) (emphasis in the original)

While, as we have seen, SLA scholars make similar claims about second language acquisition processes, the argument that plurilingual acquisition differs from SLA is based on three important premises. First, language systems are regarded as *interdependent*. Secondly, the acquisition of a third or more languages leads to the development of new *plurilingual* skills. Finally, these special skills will, it is claimed, result in the development of a complex overarching psycholinguistic system (Herdina & Jessner, 2000, 2002; Jessner, 2008b). These three elements form the cornerstones of Herdina and Jessner's (2002) DST-inspired Dynamic Model of Multilingualism (DMM) which, Jessner (2008b, p. 270) suggests, can be regarded as a “first step toward the exploitation of the method in research on multilingualism”. In the sections that follow I will more closely examine the nature of these claims before discussing their implications for motivation.

The interdependence of language systems

Herdina and Jessner (2000, 2002) argue that plurilingual acquisition differs radically from the acquisition of a single second language due to the effects of interactions between the different language systems (i.e. LS₁, LS₂, LS₃, LS₄) that are implicated. The basic assumption underpinning the Dynamic Model of Multilingualism is that, rather than focusing on separate languages (L₁/L₂/L₃/L₄ etc.), research should instead be directed towards the ways in which individual language systems (e.g. LS₁/LS₂/LS₃/LS₄) develop within the overall psycholinguistic system (Jessner, 2008b). In addition to individual difference factors (which they suggest might include aptitude, self-esteem, perceived competence and motivation), Herdina and Jessner (2000; 2002) argue that the stability of a language system (i.e. its rates of growth and attrition) will be dependent on the development or behaviour of other language systems. Thus in plurilinguals, the acquisition of a particular language cannot be understood in isolation since it will be dependent on the behaviour of other related language systems. This means that a researcher with an interest, for example, in processes of L₃ acquisition, would need to take account of parallel processes in the LS₂ and, where relevant, the LS₄. Thus the research process necessarily involves the identification of interactions at a system level:

L3 MOTIVATION

Instead of looking at the development of individual language systems in isolation it may make more sense to look at the overall system of languages commanded simultaneously by the multilingual individual and then try to determine the patterns of convergence and divergence of the multilingual system, rather than see the multilingual system as a mere accumulation of the effects of concatenated or sequential individual systems. (Herdina & Jessner, 2000, p. 92)

In support of an interdependent systems approach Jessner (2008b) cites a range of studies (Ahukanna, Lund & Gentile, 1981; Bartlet, 1989; Cenoz, 2001; DeAngelis, 2005a, 2005b; DeAngelis & Selinker, 2001; Dewaele, 1998) that, contrary to what might be expected, have shown that plurilingual speakers tend to rely more on their L2 than their L1 in processes of L3 and L4 acquisition.

Cross-linguistic interaction and the M factor

Multilingual proficiency, as modelled in the DMM, is defined by Jessner (2008b) as a composite of i) the dynamic interactions among the various psycholinguistic systems in which the individual languages are embedded, ii) crosslinguistic interaction, and iii) the so-called 'M' or 'multilingual' factor. Crosslinguistic interaction, as Jessner (2008b) points out, is an umbrella term that includes not only the classic elements of transfer and interference, but also encompasses codeswitching and borrowing as well as the cognitive effects of multilingual development. Although the causal direction of the M effect is hard to determine – it could either be a precondition or an effect of plurilingualism (or indeed both) – Jessner makes clear that its defining feature is the individual's awareness of her/his metalinguistic knowledge. The heightened level of metalinguistic awareness in plurilingual speakers and users means that they develop cognitive skills that monolingual or bilingual speakers lack. In particular Jessner (2008b) has suggested that plurilingual speakers are more consciously aware of between-language differences and that language processing involves referential comparisons with other languages. These processes she describes as taking the form of a 'multilingual monitor':

In the DMM, the multilingual learner or user is assumed to develop and make use of an enhanced multilingual monitor, where monitoring goes beyond error detection and self-repair and fulfils a separator and cross-checker function, for instance by drawing on common resources in the use of more than one language system. (Jessner, 2008b, p. 276)

The idea of a separator and cross-checking function is, from a motivational perspective, of particular interest and in the following section I will consider the implications that the DMM might have for motivation research.

Relating the DMM to motivation

The dynamic view of plurilingual acquisition assumes that the presence of different language systems will influence not only the development of the L2/L3/L4, but also the development of the learner's overall multilingual system. This, as Dörnyei (2009b) has pointed out, is by no means uncontroversial.³ However, such critiques notwithstanding, the function of crosslinguistic interaction and the M factor postulated by Herdina and Jessner (Herdiner & Jessner, 2000; Jessner, 2008b) are important to consider in the context of L3 motivation.

Language maintenance

Herdina and Jessner (2002) have suggested that the relationship between language systems is unlikely to be harmonious and, in the overall psycholinguistic system, that they will interfere with one another. This in turn means that the learner is forced into prioritising the deployment of her/his limited learning resources, which results in a competition for these commodities. If sufficient attention is not directed to the maintenance of a language system it will inevitably begin to decay. The rate of decay, Herdina and Jessner (2000) suggest, will depend on the age of acquisition, the duration of language maintenance, the availability of resources and the pressure created by competing language systems. In the development of plurilingual proficiency Herdina and Jessner regard language maintenance skills as highly important:

Language maintenance has been very little researched so far, but deserves much more attention in future linguistic investigations, since it appears to be the most crucial aspect of the language acquisition process. As we have already noted (Herdina & Jessner, 1998), a lack of effort is more apparent in multilinguals than in mono- or bilingual speakers, because learning becomes much more difficult when the learner is having not only to maintain a certain level of competence in three languages but actually increase the level of all three competences in order to progress. (Herdina & Jessner, 2000, p. 93)

Although not specifically addressed by Herdina and Jessner, the plurilingual speaker they appear to have in mind seems to be someone who has already

³ Dörnyei (2009b) has identified two particular problems that relate to the 'M' factor in Herdina and Jessner's Dynamic Model of Multilingualism. First, he notes that it has not proved possible to determine when the positive effects of multilingualism are likely to begin since scholars have not been able to empirically identify the point at which competence in the L3 will be sufficient to enable positive effects of multilingualism to come into play. Dörnyei's second criticism relates to the question of experience which is central in the DMM but, he suggests, has not yet been properly determined. Whether it is the quality or the length of experience that is important remains to be specified.

achieved quite a degree of competence in both the L2 and the L3. As they point out, a considerable degree of effort (i.e. motivation) is required to *maintain* the learning behavior needed to prevent the risk of a decline in competence in any one or more of the languages concerned. However, for many learners (particularly those whose L2 and L3 learning is primarily instructed) plurilingualism encompasses situations where processes of acquisition may have only begun in the relatively recent past. When examining the between-language effects for such learners the concept of language maintenance may not be entirely appropriate to explain the effects of potentially competing language systems. For learners who have not reached a level of competence or who have simply not had the time to develop L2 and/or L3 systems of a sufficient robustness, it may in future research be necessary to develop an alternative to language maintenance as a means of understanding resource allocation patterns and motivated behavior.

Effort and motivation

Even if we sidestep the contested issue of language maintenance in instructed-only plurilingual acquisition, it is clear that the effort needed to acquire two or more languages will be greater than is needed for a single L2. This is recognised by Herdina and Jessner (2000, 2002) who list a series of ID factors (aptitude, perceived competence, anxiety, motivation and self-esteem) that, along with social factors (Jessner, 2008b), will be primary determiners of the rate and direction of the development of language systems. While Herdina and Jessner (Herdina & Jessner, 2000, 2002; Jessner, 2008b) do not discuss the ways in which the operation of ID factors might differ in processes of plurilingual acquisition, it seems clear that in the complex interaction of systems involved in plurilingual acquisition, the nature and effects of motivated behaviour will be different. In this regard it is thus interesting that both Herdina and Jessner (2000, 2002) and Csizér and Dörnyei (2005b) make the point that, in plurilingual acquisition, language systems do not exist in mutual harmony; interferences take place and because learners have limited resources a competition between languages will result. However neither Herdina and Jessner, nor Csizér and Dörnyei expand on the nature of such processes. This would thus appear to be an important area for future research and one that could potentially be addressed from a possible selves perspective by examining processes of cognition within the working self-concept.

The multilingual monitor

From a motivational perspective the notion of an ‘enhanced multilingual monitor’ (Jessner, 2006) that goes beyond the function of linguistic repair and operates in a separator and cross-checking manner is a particularly intriguing idea. The type of cognitive process that Jessner (2008b) describes would appear not at all dissimilar to the forms of cognitive process that Markus and her colleagues (Markus & Nurius, 1986, 1987; Markus & Kunda, 1986) have suggested take place in the working self-concept (see above p. 31). Thus as part of the process in which language systems (e.g. LS2, LS3, LS4) are contrasted and cross-referenced with one another within the plurilingual learner’s overall psycholinguistic system (Jessner, 2008b) it is plausible that such processes might also include, or perhaps result in, comparisons at a more holistic ‘self-as-L2/L3-speaker/user’ level. Put another way, it might not be unreasonable to assume that, either *parallel with* or as a *consequence of* the processes that Jessner (2008b) argues take place in the multilingual monitor, processes of a broader nature where, for example, one language-self is compared with another, might take place. This question, together with the more general question as to whether motivation in plurilingual acquisition might differ in any way from SLA, constitute important issues that inform the research conducted in this thesis.

Chapter Three:

Salient issues for L3 motivation

In this chapter I will outline a number of the more specific research issues that are central to this thesis. I will begin by discussing the question of the uniqueness of self-guides and then move on to consider changes in language-speaking/using self-concepts contextually and over time. I will conclude by considering the issue of gender differences in the language-speaking/using selves of females and males.

If, as Jessner and her colleagues (Herdina & Jessner, 2002; Jessner, 2008a, 2008b; Jessner & Cenoz, 2000) contend, the acquisition of an L3 involves processes radically more complex than in SLA, there is then a need to investigate learner motivation in order (i) to identify those points in time over a course of study where, for the different languages studied, motivational changes seem to emerge, and (ii) to identify any particular ‘other-language’ factors that are likely to have a bearing on the effort expended in TL learning. However, before examining these issues, I will for a moment first pause to consider another central question for the study of L3 motivation; the uniqueness of self-guides.

The uniqueness of self-guides

As we have seen, the L2 Motivational Self System is based on elements of two largely similar theories of the self; Markus and Nurius’s (1986) theory of possible selves and Higgins’ (1987) self-discrepancy theory. Although broadly similar in terms of explaining the effects of idealized representations of the self on behaviour, the two theories differ in a respect that is of importance not only to the development of the L2 Motivational Self System generally, but also in terms of its application in multilingual contexts. The key question here concerns the nature of the individual’s self-concept. In Markus and Nurius’ (1986) theory, the individual has a range of different domain-specific desired possible self-images. This multitude of self-images will, they argue, never all be concurrently active in cognition. Instead specific self-images will become activated in relation to particular contextual and cognitive landscapes and will change in accordance

with changes in their topographies. Higgins (1987), on the other hand, regards the self as singular but having a range of different facets. The singular yet multifaceted nature of the self does not appear to be described in any great detail and the interrelationship of different self-perceived attributes does not seem to figure prominently in Higgins' work.

In drawing on both of these theories in the creation of the Motivational Self System Model, Dörnyei notes the conceptual difficulty involved, pointing out that in either case “only future research can tell the extent to which alternative selves/self facets compete with each other and the consequences of any potential conflict of this type” (Dörnyei & Ushioda, p. 351). Thus, in the examination of L3 motivation the first issue that the researcher needs to address is the conceptualization of the self. Does the language learner have singular self-guides (i.e. an ideal and an ought self) that, as Higgins' theory would suggest, include L2 and L3 facets, or on the other hand, does she/he as Markus and Nurius' theory implies, have a *distinct* self-concept as a future speaker/user of each language being learnt? The question is an important one, not least with regard to methodology in that the position that the researcher adopts will determine the analytical tools available.

From a multilingual paradigm perspective (cf. Herdina & Jessner, 2002; Jessner, 2006, 2008a, 2008b on language systems), it is intuitively appealing to conceive of the language learner as having a discrete and distinct self-concept as a speaker/user of the L2, and as a speaker/user of the L3 (the Markus and Nurius position), as opposed to a broad or generic language self-concept that incorporates the experiences, expectations and hopes that relate to different languages (as per Higgins). In situations of simultaneous acquisition – particularly where, such as in Sweden, one language (L2 English) has a higher social prestige and infinitely greater applications than any of the other languages learnt (i.e. L3 French, German or Spanish) – it seems more plausible that the learner will have separate and qualitatively distinct ideal language-speaking/using selves.

Changes in L3 selves over time: The temporal evolution/change/development of future self-guides

I would like now to direct attention to the uncharted territory surrounding the question of the temporal evolution, change and development of future language-speaking/using self-guides (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2009). Although, on the face of

things, language self-concepts would appear to be rather robust, little is known about the stability of L2 selves and there is thus a need for research that can pinpoint changes in the nature of the L2 self over time. As Dörnyei and Ushioda (2011) suggest, since longitudinal studies “can usefully shed light on particular dimensions of motivation which are more or less susceptible to change” (p. 77), this type of study is of importance in mapping the temporal development of language speaking/using selves.

While the question of changes in language speaking/using selves over time is an important one that needs to be properly addressed before any conclusions can be drawn, we can nevertheless assume that such changes will occur. As Dörnyei and Ushioda (2011, p. 77) explain, “a fairly consistent finding in longitudinal research on student motivation is evidence of some decline in levels of motivation, typically as students progress through the upper years of schooling and face increasing curricular, cognitive and linguistic demands and pressures”. Studies where declines in L2 motivation have been found include, for example, those by Chambers (1999), Gardner, Masogret, Tennant and Mihic (2004), Lamb (2007), MacIntyre, Baker, Clément, and Donovan (2002), and Williams, Burden and Lanvers (2002). Interestingly, while these studies indicate that motivation as a whole generally declines over a course of study, the level of decline is not always systematic across the construct. For example, in their study of Canadian university students studying French over a period of an academic year, Gardner et al. (2004) found that, relative to integrativeness, attitudes to the learning situation were much less stable. Similarly, Lamb (2007), in his mixed methods study of beginning Indonesian students, found that attitudes to learning English in the classroom, as measured by a questionnaire at two points in time with a twenty-month interval, decreased significantly over the period. This finding was supported by his interview data where many learners, although emphasising the personal and national importance of English and their desire to become proficient, found classroom learning tedious.

On the other hand, in the simultaneous cross-sectional study conducted by Williams et al. (2002), UK students in grade 9 studying L2 French had lower scores for integrative motivation than their grade 7 counterparts, although no differences were found with regard to intrinsic motivation. Scores for the students’ perceptions of the importance of learning a foreign language and of their teachers’ competence also differed, with grade 9 scores being significantly lower. Similarly, MacIntyre et al. (2002), in another simultaneous cross-sectional study, this time of English-speaking Canadian students learning French, found a

general decrease in motivational variables across grades 7 to 9 (although they did find that willingness to communicate and perceived competence increased from grades 7 to 8). Finally, in a comparative study of 13-15 year-old UK learners of German and German learners of English, Chambers (1999) found significant decreases in language learning enthusiasm, especially among the UK students.

Taken as a whole, the results of these longitudinal studies suggest two things. First, for school-aged students, there seem to be differences related to the target L2. While for L2 English there is evidence that person-related variables may remain relatively stable (Lamb, 2007), for other foreign languages learnt as L2s there seem to be across the board declines (Chambers, 1999; MacIntyre et al., 2002; Williams et al., 2002). Most noticeably, as Gardner et al. (2004, p. 28) point out, “the possibility of change /.../ is far larger for variables directly associated with the classroom environment than for more general variables”.

The results of these studies indicate that second language speaking/using selves might also change over a period of study, but i) relative to executive motives, the changes might not be that great and, ii) that in cases of simultaneous learning the changes in English-speaking/using selves – if any – may be less marked than other foreign-language-speaking/using selves. Further, support for the proposition that language-speaking/using selves might be subject to change over a period of learning can also be found from analogous studies of the development of children and young people’s self-concepts, self-competence beliefs and domain-specific self-perceptions. Here research findings indicate that self-related constructs change over time as part of identity-related processes in which the self-concept becomes increasingly stable over the course of development (Shavelson, Hubner & Stanton, 1976; Wylie, 1979).

The impact of other language selves: Explaining interference

Dörnyei and Ushioda’s (2009) suggestion that alternative selves/self facets might ‘compete’ with each other and their identification of a ‘potential conflict’ between competing selves/self-facets is an issue of central importance in the study of L3 motivation. Given, as Jessner and her colleagues (Cenoz & Jessner, 2000; Herdina & Jessner, 2002; Jessner, 2008a, 2008b) assert, that the L2 is implicated in L3 learning, in what sense, from a motivational perspective, does the learner’s self-image as a future user/speaker of the L2 compete or conflict with a self-image as a user/speaker of the L3? These are issues that are

specifically addressed by Dörnyei and Ushioda (2009) in their discussion of cross-cultural variance in the impact and/or composition of the L2 Motivational Self System and, in particular, in relation to the question as to whether the multiple L2-specific ideal self images of learners who are simultaneously engaged in the study of more than one L2 show signs of ‘interference’.

Interestingly, although these issues are central to our understanding of the L2 self and need to be addressed in future research, the question of interference and conflicts caused by competing motives have previously been studied by Dörnyei and his associates, both from a process-oriented approach (Dörnyei, 2000, Dörnyei & Ottó, 1998), as well as more recently in the Hungarian cohort studies (Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005b; Dörnyei, Csizér & Németh, 2006).

In his previous research on the temporal dimension of motivation and changes in motivational intensity during the learning process (see above p. 37) Dörnyei uses the concept of interference to describe the effect on L2 motivation of the individual’s engagement in other concurrent activities. Drawing on the work, amongst others, of Heckhausen and Khul (1985), the Process Model of L2 Motivation was designed to capture the dynamic nature of the motivational process by means of the identification of a series of distinct motivational stages. In assessments of the model, both in the original article in which it was first presented (Dörnyei & Ottó 1998) and in subsequent evaluations of process-oriented research (Dörnyei 2000, 2005), Dörnyei emphasizes that, despite its many benefits, it does not adequately capture the complexity and effects of external influences that derive from other contemporaneous learning processes or activities. The problem lies in the assumption that “the actional process occurs in relative isolation, without any interference from other ongoing behaviours the actor is engaged in” which, as they point out, will rarely ever be the case (Dörnyei & Ottó 1998, p. 63). Further, they explain how, since the learner can be simultaneously engaged in any number of different channels of ongoing cognitive activity, whenever an activity-switch is made from one course of action to another, this necessarily involves a motivational shift. Interference can thus be understood as the effect on L2 motivation of the individual’s engagement in other ongoing activities.

The notion of interference is of central importance in Dörnyei and his colleagues’ (Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005b; Dörnyei, Csizér & Németh, 2006) analysis of the finding that motivation to learn German was negatively affected by motivation to learn English. In considering how motivation to learn one L2 can

have a negative effect on motivation to learn another, Csizér and Dörnyei (2005b) frame their analysis in terms of the presence and operation of processes of interference. Because of learners' limited resources (cf. Herdina & Jessner, 2000) this results in a 'competition' between target languages:

Although it is beneficial for a student to have a wide interest in foreign languages in general, as this seems to result in a more established and salient ideal language self and, subsequently, increased intended language learning effort, being motivated to learn more than one L2 at the same time also causes interferences in that positive attitudes toward one language can exist at the expense of another. Thus, there is a "competition" among target languages for learners' limited language learning capacity, and in this competition the clear winner appears to be World English. (Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005b, p. 657)

Csizér and Dörnyei's findings are extremely important. Not only do they provide the first empirical support for the widely-held assumption that motivation to learn other languages is affected by the dominance of global English, but they also lay the ground for the study of L3 motivation. Nevertheless, their use of the concept of interference to describe micro-level effects is problematic.⁴ First, in the sense that the concept is used by Dörnyei and Ottó (Dörnyei 2000; Dörnyei & Ottó 1998), interference would appear to involve at least some degree of agency on the part of the learner in terms of directing her/his energy to different activities. Interference derives from ongoing behaviours the actor is engaged in and the authors talk in terms of "behavioural streams" and "action episodes" (Dörnyei & Ottó, 1998). However, as Csizér and Dörnyei (2005) make clear, the learners in their study were not actually engaged in active learning. Instead, the focus of the study was on language *preference* and *intended* effort.

The scope of the term is also somewhat unclear. It is arguable that interference is regarded as being operative not only at the elective stage (Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005b), but also in actual learning since it is suggested that "where students are learning two or more foreign languages, processes of interference may impact negatively on motivation for one or other language" (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011, p. 167). Similarly, in discussing their results relating to motivated learning behaviour, Csizér and Lukács (2010) make the point that interference takes place when two foreign languages are learnt simultaneously. Apart from the question as to whether the cognitive process involved in *choosing* one of a number of L2s, and being actively *engaged* in the process of the simultaneous learning of more

⁴ It should be noted that the term interference is used in the literature to describe both micro- and macro-level effects.

than one L2 are the same, there is a more important issue. Is the notion of interference used in questionnaire-based correlational studies (Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005; Csizér & Lukács, 2010) the same as that envisaged in the type of study that adopts a process approach designed to capture the “daily ups and downs of motivation to learn” (Dörnyei, 2005, p. 83)?

Another problem related to the learner’s agency is the identification of the operation of factors over which she/he seems to exercise little control. Interferences, Csizér and Dörnyei suggest, can be caused by positive attitudes toward one language that exist at the expense of another, thus leading to what they describe as “‘competition’ among target languages for learners’ limited language learning capacity” (Csizér & Dörnyei 2005b, p. 657). Further, in a recent study of the effects of ideal selves on the motivational disposition of students simultaneously learning an L2 and L3, Csizér and Lukács (2010) in comparing their findings with those of Csizér and Dörnyei (2005b), suggest that “‘positive interference’” may occur when students begin their foreign language learning with a regionally important language (in this case German) and at a later date start with a third foreign language (in this case English).

It seems unclear as to whether interference, as conceptualised by Csizér and Dörnyei (2005b) and used by Csizér and Lukács (2010) is synonymous with the concept developed by Dörnyei and Ottó (1998). While on the one hand no reference is made in either article to the process model, on the other, in the absence of such an explanation, it is not unreasonable to assume that we are in fact dealing with the same concept. Further, it may be the case, as Csizér and Lukács’ (2010) use of the term ‘positive interference’ suggests, that the concept has greater similarity to its use in the study of lexical transfer (see e.g. Gass, 1996; Sharwood Smith & Kellerman, 1986).

These issues notwithstanding, perhaps the biggest problem associated with the use of interference in research adopting a self-based approach is that of maintaining conceptual consistency. Is, for the sake of a better term, the ‘process model notion of interference’ compatible with self-concept theory? This is a question that, unfortunately, is complicated further by the fact that Dörnyei’s L2 Motivational Self System model draws on two theories that differ fundamentally in the way in which selves are related (see above, p. 33).

Before looking at the ways in which the two theories address the effects of interactions between different future self-guides, it is important to make clear that at a general level theories of the self recognize that self-conceptions in

different domains will have an impact on similar self-concepts in other domains. This is perhaps approached most accessibly by looking at the function of self-regulation which can be described as a motivational resource used in the pursuance of personal goals (Oyserman, 2007). Self-regulation is involved not only in the maintenance of possible selves but is crucial in all forms of self-related activity, such as the generation of self-esteem and the development of self-beliefs. However, as Oyserman makes clear, self-regulation will always involve having to prioritise in the sense that in any particular situation there are only a limited number of directions in which cognitive energy can be focused. This she explains in the following way:

Self-regulation always involves focusing attention and resources on responses relevant to a focal goal to the relative neglect of other goals. At any particular moment in time, focusing attention on one self-relevant goal necessarily means reduced attention to other self-relevant goals. Focusing one's attention on one goal (e.g., the goal of completing homework) means not focusing on other self-relevant goals such as being athletic, popular, or a cooperative group member. (Oyserman, 2007, p. 443)

In Higgins' theory of self-discrepancy ideal and ought selves are composites made up of different facets. Thus it might be reasonable to assume that the self-guides (the ideal and ought selves) of someone learning more than one foreign language would simultaneously include both L2 and L3 facets. How though would these different facets relate to one another? Since the focus in the literature on self-discrepancy theory is not so much on the interrelationship of different self-perceived attributes, as on the relationship between self-perceived attributes (contained in the self-guides) and the actual self, there do not seem to be many clues. Higgins (1987) does however suggest that people do need consistency among their self-perceived attributes in order to form a coherent and unified self-concept. Thus, it would appear that some form of balance would need to be achieved between the different (L2 and L3) facets that comprise the ideal and ought selves.

In their theory of possible selves Markus and Nurius identify highly distinct, domain-specific self-concepts. While, as in Higgins' theory of self-discrepancy, focus is directed to the relationship of possible selves to the 'now' self and the overall self-concept, Markus and Nurius' theory provides a way of understanding how different possible selves can relate to one another in their identification of the mechanism of the working self-concept.

In describing the processes that take place in the working self-concept Markus and her colleagues emphasise its dynamic nature, pointing out that changes in the working self-concept create malleability in the overall self-concept (Markus & Kunda, 1986). However, while recognising the interaction of different self-conceptions, the terminology used to describe the changes that take place emphasises calibration, re-tuning and reconfiguration, as opposed to conflicts or interferences.

As previously discussed, researchers in the L2 motivation field will have to determine whether it makes more sense to think in terms of separate domain-specific self-concepts – the Markus and Nurius position – or as a singular self that has a range of different facets, as Higgins suggests. Irrespective of the direction taken, I would argue that it will be necessary to reconsider current thinking about the notion of interference. Either it should be revised so that it becomes conceptually more coherent and consistent with a self-based approach, or it should be replaced with a concept that can better capture cognitive changes in the self-concept when the learner is faced with more than one channel of activity, such as when engaged in the acquisition of more than one TL.

Finally, before leaving the question of interference, there is yet another important issue that needs to be addressed. As discussed previously, Dörnyei (2009b) argues that, since cause-effect models of L2 motivation fail to do justice to the complexity of language learning processes, a new dynamic systems theory approach is called for. As he points out, the application of a DST approach does not involve any radical reconceptualisation of motives themselves but, rather, their relationship to behaviour. With regard to the issues of competition, conflict and interference, DST would seem to offer conceptual coherence in its identification of attractor basins and repeller states. As Dörnyei suggests:

The dynamic conception requires a new approach to examining motivated behavioural trajectories: rather than trying to impose ready-made theoretical paradigms on the motivational sources of behaviour, we need to look for situated, environmentally relevant basins of attractors, and the stability of the system will be dependent not only on the power of the attractors but also on the number of existing attractor basins in the person's life space. (Dörnyei, 2009b, p. 211)

In their investigation of the motivational dispositions of Hungarian students simultaneously learning English and German, Csizér and Lukács (2010) adopt a DST perspective in interpreting their result that only L2 English (cf. L3 English and L2/L3 German) was appraised with solely positive attitudes. In particular

while suggesting that ideal selves can function as attractor basins, they also make the point that they can also have a repeller function. This they found to be the case for students learning L2 German and L3 English where the respective ideal selves could play an attractor role, with the ideal selves of the other language playing a repeller role.

Even if a DST approach may mean that the need to achieve conceptual clarity surrounding interference becomes less important in terms of the macro-level effects of the interrelationship of language selves (as Csizér and Lukács' study would suggest), there is nevertheless still a need to gain a better understanding of micro-level processes.

Gender

The final issue of importance is gender. When examining the body of literature on gender differences in L2 motivation, two striking features emerge. First, very few studies that have included gender as a variable have failed to find differences in at least some dimensions.⁵ The second noteworthy point is that, where gender differences have been found, results consistently reveal more pronounced integrative motives among females (see e.g. Bacon & Finnemann, 1992; Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005; Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002; Dörnyei, Csizér & Németh, 2006; Gardner & Lambert, 1972; Kizitelpe, 2003; Koizumi & Matsuo, 1993; Phillips & Filmer-Sankey, 1993; Pritchard, 1987; Ryan, 2009; Spolsky, 1989; Stewart-Strobelt & Chen, 2003; Sung & Padilla, 1998; Williams, Burden & Lanvers, 2002; Wright, 1999). Thus, for the affective dimension of language learning motivation, there is solid evidence of consistent gender differences across a range of cultural contexts and for learners of different ages. However, this having been said, it is by no means established that the extent of gender differences are similar for all languages, or that differences remain consistent across time. Both of these issues therefore warrant further empirical investigation.

Although by no means a novel research issue in the study of L2 motivation, a focus on gender may be of particular importance for research conducted within the self-based paradigm. While the research focus of social psychologists is

⁵ For those few studies where differences were not found, in a review of the literature (Henry, 2010) I have suggested that explanations can be found in terms of either selection factors (MacIntyre, Baker, Clément & Donovan, 2002; Ravid, 1987), sociocultural factors (Shaaban & Ghaith 2000) or a combination of both (Cortés, 2002).

directed towards socially-determined attitudes, the psychology of identity focuses on the self-concept and ways in which identities are constructed. Simply put, while the focus of social psychology is on external processes of identification, identity psychology is concerned with internal processes (cf. Dörnyei, 2009). In the internal processes of identity construction, gender plays a major role. As explained by Elmore and Oyserman (2011) in their review of the gender identity literature, gender identities are established at an early age, and from early childhood onwards, children are attuned to and concerned about gender-appropriate behaviours. Indeed, as the literature on stereotype threat indicates, when gender is contextually salient, behaviour can be influenced by pervasive subconscious processes (Elmore & Oyserman, 2011). While there are numerous fields within identity psychology where gender is of importance, in the current work I will focus on three broad directions which may be of particular value in understanding the differences in girls' and boys' L3 and L2 self-concepts. These are, respectively, work carried out on gender and possible selves (e.g. Knox, 2006), research on gender and self-competence beliefs (e.g. Cole et al. 2001) and, most recently, work on gender and identity-based motivation (Elmore & Oyserman, 2011).

Gender and possible selves

In mainstream psychology the literature includes a wealth of studies that have empirically examined gender differences in the construction and interpretations of self-concepts (for an overview see Cross & Madson, 1997) and have offered theoretical explanations for observed differences. From a language learning perspective the work of Michelle Knox (2006) is of particular importance in that her focus is on gender differences in possible selves. Drawing primarily on the work of Markus and Kitayama (1991) and Cross and Madson (1997), Knox has suggested that the possible selves of females and males differ in crucial ways. In particular she argues that differences in the construction and construal of possible selves find expression in divergent patterns of behaviour:

Whereas males' possible selves may serve to define them as unique and separate them from others, females may be more likely to incorporate the views of others or representations of others in forming possible selves and in determining self-worth. (Knox, 2006, p. 61)

At the root of Knox's argument is the notion of an interdependent/independent dichotomy in the construction of possible selves, where female representations of the self in future states – both hoped-for and feared – involve the fostering of

relations with others and the emphasis of interpersonal issues. Those of males, on the other hand, are constructed around visions of the self as autonomous, separate and unique. These differences are developmentally determined and, as young people move into adolescence, may become increasingly pronounced. The effects of this rather fundamental divergence can serve to limit the possible selves that females and males develop which, in turn, can lead to “a constricted range of behaviors and aspirations, and attenuated achievement and occupational functioning in areas traditionally characteristic of the opposite gender” (Knox, 2006, p. 73).

From a language motivation perspective Knox’s suggestions are extremely interesting. Despite over thirty years of research, no overarching explanations – other than the identification of general process of gender socialisation – have been put forward, a fact noted by Csizér and Dörnyei (2005) who make the point that “although some hypotheses have been proposed about the reasons for this general pattern, to the best of our knowledge no comprehensive explanation has been provided to date about the marked gender variation” (Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005, p. 641). Given Kissau and Turnbull’s recent call for research designs that “move beyond investigating the existence of gender differences and /.../ begin exploring the many reasons behind such differences” (p. 165), the application of Knox’s ideas in the second language domain could be extremely interesting.

Self-competence beliefs

Self-competence beliefs are conceptualisations of estimates of ability in particular activities and expectations of future performance (Wigfield, Eccles, Yoon, Harold, Arbretton, Freedman Doan, & Blumenfeld, 1997). Among theorists working with self-competence beliefs (e.g. Shavelson et al., 1976; Wylie, 1979) it is generally agreed that conceptions of self-competence become increasingly stable over the course of development. It is also recognised that, prior to adulthood, changes are likely to be noticeable, particularly during transitional periods in development. Two important periods identified by Cole et al. (2001) are early/mid and mid/late adolescence. As Wigfield, Eccles, MacIver, Reuman and Midgley (1991) have explained, biological changes associated with puberty impact upon young people’s self-perceptions and, as a consequence, gender differences can become more marked during developmental periods subsequent to puberty, meaning that gender-role appropriate activities may become more important as young adolescents try increasingly to conform to gender-role stereotypes for behaviour. For example Eccles and her colleagues (Eccles,

Midgley & Alder, 1984; Eccles & Midgley, 1989) have suggested that students' progression through the education system will have an impact on values and beliefs, while Harter (1999) has suggested that differences in students' self-concepts can be explained in terms of a greater emphasis on peer evaluation and social comparison.

As a means of addressing such phenomena, Hill and Lynch (1983) developed the concept of *gender-role intensification*, arguing that the socialising influences experienced by adolescents in familial, peer-group and educational contexts mean that, as they become older, they become more stereotypical in their gender-role identities, attitudes and behaviours. Although advanced as an overarching theory, when Hill and Lynch's proposition has been put to the test in empirical research the results achieved have been inconsistent. This has led Priess and colleagues to note that:

The research on intensification of gender-role identities is clearly mixed, with some researchers reporting large gender differences and evidence of intensification, and others reporting smaller differences and fewer instances of intensification. Furthermore, the degree to which adolescents become differentiated in their gender-role identities may depend on their environment, particularly their family context. (Priess, Lindberg & Shibley-Hyde, 2009, p. 1533)

In the research carried out, the activity/subject domain has been found to be highly important. For example Cole et al. (2001) report that a number of studies have found Gender X Age interactions indicating that gender differences may intensify with age in domains such as self-perceptions of ability in mathematics (Wigfield et al., 1997), social competence (Wigfield et al., 1991) and physical/sports ability (Marsh, 1985, 1989). Even though they found no general support for Hill and Lynch's theory of gender-role intensification, Jacobs, Lanza, Osgood, Eccles and Wigfield (2002) nevertheless found differing patterns in competence perceptions and values attached to school subjects for maths and language arts. This, as Watt (2004) has suggested, implies that domain-specific explanations for gender differences are needed. Finally, it is important to make the point that, with regard to ability and value beliefs, research has shown that gender differences are present in the earliest years of school (see e.g. Eccles, Wigfield, Harold & Blumenfeld, 1993; Marsh, 1989; Wigfield et al., 1997). As Watt (2004) again points out, this suggests that when girls and boys start school they do so with different interests, different beliefs about their own competence and differently held values in relation to the subjects they learn.

Although research on gendered trajectories of the self has largely been focused on attitudes and self-competency beliefs, the body of findings in this related field may nevertheless be of value in understanding gender differences in the development of future self-guides. As Cole et al. (2001, p. 1723) make clear, self-competence beliefs constitute fundamental components of the individual's self-concept and are reflections of actual abilities as well as internalizations of perceived social norms. Incorporated into the overall self-concept, they become self-defining characteristics that organize self-information, determine motivated behaviour and mediate emotional outcomes. Thus, even if self-competence beliefs and future self-guides differ phenomenologically – particularly in terms of the self-relevant imagery involved – their role in regulating motivated behaviour is not dissimilar.

Work on gendered L2/L3-self trajectories is of particular importance in the study of motivation in that, with the exception of the study of the conjoined effects of age and gender carried out by MacIntyre et al. (2002), to my knowledge, no longitudinal research has examined the effects of Gender X Age interactions in second language motivation.

Gender and identity-based motivation theory

A third direction through which gender differences in L3 and L2 selves could be usefully examined is Oyserman's identity-based motivation (IBM) theory (Oyserman, 2007; Elmore & Oyserman, 2011). At root IBM assumes that people choose identity-congruent to identity incongruent behaviours and, moreover, that they are "more likely to use identity-congruent than identity incongruent lenses to interpret their social and physical world" (Elmore & Oyserman, 2011). This is encapsulated in the concept of 'action readiness' which predicts that, in any given situation, the interpretive focus and subsequent actions will depend on interpretations of the norms, values and behaviours that are identity-salient. Thus, after entering school, girls and boys become highly sensitive to clues in the classroom about ways of being female and male. As Elmore and Oyserman suggest, this means that motivation will be dependent on the extent to which engagement feels gender-congruent. In addition to its recognition of the malleability of the self (cf. Markus & Kunda, 1986) and focus on the situational construction of identity (cf. Ushioda, 2009), IBM is specifically directed to both current and possible future identities (cf. Markus & Nurius, 1986), meaning that it may have particular resonance in the study of L2 and L3 motivation.

Chapter Four:

L3 learning in Sweden: An overview

In order to situate the four studies that comprise this thesis within the landscape of L3 learning in Sweden, the purpose of this chapter is to provide a brief account of language policy, together with an overview of the provision and take-up of foreign languages.

European language policy

The politics of language use and provision has long been an issue prominent on the European agenda (with the Council of Europe and the European Union both developers of language policy). While the equality of the European community's languages and equal access to them have been cornerstones of European development over the last half century, there has in recent years been a shift in emphasis to the promotion (and protection) of language diversity. As enumerated in a range of policy documents, multilingualism is presented both as a democratic necessity and as a valuable economic asset in the globalized economy. Consequently, it is often suggested that the maintenance and development of linguistic diversity is one of the most important challenges facing Europe. These dual neo-liberal and emancipatory ideologies have been the driving forces behind a range of policy initiatives to develop and implement strategies for achieving wider plurilingual competence.

In Europe the goal of multilingualism has been pursued for over twenty years. Important landmarks include the resolution of the Council of Education Ministers of 31 March 1995, where it was stated that “it is becoming necessary for everyone, irrespective of training and education routes chosen, to be able to acquire and keep up their ability to communicate in at least two Community languages in addition to their mother tongue” (Official Journal of the European Communities 207, 1995, p. 1). Another is the European Council's ‘Lisbon Strategy’, adopted in March, 2000, the aim of which was to “make Europe, by 2010, the most competitive and the most dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world”. In the development of the ‘learning’ or ‘knowledge’ economy

language skills are regarded as a critical factor in enhancing competitiveness. These imperatives have been further fleshed out in the Barcelona Objective of creating educational systems that would enable European citizens to communicate in two languages in addition to their mother tongue. The Barcelona goals have been pursued by the Commission in conjunction with member states by, for example, the development of an indicator of language competence (COM, 2005, 356; COM 2007, 184), the drawing up of strategic action plans and communications (e.g. COM, 2008, 566) and the inclusion of foreign language skills among the key competences for lifelong learning (COM, 2003, 449; COM 2005, 596; COM 2007, 554).

One of the areas to which the Commission has directed specific attention is the promotion of effective language teaching (COM, 2008, 425) and the identification of the key role that teachers play in developing EU citizens' intercultural skills and competences. In its important policy statement *Multilingualism: an asset for Europe and a shared commitment* (COM, 2008, 566) the Commission, in reaffirming the Barcelona Objective pledged, among other things, to support the teaching of more languages through lifelong learning, teacher and student mobility and language teacher training, and to develop an inventory of best practices in language learning to be made available to member states. In particular the Commission suggests that member states should:

- provide genuine opportunities for all to master the national language(s) and two other languages,
- make a wider range of languages available to learners to allow individual choice and match local needs in the languages that can be learned, and,
- enhance the training of all teachers and others involved in language teaching.

However, as Phillipson (2003) has pointed out, while the language policies of the EU tend to be rhetorically robust, in accordance with the principle of subsidiarity, implementation lies with the members states themselves (see also Modiano, 2009). This means that policy does not always translate into practice. As an example, in the concluding paragraph of their report on multilingualism as an asset for Europe, the Commission does no more than “*invite*” member states to “*endorse*” the policy framework and “to implement it at the most appropriate level” (COM, 2008, 566, p. 15). This means, in reality, that member states are free to choose whether or not to respond.

The challenge of successfully implementing policies of plurilingualism

There are many challenges and obstacles facing the successful implementation of policies promoting plurilingualism and the achievement of the goal of providing genuine opportunities for all to master the national language(s) and two other languages, and a proper discussion falls outside of the scope of this thesis. Instead I will focus, albeit briefly, on the role of English in Europe and the ways in which its increasing use may be detrimental to widespread multilingualism. As Phillipson (2003) has demonstrated, the influence and advance of English in Europe can be accounted for by a series of supply and demand factors. These factors, he explains, are both structural and ideological. While on the structural side the impact of globalization on commerce, finance and higher education has driven the demand for English, ideologically this demand is linked to the fact that its use in popular media connotes “success, influence, consumerism and hedonism” (Phillipson, 2003, p 62). Popular conceptions of the supposed utility and value of a particular language over others can, over time, become a self-fulfilling prophecy. As he explains, the “ranking of languages for their purported qualities or limitations, through processes of glorification and stigmatization, correlates with language hierarchies and their hegemonic rationalization” (Phillipson, 2003, p. 65). Another important ideological factor is the sense in which attitudes to multilingualism are affected by people’s exposure to and use of foreign languages. When foreign languages – other than English – are only infrequently encountered, this is likely, Phillipson argues, to have a negative effect on motivation to learn an additional language.

Foreign languages in Sweden: bi- or trilingual competence?

Even if there is debate about the driving forces behind the increasing global hegemony of English,⁶ data from studies of language use/exposure (European Commission, 2005; Forsman, 2004; Olsson, 2011; Simensen, 2010; Sundqvist, 2009) indicate that in the Nordic countries English is dominant and eclipses other foreign languages. The picture that emerges from the research is of i) the widespread social use of and exposure to English in leisure-time, and ii) a strong recognition across the population as a whole of the importance of competence in L2 English, with relatively little enthusiasm for multilingualism.

⁶ While Phillipson (1992, 2003) takes the view that it represents a form of anglophone linguistic imperialism, Graddol (2006) for example points to the parental and governmentally-driven demand for English.

English in and outside of school

Along with Swedish and mathematics, English enjoys a privileged position in the curriculum as a core subject. Unlike other foreign languages that are normally introduced in Grade 6, English is a subject that in many schools is now introduced as early as the first grade.⁷ Furthermore, not only is it introduced earlier, the allocation of time for the study of English is substantially greater than for other languages. Indeed, the privileged curricular position of English is a reflection of its status in Swedish society generally, where today many observers suggest that, rather than a foreign language, English functions more as a second language (Phillipson, 2003; Sundqvist, 2009; Viberg, 2000).

When it comes to the amount of time young people spend in English-language-mediated environments, a number of studies have shown that a substantial proportion of time each week is devoted to activities involving English. In a study of the time that 9th grade pupils spent doing things involving English outside school, Sundqvist (2009) in her examination of self-report diaries found a mean value of 18.4 hours per week for the sample (N=80). The English language activities that the students reported included listening to music, playing video games, watching TV programs and films, visiting Internet sites and reading books and magazines. In a similar study based on the self-report diaries of 9th graders (N=37), Olsson (2011) found that boys spent an average of 3.3 hours a day engaged in activities involving English, while the figure for girls was 2.5 hours per day.

Attitudes to English and to multilingualism

In the most recent National Agency of Education-commissioned survey of attitudes to English as a school subject, more than 85% of the 7000 students surveyed expressed the view that English was an important language to learn and therefore an important school subject. Stressing the status of English as a global language, students reported that they believed English would be of importance both in their future careers, and in communicating with people from other countries (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2005, p. 87).

The importance attached to English is further reflected in the 2005 Eurobarometer, *Europeans and their Languages*, where representative population samples from 25 countries were surveyed on language attitudes. In response to

⁷ Individual schools are free to decide when to introduce English, although it must be introduced by the start of the fourth school grade (Malmberg, 2000). There is a clear trend in recent years for an early rather than a later start within the permitted span.

the question ‘do you think knowing other languages than your mother tongue is, or could be very useful for you personally?’, Sweden topped the list of countries with 99% of the sample expressing agreement. When asked which language was most important, 97% of Swedish respondents, again the highest rating of all 25 countries, said it was English. However the social dominance and perceived utility of English is clearly reflected in response to the statements, ‘everyone in the European Union should be able to speak one language in addition to their mother tongue’ and ‘everyone in the European Union should be able to speak two languages in addition to their mother tongue’. For ‘mother tongue plus one’, 90% of Swedes expressed agreement (with only Cyprus, Latvia, Denmark, Belgium, Estonia and Greece recording higher scores). However, in response to the ‘mother tongue plus two’ statement, only 27% – the lowest, along with Bulgaria, of all 25 countries, and way below the EU average of 50% – expressed agreement.

National language policy for foreign languages other than English

The Swedish government has proposed that foreign languages other than English (specifically French, German and Spanish) should be more-or-less compulsory, expressed in terms of a ‘mild’ requirement (*‘mjukt obligatorium’* in Swedish), (Swedish Government, 2007). In accordance with the European Union’s policy for the promotion of plurilingualism, the government’s aim is that the majority of students should learn an L3 (French, German, Spanish), sign language or, primarily with students with non-Swedish backgrounds in mind, a native L1 (Tholin & Lindqvist, 2009). This is embodied in what is known as the ‘language choice’ option (*Språkval*) in paragraph 17 of the Compulsory School Ordinance (*Grundskoleförordning*) (Department of Education, 1997) which stipulates that a municipality must provide at least two of French, German and Spanish.

There is also the option for secondary school students to learn an L4 in what is known as ‘the student’s choice’ (*elevens val*) option. Roughly 2% of students choose a fourth language, again normally French, German or Spanish. This is studied at the beginner level (Tholin & Lindqvist, 2009).

At the upper secondary level the Upper Secondary School Ordinance (*Gymnasieförordning*) (Department of Education, 1992) requires upper secondary schools to provide continuation courses in German and French. While the

provision of Spanish is not a requirement, in accordance with Chapter 5 Paragraph 4, it can be offered.

The time allocation for 'language choice' in secondary school is 320 hours, which can be compared with 480 hours for English. Even though the time allocation for L3s is substantially lower than other subjects, it is nevertheless more than at any other previous time (Tholin & Lindqvist, 2009).

Language choice

In their analyses of data on language learning for the 2006/2007 academic year compiled by Statistics Sweden and published by the National Agency for Education, Tholin and Lindqvist (2009) estimate that somewhat over 80% of students in secondary education study a foreign language other than English (L3 French, German or Spanish) for a longer or shorter period. There are noticeable gender differences in the numbers of students learning L3 French, German and Spanish. Again based on the 2006/2007 data, while in grade 9 71.2% of girls were learning an L3, the figure for boys was 59.4% (Tholin & Lindqvist, 2009). Gender differences are also evident when it comes to the choice of L3. Data for the same period (again reported by Tholin and Lindqvist based on figures obtained from the National Agency for Education) show that in grade 9 more than 60% of the students studying French were female. For German the reverse was the case, with roughly 55% of the students being males. More girls (55%) were studying Spanish than boys.

As previously mentioned, learning an L3 is not compulsory in Sweden and should be regarded as a 'mild requirement'. However, this 'requirement' does not seem to have had a great impact on students and their parents. By far the most popular options for the 'language choice' option are additional Swedish, additional English, or, most popular of all, combined additional Swedish and English (Tholin & Lindqvist, 2009). In the 2006/2007 data some 39,500 grade 9 students chose one of these options compared to 34,500 who chose Spanish and a total of 81,300 who chose one of either French, German or Spanish.

Trends

While Tholin and Lindqvist report that the number of students who learn a foreign language for a longer or shorter period of time in secondary school has remained steady in recent years at around 80%, they also point out that changes have taken place in the relative popularity of the uptake of the three main languages. While the numbers taking French have dropped marginally, the

number of students taking German has declined markedly, with the number learning Spanish steadily increasing (Tholin & Lindqvist, 2009).

Non-completion

In their analysis of the data on the numbers of students studying French, German and Spanish in grades 7-9 for the academic years 2004/2005, 2005/2006 and 2006/2007, Tholin and Lindqvist (2009) draw a series of important conclusions. First, students who have chosen Spanish are more likely to drop their L3 than students who have chosen French. Further, boys who have chosen German abandon their studies to almost the same extent as students who have chosen Spanish. For girls there is a noticeable difference in that those who have chosen German are less likely to abandon their studies than those who opted for Spanish. For both boys and girls the language where dropping-out is least common is French. Nevertheless, even here, more boys than girls abandon their studies before the end the ninth grade (Tholin & Lindqvist, 2009). Further, Tholin and Lindqvist (2009) make the observation that drop-out rates are roughly the same between grades 7 and 8 and grades 8 and 9. Finally, when it comes to successful completion of L3 study, Tholin and Lindqvist (2009) point out that while in the 7th grade 78% of boys and 84% of girls are learning an L3, by the end of the 9th grade, only 59% of boys and 71% of girls obtain passing grades.

In interpreting these data, Tholin and Lindqvist (2009) suggest that the relatively high retention rate for French indicates that it enjoys a position of prestige and that students who chose French do so actively in the knowledge that this is the language that they wish to study. This is in contrast to Spanish which appears to attract students who are less sure about their choice of language, or indeed whether they are going to study an L3 at all. The influence of peer groups is also likely to be a factor underpinning the choice of Spanish. In the case of German, even though it is a more popular choice among boys, it is the girls who are less likely to abandon their studies. This Tholin and Lindqvist (2009) suggest is similar to the situation with French where girls in particular have made a firm decision to learn the language.

Research conducted in Sweden

Relatively little research on students' attitudes to L3 learning has been conducted in Sweden. In addition to Tholin and Lindqvist's (2009) survey of the Swedish/English Language Choice, four specific studies can be mentioned. In a small scale pilot study commissioned by the National Agency for Education

(1999) Sørensen, who conducted in-depth interviews with students, teachers and school principals at three schools, found that the girls he spoke with were generally more positive to L3 learning than the boys. Students that Sørensen classified as being interested in L3s seemed to have a better awareness of opportunities for future use. In the 6th grade even though students were generally positive about learning their chosen L3, they regarded English as more enjoyable and of more value in free-time activities. In a report on student's non-continuation of L3 learning, Barbier (2002) identifies a number of factors that, in combination, mean that students lack the motivation to study foreign languages. Important factors relate to the teaching of L3s and concern the content of language lessons and the way teaching is carried out. In addition two attitudinal factors, the status of L3s generally in society and the fact that English is regarded by many as being sufficient, were identified.

Further, unlike other compulsory subjects, it is possible to drop L3s. In a study of the factors explaining why students either dropped or did not start L3 study at the upper secondary school level, Thorson, Molander Beyer and Dentler (2003) found that they were primarily related to the learning experience. In particular, students reported that language learning demanded a lot of their time and that an over-emphasis on grammar was characteristic of many lessons. Finally, in a study commissioned by the National Agency for School Development, Edlert and Bergseth (2003), in their interviews with students, parents, teachers, school principals and municipal education officers from five municipalities, identified five factors explaining the reasons for dropping L3s. As in Barbier's (2002) study, three of these factors were school-related while the other two related to perceptions of the value of the L3 in relation to English. In the former category they found that students came to a point where they felt they were no longer able to keep up with L3 study. The alternative – i.e. extra English and/or Swedish – was seen as less demanding. Students and teachers had different perceptions about the goals to be aimed for. On a more general level, students believed that that they would manage fine in life with English alone. Parents generally had low expectations about their children's L3 achievement. The authors also found that L3 students placed great emphasis on the importance of motivation in language study. Those who were actively pursuing language study spoke of the importance of being motivated while those who had dropped out spoke of lacking sufficient motivation to continue. Additionally, a strong parental factor was identified in that while many of the students who dropped out of L3 learning had parents who spoke of the importance of focusing on English (often claiming that they themselves had never had any use for

CHAPTER FOUR

French or German), those who continued spoke of receiving help with homework from supportive parents and older siblings.

Chapter Five:

The Studies

The thesis is comprised of four empirical studies. The first two studies map the L3 motivational trajectories of female and male secondary school students from the end of grade 4 until the end of grade 9. These are examined against the backdrop of similar trajectories for L2 English. The third and fourth studies examine the effects of L2 English on L3 motivation.

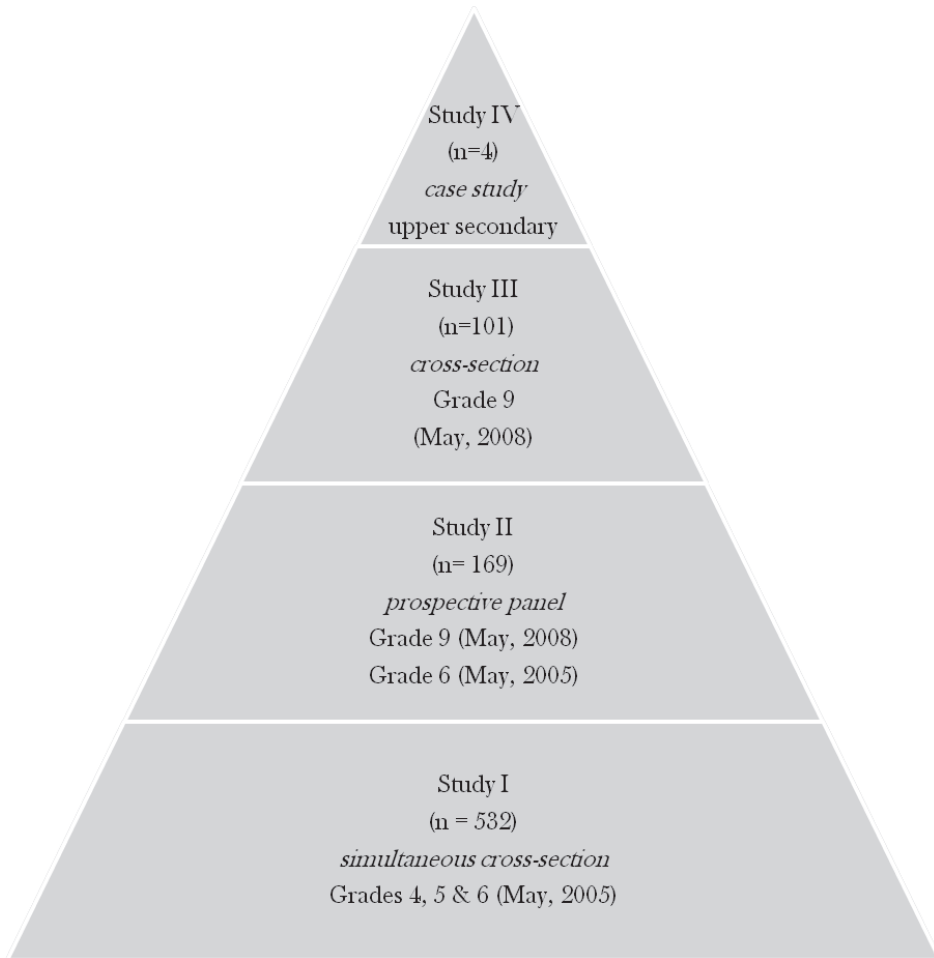
- I Young learners and multilingualism: A study of learner attitudes before and after the introduction of a second foreign language to the curriculum.
- II Gender differences in compulsory school pupils' L2 self-concepts: A longitudinal study.
- III Contexts of possibility in simultaneous language learning: Using the L2 Motivational Self System to assess the impact of global English.
- IV Examining the impact of L2 English on L3 selves: A case study.

The data sets

The data sets, their relation to one another, the school level from which they were drawn, the time of administration and the study design are set out in Figure One.

L3 MOTIVATION

Figure One. The data sets in the four studies.



Studies I and II

The purpose of studies I and II was to map secondary school students' L3 motivational trajectories over a period of six years (from the end of grade 4 to the end of grade 9) and to examine these against the backdrop of similar trajectories for L2 English. A further aim has been to investigate gender differences and any combined effects of gender and age.

Participants

The participants in Study I

The sample in Study I (N=532) is comprised of students attending five different secondary schools in a medium-sized town in the west of Sweden. The students were enrolled in grades 4, 5 and 6 and the survey was conducted in May 2005. The sample included 245 girls (46.1%) and 287 boys (53.9%). A total of 171 students were enrolled in grade 4 (32.1%), 179 students in grade 5 (33.7%) and 182 students in grade 6 (34.2%). All of the students in the sample studied English. At the start of the school year in August 2004 the 6th grade students at the five participating schools had the option of choosing one of the following additional L3s; French, German, Spanish and sign language. Not studying an L3, and taking either extra English or a combination of extra Swedish and English was also an option. Of the total number of 6th grade students surveyed in May 2005, 73 (41.0%) studied Spanish, 28 (15.7%) studied German, 24 (13.5%) studied French, 32 (18.0%) studied sign language with 21 (11.8%) not studying any language other than English. Data on language choice is missing for four students.

The participants in Study II

The sample in Study II (N=169) is comprised of the 6th grade cohort from Study I who completed an identical instrument on two occasions; at the end of grade 6 and again at the end of grade 9. Panel attrition is 7.1 % (13 students – 3 girls and 10 boys). Attrition was due either to untraceability resulting from the failure to provide accurate identification data on the first occasion the questionnaire was administered (5 students), or because the students appeared to have moved out of the area and were difficult to trace (4 students). The remainder of the missing students in the second wave is due either to repeated unexplained absences from school (2 students) and special schooling outside of the area (2 students). In the missing data boys are overrepresented. All of the students in the sample studied English at both measurement periods. At the beginning of the 6th school grade students had the option of choosing one of the following L3s; French, German, Spanish and sign language. In the sample, 66 students (39.1%) began learning Spanish in grade 6, 27 students (16.0%) opted for German, 23 (13.6%) chose French, and 32 (18.9%) took sign language. It was also possible for students to opt not to study an L3. In the first wave, 18 students (10.7%) were not learning an L3. By the time of the second wave, 42 students (24.9%) were not engaged in L3 learning. Data on language choice is missing for 3 (1.7%) students.

Procedures

In both studies an identical 23-item instrument was given to the participants. In Study I, with the exception of one school where the teachers requested that they administer the instrument themselves, I administered the instrument personally in the students' classrooms. The administrations were carried out in accordance with a predefined set of procedures. This same set of instructions, set out in a user-friendly, step-by-step format, was given to the teachers who administered the instrument themselves. In Study II the questionnaire was administered to larger groups of students in the assembly halls at three of the schools. In the fourth school, where only a few students were enrolled, it was administered in the students' classroom during L3 lessons. When the larger administrations took place I was assisted by experienced colleagues from the university who had been fully briefed on the content of the questionnaire and the procedures for its administration.

Measurements and analyses

The instrument

The same instrument (hereafter referred to as Instrument A) was used in Study I and Study II. The instrument comprised 23 items. There were 5 scales and 5 single items. In creating the instrument Gardner's (1985) Attitude and Motivation Test Battery (AMTB) formed a point of departure. For example, when developing a scale to assess possible selves as a source of language learning motivation, MacIntyre, MacKinnon and Clément (2009b) also used the structure of the AMTB in the design of their instrument. The instrument used in the current research includes scales/items measuring interest in foreign languages and attitudes to the learning situation, both of which are constituents of the AMTB (for English it also includes scales measuring an integrative orientation and an instrumental orientation). In recognition of the multilingual context, items measuring perceptions of the importance of multilingualism and the desire to learn other foreign languages in the future were also included. Most importantly, two scales measuring the strength of the respondents' ideal English- and foreign language-speaking selves were also included. In order to ease the processing of the questionnaire, the items were grouped together in thematic areas with appropriate headings. The instrument can be found in the appendices to both Study 1 and Study II.

All of the items included in the 5 scales, together with the two items measuring attitudes to the learning situation, had Likert-type response options that require

respondents to express the extent of their agreement on a scale of 1 to 6. The wording of the response options was; ‘not true at all’, ‘not true’, ‘not really true’, ‘fairly true’, ‘true’, ‘very true!’. Care was taken, as near as possible, to achieve semantic symmetry in the wording of the options since between-group comparisons can be facilitated if the sets of Likert response options are scaled to have equal interval properties (Spector, 1976). The items measuring perceptions of the importance of multilingualism (items 21 & 22) had dichotomous yes/no options, along with a ‘have no opinion’ option. The final item measured anticipated future language learning by asking respondents to select languages they thought that they might like to learn from a list of 16 (plus any others they could think of).

Piloting

Piloting of the instrument was undertaken with particular care since self-completion questionnaires for children are more difficult to design (Oppenheim, 1992). There were two main objectives in the piloting of the instrument. The first was to get an opportunity to evaluate the efficacy of the questions in measuring the target constructs and to gain an indication of their clarity (i.e. to identify any ambiguities in the wording). The second objective concerned the rating scales. Here the purpose was to ascertain whether (i) there was any likelihood of ceiling effects if a 4-option response scale was used, and (ii) whether the youngest pupils in the study – the 4th graders (average age = 10½) – would be able to differentiate sufficiently between the responses on a 6-option scale.

Piloting was carried out in a 4th grade class of 27 students in a school not participating in the main study. This I carried out together with a university colleague with expertise in interviewing children. Half of the students were given the instrument with 4-step Likert response options, while the other half received the 6-option rating scales. Careful observations were made while the children filled in the questionnaires. Students were encouraged to ask questions when there was something that they did not understand. Thereafter focus group interviews were conducted with groups of 5 to 6 students. In accordance with Greig, Taylor and Mackay’s (2007) observations, the students were asked a series of simple focusing questions which gave them an opportunity to engage in discussion. The focusing questions were of a type inviting them to reflect on the ways in which they had conceptualised or created “inner pictures” (Oppenheim, 1992, p. 121) of the different items. The invitation first to reflect individually and then to compare with the views of other group members provided the catalyst

for the group to engage in productive dialogue. The discussions revealed that the pupils had a good conceptual grasp of the different items.

The children were also asked about the response options. In particular those who had been given the six-option scales were asked if they had found it difficult to choose between the options. In that the pupils who had been given the 6-option instrument reported no problems in selecting an appropriate level of agreement/disagreement, a 6-option instrument was preferred as a way of reducing the risk of ceiling effects. There is a risk that a 4-step scale would not be sufficiently broad to be able to detect changes over time. A 6-step option scale, on the other hand, allows for greater differentiation in attitude/self-concept evaluation and is likely to deliver data that can better reveal temporal changes.

Subsequent to the initial data collection, Cronbach's Alpha testing was carried out for the five scales. Scores of .72 or better were obtained.⁸

Analyses

The data obtained in Studies I and II were analysed using parametric tests. In Study I, in order to measure changes on the variables across the three school grades (4-6), One Way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) was used. One way ANOVA can be used to assess the significance of the differences in the means of more than two groups by separating variance that is due to differences between individuals *within* groups, and variance due to differences *between* groups (Dörnyei, 2007; Salkind, 2000).

Independent and dependent samples t-tests were employed in both studies. T-tests are used to measure differences in the means of two groups (Dörnyei, 2007; Salkind, 2000). Independent samples are used to compare the results of groups that are independent of one another, while dependent samples are used to compare two sets of scores for the same group (Dörnyei, 2007; Salkind, 2000). In Study I, independent samples t-tests were used to assess the differences in the scores of girls and boys, while dependent samples t-tests were used to assess the differences in the scores on measures of L2 English and the student's chosen L3. In Study II independent samples t-tests were used to assess the differences in the scores of girls and boys, while dependent samples t-tests were used to assess the differences in the scores obtained in grade 6 and again in grade 9.

⁸ Note, for the integrative orientation for English a lower alpha was obtained. This measure is not however included in the data used in this thesis.

In Study II simple and multiple regression analyses were carried out. Regression analyses compute the degree to which two variables are related to one another by means of a correlation coefficient. The correlation coefficients can be used as the basis for making predictions about the value of one variable based on the value of another (Salkind, 2000). For the simple regression analyses the dependent (criterion) variables were scores in grade 9 for Attitudes to / Interest in FLs, the Ideal L3 Self and Attitudes to the L3 learning situation. The independent (predictor) variables were scores on the same measures in grade 6. For the multiple regression analyses the dependent (criterion) variable was Attitudes to the Learning Situation in grade 9 and the independent (predictor) variables were Attitudes to / Interest in FLs and the Ideal L3 Self in grade 9 and the Attitudes to the Learning Situation in grade 6.

Study III

The purpose of Study III was to assess the impact of L2 English on L3 motivation. In critically appraising the concept of interference (Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005b; Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2009) it is suggested that Markus and Nurius' (1986) theory of the working self-concept can be used to understand ways in which one ideal language self can exert an impact on another.

Participants and procedures

The sample in Study III from which data were obtained (N=169) is the same 6th grade cohort who were surveyed in May 2005 (Study I) and again in May 2008 (Study II). In Study III the data is the same as that previously obtained in Study II, together with additional data (Instrument B, see below) obtained during the second administration (May 2008). The procedures for obtaining the data are described above and will not be repeated here.

Because 13 students (7.1% – 3 girls and 10 boys) could not be traced, data were only obtained for 169 students. Of these, 66 (39.1%) had initially embarked on learning Spanish, 27 (16.0%) had opted for German, 23 (13.6%) chose French and 32 (18.9%) sign language. A group of 18 students (10.7%) had not begun learning a new language. Data on language choice is missing for three (1.7%) students.

Prior to carrying out the statistical analyses of the data, two selection stages took place. First, all those students no longer engaged in L3 learning (44), either because they had never started or had dropped out, were excluded. Descriptive

data on reasons for not starting/dropping out were obtained for this group. Thereafter, pupils still learning sign language (24) were also excluded, thus leaving 101 pupils still learning L3 French, German and Spanish.

Measurements and analyses

In addition to the previously described instrument (Instrument A), a new measure (Instrument B) was developed for the purpose of the study. Instrument A was the same instrument used in Studies I and II and is described above.

Instrument B

Instrument B is comprised of a series of 8 items designed to measure whether, and if so the extent to which, students' L3 self-concepts are appraised with reference to an L2 (English) self-concept. The instrument is comprised of three scales each of which corresponds to one of the three elements of the L2 Motivational Self System (Dörnyei, 2005, 2009a), that is to say the Ideal L2 self, the Ought-to L2 self and the L2 learning experience.

For the *Ideal L2 self* component (2 items), the aim was to capture the extent to which the individual's idealised L3 self-image – the L3 speaker they would like to become – is appraised referentially with their L2 English-speaking self-concept. Put another way, the aim here is to measure the extent to which the student's L2 English-speaking self-concept functions as a yardstick or referent by which the L3 self-concept is evaluated and interpreted. These questions asked students to envisage communicative situations in the future where a choice of codes – English and their L3 – was available.

For the *Ought-to self* component (3 items), the questions focused on students' perceptions of the language attributes they felt they needed in the future in order to meet social expectations and to avoid potentially undesirable outcomes. These questions were designed to capture the students' anticipated future social utility of communicative skills in the L3 in the context (it is implicitly assumed) of superior skills in L2 English. In this way the L2 English self forms a yardstick against which the L3 self is appraised.

Finally, the questions for the *L2 learning experience* component (3 items) were designed to capture the situational presence and effect of the student's L2 English self-concept in L3 learning contexts. When operationalised in these questions, the intention was to capture the impact of L2 English on students' L3

executive motives. The items and scales in Instrument B are set out in full in Study III.

The item pool and piloting

Initially, about twenty questions were formulated, several for each component. In the next step, the questions, written in Swedish, were distributed to research colleagues and teachers familiar with learning/teaching more than one L2, but not acquainted with the possible selves paradigm in motivation research. Discussions about the meaning, content and phrasing of the questions took place. As a result, three questions were selected for each component.

A questionnaire containing these questions and employing 6-point Likert rating scales was created and piloted in a class of 15 9th grade students not participating in the main study. On completion of the questionnaire, the students were asked to explain how they had understood the questions and to attempt to describe the mental processes that had taken place when thinking about the statements in relation to the responses they indicated on the rating scales. Simply put, they were asked to ‘think out loud’. Although the students reported that they had no difficulties in understanding the nature and content of the questions, based on what they said, some of the phrasing was nevertheless modified.

Cronbach’s alpha testing was carried out for the instrument as a whole and separately for each of the three dimensions. For the Ideal L2 Self scale, one of the items resulted in an unacceptably low alpha score. Because the formulation of the item was poor and the phrasing used might have been difficult for students to interpret, it was removed. The alpha for the instrument with the item removed was .83.

Analyses

In order to measure the degree to which students made reference to L2 English mean scores were calculated. In order to measure the impact of negative L3-to-L2 self-appraisals, simple and multiple regression analyses were conducted (for a discussion of regression techniques see above). For the simple regression analyses, the score on Instrument B was the independent (predictor) variable and the scores on three components of Instrument A, namely the ‘Interest in Foreign Languages’ scale (3 items), ‘the Ideal FL self’ scale (3 items), and ‘the Learning Situation’ (1 item) together (in sum) formed the dependent (criterion) variable. To ascertain whether there might be any differences in the impact of

the L2 on L3 motivation between girls and boys, gender was added as a dummy variable in a subsequent multiple regression analysis.

Study IV

The purpose of Study IV was to examine the processes of cognition in L3 learning situations where learners become aware of L2 English and, in particular, to examine the ways in which the L3 self might be affected. The method employed involved semi-structured interviews with participants selected using a maximum variation sampling strategy (Dörnyei, 2007). The results are presented in the form of four individual case studies.

Participants and procedures

Based on the results of the regression analyses in Study III, non-hierarchical clustering techniques were applied to the data set in an attempt to identify groups of learners sharing similarities in terms of the effect of L2 English on L3 motivation. An approach that focuses on motivational learner types has been used by Csizér and Dörnyei (2005b) in their analysis of the Hungarian cohort data and they regard cluster analysis as an effective statistical procedure for the identification of different learner profiles (see also Dörnyei, 2011). In non-hierarchical clustering an initial step involves the predetermining of a number of possible groupings. This is a process that draws heavily on both theoretical and contextual knowledge (Dörnyei, 2007).

On visual examination, the regression scatterplot seemed to have clearly identifiable clusters at each end of the regression line. The distribution of the sample members in the middle was however less clear, although there did seem to be a grouping distinction above and below the regression line. Here it was speculated that the independent variable, L3-to-L2 referencing, was having a different effect on the dependent variable, L3 motivation, meaning that any potential clusters to emerge here would be of theoretical interest. Using the K-means technique, a four group model was initially tested on the dataset. Thereafter five and six group models were also tested. The best result in terms of the concentration of members around central nodes was achieved with the five-cluster model. In this model two groupings (1 and 4) represent the two respective extremes visible in the scatterplot – high L3 motivation and low L3-to-L2 referencing (group 1), and low L3 motivation and high L3-to-L2 referencing (group 4). In the middle part of the plot, where a majority of the cases could be found, as predicted two groupings emerged in the model. In

group 2 the students had higher L3 motivation and the L2 had less of an impact. In group 3, while the degree of L3-to-L2 referencing was broadly similar, L3 motivation was lower than in group 2. Finally, the fifth group (n=4), although forming a statistically significant cluster, was disregarded due to the lack of an obvious nucleus and difficulty in theoretically accounting for its presence. The scatter-plot is reproduced in Study IV.

In a second stage a number of students from each cluster were invited to participate in an interview. Students from four different programs (Natural Science, Social Sciences, Child and Youth Studies and Technology) were invited to take part. From group 1 (N=10, F=5, M=5) 2 girls and 2 boys were interviewed. From group 2 (N=52, F=39, M=13) 7 girls were interviewed. From group 3 (N=28, F=2, M=26) 3 boys were interviewed. Finally, from group 4 (N=6, F=0, M=6) 4 boys were interviewed. I conducted all of the interviews at the students' school. Most took place in periods of free time between lessons. The interviews, which lasted for between 35 and 65 minutes, were conducted in Swedish using an interview schedule, a description of which is included in the following section. All of the interviews were digitally recorded. In accordance with the interpretive phenomenological analysis (IPA) methodology described by Smith and Eatough (2007), verbatim transcripts were made using a simplified form of transcription without prosodic features of talk.

Finally, in a third stage, one student from each group was selected to be re-interviewed. Selection was made on the basis that, i) the student had agreed to take part in a further interview, and ii) in engaging with the interview questions, she/he had provided rich and varied responses. The purpose of the second interview (which lasted on average for 20 minutes) was to follow up and clarify focal issues from the initial interview. Transcripts were made and added to the initial transcript. In the subsequent analyses both transcripts were treated as a single set of data (Eatough, Smith & Shaw, 2008).

Measurements and analyses

In the analysis of the interview data a phenomenological approach inspired by Ricoeur's (1970) notion of the 'double hermeneutic' and drawing on techniques associated with the Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) methodology (Smith & Osborn, 2003) was employed. In the reporting of the results, each of the four focal learners is presented as a single case, each constituting an exemplar of a more general phenomenon (Willig, 2008). As an approach this offers the opportunity to test the applicability of theory – in this case the theorised

processes of cross-referencing between the L3 and L2 – using real-world data. In so doing, the aim is to generate novel insights by combining “descriptions of what is going on” with “attempts to deploy explanatory concepts” (Willig, 2008, p. 78).

In accordance with Ushioda’s (2009) contention that participants in SLA research should be understood not simply as language learners but as individuals located in particular cultural and historical contexts, effort was made when conducting the interviews to try to remain sensitive to the constitutive relationship between person and context. In order to understand each individual as unique and as having a unique perception of her-/himself as a future L3/L2 speaker/user, the early part of each interview was devoted to gleaning biographical insights and to asking about current L3/L2 use, current L3/L2 exposure, experiences of formal as well as informal L3/L2 learning, and the reasons for choosing and persevering with the L3. In the remainder of the interview participants were asked to consider a number of scenarios in the form of vignettes that placed them in situations where the L2 self might be cognitively active in L3 learning situations. To enhance plausibility, the situations were contextualized to suit the background and L3 experiences of each individual participant (based on insights gained in the early part of the interview). To give an example of this sensitivity to context, one of the participants at an early stage of the interview told me that he was a Real Madrid fan. This enabled me, later on in the interview, to mould questions about his current use of Spanish (e.g. in reading online match reports) and made it possible to create more realistic scenarios involving imagined future L3 use (meeting Real fans in a Madrid café for a pre-match drink).

Although the situations portrayed in the vignettes included both in-school L3 learning contexts as well as instances involving contact with the L3 in naturalistic encounters, in the analyses of the data presented in Study IV focus is primarily on participants’ responses to the classroom vignette. The scenario presented reads as follows:

OK, here is a fictional situation. There is a student in your class – we can call her/him Emma/Emil. And just like you she/he is learning [Spanish/French/German]. You are sitting close to each other in a [Spanish/French/German] lesson and you are working with a text that you have been asked to read. Suddenly she/he sits up, sighs and, thinking out loud, says “Shit, this would have been so much better if it had been in English. This stuff that we are doing now would

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have been so much easier if it had been in English. No, it is *much* more fun reading something in English.

Students were then asked to consider the following questions:

Do you recognize this type of situation?

Do you sometimes make these types of mental comparison?

Does this happen often?

Can you tell me a little about how you think in such situations?

The schedule, including the vignettes, was piloted with students of a similar age and background not participating in the study. While the structure of the interview was guided by the interview schedule, following the advice of Smith and Eatough (2007), departures were made whenever interesting topics emerged in the participants' responses. In this way, each of the participants was actively involved in shaping the direction of the interview.

Chapter Six:

Methodological considerations

In addition to discussing the methodological issues involved in the design of the four studies, I will also address method weaknesses, primarily as regards the construction of the instruments.

Design issues in longitudinal research

The simultaneous cross-sectional design of Study I

The purpose of both Study I and Study II was to map students' motivational trajectories over time. While in Study II an orthodox longitudinal design was employed where a single cohort was surveyed on more than one occasion with a time interval in between (Keeves, 1994), the design in Study I was cross-sectional. Here the temporal element was achieved by simultaneously surveying three groups of respondents who in all respects were identical except for their age and period of time spent in school. However, as Keeves (1994) makes clear, this type of design is only valid if, first, the samples have been drawn from the same population and, secondly, the factors influencing the changes in the variables have remained constant across the period of time during which the different age samples were exposed to them. The fundamental assumption underlying the design in Study I is therefore that any differences observed are influenced by an intervening factor, namely the introduction of L3 instruction at the beginning of grade 6. The credibility of this assumption – i.e. that it is the influence of L3 instruction which impacts on the scores of the grade 6 cohort – is enhanced by the inclusion in the sample of the grade 4 cohort. When Bonferroni post hoc testing was carried out, it was found, for example, that there were significant differences in interest in foreign languages between the end of grade 5 and the end of grade 6, but not between grades 4 and 5.

The simultaneous cross-sectional design of Study I is, however, not without its weaknesses. In particular it is impossible to be entirely certain that the differences observed might not be the result of cohort effects (Keeves, 1994; MacIntyre et al., 2002). In other words, the fact that the young people in the

different independent samples might have been exposed to different social influences and that it is the effects of these influences that are reflected in the results cannot be discounted.

The prospective panel design of Study II

Panel attrition

Panel attrition is a problem inherent in any longitudinal design using a prospective approach (Menard, 2002). In Study II (n=169) the panel attrition of just over seven per cent is acceptable. Nevertheless, the characteristics of the omitted group need to be ascertained. In the group of students surveyed in the May 2005, but not in May 2008, boys were overrepresented. When the May 2005 data for these students were examined it was found that they had lower than average scores on interest in FLs, attitudes to the L3 learning situation and the ideal L3 self. Because these students had lower than average scores on the first administration, their omission from the study is unlikely to have affected the findings.

The use of the same instrument

An important assumption in longitudinal research is that the measurements taken at different points in time or, in concurrently obtained cross-sectional samples, across different age groups, are the same (Keeves, 1994). Although there are procedures – such as linear scaling – that can be used to standardise, and thus compare, scores on different measures (Keeves, 1994), in the current research the same instrument was used in grades 4, 5 and 6 (Study I) and again when the grade 6 cohort reached grade 9 (Study II). However, there is at least one substantial disadvantage in adopting this approach; an instrument that may be optimal for one age group may not necessarily be so for another. As explained above, the items and rating scales of the instrument were designed in a way that would be comprehensible to the youngest students in the sample (grade 4, average age=10.5). This meant, firstly, that the instrument could not be too long. Dörnyei (2003) suggests that in L2 research generally, due to the low degree of salience for respondents, the optimal length for questionnaires will be rather short, often not more than 4-6 pages in length and taking no more than 30 minutes to complete. When surveying children as young as 10, these parameters need to be further reduced. This leads to a trade-off situation where sacrifices in terms of validity – specifically the number of items that can be used to measure a particular construct – are made as a means of minimising the

reliability problem of fatigue effects associated with questionnaires that respondents perceive as lengthy and, perhaps, not particularly meaningful.

The sample parameters

The setting of the sample parameters was of particular importance in Study I where the aim was to map out students' L3 motivational trajectories between grades 4 and 6. As Menard (2002) makes clear, when using a cross-sectional design to measure change over time, it is imperative that groups of cases are comparable across the different samples, since any deviation between the independent samples could seriously compromise the comparability of the data, rendering them useless for longitudinal analysis. The chances of obtaining overall homogeneity would, it was reasoned, be increased by the exclusion of smaller schools whose lower intakes, compared with larger schools, might mean that the demographic characteristics of the admitted students would be more prone to fluctuation from one year to another. For this reason smaller schools (which in the current case were located either outside the urban area or were independently operated) were excluded from the sample.

Another sample parameter was related to the purpose of the study. As Dörnyei points out, a good sample will be similar to the target population – in this case 4th, 5th and 6th grade students in Sweden – both in terms of important general characteristics, as well as in all of the more “specific features that are known to be significantly related to the items included on the questionnaire” (Dörnyei, 2003, p. 71). Since the primary research objective was to investigate L3 motivational trajectories, and because there are findings that suggest that bilingual children might have more positive attitudes to FLs, and might value FL competency and plurilingualism more highly than monolingual children (Cortés, 2002), schools with large numbers of bilingual children were excluded from the sample.

Instrument design

As Dörnyei and Ushioda (2011) make clear, every survey requires the development of its own unique instrument appropriate for the setting in which it is to be used and for the sample to whom it is to be administered. While this will frequently require new bespoke items designed specifically for the research objectives, Dörnyei (2003, 2007) also recommends the inclusion of items ‘borrowed’ from tried and tested instruments in the published literature. Quoting Sudman and Bradburn (1983), he suggests that in the construction of

questionnaires, this type of ‘plagiarism’ can be regarded as a virtue. While the instrument used in Studies I and II, and the instrument measuring the criterion variable in Study III (Instrument A) is very much of this later ‘plagiarised’ type, the instrument measuring the predictor variable in Study III (Instrument B) is custom-built. The methodological issues involved in the design of these instruments will now be discussed.

The instrument in Studies I, II (instrument A in Study III)

Design

Dörnyei (2007) has suggested that the majority of questionnaires used in applied linguistics are somewhat *ad hoc* instruments and that instruments with well-documented good psychometric properties are rare. In the field of motivation one particular instrument, Gardner’s Attitude and Motivation Test Battery (the AMTB) (Gardner, 1985) has, by some distance, been the most frequently used. In numerous studies the AMTB has been shown to possess good psychometric properties (Gardner, 1985; Masgoret & Gardner, 2003). Originally developed by Gardner and his team in Canada to measure the L2 motivation of French- and English-speakers, the AMTB has been translated into various languages and used in a range of different settings (Masgoret & Gardner, 2003). In many of these cases modifications to the original instrument have been made and a condensed version – the mini AMTB – has also been produced (Masgoret & Gardner, 2003).

Instrument A is based on the AMTB and employs scales measuring *attitudes to/interest in foreign languages*, *attitudes to the learning situation* for English and FLs, as well as *integrative* and *instrumental* orientations for English. At the same time, and in recognition of the conceptual shift beginning to take place in second language learning motivation at the time when the research was started in early 2005, the instrument also includes two scales designed to measure an *ideal L2 (English) self* and an *ideal L3 (FL) self*.

Instrument A was designed in February and March of 2005, piloted in April and administered in May. Although aware of Dörnyei’s critique of the concept of integrativeness and proposal that second language motivation could better be conceptualised in terms of aspired-to possible selves (Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002; Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005a), I was not yet acquainted with the L2 Motivational

Self-System model (Dörnyei, 2005).⁹ Consequently the instrument reflects the influence of both the social-psychological paradigm as well as the now dominant L2-self paradigm. Had the research been carried out a year later, the instrument would undoubtedly have been different. However, in terms of the first of the two research aims embodied in this thesis – to map out secondary school students' L3 motivational trajectories between grades 4 to 9 and to examine these against the backdrop of similar trajectories for L2 English – the instrument nevertheless fulfils the function of providing a description of changes in motivation over time.

In Study III, because the *Interest in foreign languages*, *Attitudes to the learning situation* and *Ideal FL self* function together as a summed measure of the dependent (criterion) variable of overall L3 motivation, the problem of the lack of conceptual stringency in the instrument is not detrimental to validity.

Construct validity I: Attitudes to/Interest in FLs and the Ideal L3-self scales

The Attitudes to/Interest in FLs scale is designed to assess respondents' interests in foreign languages. In Studies I and II it is used in assessing attitudes to/interest in the L3. However, the wording of the items does not exclude English and the scale must therefore be regarded as measuring a general interest in foreign languages. A similar problem affects the ideal L3-self scale. While the headings on the questionnaire and indeed the first question (17) in the scale indicate that the focus is on languages other than English, the two subsequent questions (18 and 19) could be interpreted by respondents as including English. Both problems are unfortunate and may have validity implications.

Construct validity II: the Ideal L2/L3-self scales

There is an additional issue of construct validity regarding the ideal L2/L3-self scales of Instrument A. The underlying rationale for these items was the notion, particularly for children aged between 10 and 13, that a positive identification with and admiration for people who could speak English (Ideal L2 Self) and other languages in addition to Swedish and English (Ideal L3 self) would be closely related to the individual's own aspirations. Simply put, the assumption was that if speaking English or being able to speak languages other than Swedish or English was 'cool', they too would want to do it. If they admired people who

⁹ Csizér and Dörnyei's (2005a) article appeared in the March volume of *The Modern Language Journal*. Dörnyei's book *The Psychology of the Language Learner* (2005) was not published until later in the year (November 2005).

could do so, then they too would like to be able to do this at a future point in time. In more recent studies the ideal self has been captured by items that involve the sense of a vision or projection into the future where the individual imagines her/himself speaking/using the target language (see e.g. Csizér & Kormos, 2009; Ryan, 2009; Taguchi et al., 2009). Nevertheless, the items may well tap into the domain envisaged by the ideal-self component. As Dörnyei (2005) explains, “L2 speakers are the closest parallels to the idealized L2-speaking self, which suggests that the more positive our disposition toward these L2 speakers, the more attractive our idealized L2 self” (Dörnyei, 2005, p. 102). Further, in reference to Norton’s (2001) concept of an ‘imagined community’, Dörnyei suggests that “our idealized L2-speaking self can be seen as a member of an imagined L2 community whose mental construction is partly based on our real-life experiences of members of the community/communities speaking the particular L2 in question and partly on our imagination” (Dörnyei, 2005, p. 102).

Instrument B in Study III

Design

The challenge in designing the items involved a range of issues. First, for the ideal and ought-to dimensions, it was necessary to encapsulate a projection into the future and potential mental accessing of a future situation involving exposure to the L3. Secondly, it was also necessary to access the hypothesised processes of cognitive appraisal within the working self-concept. Finally, the items needed to be sufficiently succinct to avoid the problem of over-elaboration (Dörnyei, 2003; Oppenheim, 1992).

As Dörnyei (2009a) emphasises, the unique contribution that Markus and Nurius’ (1986) theory of possible selves makes to motivation research, and which makes it particularly suited to the study of second language learning, is the integration of imagination with the self-concept. It is the dream or fantasy of a future state or situation, which in the person’s imagination is visualised and appears real, that forms the goal towards which motivated behaviour is directed. Thus a measurement of the working self-concept necessarily involves (i) capturing the image of a self-in-the-future, and (ii) the way in which this might be tempered or appraised in relation to another self-in-the-future that is contemporaneously active in cognition. Thus the items used to measure this need to have dual components.

In his discussion on the wording of questionnaire items, Oppenheim (1992) emphasises that it is important to be aware of the difficulties respondents may have in understanding the question being put to them and forming an “inner picture” of their response or reaction to it (p. 121). The creation of an inner picture of the way that an awareness of the L2 might impact on the way in which the L3 self is appraised involves, first, the recognition of a situation where this might take place and, secondly, an awareness of the type of cognitive processes that might occur in such a situation. To be successful, the items must enable the respondent to make both of these recognitions. At the same time, questionnaire items need to be clear, succinct and uncomplicated. Dörnyei, for example, suggests that “wherever possible, questionnaire items should be relatively short, rarely exceeding 20 words. They should preferably be written in simple sentences rather than compound or complex sentences, and each should contain only one complete thought” (Dörnyei, 2003, p. 52).

Clearly, the two demands – the creation of an inner picture of a two-stage process, in a concisely-worded item that contains just one thought – are difficult to reconcile. Compromises in respect of both of these goals have inevitably been made.

Reliability and construct validity

The instrument comprises three scales designed to represent *the ideal self*, the *ought-to self* and the *L2 learning experience* dimensions of Dörnyei’s (2005, 2009a) Motivational Self System model. The items in the first two scales are all future-oriented in that the ideal and ought selves are similar to each other since both relate to the attainment of a desired end-state (Dörnyei, 2009a). However, in terms of the generation of motivational force they differ. While ideal selves – which as self-guides are more internalised than ought selves (Dörnyei, 2009a) – have a *promotion* focus, ought self-guides have a *prevention* focus, the aim being to avoid potentially negative outcomes (Dörnyei, 2009a). While the focus of the items in the Ideal L2 Self scale are indeed promotive (speaking the L3 in the future), the preventative focus of the items in the Ought-to L2 Self scale is not equally prominent. Indeed, the focus of these items is directed more towards internalised ought selves, where social expectations and norms – such as being able to function in L3 environments in the future – have become incorporated into a more idealised self. The lack of items focusing on less-internalised, more short-term aspects of the ought-to self, such as the desire to pass a test or get a good grade, means that the measures delivered by the instrument are weighted

more strongly in the direction of internalised self-guides and learning experiences.

Study IV

The choice of IPA as a method

Interpretive phenomenological analysis (IPA) aims to explore lived experience. As a research methodology it is normally associated with forms of clinical psychology where the aim is to discern and perceive significant events in people's lives. Its focus is on the individual's personal *perception* of an event or object and it does not seek to offer an objective account of the event or object itself (Smith & Eatough, 2007). As a methodology IPA emphasises processes of sense-making on the part both of the participant and the researcher – the so-called 'double hermeneutic' – and has cognition as a central analytic concern. It is for this reason that an IPA-inspired approach lends itself to the study of the ways in which L2 English might have an impact on the L3 self in that, i) the focus of enquiry here is on *processes of cognition* that take place within the working self-concept in situations of exposure to the L3, and ii) it anticipates the situation where, in the research process, the participant is actively engaged in *processes of sense-making*. Because the participants in the study cannot be presumed to have reflected much – if at all – on previous occasions about the impact of L2 English on their motivation to learn French, German or Spanish, with its commitment to the combination of first- (participant) and second- (researcher) order sense-making, IPA provides a potentially rewarding tool with which to approach the research question.

In addition to these central analytic concerns, an IPA-inspired method (Smith & Eatough, 2007) is regarded as suitable for the purpose of the study in the following salient respects:

- IPA studies can be concerned with questions which are apparently quite particular or well defined.
- IPA studies often make use of purposive sampling as a means of finding a closely defined group or groups for whom the research question will be particularly salient.
- IPA studies are often conducted with relatively small sample sizes.
- IPA studies are concerned with theoretical rather than empirical generalizability. The value of the findings is thus assessed in terms of the

body of theoretical literature on the issue in question. IPA studies can thus be used in the generation of theory.

- In IPA studies the analysis always begins with a detailed reading of a single case. In certain situations a sample size of one case is sufficient; in others the examination of “convergences and divergences within a set of three cases would be the best way to proceed” (Smith & Eatough, 2006, p. 328).
- Irrespective of whether individuals are presented as single cases or in conjunction with other cases, in an IPA study the individual is always prominent.
- IPA recognizes that any analytic account will be partial. It should never be assumed that the findings in any way represent the final word on a topic.
- The generation of data in an IPA-inspired study favours the use of semi-structured interviews. Thus it becomes possible to follow up on interesting and important issues during the interview. It is also possible that the interview might move into an area or direction that had not been anticipated by the interviewer but which can be extremely illuminating to the research question(s). For the same reasons, follow-up interviews are also characteristic of IPA studies.
- A semi-structured approach allows the participant to become an active agent in shaping the nature and course of the interview.
- A successful IPA interview will shift between the general and the specific fairly seamlessly.
- Even when presenting an analysis from a number of participants, researchers drawing on the IPA methodology will endeavour to convey some of the details of the individual experiences of the participants.

Finally, it is important to point out that IPA should not be seen as a prescriptive approach but more as a “set of flexible guidelines which can be adapted by individual researchers in light of their research aims” (Smith & Eatough, 2007, p. 45). Thus, even though in many ways features of Study IV are similar to a typical IPA study, there are nevertheless a number of differences.

First, and most importantly, IPA studies tend to have a focus on ‘big questions’ that are of considerable importance to the participant and her/his identity. IPA questions tend thus to tap into either ‘hot’ (emotive issues and dilemmas) or ‘cool’ (longer term reflections on life) cognition (Smith & Eatough, 2007). While this is not the case in the Study IV, the phenomenological element central to

IPA is nevertheless well suited to the exploration of the self-concept (see e.g. Eriksson, 2006, 2007).

The second major difference between the approach adopted in Study IV and a more conventional IPA study concerns the analytic stages involved in examining the participants' experiences. Although not always, IPA researchers will often try to generate overarching themes when engaging with the data (Smith & Osborn, 2003). This was not attempted in Study IV due to the prior identification of clusters of students. Had students been randomly selected from the sample then a different approach might have been adopted. First, a larger number of individual cases would have been focused on in the analyses and data from these cases would have been presented in the written account. Secondly, the generation of themes would have been attempted. Thus, as Smith and Eatough (2006) suggest for studies with just a few participants, the approach adopted in Study IV involved each case being analysed in a similar way to the first.

The presentation of the participants as cases

As Willig (2008) points out, a case study is characterized not by the methods used to collect and analyse the data, but rather by its focus on single units of analysis. Case studies come in a number of different varieties and forms. The design favoured here is one that is *instrumental* where each case constitutes an exemplar of a more general phenomenon. Here, the aim is to identify the "ideal case to grasp the object of study" (Hamel, 1993, p. 43 as cited in Willig, 2008, p. 79). A single-cases design is deemed particularly appropriate in that, as Willig (2008) points out, such designs give the researcher the opportunity to test the applicability of theory using real-world data. The study can further be classified as *pragmatic* in that both the data collection and analyses are guided by specific research questions and have the aim of generating a set of elaborated and/or revised theoretical propositions (Willig, 2008). Finally, Willig (2008) differentiates between case studies that are descriptive in nature and those that are explanatory. While a descriptive case study provides a detailed description of a phenomenon in its context, an explanatory case study aims to generate explanations for the phenomena identified. Since an explanatory study combines "descriptions of what is going" with "attempts to deploy explanatory concepts" (Willig, 2008, p. 78), the current study should be regarded as *explanatory*.

In terms of the role of theory, Willig (2008) makes two important observations. First, the selection of cases to study is almost invariably the result of a theoretical understanding of the phenomenon in focus combined with the questions that

the researcher wishes to explore. Thus theory features strongly in the design of the study. Secondly, case studies have relevance for the generation of theory in that insights derived from the study of a case(s) can be used either to test existing theory or as a catalyst for the development of new theoretical directions. In analysing the contribution that a case study can make in the generation and refinement of theory, Willig suggests that:

When used to generate new theory, case studies can facilitate conceptual refinement of emerging theoretical formulations or they can lead to the discovery of new insights and interpretations. For example, the researcher's immersion in the detail and specificity of an *intrinsic case study* can give rise to the formulation of an entirely new hypothesis about the processes involved in the case. Alternatively, a *multiple-case study* of an instrumental nature allows the researcher to consider a series of cases in relation to one another in order to develop a conceptual framework that accounts for them all. (Willig, 2008, p. 81) (emphasis in the original)

While the approach adopted in the current research closely resembles Willig's example of a multiple-case study of an instrumental nature, thus permitting the possible development of an overarching conceptual framework, the opportunity presented by an in-depth examination and interpretation of the participants' sense-making to revise, reconceptualise or indeed develop a new hypothesis about the processes at play should not be discounted.

A criterion for evaluating quality in case studies: novel insights in emerging fields

According to Yin (2003) case studies should be significant, complete, and engaging. Further, they should display significant evidence and consider alternative perspectives. While recognizing that case studies have become increasingly popular in applied linguistics due to the fact that they are inherently engaging, Duff emphasises that the quality of a case study rests on its ability to develop novel insights in emerging fields:

[A]bove all, case studies must contribute to knowledge in the field. They should be timely and substantive, and help challenge, refine, or illustrate existing perspectives and theory. (Duff, 2008, p. 174)

Validity

According to Gall, Gall and Borg (2003), the appropriate criterion for evaluating validity in case study research within the interpretive paradigm is interpretive validity. This they define as "judgments about the credibility of an interpretive

researcher's knowledge claims" (p. 462). Cohen Manion and Morrison (2007) describe interpretive validity as the ability of the research to capture the meaning, interpretations, terms and intentions that situations and events have for the participants *in their terms*. This equates well with the central empathic concern of IPA and the ambition in IPA-inspired studies to present the participants as individual cases and to allow prominent space in the writing up of results to their sense-making processes (Smith & Eatough, 2007). Thus the ambition in Study IV has been to devote as much space as possible to the voices of the four participants.

Generalizability

According to Smith and Eatough (2007) the value of an enriched case study in casting light on a phenomenon is twofold. Not only is the type of detail that is gained about a particular person and her response in given situations of value, but there is also an opportunity to discover connections between different aspects of the account that is rendered. Moreover, by delving deeper into the particular, we are in a position to become closer to the general:

Thus in some ways the detail of the individual also brings us closer to significant aspects of the general; connecting with his/her individual unique life also connects with a shared humanity. (Smith & Eatough, 2007, p. 40)

Additionally, Smith and Eatough (2007) make the point that in interpretive/phenomenological research it is possible to think in terms of "theoretical rather than empirical generalizability". In this case the value of the study is assessed with reference to the body of extant literature and, indeed, personal and professional experience.

Reliability

According to Duff (2008) although consensus about the concept of reliability and its applicability to qualitative research is lacking, most researchers consider consistency in sampling, interviewing and the procedures involved in data analysis to be of central importance in rigorously conducted research. However, as she points out, there is much greater disagreement on the issue of the *replicability* of findings. While Gall et al. (2003) articulate the widely held view that reliability can be determined in terms of "the extent to which other researchers would arrive at similar results if they studied the same case using exactly the same procedures as the first researcher" (Gall et al. 2003, p. 635) this, Duff explains, is contested by many interpretive paradigm researchers. For example

Merriam (1998) argues that in interpretive research the pursuit of replicability is a chimera in that, due to the plurality of possible interpretations of what is taking place, “there is no benchmark by which to take repeated measures and establish reliability in a traditional sense” (p. 205). Thus, rather than replicability, Merriam, along with Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggests that *dependability* and *consistency* are more appropriate criteria (Duff, 2008).

In IPA research, the quality criteria of dependability and consistency are encapsulated in the concept of the *audit trail*. As Smith and Osborn (2003) make clear, if the IPA researcher has been successful in preserving the integrity of the participant’s verbalizations and has been systematic in her/his interpretations, it should be possible for another, independent, researcher to track the analytic journey from the presentation of the results back to the data. This means that there is a need to document the procedures taken. To this end, and in order to make transparent the steps taken in the analytic process, a research log was maintained. This can function as a means of ensuring that the results presented would make sense to others (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Chapter Seven:

Results

For a detailed presentation of the results readers are referred to the individual studies. Here I will merely summarise those findings that relate directly to the purpose of the thesis. First I present findings from Studies I and II in which the trajectories of students' L3 (French, German, Spanish) selves between grades 4 to 9 are mapped out. These are compared with similar trajectories for L2 English selves and gender differences are highlighted. Thereafter I will present findings from Studies III and IV, the aim of which was to investigate the impact of L2 English on L3 motivation and to examine processes of cognition in situations in L3 learning where the learner is aware of L2 English.

The L3 self trajectories of girls and boys (Studies I and II)

Study I (Grades 4 – 6)

- No statistically significant changes in the scores for either girls or boys on the ideal L3 self scale were found across the three school grades. This was also the case for the ideal L2 (English) self scale. Statistically significant declines were however noted for variables measuring interest in foreign languages, attitudes to the L3 learning situation and future interest in FL learning.
- In school grades 4, 5 and 6 the scores of girls on the ideal L3 self scale were significantly higher than those of the boys. This was also the case for the ideal L2 (English) self scale.
- In grade 6 the scores for the ideal L3 self scale were significantly higher than for the ideal L2 (English) self scale.

Study II (Grades 6 – 9)

- Statistically significant changes were found for the scores of both girls and boys on the ideal L3 self scale. While the scores of the girls increased over the period, boys' scores decreased.

- The gender gap in girls' and boys' ideal L3 self scores observed in school grade 6 had widened substantially by grade 9.
- A similar though less marked pattern was found for girls' and boys' scores on the ideal L2 (English) self.
- Attitudes to the L3 learning situation decreased significantly for both girls and boys over the period.
- For the ideal L3 self scale and for the interest in L3s scale – but not for attitudes to the L3 learning situation – grade 6 scores, for both girls and boys, were found to be significant predictors of scores on the same dimensions in grade 9. Further, the ideal L3 self and interest in L3s scales in grade 9 were both significantly related to attitudes to the L3 learning situation.

Interference: The impact of the L2 English self on L3 motivation (Studies III and IV)

Study III

A number of hypotheses were created.

- Support was found for Hypothesis I that learners would have separate self-concepts as speakers/users of English and as speakers/users of French, German or Spanish, and that these would function in a constitutively referential manner.
- Support was also found for Hypothesis II that L3 (French, German, Spanish) self-concepts would be interpreted negatively in relation to L2 English self-concepts.
- Support was found for Hypothesis III that a high degree of negative L3-to-L2 self-concept cross-referencing would be associated with low L3 motivation.
- For Hypotheses II and III it was further hypothesised that these effects would be greater for boys. For Hypothesis II a non-significant difference in favour of boys was found. For Hypothesis III a statistically significant gender effect was revealed.

Study IV

A series of research questions were formulated.

- The first research question focused on whether the individuals interviewed were aware of L2 English in L3 learning situations. All four of

the participants indicated that there were occasions in L3 learning when they were aware of L2 English.¹⁰

- The second research question concerned the effect that an awareness of L2 English might have on the participants' L3 self-concepts. Three of the participants appeared able to counteract the potentially negative effect of the incursion of L2 English. The fourth participant reported that Spanish lessons were characterised by an apparently constant awareness of L2 English. This had a negative impact on his L3 Spanish self.
- The third research question asked whether the individuals offset any potentially negative effects of the L2 by recruiting positive self-knowledge. Three of the participants describe cognitive processes where, once L2 English has been invoked in cognition, the triggering of a counteracting response occurs.

¹⁰ In a conference presentation of results derived from all 17 participant interviews (Henry, 2011) I describe how one of the seventeen students in the dataset (girl, Group One) says that she does not recognise the situation in the scenario or any other situation where the L3 is in focus and mental comparisons are made with English. The focus of her learning behaviour is such that the type of catalytic micro-event needed to bring about the elicitation of her L2 English speaking/using self-conception quite simply never seems to occur.

Chapter Eight:

Discussion

The results are discussed here and in Chapter Nine. In this chapter the results are discussed from a research perspective. In Chapter Nine I will consider their implications from an educational perspective.

The chapter is divided into four sections. In the first section I will briefly reflect on the issue of the uniqueness of self-guides. Next I will move on to discuss the results of Studies I and II in relation to the evolution and development of L3 self-guides and the gendered nature of ideal language-speaking/using selves. Thereafter, in the third section, the focus of attention switches to the results of Studies III and IV and the issue of interference. In the final section the focus is on conceptual development and, in particular, the role that can be played by the working self-concept in linking together different research paradigms and approaches.

Reflections on the issue of the uniqueness of self-guides

In many senses the issue of whether, on the one hand, language learners have several different desired possible self images as speakers/users of different languages or, on the other, whether they have a single broad language-speaking ideal self with various specific facets (i.e. as an L2 and an L3 speaker/user) could be regarded as purely conceptual and easily circumvented in L2 motivation research designs (particularly where only one language is in focus and/or in purely quantitative studies). However, when the research focus is on motivation in plurilingual contexts, and especially when qualitative methods are adopted, the issue needs to be addressed. In such situations the examination of learner motivation necessarily extends beyond a single individual language. In a plurilingual context 'other languages' are more than just background factors and need to be properly accounted for in research designs. Thus, in addition to the need to develop conceptual clarity, addressing the question of the uniqueness of

self-guides is an important design-stage issue in that the position the researcher adopts will determine the analytical tools available.

The stance I have taken in Studies III and IV – i.e. the position where learners are regarded as having several distinct and separate desired possible images of themselves as future language speakers/users – is motivated by design advantages. Unlike Higgins (1987), Markus and her colleagues (Markus & Nurius, 1986, 1987; Markus & Kunda, 1986) in their identification of the ‘current’ or ‘working’ self-concept, offer a theoretical explanation of the ways in which self-guides interact and the consequences of such interactions for on-going behaviour. From the perspective of the current research objectives, an approach that views the individual as possessing distinctly different possible language selves which, at any particular point in time, may or may not be in harmony with one another, would appear to be the most rewarding. Let me explain what I mean. While the focus of Higgins’ theory of self-discrepancy assumes a more or less direct and unmediated effect of ideal and ought selves on behaviour, one of the most valuable features of Markus’ work is the recognition that desired and feared future selves will rarely impact directly on motivated behaviour. Rather, as Markus and Nurius (1986) make clear, the impact of possible selves on self-regulated behaviour is mediated via the interface of the working self-concept. It is, they explain, the combined effects of domain-specific possible selves, along with other contextually-salient self-concepts, self-knowledge and possible selves that are concurrently active in cognition and constituent within the working self-concept, that together determine the strength and direction of motivation at any particular point in time and in any particular situation.

This difference can also be seen in another way. The effects of the ideal and ought facets of the self central to Higgins’ self-discrepancy theory can perhaps be understood as more distal. That is to say, the effect of the desire to reduce the gap between current and future (ideal and ought) selves appears in Higgins’ (1987) broader theory of motivation and self-regulation at a more generalised level. The value of Markus and Nurius’ (1986) theory of possible selves, as I see it, lies in the fact that it can be used to study the effects of future self guides at both the macro and the micro levels. In a paper on the malleability of the self-concept, Markus and Kunda (1986) explain how the self is more than just a “generalized *average* of images and cognitions” (p. 858, my emphasis). Rather, they explain, the self needs to be understood as situationally-constructed, encompassing within its scope, “a wide variety of self-conceptions – the good

selves, the bad selves, the hoped-for selves, the feared selves, the not-me selves, the ideal selves, the possible selves, the ought selves” (Markus & Kunda, 1986, p. 858).

For scholars interested in the potential of possible selves as an analytical concept used in qualitative research where context is of central concern, this paper is of particular interest in that the authors provide an in-depth analysis of the types of interaction between different self-conceptions and self-guides. In particular, focus is directed to the mechanisms involved in the recalibration of self-concepts in response to changes in the micro-context.

My aim here though is not to offer a theoretically coherent argument in favour of either the Higgins or the Markus and Nurius approach; such would be substantially beyond the scope of this thesis. What I am arguing for however are the design advantages for studies – such as mine – that seek to examine the impact of contextual and ‘external’ factors, such as the influence of ‘other’ languages, offered by the ‘different desired possible self-images’ position. In accordance with the general social turn in SLA and the increasing importance of incorporating the constitutive function of context into research designs (Dörnyei, 2009b; Ushioda, 2009), it is my contention that, because of their identification of the interface of the working self-concept, the Markus and Nurius approach provides second language learning motivation researchers with an interest in unravelling contextual complexity with a more effective approach for investigating the effects of self-guides on motivated behaviour.

The evolution and development of self guides

As previously mentioned, Dörnyei and Ushioda (2009) identify the temporal evolution, change and development of future self-guides as an important area for future research. They make the point that while ideal and ought-to selves would seem to be fairly robust in that they concern self-relevant images that are constructed over time, further research is needed in order to discover how self-images come into being and subsequently evolve. In this respect it is interesting to note that this is an area that has received surprisingly little attention from ‘mainstream’ possible selves scholars. For example, Packard and Conway (2006) in their review of possible selves methodologies note that very few longitudinal studies have been undertaken.

Changes over time: Pre-instruction to end-of-program

In Study I it was found that students had high scores on measures of ideal language selves for both L2 English and L3s. For English, because of its prominent position in Swedish society (Simensen, 2010; Svenska Språknämnden, 2004), pervasive influence in the lives of young people (Sundqvist, 2009; Olsson, 2011), and the fact that it is regarded as a popular school subject (Oscarson & Apelgren, 2005), this finding is no way surprising. That the scores are so high for L3s is more noteworthy. Even if the measure may admittedly not do full justice to the complexity of the construct, it nevertheless indicates that the development of ideal language selves may begin to take place at an early age and in advance of instruction. This result thus accords well with those of Csizér and Dörnyei (2005b) who, in a sample of 13- and 14-year-old students about to embark on L2 learning, found that some learners had developed salient ideal L2 selves and others had developed strong affective dimensions of an ideal L2 self. It is also interesting that while attitudes to the L3 learning situation and attitudes to foreign languages are lower in grade 6 compared to grades 4 and 5, this is not the case for the measure of the ideal L3 self which remained constant across the three cohorts. The stability of the ideal L3 self is paralleled by the ideal L2 (English) self. This may suggest that for younger learners, once formed, future self-guides may be relatively robust, at least in the early stages of learning.

In Study II scores on the ideal L3 self measured across the sample continued to remain stable. This can be compared with interest in L3s and attitudes to the learning situation which declined between grades 6 and 9. This would again indicate that the affective dimension of the ideal self may be relatively stable. There is however an important difference in the trajectories across grades 4, 5 and 6 (Study I) and between grades 6 and 9 (Study II). While the respective ideal self trajectories of girls and boys did not show any variation across grades 4, 5 and 6, this was not the case between grades 6 and 9; here the trajectories of girls and boys differed. For both the ideal L2 and L3 self scales, girls' scores increased while those of boys declined.¹¹ Coupled with the finding in Study I that girls had higher scores than boys on the ideal L3 self measure in both grades 4 and 5 (as well as at the end of a year of instruction in grade 6), this result suggests that there may be systematic differences in the affective dimension of girls' and boys' motivation.

¹¹ For the ideal L3 self scale both the increase in girl's scores and the decrease in boy's scores are significant. For the ideal L2 self scale whilst the increase in girls' scores is significant, the decrease in boys' scores is not of a magnitude to achieve statistical significance.

Self-competence beliefs and gender role intensification

As Wigfield, Byrnes and Eccles (2006) have pointed out, several researchers have suggested that involvement in gender-role appropriate activities can be of increasing importance for early adolescents as they enter into puberty. Tendencies to conform to gender-appropriate norms and engage in gender-appropriate behaviours are often observed (Eccles, 1987). For example, young adolescents may have less positive beliefs about, and be more reluctant to become involved in activities they see as less appropriate to their own gender (Wigfield et al., 1991). It is this phenomenon that Hill and Lynch (1983) refer to as *gender role intensification*.

Turning to studies of gender differences in self-competence belief trajectories, it is interesting to note that while gender divergences have been found in a range of subject areas e.g. mathematics, sport and L1 (English) skills, it is only in language domains that initial divergences remain constant over time or increase. In all other studied domains the gaps tend to narrow. In considering the findings of their longitudinal study in relation to the body of literature on self-competence beliefs, Jacobs et al. (2002) speculate as to why, in language learning domains, gender differences appear to intensify:

A second important point that comes out of these findings is that language arts is clearly gender typed. This domain has not been the focus of attention as frequently as math or science, but the fact that self-competence beliefs in this domain become increasingly differentiated by gender with age suggests that the skills emphasized in language arts may be one factor to consider in future research. According to a recent report, most children master decoding and comprehension skills during the early grades, but by middle school they are typically interpreting what they read, making inferences, analyzing literature, and writing (National Center for Educational Statistics, 1999). At least one author (Brush, 1980) has suggested that girls prefer language arts because of the emphasis on interpretation and opinions that allows them to use their verbal skills. It is possible that girls' feelings of competence in language arts are related to other factors, however, such as reading more books (Hedges & Nowell, 1995), early gender differences in language development (Hyde & Linn, 1988), or general stereotypes about reading being a feminine activity (Eccles, Jacobs & Harold, 1990; Stein, 1971). (Jacobs et al. 2002, p. 524)

Although to my knowledge the type of future research envisaged by Jacobs and her colleagues has not yet been carried out in an L2 domain, their finding of a gendered trajectory in self-beliefs about L1 competency offers an interesting

perspective from which to assess the current findings of gender differences in students' ideal L2 and L3 selves.

As Oyserman (2007) explains, self-competence beliefs and possible selves have a similar function in identity-based conceptions of motivation. First, perceptions of self-competence are a prerequisite for the development of possible selves in any particular domain. Without an initial perception of having adequate competence to succeed with something it is difficult to see how future-oriented self-guides can be generated (Oyserman, 2007). Secondly, possible selves and perceptions of self-competence are both socially-constructed and, when motivationally effective, will involve similar processes of self-regulation (Bandura, 2001; Oyserman, 2007). Third, over the course of childhood and adolescence, self-related concepts become increasingly integrated (Harter, 1988). Consequently, factors that are likely to exert an effect on perceptions of self-competence are also likely to impact in a similar way on the development of future self-guides.

The results would thus suggest that idealized language identities as speakers/users of foreign languages, such as language-domain self-competence beliefs, differ as a function of the combination of gender and age. Hill and Lynch's (1983) concept of gender intensification would therefore seem to have resonance in the field of foreign language identities and ideal L3 and L2 selves.

Other theories that may explain the gender gap in ideal L3 and L2 selves

The construction and construal of possible selves

Along with the literature on the genderedness of self-competence beliefs, another set of self-related theories useful in analysing the results can be found in the work of Knox (2006) on the gendered nature of the construction and construal of possible selves. Drawing on the work of Cross and Madson (1997), Jordan et al. (1991), and Markus and Kitayama (1991), Knox explains how possible selves differ as a result of socialisation patterns in close social networks in that while males' selves define them as unique, independent and separate, others are strongly implicated in the selves constructed and construed by females. Knox (2006) suggests therefore that males are more likely to formulate hoped-for possible selves that position them as independent of and superior to others. Females, on the other hand, are more likely to develop possible selves that are characterised by interpersonal qualities.

In a previous paper not included in this thesis (Henry, 2010) I have suggested that males' and females' possible L2 selves may also be characterised, respectively, by independence and interdependence, and that this can explain some of the variance in scores found in affective dimensions. Because others are centrally implicated in the selves that females construct, this may mean that it is easier, in a foreign language learning context, for girls to internally construct imagined future situations involving communication with a foreign person than it is for boys. Similarly, the vision that they have of themselves as someone who communicates with other people in a foreign language – a form of possible self construal – may be more elaborate and lifelike than it is for boys. Over time, as programs of language learning progress, images of anticipated future communication may, for girls, become successively easier to visualise while the converse can be the case for boys. In this way the gender gap may further widen.

Classroom factors

While, as indicated in Study I and in the research of Csizér and Dörnyei (2005b), many language students are likely to have a well-formed notion of an ideal language speaking/using self before the start of formal instruction, their self-image will of course be affected by the gendered nature of patterns of social interaction and learning activities within the language classroom. As for example Carr and Pauwles (2006) have argued, the gender profiles of many foreign language classrooms are decidedly skewed towards girl-associated activities of 'talk'. In her theory of Identity-Based Motivation, Oyserman (Oyserman, 2007; Elmore & Oyserman, 2011) makes the point that many diverse and not-well-integrated components of the overall self-concept are dynamically constructed in context. This means that in school, girls and boys are forever scanning the classroom in search of clues about how to be female or male and regulating behavior so as to act in ways that are 'identity-congruent'. Thus, since foreign languages such as French, German and Spanish will, for most Swedish students, only be encountered in the classroom, it is likely that classroom factors will have a greater influence on the development of their ideal selves than would be the case for English. Thus it is plausible that at least part of the developing gender gap in L3 self-concepts found in Study II between grade 6 and grade 9 may be due, as Oyserman's Identity-Based Motivation theory implies, to a high degree of congruence between language self-image and classroom activities for girls, and a correspondingly low degree of congruence for boys.

Differences between affective and executive motives

In previous research (e.g. Gardner et al., 2004; Lamb, 2007) it has been found that while integrativeness and the personal and societal relevance that students attach to language proficiency tend to remain relatively stable, executive motives tend to be characterized by generally downward trajectories. This was also the case in the current research. In Study I, for both girls and boys, a significant discrepancy was noted where the *anticipated* enjoyment (in grades 4 and 5) derived from L3 learning was not matched by the reality in grade 6.¹² In contrast, the affective dimension – i.e. the student’s ideal L3 self – remained stable.

Although a similar pattern emerged in Study II, gender differences in the affective/executive ‘gap’ were clearly noticeable. For both girls and boys while attitudes to L3 learning declined significantly, attitudes to/interest in FLs remained stable (girls) and declined (boys). At the same time ideal L3 self scores increased (girls) and declined (boys). By means of comparison it is interesting to note that a somewhat different picture emerged for L2 English. Here, although attitudes to learning declined between grades 4 – 6, thereafter they seemed to stabilize between grades 6 and 9.

The results therefore suggest that, for L3s, the development over time of the affective-executive gap identified by Gardner et al. (2004) and Lamb (2007) may, i) be more apparent, and ii) have a more pronounced gender divergence than is the case for L2 English.

Comparisons between L3 and L2 self trajectories

When comparing the development of the L2 and L3 selves of the girls and boys in Studies I and II, the gendered nature of these trajectories appears to be considerably more pronounced for L3s than for L2 English. There are perhaps a number of different possible explanations. First, it could be that foreign languages and L3 learning are perceived as particularly appropriate for females and as a ‘girly’ activity (Carr & Pauwels, 2006). Another reason could be that since English is being reframed as a basic ‘must have’ educational skill, the gender-appropriateness of English language learning is less marked than is the case for French, German or Spanish. The view that learning L2 English is nevertheless still perceived as a feminine, rather than a gender-neutral activity, finds support in the findings of, for example, Jacobs et al. (2002) who discovered

¹² This was measured by comparing attitudes to the anticipated FL learning situation in grades 4 and 5 with attitudes to FL learning in grade 6.

that girls had higher self-ability beliefs in L1 (English) competence, and Watt (2004) who found gender differences in expectancy-value constructs for L1 English.

A third explanation could be that the genderedness of language learning, and the development of ideal language-speaking/using selves might be more marked for classroom-only-encountered L3s (such as French, German and Spanish) than for a language that is extensively encountered outside of the classroom. In particular, it may be that classroom and pedagogical factors contribute to differences in the strengths of girls' and boys' ideal L3 and L2 selves. For example Jones and Jones (2001) reported that boys dislike the repetitive nature, traditional focus and lack of variety of foreign language learning. In the Swedish context, this may be much more characteristic of L3, rather than L2 instruction. Another factor, particularly as regards the L3 classroom, concerns the content of communication. In a study of attitudes to L2 French learning, Callaghan (1998) found that of the 16 topics discussed in the classroom, the majority had a focus on domesticity. Furthermore, as Kissau and Turnbull (2010) explain, in a range of studies (e.g. Jones & Jones, 2001; Carr, 2002) boys have spoken of a dislike of repetitive and unrealistic tasks, the use of worksheets and teacher-centred instruction, all of which are more likely to be characteristic of French, German and Spanish lessons.

L2 and L3 selves compared: Is future proficiency in English taken for granted?

Finally, before leaving the discussion of the results in Studies I and II, it is worth pausing to reflect again on the finding that scores on the Ideal L3 Self in grade 6 were significantly higher than for the Ideal L2 (English) Self. Rather than an idealised personal attribute, for these young people the future use of English as a means of personal expression may be just as self-evident as their use of L1 Swedish. Indeed, because it is a basic expectation, students may not regard such competence as particularly remarkable. Consequently at this age, and this stage of language learning, the ideal English-speaking/using self may not have the same motivational intensity as the ideal L3 self.

Taking this argument one stage further, it may be that the reframing of English as a 'must have' basic educational skill means, as Dörnyei and Ushioda (2011, p. 81) have suggested, that a "two-tier" approach to analysing L2 motivation is required. Indeed, in societal contexts where English is omnipresent, it is possible that the motivational force generated by the desire to reduce the discrepancy

between the actual and ideal versions of an English-speaking/using self may not be that great in that young people may already have a view of themselves as competent communicators in English.

The impact of L2 English and interference

The impact of L2 English on L3 motivation

In the quantitative research carried out in Study III, support was found for the hypotheses that students' L3 (French, German, Spanish) self-concepts would be interpreted negatively in relation to their L2 (English) self-concept, and that a high degree of L3-to-L2 negative self-concept cross-referencing would be associated with low L3 motivation. Further, the impact of L2 English on L3 motivation appeared to be greater for boys.

Although it is necessary to be cautious, first, of assuming a direct and unmediated relation between i) negative L3-to-L2 self-concept cross-referencing and ii) L3 motivation and, secondly, that the former is the only cause of the latter, the findings would appear to confirm the consequences of the societal and curricular dominance of English in Europe that scholars and teachers alike have long suspected (Glaser, 2005; Krumm, 2004; Phillipsson, 2008).

The results also support those of Csizér and Dörnyei (2005b) and Dörnyei, Csizér and Németh (2006) who have suggested that the learning of languages other than English is impeded by processes of "Englishisation" (Dörnyei, Csizér & Németh, 2006, p. 143). In particular they accord well with those of Csizér and Lukács (2010) who, in their study of the differences in the motivational and attitudinal dispositions of students learning English and German simultaneously, found that the only ideal selves seemingly unaffected by negative influences from the other language were for L2 English (cf. L3 English and L2 and L3 German).¹³

While the results in Study III indicate that students make comparisons between languages and that this can have an effect on L3 motivation, the data obtained from the in-depth interviews in Study IV provide insights into the nature of these comparisons and their effects on motivation at the micro-contextual level. Here it is striking how each of the four individuals, without prompting or pause

¹³ It should be noted that Csizér and Lukács found slightly different results for motivated learning behaviour where the negative impact of English was found for L3 German, but not when German was learnt as an L2 and English was the L3.

for reflection, were able to describe the ways in which they reacted when aware of comparisons with their L2 selves in L3 learning situations. This would suggest that such comparisons, rather than isolated ‘one-offs’, are systematic.

Although Studies III and IV both provide support for the findings of Csizér and Dörnyei (2005b) and Csizér and Lukács (2010), there is an important difference in the focus of the research. While the two Hungarian studies examined *central-tendency effects*, the current Swedish studies both have a focus on *processes*. In Study III the hypothesised process of comparison within the working self-concept functions as the independent (predictor) variable, while in Study IV the interviews focused on processes of cognition in specific micro-contextual situations.

In the Hungarian studies the researchers use the concept of *interference* to describe the impact of the L_x variable on the L_y variable in various sets of aggregated scores, showing, for example, how the ideal L2 self causes interference with the ideal L3 self. In the current research, however, the employment of interference to explain the effects of the L_x on the L_y in the context of a process or in a particular situation seems more problematic.

First, interference does not appear to be a term that is used by researchers in mainstream psychology who work with possible selves. Secondly, although interference has indeed been used by Dörnyei in his process model to describe process effects at the contextual level (Dörnyei, 2000, 2001; Dörnyei & Ottó, 1998), the concept is not fully explained and remains rather diffuse. A third reason why, as a descriptor of process-level phenomena, interference may be problematic is semantic. Not only does interference have negative connotations in general usage, but etymologically the term implies physical force or physical contact in terms of a collision between two objects. Moreover, in its scientific application, interference, according to the Oxford English Dictionary, refers to forms of “reciprocal action [of two entities] so as to increase, diminish, or nullify the natural effect of each”. Finally, interference can imply a sense of passivity on the part of the object in the relation in the sense that it is merely at the receiving end. For all of these reasons and, most importantly, as a means of achieving a conceptual distinction between *central tendency* and *process* effects, the use of interference in L2 motivation research should be reappraised. While working effectively as descriptor of central tendencies, interference does not work as well in describing processes where, in active cognition, one possible self exerts an

impact on another. In such situations ‘competition’ may provide better descriptive power.

Competition

Although ‘competition’ is not used by Markus in her early work on the interrelationship of possible selves and other self-conceptions, it has subsequently been used by Oyserman in her research. In explaining how, in the individual’s pursuance of multiple goals, contradicting self-concepts may arise, Oyserman and James (2009) explain that “possible selves may compete not only with other aspects of identity but also with other possible selves” (p. 386). Although, to my knowledge, Oyserman does not expand on the nature of or processes involved when possible selves compete with one another (her focus being more on self-regulation), Markus and Kunda’s (1986) description of the juxtaposition of different self-concepts and types of self-knowledge in the working self-concept offers revealing insights into the nature of the processes likely to be involved.

The working self-concept, they explain, is a fluctuating, temporary structure of self-conceptions in a configuration determined by ongoing events. Changes to the momentary equilibrium will occur when newly incorporated threatening information is *confronted*, as for example when positive self-conceptions are recruited to *counteract* negative thoughts. They describe this type of event sequence in the following way:

A challenging event appears to initiate a process whereby the individual *evaluates* the information and then *responds* by attempting to integrate the self-conceptions offered by the environment with existing self-conceptions. (Markus & Kunda, 1986, p. 865) (my emphasis)

In contrast to interference, competition encompasses an implicit recognition of the process dynamics involved when situational circumstances mean that possible selves that guide behaviour in differing directions become simultaneously active in cognition. Unlike interference, which has passive connotations, competition better captures the individual agency emphasised in Markus and Kunda’s (1986) description. For this reason while interference may function well in *individual difference designs*, competition better describes processes investigated in *individual level analyses*.

Convergences

In this final section I will discuss the ways in which I believe the incorporation of the working self-concept as an interpretive tool in research designs can facilitate two important convergences. The first of these concerns the bringing closer together of the L2 Motivational Self System (Dörnyei, 2005, 2009a) and the Person-in-Context Relational (Ushioda, 2009) frameworks, while the second involves the closer alignment of motivation and metalinguistic awareness in Herdina and Jessner's (2002) Dynamic Model of Multilingualism.

The convergence of Dörnyei's L2 Self System and Ushioda's 'Person-in-Context Relational' approaches

In the concluding chapter of their jointly edited volume *Motivation, Language Identity and the L2 Self* Dörnyei and Ushioda (2009) suggest that repositioning language learning motivation within a Dynamic Systems Theory framework might have the potential to bring their respective research paradigms (Dörnyei's L2 Motivational Self System and Ushioda's Person-in-Context Relational perspective) closer together. Such an integration would, they argue, involve:

[g]oing beyond the somewhat 'schizophrenic' situation prevailing both in SLA and L2 motivation research, characterised by a range of contrasting dichotomies such as positivist-interpretive, quantitative-qualitative or cognitive-sociocultural. (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2009, p. 355)

While Ushioda's Person-in-Context Relational perspective with its focus on the organic emergence, context-dependency and non-linear development of motivation clearly accords with a DST agenda (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2009; Dörnyei, 2009b) it is interesting to note that in *The Psychology of Second Language Acquisition*, Dörnyei (2009b) explains in some detail how the L2 Motivational Self System also shares an affinity with DST. In particular, he draws on the landscape metaphor (see de Bot, Lowie & Verspoor, 2005; Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008) in explaining how the model can be viewed as a terrain consisting of three possible attractor basins (the ideal and ought-to L2 selves and the L2 learning experience).

While the conceptual merging of the two approaches under a DST canopy brings with it exciting new opportunities for innovative research, the melding together of the two contrasting approaches involves substantial methodological challenges that will need to be properly addressed. I would like to suggest that one *methodological* strategy that can be used to integrate the two approaches into

overarching and holistic research designs is by focusing attention on the working self-concept.

As Markus and Kunda (1986) have demonstrated, self-concepts have a dual nature in that, at the same time, they are both stable and malleable. The examination of processes of cognition that take place within the working self-concept, as Markus and Kunda point out, is able to shed light on the ways in which stable self-concepts (for example ideal and ought-to L2 selves) can, as a result of fluctuations in the micro-contexts of the social environment, undergo qualitative changes from one instant in time to another. As Markus and Kunda (1986) explain, the malleability and fluidity of a self-concept will be fairly subtle and will not involve major revisions of self-relevant thoughts or feelings. Thus, in order to access the situational changes that take place in self-concepts, the authors advocate the need for research designs that focus on particular individuals in particular social contexts. Such an approach, they argue, can reveal how the self-concept “varies with the prevailing social situation and how it depends on the social context for its particular manifestation and expression” (Markus & Kunda, 1986, p. 865). Thus, I would argue that the working self-concept constitutes a useful tool that can provide language learning motivation researchers with the opportunity to examine the ways in which robust and enduring language-speaking/using self-concepts can undergo subtle changes in micro-contextual situations. Functioning as an interface between *individual difference* and *individual-level analyses* approaches (Dörnyei, 2009b), it has the potential to bridge between Dörnyei’s and Ushioda’s respective theories as well as forming a useful component in DST designs.

The convergence of motivation and metalinguistic/crosslinguistic awareness: The working self-concept, the enhanced multilingual monitor and the role of supporter languages

In their development of the Dynamic Model of Multilingualism (DMM) Herdina and Jessner (2002) stress the importance of metalinguistic knowledge and awareness of such knowledge as factors that have a crucial impact on L3 learning. Equally important, Jessner (2008b) stresses that the DMM adopts a holistic approach in attempting to understand and account for the dynamic interaction between a range of different complex systems. Further, she points out that the composition and dynamics of multilingual systems will, additionally, be influenced by all the normal ID (motivation, language aptitude, anxiety and self-esteem) and social factors.

In explaining the way in which metalinguistic knowledge exerts an impact on language proficiency, Jessner (2008b) makes the point that the plurilingual learner is assumed to make use of an “enhanced multilingual monitor”. The monitoring that takes place, she explains:

...goes beyond error detection and self-repair and fulfills a separator and cross-checker function, for instance by drawing on common resources in the use of more than one language system. (Jessner, 2008, p. 276)

In addition to general metalinguistic awareness, a primary resource upon which plurilingual learners appear to draw is crosslinguistic awareness. This can be defined as “the awareness (tacit and explicit) of the interaction between the languages in a multilingual’s mind” (Jessner, 2008b, p. 279) and derives from forms of crosslinguistic interaction that involve “the activation of languages other than the target language during L3 production” (Jessner, 2008b, p. 279). In particular, in her research into bilingual (Italian-German) students studying L3 English, Jessner (2006) found that learners expressed their crosslinguistic awareness by making use of *supporter languages*, a process that she describes as being marked by a search for similarities.

As Jessner (2008b) points out, research into the effects of metalinguistic and crosslinguistic awareness in plurilingual acquisition is in its early stages and a number of questions need to be addressed. Among these is the integration of different roles for supporter languages in dynamic models of multilingual processing. Approaching the issue of metalinguistic/crosslinguistic awareness from a motivational perspective, the processes Jessner describes – particularly the notion of the enhanced multilingual monitor – bear a striking similarity to the cognitive processes that in Studies III and IV have been shown to take place in the learner’s working self-concept in L3 learning situations. Thus, as hypothesized in Study III and exemplified in the individual case studies in Study IV, the *supporter language* role of the L2 in L3 learning might have system-level consequences. That is to say that while processes of cross-checking with the L2 might have a positive effect on L3 proficiency, the same processes could simultaneously mean that motivation – in that particular instant in time – can be negatively affected.

The consequences of the combined interactions of these effects, together with the effects of other simultaneously occurring events will, of course, be hard to predict. However, as indicated in Study III and implied by Oscar’s case study in Study IV, the negative effects on motivation associated with the use of supporter

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languages may over time begin to outweigh the linguistic benefits. While further research will be necessary in order to discover whether the cognitive processes hypothesized to take place in the enhanced multilingual monitor and the working self-concept are of a similar sort, and whether they take place simultaneously, the incorporation of a working self-concept component in Herdina and Jessner's (2002) DMM construct might provide an important whole-system-level contribution to the understanding of processes of plurilingual acquisition.

Chapter Nine:

Implications for Classroom Teaching

In the previous chapter I discussed the results from a research perspective. I will now consider the educational implications of the findings.

Addressing the issue of declining L3 motivation

As the results of the research reported here suggest, motivation to learn L3s declines during secondary education, with declines being particularly steep for boys. One of the factors responsible appears to be the negative effect of L2 English on motivation to learn other less socially-dominant L3s. These are findings that would seem to cast doubt on the likelihood of fully achieving the EU goal of developing wider linguistic diversity and attaining broad ‘one plus two’ competence across the Union. Given the EU’s long-term democratic commitment to the promotion of language diversity, the benefits which plurilingual skills can bring to the individual (Beacco & Byram, 2003), and the recognition that multilingual skills can enhance European economic competitiveness (Commission of the European Communities, COM 2008, 566), the question that must be asked is whether there is anything that can be done to address the threat posed by L2 English?

Despite a lack of empirical support, it has long been assumed that English as an L2 has a negative effect on motivation to learn L3s such as French, German and Spanish, and a number of suggestions have been made as to ways in which the problem can be addressed. Krumm (2004), for example, has suggested that one way of tackling the negative effect of English on motivation to learn other languages could be to reverse the order of learning, with English being introduced later in the curriculum as an L3 with another, less dominant European language as the earlier-introduced L2. In a similar vein Glaser (2005) has suggested that, as their L2, younger children should first learn the L1 of other (migrant) children in their immediate surroundings. This, she argues, would lay the foundation of intercultural competence, with English as an L3 introduced at a later stage (at a time, she claims, when interests in popular music

and the Internet begin to grow). Irrespective of the parental and political opposition that such proposals would generate, the recent findings of Csizér and Lukács (2010) indicate that negative motivational consequences might also ensue if “students’ (and parents’) wishes of starting with English in primary schools ... cannot be accommodated early in the learning process” (p. 7).

Other strategies that have been suggested as having the potential to develop widespread multilingual skills in the light of unsupportive attitudes to foreign languages in society at large include the substitution of L3 learning with the more general subject of ‘Language Awareness’ (Phillipson, 2003), and the implementation of a so-called ‘partial skills’ approach (Glaser, 2005). Both scholars make the point that initiatives such as these can stimulate interest for languages and deliver plurilingual skills without the loss of motivation that occurs when target skills are not obtained and/or regarded as having little practical application.

While there is doubtless merit in these and other similar approaches, they nevertheless fall substantially short of current European language policy goals. Although it is of course conceivable that policy goals might change, today’s dominant neoliberal educational climate where multilingualism is regarded as an economic as well as an individual asset, would suggest that any policy shift is unlikely any time in the immediate future. The challenge for language educators in continental Europe is therefore to find ways of addressing the problem of the dominance of English in the context of the curricular presumption that students should have competence in two languages in addition to their native tongue.

The transformational potential of possible selves

Although the possible selves approach to understanding language learning motivation is still in its early years, the body of research carried out to date clearly demonstrates that the ideal language-speaking/using self is one of the most important antecedents of motivated learning behaviour (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2009). In addition to its conceptual strength in capturing the unique interplay of cognitive, emotional and contextual factors that create and sustain the motivation needed to learn a foreign language, the most exciting and potentially important feature of the possible selves approach is that it also provides tools that can be used in pedagogical practice. As Dörnyei (2009) has emphasised, it is the “transformational potential” (p. 38) of the ideal self that is

its primary attraction and which distinguishes the self-based approach from previous research paradigms.

When reading the research literature on Markus and Nurius' (1986) theory of possible selves, one of the most striking features is its frequent application in clinical contexts. This is perhaps not surprising in that, while Hazel Markus' research has focused on the composition of the self and has been largely directed to conceptual issues, her co-author, Paula Nurius, is a professor of social welfare with a research interest in the study of clinical phenomena such as stress, trauma, coping, resilience, domestic and other violence, adversity and the mental health of at-risk youth. Areas of clinical applications where self-enhancing strategies have been successfully used include both psychological health (Nurius, Casey, Lindhorst & Macy, 2006) as well as therapeutic work (Dunkel, Kelts & Coon, 2006). Most significantly, possible selves interventions have also been successfully tested in educational contexts. Hock and his colleagues (Hock, Schumaker & Deshler, 2003; Hock, Deshler & Schumaker, 2006) have, for example, developed possible selves interventions aimed at enhancing students' academic self-concepts while in an extensive series of studies (for a review see Oyserman & Fryberg, 2006) Oyserman and her colleagues have demonstrated the ways in which school students' possible academic selves are amenable to durable change as a result of structured interventions.

Of all the work on possible-self-based interventions, it is Oyserman's that has the greatest resonance in the field of language learning. Working with students from minority backgrounds, Oyserman and her colleagues (Oyserman, Bybee & Terry, 2006) developed an intervention aimed at improving academic outcomes by changing possible selves. Despite very distant and vaguely-formed possible selves (maybe going to college, getting a good job etc.) and often low parental involvement in school, the 6-week intervention developed by the researchers resulted in improvements in the time devoted to engagement in goal-attainment strategies (e.g. improved in-class behavior and more time spent doing homework) and positive attainment outcomes (measured by standardized test scores and attendance). Moreover, the effects were sustained through two years of follow-up assessment.

As Lee and Oyserman (2009) explain, the results of this and other similar research testify to the power of possible selves to impact on motivation by providing students with images – positive and negative – of how they could be in the future. Most importantly, Oyserman and her colleagues have

demonstrated how work with possible selves can lead to the generation and sustaining of goal-attainment behaviours and effective forms of self-regulation:

Possible selves can undergird self-improvement by showing a path toward the future and by highlighting where one might end up if effort is not maintained. Intervention to help teachers, parents and students focus on what they want to become and avoid becoming, what they value, and how they expect to engage in becoming like their desired selves and avoiding becoming like their undesired selves can be highly effective. Indeed, the theory of possible selves has been used to understand progress and life transformations for both youth learners and adults in continuing education and other settings. Perhaps the most important message that educators can take from the research on possible selves is that possible selves are malleable and can be influenced by intervention to enhance the content of possible selves. Changing possible selves through intervention can lead to positive changes in academic behavior, in better academic performance and lower risk of depression. (Lee & Oyserman, 2009, p. 143)

Thinking BIG: L3 self-enhancing interventions

The malleability of self-concepts and their susceptibility to behaviour-changing input means that, as Dörnyei (2009a) puts it, the self approach gives cause for optimism in learning interventions, allowing us to “think BIG” (p. 39). Recently, in the first reported study of its kind, positive motivational effects were found by Magid and Chan (2011) who, in conducting ideal L2 self-enhancing interventions among Chinese university students learning English, found both motivation and linguistic self-confidence to be enhanced. In the L3 context there are a number of interesting avenues for self-based interventions that could be explored in teaching and which can have positive effects on motivation.

- *Developing L3 selves.* Students need to be introduced to the concept of possible selves right at the start of L3 instruction. At the outset and at regularly recurring intervals during programs of learning, students need to be encouraged to consider both proximal (e.g. someone who is able to understand the teacher when she speaks French/someone who is going to get a passing grade at the end of the course), as well as more distal possible selves (e.g. someone who will be able to speak French when travelling in Europe). While they should be encouraged to focus on the plurilingual person the student wants to be, it is important that the feared self – i.e. someone only able to communicate in languages that everyone else knows – is also considered. The early introduction of this type of feared self could be particularly important as a motivational strategy in that it might function as a means of offsetting the ‘Swedish and English are enough’ attitude that seems to develop over periods of L3 study.

- *Linking L3 selves into the overall self-concept.* As Lee and Oyserman (2009) make clear, domain-specific possible selves need to be congruent with other possible selves and other important social identities. Thus it is important that teachers do not limit student's conjecturing and fantasy generation simply to language domains, but also invite them to be expansive in terms of identifying the selves they aspire to. As articulated by three of the four students in Study IV, speaking a foreign language can make you feel special and different from others. Students should thus be encouraged to see their possible L3 self in the form of an asset that contributes to their uniqueness. In this way possible L3 selves can become meshed in with other important personal aspirations and core identities.
- *Linking L3 selves to action strategies.* As Oyserman et al.'s (2006) study indicates, students need to have opportunities to discuss how possible selves can be linked to present action. Students thus need support and assistance in developing specific strategies at the everyday level that they believe can be beneficial in attaining more distal, yet potentially more enduring desired selves. In terms of regulating current L3 learning behaviours, students need to be aware/reminded of the L3 selves that they aspire to.
- *Providing access to appropriate role models.* One of the specific problems faced by school learners of languages other than English is the lack of access to contexts – real or virtual – where speakers of the language meet and interact. Since successful non-native speakers of the target language can function as powerful role-models, students need to be given opportunities to encounter people – similar to themselves – who have learnt a foreign language and are able to function in contexts that call for L3 skills. While educational publishers need to systematically incorporate non-native-speaking role models in printed and online language learning materials, teachers could also consider inviting former students who have experiences of target language use into the classroom. While successful 'like-me' role-model others are important generally in possible self-enhancing interventions (Lee & Oyserman, 2009), in the light of the current findings that boys may find it more difficult to develop and sustain ideal L3 selves (cf. Knox, 2006), it is important that they are given real opportunities for such encounters
- *Awareness of comparing language selves.* While the four preceding proposals might have resonance for foreign language learning generally, the following proposal is specific to situations, such as described in this thesis, where the L2 is a socially dominant language and the L3, lacking this status, is encountered primarily in instructed environments. Aware of the supporting role of the L2 in L3 learning (Jessner, 2006), many teachers

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actively encourage their students to draw on knowledge of the L2 and to develop meta- and cross-linguistic skills. This is important and should be encouraged. However, at the same time, teachers also need to make students aware that, in utilising knowledge gained from the L2, there is a risk – particularly when such cross-referencing is systematic – that they may also make comparisons between their two respective foreign language-speaking/using selves. Awareness of such processes is however just the first step. In order to successfully offset the potentially negative impact of the L2 self on the L3 self, students also need to be encouraged to develop strategies similar to those of Anton, Emelie and Johan in Study IV that enable them to *refocus* in the particular situation in which the comparison takes place and channel their energies back to the L3. As a longer-term consequence, this may help to sustain L3 motivation.

Thinking BIG, the systematic incorporation of the L3 self-enhancing components sketched out above could all have an important role to play in offsetting some of the negative effects on L3 motivation associated with comparisons with L2 English. For all of these strategies, it is of particular importance first, that regular self-enhancing strategy initiatives begin at the outset of instruction and, secondly, that boys are provided with opportunities to develop robust L3 selves and effective counteracting strategies since the negative effects of English may for them be particularly strong.

Chapter Ten: Limitations and Future Research

Limitations

The studies included in this thesis have a number of limitations. While a series of specific limitations have been discussed in Chapter Six, the most important are considered again here.

Limitations relating to the instrumentation

- *Construct validity and construct underrepresentation.* The primary limitation that affects all four studies, but particularly Studies I and II, relates to the construct validity of the main instrument. Two areas are particularly problematic. First, the scale used to measure interest in/attitudes to foreign languages does not differentiate between L2 English and other L3s. Secondly, the concept of the ideal L3 self is not operationalized in the form of self-in-the-future items that invite respondents to make future-oriented projections. Rather, future selves are mediated via admiration of speakers of languages other than the L1 and L2. Although, as Dörnyei, (2005) notes, these are the “closest parallels to the idealized L2-speaking self” (p. 102), construct validity remains problematic. Further, for the ideal L3 self scale, the distinction between target L3s (French, German, Spanish) and other languages is not entirely adequate.
- *The problem of causality.* In Studies I and II it was not possible to dissociate the decline in interest in L3 learning and future L3 speaking/using selves from any global decline in school motivation of the sort identified in previous studies (e.g. Keys & Fernandes, 1993; Sigelman, 1999). It is thus difficult to know how much of these declines are attributable to language-related factors and how much might be attributable to more global, school-related factors.
- *Instrument sophistication.* In Study II the instrument used was rather condensed. This was due to the fact that in Study I the same instrument had been used with students in grade 4, where it had been necessary to take account of fatigue effects. A more extensive instrument comprised entirely of multi-item scales might have been preferable.

Limitations relating to the composition of the sample

- *Sample-related bias.* The sample includes a proportion of students who, from grade 6 onwards, were engaged in the study of sign language. Since sign language, in some respects at least, differs from the study of a ‘traditional’ foreign language (e.g. French, German or Spanish) the results obtained in Studies I and II might have been different if a sample not including sign language learners had been drawn.

Limitations in the interview strategy

- *Social desirability bias.* The use in Study IV of a vignette depicting an imaginary situation in which a student makes mental comparisons with L2 English in an L3 situation may mean that the responses obtained are susceptible to social desirability bias. There is thus a risk that, aware of the general focus of the research (although not the hypothesised cross-referencing processes), students may have responded in a way that would suit the purposes of the study.

Future research

The purpose of this thesis has been to investigate L3 motivation in situations of simultaneous L2 and L3 acquisition. Specific aims have been to map out the trajectories of students’ L3 (French, German, Spanish) selves between school grades 4 to 9, to compare these with similar trajectories for L2 English selves, and to investigate gender differences. Another aim has been to investigate the impact of L2 English on L3 (French, German, Spanish) motivation and to examine processes of cognition in situations in L3 learning where the learner is aware of L2 English. A number of key findings have emerged that warrant further research.

Key findings that need to be followed up

The first key finding emerges from Study I where, in the affective domain of L3 motivation, *gender differences were found prior to instruction*. If this finding is confirmed in subsequent studies from different cultural contexts and for different foreign languages, a strong argument could be made for the implementation of pre-instruction measures aimed at counteracting assumptions that language learning – particularly languages other than English – is a feminine activity. Another key finding from Study I is that *measures of the ideal self were higher for L3s than for L2 English*. Future research is therefore necessary to ascertain whether this is a generalizable trend or whether it is context-specific. It would also be of value in future research to address the question of whether English is becoming/has

become a basic “goes without saying” expectation (such as the mastery or reading, writing and arithmetic) to such an extent that learning English is no longer looked upon in the same way as learning a genuinely ‘foreign’ language.

As emerged in Study II, a strong argument can be made for the applicability of Hill and Lynch’s (1983) concept of *gender-role intensification* in the affective domain of L2/L3 motivation generally, and for language identities and ideal L2/L3 selves in particular. Future research using more sophisticated instruments and from different cultural contexts would thus be of value as a means of further investigating the differential development of females’ and males’ ideal language-speaking/using selves.

Another key finding requiring further investigation is the identification in Study III of processes of comparison where, in its role as a supporter language, *L2 English functions as a referent against which L3 selves are appraised*. In that processes of cross-referencing have been shown to impact negatively on L3 motivation, further studies from other contexts and with other L2/L3 combinations are needed to ascertain whether the phenomenon is specific to particular cultural/linguistic contexts, or whether it is more universal. Further, because gender differences in the effect of processes of L3-to-L2 self cross-referencing on L3 motivation were found, future research on the reasons that underpin the more marked negative effects for boys would be of importance.

The final key finding involves the need to assert the importance of the so-far overlooked role of the *working self-concept* in future research conducted within the possible language selves paradigm. As a construct, the working self-concept can bring together various theories which can be used in conceptualising the operation of different factors that impact on motivation at the micro-contextual level. Because over time micro-contextual fluctuations can lead to more enduring shifts in motivated language learning behaviour, future research making use of the working self-concept as part of a macro/micro design could be of particular importance in the investigation of non-linear change.

Other findings that require further research

In addition to these major findings, a number of other important insights need to be followed up by further investigation.

- *Offsetting negative comparisons with L2 English in the working self-concept*. More extensive and methodologically exacting enquiries into the nature of the compensatory processes predicted by Markus and Kunda’s (1986) theory

and found in Study IV would be of particular value in understanding the effects of a dominant L_x on a less dominant L_y . In particular, studies in which participants ‘talked through’ their thoughts during/immediately after L3 classes – as opposed to the vignette technique used in Study IV – would be of value.

- *Longitudinal research that is broader in scope.* The research carried out in Studies I and II only focused on ideal L2 and L3 selves. In future research it would be of value to compare trajectories for all three system components, as well as assessing their relative impact on criterion variables at different points in time. Future research of this sort would be facilitated in that there now exists a range of instruments that contain properly validated measures of the ideal and ought-to self dimensions of the L2 Motivational Self System.
- *Research on the nature of language selves.* In this research the Markus and Nurius (1986) position where language learners are regarded as having distinct and separate selves for each of the languages they are studying has been adopted. Even though the findings of Studies III and IV would seem to support such a position, I would like to underscore the importance of Dörnyei and Ushioda’s (2009) call for future research into the relatedness or otherwise of future language-speaking/using selves.
- *IPA as a method to examine possible selves.* Another methodological issue that could usefully be followed up in future research involves the use of interpretive phenomenological analysis as a method of accessing possible language selves and the processes of cognition that are postulated to take place in the working self-concept. Further research is required to evaluate the suitability of IPA as a methodology in research with a focus on possible language selves.
- *Development of the DMM.* It would be interesting to consider more closely how the motivation element in Herdina and Jessner’s (2002) Dynamic Model of Multilingualism could be more fully developed. Since most research on L3 acquisition has involved studies of the effects of metalinguistic awareness and cross-linguistic influence, further research is needed in order to be able to make more precise judgments about the nature and effects of crosslinguistic awareness in that the current results suggest that learners’ cognitive comparisons of different language systems have an impact on motivation.

Swedish Summary

Inledning

Avhandlingens övergripande syfte är att undersöka motivationen att lära ett tredje språk (L3-språk) och hur denna motivation påverkas av att lära engelska som första främmande språk (L2-engelska). Empiriskt undersöks grund- och gymnasieelevers motivation att lära sig ett L3. Avsikten är att dels kartlägga elevers motivation att lära ett av L3-språken franska, spanska, tyska under perioden från årskurs 4 till årskurs 9, och dels att empiriskt testa antagandet om att engelska, som är det första främmande språket (L2-språk) som elever möter i formell undervisning och som också utgör ett omfattande element av deras vardagsliv, har en negativ påverkan på motivationen att lära L3-språken franska, spanska och tyska. Ytterligare en ambition är att bidra till den teoretiska utvecklingen inom området. Av särskilt teoretiskt intresse är att undersöka utvecklingsbanor för elevers framtidsinriktade språkliga självbilder och att belysa och problematisera sättet på vilket olika språkliga självbilder påverkar varandra.

Avhandlingens upplägg och utgångspunkter

Avhandlingen består av fyra empiriska studier, av vilka två är deskriptiva och två explorativa. De baseras på fyra olika, men relaterade, datainsamlingar. I studierna I och II kartläggs grundskoleelevers motivationsbanor från årskurs 4 till årskurs 9, och i studierna III och IV undersöks effekter av L2-språket Engelska på grundskole- och gymnasieelevers motivation att lära sig L3-språken Franska, Spanska och Tyska.

Avhandlingen har två breda utgångspunkter, en empirisk och en teoretisk. Den empiriska utgångspunkten fokuserar L2-engelskans påverkan på motivationen att lära ytterligare ett språk (L3-motivation). Tidigare forskning har visat att motivationen att lära sig ett främmande språk är låg i engelskspråkiga länder (Williams, Burden & Lanvers, 2002). I länder där engelska inte är modersmål och där det finns ett utbud av språk att välja på i skolan, är engelska mest populärt (Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005b). Där engelska läses parallellt med andra främmande språk (t ex. tyska) är motivation att läsa engelska högre (Csizér & Lukács, 2010). Det finns däremot brist på forskning om L2-engelskans faktiska påverkan på motivationen att lära ett tredje språk. Csizér och Dörnyei (2005b) påpekar att medan effekterna av språkglobaliseringen på motivationen att lära sig icke-

globala språk har diskuterats flitigt i litteraturen och de teoretiska diskussionerna och resonemangen har varit många, är empiriska studier däremot mycket sällsynta. Trots bristen på empiriskt stöd, finns det en stark och omfattande uppfattning att, i länder som Sverige och i andra länder där engelskan kan anses vara ett andra språk snarare än ett främmande språk (Phillipson, 2003; Viberg, 2000) och där engelskan möts konstant i många olika vardagliga sociala praktiker (Simensen, 2010), har L2-engelska en direkt negativ påverkan på motivationen att lära ett tredje språk (Glaser, 2005; Krumm, 2004; Phillipsson, 2008). Ett av syftena med denna avhandling är att empiriskt undersöka detta antagande. I studierna I och II undersöks och kartläggs motivationsbanor för L2-engelska och L3-språken franska, spanska och tyska över sex årskurser. I studierna III och IV undersöks påverkan av L2-engelska på motivationen att lära ett L3-språk. I studierna I, II och III undersöks också genusrelaterade skillnader.

Avhandlingen tar sin teoretiska utgångspunkt i två av sex inriktningar för framtida forskning identifierade av Dörnyei och Ushioda (2009). Den första handlar om uppkomst, utveckling och förändring av framtidsinriktade språkliga självbilder (*possible selves*) och dess stabilitet över tid. Författarna påpekar att även om självbilder förefaller att vara ganska robusta, behövs forskning för att bättre förstå hur dessa etableras och hur de utvecklas över tid. För att kunna identifiera förändringar och kartlägga utvecklingsbanor undersöks i studierna I och II mätningar av flickors och pojkars framtidsinriktade språkliga självbilder för L3-språken franska, spanska och tyska, och för L2-engelska.

Det andra området för framtida forskning, identifierat av Dörnyei och Ushioda (2009), handlar om frågan kring hur olika språkliga självbilder påverkar varandra. Medan Csizér och Dörnyei (2005b) och Csizér och Lukács (2010) har visat att L2-självbilder skiljer sig åt beroende på kombinationen av språken som studeras, vet man väldigt lite om hur språkliga självbilder påverkar varandra. I studie III testas därför hypotesen att språkliga självbilder jämförs med varandra. Detta innebär att jämfört med självbilden för L2-engelska, jämförs och utvärderas L3-språket (franska, spanska eller tyska) på ett negativt sätt. Utöver att fokusera på effekterna av dessa jämförelser på motivationen för L3-språk undersöks även genuskillnader. Slutligen, för att få insikter om hur den hypotiserade påverkan av L2-engelska på motivationen för L3-språk manifesteras i kognition, intervjuas gymnasieelever i studie IV. Syftet med intervjuerna var att undersöka kognitionsprocesser i kontexter där jämförelser mellan självbilder för L2-engelska och L3-språk (franska, spanska, tyska) sker.

Syfte

Det övergripande syftet med avhandlingen har varit att undersöka motivationen att lära ett L3-språk och hur denna motivation påverkas av L2-engelska. Specifika syften har varit:

- att kartlägga utvecklingsbanor för elevers språkliga självbilder med avseende på att lära ett tredje språk (L3-språken franska, spanska, tyska) från årskurs 4 till årskurs 9, att jämföra dessa med liknande utvecklingsbanor för språkliga självbilder avseende L2-engelska, samt eventuella genuskillnader,
- att undersöka påverkan av motivationen för L2-engelska på motivationen för L3-språken franska, spanska och tyska, samt,
- att undersöka kognitionsprocesser i situationer av L3-lärande då eleven gör jämförelser med L2-engelska.

Teoretisk bakgrund

Avhandlingen bygger huvudsakligen på teorier inom fyra breda områden: språkinlärnings-motivation (Dörnyei, 2005, 2009a), självkonceptet och *possible selves* (Markus & Kunda, 1986; Markus & Nurius, 1986), tvärspråkighet (Jessner, 2006, 2008a, 2008b; Jessner & Herdina, 2002) och påverkan av genus på identitet och självbild (Cross & Madson, 1997; Knox, 2006; Oyserman, 2007; Oyserman & Elmore, 2011).

Under de senaste åren har ett paradigmskifte skett inom forskningen om språkinlärningsmotivation. Genom att ändra fokus från elevens externa identifikation med en grupp/community (verklig eller fiktiv) som talar målspråket, till den interna identifikation av sig själv som någon som talar språket i framtiden, har Dörnyei (2005, 2009a) ändrat inriktning i forskningen från en socialpsykologiskt inriktad ansats till en ansats där fokus riktas mot individens självbild. De senaste åren har hans modell, *L2 Motivational Self System*, blivit alltmer dominerande i fältet och flera studier har visat en robust begreppsvaliditet. Dörnyeis modell har sin utgångspunkt i Markus och Nurius (1986) teori om *possible selves*. Enligt Markus och Nurius är *possible selves* mentala bilder/representationer vi bär med oss av oss själva i framtida situationer. Dessa bilder upplevs i högsta grad som verkliga och kläds i samma mentala representationer som 'här och nu' självet. *Possible selves* skapar en länk mellan självkonceptet och motivationen på två viktiga sätt; genom att fungera som

incitament för framtida beteenden, och genom att utgöra ett ramverk för utvärderingen av det nuvarande självet. Medan *possible selves* är till sin natur stabila och uthålliga, är de samtidigt påverkbara och situationsmässigt plastiska. Eftersom alla självbilder och självkoncept inte alltid kan vara aktiva i kognitionen, är det särskilt viktigt, hävdar Markus och Nurius (1986), att hänsyn tas till vad de kallar det 'nuvarande' eller *working* självkonceptet. I *working self-concept* samlas samtliga självkonceptioner som är av relevans för den aktuella kontexten och situationen. Innehållet skiftar konstant och sammansättningen är strakt kontextberoende. Vikten av *working self-concept* har hittills inte blivit uppmärksammas av språkmotivationsforskare som använder sig av en *possible selves*-ansats eftersom fokus, för det mesta, har legat på fenomen och skillnader på gruppnivå.

I forskningen om individens självkoncept hävdas det att kvinnor och män skapar och konstruerar självet på fundamentalt olika sätt (Cross & Madson, 1997). Enligt Knox (2006) är det sannolikt att detsamma gäller även för *possible selves*. På ett liknande sätt hävdar Oyserman och Elmore (Oyserman, 2007; Oyserman & Elmore, 2011) genom teorin *Identity Based Motivation*, där fokus riktas på båda nuvarande och framtidsinriktade identiteter, att kvinnor och män väljer vad de kallar för *identity-congruent*-beteenden. I tolkningar av den fysiska världen är man mer benägen att använda sig av *identity-congruent* än *identity-incongruent* linser. Motivationen blir därför beroende av den grad av *gender-congruency* som individen upplever i en viss situation.

I sin forskning om multilingvistiska system har Jessner (2006, 2008b) visat att i tillägnandet av ett tredje språk (L3) använder sig eleven av modersmålet (L1), men framförallt det andra språket (L2), som bakgrundsresurser. Elevens L2 blir ett viktigt stödspråk. I sin *Dynamic Model of Multilingualism* (DMM) visar Jessner och Herdina (2002) hur individen gör systematiska jämförelser mellan sina L2 och L3. Specifikt identifierar Herdina och Jessner en funktion som de kallar för den *multilingual monitor* där, med syftet att hitta likheter och underlätta inlärningsprocessen, L3 jämförs med L2 i både medvetna och omedvetna processer. En viktig ingång för forskningen om tredjespråksmotivation kan därför vara att skapa en förståelse för interaktionen mellan individens olika språkssystem. Med hänsyn till detta ter sig därför Herdina och Jessners DMM-modell av betydelse för forskning om L3-motivation.

Metod

Design

I studierna I, II och III används statistiska metoder i analyser av kvantitativ data inhämtade genom enkäter. Studie IV är en intervjustudie. Studie I är en multipel tvärsnittundersökning, där jämförelser görs mellan tre olika ålderskohorter. Syftet med denna metod är att kartlägga förändringar över en tidsperiod, vilket är möjligt då kohorterna är identiska bortsett från ålder. (Keeves, 1994). Studie II har en traditionell longitudinell design, där mätningar görs med samma instrument för en kohort vid två tillfällen med en tidsintervall mellan mätningar. Studie III är en enkel tvärsnittundersökning, dvs. att ett urval mäts vid ett enda tillfälle.

I studie IV används klusteranalys i avsikt att erhålla ett optimalt varierande urval av presumtiva informanter som senare intervjuas (Dörnyei, 2007). Fyra kluster identifierades, ur vilka ett antal elever (n=17) intervjuades. Slutligen intervjuades fyra informanter – ett från varje kluster – ytterligare en gång. Dessa fyra presenteras i studien som enskilda fall.

Urval i studierna I, II och III

I studie I utgjorde deltagarna (n=532) den totala populationen för årskurs 4, 5 och 6 i fem grundskolor. I urvalet fanns 245 flickor (46.1%) och 287 pojkar (53.9%). Sammanlagt 171 elever gick i årskurs 4 (32.1%), 179 elever gick i årskurs 5 (33.7%) och 182 elever gick i årskurs 6 (34.2%). Alla elever läste engelska. Eleverna i årskurs 6 läste engelska, och antingen franska (13.5%), spanska (41.0%), tyska (15.7%), teckenspråk (18%), eller inget språk utöver engelska (11.8%). Studie II baserades på eleverna i årskurs 6 (n=169) från studie I. Eleverna fyllde i en enkät i maj 2005 (studie I) och samma enkät igen tre år senare i maj 2008 (studie II). I studie III och IV deltog ett urval av individer (n=101) från årskurs 6 kohorten (studie I och II) som svarade på ytterligare en enkät.

Instrument och analys

Den första enkäten (instrument A) består av 23 frågor och är baserad på Gardners (1985) *Attitude and Motivation Test Battery*. Två skalor var särskilt designade för att mäta elevernas framtidsinriktade språkliga självbilder i L2-engelska, och L3-språken franska, spanska och tyska. I studie III och IV har ytterligare en enkät använts. Syftet med denna enkät (instrument B) var att mäta

jämförelser med L2-engelskan i situationer där elever läser L3-språken franska, spanska och tyska. Båda instrumenten bestod av items med 6-steg Likert skalor. Eftersom pilotstudier är särskilt viktiga i forskning med barn och ungdomar (Oppenheim, 1992) har rigorösa pilotundersökningar med elever av samma ålder men som inte ingick i studierna genomförts för båda instrumenten. I analysen av data i studierna I, II och III har både analytiska – ANOVA, t-test, regressionsanalys – och beskrivande – t ex. medelvärden – analyser används.

För intervjuarna i studie IV användes en *Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis* (IPA) ansats. IPA är en metod som har utvecklats av Smith et al. (Smith & Eatough, 2007; Smith & Osborn, 2003) i avsikt att förstå individers personliga uppfattningar av händelser eller objekt. Syftet är att förstå den personliga upplevelsen och inte att erbjuda en objektiv redogörelse av händelsen eller objektet (Smith & Eatough, 2007). Ambitionen var att presentera de fyra informanterna som unika individer. För att kunna förstå varje individs olika kognitiva processer i kontexter där L2-engelska var triggande i L3-inläring kan en falldesign vara särskilt lämplig (Willig, 2008).

Resultat

Utvecklingsbanor för flickors och pojkars L3-språkliga självbilder

Studie I. Inga statistiskt signifikanta förändringar över perioden hittades vare sig för flickor eller pojkar på skalorna som mätte elevers språkliga självbilder för L2-engelska och för L3-språken franska, spanska och tyska. Däremot visade resultaten att både flickors och pojkars intresse för att lära främmande språk i framtiden och inställningar till att läsa L3-språk (franska, spanska och tyska) i skolan var signifikant lägre i årskurs 6 än i årskurserna 4 och 5. I årskurserna 4, 5 och 6 hade flickor högre värden än pojkar på skalorna som mätte elevers språkliga självbilder för både L2-engelska och L3-språken. I årskurs 6 var värdena på skalan som mätte den språkliga självbilden för L3 (franska, spanska, tyska) språkbilden högre än den för L2 (engelska).

Studie II. Statistiskt signifikanta skillnader hittades för både flickor och pojkar på skalan som mätte språkbilden för L3 (franska, spanska, tyska). Medan värdena för flickor hade ökat i årskurs 9, var trenden för pojkar den motsatta. Värden på skalan som mätte språkbilden för L2-engelska visade en liknande trend. Inställningar till att lära L3-språken minskade för både flickor och pojkar. Slutligen, för både flickor och pojkar, visade sig skalan som mätte språkbilden för L3-språken i årskurs 6 vara en signifikant prediktor för resultaten på samma

skala i årskurs 9. För elever i årskurs 9 visade sig skalan som mätte språkbilden för L3-språken vara en signifikant prediktor för inställningar till L3-lärande.

Påverkan av självbilden för L2-engelska på L3-motivation

Studie III. I denna hypotesprövande studie hittades stöd för 4 hypoteser: i) att elever har separata språkliga självbilder för L2-engelska och L3-språken franska, spanska och tyska, ii) att självbilden för L3-språken (franska, spanska, tyska) kan tolkas negativt i relation till självbilden för L2-engelska iii) att en hög grad av jämförelser mellan självbilder för L3-till-L2 utgör en signifikant prediktor för låg motivation att lära ett L3-språk (franska, spanska, tyska), och, iv) att effekterna av hypotes ii) och iii) är starkare för pojkar än för flickor.

Studie IV. Analysen av intervjumaterialet visade att samtliga fyra individer var medvetna om att det kunde finnas tillfällen i L3-inläringen där de var medvetna om L2-engelska. För en av deltagarna var förekomsten av L2-engelska systematiskt närvarande och hade en negativ påverkan på motivationen att lära sig spanska. De andra tre hade däremot utvecklat olika förhållningsätt där de aktiverade kompensatoriska självinsikter för att motverka de negativa jämförelserna med L2-engelska.

Diskussion

Forskningsperspektivet

Resultat från studierna I och II indikerar att språkliga självbilder är föränderliga över tid men att förändringsmönstren varierar mellan flickor och pojkar. Både flickor och pojkar inleder sina studier av L3-språken franska, spanska och tyska i årskurs 6 med en stark självbild som någon som i framtiden kommer att använda målspråket. För pojkar minskar denna självbild över tid medan den för flickor förstärks. Tillsammans visar både studie I och II att det kan finnas systematiska genusrelaterade skillnader i utvecklingsbanor för den affektiva dimensionen, dvs. den språkliga självbilden, av L3-motivation. Resultaten visar att, liksom uppfattningar om självkompetens (Jacobs et al. 2002), skiljer sig språkliga självbilder åt som en funktion av kombinationen av kön och ålder. Därför kan Hill och Lynchs (1983) teori *gender intensification* även vara av relevans för språkliga identiteter generellt, och L3-självbilder i synnerhet.

Resultatet av genuskillnader i den affektiva domänen av L2/L3-motivation stämmer väl överens med tidigare forskning (för en översikt se Henry, 2010). Förutom en generell idé kring genusrollsocialisering och genusrollförväntningar,

finns det två teoretiska områden inom psykologin av självet som kan vara av särskild relevans i tolkningen av dessa resultat. Med hänvisning till Cross och Madson (1997), Jordan et al. (1991) och Markus och Kitayama (1991), hävdar Knox (2006) att kvinnor är mer benägna att utveckla framtidsinriktade självbilder (*possible selves*) som karakteriseras av interpersonliga drag. I L2/L3-inläring kan detta vara en delförklaring till varför flickor skapar och upprätthåller mer robusta språkliga självbilder än pojkar.

Resultaten visar att elevernas språkliga självbilder ändras över tid. Carr och Pauwels (2006) har visat att könsprofilen i många L2-klassrum är inriktad mot flick-associerade aktiviteter såsom muntligt interaktion. Genom teorin *Identity-Based Motivation* hävdar Oyserman och Elmore (Oyserman, 2007; Elmore & Oyserman, 2011) att diverse och icke-central-integrerade självbildskomponenter konstrueras dynamiskt i kontexter. Det innebär att flickor och pojkar hela tiden skannar klassrumsmiljön för signaler om hur man ska vara som just tjej och kille. Till skillnad från L2-engelska, möts elever som läser L3 -franska, -spanska och -tyska endast i språkundervisning. Detta kan utgöra en delförklaring till uppmätta könsskillnader för L3-självbilder, med hänvisning till den relativt högre grad av kongruens mellan språklig självbild och klassrumsaktiviteter för flickor och relativt låg kongruens för pojkar.

När utvecklingsbanor för L2- och L3-språkliga självbilder jämfördes, blev genusglappet mer synligt för L3-språken franska, spanska och tyska. Här finns det flera möjliga förklaringar. Först, eftersom L2-engelska räknas mer och mer som en grundläggande 'måste ha' färdighet kan den uppfattas som en mindre könsinriktad aktivitet än inläring av L3-språk som franska, spanska och tyska. En annan förklaring kan vara att traditionella språkinlärningsaktiviteter i L3-klassrum (t.ex. återkommande arbete med språkövningsfrågor och interaktionsövningar som upplevs som mindre verklighetsförankrade) uppskattas mindre av pojkar (Callaghan, 1998; Carr, 2002; Jones & Jones, 2001; Kissau & Turnbull, 2010).

När det gäller L2-engelskans påverkan på L3-motivation skiljer sig resultaten i studierna III och IV från tidigare forskning. I de Ungerska studierna av Csizér med kollegor (Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005b; Csizér & Lukács, 2010) har fokus varit inriktad på centrala trender på grupp-nivå. I studierna i denna avhandling riktas fokus på processer. I de Ungerska studierna används begreppet *interference* för att beskriva påverkan av variabeln L_x på L_y -variabeln. Att använda begreppet *interference* i forskning om processer där språkliga självbilder jämförs med

varandra ter sig inte helt oproblematiskt. Även om Dörnyei (2000, 2001; Dörnyei och Ottó, 1998) tidigare har använt sig av begreppet i sin *Process Model* saknas forskning med en utförlig begreppslig förklaring. Dessutom, verkar det som om begreppet inte används av forskare inom mainstream-psykologi som arbetar med självbilder. För att åstadkomma en bättre konceptuell anpassning och att understryka individens agency, vilket starkt betonas av Markus och Kunda (1986) i sin beskrivning av den så kallade *working self-concept* modellen, kan begreppet *competition* ha bättre förklaringskraft.

För att kunna närmare förstå de processer som sker då både den L2-engelskspråkiga och den L3-språkliga (fransk-/spansk-/tysks) självbilden är aktiva i kognitionen används i denna avhandling *working self-concept* (Markus och Kunda, 1986; Markus och Nurius, 1986). Tillämpningen av modellen i studie IV visar hur jämförelser mellan olika språkliga självbilder sker och hur kompensatoriska processer sker för att motverka den negativa effekt på den L3-språkliga självbild som orsakas när den L2-engelskspråkiga självbilden är aktiverad i kognitionen. Genom att visa hur *working self-concept* modellen kan vara användbar i forskning där *L2 Motivational Self System* appliceras, utökar man möjligheterna att bättre kunna bygga broar mellan kvantitativa och kvalitativa forskningsdesigner i språkmotivationsforskning.

Slutligen kan ett *working self-concept* perspektiv vara av vikt i vidareutvecklingen av teorier kring multipelspråkanvändning. Av särskild betydelse är det bidrag perspektivet kan ge i form av beskrivning av de processer som sker i samband med att individen använder sig av stöd språken i L3-lärandet (Jessner, 2008b). Genom att leta igenom L1 och L2 efter liknelser med målspråket (L3), kan dessa jämförelser trigga andra jämförelser så att L2-självbilden blir aktiverade i kognitionen. Därför, medan jämförande processer kan vara av nytta för att övervinna lingvistiska problem, kan samma processer samtidigt ha en negativ effekt på motivationen.

Det didaktiska perspektivet

Resultaten av studierna I och II visar att motivation att lära sig L3-språken franska, spanska och tyska minskar under perioden från dess introduktion i årskurs 6 till slutet av årskurs 9. Som indikeras av resultaten av studie III kan en av faktorerna bakom den dalande motivationen vara en negativ påverkan av L2-engelska.

Mot bakgrund av engelskans ökande samhälleliga frammarsch är dessa resultat inte särskilt hoppfulla för den Europeiska Unionens ambition att samtliga medborgare ska kunna tala två språk utöver sina modersmål. Enkelt uttryckt, kan det multilingvistiska projektet vara i fara och rent av misslyckas. Olika forskare har föreslagit varierande initiativ för att stödja den så kallade 'ett plus två' policyn. Till exempel har det föreslagits att elever först skulle kunna börja med t.ex. franska eller spanska för att sedan därefter börja med engelska (Krumm, 2004). Ett annat förslag är att istället för att börja med ett annat europeiskt nationalspråk skulle elever kunna börja med ett vanligt förekommande invandrarspråk (Glaser, 2005). Att ersätta ett nytt europeiskt språk med kurser i språklig medvetenhet (Phillipson, 2003) är ytterligare ett förslag, medan att helt tona ner språkliga förväntningar med ett så kallat *partial skills* förhållningssätt är ännu ett annat. Däremot finns det hittills inga vetenskapligt grundade förslag på hur man kan arbeta för att höja elevers motivation att läsa främmande språk som franska, tyska och spanska i samhälleliga kontexter då engelskan är ett mycket väletablerat L2-språk.

Mot denna bakgrund ter sig ett possible selves perspektiv som särskilt användbart i utvecklingen av strategier som kan användas för att utöka tredjespråksmotivation. Som Dörnyei (2009a) har påpekat, det är den transformativa förmågan av possible selves som utgör den största attraktionskraften med Markus och Nurius teori. *Possible self*-baserade interventioner har använts i många olika sammanhang och de resultat som har presenterats i litteraturen har varit anmärkningsvärt bra (t.ex. Dunkel, Kelts & Coon, 2006; Hock, Schumaker & Deshler, 2003; Hock, Deshler & Schumaker, 2006; Lee & Oyserman, 2009; Nurius, Casey, Lindhorst & Macy, 2006; Oyserman, Bybee & Terry, 2006; Oyserman & Fryberg, 2006). Utifrån Dörnyeis (2009a) övertygelse att *possible selves* interventioner och strategier har en viktig roll att spela i språkpedagogik och de uppmuntrande resultat, presenterade av framförallt Oyserman med kollegor (se ovan), föreslås i denna avhandling fem strategier där possible selves kan användas för att påverka motivationen att läsa ett tredje språk. Dessa strategier är i) att ge elever möjligheten att kunna experimentera med sina språkliga självbilder i början av sina L3-studier, ii) att ge eleverna möjligheten att kunna integrera L3-självbilder med sina övergripande självkoncept, iii) att länka L3-självbilder till aktionsstrategier, iv) att ge eleverna tillgång till lämpliga och attraktiva rollmodeller, och, slutligen, v) att göra eleven medveten om det naturliga med jämförelser av den oftast svagare L3-självbilden med den oftast starkare L2-självbilden (engelska), och att uppmuntra till att

utveckla kompensatoriska strategier för att kunna omdirigera motivationen tillbaka till L3-språket.

Begränsningar och framtida forskning

Studierna som utgör denna avhandling har flera väsentliga begränsningar. För de instrument som använts gäller en viktig begränsning begreppsvaliditet och begrepps-underrepresentation. Skalan som används för att mäta elevers framtidsinriktade språkliga självbilder är inte operationaliserad i form av själv-i-framtiden items. Istället mäts snarare självbilden som språkanvändare i framtiden av uppskattningar för andra språkanvändare. Dessutom finns ingen distinktion mellan målspråket (franska, spanska, tyska) och andra (t.ex. invandrar-) språk. En annan begränsning gäller kausalitet. I studierna I och II har det inte varit möjligt att särskilja minskning i språkmotivation från andra generella skolfaktorer. Då det gäller urvalet finns brister i det att även elever som läste teckenspråk inkluderades. Slutligen, i studie IV användes en vinjett (en fingerad berättelse) för att stimulera fram en situation där självbilden för L2-engelska kan vara aktiv i kognitionen i L3-lärande, vilket innebär att responsen från eleverna kan vara påverkad av så kallad *social desirability bias*.

Eftersom området L3-motivation i princip är obeforskat och att *working self-concept* modellen, så vitt jag vet, aldrig har använts tidigare i språkmotivationsforskning, finns det flera vägar för framtida forskning. De som lyfts upp i avhandlingen är, i) longitudinell forskning som har ett bredare fokus och som omfattar samtliga tre komponenter i Dörnyeis *L2 Motivational Self System* modell, ii) forskning i olika kulturella kontexter där syftet är att undersöka relevansen av Hill och Lynchs (1983) teori om *gender-role intensification* för andra språk och i andra kontexter än de som har undersökts här, iii) forskning som har som syfte att vidare undersöka om eleven har olika självbilder för olika språk på det sättet som har antagits i denna avhandling, iv) forskning med syftet att vidare undersöka genuskillnader i L3-mot-L2-jämförande processer, v) forskning som syftar till att utvärdera värden av att inkludera en komponent i framförallt mixed-metod-forskningsdesigner, vi) forskning som syftar till att utvärdera förtjänster och eventuella problem i användningen av *Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis* (IPA) som en metod för att undersöka språkliga självbilder och kognitionsprocesser i språksjälvbildsforskning, och, slutligen, vii) forskning som undersöker möjligheten att inkludera en *working self-concept* komponent i modeller av multipel språkinläring såsom Herdina och Jessners (2002) *Dynamic Model of Multilingualism*.

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