

EFL LEARNERS' IMAGINED COMMUNITIES AND INVESTMENTS:
MULTIPLE PERSPECTIVES FROM AN INTENSIVE ENGLISH LANGUAGE
PROGRAM IN TURKEY

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LANGUAGE PROGRAM IN TURKEY**

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ABSTRACT

EFL LEARNERS' IMAGINED COMMUNITIES AND INVESTMENTS: MULTIPLE PERSPECTIVES FROM AN INTENSIVE ENGLISH LANGUAGE PROGRAM IN TURKEY

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This study set out to investigate the relationship between imagined identities and L2 investments in an in-depth analysis of the three learners' English learning stories who had diverse motivational profiles in a pre-undergraduate language education program in Turkey. Besides, this inquiry sought to explore the imagined communities informing the policy documents and the program members' perspectives in order to reveal how their L2-mediated visions interacted with each other. With this purpose in mind, this research was situated within the borders of a multiple case study design and carried out in an Intensive English Language Program in central Turkey. The data of this research were from (a) the L2 Motivational Questionnaire, (b) three rounds of interviews with the three L2 learners integrated with (c) L2 Learning Profile Task, (4) interviews with the program members and (5) document reviews. Based on the investigation and interpretation of the findings, this study clearly supported the standpoint in previous studies that considered the identity construction of language learners as highly complicated, multiple and dynamic. The analysis revealed that the participants' L2 learning stories were marked with three, either extended or limited, range of imagined identities (as L2 learners/test-takers, L2 users, and L2 sojourners),

which guided their selection of contextualized L2 investments. The powerful impact of limited imagined instrumental community envisioned by the preparatory program on its policies and classroom practices and the learners' imagined identities and L2 investments were also discussed. Based on the findings, some recommendations for further practice and research are made.

Keywords: Imagined communities, identity, investment, second language, case study



ÖZ

İNGİLİZCEYİ YABANCI DİL OLARAK ÖĞRENEN ÖĞRENCİLERİN HAYALİ KİMLİKLERİNE VE HAYALİ TOPLULUKLARINA ULAŞMAK İÇİN YAPTIKLARI YATIRIMLAR: TÜRKİYE’DEKİ BİR İNGİLİZCE HAZIRLIK PROGRAMINDAN FARKLI BAKIŞ AÇILARI

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Bu çalışma, yabancı dil öğrenme motivasyonu bakımından farklı profillere sahip üç hazırlık programı öğrencisinin İngilizce odaklı hayali kimliklerine ve hayali toplumlarına katılmak için yaptıkları yatırımlar arasındaki ilişkiyi incelemektedir. Buna ek olarak bu çalışma, çalışmanın yapıldığı hazırlık programının politika belgelerini ve program üyelerinin görüşlerini de inceleyerek, programın öğrenciler için öngördüğü hayali kimlikleri ve toplumları analiz etmeyi amaçlamıştır. Araştırma deseni olarak çoklu durum çalışması kullanılarak, çalışma verileri (a) İngilizce Öğrenme Motivasyonu Ölçeği (b) üç aşamalı görüşmeler, (c) İngilizce öğrenme motivasyonu çalışma kâğıdı, (d) program üyeleri ile görüşmeler ve (e) doküman analizinden elde edilmiştir. Bulgular, ikinci yabancı dil öğrenme sürecindeki kimlik oluşumu ile ilgili alan yazında genellemelere karşı yapılan uyarıları doğrulamıştır. Bu şekilde, bir kez daha bu tür yabancı dil kimlik oluşumunda bireyselliğin, karmaşıklıkların ve değişimlerin ön planda tutulması ve bu karmaşıklık arasında ana örüntüleri arama gerekliliği gösterilmiştir. Çalışmadaki katılımcıların dil öğrenme deneyimleri incelendiğinde, bağlamsal olarak İngilizce’ye yatırım yapmalarını sağlayan üç farklı hayali kimlik oluşturdıkları (sınav odaklı dil öğrencisi, dil

kullanıcısı ve küresel dil kullanıcısı) ortaya çıkmıştır. Hazırlık programının kendi öğrencileri için öngördüğü sınırlı/edilgen hedefin, hem program üyelerinin sınıf içi öğretim uygulamalarına hem de öğrencilerin etken hayali kimlikler oluşturmaları üzerinde engelleyici bir etki gösterdiği saptanmıştır. Sonuçlara dayanarak, gelecek çalışma ve uygulamalar için öneriler sunulmuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Hayali topluluklar, kimlik, yatırım, ikinci/yabancı dil, durum çalışması





To my family

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

This chapter is a general introduction that provides some background information to the study. First, it starts with the background to the study while presenting the context within which this study was conducted. Next, while introducing the conceptualization of the study, the research purposes and questions and need for the study were briefly outlined.

1.1 Background to the Study

In response to the epistemological shift from a positivistic to a situated, social, and distributed understanding of human cognition, the field of second language (L2) learning and teaching has been conceptualized as a social process over the past several decades (Johnson, 2009). This recent *sociocultural turn* in the field of second language acquisition (Block, 2003) highlights a departure from de-contextualized, depersonalized, and isolated tenets (Lave, 1997) and addresses the dynamic interplay between the social and the cognitive. Besides, it positions *language as social practice* which is mediated by the activities of individual learners rather than a simply cognitive one (Johnson, 2009). As a result, the paradigm shift in L2 learning has created a critical need for providing more comprehensive insights into the language learning process whereby L2 learners as social participants take active role in the practices and interactions (Zeungler & Miller, 2006). In that regard, the process of L2 learning has started to be considered as the process of identity construction of L2 learners through their language use and social participation in the communities where their subjectivities stand (Norton, 2000; Block, 2007). Accordingly, research into the

concept of identity in L2 learning has received noticeable attention and has become one particular research interest to provide meaning to learners' self-concepts (Zeungler & Miller, 2006; Sung, 2016).

A growing literature in the field of second language acquisition (SLA) adopts the post-structuralist and sociocultural theory to understand the notion of identity in L2 learning (Gu, 2010). Through the sociocultural, post-structuralist perspective, most scholars in this field view the construction of identity as a socially-situated, dialogic, complex, and multi-layered process (see Block, 2007; Norton, 2000; Pavlenko & Norton, 2007; Kanno & Norton, 2003; Darvin & Norton, 2018). In this sense, Block (2007) describes identity as an ongoing process of “negotiating new subject positions at the crossroads of the past, present and future” (p. 2); therefore, it can be argued that there is a mutually constitutive effect between language and identity (Hornberger & McKay, 2011). In parallel, researchers in the field also suggest our identities are shaped by and through our language use in unexpected ways for unexpected goals (Hall, 2012; Norton, 2000). According to Bakhtin’s (1981) dialogic perspective, the use of linguistic resources cannot be simply regarded as ‘a neutral and impersonal language’. Instead, it deals with “an appropriation of our words that at one time existed in other people’s mouth before we make them our own” (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 293-294).

The concept of identity in L2 learning has taken a more important place for the learners of English because of the radical change in the status of *English as a global language*, which triggers the departure of a monolithic view of English (Crystal, 1997). As a result of the expansion of British colonial power and the emergence of the United States as the most influential economic power, the English language has gained a new special status among other languages (Crystal, 2003). As the L2 speakers of English have outnumbered their L1 counterparts across the globe (Crystal, 1997), native speakers’ ownership of English has been challenged by various conceptualizations such as ‘English as an International Language’ (EIL) (Pakir, 2009), ‘English as a Lingua Franca’ (ELF) (Seidlhofer, 2011), ‘World Englishes’ (WE) (Kachru, 1992), and ‘global Englishes’ (Pennycook, 2007).

The English language in the context of globalization has turned out to be a major language for international communication and is primarily associated with a global culture (Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005). In such an interconnected context of English use by individuals from diverse backgrounds (i.e., native and L2 speakers of English), the new conceptualizations of English, have also made way for increasing interest in the local varieties of English, not colonial standardized norms (Warschauer, 2000). According to Ryan (2006), the identity of English language users has occupied an important place in this current globalized world because the current position of English alters our sense of ownership of the language. Thus, it is important to re-think what meaning L2 learners attribute to English, to what extent they see the importance of English in a globalized context, their wishes to do with English, the kinds of identities constructed when they learning English in light of new paradigms (e.g., WE, EIL, ELF, and global Englishes) (Sung, 2013). Moreover, this expanding concept of global English associated with a sense of global identity seems to create a need for a re-conceptualization of L2 motivation (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2009) because identity is viewed as a paramount component of the motivation to learn English (Ryan, 2006). Therefore, researchers continue to call for further studies that could contribute to the issue of ownership of English, its acquisition by bilinguals and multilinguals (De Costa, 2010) in light of language as a primary symbol of identity (Jenkins, 2007; Seidlhofer, 2006; Crystal, 2003).

In essence, the recent conceptualization of L2 learning as a result of a sociocultural paradigm highlights the process of language learning. Given that today's English users are "not living in a global village, but in customized cottages globally produced and locally distributed" (Castells, 1996, p. 341), L2 learners seem to be acquiring a new sense of self, in other words, repositories of culture and identity (Johnson, 2009). Thus, the reconceptualization of L2 learning addresses an individual learner's self-positioning in interactions and shuttling between different communities not merely participating in a particular speech community (Canagarajah, 2006). The overall purpose of this study is to explore the identity construction of L2 learners studying at an English as a Foreign Language (EFL) context where people often learn and use English for various purposes in their own countries. In the next section, the status of English in this non-English-dominant research setting will be therefore explained.

1.2 Turkish EFL Context: History and Current Issues

1.2.1 The Historical Background of Foreign Languages and Foreign Language Education in the Ottoman and Turkish Societies

On tracing the history of the foreign languages used in the Ottoman and Turkish societies and foreign language education, it could be seen that various languages have been used for different purposes since it locates at the crossroads of diverse cultural exchanges both from the European and Asian continent. In that regard, the history of foreign language education in Turkey is divided into two major periods according to the changing functions of languages based on the historical developments (Boyacıoğlu (2015): Period I: The foreign language education before the modern schools in the Ottoman Empire (1299-1773) and Period II: The foreign language education in the modern schools in the Ottoman Empire (1773-1923). In the period between 1299 and 1773, the education of the public was employed by the institutions affiliated to the religious establishments. Under Islamic influences, the Arabic language gained prominence because of its religious functions in the Ottoman Empire (Yağmur, 2001). The education of Arabic was offered in the *madrasahs* while the lecturers were Turkish. In the Ottoman Empire, the teaching of Arabic was primarily structure-based and mostly focused on teaching the morphological and syntactical structures of the target language (Hatipoğlu, 2017). Then, the Turkish language was the medium used in daily life. After the Treaty of Karlowitz (1699) in the seventeenth century, the Ottoman Empire could not follow the recent developments and had started to lose its supremacy over Europe, which necessitated the educational institutions to modify their educational systems in line with the advancements in Europe.

In the eighteenth century, the educational programs began to involve the Western languages and foreign language education took an important place for the governments (Nergis, 2011). In the second period of moderns schools in the Ottoman Empire, some Western languages were introduced, particularly the French language and foreign language education took an important place for the governments (Bezirci, 2019; Nergis, 2011). Moreover, other languages from European origins such as French, German, or English were also preferred mostly by the elites for the education of their children (e.g., tradesman or foreign diplomats). Particularly, the French language has

received special attention as a sign of prestige and it was the language of education in the 18th century during the Ottoman Empire (Konig, 1990). According to Bartu (2002), French was the most legitimized one among foreign languages because it was the lingua franca in the European countries at the time. In response to the Islahat and Tanzimat reform movements also contributed to the acceleration of foreign language education, foreign language courses were integrated into the educational programs, which required the foreign language teachers to train (Hatipoğlu, 2017). Therefore, the Enderun Schools that were established in 1868 were innovated and re-established under the name of *Galatasaray Sultânîsî* (Nergis, 2011). The graduates of this school were able to have a good command of the French language (Boyacıoğlu, 2015). The method of teaching utilized to teach French at that time was associated with the characteristics of Grammar-Translation Method in which the focus was on teaching students the grammar of the target language (Hatipoğlu, 2017). In addition to French, the German language education received noticeable attention during the period of Sultan Abdulhamit II, particularly in the military schools (Boyacıoğlu, 2015) as a result of the alliance of the Ottomans with Germans during World War I (Hatipoğlu, 2017). Thus, a number of German teachers were imported from Germany to teach German in the Ottoman schools.

According to Doğançay-Aktuna (1998) who provided us with a comprehensive analysis of the spread of English and its sociolinguistic profile in Turkey, Turkish became the official language in parallel to the line of thinking characterized by the Turkish nationalism after the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923. The secularization movement resulted in a ban of the Persian and Arabic language in the domain of primary and secondary education. Furthermore, various attempts in favor of the nationalistic stance emerged with the aim of "bringing widespread literacy to the Turkish people, only 6% of whom were literate at the time" (Doğançay-Aktuna, 1998, p. 26). In the 1940s, the Turkish government stopped sending students abroad and made an important decision regarding the opening the foreign language teacher training departments. A French Language Teaching Department in 1942, an English Language Teaching Department in 1944, and the German Language Teaching Department in 1947 were respectively opened (Demircan, 1988; Hatipoğlu, 2017).

After World War II, the English language, nevertheless, started to have a tremendous influence on Turkey because of the dominant position the United States held in the global economy and military. In parallel, in 1997, English began to take place as the compulsory school subject in primary schools starting from the fourth grade onwards (Bayyurt, 2013). Today, English has reached its highest popularity in the Turkish context and is considered as the language of international diplomacy to be used for trade, banking, tourism, popular media, science and technology (Doğançay-Aktuna, 1998). Thus, it could well be said that people learning English as a foreign language in Turkey seem to represent one type of group of speakers involving about 750 million in Graddol's (1997) categorization. However, a quite recent large-scale research of the British Council (see Vale et al., 2013) into language teaching in the Turkish public schools demonstrated that despite Turkey's goals to compete within the top ten economies in the world by 2023, the country has still fallen behind the competitor economies in terms of its level of English language proficiency. To this end, Sarıgül (2018) indicated the diverse sociolinguistic profile in Turkey (see Table 1 below) to illustrate the changing scene of foreign languages used by Turks throughout history.

Table 1.

The historical background of foreign languages preferred by the Turkish people (Adapted from Demircan, 1988, p. 116, as cited in Sarıgül, 2018, p. 293, emphasis is mine)

Rank	Before 1773	1773– 1923	1923– 1950	1950– 1980	After 1980
1	Arabic	Arabic	French	English	English
2	Persian	Persian	English	French	German
3	Turkish	French	German	German	French
4		English	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
5		German		Persian	Persian

In addition, another baseline study carried out by the British Council and TEPAV (see West et al., 2015) reports particular key findings and recommendations in relation to the state of English in Turkish higher education. Supporting the findings of the former project (see Vale et al., 2013), the research team revealed that the 'English deficit in Turkey' plays a pivotal role in influencing the quality of higher education. This situation, in turn makes a substantial impact on the economic standing of the country.

Another noteworthy finding of the project about the language teaching programs particularly in the tertiary settings in Turkey is that students enrolled in preparatory schools displayed low motivation along with the low levels of English proficiency. The project suggests that the preparatory programs do not give sufficient attention to these critical problems. The curriculum of the programs is viewed as irrelevant and the English classes are not offered when a student could show the highest performance in his/her professional trajectory.

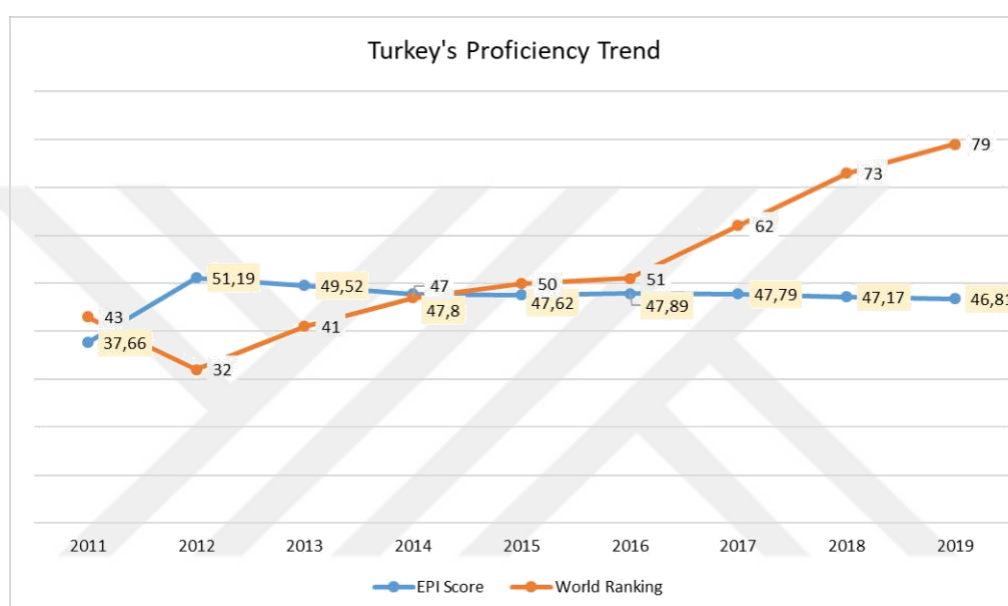


Figure 1. A nine-year trend of English Proficiency Index in Turkey.
Note. Data from EF EPI (2019c)

In terms of the international position, Turkey has positioned as 79th out of 100 countries following Sri Lanka, Egypt, Morocco, and Jordan according to the rankings of the English First English Proficiency Index (EF EPI, 2019a), which is a specialized measurement of a country's language proficiency. The EF EPI score of Turkey is reported as 46.81, which falls in the category of 'very low proficiency' level. In this language proficiency level band, one is expected to be able to introduce herself/himself simply (name, age, country/regions of origin), understand simple signs, and give basic directions to a foreign visitor (EF EPI, 2019b).

In Figure 1 above, the EF EPI trends in Turkey from 2011 to 2019 was illustrated. The national trends of English Proficiency Index score have been shown as 37.66 in 2011;

51.19 in 2012; 49.52 in 2013; 47.80 in 2014; 47.62 in 2015; 47.89 in 2016; 47.79 in 2017; 47.17 in 2018, and 46.81 in 2019. It might be concluded that the EPI scores during nine years seem to be trending up since it starts at 37.66 and ends up with a score of 46.81. In terms of the world ranking, Turkey initially came 43rd among 44 countries eight years ago, which was described as a 'runner-up' position (Savaşkan, 2016, p. 195). The world ranking of the EPI score of Turkey (see also Figure 1 above for a nine-year trend of EP index in Turkey) became 32/54 in 2012; 41/60 in 2013; 47/63 in 2014; 50/70 in 2015; 51/72 in 2016; 62/80 in 2017; 73/88 in 2018, and 79/100 in 2019. In this sense, West et al. (2015) point to Turkey's display of an underperforming pattern and its position at the bottom of the table with the poorest EPI performance in Europe and is out-performed by Ukraine and Romania. Compared to the European countries, Turkey has ranked the 32nd out of 33 countries. In this sense, Table 2 below indicated the ranking of Turkey among the European countries and their EPI scores at the same time.

Taken into account the national proficiency trends of the world rankings, Turkey has continuously been in the 'very low proficiency' band according to EPI scores in the rankings of both Europe and the world even though the English language is viewed as "*sine qua non* for every Turkish citizen" (Selvi, 2011, p. 186). Moreover, in such a context that is considered among *the emerging economies* concerning the Times Higher Education rankings in 2015, there still exists the issue of *English deficit in Turkey* (West et al., 2015). In that regard, West et al. (2015) reported that most of the students in the preparatory schools noted they were motivated to learn English; however, there were particular conflicts in the pattern of their long vs. short term motives.

According to their findings, 96% of the students stated that they learned English for long-term professional purposes instead of academic learning, which is considered to be a major hindrance in the depth and rate of learning English. In a parallel sense, Vale et al. (2013) also highlight in their collaborative project that:

[S]tudents may realize that in the long-term they will need English for employment, further study and travel, but in the short term, they are not motivated by 30-35 hours of English during the preparatory year, trying (as one student said) to learn the present perfect for the sixth time. (p. 17)

Table 2.
EPI 2019 rankings in Europe

European Ranking (of 33 countries)	World Ranking (of 100 countries)	Country	EPI score	Proficiency Bands
1	1	Netherlands	70.27	Very high
2	2	Sweden	68.74	
3	3	Norway	67.93	
4	4	Denmark	67.87	
5	7	Finland	65.34	
6	8	Austria	64.11	
7	9	Luxembourg	64.03	
8	10	Germany	63.77	
9	11	Poland	63.76	
10	12	Portugal	63.14	
11	13	Belgium	63.09	
12	14	Croatia	63.07	
13	15	Hungary	61.86	High
14	16	Romania	61.36	
15	17	Serbia	61.30	
16	19	Switzerland	60.23	
17	21	Lithuania	60.11	
18	22	Greece	59.87	
19	23	Czech Repub.	59.30	
20	24	Bulgaria	58.97	
21	25	Slovakia	58.82	
22	28	Estonia	58.29	
23	31	France	57.25	Moderate
24	32	Latvia	56.85	
25	35	Spain	55.46	
26	36	Italy	53.31	
27	47	Belarus	52.39	Low
28	48	Russia	52.14	
29	49	Ukraine	52.13	
30	50	Albania	51.99	
31	56	Georgia	50.62	
32	79	Turkey	46.81	Very low
33	85	Azerbaijan	46.13	

Note. Data from EF EPI ninth edition (2019a).

Given the spreading influence of English in Turkey and its *skyrocketing* role in each strata of the Turkish education context (Selvi, 2011), focusing on the role of English in Turkish L2 learners' life, how they see the role and relevance of English in the globalization processes, and what kind of identities they desire to construct might contribute to our understanding of individuals' motivation of learning English in EFL

contexts. Besides, the position of Turkey regarding the persistent fidelity of learning English is noteworthy because there seems to be a notable commitment to English medium instruction (EMI) across a number of university subjects (Sarigül, 2018). All these points seem to raise a critical need for an in-depth study that targets Turkish learners of English.

1.2.2 The Status of English in the Turkish Education System

The language policy of English in Turkey has been the subject of various changes that have been formed as a result of political and socioeconomic factors (Kırkgöz, 2007). These substantial modifications are categorized into three different phases based on the changing landscape of learning and teaching English in the Turkish setting. According to Kırkgöz's (2007) division of phases, the initial period marked the introduction of the English language into the Turkish education system in *The Tanzimat Period* when the westernization movements received great attention in the educational arena. The Tanzimat period also marked the establishment of Robert College, which was the first institution of education offering instruction in English. In the 1950s, English was rapidly replacing the French language in Turkey.

Second, having influenced by globalization processes as many countries in the world, Turkey started to put a strong emphasis on English in that it became a compulsory course in 1997. Second, after the rapid replacement of the French language by English in the 1950s, English in Turkey has begun to gain popularity particularly after the educational reform of Teaching English to Young Learners (TEYL) in 1995, which made English a compulsory course for primary school students (Bayyurt, 2013). The introduction of English in Grade 4 and Grade 5 and the 1997 curriculum were described as ‘a landmark’ in Turkish history because of the arrival of communicative approach into English language teaching (Kırkgöz, 2007).

Third, the language policies have undergone several changes in response to Turkey's attempts to integrate with the European Union. Following the abolishment of the preparatory programs in the first year of the Anatolian High Schools for the standardization purposes, students in high schools are offered ten-hour English courses

in the first year and four-hour English courses in the incoming years of school. Another change in English Language Teaching (ELT) policies in Turkey became the revision of the 1997 curriculum in order to provide students with a more performance-based curriculum. After the extension of the basic compulsory education to 12 years has been introduced as a new educational reform known as '4+4+4' in 2012, the Ministry of National Education (MNE) put forward another policy change in relation to the onset of English courses. This language policy change requires students in Grade 2, Grade 3, and Grade 4 to take two-hour English courses as a compulsory subject while students in Grade 5 to Grade 8 are offered four hours of English classes (Aksoy, Bozdoğan, Akbaş, & Seferoğlu, 2018).

On completing primary and secondary school education, students are expected to continue attending high schools where they are placed based on their points in the High School Entrance Exam (LGS) held by the MNE. In these institutions of secondary education, students enrolled in General High Schools are offered three hours of English classes in the first year and the number of hours is reduced to two-hour of English lessons in the following three years. In contrast to the language policy adopted in the General High Schools, Anatolian High Schools are supposed to offer six hours of English courses in the 9th grade with a slight increase in the number of hours in English courses. Students in such schools take four-hour English courses in the incoming years. Science High Schools provide students with seven-hour English lessons in the initial year of secondary school, but the English course hours diminish and are offered as a three-hour lesson in the 10th grade and onwards.

Following the secondary school education, students in the Turkish education system might(not) need to enroll in an English preparatory program based on the language policy of the tertiary institution where they are accepted according to their university entrance exam scores. With regard to the language policies, both the State and the Foundation universities in Turkey use particular languages as a medium of instruction (either English or Turkish or Turkish-English medium). It is revealed that the majority of the State universities adopt mixed Turkish-English medium (T-EMI) (West et al., 2015). Similarly, most of the Foundation universities are Turkish-English medium (T-EMI) institutions, however, no Turkish medium universities are reported among the

Foundation tertiary settings. In the higher education institutions in which T-EMI policy is followed, 30% of classes are supposed to be in English and the rest are in Turkish.

In order to bring clarification to the latest position of English, Figure 2 below illustrates the distribution of English course hours (hrs) offered in the Turkish education system. As shown, English has an in-depth penetration in almost all levels of the Turkish educational structure. In this regard, given that the important status of the English language in Turkey as the primary means connecting to the rest of the world (Konig, 1990, para. 7), the extent of its growing influence could be clearly set. Thus, it is critical to understand the special role of English in Turkey because “[i]ndeed, in no country is this trend more prominent than in Turkey where English, currently, is the only foreign language that has become a compulsory subject at all levels of education, featuring predominantly in language policy” (Kırkgöz, 2009a, p. 667).

1.3 Conceptual Background

One who speaks only one language is one person, but one who speaks two languages is two people.

Turkish proverb

This section will primarily focus on the concepts of the theoretical framework to better understand the analysis and interpretation of this research study. This study is built on the sociocultural view of L2 learning which is based on the assumption that language learning serves as a mediating tool that allows learners to co-construct meaning while interacting with people (Skehan, 2003). To explore identity construction in the process of L2 learning, I mainly intend to draw on Norton's (2000) concepts of identity and investment as well as the ideas from Dörnyei's (2005) L2 Motivational Self System framework (L2MSS). In order to illustrate the changing relationship between the English language and the language learner in today's global context, the history of L2 motivation research will first be explained. Next, while outlining the process of reconceptualization of L2 motivation, the conceptual link between L2 motivation and the self and identity theories will be given. Lastly, the underlying assumptions of social identity theory will be explored to understand the complex, dynamic, and situated nature of L2 identity construction (Norton, 2000; Kanno & Norton, 2003).

1.3.1 Reconceptualization of L2 Motivational Theories

Although it seems straightforward to define what L2 motivation is as the driving force behind why a language is learned, it has not been a simple task to explain L2 motivation and determine its scope as a construct (Dörnyei, 2001). As for the scholars' endeavors to understand this complex and dynamic construct, research into L2 motivation has undergone three developmental phases: (1) the Social-Psychological Period, (b) the Cognitive-Situated Period, and (c) the Socio-dynamic Period. It is important to point out that each period has been characterized by different emerging themes (Al-Hoorie, 2017). An overview of these three phases is provided in Table 3 below.

Table 3.*An overview of three phases of L2 motivation research*

Phase	Spearheaded by	Emerging concepts
The Social-Psychological Period (1950s-1990)	Gardner & Lambert (1972) Gardner (1985)	The emergence of the concept of integrative and instrumental motivation
The Cognitive-Situated Period (the 1990s)	Crookes and Schmidt (1991) Dörnyei (1990, 1994) Oxford and Shearin (1994, 1996) Noels et al., 1999 Noels et al., 2000 Deci and Ryan (1985) Weiner (1985,1986), Julkunen (1989) Locke and Latham (1990)	Characterized by cognitive theories in educational psychology Self-determination Theory Attribution theory Goal-setting theory, Intrinsic motivation, Extrinsic motivation, and a-motivation, State/Trait Motivation
The Socio-Dynamic Period (Current)	Dörnyei and Ushioda (2011)	Focus on self and identity-related approaches Socio-dynamic perspectives Dynamic nature of motivation

The social-psychological period was marked by Gardner and Lambert's (1972) seminal work *Attitudes and Motivation in Second Language Learning*. It has been regarded as the first research study proposing the interconnection between motivation, attitudes, and L2 learning achievement. Gardner (1972, 1985) primarily assumes that the L2 motivation is different from other types of motivation since it is intertwined with an openness to the target language community and willingness to adopt its characteristics (Al-Hoorie, 2017). In order to bring clarification to this variation, *integrative motivation* was put forth as the most influential construct associated with Gardner. During the socio-educational period, *integrativeness* was regarded as the

fundamental antecedent of L2 motivation. Gardner's socio-educational model also suggests that if a language learner holds a positive attitude towards learning the target language and its associated community, this leads to higher levels of L2 motivation as well as language achievement. However, integrative motivation defined as "an individual's willingness and interest in social interaction with members of other [L2] groups" (Gardner & MacIntyre, 1993, p. 59) has various ranges from the willingness to fully integrate with the ethnolinguistic community by learning the target language (strong version) to openness to learning about other culture and language community (weak version). In that sense, Gardner's concept of integrativeness has received various criticisms since it has a limited value particularly in EFL settings where English is not a dominant language of communication. In such contexts of limited contact with the target L2 community, integrativeness has been considered to be a conceptualization that "simply does not make sense" (Dörnyei, 2009, p. 23). Furthermore, the notion of integrativeness was also criticized because of a conceptual ambiguity it creates in a globalized process whereby English becomes a language of international communication (Dörnyei, 2005). As a result of this growing dissatisfaction with the concept of integrative motivation (Dörnyei, 2009), the scholars called for a reinterpretation of L2 motivation that incorporates the affective elements. In other words, it was simply a call for bringing the 'cognitive light' into Gardner's socio-education model (Al-Hoorie, 2017). Therefore, the researchers in the field of L2 motivation started to place greater emphasis on the classroom-oriented understandings rather than the social dimension of language learning in the 1990s (Erdil Moody, 2016).

The movement from the socio-psychological period to the cognitive-situated period resulted in an increasing interest characterized by the application of theories in educational psychology. Seeking new and alternative approaches to re-conceptualize research into L2 motivation, a number of educational psychology theories were proposed such as Self-Determination Theory (SDT), involving *extrinsic* and *intrinsic motivation* (e.g., Noels et al., 1999; Noels et al., 2000; Deci & Ryan, 1985), Attribution Theory (e.g., Weiner, 1985, 1986), and Goal-Setting Theory (e.g., Locke & Latham, 1990) (Ferrari, 2013).

Lastly, the current phase is characterized by the fundamental shifts from a cognitive-situated understanding to *socio-dynamic perspectives* as a result of closer attention to the dynamic and temporally varying nature of motivation (Dörnyei & Ryan, 2015; Al-Hoorie, 2017). The efforts of the re-interpretation of L2 Motivation Self System (L2MSS) have taken place within this socio-dynamic phase. It provides the researchers with an interpretive lens to incorporate different approaches to L2 motivation as well as a means to make the individual learners' language learning experiences in their particular learning contexts (Asker, 2012). In the recent L2 motivation theories, the main focus is on the *dynamic, affective, unconscious, and long-term* nature of motivation (Ah-Hoorie, 2017). Language learners are considered as social individuals with unique and diverse personal, social, and professional features that play a role in shaping their L2 motivational orientations (Guerrero, 2015). Besides, L2 motivation is noted as a fluid process whereby fluctuations in their emotions constantly take place and act as essentially important motivators for L2 learners. (MacIntyre, Mackinnon, & Clément, 2009). Moreover, with the pervasive presence of technology in individual's lives, the opportunities for interaction with diverse communities and gaining access to a wide range of resources creates a potential to influence the language learners (Guerrero, 2015; Ah-Hoorie, 2017).

According to Guerrero (2015), three approaches can be considered under the scope of socio-dynamic perspectives. First, Ushioda's (2009) *person-in-context* is a contemporary standpoint of L2 motivation and assumes that "learners shape and are shaped by context" (Ushioda, 2015, p. 48). This point of view focuses on the learning process in the classroom, the social and personal context of a language learner (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2009). Second, Dörnyei's (2005; 2009) *L2 motivational self-system* comprised of three components (i.e., ideal L2 self, ought-to L2 self, and L2 learning experience) is based on the Self-Discrepancy Theory (Higgins, 1987) and the Possible Selves Theory (Markus & Nurius, 1986). Both of these theories build on the understanding that an individual is motivated to reduce the gap between the actual self and the ideal self which refers to the qualities a learner hopes to possess in the future (Takahashi, 2013). Third, the *Complex Dynamic Systems Theory (CDST)* (De Bot, Lowie, & Verspoor, 2007) puts a clear emphasis on an interpretation of the world as

an *organic, complex, and holistic system*, not as a linear system comprising cause-and-effect models (Mercer, 2011). It is suggested that language development as a system has a constant and fluid nature as an output of the multiple interactions of the system components (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011). In addition, the direction of this continuous change cannot be attributed to any single variable, rather it functions as a whole. Thus, the variables (i.e., individual differences) in L2 motivation display a complex and dynamic interplay and show a constantly changing pattern based on each language learner's personal, emotional, and cognitive characteristics (Guerrero, 2015).

To put it simply, the direction of current thinking in L2 motivational theories seems to prioritize the efforts to investigate the self and identity in connection with the new conceptualizations of English as global language in today's globalized world. Further, the vibrant landscape of research is prompted by these burgeoning discussions on the complexity and dynamicity of L2 motivation as the emerging themes have revealed.

1.3.2 Challenges to Integrativeness, Global English and Theoretical Refinement of L2 Motivation Concepts

As explained in the previous section, Gardner's concept of integrative motivation that emerged between a period of 1959-1990 started to be disapproved in the L2 motivation literature. These concepts lost their popularity and explanatory function due to the challenges in the interpretations of integrativeness in the global arena where there exist various dynamic socio-cultural changes (Al-Hoorie, 2017). In response to the growth of English as a world lingua franca as well as the influence of globalization, the research area of L2 motivation has undergone "something of a sea-change" in the 1990s (Ushioda, 2006, p. 148). This changing landscape within the field appears to be built on a distinctive perspective that considers a foreign language as an organic system. According to this view of thinking, language learning allows us to expand and express our identity in different contexts to participate in diverse communities for a wide range of reasons including access to alternative sources of information, entertainment, or material (Ushioda, 2011a). In that regard, Ushioda (2011a) explained what conditions triggered this radical change in the L2 learning and the decline of integrativeness as follows:

Traditional social psychological concepts such as integrative motivation (defined in its strong form as identification with and a desire to integrate into the target language community) lose their explanatory power: (a) when English is fast becoming a ‘must-have’ basic educational skill in more and more primary curricula (Graddol, 2006); (b) when there is no clearly defined target language community (the UK?, US?, The world?) into which learners of English are motivated to ‘integrate’; and (c) when physical geographical boundaries separating communities of language users become dissolved in the world of cyberspace and online communication networks (p. 199).

As indicated in the quote above, a critical need raised to eliminate the potential weaknesses of explanatory capacity of Gardner's concepts as a result of several factors; the intricate and unstable realities of today's ‘globalized multilingual society’ (Ushioda, 2011a) or ‘international community’ (Yashima, 2009), the increasing popularity in the status of Global English, and the cyberspaces and cybercultures bringing individuals from diverse communities and networks together. In line with this changing face of L2 motivation, the 1990s marked a welcome effort to the concepts developed by Dörnyei and his associates who were the initiators of a growing socio-dynamic movement in L2 motivation. Also, Norton (2000) stated that such a simple and clear-cut distinction could not embrace the complex and multifaceted nature of L2 motivation. Since it does not make sense to mention any particular target reference community of speakers, a critical expansion in the concept of integrativeness has paved the way for a theoretical refinement of L2 motivation concepts (Ushioda, 2006).

Having established that there is growing recognition in the internal processes of identification with "a non-specific global community of English-speaking users" (Ushioda, 2006, p. 150), it might be better to illuminate the process of re-conceptualization of L2 motivation theory and the interconnectedness between the issues of self and identity and L2 motivation. According to Dörnyei and Ushioda (2009), self and identity stand at the core of L2 motivation theorizing to shed light on the conceptual link between L2 motivation and concepts of identity theories. As previously mentioned, identity is seen as a significant construct that is broadly utilized to explain the complex process of L2 learning (Wu, 2017). In addition, it has been addressed as “a basic issue in actual for more than twenty years learning” (Gao, Jia, &

Zhou, 2015, p. 138). In this regard, You, Dörnyei, and Csizér (2016) argue that there is a rise of an emphasis on the language learners' self-concept to gain insights into their motivational orientations. Dörnyei and Ushioda (2009) explain how and why the processes of globalization have pushed us to a paradigmatic change in the conceptualization of the language learner, identity in relation to the L2 motivation as follows:

... [D]uring the latter decades of the 20th century and the first decade of this century, we have also witnessed the phenomena of globalization, the fall of communism and European reconfiguration, widespread political and economic migration, increased mobility with the rise of budget airlines, ever-developing media technologies, and electronic discourse communities - all contributing in one way or another to the inexorable spread of 'global English', the growth of World English varieties, and repercussions for the loss or maintenance of various national, local or heritage languages. In short, over the past decades, the world traversed by the L2 learner has changed dramatically - it is now increasingly characterized by linguistic and socio-cultural diversity and fluidity, where language use, ethnicity, identity, and hybridity have become complex topical issues and the subject of significant attention in sociolinguistic research. (p. 1)

As mentioned in the quote above, there is a growing number of people started to use a global language that has turned out to be 'the Latin of the contemporary world' (Al-Dabbagh, 2005). The prevalence of 'global English' (Ushioda & Dörnyei, 2009) made a significant impact on L2 motivation and motivation theories for individuals who desire to become part of a global community of English speakers. L2 motivation is, therefore, "currently in the process of being radically re-conceptualized and re-theorized in the context of contemporary notions of self and identity" (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2009, p. 1). Given this recent revival of interest in "how L2 learners are situated in specific social, historical, and cultural contexts" (Norton & Toohey, 2001, p. 310), it might be better to look at how research into identity in L2 learning has been shaped so far.

According to Block (2013), previous studies on the constructs of motivation and affective factors in L2 learning appeared to be related to the concept of identity although the term has never been used. However, identity as a key construct has started to be discussed explicitly after Norton Peirce's (1995) invitation for the applied

linguistics scholars. This call intended to provide an extensive theory of social identity that integrates the language learner and the language learning context. On the basis of this explosion of interest in identity, the developmental periods of L2 motivation theories can be categorized into two distinct L2 identity tenets—namely, earlier studies within the psychological paradigm and contemporary studies within social paradigm (Gao et al., 2015). The psychological perspective as the earliest of the two major perspectives on L2 identity deals with the stability of language attitude, motivation, and (non-)linguistic outcome of learning. In this paradigm, Gardner and Lambert's (1972) work has put forward the dichotomy between the notions of instrumentality and integrativeness. In this sense, Dörnyei (1990, 1994) questioned the compatibility of the concept of integrativeness for the EFL contexts because there is no or limited meaningful access to the target community as well as the desire to feel part of it (Ryan, 2006). During this period of time, various scholars used different theories such as Schumann's (1986) acculturation theory, Krashen's (1978) monitor model, and Gile, Mulac, Bradac, and Johnson's (1987) speech accommodation theory to understand L2 motivation.

1.3.3 Alternative Conceptual Frameworks for Theorizing L2 Motivation

According to Gao et al.'s (2015) categorization, there are also contemporary studies that deal with integrativeness ‘as marginally relevant’ and ‘L2 self within an imagined global community’. Dörnyei (2005) proposed his theory of the L2 Motivational Self System (L2MSS) encompassing a tripartite construct, that is, the ideal L2 self, the ought-to L2 self, and the L2 learning experience. Based on the possible selves theory (Markus & Nurius, 1986) and self-discrepancy theory (Higgins, 1987), the ideal L2 self refers to one’s ideal self-image that represents personal hopes, aspirations, or wishes as a proficient L2 user in the future (Dörnyei, 2005). The desirable L2 selves are functional for an L2 user since they act as future self-guides and direct one’s current motivational behaviors (Ushioda, 2011a). The secondary key construct of the L2MSS is the ought-to L2 self that is linked to the responsibilities, obligations or perceived duties to avoid potential negative outcomes while learning the target language (Dörnyei, 2005). Compared to the ideal L2 self that has a promotion focus

to enhance desirable self-images in various settings of L2 use (e.g., social, personal or professional), the ought-to L2 self builds on a prevention focus that is about the external regulation of an instrumental motive (Ushioda, 2011a). As for the third complementary dimension of Dörnyei's new L2 motivation model, the L2 learning experience deals with one's current language learning experiences and refers to various motives regarding the immediate learning context (Dörnyei, 2005). This component of the L2MSS framework is mostly associated with the possible impacts of curriculum, peers, teachers, and other elements surrounding the L2 learner.

In addition to Dörnyei's (2005) L2MSS model, several alternative perspectives and conceptualizations to Gardnerian concept of integrativeness were provided (e.g., Yashima, 2009; Kanno & Norton, 2003; Norton, 2000, 2001; Dörnyei, 2005, 2006; Ryan, 2006). Based on the role of self, identity, and imagination, several researchers (e.g., Norton, 2000; Kanno & Norton, 2003; Kinginger, 2004) within the poststructuralist paradigm integrated Anderson's (1983) 'imagined communities' and proposed 'imagined language community' to interpret how L2 learners connect to communities of English speaking individuals. Building on Norton's (Norton & Kamal, 2003; Norton, 2001) conceptualization and Dörnyei's (Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005) ideal L2 self, Ryan (2006) suggested a model of L2 motivation that puts learner's real identity as a member of an imagined global community and a clear vision of a desired English-speaking self at the center. Lastly, Yashima (2009) put forth *international posture* to describe a learner's "tendency to relate oneself to the international community rather than any specific L2 group" (p. 2). In that regard, Yashima (2009) considers the conceptualization of international posture as a challenging job in EFL settings because of the existence of a different language ecology "where L2 communities do not visibly exist or are not readily accessible" (p. 6). Thus, it is suggested that the creation of *imagined international communities* that are formed and enhanced as the visible communities seems to be a crucial task for the field of English language teaching.

On the other hand, Gao et al. (2015) noted that while the earliest research studies within the psychological paradigm fundamentally employed quantitative methods (e.g.

questionnaires and controlled experiments), recent studies have placed more prominence on the broader methodologies such as mixed-methods study designs. In parallel, according to Al-Hoorie and MacIntyre, (2019), research on L2 motivation has started to be characterized by the growth of qualitative inquiry particularly in the past several decades because open-ended qualitative methods are appropriate for the exploratory nature of theory-building phase of research. In contrast to the psychological stance, the social school stands at the other side of the continuum of L2 identity research where there are also two distinct groups of theoretical discussions, including the social structuralist and the post-structuralist. The former has a view of an identity that is determined by social factors such as ethnicity, class, and age while the latter seems to be the opposite pole of the social structuralists and emphasizes a dynamic, unstable, and multiple L2 identities. The scholars from both parties tend to use qualitative research methods (e.g., interviews and discourse analysis) and more (Gao et al., 2015).

1.3.4 Socio-Cultural Approaches in SLA and Poststructuralist Perspectives on L2 Identity

In addition to the socio-psychological perspectives in L2 motivation, this study is informed by the tenets of sociocultural approaches in second language acquisition (SLA) and poststructuralist perspectives. Therefore, first, the underlying sets of assumptions of social identity theory will be explained to understand how the identity of L2 learners is a dynamic, complex, and socially-constructed construct. In this study, I conceptualized, in particular, the concept of communities of practice (CoPs) (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998), in combination with the constructs of imagined communities, imagined identities, and investment (Anderson, 1983; Norton Peirce; 1995). Then, socio-cultural approaches in SLA and poststructuralist perspectives will be discussed with a focus on particular prevailing constructs to gain insights into the ways L2 learners take up positions available to them in the given communities. This part will also be integrated with the construct of communities of practice to investigate how L2 learners co-construct their identity through participation in particular communities.

According to Tajfel and Turner (1979), social identity as a theoretical framework attempts to understand the individual within a group. It has a clear focus on how self-concept is determined by the groups an individual belongs to. An individual's social identity constitutes the representations of social categories or groups a person belongs to. From this perspective, Tajfel (1981) argues that one's identity takes its source from a sense of membership within a social group and value attributed to that membership. It is based on the premise that the whole is far more than the sum of their parts. This means that an individual self-definition originates from the social group identifications employed by that individual, which forms his/her social identity (Turner, 1982). Tajfel and Turner (1986) illustrate their perspective by arguing that a person does not have only one *selfhood*, rather there are multiple identities and self-concepts associated with their affiliated groups. In addition, they highlight the differentiation of individuals' actions and practices depending on the varying social contexts in which they have a sense of membership.

In order to clarify these intergroup behaviors, Tajfel and Turner (1986) proposed there interrelated cognitive mechanisms that are incrementally becoming restricted; (1) social categorization, (2) social identification, and (3) social comparison. Social categorization is the determination process of which particular social groups a person or persons categorize themselves and feel a sense of belonging to. One identity category might be more or less *salient* than the other identity categories. With respect to the formation of psychological salience of identity categories, Trepte and Loy (2017) provide an explanation as follows:

People socially interact based on experiences they have had with others who belong to different categories. During the interaction, they constantly refine their social categories. These, in turn, influence their behavior. For instance, going to lunch with an adult trigger different behaviors than going to lunch with a young adolescent. While having lunch with either one, more experiences are collected to extend the mental representation of the existing categories. (p. 2)

Contrast to social categorization, social identification refers to the process of identification of an individual with the in-group associated with an exaggeration of the positive characteristics of one's own group and an exaggeration of negative characteristics of the out-group (Islam, 2014). Such groups in which favorable

qualities of the in-group are bolstered are also described as common-identity groups in the literature (Prentice, Miller, & Lightdale, 1994). In parallel, we are inclined to make both an in-group and also against an out-group comparison based on the social groups an individual categorizes him/herself and identifies with (Trepte & Loy, 2017). From Festinger's (1954) perspective, social comparison occurs when there is a lack of standards to compare with, the in-group members tend to make comparisons with the out-groups because "[g]roups strive for a high social status and use several strategies to satisfy this motive (Trepte & Loy, 2017, p. 4).

Drawing on Tajfel's (1981) theory of social identity, Norton Peirce (1995) provided relevant discussions to L2 learning which are mainly informed by poststructuralist perspectives. Based on Weedon (1987), Norton Peirce (1995) equates the conception of *subjectivity* and *social identity* and proposes three characteristics of subjectivity; the multiple nature of the subject, subjectivity as a site of struggle, and subjectivity as changing over time. Correspondingly, Norton Peirce (1995) criticizes the existing SLA theories and calls for an extensive theory of social identity which carries the potential to integrate the language learner and the language learning context (McNamara, 1997).

Regarding three characteristics of social identity, Norton Peirce (1995) claims that social identity is 'a site of struggle' because human subjectivity is produced in different social sites which involves power relationships and socially-constructed relations. It is a site of struggle because it takes into account remarkably challenging and incompatible conditions under which language learners speak as they engage their identities in complicated and conflicting ways (Norton & Toohey, 2001). Among various forms of power relations, language learner has to take up multiple subject positions, some of which might possibly be in conflict with others. In addition, L2 learner is not passive within the web of power relations, rather s/he has human *agency*; therefore, it is possible for him/her to take up a position through resistance or setting up a counterdiscourse.

It is worthy to reiterate that language serves two functions; it is both a medium of communication and a tool that is constitutive of and constituted by one's social identity (Norton Peirce, 1995). In parallel, Norton (2000) highlights the relationship between

the L2 learners and the social context and describes social identity as, “how a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how the person understands the possibilities for the future” (p. 5). The definition itself reveals that L2 learners gain access to social networks while speaking the target language and this experience leads to the negotiation of a sense of self and (re)construction of who they are and whom they relate to the social world (Norton, 2001). In this sense, the underpinnings of social identity seem to be highly applicable to the language learning contexts because of the significant role of language through which one could negotiate a sense of self within and across multiple contexts at different points in time and gain access to—or denied access to—using and speaking opportunities situated in powerful social networks (Norton Peirce, 1995).

Overall, language learning classrooms are the locations where identity construction and transformation take place because there exist multiple opportunities for negotiation of how we relate to the world (Pennycook, 2001). Social identity theory is truly functional to understand how L2 learners negotiated their identities and exercised their personal agency throughout their own language learning trajectories. Thus, this study used the concepts of this theoretical framework as it is an in-depth exploration of L2 learners’ language learning stories and embedded social meanings regarding the role and importance of English in their stories.

1.3.5 The Concept of ‘Imagined Communities’ and ‘Investment’

The traditional view of L2 learning as a process of acquiring a set of skills and knowledge has no longer been recognized by the scholars in second language education, rather researchers have predominantly started to provide a rich portrayal of L2 learning from a sociocultural perspective (e.g., Kanno & Norton, 2003; Norton, 2001; Norton & Gao, 2008; Norton & Toohey, 2011; Kinginger, 2004; Piller, 2002). In other words, they consider language learning as a social participation process in particular communities of practice which may involve identity negotiations in the given context (Pavlenko & Norton, 2007). Thus, L2 learners are considered to possess multilayered, unstable, dynamic and constantly shifting identities under the scope of social-cultural theory and poststructuralist perspectives.

As discussed in the previous sections, the theoretical underpinnings of learners' L2 motivation have also seemed to be influenced as a result of the sweeping changes in the field of second language education. Many of the previous theories attempted to explain L2 motivation mainly from psychological perspectives and postulated that L2 motivation is an individual character trait. However, they do not suffice to understand the identities and experiences of language learners (Norton & Gao, 2008). Therefore, socially-oriented theories, that is, language socialization, conversation analysis, Vygotskian sociocultural theory, and identity theory have been put forward. On the basis of this renewed line of thinking, identity theory has received greater attention among scholars in their efforts to explain the complex processes of language learning.

Having influenced by poststructuralist standpoints, the re-conceptualizations in L2 learning assume that language is a site of struggle since it involves constant creation, contestation of identity and its performativity and functions that serve "as a social template that structures and displaces the psychic unity of a prelinguistic self" (Norton & Morgan, 2013, p. 1). Poststructuralists theories of identity tend to view language learning as a process of learner identity reconstruction since language embraces complicated social practices in which speakers endeavor to create meanings with interlocutors (Norton, 2000). At this juncture, Norton Peirce (1995, p. 12) criticizes the uncritical framing of language learners as if they live in idealized, homogenous classrooms as follows.

In addition, many have assumed that learners can be defined unproblematically as motivated and unmotivated, introverted or extroverted, inhibited or uninhibited, without considering such affective factors are frequently socially constructed in equitable relations of power, changing over time and space, and possibly coexisting in contradictory ways in a single individual.

Considering the often contradictory and complex nature of language learner identity negotiation, Norton Peirce (1995) extended poststructuralist theories of identity. She, therefore, proposed the concept of investment in contrast to motivation to develop a better understanding of the interplay between language learner identity and language learning commitment (Norton & Morgan, 2013). This close relationship between social context and learning has already been mentioned by Lave and Wenger (1991)

who proposed *situated learning* within an anthropological framework. Since learning is an unintentional human activity situated in an authentic task, culture, and context, it also involves becoming part of different *communities of practice* (Wenger, 1998). In these communities, individuals share a particular domain of interest and co-construct knowledge through social participation. As an outcome of a process called *legitimate peripheral participation* (Lave & Wenger, 1991), newcomers or beginners participate in diverse communities and interact with old-timers in a particular social context. As a result, they become “increasingly experienced in the practices that characterize the community” (Norton, 2001, p. 160). Through active participation and engagement within a given community, they move from the periphery to its center and move towards the role of old-timers or experts. In that regard, Lave and Wenger (1991) note that certain factors might restrict or facilitate the movement towards fuller participation. Fuller participation in communities of practice necessitates access to “a wide range of ongoing activity, old-timers, and other members of the community; and to information, resources, and opportunities for participation” (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p. 100).

In speaking of the variability in individuals’ access to these activities, resources, and people, Norton (2001) draws our attention to Wenger’s (1998) concepts of participation and non-participation and suggested that these concepts imply two different relations to communities of practice. As for different kinds of non-participation, Wenger (1998) argues that one type of non-participation is an indispensable as we attempt to come into contact with communities to which we do not belong. However, in the latter type of non-participation, a clear distinction is obvious between peripherality and marginality in terms of the degree of non-participation. Regarding this variation, Norton (2001) suggests that peripherality is “some degree of non-participation can be enabling factor of participation while marginality is a form of non-participation that prevents full participation” (p. 161). Norton (2001) suggests that such sociocultural underpinnings apt in language learning situations where language learners as newcomers begin to participate in culturally and linguistically practices and agendas. As they learn gradually these particular practices of the community through social participation and interaction with peers, teachers and

more experienced members of the community, they gain competence and full membership in that particular L2 classroom communities. At this juncture, Pavlenko and Norton (2007) draw our attention to *imagined communities* which is an underexplored theme of research in SLA. They put explicit emphasis on *imagination* arguing that we create our present identities and appropriate meanings. The concept of imagined communities is developed by Wenger's (1998) and informed by his modes of belonging through which identity is constructed. These modes of belonging involve engagement, imagination, and alignment and they all function as the different components of how we position and orient ourselves in the landscape of practice (Wenger-Trayner & Wenger-Trayner, 2015).

Imagination refers to our self-images, images of the world, images of the past, present, and future with all images of possibilities (Van Benthuyzen, 2007). According to Wenger (1998), imagination is "looking at an apple and seeing a tree" or "reading a biography and recognizing yourself in the struggles of a character (p. 176). In parallel, Appandurai (1997) suggests that imagination is of the utmost importance because it is when collective, could turn out to be "a fuel for action" (p. 7). Thus, it is plausible to suggest that language learners' actions and motivation in relation to L2 learning are informed by their imagination. In particular, L2 learners' imagination relates to their imagined communities and imagined identities which make a significant impact on their agency "to make different learning decisions" (Kanno & Norton, 2003, p. 242) throughout their language learning stories. From this perspective, researchers within the sociocultural, poststructuralist paradigm underscore the role of learner investment in the real-world as well as their investment in possible worlds.

As can be seen, several new theoretical concepts such as investment and imagined communities have emerged to explain learner identity in line with the recent paradigm shifts in the field, (Wu, 2017). In order to develop a better understanding of the study, these concepts will be discussed in detail. The sociological concept of *investment* in L2 identity was initially coined by Anderson (1983). Norton Peirce (1995) introduced the concept of investment as a complementary construct of language learning motivation to L2 learning in his seminal work published in 1995. Within the field of

second language learning, the notion of investment refers to "the commitment to the goals, practices, and identities that constitute the learning process and that are continually negotiated in different social relationships and structures of power" (Darvin & Norton, 2018, p. 2).

In Yoshizawa's (2010) perspective, an investment in the target language is also an investment in learner's own social identity which is subjected to continuous changes across time and space. In this regard, a language learner puts all the efforts and resources in the hope of "acquiring tangible and intangible returns" (Wu, 2017, p. 101). In Norton's (2013) words, learners exert their efforts in order to gain access to "a wide range of symbolic resources (language, education, friendship) and material resources (capital goods, real estate, money) which will increase the value of their cultural capital and social power" (p. 6). Therefore, investment appears to be a critical construct to address the intricacy of the interplay between the language learner identity and language learning commitment (Norton, 2013). In relation to investment, Duff (2012) argues that recent studies of identity in SLA related *agency* with investment to understand the extent to which individuals actively put these resources into their language learning on the basis of "cost-benefit assessment, and in light of their desires and hopes" (p. 413). Besides, based on previous studies, language learners' acts of agency might be in the form of not only passive participation in classrooms, but also making informed choices, exerting influence, or resistance through silence or dropping out or comply despite restricting social situations (Duff, 2012).

Similarly, Bourdieu (1977, 1986), one of the most cited French sociologists, used the concepts of *habitus* and *cultural capital* to explain these symbolic and material gains in individuals' social participation. His formulation of habitus refers to "an acquired system of generative schemes objectively adjusted to the particular conditions in which it is constituted" (Bourdieu 1977, p. 95). According to Farrell (2010), habitus is something constructed in the institutions of education and makes an impact on the accumulated cultural capital during an individual's life course. Therefore, institutions of the school are interpreted as spaces where the dominant economic, social, cultural, and political systems are created and reproduced through training individuals to

embody them. In these non-neutral spaces, individuals' practices are all informed by the cultural capital which is associated with the accumulation of knowledge, skills, and behaviors. (Woolhouse, Bartle, Hunt, & Balmer, 2013). In this sense, Yoshizawa (2010) points out that these accumulated *symbolic* resources deal with "certain highly valued type of linguistic skills, cultural knowledge and specialized skills" (p. 36) which provides access to other valuable (e.g. social, educational, material) resources. Therefore, language as a form of cultural and symbolic capital and the use of these forms of capital can be thought of as a means that allows language learners to construct and re-construct their self and social identities. In other words, the increase in language learners' cultural capital is thought to be worthwhile because it also contributes to learners' sense of who they are. Moreover, their investment in these resources contributes to enhancing their potentials to fulfill their desires and hopes. In that regard, learners' *imagined identities* are used as a way of gaining access to their *imagined communities* (Ryan, 2006). In a parallel sense, Yashima (2009) expresses this link between learners' L2 self and imagined communities as, "[w]hen such immediate future selves are linked to an imagined community and an imagined ideal self or 'a desired end-state', they might become 'a bridge of self-representation'" (p. 10).

As a motivational construct, *imagined communities* account for "groups of people, not immediately tangible and accessible with whom we connect through the power of the imagination" (Norton, 2013, p. 8). Our current identities and participation in the social practices of everyday life are influenced by our imagined communities (Pavlenko & Norton, 2007). Hence, understanding learners' imagined communities may let us extend our knowledge about how their stories of language learning are shaped by their affiliation with such communities (Norton, 2013). L2 learners' imagined communities can influence their personal agency to make different learning decisions and shape their language learning trajectories (Wu, 2017). Therefore, it is critical for language learners, particularly the ones who have little exposure to the target community to be able to claim membership of an imagined community so that they can regulate their current actions and investment (Ryan, 2006; Kanno & Norton, 2003).

Regarding the membership of multiple communities, in a previous discussion of the possible identities for non-native ESL teachers, Pavlenko (2003) points out that there are three groups of imagined communities, where L2 learner might have a sense of membership; (a) native-speaker community, (b) non-native speaker/L2 learner community, and (c) multilingual/L2 user community. Mackey (1972) argues that the use of two different languages assumes that there exist two distinct language communities instead of a bilingual community. Pavlenko (2003) also alternates the non-native speaker community with the L2 user community based on the concept of *multi-competence* (Cook, 1992). Similarly, Brutt-Griffler (2002) argues for the ‘multi-competence of the community’ and supposes L2 user has a full membership of a bilingual community rather than a partial membership of another monolingual community. Cook and Wei (2009) address this captivation issue of membership in the community as follows:

English has an L2 user group of people across the world, whether businessmen, academics, or international footballers, for whom the native speaker community is virtually irrelevant. Having two languages may bring people into a different multilingual community. Or it may allow them to belong to a global virtual community in a possible social network unrelated to geographical proximity or to any common language identity in the usual terms (p. 57).

In this sense, L2 learners’ construction of actual and imagined communities is considered to play a key role in the process of learning the target language because their imagination and re-imagination of their multiple memberships can make a strong impact on their agency, motivation, investment, and resistance (Pavlenko & Norton, 2007). Besides, Pavlenko and Norton (2007) categorized five identity clusters that might be at play in the multiple memberships in the imagined communities: postcolonial, global, ethnic, multilingual, and gendered identities. In these categorizations, individuals in the post-colonial contexts consider the language as an important factor in their future because of their history of British or American imperialism. However, in the global cluster, the language is seen as a critical gate to gain access and compete within the global market, and also people learn English as "the language of world economy" (p. 594). Ethnic cluster refers to the individuals who might or might not be regarded as legitimate language speakers while multilingual

identities are positioned each EFL/ESL learners as multi-lingual or at least bilingual. Lastly, gendered identities enable language learners to imagine various gendered identity options for themselves.

Recognizing a wide range of identities and the fluidity of English language learners across various spaces, Darwin and Norton (2016) developed a model of investment (see Figure 3 for the model of investment) to explore the question of ‘how do learners claim the right to speak?’. Their model of investment depicts how the accumulation of skills, knowledge, and resources English learners have been valued in multiple spaces, which is associated with exposure and exchange of different belief systems and worldviews.



Figure 3. Darwin and Norton’s (2016) model of investment.

This expanded model of investment appears to display the ways language learners are able to participate in different contexts and claim their ownership to the material and symbolic resources along with their membership in the target community as they move across spaces and time (Norton, 2015). In order to shed light on the intertwined relationship among three key constructs, identity, capital, and ideology, Darwin and Norton (2018) conclude:

As learners move fluidly across spaces, ideologies collude and compete, shaping learner identities and restructuring opportunities to listen, speak, read, and write, both on and offline ... Its value is subject to, but not completely constrained by, the ideologies of different groups or fields... as learners oscillate between online and offline contexts, they are able to assemble and engage more complex linguistic and non-linguistic repertoires, where English

becomes just one of many resources. The unbounded nature of these interactions grant learners greater agency to participate in and withdraw from spaces, to invest in and disinvest from communicative practices, and this includes the decision to choose or resist the use of English (p. 4).

In their comprehensive model, the scholars put a strong emphasis on the ideology as the sets of ideas imposed by structures of power and exposed to the reproduction of particular hegemonic practices. Additionally, they underscore that structures of power might be in the form of institutions of schools, language itself, or policies regarding language education. With respect to the capital construct, the model illustrates that various forms of capital (e.g. economic, social, and cultural) might be appreciated differently depending on the spaces, time, and ideological structures. As for identity construct, it concerns the ways of language learners positions themselves and is positioned by the structures (Darvin & Norton, 2016).

In summary, I intend to draw on Norton's (Norton, 2000, 2001; Kanno & Norton, 2003) concept of 'investment and imagined identities in imagined communities' or Dörnyei's (2005) 'ideal selves' in combination with the notion of communities of practice (Wenger, 1998). The overall aim of this research is to explore the language learning experiences of Turkish learners to zoom out the ways how they make sense of their L2 learning experiences and how these experiences impact their memberships in the real or imagined communities. This is important because they are in a foreign language learning environment in which there is a lack of access to actual communities where the language they learn is spoken. On the basis of this disadvantaged position compared to second language learners, their imagined communities and their real investment for fuller participation in the communities appear to be functional tools to guide this study. According to Kharchenko (2014), all languages should be considered as a means of inclusion because imagined communities could be generated through language. In Figure 4 below, the conceptual background of this study is indicated:

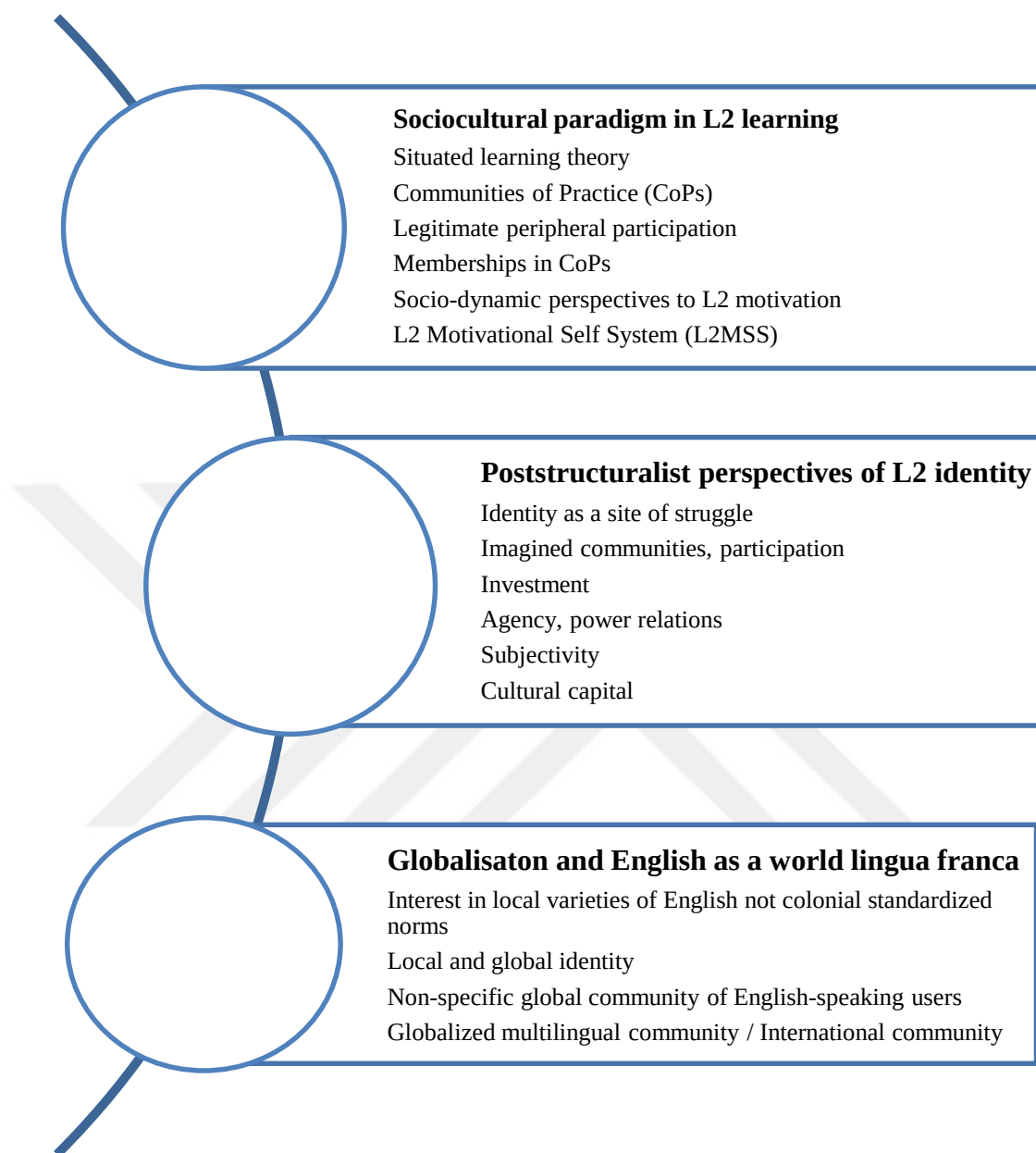


Figure 4. Conceptual background of this study.

Given the partially de-territorialized status of English today, it might be plausible to think about whether it has the potential to unite and create extended imagined communities beyond the geographical boundaries of nation-states. These post-structural concepts within the relevant theoretical frameworks emphasize that language learning, in a sense, is a process of becoming a participant in a new community of practice in which learners show resistance to learning opportunities or

seek active participation opportunities. Since the given conceptualizations assume that learning is situated in a social context (Lave & Wenger, 1991), they are considered to be useful tools in investigating L2 learners' language learning experiences in EFL settings. They appear to be applicable to language learning contexts where language learners participate in different communities to gain full membership in their imagined communities through their efforts, time, and investment in learning opportunities in - and out- of class environments. Thus, this study utilized these conceptualizations that are instrumental to enrich our understanding of L2 learning motivation.

1.4 Need for The Study

As it will be discussed in the next chapter, the existing literature on the identity construction of L2 learners shows that there is a scarcity of research studies that attempt to provide an understanding of the construction of L2 learner identity in the peripheral countries compared to the inner circle of English speaking countries (Vasilopoulos, 2015; Sung, 2019; Yoshizawa, 2010). This unbalanced attention on the identity construction of L2 learners seems to be an interesting phenomenon because most of uses of English take place in foreign language contexts that are “far removed from its native speakers' linguacultural norms and identities” (Seidlhofer, 2001, p. 133-134). Furthermore, a growing mass of research about the identity construction of learners in the English-dominant contexts may potentially result in varied interpretations of the meanings of the previous literature because of the dependability of L2 learning and identity construction on the context (i.e., ESL or EFL setting) (Vasilopoulos, 2015). This limited focus in the field might lead to “harmful generalizations” (Kumaravadivelu, 2005, p. 710); therefore, further exploration is needed to clarify the L2 identity work (Block, 2007).

In a parallel sense, the literature also highlights that the importance of understanding how learners in EFL settings seek the relevance of English to their personal, professional, and academic lives because it holds a critical place in today's globalized world where English becomes an international language and is associated with a global

culture (Sa'd & Hatam, 2017; Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005). These insights into language learning trajectories of EFL learners might help to delve into the issue of whether they appreciate non-native speaker status as successful language users and legitimate owners of English or as failed language learners and outsiders who consider native speakers as the norm (Sa'd & Hatam, 2017). According to Yoshizawa (2010), an examination of how the identities of L2 learners shape and are shaped by the social factors appears to have a critical place, particularly in EFL settings as a result of their unique characterizations that are completely different from learning English as a second language in the English speaking countries. Moreover, the relevant literature seems to focus on individuals not as learners as an outsider seeking entry to the target community, rather it locates learners as a member of that community. Dörnyei (2005) argues that the vividness and elaborateness of L2 learners' ideal selves as English users could make a significant impact on their motivation. Since learning English is no longer interpreted as learning more about the target community or showing a willingness to share similar qualities with the members of that community, the question of to what extent the self-images of L2 learners in EFL environments are clear and elaborate needs an urgent answer (Ueki & Takeuchi, 2013; Eusafzai, 2013). Therefore, this study might help us to understand whether such assumptions are valid for language learners in Turkey which belongs to the Expanding Circle in Kachru's (1992) concentric circles. In addition, this study could contribute to the existing body of literature by viewing Turkish EFL learners' stories of identity construction as a lens for understanding how clear and elaborated their "*future self-guides*" (You et al., 2016, p. 95).

Most studies on the identity construction of L2 learners stress an uncertainty of what motivates language learners in EFL environments to learn English (Prapunta, 2017). Turkey is a typical EFL setting "where the range of functions English carries is restricted to a few specialized domains, and the language is not generally nativized, functioning instead as a performance variety" (Doğançay-Aktuna, 1998, p. 30). Such language learning environments as Turkey are considered to be unique and complex because individuals in these contexts are assumed to have limited access to the target

language and desire to learn it for instrumental motivations (i.e., school success) rather than to make changes in their social identity or lived experience (Kinging, 2004).

Considering a paucity of research examining the processes of the identity construction of L2 learners who learn and use the target language in their own countries where English is not a dominant language of communication in society, researchers need to map out learners' lived experiences of learning and speaking English as an additional language in diverse settings (Sung, 2019). One such country is Turkey where English is learned and used as a foreign language and is considered as an essential means to gain access to symbolic and materials resources in the language learners' imagined communities (Selvi, 2011; Bektaş-Çetinkaya, 2005). No research studies, to my best knowledge, directly addressed the imagined communities and investment of L2 learners and the processes of L2 identity construction in Turkey. The literature exploring the concepts of imagined identity, imagined community, and investment (Kanno & Norton, 2003) mostly focus on the socialization experiences of international (Turkish) students in study abroad contexts and their social identity constructions in the U.S. contexts (Ortaçtepe, 2012, 2015). Since the concepts of imagined identity and imagined community are instrumental to gain in-depth insights into the complex and dynamic relationship among L2 learning, investment, and identity, in addition to the studies conducted in ESL contexts, there is a need for comprehensive studies with L2 learners from different contexts where English is learned and used as a foreign language (Sung, 2019). Therefore, this study intends to fill this void in the literature and help to expand the unit of analysis beyond the ESL settings through in-depth explorations targeting the L2 learners' experiences of learning and using English in Turkey with a focus on their personal language learning trajectories, imaginations, negotiations of identity and their learning practices.

Similarly, Yoshizawa (2010) suggests that further studies should be conducted about imagined identities and imagined communities in EFL settings so that we could enrich our understandings of the distinctive characteristics of their geographical location, social values, and ideologies of curriculum, all of which have a potential to influence learner identity construction. In a similar vein, Erdil-Moody (2016) implies that how

learners transform their motivation into action and the interconnection among contextual and motivational factors is another research gap in the literature. Thus, this study attempts to take a closer look at how the given language education program as the primary site of identity creation contributes and/or hinders the imagined identities through the analyses of the documents and the program members' perspectives. This might enable us to whether the program assumes identities as English speakers/users with a sense of becoming part of a global community or identities as non-native English speakers with ethnocentric positions. Individuals' experiences cannot be considered apart from their context (DeHaan & MacDermid, 2017). In that regard, Dörnyei and Kubanyiova (2014) claims that the student and the teacher are "are inextricably linked because the former is needed for the latter to blossom" (p. 3); therefore, gaining in-depth insights into the perceptions of both students and program members may help us to draw a clear picture of multiple perspectives of L2 identity. In a parallel sense, Ellis (2012) argues that language and the broader social world are extremely intertwined and the hegemonic structures of power need to be addressed if the purpose is to enhance language learning. Within this purpose in mind, this study might also contribute to the body of research related to the conceptual interplay between the social learning environment and the development of future self-images which has been characterized as an area "remains to some extent less clearly theorized" (Ushioda, 2011a, p. 201).

In light of all these points that indicate the research gap in the literature, this study attempts to offer a comprehensive picture of Turkish EFL learners who are pre-undergraduate students at a state university. In that sense, one important warning would be that this study does not target generalize the findings to all Turkish language learners. Rather, the aim is to demonstrate the construction processes of L2 learner identity that has an intricate, unstable, and fluid nature (Ryan, 2006) and shape and is shaped by social contexts (Kanno, 2003).

1.5 Purpose of the Study and Research Questions

As the below review of the literature indicates, the existing research studies on the identity negotiation and investment of L2 learners in foreign language contexts are limited. Therefore, this study firstly aims to investigate the imagined identities in the imagined communities and investments of Turkish EFL learners who are at a pre-undergraduate language education program. Based on multiple case studies of L2 learners' learning experiences, this study seeks not only to provide an in-depth analysis of their imagined identities in the imagined communities and L2 investments but also to explore the process(es) that take an important role in the formation of their future L2-mediated selves. The relationship between L2 learners' imagined identities and investments is, therefore, to be important because the imagined identities they assume and imagined communities they wish to participate in the future might make a profound impact on their L2 identity and investment (Wu, 2017; Sung, 2019). The investigation of investment is critical since the term 'investment' is viewed as a social construct in contrast to motivation that is regarded as a fixed psychological construct (Norton & Toohey, 2011). In this sense, it is argued that social context L2 learners are part of makes a substantial influence on their desire and commitment to learn and use the target language.

As well as valuing individual and in-depth voices of students, this study also intends to explore the voices of the program members (i.e., instructors with roles in the unit of curriculum development, material development, and testing) and the rhetoric on the imagined identities and communities of the institution that is the participants' current context of learning. The investigation of the English-mediated imagined communities envisioned by the language program is critical because these envisioned communities by the schools could make a powerful impact on their policies and practices (Kanno & 2003). In turn, these imagined communities might restrict or make students' imagined identities tangible or accessible (Kanno, 2003; Wu, 2017; Kanno, 2018; Nunan, 2013). In essence, this study builds on the understanding that emphasizes "a move away from achievement-oriented analyses of motivation to identity-oriented

analyses of personal motivational trajectories" (Ushioda, 2011b, p. 222) in order to achieve these research objectives.

Based on the poststructuralist view of identity and investment (Norton, 2000), this study intends to explore the following interrelated research questions:

- (1) What are the three EFL learners' imagined identities constructed throughout their English learning stories?
- (2) How do the three EFL learners' imagined identities in their imagined communities impact their L2 investments?
- (3) What kind of imagined identities and communities inform the program members' perspectives and the policy documents of an Intensive English Language Program?

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.0 Introduction

The main focus of this study is on the imagined communities and investments of L2 learners who are pre-undergraduate students at a preparatory school from Turkey. Thus, this review of literature will be situated primarily on the L2 learning experiences, identity negotiations, and L2 investments of learners in non-English-dominant contexts. The primary focus is on the identity construction of English language learners not only from international but also in Turkish contexts with regard to L2 learning experiences. Also, self-theories and the L2 Motivational Self System model concerning the reinterpretation of L2 learning motivation and the construction of imagined communities and investment both in ESL and EFL settings are discussed in this chapter.

2.1 L2 Learning Motivation in the Turkish Context

The significant role and status of English in Turkey has been appreciated and acknowledged by many researchers in the Turkish setting (e.g., Zok, 2010; Selvi, 2011; Kırkgöz, 2007, 2009a, 2009b). As an example, Doğançay-Aktuna (1998) underlines the instrumental function of English as “the most studied foreign language and the most popular medium of instruction after Turkish” (p. 37); therefore, it would be an insightful step to draw a comprehensive picture of the perceived role of the English language according to Turkish learners along with providing depth to the literature about their attitudes and motivations for learning English.

There is a plethora of research in the Turkish literature most of which are recent investigations following a similar pattern in their findings that the Turkish learners of English held favorable attitudes towards learning English as a foreign language and the target community and culture. They mostly showed that Turkish students wanted to learn or learned English mostly because of instrumental reasons, involving getting a better, well-paying job, showing a more successful performance and obtaining a prestigious position in their future professional lives. As discussed in the previous sections, one of the most comprehensive pictures of the state of English in Turkey has been provided by West et al. (2015). Through questionnaires administered to the students and the instructors, focus groups with the English teachers, and the fieldwork, the project revealed that the students in the preparatory programs displayed poor motivation. In addition, these entrants to the programs were reported to be weak at English and showed at levels A1-A1⁺ on the CEFR scale. Concerning their low levels of motivation, which was one of the main points repeatedly stressed by the English teachers, the study related their de-motivation to their weaknesses to see the relevance of English to their future academic and professional lives. Their research also reached a conflicting result that while instructors expressed their complaints about their students' poor motivation to learn English, students' assertions predominantly emphasized that they were highly motivated to learn the target language. West et al. (2015) claimed that both sides might be right in their assertions because the students' responses showed that they had the desire and motivation to learn English in the long-term for occupational reasons instead of shorter-term benefits and needs. Lastly, the study also suggested that 96% of the students' motivations for their foreign language studies mostly dealt with their intentions for further study, international travel, and employment.

Kızıltepe (2000) explored the attitudes and motivations of Turkish learners towards English with 308 Turkish EFL learners through Gardner's (1985) adapted scale. It was found out that learners reported positive attitudes towards the British and the American culture and community despite their moderate interest in them. Additionally, the students were found to have higher levels of motivation to learn English and foreign

languages whereas their desire to learn English was mostly related to instrumental reasons such as getting a good, lucrative job position or becoming an educated person.

Toköz-Göktepe (2014) carried out a research study with 90 Turkish students majoring in business studies using the adapted survey. Based on the purpose of the study that was to investigate the attitudes towards and motivations of Turkish EFL learners for English language learning, the adapted survey employed in the study involved the following categories, (a) integrativeness; (b) attitudes to L2 community; (c) cultural interest; (d) attitudes to learning English, (e) criterion measures, ideal L2 self, ought-to L2 self; (f) family influence; (g) instrumentality (promotion and prevention), and (h) fear of assimilation. Parallel to Kızıltepe's (2000) results, the study revealed that participants wanted to learn English for their future professional lives and needs, which is an indication of high levels of instrumental motivation. A considerable number of students chose the items related to the desire to learn English because of the obligatory reasons by referring to their ought-to L2 selves even though they showed a high interest in visiting the English-speaking countries to learn more about the target community and culture. The conclusion from this finding might be that they held positive attitudes towards the English language and also the associated countries with the target culture. Another striking result reported by Toköz-Göktepe (2014) was related to the freshman students' ideal L2 selves. According to the survey results, most of the students were found to see the relevance of English to their future career trajectories and the majority of them could consider themselves as future global workers. In addition, many of the respondents reported that they could imagine themselves as proficient users of English as if they were native speakers of English.

In a rather recent study conducted in a Turkish tertiary setting, Genç (2017) wanted the students to explain their perceptions of the English language learning process through metaphorical images. The study showed that most of the participants were grouped under the theme 'Learning English as a way of career development (getting a good job or for future career)' which was an indication of their dominant instrumental motives in their language learning process. Similarly, the study participants viewed a good command of English as an open the door to obtaining different job opportunities.

These results seemed to be aligned with the data of Kızıltepe's (2000) and Toköz-Göktepe's (2014) investigations. Interestingly, more participants reported that learning English is an easy and enjoyable process instead of a boring and demanding one although only 18% of them showed a clear desire to learn English in Genç's (2017) research.

In line with these studies discussed above, Bektaş-Çetinkaya (2009, 2012) and Kırkgöz (2005) provided confirming results suggesting that the motivation of Turkish learners of English for learning English was mostly associated with their long-term occupational plans and benefits; therefore, English was regarded as *a window of opportunity* by the tertiary level students. In another quantitative study by Erdel and Akalın (2015), it was found that the participants gave priority to English for their professional and social benefits in addition to their favorable attitudes towards the target culture despite their perceived difficulty regarding the medium of instruction. Hayta and Başaran (2013) argued that the students were primarily instrumentally motivated even though there were the students whose motivations were accompanied by integrative reasons to some extent. They argued that which confirms that both integrative and instrumental motives played an important role in language learning and the extent of their effectiveness is contingent on the setting where learning takes place.

As well as indicating that the Turkish students' L2 motivations were directed by their instrumental goals rather than integrative motives, Bektaş-Çetinkaya (2005) found in her study that the participants possessed a positive attitude towards *international community* and had the conviction that "English is a must, not some option that they feel free to choose or reject" (p. 119). However, the researcher presented this data with one important caveat that the students' high levels of L2 motivation did not necessarily mean they considered English as part of their daily lives or put all the efforts to master it. Rather, they questioned the value of English and the imposed necessity of English learning to get a better job and to have a high standard of living in their home country. In a parallel sense, Genç and Aydın (2017) recently revealed that the Turkish EFL learners' motivations for learning English dealt with the future job and academic opportunities in addition to the advantage of being able to follow songs and movies in

the target language easily. Besides, the participants in their study did not display interest in any cultural component of the English-speaking countries. Köseoğlu (2013), who administered a questionnaire followed by the focus groups in a tertiary level setting, reported that there were three different motivational orientations of Turkish learners to learn English: (1) the desire to succeed in life using English as a stepping-stone; (2) the need to integrate into international community and (3) aspiration for educational achievements. Based on the motivational profiles of the students in the study, Köseoğlu (2013) stated that the instrumental reasons for L2 learning surpass those with integrative concerns in the Turkish context.

Different from the other studies, Şener and Erol's (2017) study was carried out in a Turkish high school setting with 100 Turkish EFL learners to investigate the relationship between their L2 motivational orientations and language self-efficacy. They found a significant difference between integrative and instrumental motivation orientations of Turkish EFL learners. Supporting the data in other research studies, their research indicated that the learners viewed English learning from a utilitarian standpoint and concluded that "[i]f learners' instrumental motivation is supported with more integrativeness towards foreign language, they will be more confident in FL related activities both inside and outside the language classrooms" (p. 262). These findings are also consistent with Altınır's (2018) research which explored L2 motivational orientations of Turkish learners of English. The data of the study posited that learners' interest in culture, travel, and people, positive learning attitudes/experience, and interest in contemporary cultural media were among the three motivational constructs to explain their L2 motivational dispositions.

This study intends to contribute to the existing body of knowledge regarding L2 motivation of language learners both in non-English and the Turkish contexts. However, the major focus is on the construction process of imagined identities and communities as well as their investment in English to gain access to their imagined communities. As the review of the relevant literature above has illustrated, previous studies mostly focused on the issue merely from a socio-psychological Gardnerian standpoint of L2 motivation. This traditional approach is associated with integrative

and instrumental motives of L2 learning that is an understanding that lost its popularity (Subekti, 2018). The majority of the recent studies on L2 learning motivation in Turkish settings have appeared to solely touch upon the issue, which resulted in a major gap in the relevant literature. It is, however, critical to investigate these issues in-depth in light of the recent conceptual and methodological shifts in L2 motivation research with integration with self and identity theories and the growing prominence of Global English. Therefore, a detailed picture of Turkish L2 learners concerning their views of English needs to be drawn through the lens of recent re-conceptualizations of L2 motivation concepts. Under the scope of the emerging shifts in L2 learning, this study will incorporate poststructuralist views of identity and the concept of investment (Norton, 2000). Investigating Turkish learners' L2 motivations in relation to their L2 identities seems to be particularly important. Besides, it needs considerable attention because Turkey is reported to be as a setting “where the impact of the English language is felt extensively, in spite of the absence of a historical colonizer-colonized relationship” (Selvi, 2011, p. 196).

2.2 Self-Theories and the L2 Motivational Self System Model

After the introduction of self-theories into SLA research, in particular possible selves theory (Markus & Nurius, 1986), Dörnyei (2005) developed L2 Motivational Self-System Model. Dörnyei's model made a significant impact on the L2 motivation theory since it provided renewed insight into the reinterpretation of the concept of integrativeness as “an internal process of identification within the person's self-concept, rather than identification with an external reference group” (Ushioda & Dörnyei, 2009, p. 3). According to Dörnyei (2009), it is critical to focus on two self types under the name of possible selves, in other words, the ideal self and the ought-to self. The former refers to the ideal and hoped-for self while the latter deals with one's image of self held by another (Markus & Nurius, 1986). The construct of ideal L2 self is considered to play a significant role in motivating a language learner since highly motivated language learners are those who put all the effort to reduce the discrepancy between their ideal selves and ought-to selves. In detailing the conditions that might prevent or embrace the motivational capacity, Dörnyei (2009) notes that an

Ideal L2 self should have the particular characteristics to trigger one's self-regulatory mechanisms:

- (1) availability of an elaborate and vivid future self-image,
- (2) perceived plausibility,
- (3) harmony between the ideal and ought selves,
- (4) necessary activation/priming,
- (5) accompanying procedural strategies, and
- (6) the offsetting impact of a feared self (p. 18).

A number of studies employed Dörnyei's L2 Motivational Self-System Model to validate the model in a wide range of EFL contexts (Al-Shehri, 2009; Csizér & Kormos, 2009; Ryan, 2009; Taguchi, Magid, & Papi, 2009; Thompson & Erdil-Moody, 2014). For example, as the largest quantitative study which lends support to Dörnyei's L2MSS model, Taguchi et al. (2009) administered a survey to nearly 5,000 students in three diverse contexts, namely China, Iran, and Japan to validate Dörnyei's tripartite model in an Asian context. It was found that the ideal L2 self-construct occupies a greater capacity than integrativeness in understanding variance in learners' intended learning effort. In addition, they suggested that the notion of integrativeness could be re-interpreted as the Ideal L2 self from a more holistic perspective.

In a Hungarian context, Csizér & Kormos's (2009) study with 432 participants indicated that the ought-to L2 self is not a better predictor than the ideal L2 self and the language experience in shaping learners' motivated behavior. In Saudi Arabia, Moskovsky, Assulaimani, Racheva, and Harkins (2016) studied with 360 Saudi L2 learners on three campuses to investigate the relationship among the three constructs of the L2MSS model and to explore whether the framework has predictive power on L2 achievement. The descriptive and inferential analyses of the data confirmed the link among the three constructs, however, the study did not report any correlation between the constructs and the L2 achievement at least within this population. In Taiwan, Huang (2017) examined the interplay of English learners' motivational selves

and their parents' expectations focusing on the perceptions of both teenage learners and their parents towards English learning as a duty and obligation. The semi-structured interviews demonstrated that there was a dynamic interaction between the actual self and the ideal L2 selves as their future self-guides. The study also highlighted that the parents wanted their children to learn English for international communication, gaining social capital, and also future material sources, which aligns with the notions of *world English identity* (Dörnyei, 2009) and *international posture* (Yashima, 2002). Additionally, it was indicated in the study that one's current self in relation to beliefs about societal roles and responsibilities played an influential role in shaping language learning motivational dispositions. In Spain, Colombo (2017) conducted a research study with Spanish learners in order to investigate their complex L2 motivational self systems through multiple data collection methods, including four in-depth interviews, students' work on the wiki, course evaluations, students' academic records, and in-class observations. Colombo (2017) underscores that learners' future self-guides need to be activated since they make a strong influence to "either ignite existing Self-Guides or generate guides that may help motivate students for learning the L2" (p. 221).

In an Indonesian university setting, Subekti (2018) investigated the L2MSS-L2 achievement relationship and to what extent of the components of the L2MSS predict non-English major students' language achievement. It was revealed that the L2MSS model was not a strong predictor of language achievement, however, it might be a strong predictor of self-expressed intended learning efforts. In the study, it was suggested that in-depth analysis and understanding of L2 motivation should be provided through mixed-methods design or qualitative inquiries since the operation of the L2MSS model does not suffice to explain the motivation-achievement relationship. Moreover, Subekti (2018) argued that today's language learners develop a bicultural identity encompassing integration of their local culture and global culture to claim membership to the global community.

Utilizing the L2 Self System model, Huang and Chen (2017) explored the characteristics of L2 self-concepts and motivations of 1698 Taiwanese adolescent English learners and how their motivation was influenced by socio-educational

experiences. Learning experiences in school and attitude towards English learning were found to be powerful factors in determining learners' willingness to and investment in learning English out of school. Different from the relevant studies, their study revealed that the Ought-to L2 selves of Taiwanese learners were more influential than their Ideal L2 selves. Huang and Chen (2017) suspected that they did not have developed Ideal L2 selves as competent L2 users although they were aware of obligation towards achieving English proficiency. Pressured by the high-stakes examinations in Taiwan, participants mostly focused on the utilitarian values of English proficiency rather than the intrinsic motives of learning English.

Lamb (2012) administered a 50-item questionnaire to 527 Indonesian junior year high school students from a metropolitan city, a provincial town, and a rural district. The study indicated that language learning experiences had more explanatory power than the Ideal L2 Self and Ought-to L2 self constructs of L2MSS framework. This result suggested that participants in three regions were aware of the status of English and its role in their future (instrumentality), and held positive attitudes towards learning English to learn about the world (international posture) and possessed strong self-images as competent L2 users (Ideal L2 self). However, the most important trigger for them to invest in learning the target language was their positive feelings about the learning process. Lamb (2012) here drew attention to how the teacher plays an essential role in converting learners' favorable attitudes towards actual learning efforts. In general, participants from the metropolitan city and the provincial town displayed higher L2 motivation than the rural district students. It was found that family influence on participants in the rural areas was less than their counterparts since parents were not aware of the potential benefits of English learning and learners did not have experiential learning opportunities out of school.

Ueki and Takeuchi (2013) used a 46-item Likert-type questionnaire to validate the L2 Motivation Self System model and the relationships among its basic concepts among English major students and non-English major students in a Japanese context. They found that English major students had higher levels of L2 motivation than non-English major ones and the former group possessed stronger Ideal L2 selves than the latter.

Given that the language learning context of the English major group was more convenient to develop a clearer ideal L2 self-image, the Ideal L2 self, self-efficacy, and attitude exerted a positive impact on the motivated behaviors of such learners. There is more possibility for them to “regulate themselves by focusing on positive outcomes and to make unforced efforts in their L2 learning in order to reach the ideal” (p. 249). On the other hand, non-English major students whose language learning context was not convenient to develop a clear ideal L2 self-image were motivated through their Ought-to L2 selves and influence of significant others. These learners are inclined to avoid negative consequences; therefore, they put more effort to learn the target language to avoid such negative consequences.

In the Turkish context where this current study was conducted, there seems to be a scarcity of the research studies employing Dörnyei’s model despite the growing literature on this recent conceptualization. Thus, the L2MSS model has been reported as ‘a relatively under-examined research area’ (Thompson & Erdil, 2016). In the literature of the L2MSS model in Turkey, previous studies mostly employed quantitative survey techniques with small sample sizes (e.g., Yetkin & Ekin, 2018; Taylan, 2017; Demir-Ayaz & Erten, 2017). As an example, Thompson and Erdil-Moody (2016) examined the relationship among previous language experiences, perceived positive interactions between foreign languages studied, gender, and proficiency to language learning motivation with 159 EFL students. Their investigation showed that there is a strong connection between language learners’ language proficiency and their ideal L2 selves, which highlights the centrality of language proficiency and ideal L2 self.

Yetkin and Ekin (2018) investigated to what extent L2 motivational dispositions of 254 Turkish secondary school students predicted their intended effort for language learning using a 75-item questionnaire. Their study demonstrated that participants had moderate to high levels of Ideal L2 selves while their Ought-to L2 selves were higher than their Ideal L2 self scores as they were influenced by social expectations. It was also revealed that family, friends, and others, respectively, were influential in shaping their L2 motivational dispositions. A steady decrease in all constructs, Ideal L2 self,

Ought-to L2 self, and Language Learning Experience across grades (from 5th graders to 8th graders). The researchers related this gradual decline to the length of engagement in language learning. They suggested that the more they engaged in learning language, the more their dispositions appeared to show a declining pattern. Among the three constructs of L2MSS, Language Learning Experience was found to have the strongest explanatory power in their study.

Demir-Ayaz and Erten (2017) explored the interactions between the variables of L2 motivation, perceptual learning styles, vision, and actual self in two Turkish tertiary settings. One group of participants were selected from the school of foreign languages where students were required to attend the 24-hour/week English courses. The other group involved the freshmen in the departments of economics where they took a four-hour/week English courses. They administered a 63-item composite survey with four subcomponents to a total of 343 participants. Their results indicated that the students displayed high levels of L2 motivation and high levels of Ideal L2 selves. However, their actual L2 self scores were lower than their Ideal L2 selves values because students did not perceive themselves as good language learners. Their study also suggested that L2 motivation, actual L2 self, and vision were strong predictors of ideal L2 self. They highlighted that developing a favorable self-concept can pave the way for the formation of a strong ideal L2 self. In creating a clear and long-term ideal L2 self, the concept of vision was reported to be the first factor in their study.

In his study, Taylan (2017) carried out a 109-item scale to 250 preparatory school students in order to investigate whether Dörnyei's (2005) L2 Motivational Self System fitted well in the Turkish context. The study indicated that the framework partially fitted well with the L2 motivation of Turkish respondents. While the effect of Ought-to L2 self was found to be questionable, attitude towards English language learning had higher predictive ability than the Ideal L2 self. The study showed that the Ideal L2 self was not the primary constituent as in Dörnyei's (2006) study. Regarding the respondents' attitude towards English, the study underscored that teachers play a key role in shaping learners' immediate learning environment to strengthen their learning enjoyment for a vivid visualization of their ideal L2 self-images.

Different from other studies in the given setting, Erdil-Moody (2016) used both qualitative and quantitative data collection methods in her doctoral dissertation. Her research study focused on Turkish EFL instructors' motivational teaching practice within a training program on motivation-enhancing strategies about the L2MSS model and how their use of motivation-enhancing strategies within this framework influences students' motivated learning behaviors. Using a mixed-methods research design, the data were collected through self-reported questionnaires, classroom observations, strategy logs, reflective journals, and interviews. She found that there were both overlaps and variations in the students' and instructors' perceptions of instructors' use of motivational practices. It was revealed that there was an average use of motivational strategies that help learners to acquire an enhanced L2 self-guides (ideal L2 self and ought-to self). The study also provided supporting data for the previous research which suggested that the ideal L2 self is a critical predictor in L2 motivation whereas the ought-to self is not much stronger as the ideal L2 self. Also, it was noted that the participants with low motivation reported their concerns about the potential negative outcomes if they did not acquire sufficient competence in English and their fears of possessing 'an incompetent self' in L2 learning.

Clearly, although the research settings were varied in the recent studies on L2 learning motivation, they all appear to represent growing attention on the reinterpretation of the concept of integrativeness. Besides, there are research calls that can contribute to the enrichment of our interpretations in different sociocultural contexts. Even though Dörnyei's conceptualization of L2 Self System seems to attract great attention in the literature on L2 motivation in many EFL contexts, the majority of previous studies on L2 learning and identity were conducted in the environments where English is the dominant medium of communication such as the U.S, Canada, and Australia and on the immigrant learners 'experiences (see Morita, 2004; Norton, 2000; Pavlenko, 2000; Block, 2007). In that regard, there is *an unstated assumption* that language learners' identity has relevance only in English as a second language context "where target-culture exposures are abundant" (Yihon, Yuan, Ying, & Yan, 2007, p. 134). However, there is a scarcity of such studies that attempt to provide an understanding of the construction of L2 learner identity in the peripheral countries compared to the inner

circle of English speaking countries (Vasilopoulos, 2015; Sung, 2019; Yoshizawa, 2010).

2.3 Imagined Communities and Investment in ESL and EFL Contexts

From a broader perspective, a review of relevant literature on the construction of L2 identity reveals that studies mostly investigate the experiences of immigrant learners in the host countries where they are immensely exposed to the target language and culture (Gu, 2010; Wu, 2017; Sung, 2019). To start with, as the pioneering researcher exploring L2 learners' imagined communities and investment in an ESL context, Norton Peirce (1995) conducted a longitudinal study with five immigrant women in Canada to understand the link between L2 learning and identity. In her study, she argued L2 learners used languages as a way of building their own new identities on the basis of the target language they wanted to learn and through which they gained access to social communities. The construct of investment was introduced to explore "the socially and historically constructed relationship of learners to the target language and their often ambivalent desire to learn and practice it" (Norton, 1997, p. 411).

Building on Boerdieu's (1977) concept of *cultural capital*, Norton Peirce (1995) reported that the value of language learner's cultural capital impacted his/her desire and efforts for investment in learning. Even though all the participants were highly motivated to learn English, the data revealed that they were likely to remain silent or decide not to speak under certain social conditions as forms of resistance to inequitable power relations. For instance, Felicia tended to resist speaking English in front of strangers as she did not want to be positioned as an immigrant in the class. Martina, who worked in a restaurant, talked about her feelings of uneasiness, inferiority, and shame while speaking English in front of strangers because she did not use it as a proficient language user. Martina's self-positioning as an immigrant woman rather than a 'legitimate speaker' of English caused silence. However, Martina refused to remain silent and these feelings prompted her to claim the right to speak "by setting up a counterdiscourse in her workplace and resisting the subject position 'immigrant woman' in favor of the subject position 'mother'" (p. 23). Based on Martina's data,

Norton Peirce (1995) suggested that her social identity involved various sites of Martina's identity negotiation as immigrant, a mother, a language learner, a worker, and a wife. On the other hand, Eva immigrated to Canada for an 'economical advantage' and was working as a full-time employee in charge of cleaning and preparing the food for cooking in the Italian store. Eva challenged her subject position as 'not Canadian' and 'illegitimate speaker' of English'. She responded and created opportunities to speak English by paying attention to customers' or co-worker's utterances and imitating. Her social identity converted from an immigrant to a multicultural citizen with a developed awareness of her right to speak. In essence, Norton Peirce's (1995) pioneering work suggested the context might make a great impact on individuals' identity formation as they participate in the communities.

In addition, Haneda (2005) used the construct of community of practice, identity, and investment to understand how the differences in life trajectories of two Japanese adult learners and their multi-membership in different communities impacted their investment in Japanese. Jim and Edward were selected as they displayed the most contrastive modes of engagement out of nine students in a full-year JFL advanced literacy course in a Canadian university context. Jim was a Japanese heritage learner and used Japanese in daily interaction at home. Jim was actively involved in Japanese literacy practices both for interacting with his family members in Japan and his Japanese Canadian friends and for becoming a part of his imagined community of English teachers in an inner-city high school. On the other hand, Edward, an Anglophone Canadian, went to a Japanese high school and took Japanese courses within a 1-year period of immersion. He participated in Japanese literacy activities to achieve his immediate goal of becoming successful in a Foreign Language test to get into a business school of his choice as well as to become a successful English-Japanese bilingual business executive. It was revealed that the interaction among several factors created the differences in the two adult learners' investment in learning Japanese, involving their Japanese learning trajectories, their attitudes towards learning Japanese (their weaknesses and strengths in the target language, their self-perception as a writer or a person), their real/imagined communities, and their future career aspirations. The case-study accounts of Jim and Edward showed that their self-perception, as well as

their formation of social identity, is closely intertwined with their investment in the target language. They invested in many speaking/writing activities in different ways depending on their imagined identities and imagined past, present, and projected/envisioned communities. Haneda (2005) presented the differential efforts in two participant's learning trajectories. In other words, while Edward tended to develop personal connections with Japanese people, Jim was more likely to view Japanese as a means of achieving his career goals.

Chang (2011) also investigated how two non-native English speaker (NNES) international doctoral students' academic/professional backgrounds and aspirations influenced their selections of investment in their academic community. It was demonstrated that Taiwanese students' personal academic trajectories before, during, and after their stay in the USA played an influential role in guiding their willingness to investments in participating in English learning practices. In order to achieve their envisioned roles in their imagined communities, they made diverse selections of investments, including seeking funding opportunities, developing social networks, overcoming language barriers, and strengthening different kinds of disciplinary competences. It was demonstrated that their choices of investments were mainly guided by their perceptions of the language dependence of their discipline in addition to their career aspirations. Even though their English competence was very essential in their academic discipline, they selected to invest in the parts of the target language from which they could obtain the most profitable return to achieve their imagined communities. For instance, Burnerman's choice of investment encompassed improving his oral communicative competence to align with his imagined community in the U.S. engineering industry. Hou preferred to made investments in learning English through research genres to achieve his imagined academic community. As for agency, Chang (2011) argued that the two NNES doctoral students were able to exert their own agency when they encountered many language, social, and financial problems. Their investment persisted through their academic pursuits during their stay in order to increase their market value in their professional community, that is, the value of their cultural capital.

Similarly, Kinginger (2004) traced a four-year French language learning trajectory of Alice who was an American. Alice was a highly motivated learner and relatively enthusiastic about learning French since she dreamed of becoming a French teacher. The study focused on how Alice reconstructed her identity through access to resources at home and abroad as well as her dispositions towards language learning, her perception in communities, and her persistence. Alice encountered several challenges in relation to her social, class, linguistic, gender, and class identity. However, her enthusiasm, social mobility, and professional development helped her increase her investments in her imagined community by participating in the local communities and seeking learning opportunities. The study concluded that her personal journey of learning French opened access to social networks and allowed her to engage in different ways of constructing and negotiating a sense of identity.

Vafai (2016) conducted an empirical case study with adult ESL learners in order to investigate their motivational patterns for language learning and how they see the relevance of English to their future careers. Building upon the concept of investment, the study indicated that the learner participants possessed the conceptions of *perfect* English to gain access to their career goals, which is an indication of how language learning may relate to one's sense of personhood and identity. Similarly, Li (2014) also found out that ESL learners held more positive attitudes towards the target-culture community and stronger and more vivid images of ideal L2 selves compared to the EFL learners whose motivational dispositions were more about instrumentality.

Another study in an ESL environment, Wharton and Eslami (2015) interviewed and administered a written questionnaire to two adult learners to explore their intrinsic and extrinsic benefits of learning English along with their investment in it. Their study indicated that both of the participants reported their strong desire to learn and invest in learning English with the hope of becoming a proficient user of English in the future. Additionally, they referred to a sense of empowerment and enhanced confidence through acquiring better communication abilities in society. In a similar vein, Cheng and Sperling (2014) investigated the discursive practices of a face-to-face community college ESL classroom and of its online discussion forums. In relation to L2

socialization, they found out that L2 students do not always show compliance with the goals of institutions "to transmit and cultivate certain socio-cultural values and identities through linguistic practices" (p. 48).

As indicated in the aforementioned studies, the majority of research studies on the imagined communities and L2 investment are primarily conducted in naturalistic settings where English is used as the dominant language of communication (e.g., Norton Peirce, 1995; Haneda, 2005; Chang, 2011, Kinginger, 2004). However, there are comparatively few studies explore the language learning and identity construction of learners who study English as an additional language in their own countries. Thus, it is not still clear how the concepts of imagined communities and identities relate to the identity construction of L2 learners who have limited access to the target language community in contrast to those in the English-dominant societies (Prapunta, 2017). This group of investigations has been conducted in different EFL countries involving Spain (Block, 2008), Iran (Sa'd & Hatam, 2017), Indonesia (Lamb, 2009; Zacharias, 2012), China (Gao, Cheng, & Kelly, 2008; Sung, 2019), Taiwan (Wu, 2017), Egypt (Trentman, 2013) and Japan (Kanno, 2003). To begin with, Block (2008) intended to explore how an adult EFL learner in Spain constructed her identity through interviews and highlighted that the identity research should make a strong emphasis on learners' trajectories in relation to language learning and imagined communities. The study demonstrated that being in a non-naturalistic environment put the participant, Silvia, into a disadvantaged position because of the lack of *critical experiences* and sufficient practice in the target language.

In an Iranian context, Sa'd and Hatam (2017) aimed to investigate the perceptions, definitions, and conceptualization of language learners' perceptions about their target language identity construction through focus group interviews with 45 male EFL learners. A great number of the participants reported their positive inclination towards learning English for the identification with the target cultural and linguistic norms. However, many of them also expressed their resistance to the integration with the target language and pointed out that they learned English only for instrumental purposes. The reason for these expressions was explained as their opposition to "the

imposition of Western values on an Islamic country" (p. 13). The focus group interviews revealed that English was perceived to make a profound impact on their identity. The study also agreed that learner identity and broader social context are closely interrelated, therefore, an awareness of the right to speak in addition to dominant discursive practices, and power relations in such practices should be promoted.

Zacharias (2012) analyzed the response journals of 30 Indonesian students enrolled in an English Language Teaching (ELT) program to explore their multilingual English identities along with their development of the sense of self in the target language. The study revealed that participants had an awareness of the impact of English on their national (Indonesian) identities despite their active use of English. For many of the participants, English was a tool of an imposition to their cultural identities whereas some viewed learning English as a way of feeling of self-enhancement and becoming part of the elite. The study also contended that feelings of linguistic inferiority were triggered and magnified when they were confronted with NSs since their NNS status was associated with a perceived drawback instead of a resource they exploited. Participants of the study were not likely to challenge or showed resistance to their negative identity options as NNSs.

Again in an Indonesian context, Lamb (2009) studied with 12 Indonesian high school learners to track their L2 motivation over the course of two years to explore whether there are any changes in their motivation and the factors at play in forming these motivational changes. It was shown that the majority of the participants did not have clear and easily identifiable L2 self-guides and those who showed a vivid image of ideal L2 self showed different patterns of participation in English language learning practices. Lamb (2009) analyzed the learning trajectories of two language learners, Dewi and Munandar, who had different stances towards English language learning to understand how they responded to learning opportunities in communities and regulated their learning over a two-year period. Dewi who was born in the USA and her parents both worked as a lecturer at a university. She had been exposed to English learning for four years at a prestigious primary school and she possessed a relatively

positive attitude towards English. She wanted to be fluent in English since she imagined herself as a global businesswoman who could use English competently in international settings. In contrast to Dewi, Munandar was born in a rural area and did not have the effort to study English during primary school. His father worked in forestry and he was sent to school in the provincial capital to live with his extended family. Munandar recognized the role of English and mentioned it as the *need* in his accounts emphasizing the strong sense of obligation to learn it. Munandar's ambitions were not definite and he did not have an international agenda in his future plans. In other words, whereas Munandar lacked a vision of a future English-using self, Dewi was willing to participate in opportunities for interaction in English. Based on the focal participants' data, the study indicated that the ideal and ought-to L2 selves might help explain language learning motivation. In addition, it was found that the contextual influences and situated activity of L2 learning played a contributory role in shaping L2 selves. The diverse motivational profiles of Dewi and Munandar represented language learners' Ought-to Selves and Ideal L2 Selves, which guided their language learning paths and their learning behavior in English classes.

Gao et al. (2008) studied highly motivated tertiary-level research students in a Hong Kong university to understand why they persistently invest time and energy in a weekly English discussion group, the 'English Club'. The study found demonstrated that since the students were frustrated by the lack of English speaking opportunities in Hong Kong, this weekly English club helped them to have a sense of ownership of English. Participation in the social community in the club contributed to the process of their identity negotiation. It was also revealed that participants invested in learning English not only for their career aspirations or good grades but also for self-promotion and self-development. They also considered English not only as a language through which they could achieve cultural capital to negotiate their social relationships but also as a means of reaching their imagined status and identities they could invest.

Sung (2019) studied a Hong Kong undergraduate student's lived experiences of L2 investment and identities across three different contexts, involving inside and outside the classroom on the campus, in the professional workplace, and during study abroad.

She showed that Liam invested time and energy in L2 learning in varying degrees in different contexts in line with his different negotiations of identity (as a university student, a part-time salesperson, and a sojourner). As he found the language practices in the classroom as 'too academic', Liam chose to have little investment as a university student. He did not perceive himself as a competent student and did not have challenges in negotiating a positive academic identity. In contrast, he was very eager to participate in L2 speaking opportunities with foreign customers in the workplace since his imagined identity of an international cabin crew required him to gain recognition as a valued friend of the family. As a sojourner, he had diminished limited investments in L2 speaking opportunities with exchange students because of the inaccessibility to the exchange of student mobility. The study concluded that his strategic behavior in selecting L2 learning investments in different contexts was intertwined with his perceptions of whether particular investments would produce desired forms of cultural and/or social capital. Besides, it was suggested that his selection of investments represented his personal agency which took forms of resisting investing in L2 classroom practices and seeking active L2 speaking opportunities outside the classroom and in the workplace. As for the role of agency in directing L2 investments, the study concluded that different contextual and socio-cultural factors might influence the learner's individual agency in L2 investment as well as the outcomes of the L2 learning trajectory.

Trentman (2013) carried out a research study to interpret the role of imagined communities in American students' efforts in learning the Arabic language while studying abroad in Egypt. Their struggles to become a member of an imagined community of study abroad in the Middle East were accompanied by two assigned identities; the cross-cultural mediator and dedicated language learner. In order to achieve their imagined identities, they sought opportunities to participate in the communities of practice, involving joining the SA group, rugby team, and a partying group. The study emphasized that the successful language learner invested time and energy to have profitable returns on their investment in Arabic, both in terms of material resources (future careers and success in continuing studies) and symbolic resources (mastering a less taught and more difficult language and working toward

cross-cultural understanding. Their choice of investment in linguistic and cultural learning opportunities was fundamentally guided by the value within their home culture. Thus, they were more likely to develop a more ethno-relative standpoint instead of a sophisticated multicultural perspective.

In another exploration in Taiwan, Wu (2017) intended to understand how the imagined identity and investment were related through the analyses of three high-achieving EFL learners' histories. It was revealed that the participants had diverse language learning trajectories, which resulted in the different construction processes of imagined identities. The study reported that learners' limited imagined identities as English learners went parallel with their choice of investments in the target language. Thus, participants with a more expanded imagined identity identifying themselves as expert English users and English teachers reported more varied forms of investments in formal and informal settings. Wu (2017) suggested that learner's choice investment reflected their imagined identities to envisioned to become. Brie and Alicia, as an example, invested in the target language by participating in the valued and prioritized language learning practices/skills because they imagined becoming 'a good learner studying in good schools' in the early learning stage. In their middle learning stage, their extended imagined identity as an English teacher or an English user made them select relevant and varied types of investments to strengthen other language skills in addition to communicative competence. However, the study concluded that imagined identities might not contribute to their investment in learning English, rather it could take a form of 'resistant mentality'. Wu (2017) gave Leo's case as a representative of such learners and suggested that he did not want to be viewed as less proficient or less fluent in front of his peers, she avoided participation in English classes despite "his idealized self-image as a superior English learner" (p. 125). Besides, the study confirmed that sociocultural factors (i.e., institutional practices and socio-cultural value) and individual factors (i.e., proficiency and learning experience) interplayed in the construction of L2 learners' imagined identities.

Kanno (2003) also used the imagined communities to analyze the policies and practices of four Japanese schools where bilingual students attended in order to

investigate the relationship between the schools' visions for their students, their existing policies and practices, and the students' identities. Using ethnographic data collection methods, Kanno (2003) confirmed that schools served as "powerful social agents that can create images of communities for their children's future and give these visions flesh and blood" (p. 295). The study offered insights into the differences among the schools' visions of the imagined community for their students' future trajectories which resulted in varied forms of preparations. To illustrate, since one of the main missions of Zhonghua Chinese School was to promote Chinese identity, the school tended to offset the Japanese language and culture by prioritizing the learning opportunities for the Chinese culture. In line with this mission, Japan was recognized as part of Asia. However, at Hal International School serving the children of Western diplomats and business executives, the status of English was magnified, even given "clear priority to English of Japanese" (p. 293). These practices aligned with their visions of imagined community envisioned for their students. At Hal International School, English was of particular value to have students following their parents' footsteps and participating in the international communities. Kanno (2003) suggested that the schools' visions of imagined communities made a powerful impact on their present policies and practices, eventually influencing their students' identity. Another argument of this study was that individual schools could challenge societal ideologies and create a difference in monitoring their students to more *enabling* imagined identities. Individual schools might contribute to the construction process of their imagined communities by creating alternatives. Otherwise, the schools would continue to participate in social production by causing the socialization of impoverished students into impoverished communities and the future.

In sum, the literature on imagined communities and investment revolves tightly around three central themes. First, L2 learners' individual language learning trajectories including their backgrounds in relation to English learning has a pivotal role in the choice of their investments in learning the target language. Second, L2 learners' intentional selections of investment are primarily guided by their imagined identities in their imagined communities. Lastly, they exert their efforts and use their resources not only to achieve their future career aspirations but also to increase the value of their

cultural capital. The literature on the identity construction of L2 learners in non-English-dominant societies also indicates one's imagined identity in an imagined community might make an impact on the current practices and investments in the target language (Kanno & Norton, 2003). In parallel, they also emphasize that the contexts of L2 learning play a key role in the formation of L2 learners' envisioning of their desired selves in the imagined communities. Learning contexts might prevent learners from belonging to their imagined community and this, in turn, results in little investment in this context (Trentman, 2013).



CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

As indicated in the previous section, the review of literature put a clear emphasis on the scarcity of research exploring Turkish participants or language learners in different EFL contexts. Also, the studies in the literature stressed the need for further, in-depth investigations with L2 learners from diverse settings where English is learned and used as a foreign language. Thus, it was appropriate to employ an in-depth, detailed exploration with a cohort of Turkish L2 learners of English at an intensive English language education program of a public university who were selected to participate in this study. A qualitative research method reinforces the rationale for providing a contextualized, holistic, naturalistic descriptions and analysis of phenomena that take place at specific types of contexts among certain groups of individuals (Duff, 2002; Creswell, 2012). As the relevant literature indicated, the participants' experiences collected language learning journeys are simply characterized by the learners themselves and the meanings they gave to their experiences are extremely unique and individual. Therefore, a qualitative inquiry seems most suitable for this study depending on the explanatory nature of the research questions and the fact that the study aims to illuminate the complex and dynamic experiences in relation to their constructions of L2 identity. In parallel, a qualitative researcher seeks illuminations about how people make sense of their experiences and describe the construction of their subjective reality as Patton (1985) highlights:

[Qualitative research] is an effort to understand situations in their uniqueness as part of a particular context and the interactions there. This understanding is an end in itself so that it is not attempting to predict what may happen in the future necessarily, but to understand the nature of that setting-what it means

for participants to be in that setting, what their lives are like, what's going on for them, what their meanings are, what the world looks like in that particular setting... The analysis strives for depth of understanding. (p. 1)

According to Creswell (2009), a qualitative inquiry starts with assumptions, a worldview, a theoretical lens, and research problems targeting the analysis of the meaning-making process of individuals or groups attribute to a problem. In that regard, this study was informed of the constructivist/interpretive paradigm that highlights the recognition of “the importance of the subjective human creation of meaning” (p. 10) in light of objectivity (Crabtree & Miller, 1999). Besides, this study was characterized by its assumptions underscoring that reality is socially constructed; therefore, there exist multiple realities or interpretations of a single phenomenon (Merriam, 2009). This chapter presents detailed information about the research methodology, involving the research setting and participants as well as the data collection and analysis procedures.

3.1 A Multiple-Case Study

Maxwell (2008) suggests that a typical qualitative inquiry focuses on *meaning* and *understanding* with various intellectual goals, involving understanding the meaning for the participants, understanding the particular context, identifying unexpected phenomena and influences, understanding the processes, and developing causal explanations. Similarly, according to Merriam (2002), the qualitative understanding enables the researcher to “seek to discover and understand a phenomenon, a process, or the perspectives and worldviews of the people involved” (p. 11). The overall objective is to *understand* the dynamics and complexities embedded in the identity construction of Turkish language learners' mostly relying on qualitative research methods. With this purpose in mind, this research was situated within the borders of a multiple-case study design in which I intend to have a clear understanding of learners' construction of imagined identities, investments, and their L2 learning experiences in an EFL context. A multiple-case study design was adopted to collect and analyze rich self-expressed identity narratives of experiences of the participants.

As Prapunta (2017) claims, the methodological shifts in the L2 motivation research have resulted in a revival of interest in employing qualitative or mixed-methods approaches "to capture the complex and locally grounded aspects of individual learners" (p. 30). Therefore, a qualitative case study design seems to be appropriate given the explanatory purposes of this study to provide a detailed description of the data in its real-life environment and explanation of the complexities of the phenomenon (Zainal, 2007). Creswell (2007) defines case study as an approach "in which the investigator explores a bounded system (a case) or multiple bounded systems(cases) over time through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information and reports a case description and case-based themes" (p.73). His definition puts a clear emphasis on cases as the bounded systems, the role of context, and the availability of multiple data sources. Yin (1994) also explains case study as "not either a data collection tactic or merely a design feature alone but a comprehensive research strategy" (p. 13).

As I chose to capture Turkish learners' L2 learning experiences, the meanings they ascribe to those experiences they have had along this journey, the phenomenon of this study was explored within its natural context by offering multiple perspectives from different data sources. It builds on an assumption that the main interest of qualitative studies is in providing an understanding of the phenomenon from the participants' points of view rather than the researcher's (Merriam, 2009). This study consists of two phases in which qualitative data were used to help to explain and build upon initial quantitative results (Creswell, 2007). Based on the objectives of the study, the research needed quantitative results of the L2 motivation questionnaire (see Appendix A and Appendix B for the Turkish and English version of the questionnaire) to select the focal participants and to conduct three-interview series with them after their classification according to the patterns of their L2 motivational dispositions. As the research process revealed, this study was qualitatively-driven in response to the research calls (e.g., Sung, 2019; Prapunta, 2017; Erdil-Moody, 2016) for more qualitative, in-depth studies to have a more holistic lens. Besides, this study adopted this qualitative-dominant approach to offer an answer to the need for future studies on investigating how the recent conceptualizations of L2 learning motivation could be

adapted to explain multiple profiles across learners and within each individual (Colombo, 2017).

Taking an explanatory stance enabled me to conduct the participant selection procedure systematically by allowing the questionnaire results to use for purposeful sampling for the further qualitative, in-depth analysis of learners' English learning stories. Interview questions of a 3-part-interview design were developed based on the questionnaire results to explain why such differences in the L2 motivational dispositions occur and to make an in-depth comparison within each case and across cases. In multiple case studies, researchers focus on the topic of interest to gain knowledge of, insights into, the similarities and differences between cases (Baxter & Jack, 2008), which in turn might provide depth to the literature (Vannoni, 2015). Thus, this research process allowed me to take its primary advantage of the ability to make comparisons across cases with different and contrast motivational orientations (Powell et al., 2013, p. 8). In this sense, I initially treated each case as separate cases and then compared them in order to understand the similarities and differences between them in relation to their lived experiences, imagined communities and identities, and investments in the target language. Thus, a combination of quantitative data (the L2 Motivation Questionnaire) and qualitative data (in-depth interviews with multiple groups of people, including both students and program members, L2 Learning Profile Task, and documents reviews) were drawn in order to provide "multiple sources of evidence, with data needing to converge in a triangulating fashion" (Yin, 2009, p. 18).

I, as the researcher, simply sought to develop a comprehensive understanding of L2 learners' language learning experiences concerning how they constructed their imagined communities in an EFL setting given the impact of the availability of conditions in different language learning contexts (i.e., EFL vs. ESL) on their inter-language development (Longcope, 2009). Thus, this overall aim of this study indicated that I was "interested in insight, discovery, and interpretation rather than hypothesis testing" (Merriam, 2009, p. 42). This appears to meet the aims of this study which is to investigate multiple cases of three different EFL learners rather than a single case.

3.2 Research Setting

In case study designs when the researcher aims to provide sufficient coverage of the contextual conditions that are believed to display relevance to the phenomenon of interest, it is critical to consider the context within which it occurs (Yin, 2009; Baxter & Jack, 2008). An experimental study design that "divorces a phenomenon from its context" has a relatively limited ability to explore the context (Yin, 1989, p. 23). However, qualitative case study designs assume that "issues are not simple and clean, but intricately wired to political, social, historical, and especially personal contexts" (Stake, 1995, p. 17). In this study, as it is believed that the contextual influences are highly related to the phenomenon of interest, it would not have been possible for me to draw a clear portrayal of Turkish L2 learners' experiences concerning L2 identity constructions in their trajectories to become a legitimate member of the target community. In this sense, the case(s) cannot be isolated from its context, the Intensive English Language Program (IELP), because it was in these environments that the language learning experiences are shaped by micro and macro contextual conditions that "stand in a systematic relationship to the behavior or events one is attempting to explain" (Watson-Gegeo, 1992, p. 54).

This study was carried out in the Intensive English Language Program at one of the public universities located in the central region of Turkey. The IELP was established in 2010 and it is comprised of three separate units, involving the Department of Basic English, Department of Translation-Interpretation, and Department of Modern Languages. There are 38 instructors in the program and four research assistants appointed to the Department of Translation and Interpretation Studies. The IELP has 40 classrooms, three computer laboratories for CALL courses, one reading hall, and one cinema hall.

In order to facilitate the reader's insight into the context of the scene, a few more details about the description of the IELP are necessary since individuals' behaviors are understood in the context of their lives (Patton, 2002; Gustafsson, 2017). A piece of brief information about the IELP's mission and vision statements, its strategic

objectives as well as its strategic planning would also be helpful. The IELP states its mission on its website as follows:

Our mission is to provide our students with a quality education life with which they can gain the foreign language knowledge and skills that are necessary for communication and conveying information for their academic studies and to raise individuals who are aware of the need for lifelong learning in foreign language and who have gained the basic foreign language skills and competencies much needed in academic, professional and social life.

As can be seen in the quote above, the IELP aims to make sure that students reach sufficient proficiency level in English to effectively make use of all sources in their academic studies and to contribute to career portfolios. The mission statement also underscores the importance of language competence in English since it enables students to gain access to new forms of capital. Considering the great impact of the schools' visions on their learners' future, its current and future policy practices, and their learner identities (Kanno, 2003), it would be useful to explain how the IELP positions itself. The following excerpt from the vision statement of the IELP illustrates how it clarifies the direction that the institution needs to move:

Our vision is to become an educational institution that is distinguished with its qualities and to raise students in such way that they not only benefit from their foreign language in their academic departments but also in their social life by developing all of the programs, educational tools, and educational environments within the School of Foreign Languages parallel to our University's general vision and modern international qualities.

It seems evident that the school's vision focuses on equipping students with certain essential skills to ease their navigation in the academic and professional lives. The IELP conducts two separate preparatory programs, i.e., Compulsory Preparatory Program and Optional Preparatory Program. In the IELP, there is one group of students who are enrolled in the departments of Faculties and Vocational Schools (see Table 4 below) in which they are obliged to take English courses. For this cohort, participation in English language classes in the program is compulsory to enable them to make use of English in their profession and to participate in academic activities. If students take a passing score in the English Language Proficiency Exam (EPE) which is administered at the very beginning of each semester, they may start the undergraduate

programs that they get acceptance. In case of failure in the EPE, they need to take English courses offered in the Department of Basic English that is 24 hours per week at classes of 24 students throughout 14 weeks within the Compulsory Preparatory Program. On the other hand, the IELP also provides students with the Optional Preparatory Program for those enrolled in undergraduate programs that do not require them to take English classes (see Table 4 below). These students may take the EPE to be exempt from the departmental English classes. If they want to take English classes offered by the IELP, they are allowed to follow these classes throughout one year.

The English Proficiency Exam (EPE) is administered twice a year – once in the fall and spring. The examination encompasses two separate stages each of which places emphasis on different language skills. In the first stage, test-takers are supposed to show their performances regarding knowledge about the language and careful reading skills. If the student cannot get a minimum score of 50 out of 100 in this stage, they are not allowed to take the second part of the examination. The latter stage includes tasks related to writing and listening skills. To be exempt from the EPE, they need to take a passing score of 60 or above. Those students who fail in the EPE need to take a placement test to be placed according to their language levels: A1 and A2 (Beginner and Elementary Level), and B1 (Pre-intermediate Level). Therefore, the different curriculum and teaching materials are applied to the IELP students based on their levels of English proficiency. In the Compulsory Preparatory Program, there were 205 enrolled students whereas the Optional Preparatory Program involved 54 students who chose to take English courses voluntarily during the Spring term of the 2018-2019 academic year. The total number of the students in the IELP was as shown in Table 4 below.

Table 4.

The IELP student population by the program type in 2018-2019 (Spring)

Compulsory Preparatory Program (CPP)	Optional Preparatory Program (OPP)
205 Students	54 Students
Total Number =259	

3.2.1 The Compulsory Preparatory Program (CPP)

According to the information obtained from the program website, the students who get accepted to the following seven departments illustrated in Table 5 below have to follow English language courses in the IELP within the Compulsory Preparatory Program. The minimum passing grade is 60 out of 100 for the registered students in these programs. They need to comply with the specific attendance rules in the IELP, which require them to attend 80% of English classes. According to the IELP regulations, if students fail and could not complete the program successfully within two years, they are dismissed from the preparatory program.

Table 5.
Programs conducting the Compulsory Preparatory Program

Programs Conducting the Compulsory Preparatory Program	
Faculty of Agricultural Sciences and Technologies	Agricultural Production and Technologies Agricultural Genetics Engineering Animal Production Technologies
Social Sciences Vocational School	Applied English and Translation Studies
Graduate School of Science	Agricultural Production and Technologies Agricultural Genetics Engineering Graduate Programs

3.2.2 The Optional Preparatory Program (OPP)

Optional preparatory classes are conducted upon the request of the registered student if their departmental courses are fully given in Turkish (West et al., 2015). Participation in the IELP is optional for all undergraduate students who will study in the following programs shown in Table 6 below. Students are expected to achieve a score of 60 out of 100 in the EPE to be able to transfer to their 4-year undergraduate programs. These students can also participate in the English courses offered by the

IELP only for one year and they are supposed to attend a minimum of 80% of all classes.

Table 6.
Programs conducting the Optional Preparatory Program

Programs Conducting the Optional Preparatory Program	
Faculty of Engineering	Electrical and Electronics Engineering
	Civil Engineering
	Mechatronics Engineering
	Food Engineering
	Environmental Engineering
	Mechanical Engineering
	Geomatics Engineering
Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences	Business Administration
	International Trade and Logistics Management
	Banking and Finance
	Economics
	Public Administration
Faculty of Architecture	Architecture

3.3 Procedure for Participant Selection

This study was carried out in Spring 2018-2019 in Turkey and the research participants were the English language learners in an intensive English language education program between February and June 2019. More extensive and detailed information about the participants will be given below. Before the participant selection procedure, approval from the Institutional Review Board following the thesis committee approved the dissertation proposal was obtained. Then, I completed all the necessary procedures to get institutional permission in order to conduct this study. In addition to taking into the thesis committee's feedback and suggestions on the instruments, I sent the final

version of the data collection instruments (i.e., L2 Motivation Questionnaire, interview protocols for students and program members, and L2 Learning Profile Task) to two research assistants and one EFL instructor who possessed relevant knowledge and practice in the language teaching and learning. On receiving the permissions and expert opinion, the piloting of the L2 Motivation Questionnaire was carried out with ten students in an A1 class in the preparatory school. In addition, a small-scale pilot study for the 3-part-interview design was also conducted with two students in this class. I also interviewed the instructor of this class in order for the piloting the interview questions for the program members. The ones who participated in the piloting procedure were not taken as participants in the original study.

During the participant selection procedure, maximum variation sampling (Patton, 2002) was employed which intended to include a wide spectrum of L2 motivational profiles in the study and to investigate the critical aspects of L2 motivation as well as the role of L2 motivation in shaping their L2 selves and imagination. Three pre-undergraduate students (one highly motivated, one moderately motivated, and one low motivated) from the Intensive English Language Program. The participant selection was based on cross-referencing between L2 Motivation Questionnaire (L2MQ), their answers to open-ended questions in the L2MQ, and instructors' comments and evaluation on L2 motivation on the basis of L2 Motivation Checklist.

More specifically, all the students in the IELP who agreed to participate in this study ($n=174$, 67% of the total sample) were invited to evaluate their English learning motivation through a questionnaire of both close-ended and open-ended questions which was adapted. The criterion to determine their L2 motivation was the motivational intensity of their English learning, which is an important point of reference for learners' motivation (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011). It would be helpful to provide the sample descriptions by their major demographic characteristics which were obtained from the questionnaire to have a better understanding of the further analyses. As can be seen in Table 7, a total of 174 students in the preparatory program volunteered to complete the questionnaire. 55.2% of the respondents were female ($n = 96$); 44.8% were male ($n = 78$).

Table 7.

Sample description by major demographic characteristics: by gender (N = 174)

Gender	Frequency	Percent (%)
Female	96	55.2
Male	78	44.8
Total	174	100

The information on the language level of the respondents is also provided in Table 8 below. The majority of the students ($n = 148$, 85.1%) were taught in A1 classes while only 14.9% ($n = 26$) of the students were in the A2 language level.

Table 8.

Sample description by major demographic characteristics: by language level (N = 174)

Language level	Frequency	Percent (%)
A1	148	85.1
A2	26	14.9
Total	174	100

Table 9 shows the distribution of the respondents by their departments. More than half of the respondents ($n = 119$) were majoring in the departments (i.e., Faculty of Agricultural Sciences and Applied English and Translation) in which students were required to follow English classes compulsorily. The medium of instruction in these faculties is English. According to Table 9, 39.7% ($n = 69$) of them were majoring in the Faculty of Agricultural Science, and 28.7 % ($n = 50$) of them were majoring in Applied English and Translation. From the Optional Preparatory Program respondents, 23.0% ($n = 15$) of them were the students of the Faculty of Engineering while 8.6% ($n = 15$) of the respondents were the students in the Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences. In these two faculties, the students have to study only 30% of their degree through English as a medium of instruction.

Table 9.

Sample description by major demographic characteristics: by department (N = 174)

Department	Frequency	Percent (%)
*Faculty of Agricultural Sciences	69	39.7
Faculty of Engineering	40	23.0
Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences	15	8.6
*Applied English and Translation	50	28.7
Total	174	100

*This program conducts Compulsory Preparatory Program.

Table 10.

Sample description by major demographic characteristics: by year(s) of English language education (N = 174)

Year(s) of English Language Education	Frequency	Percent (%)
1-3 years	42	24.1
4-6 years	10	5.7
7-10 years	59	33.9
10-12 years	61	35.1
12 years and +	2	1.1
Total	174	100

In Table 10 above, the information about how many years the respondents took English language education is provided. The majority of the respondents ($n = 61$, 35.1%) had English language education for 10 to 12 years followed by those who attended English language classes for 7 to 10 years constitutes the second majority group with 59 respondents (33.9%). Thirdly, a total of 42 students (24.1%) received English language education for 1 to 3 years, which is a relatively short period compared to the majority of the sample. Ten of the respondents (5.7%) reported that they had 4 to 6 years of English language learning experience whereas only two respondents (1.1%) represented the minority group and stated that they took English courses for more than 12 and more years.

In Table 11 below, the distribution of the respondents according to their program type is presented. As in the situation in the distribution by their language level, 31.6% of them ($n = 55$) were the students in the Optional Preparatory Program (OPP) whereas the majority ($n = 119$, 68.4%) were the students in the Compulsory Preparatory Program (CPP).

Table 11.

Sample description by major demographic characteristics: by program type

Program type	Frequency	Percent (%)
Compulsory	119	68.4
Optional	55	31.6
Total	174	100

Following the administration of the L2MQ, the instructors were given an L2 Motivation Checklist which contains a list of descriptors of a motivated L2 learner (see Appendix C for the checklist). The checklist was developed by exploring the relevant literature and eliciting some related items from the questionnaire. There have been a few research studies that specifically targeted at investigating the characteristics of a motivated language learner to my best knowledge (Chang, 2014; Jafari, 2013) since it is not simple to define the complex construct of L2 motivation (Piniel & Csizér, 2013). Thus, the studies that intended to describe and understand the qualities of a good language learner were utilized (Norton & Toohey, 2001; Naiman, 1995; Rubin, 1975; Nation & McLaughlin, 1986). According to the existing literature, a motivated L2 learner possesses the following characteristics, which guided the preparation of the list of descriptors: (a) attentiveness, (b) willingness to do homework and excel in the class, (c) interest in the subject, (d) self-directed, (e) open, confident, and comfortable, (d) eager to invest in her/his own learning, (f) goal-directed, (g) see a purpose in learning English, and (h) has the interest to learn about the target culture (Chang, 2014; Exley, 2005; Alhodiry, 2016; Dislen, 2013; Fernández & Cañado, 2001; Seifert, 2004; Jacobson, 2009; Jafari, 2013). Based on the most common characteristics of a motivated language learner identified in the literature, I asked the instructors to nominate typical students of each motivational type. They were expected to write the

student (s) names that displayed the attribute in question *often, sometimes, and never*. The overlapping student names in the submitted checklists were considered as the potential informant(s) for the participant pool of this study. These instructors' comments on the perceived suitability of the students for the descriptors in the checklist were combined with the data from the L2 motivation questionnaire. In selecting the focal participants, the answers given to the open-ended questions at the end of the questionnaire were also considered as complementary to the quantitative data set. When two or three respondents had the same scale scores in the questionnaire, their responses to the open-ended questions were taken into consideration for probing into the details of the data and verifying their answers.

Lastly, I should add one point that the focal participant pool was initially formed based on their program type (i.e., optional or compulsory) and their motivational profiles (i.e., low, average, and high) too. In the original study plan, each motivational profile group had involved one student from Optional Preparatory Program and one Compulsory Preparatory Program to capture the differences between the two groups. However, because the quantitative analyses did not find a statistically significant difference in the mean scores of L2 motivation for the CPP students and the OPP students, the results were presented on the basis of their motivational orientations rather than their program type. Additionally, considering Yin's (2009) caveat that relying on one participant may lead to unpredictable results, chances of misinterpretation, and the danger of the participant attrition, I began with an initial target of six participants keeping the option of adding and reducing the number of participants in the following phases. However, based on the thesis committee feedback, the number of participants in each category was reduced to one learner, which is also suggested for studies that use multiple and in-depth interviews with the same participant (Lee, Woo, & McKenzie, 2002; Jette, Grover, & Keck, 2003).

To sum up, three L2 learners were categorized according to the questionnaire results, the checklist provided by the instructor checklist, and answers to the open-ended questions. This strategy helped to adopt an extra perspective in looking at the data in addition to making sure that this study produced more reliable findings (Merriam,

2001). Thus, one of the students were chosen from the ones whose self-reported L2 motivation were very high and fairly above the average of the total of 174 students, one of them were chosen from the ones whose self-reported L2 motivation were almost the same as the general average of the total 174 students, and one of them were chosen from the ones whose self-reported L2 motivation were very low and below the average of the total of 174 students in accordance with the analysis of the questionnaire.

3.4 Research Participants as the Storytellers

It is important to note that ensuring the diversity of these viewpoints among the participants allows enhancing the opportunity for a broader spectrum of applications of the results of this study in different situations (Merriam, 2001). In fact, Zach (2006) argues that researchers in multiple-case study designs do not necessarily follow “hard-and-fast rules” (p. 9) about the number of cases. Therefore, the three EFL learners were chosen as the focal participants of this study to provide in-depth, detailed analyses of their "diverse motivational profiles" (Lamb, 2009, p. 232) on the basis of their questionnaire results, in combination with the instructors' views on the focal participants (based on descriptors in the checklist) and their answers to the four final open-ended questions in the questionnaire. All of these perspectives during the participant selection procedure helped me to identify and "to illustrate different modes of engagement" (Haneda, 2005, p. 275) in the construction of their L2 identity. The detailed information about the participants' profiles (i.e., age, gender, year of study, registered program, L2 motivational profile, and language level) is given in Table 12 below:

Table 12.
The profiles of participants

Participants	Gender	Age	Year(s) of English language education	Registered program	L2 motivational profile	Language level
Melisa	Female	18	10	Applied English and Translation Studies	High	A1
Emre	Male	20	11	Agricultural Genetics Engineering	Moderate	A1
Ahmet	Male	19	10	Electrical and Electronics Engineering	Low	A1

In this study, one of the students was female and two of them were male. The participants' ages ranged from 18 to 20 years. The language level of all the participants was A1. The most motivated participant, Melisa, was a student in Applied English and Translation Studies which is a two-year program and offered in the Social Sciences Vocational School. This Associate's Degree program is a vocationally/practically-oriented, short stream (cycle) program which intends to train students in terms of improving their practical skills for employment opportunities in a specific field of occupation and trade. In this program, students are required to attend the Intensive English Language Education Program for one year and complete it successfully. The detailed information about their backgrounds (their highs schools, the city where their families live, hometown, and parents' occupation) is also provided in Table 13 below.

Table 13.
The background information of the participants

Participants	High School	The city where their families live	Hometown	Parent's occupation
Melisa	Anatolian High School in Mersin	Mersin-Tarsus (in a town of Tarsus)	Mersin	Farmer (father) Housewife (mother)
Emre	Anadolu Imam Hatip High School in İstanbul (Grade 9)	İstanbul and Burdur	Manisa	Retired Chief of Police (father)
	Private Anatolian High School in İstanbul (Grade 10)			Police Officer (mother)
	Private Anatolian High School in Burdur (Grade 11-12)			
Ahmet	Anatolian High School in Niğde	Niğde-Bor (in a town of Bor)	Niğde	Bus driver (father) Housewife (mother)

As shown in Table 13 above, the participants came from very different hometowns, which is an indication of their diverse backgrounds. To start with, Melisa came from Tarsus (a district of Mersin) and her family lived in a small town of Tarsus. Emre came from Manisa, lived in various cities during her childhood because of his parent's jobs. He went to three high schools in two cities all of which represented a different profile. However, he ended up with one Private Anatolian High School in Burdur. Ahmet was from one small town of Bor which is a district of Niğde and lived there with his family. Ahmet went to one Anatolian High School in the city center of Niğde.

The selection of this cohort was considered to be critical since the study primarily placed an emphasis on what lived experiences made them display high motivation, moderate, and/or the low motivation for L2 learning as the different language learners who were taught in the equivalent EFL language education context. Their L2 learning stories might also help to capture particular glimpses to show how their experiences, L2 motivational selves (ought-to and ideal L2 self) and the social context are integrated and how their formation of L2 selves contributed to their motivations for learning English.

3.5 Data Collection Tools

The data collection procedure of this study was comprised of four separate but interrelated use of data collection tools. In order to ensure validity and to provide a combination of rich and multifaceted standpoints (Mathison, 1988; Thurmon, 2001), this study employed multiple data sources and data collection methods. In this study, every source of data was considered as a piece of the puzzle and each enabled me to have a far understanding of the phenomenon (Baxter & Jack, 2008). Figure 5 below illustrates how the data was collected during the study.

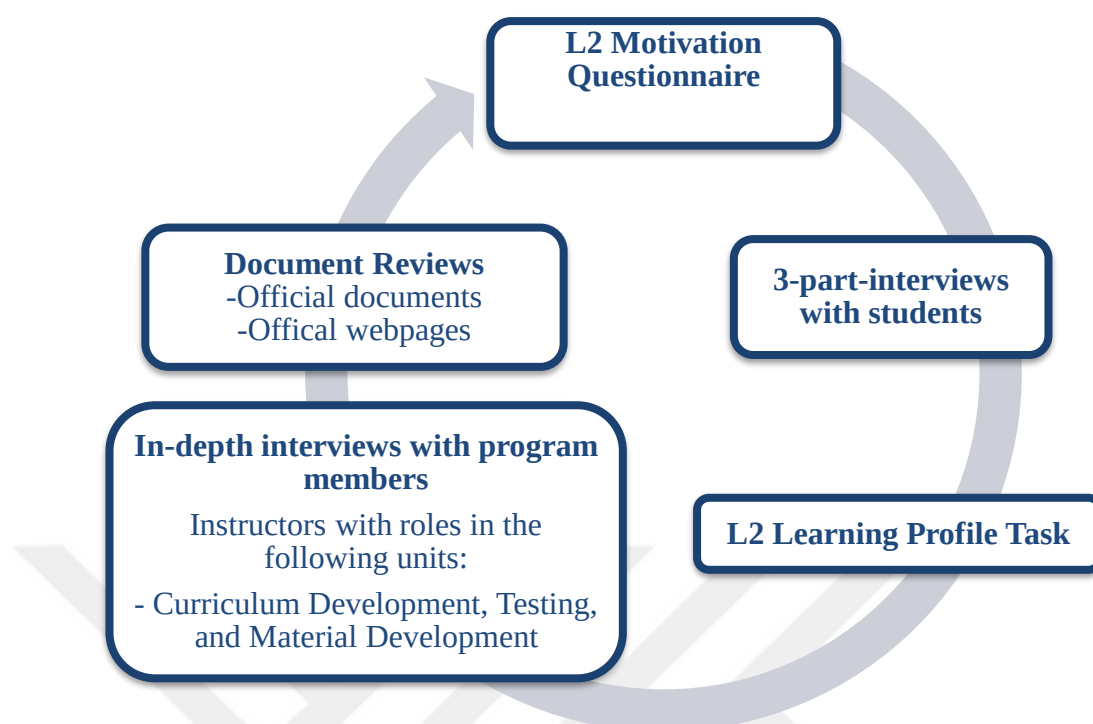


Figure 5. Data collection instruments used in the study.

In order to provide enriched and reliable data for three overarching research questions which guided this research study, the data of this research was from (1) the L2 Motivational Questionnaire, (2) 3-part interviews, (3) L2 Learning Profile Task, (4) interviews with the program members (i.e., instructors in charge of curriculum development, material development, and testing), and (5) document reviews. Table 14 below demonstrates which data sources were used to answer each research question.

Table 14.
Research questions and data sources

Research Questions	Data Sources
(1) What are the three EFL learners' imagined identities constructed throughout their English learning stories?	Three-interview series (Qualitative - from EFL students) L2 Learning Profile Task (Qualitative – from EFL students)
(2) How do the three EFL learners' imagined identities in their imagined communities impact their L2 investments?	Three-interview series (Qualitative - from EFL students) L2 Learning Profile Task (Qualitative – from EFL students)
(3) What kind of imagined identities and communities inform the program members' perspectives and the policy documents of an Intensive English Language Program?	In-depth interviews with the program members (Qualitative - from the program members) Document Reviews (Qualitative- from official documents and official webpage)

3.5.1 L2 Motivation Questionnaire (L2MQ)

According to Baxter and Jack (2008), in case study designs, potential data sources are not restricted to documentation, archival records, interviews, physical artifacts, direct observations, and participant observation. They also suggest that case study designs different from other qualitative methods allow the collection and integration of quantitative data in order to have a holistic perspective about the phenomenon of interest. In parallel, Yin (1994) also claims that the researchers in multiple-case studies can and should include quantitative data if relevant. Thus, this study used the L2 Motivation Questionnaire (L2MQ) as the first data source and as the instrument which yielded quantitative results and was subsequently supplemented by a further series of in-depth interviews.

As a matter of fact, the L2 Motivation Questionnaire was utilized in Erdil-Moody's (2016) study to examine the language learning motivation of the learner participants. Erdil-Moody's (2016) used the L2 Motivational Questionnaire after adapting the section about the two L2 self-guides (Ideal L2 Self, Ought-to L2 Self) from Taguchi et al.'s (2009) motivation questionnaire and the sections of L2 Learning Experience and the Linguistic Self-Confidence from Guilloteaux and Dörnyei's (2008) Student Motivational State Questionnaire. The adapted version of the questionnaire includes 39 items, rated on a 6-point Likert scale (6 -tremendously, 5 very much, 4-slightly, 3 -slightly not, 2- not very much, and 1 not at all). Before the administration of the questionnaire, Erdil- Moody (2016) stated that it was translated into Turkish by the two experts and piloted with 23 learners in a Turkish EFL environment. During the piloting studies, a reliability score was found as 0.92 as an indicator of the interrelatedness of items as a result of Cronbach's alpha analysis. Erdil- Moody (2016) reported the reliability coefficients for each section as follows: The Ideal L2 Self (12 items, 0.95), the Ought-to L2 Self (8 items, 0.77), the L2 Learning Experience (12 items, 0.96), and the Linguistic Self Confidence (7 items, 0.95).

The ideal L2 self (12 items from Taguchi et al., 2009): This variable measures the central component of the L2 Motivational Self System. Taguchi et al. (2009) claim that it refers to a language learner's goals and hopes for future L2 selves to be able to use English in their personal and professional lives. They reported a positive correlation between the ideal L2 self and integrativeness. In this regard, Tort Calvo (2015) suggests that the ideal L2 self is intertwined with traditional integrative and instrumental motivations and the most influential factor in language achievement. Therefore, if a language learner has favorable attitudes towards the target L2 community, s/he may possess "a vivid and real image" of being a proficient speaker of L2 (Dörnyei, Csizér, & Németh, 2006, p. 92). In case of a negative attitude towards the L2 community, the individual most probably develops a weaker L2 self. It is related to the "L2-specific facet of one's 'ideal self'" (Dörnyei, 2009, p. 29). If language learners could become successful in materializing their ideal selves, they will be viewed as the experts of their communities of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991). Takahashi (2013) argues that the ideal L2 self is the strong motivator for language learners as they desire to reduce the discrepancy between their ideal L2 self and their actual L2 self. An example of a scale item: *Whenever I think of my future career, I imagine myself using English.*

The ought-to L2 self (8 items from Taguchi et al., 2009): Dörnyei (2009) describes this criterion as "the attributes that one believes one ought to possess to meet expectations and to avoid possible negative outcomes" (p. 29). In contrast to the ideal L2 self that is related to one's desires and hopes, this is concerning with various duties, obligations, or responsibilities (Taguchi et al., 2009). This dimension of the questionnaire places emphasis on language learners' perceptions of external influences. In this sense, Taguchi et al. (2009) found the ought-to L2 self was combined with family influences as well as other groups of people in one's life such as friends and colleagues. An example of a scale item of ought-to L2 self: *I consider learning English important because the people I respect think that I should do.*

The L2 learning experience (12 items from Guilloteaux & Dörnyei, 2008): It deals with a more “situated, executive motives related to the immediate learning environment and experience” (Dörnyei, 2009, p. 29). Instead of being related to one’s self-image, it highlights curriculum, teaching materials, teachers, and peers (Papi, 2010). However, to be able to offer a far understanding, Ryan (2009) postulates that L2 learning experiences need to be considered both within and outside the confines of the classroom. An example of a scale item: *I like the atmosphere of my English lesson this semester.*

The Linguistic self-confidence (7 items, Guilloteaux & Dörnyei’s (2008): It concerns language learners’ *perceived communicative competence* which is a strong determinant in the frequency of L2 use (Clément, Baker, & MacIntyre, 2003). When individuals have a high sense of self-perceptions of L2 competence, they are likely to show increased communication competence, increased integration with the target community, and a high level of psychological adaptation (Clément, Dörnyei, & Noels, 1994). Therefore, it has a great impact on L2 motivation and language achievement (Erdil-Moody, 2016; Yu & Shen, 2012). An example of the scale items: *I feel confident doing speaking presentations in English lessons.*

After adapting and translating, Erdil-Moody's (2016) administered this questionnaire in the School of Foreign Languages at Middle East Technical University with high-reliability scores. This questionnaire was thought to be suitable and aligned with the purpose of this study to employ this scale in another School of Foreign Language context at a public university. The L2 Motivation Questionnaire used in the initial phase of this study is comprised of three different sections. I inserted the first and the last parts to have more detailed data about the profiles and language learning experiences of the students. The first part (Part 1) requires the participants to complete general demographic information about (i.e. gender, age, their major, level of English language, program type, and years of language learning). Part 2 involves 39 items that were adapted by Erdil-Moody (2016). In Part 3, the participants were asked to rate how much (on a scale from 1 to 10) they felt like a motivated English learner and how much they were confident in using English (on a scale from 1 to 10). In addition, this

section involves four open-ended questions focusing on their self-reported significance/relevance of English to their lives, the perceived contributions of English learning to their futures, their additional efforts to learn and improve English in a daily life context, and their awareness of the different and multiple Englishes. The open-ended questions were added to complement the close-ended questions in the questionnaire, gaining extra insight to see the bigger picture and reduce the risk of bias in the selection of the focal participants for in-depth interviews.

This final format of the questionnaire was piloted with ten students in an A1 level class to ensure that the answers the students gave to those questions were the responses to the questions that I thought she was asking. The necessary changes were made based on the respondents' feedback and suggestions on the questions. This piloting procedure did not have a target to assess the items of the questionnaire considering that the reliability analysis of the questionnaire had already been provided and confirmed by Erdil-Moody (2016) with 23 Turkish language learners as discussed earlier. In this study, the L2 Motivation Questionnaire was used to provide extra insight into the research context to see the bigger picture and also to reduce the risk of bias when inviting the focal participants who possessed diverse motivational orientations towards English for in-depth interviews. The questionnaire was administered to nearly 203 students with 39 items in addition to four open-ended questions and 174 of the students voluntarily filled out the questionnaire.

3.5.2 A 3-Part Interview Series with Three Participants

*At the very heart of what it means to be human is the ability of people to symbolize their experience through language
(Seidman, 2006, p. 8).*

With the emergence of a narrative turn in the field of foreign language education, stories of individuals' lived experiences have started to gain prominence (Pavlenko, 2007). In response to this increasing interest in hearing the voices of individuals, narratives have begun to be viewed as a way of using language to construct our stories.

Besides, they are considered to be one of the appropriate means of learning about learners' positionalities and making sense of the world, individual worlds, and realities (Chappell & Chappell, 2015; Sawyer & Liggett, 2012). In parallel, Ubaque (2016) notes that learners' accounts of their L2 learning experiences are functional since they are informative about the learning process and their own identity.

As indicated in the review of literature, *identity* has been described as an unstable construct that is formed in diverse contexts, therefore, multiple (Barkhuizen, 2016). To understand the complex and dynamic nature of identity, narratives have been adopted as a way of (co)telling the learners' stories in which identities are generated. These characteristics of narratives of the experiences and identities are in alignment with the goals of this study which is related to developing an understanding of the Turkish L2 learners' identity construction. Thus, I preferred to use the research protocol of a 3-part interview series as the interview strategy for this study that is a model of interviewing developed by Seidman (2006).

As I was interested in listening to other people's stories to "hear the meaning" (Rubin & Rubin, 1995, p. 7) and reflections on their experiences, this approach helped me to position myself as the listener and to gain an in-depth understanding of what the participants experienced and what meanings are ascribed to their experiences by the participants. In this regard, Seidman (2006) argues that when the researcher intends to understand "subjective understanding" (Schutz, 1967) of the participants, interviewing is the most appropriate avenue of inquiry. As for the number of interviews, Seidman (2006) recommends the use of three separate interviews with every participant as this interview design enables the researchers to put the behavior in context and offers access to the understanding of their actions. This study did not attempt to get answers to questions or have any intentions of testing hypotheses or evaluate. Instead, this study adopted an *experience-oriented* approach to derive interpretations from the participants' talk (Warren, 2002) as the overarching aim was to understand what experiences English language learners collected in a monolingual context and how they made meaning of these L2 learning experiences while trying to become a participating member of the global community. Read (2018) claims that serial

interviews provide multiple benefits to the researchers and explains why one might interview the same participant more than once as:

... serial interviews provide rich opportunities to challenge or verify information given in previous interviews and to triangulate and cross-check the participant's answers in relation to other sources. The interviewer can pose again questions that have previously been asked to see whether the responses change, or reframe them in varying ways. The interviewer may gently confront the interviewee with information found elsewhere that conflicts with something he previously said; this can help resolve contradictions in the data, obtain deeper insight into a contested point, and assess credibility (p. 5).

Given these advantages of repeated interviews, Seidman's (2006) 3-part interview series was utilized as the model of interviewing. In line with the suggestions and explanation of Seidman (2006) regarding the structure of a 3-part interview design, I designed the interviewing schedule in three sequenced structure each of which has a distinct focus. The 3-part interview design is indicated in Figure 6 below:

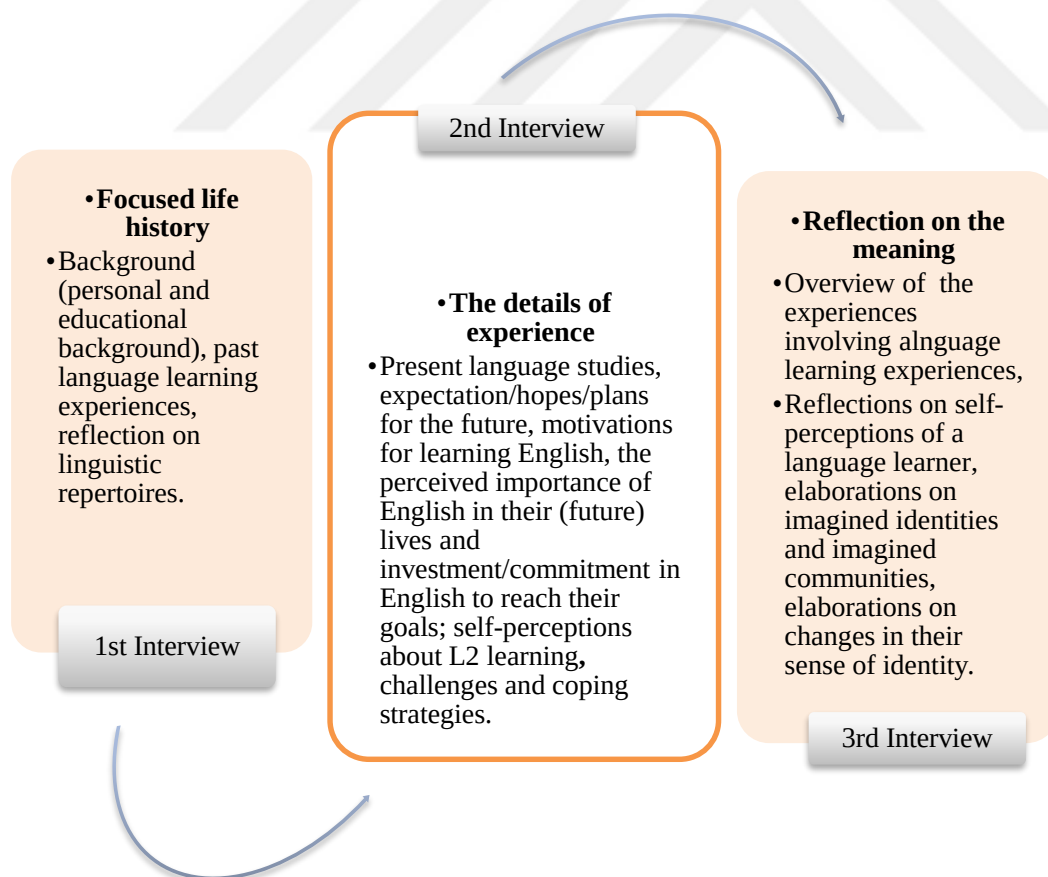


Figure 6. 3-part interview design (Seidman, 2006).

Conducting multiple and in-depth interviews made it easier for me to establish rapport with the research participants, to elicit their additional thoughts, feelings, or reactions, and to go back to data and clarify unclear or confusing parts in the preceding interviews (Rubin & Rubin, 1995; Knox & Burkard, 2009). Based on an *emergent and flexible* understanding of qualitative research (Merriam, 2009; Lincoln & Guba, 1985), I prepared several prompts and basic questions that determined focus areas during the whole interview process. As I remained loyal to Seidman's (2006) structure and purpose of in-depth interviewing, I asked open-ended, exploring questions in preparing interview protocols (see Appendix D for the interview protocols for the students) to allow the participants to reconstruct the details of a specific experience or a more limited span. In addition, I intended to adopt an active and flexible approach in the interviews to facilitate hearing the emergent voices of the participants. It helped me to better pursue avenues of inquiry that would produce enriched contributions (Merriam, 2009).

This study establishes an understanding that “focuses on the deep, lived meanings that events have for individuals, assuming that these meanings guide actions and interactions” (Marshall & Rossman, 2006, p.105). To provide sufficient coverage for its purposes, each interview had a different focus area to build “a foundation of detail that helps illumine the next” (Seidman, 2006, p. 19). In this study, the three language learners' experiences and stories of their language learning were explored regarding their past, present, and imagined world experiences (Ubaque, 2016). In addition, their grounds for learning English and their backgrounds, including previous language studies, were also taken into consideration. The aim of this study was not only to understand the detailed histories of identity reconstruction information but also to have an overview of the possible emerging identities from the perspective of the language learner. The interviews were conducted in three sequenced structures to allow me to produce richer data on learners' experiences and self-understanding in each different cycle. In Table 15 below, the focus areas and purposes of each interview protocol were displayed.

Table 15.

The focus areas and purposes of the interview protocols in the 3-part interview series

Interviews	Purposes	Focus areas
Interview I	The purpose was to put the participant's experience in context with a <i>past</i> focus.	Background (personal and educational background), past language learning experiences, reflection on linguistic repertoires.
Interview II	The purpose was to reveal the way the participant positioned him/herself as a foreign language learner in a monolingual context with a focus on the <i>current</i> meaning-making processes of future experiences.	Present language studies, expectations/hopes/plans for the future, motivations for learning English, the perceived importance of English in their (future) lives and investment/commitment in English to reach their goals; self-perceptions about L2 learning, challenges and coping strategies.
Interview III	The purpose was to zoom into reflections and descriptions about the meaning of their experiences with a <i>future</i> orientation.	Reflections on self-perceptions of a language learner, elaborations on imagined identities and imagined communities, elaborations on changes in their sense of identity.

Interview I (Focus Life History): In the first series of the Seidman's (2006) interview cycle, the focus of the interview questions should be centered upon the overall life history of the individual. In this phase, the interviewer is expected "to put the participant's experience in context by asking him or her to tell as much as possible about him or herself in light of the topic up to the present time" (Seidman, 2006, p. 17). In the first interview, it is suggested that the researcher should refrain from asking

‘why’ questions, rather ‘how’ questions would be more helpful to allow the participant to reconstruct her/her early experiences from their stream of consciousness (Seidman, 2006). Therefore, the guiding questions in the Interview I (see Appendix D for Interview Protocols for students) were about the participant’s *biographical/historical* context with a past focus (i.e., educational backgrounds, previous language learning experiences, language teachers in the past, and so forth). The interview protocol for the first interview placed emphasis on the reasons for their motivational orientations, their language repertoire, overall experiences of and attitudes towards learning foreign languages, and language skills.

Interview II (The Details of Experience): In the second phase of the cycle, the primary focus needs to be on the concrete details of the participants' experiences about the topic of interest (Seidman, 2006). Thus, the interviewer prepared to ask questions (see Appendix D for Interview Questions for students) concentrated on the detailed accounts of their life histories rather than drawing on their opinions. In this part, I incorporated Kinginger's (2004) particular questions which were asked to explore a foreign language learner's, Alice's, experiences such as “where do they come from, how do they change over time as their access to language learning changes in nature, how do they imagine communities of English language speakers, their role within them, and the symbolic capital they will gain through this endeavor, what kinds of communities of practice offer them membership, and how do they gain access to them, which aspects of their identity are negotiable, and which are not?” (p. 223). In this phase, the participants were asked to reflect on their *current* language learning studies and experiences at the program, their positive and negative experiences that they are confronting during their language learning process, their relationships with other students, and program members, and the wider community to elicit the details of their experiences upon which their opinions would be built (Seidman, 2006). What are inhibitory factors operating against their language learning motivation and what type of investments they make to develop their L2 selves to achieve their imagined communities were also kept within the borders of this sequence.

Interview III (Reflection on the Meaning): The final part of the interview design should involve the participants' reflections on "how the factors in their lives interacted to bring them to their present situation (Seidman, 2006, p. 18-19). In the third interview, participants are allowed to place their experiences in context. Moreover, they are asked to reflect on and describe the meaning of their experiences with a *future* orientation as the past, present, and future are all "represent horizons of their landscape" (Tembo, 2016, p. 3). This final interview also intended to shed light on their experiences and factors which guided the formation of their ideal L2 selves and ought-to L2 selves as future self-guides during their language learning trajectories. In order to zoom into participants' experiences combined with past, present, and future perspectives and their meaning-making process, the guiding questions in the third interview cycle were primarily based on their self-evaluations of the whole language learning process, including whether they see the relevance of English to their future lives to participate in the global community as proficient English users, whether they changed their attitudes and behaviors towards language learning, their self-perceptions of self-identity changes they underwent and so on. Most importantly, students were asked to describe themselves as language learners and what meanings they attribute to become proficient English users in a global community as the individuals from an EFL setting.

3.5.3 Respecting the Structure: Interview Setting, Length, and Spacing of Interviews

All the interviews were carried out in an office room in privacy which was considered to be a *neutral* place to reduce the risk of distraction (Elwood & Martin, 2000). After explaining the details about the purpose, format, terms of confidentiality at the beginning of each interview session (Farber, 2006), I interviewed each participant three times. Also, all the interviews were conducted on mutually agreed-upon dates and times. Every phase of the 3-part interview series was audiotaped after getting consent from the participants and transcribed verbatim. In total, there were nine in-depth interviews completed.

As for the length of interviews, Seidman (2006) recommends that the ideal length of each interview should be between 90 to 120 minutes for every participant since there

are any absolute or magical facts about this frame. In that regard, Seidman (2006) underscores the limits of respecting the structure in the 3-part interview series and states, “[a]s long as a structure is maintained that allows participants to reconstruct and reflect upon their experience within the context of their lives, alterations to the three interview structure and duration and spacing of interviews can certainly be explored” (p. 21-22). Thus, I did my best to preserve loyalty to the structure of this interviewing strategy. To this end, approximately 10 hours and 41 minutes (641 minutes in total) were spent during the student interviews. Table 16 illustrates the details (i.e., duration and time) of the interviews for each participant.

Table 16.
The details of the interviews for each participant

Interviewee	Interviews	Date	Duration
Melisa	<i>Interview I</i>	04. 03. 2019	97 minutes
	<i>Interview II</i>	18. 03. 2019	92 minutes
	<i>Interview III</i>	25. 03. 2019	101 minutes
Emre	<i>Interview I</i>	05. 03. 2019	82 minutes
	<i>Interview II</i>	19. 03. 2019	61 minutes
	<i>Interview III</i>	26. 03. 2019	75 minutes
Ahmet	<i>Interview I</i>	06. 03. 2019	51 minutes
	<i>Interview II</i>	20. 03. 2019	36 minutes
	<i>Interview III</i>	27. 03. 2019	46 minutes

Concerning the spacing of interviews, it is suggested that the three-interview series works best when there are three days to a week between every interview session in order not to lose the established connection with the interviewee (Seidman, 2006). Besides, with flexibility available to the researcher, interviews can also be carried out over a 2-to 3-week period. Since the thesis committee suggested that interviews with the program members should be conducted after the first interview with the student participants, there was one week between the first and second interview cycles with the students. Therefore, each interview work was completed in a 4-week period of time in this study considering that Seidman’s (2006) interviewing structure allows variations in spacing.

All the interviews were carried out face-to-face and in Turkish which was their mother tongue. Before the main data collection procedures, I contacted and made sure that the participants would participate on the dates and times we agreed. In the first week, I initiated the first phase of interviews with Melisa, followed by the interview with Emre and Ahmet in the next two days. After giving a short break to the student interviews to conduct the interviews with program members, I followed similar steps in the second- and third-interview series.

3.5.4 Piloting the Interviews

A pilot study of interviews was conducted to guard against the potential problems that might emerge and affect the research process (Kim, 2011). A week before the data collection procedure, I carried out a small-scale pilot study with two students in the same language education program. They were asked to identify the difficulties or ambiguities in the interview protocol, which also helped me to assess if interview questions gave an adequate range of responses. Taking their feedback into account, I made necessary modifications and changes and discarded the ambiguous and difficult questions following the piloting procedure (Peat, Mellis, Williams, & Xuan, 2002). After the completion of the pilot study, expert opinions were taken to see how well the interview protocols would work in the main research study. The external opinions were obtained from the advisor and the two committee members of this study in addition to one research assistant who had various experiences of conducting qualitative research. In essence, this baseline diagnosis process helped me to strengthen the interview protocols and prepared me for “unanticipated twists and turns of the interviewing process and the complexities of the interviewing relationship” (Seidman, 2006, p. 39).

3.5.5 L2 Learning Profile Task

In this study, an L2 Learning Profile Task was integrated with the learner interview process and given to the focal participants after completing the first interviews. The goal of using this tool was to provide a semi-graphic overview of the intricate and detailed data gathered from the interviews with L2 learners. This featured segment of the learner interviews was intended to provide an additional understanding of their

language learning experiences and to make use of the task as a roadmap for the design and development of the questions in the interview protocols. L2 Learning Profile Task (see Appendix E for the task) is comprised of three separate layers, each of which has a different focus area.

In the first part of L2 Learning Profile Task, I made use of Lakoff's (1993) Metaphor Elicitation method (Jin et al., 2014). I aimed to dig out the participants' conceptual representations of L2 learning and to map the underlying views about their language learning stories, motivations, and dreams for learning. This metaphorical analysis part of the task asked the participants to answer an open-ended question, "Language learning is like ____ because ____". This part of the task intended to explore what metaphorical conceptualizations they used to describe L2 learning as well as to investigate the similarities and differences among the learners with three different motivational profiles. The second part of the task involves a Timeline Activity in which the participants were supposed to create an individual timeline on their language learning journeys focusing on the perceptions of the place of English in their past, present, and future lives. I inserted this part considering that the temporal dimension of identity with a focus on past, present, and future play an important role in identity-building (Prapunta, 2017). In this activity, the purpose was to help the participants to gain insights into how their views of English learning (un)changed along their language learning journeys. The last part contains brainstorming as a research technique in which they were required to reflect on the two major concepts, that is, 'Globalization' and 'Global English' and to facilitate generating initial ideas on the topic of interest (King & Horrocks, 2010). Right after the first interview series was completed, the students received a short training session about L2 Learning Profile Task. On an explanation of the particular key procedures in filling L2 Learning Profile Task out, the participants were asked to bring it to the second interview.

3.5.6 Interviews with the Program Members

In-depth interviews with the program members who were actively teaching in the intensive English language education program were carried. In these interview sessions (see Appendix F for the interview protocol for the program members), the

main was on focus on capturing their views about what kind of particular future communities they envisioned for their students they taught, whether these imagined communities were aligned with their teaching practices, whether their choices of teaching materials and practices or the publishing houses they collaborated were associated with the traditional English speaking countries or they related such materials to the concept of global culture or *world English identity* (Dörnyei, 2009). In addition, the interview protocol for the program members was guided by the questions of to what extent EFL learners' expectations were being met along with the language program, whether learners they taught oriented more toward membership in an imagined global community of English users or associated the English language more with speakers from traditionally English-speaking Western countries were also explored in the interviews.

In-depth interviews with the program members (PMs) who were responsible for different units in the program were considered to be appropriate for this study as it provided me with the data responding to the research question (3). Besides, the interviews ensured my understanding of how the members of this community perceived the characteristics of the language education program and whether it contributed to the development of the skills, values, attitudes, and knowledge they attempted to foster (Sewell, 2008). All the program members were actively teaching the language learners both in the Optional and Compulsory Preparatory Program starting from A1 or A2 level at the time of this study. Four of them held a master's degree, while one of them was still a doctoral student in an English language teacher education program and one of them held a Ph. D. degree in the field of Curriculum and Instruction.

In the IELP, there were three separate units that had different purposes and functions, that is, unit of curriculum development, unit of testing, and unit of material development. Snowball sampling strategy was used to identify and to recruit the program members initiating the procedure with my personal contact as a gatekeeper. I began with the program members in the curriculum development unit and they then referred me on to other program members. This recruitment procedure was helpful in

getting referrals from insiders. Two program members from each unit of the program were selected to be interviewed since they worked as part of these working groups to collect relevant knowledge, practices, and experiences for many years. They were also considered to be appropriate for the study as they had in-depth insights into the components and policies of the program.

A pilot study was conducted with one of the program members who had five years of teaching experience in the preparatory program. Based on her suggestions, I revisited the interview protocol for the program members and made necessary amendments regarding wording, relevance to eliminate the ambiguities and increase the utility of the interview questions (Majid, Othman, Mohamad, & Yusof,). The semi-structured interviews with the program members were carried out in line with the suggestions provided by the thesis committee. Following the preliminary document reviews of official documents and the first interviews with learners, I conducted in-depth interviews with six instructors from each unit as the key informants who represented different positions and perspectives within the preparatory program. The length of these face-to-face, semi-structured interviews was between 55 to 63 minutes. The interviews were carried out on an individual basis in the program members' office rooms. I spent 5 hours and 54 minutes with the program members in total. The data obtained from the program members allowed me to interpret all the data sets in light of multiple interpretations and meanings from various voices since these interview sessions focused on understanding the descriptions, meanings, intentions, contexts, and circumstances of actions within a preparatory program (Glesne, 1999). Table 17 below displays the background information and the details of the interviews with the six program members who were invited to in-depth interviews.

Table 17.
Background information about the program members and details of interviews with the program members

Pseudonyms	Age	Gender	Degree (s)	Years of teaching experience	Unit
PM1	32	Female	Ph.D. candidate in ELT	10 years	Curriculum Development
PM2	29	Female	M.A degree in ELT	6 years	Curriculum Development
PM3	32	Female	M.A degree in ELT	10 years	Material Development
PM4	30	Male	M.A degree in ELT	7 years	Material Development
PM5	31	Male	M.A degree in ELT	8 years	Testing
PM6	41	Female	Ph. D. degree in Curriculum and Instruction	19 years	Testing

3.5.7 Document Reviews

Document reviews are particularly applicable to qualitative case studies which are *intensive* methodologies to capture rich descriptions of a single phenomenon, event, organization, or a program (Bowen, 2009). Thus, the official documents of the IELP were reviewed to illuminate the (in)correspondences between the program's visions for its students, policies, and practices and its students' identities (Kanno, 2003). This study intended to explore the kind of imagined identities and imagined communities envisioned for the language learners in an intensive English language education program. Furthermore, it attempted to unveil the kind of imagined identities communicated by official documents in addition to the kind of language learner educated in reality. In order to shed light on what kind of imagined identities and imagined communities informed the program policies and its practices, official documents, involving program descriptions (i.e. aims and objectives, mission and vision statements, and official language policy), strategic plans, program outcomes, annual reports, program curriculum, and official webpages were collected and analyzed. These relevant documents functioned as a backdrop for more comprehensive data collection through in-depth interviews with the learners and the program members. Besides, these official documents were utilized as a means of triangulation to check and clarify the data obtained from the data sources (i.e., the questionnaire, interviews with the learners, L2 Learning Profile Task, and interviews with the program members) as well as minimize bias and ensure credibility (Bowen, 2009). The analysis of these documents allowed me to get a fuller understanding of the interface between an individual and structures (Song, 2010).

3.5.8 Data Analysis

Creswell (1998) describes the data analysis as *the data analysis spiral*, emphasizing the qualitative researcher who “engages in the process of moving in analytical circles rather than using a fixed linear approach” (p. 142). Consistent with this *iterative* nature of qualitative inquiries, the data sets from different sources were converged instead of being individually handled during the data analysis process in this multiple-case study (Baxter & Jack, 2008). The quantitative data obtained from the L2 motivation

questionnaire was analyzed using the statistical software program to generate the descriptive and inferential statistics (i.e., mean scores, standard deviations, minimum and maximum scores of each component in the L2MQ) of the overall L2 motivation level of L2 learners in a Turkish context. Nevertheless, it is important to note that the results obtained from the questionnaire were not treated as the target but as the research tool for a further data collection step involving 3-part interview series with the learners.

Since the main interest in multiple-case studies is to compare and contrast the selected cases (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2007), this study followed a two-stage data analysis strategy — the within-case analysis and the cross-case analysis (Merriam, 2009) in the analysis of data collected from the interviews with the learners. The combination of both analytic strategies provides a means of understanding the nature of experiences in participants' stories through its parts and as a whole (Yin, 1994; Ayres, Kavanaugh, & Knafl, 2003) and offering wide-ranging and helpful perspectives on cases within their context (Baxter & Jack, 2008). I carried out analyses within individual cases and across multiple cases, because every participant takes the same ingredients for a story and this same ingredient turns out to become different stories with diverse meanings and interpretations about the same event (Ayres, et al., 2003).

In the within-case analysis, the objective is to understand what has occurred in a single case and the researcher focuses on the individual as a whole to obtain “a well-grounded sense of local reality” (Miles, Huberman, & Saldana, 2014). According to Sandelowski (1996), looking at and through each case establishes the basis for further analytic interpretations and generalizations. I started data analysis with data transcription. my objective was to immerse in the data by reading and rereading the interview transcripts to get acquainted with each individual context until potential patterns emerged. In order to create a detailed description of each case for a within-case analysis, I wrote memos and used highlighters (Maxwell, 2005; Miles & Huberman, 1994). Following the generation of an initial list of codes, I looked for themes and patterns that emerged from each meaningful segments of the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This involved writing a description of each case to zoom into the uniqueness within each case (Ayres

et al., 2003) and coding the interview data for *organizational categories*, then again for *substantive categories*, and lastly for *theoretical categories* (Maxwell, 2005). Since this study adopted a multiple-case study design, the final theoretical categories and generalizations were not generated until the cross-cases analysis. Lastly, vivid extracts from the data were selected and the analysis of the overall story of each participant was related to the research questions and literature review to produce a coherent and concise ‘portraits’ of three individual cases.

After completing a within-case analysis, I started to employ cross-case analysis to get a deeper understanding and explanation of similarities and differences (Miles et al., 2014; Creswell, 2007). The decontextualized units of meaning need to undergo the “data re-contextualization” (Tesch, 1990, p. 115) process to form a combination of integrated units of meaning from multiple informants, (Ayres et al., 2003). In seeking patterns and relationships that reflect every participant’s experience and applies equally well across all of the participants’ L2 learning stories, my main task is to look for *abstractions* across cases (Merriam, 2009). For establishing links between separate individual case logs, these *cross-cutting* themes applying beyond the individual case described as *clicks* by Greene and David (1984) were identified “to capture the commonalities of experience” (Ayres et al., 2003, p. 873) in the participant’s accounts. As the final step, I drew generalizations and conclusions from all the representative stories of individual case reports. This offers the potential to make *natural generalizations* to different contexts from the data (Creswell, 1998; Ayres et al., 2003). Figure 7 below displays the two-staged analytic steps used in the data analysis in this multiple case study.

It is noteworthy to state that I considered Seidman’s (2006) recommendation that highlights the necessity of keeping interviewing and analysis separate during the whole data analysis procedure. Even though it was impossible to purely split data collection from data analysis, I refrained from in-depth analysis and full immersion in the interview data until I finished all the interview work. I just identified salient issues and topics between each interview cycle with the students. However, I did my best to reduce the risk of imposing meaning from one student interview on the next

as well as on the interviews with other students. To ensure this, I listened to the interview tape-records and prepared a list of follow-up questions which helped me guide the next interview cycle.

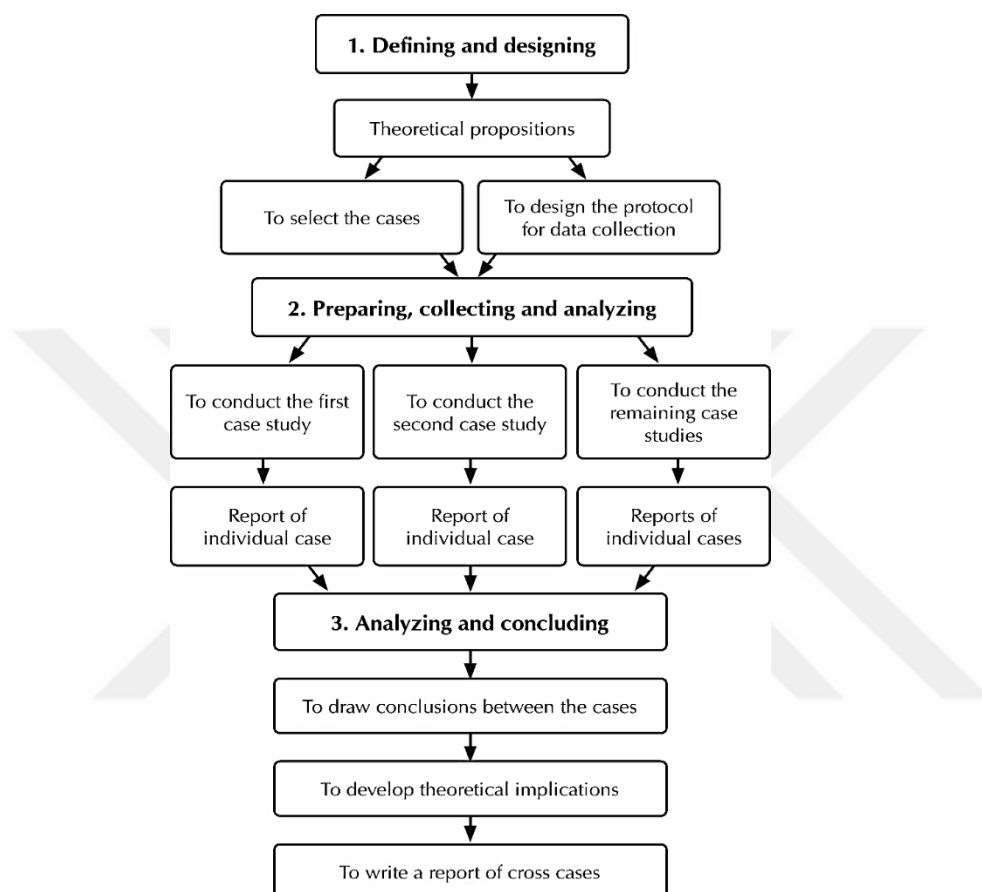


Figure 7. Analytic steps in the multiple-case study (adapted from Yin, 2015, as cited in Silva & Mercês, 2018).

For the analysis of the interview data obtained from the six program participants, I used the thematic analysis guide (Braun & Clarke, 2006) which is a widely used method of data analysis in qualitative research. After I transcribed all the interviews verbatim, I read and re-read the interview transcripts until the potential patterns emerged. I wrote several analysis memos to generate a list of initial codes. Following the identification of meaningful segments of the data, the different codes were organized into the overarching themes and sub-themes. Then, I reviewed and refined the themes until I was satisfied with the emerging thematic map.

As the focus of this case study was on the language learners, the data gathered from the in-depth interviews with the program members and the document reviews were used to draw a clearer picture of the cases and to deepen our understanding of the context in which this research was conducted. Since they were used to corroborate evidence from the 3-part interview series and the questionnaire (Yin, 1994), they were useful in obtaining the background and contextual information before, during, and after the learner interviews. These data sources allowed to provide specific incidents to be focused and interpreted upon. I sought a collection of incidents embracing issue-relevant meanings in the interviews with the program members and the document reviews. Then they were used as a tool to put them back together with the emerging themes in the learner interviews for *direct interpretation* (Stake, 1995). Table 18 below shows the data analysis processes encompassing quantitative and qualitative datasets to respond to the research questions of this study.

Table 18.
Data analysis

Data	Data analysis
L2 Motivation Questionnaire	Descriptive statistics (for exploratory purposes)
3-part interview series with the learners	Within-case and cross-case analysis (RQ1 & RQ2)
L2 Learning Profile Task	Content analysis (RQ1 & RQ2)
In-depth interviews with the six program members	Thematic analysis (RQ3)
Document reviews	Document analysis (RQ3)

According to Bowen (2009), the procedure for document analysis includes the following steps, (1) skimming (superficial examination), (2) reading (thorough examination), and (3) interpretation. Following these steps, I reviewed the relevant documents, involving the program descriptions (i.e. aims and objectives, mission and vision and so forth), strategic planning, regulations and directives, annual reports, and official webpages before and after the interview sessions. In doing so, I aimed to get a clear understanding of the institutional context as well as the roles which are envisioned for students by the program

3.5.9 Researcher Positioning

In qualitative research, it is critical for the researcher to reflect on the potential and inevitable influences that might have on the participants and vice versa (Sanjari, Bahramnezhad, Fomani, Shoghi, & Cheraghi, 2014). To make the research process as transparent as possible, I acknowledged that my past experiences, assumptions, beliefs concerning English language learning might influence my presentation and interpretations of the research participants' language learning and L2 identity construction experiences while retelling their stories. Therefore, I needed to discuss my role as a researcher as well as the details of my relationship with the participants. During the whole research process, I kept in my mind that my participants were the storytellers and also the authors of their L2 learning stories and I was only co-authoring and collaborating with them to re-construct and narrate these L2 learning stories. Whereas collecting the data, I thought myself as an insider researcher for two reasons. First, I was working as part of this university where the study was conducted for nearly about two years, which meant that I was familiar with the policies, practices, and the profiles of the students and their attitudes towards learning English as a foreign language. Although I had never taught English in the preparatory school in this university, I developed an understanding of how (ir)relevant non-English major students considered English to their future academic, professional, and social lives.

Apart from being an individual with prior insights on the so-called “English deficit” in Turkey, my interactions with the students who came to the English exemption

exams in which I was proctoring many times also helped me to gain more awareness of the extent of their low motivation for learning English. In my talks with them, I noticed totally interesting points that I needed to ponder on later as a person who was interested in L2 motivation and L2 identity. It was so clear that they were at the critical threshold of transition from high school to university and they did not recognize the importance of English despite many years of English language education. Most of these pre-undergraduate students I interacted with still perceived English as ‘a mission needs to be completed’. Further, some of them described English as ‘a burden’ or ‘an obstacle’ as the main reason for their failure in their studies.

On the other hand, I also realized that some students felt a sense of monolingual guilt. In essence, all these interactions and context-specific experiences enabled me to provide better interpretations of the data. Second, I shared a similar socio-cultural context and became an English language learner in the same educational setting. This position facilitated to create a more supportive and close atmosphere in the interview sessions. Third, I was working as a research and teaching assistant for six years in the same EFL context, which offered me the opportunity to observe specific, issue-relevant incidents. Simultaneously, I was also in the role of an outsider researcher because I was not actively teaching in the preparatory school and the students did not know me before the study. This outsider status made it easier to talk about potentially program-specific issues, and they did not hesitate their opinions as I was not a familiar face for them. All in all, I found it noteworthy to listen to these students’ L2 learning stories in an EFL context where English has always appeared on the educational agenda as a critical issue.

3.5.10 Establishment of Trustworthiness

In qualitative inquiries, the research needs to conduct research studies in a rigorous manner that offer “insights and conclusions that ring true to readers, practitioners, and other researchers” (Merriam, 2009, p. 210). Since this study was positioned within an interpretative paradigm, rather than adopting positivistic underpinnings, I placed the primary emphasis on the trustworthiness of this study by ensuring the credibility,

confirmability, dependability, and transferability of the study through various strategies (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Therefore, this study benefitted from not only constructive (during the process) strategies, but also evaluative (post hoc) strategies to establish the trustworthiness of the study and for quality assurance (Bowen, 2008).

As for the credibility of this study, the use of multiple data sources and the use of multiple data methods allowed me for the *triangulation* of the data (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Patton, 1990). The data generated from a multi-case in this study also contributed to the stability and precision of the results (Baxter & Jack, 2008). *Member-checking* (eliciting feedback on the emerging themes from the research participants) and *negative case* analysis (re-examining and looking for contrary and disconfirming evidence) were other strategies that were deployed to sustain credibility in this study (Merriam, 2009; Patton, 2002). As the fourth strategy to enhance the credibility of the findings, I reflected on my position as the researcher to clarify my biases, assumptions, and beliefs for *researcher's reflexivity* (Lincoln & Guba, 2000). Finally, *peer examination* (review of the data by the peer colleagues) with two colleagues who knew about the topic and the methodology of this study helped me to establish the trustworthiness of these findings (Johnson, 1997). For obtaining confirmable and dependable data, I provided an *audit trail* with two doctoral fellows as the critical readers to have an examination of external experts/readers about the research process and results of this study (Merriam, 2009). All of the stages in this study were reviewed by the thesis committee members and are under scrutiny. A *thick description* of the context, the participants, themes, and data collection procedure to “make transferability possible” (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 298) were also deployed.

3.5.11 Ethical Considerations

All of the research processes of this study were strictly adhered to the requirements of the Institutional Review Board for Human Subjects (see Appendix H for the ethical approval form). Upon obtaining the ethical approval, I informed the participants about the procedure, and their consent was taken through a consent form before starting to gather the data. In order to protect their privacy and confidentiality, the participants

were provided with information about the purpose of the study, timing, procedure, potential risks, benefits, risk, and statements expressing that participation is voluntary and they can withdraw from the study whenever they want. For their anonymity, all of the focal participants were given pseudonyms, and the identity of the institutions was masked for ethical considerations not only in the text but also in the references. Completing all the interview work, all the participants were debriefed about the further steps of this research.



CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

4.0 Introduction

The data sources of this study were the L2 motivation questionnaire, interviews with the students, L2 Learning Profile Task, interviews with the program members, and documents. Based on the data analysis, this chapter is intended to offer a thematic presentation of the findings in order to identify the convergences and divergences among the participants. Initially, I reported the case descriptions of each case to introduce their life stories and contexts focusing on their language learning histories. In this part, the quotes and biographical vignettes from the dataset were given to provide detailed information about the participants' personal and educational background. The research participants possessed not only diverse but unique stories but also idiosyncratically different trajectories of language learning. This part can be considered as a task of drawing a holistic scenery in which I tried to offer the self-stories of three pre-undergraduate students at a critical threshold of transition from high school to university settings.

Qualitative research does not target the generalizability of the findings; therefore, it cannot be presented based on a generalized, statistical basis (Lewis, 2014). In that regard, this study using multiple-case study design has an explicit focus on “revealing the breadth and nature of the phenomena under study” (Lewis, 2014, p. 351). Thus, it intends not to understand the commonality of certain views or experiences, instead the objective of this study is to give voice to perspectives of people and to uncover “the meaning of a phenomenon for those involved” (Merriam, 2009, p. 5). With this purpose in mind, I adopted and presented the results targeting the *transferability* of the

data to similar contexts rather than the generalizability (Stake, 2000). This enables to make the reader understand points of view and experiences through the lens of each case.

The first data source and the data collection instrument in this study was the L2 Motivation Questionnaire. This quantitative data source was used to reduce the risk of bias and to provide and maintain full transparency in the participant selection for semi-structured interviews. Also, the data obtained from the questionnaire allowed me to get a more comprehensive picture of the research context of cases and functioned as statistical support for further, in-depth analysis of the data. Since the quantitative data from the L2MQ were not the main focus of this study and utilized to triangulate and complement the findings from the qualitative data sources, the data obtained from the L2MQ were not presented.

The first part of this chapter will introduce the research participants with a focus on their case descriptions in a chronological order obtained from the within-case analyses. On providing extensive analysis and detailed description of each case, results from the case studies obtained from the cross-case analysis and L2 Learning Profile Task will be given in order to highlight the particular themes and variations across cases emerged from the data analysis as an answer to the first and second research questions. The results of the interview data with six program members and document reviews will also be presented respectively to answer the third research question to show what kind of imagined identities are created and enhanced.

In this section, I intend to provide a comprehensive profile of each participant to explore their representations of L2 self across time, that is, in the past, the present and the future through navigating their English learning stories. An understanding of their L2 self-representations in their L2 learning trajectories is crucial for this study since this insight stands as a prerequisite to better understand the interrelation between their imagined future identities and their past and current learning practices and experiences. Therefore, first, I will present the concentrated stories of three participants who appeared to exemplify three different motivational profiles for

learning English in the rest of this chapter. In this section, the individualities and commonalities across three learning trajectories will be explored.

I analyzed three L2 learning stories keeping in mind that the past actions of each storyteller are likely to influence their present perceptions and actions and their re-interpretation of the past and present events may consequently provide a basis for their future actions. The stories of participants were created by establishing these links in the experiences of every participant who “sees the present rising out a past, heading into a future; perceives reality in narrative form” (Novak, 1975, as cited in Craig, Meijer, & Broeckmans 2007, p.174).

4.1 Introducing Participants, Their English Learning Stories and Context

All of the participants were the students in the pre-undergraduate language program at a state university in Turkey. They all were in their first year in the program and were placed in the A1 language level classes. Melisa and Emre attended the Compulsory Preparatory Program whereas Ahmet was in the Optional Preparatory Program. They were all native speakers of Turkish. The following section presents the English learning stories of three participants’ imagined identities constructed throughout their past (primary school years to high school years), present (preparatory program year) English learning experiences with a focus on their selections of corresponding investments to participate in their imagined communities.

4.1.1 Melisa’s Case Description

The first participant, Melisa, was a preparatory school student at a public university at the time of the study. She was the youngest child of a farmer father and a housewife mother. She was an 18-year-old young woman from the rural area of Mersin Province in which she attended primary and secondary school. They were living at a remote and disadvantaged village and the existing school did not provide high school education; therefore, she commuted to a nearby high school by bus. While she was in the 10th grade, she decided to choose a foreign language division at high school to be able to

major in a language teaching-related department. Melisa, much to her surprise, she did not do well on the university entrance exam because of the familial and financial problems. However, she made a critical decision to take the track to a different but relevant destination, Applied English and Translation Studies which is a two-year associate program.

4.1.2 Emre's Case Description

Emre was a pre-undergraduate student at a small state university in Turkey at the time of the study. He was 20 years old when he volunteered to participate in this study. He was the oldest child of his parents. Because of his parents' job, he had a turbulent private and school life during his early years. His father had worked as a chief of police and his mother was a police officer. Thus, they were constantly in a rush of moving from one city to another. As a result, although he was born in Manisa which is one of the important cities in the Aegean region of Turkey, his childhood and teen years passed in several different cities. Emre's school life started in Diyarbakır and he stayed in this city until he completed the 3rd grade. When Emre finished his first year at a state primary school, his parents decided to send him to a private primary school considering Emre's learning difficulties and overcrowded classrooms at this state school. After one year, they moved to Istanbul when he was a 4th grader. After seven years, while they were moving to Burdur, a small city in Turkey, Emre was studying in the 10th grade.

4.1.3 Ahmet's Case Description

The third participant, Ahmet, was a preparatory school student at a public university in central Turkey. He was 19 years old at the time of the study. He was the second child of a bus driver and a housewife mother. Ahmet was from the rural area of Niğde Province. He was living with his family in a small town that is close to the city center where he attended primary and secondary school. Similar to Melisa, Ahmet was a commuter student who had to commute to a high school in the city center by bus. Upon graduation from high school, he decided to study in an Electrical and Electronics Engineering program.

4.2 PAST ENGLISH LEARNING STAGE

4.2.1 Melisa: Negotiating a negative academic identity as a disengaged student

“It didn’t go beyond conversations like hello, how are you from and where are you from?”

Melisa started to take English instruction when she was a fourth-grader. Melisa’s initial exposure to English was restricted to English classes at school. She portrayed herself as an L2 learner who was never interested in learning and using English because she disapproved of her teacher’s ways of teaching. She primarily attributed her demotivated L2 behaviors to her past English teacher in the early stage, as indicated in the interview excerpt below:

Our school was actually quite good compared to other village schools. There were teachers from each branch except a few, but our English teacher would not communicate with us and would give us free time and take care of her own business ... She often gave us the exam questions beforehand. So we all got very low grades in the national high school exam. (Melisa, Interview I)

Consistently, she also complained about her teacher’s impact on her early L2 learning experiences in the timeline activity section of her L2 Learning Profile Task. She wrote:

I didn’t really like English classes when I was a little kid because I had a teacher who used to give us free time most days. In classes, we never did anything new or hard ... and, our teacher wasn’t qualified enough. So I didn’t know English was that important. (Melisa, L2 Learning Profile Task).

In addition to the perceived lack of quality in L2 classes, Melisa articulated a further reason why she was disinterested in English and made little or no effort to find ways of using it in her L2 Learning Profile Task again,

I thought it was an ordinary course like Math or Turkish ... perhaps, the main reason was my environment, I mean, the people around me, at first my family used to say that you should be good at math. So I was mostly studying math. In short, I didn’t know the importance of English that much before. (Melisa, L2 Learning Profile Task)

As evident in her comments in the task and the interview above, Melisa believed that her teacher's careless attitudes in classes at primary and secondary school and social axioms in her immediate environment that put 'math classes' at a *higher or more significant* position may account for her lack of deprivation of meaningful forms of identifications inside the class as well as in the family. She often summarized her early L2 learning experiences as "it didn't go beyond conversations like *hello, how are you from and where are you from*" (Melisa, Interview III).

During the very early L2 learning stages, Melisa did not construct a positive identity as a competent L2 learner primarily because of poor quality classroom environment and influence of significant others in her social network. She appeared to be motivated through an actual self-image that was driven by her ought-to and feared self which encapsulated a limited vision of getting a passing score in English exams at school. As shown in Figure 8 below, her past L2-mediated identities constructed before the 10th grade was being guided by an instrumental feature with no other vision.

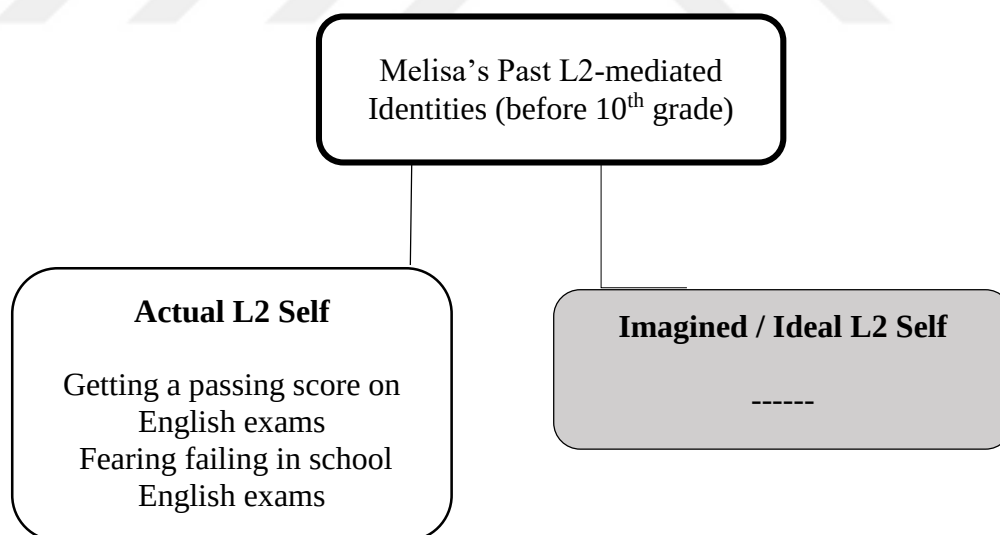


Figure 8. The strength of Melisa's L2-mediated identities from primary to 10th grade.

4.2.2 Melisa: Negotiating a positive academic identity as a student with increased linguistic self-confidence

“... full of ups and downs ...”

Melisa described her feelings with respect to a four-year high school as ‘full of ups and downs’. After completing her secondary education at the village school, she got accepted to a nearby high school where she had to commute every day by bus. She talked about her 40-minutes commute in weekdays and how she survived that journey as exemplified in the following quotation from her first interview:

I have to struggle with the most basic things back then. Sacrificing my sleep, I used to regularly take a school bus when I arrived at school. It was very difficult for me to wake up with the dawn every morning. I often skipped breakfast. Because we arrived at school quite early, we used to wait for about two hours until the course began. It was not just one day, but every day. (Melisa, Interview I)

Melisa portrayed herself as an individual who had to stay in the fight to have a good education with a sense of opportunity she did not see close to home. During her first year at high school, she approached the learning of English with a similar mode of engagement as her primary and secondary school years. She said that she mostly had teacher-dominated L2 courses. These classes were based on a coursebook with a focus on grammatical structures provided by the state, traditional classroom practices such as fill-in-the-blanks, reading text aloud, true or false activities and choral chanting.

Melisa stated that the 10th grade was a great turning point for her that altered and redirected the course of her ongoing life. It was during this stage that she had to go through a critical decision-making process of choosing her future major. When she was a 10th grader, Melisa started to notice an improvement in her English language skills mostly because of her inspiring teacher. English turned out to be her favorite subject and reassured her self-confidence. Thus, she exerted great efforts on improving her English proficiency through translations, new vocabulary learning and actively participating in L2 classroom practices. It seems clear that her re-evaluation of the importance of English in her life was deeply rooted in the critical incidents during her

second year at high school. It was also these incidents that enabled her to start to build a positive academic self and imagine the possibility of using English as an English teacher in the future. Besides, Melisa told me about how the moments when her English teacher shared her experiences as an English-major individual were influential in making her believe the possibility of reaching her future goals. It was through these moments, as she noted, that she felt, visualized and crafted her course of learning English, "... perhaps, the biggest factor was my teacher. She used to tell about her experiences when she was a university student ... about her lecturers, experiences abroad. Sometimes, she would even tell us how much she earned through tutoring" (Melisa, Interview II). Melisa seemed to be charmed by the stories of the teacher's experiences abroad and standards of living and desired to have her own memorable experiences.

In addition to her L2 learning experiences which were sources of inspiration, her brother's inculcation of the profitable returns of being an English major rather than a major in any field made a great impact on her choice of a future career. For Melisa, her brother was relatively influential in this process because he often said, "If you know English, I assure you that you will never sit jobless. It won't leave you unemployed" (Melisa, Interview II). Her brother appeared to construct a highly positive image of a fluent English speaker in Melisa's imagination since he had worked as a waiter and a receptionist at the hotels in several touristic destinations. It seems clear that her brother emphasized how the knowledge of English made particular subject positions beyond her reach available to Melisa as well as could be used as a means of reaching forms of capital she aspired to have.

It is also clear that Melisa decided to be an English major since she was primarily motivated through its instrumental benefits and was influenced by the possibilities of increased job opportunities and socioeconomic progress in the future. In sum, although she did not see the value of mastering English before the second year of high school, when she felt a sense of achievement and particular improvements she made in English and persuaded by his brother about the utilitarian benefits of English competence, she started to recognize the relevance of English to the construction of her imagined

identities. Both boosted her confidence to decide to choose the foreign language division, in turn, to major in a foreign language-related field and with an expectation to have higher living standards.

After choosing her division at high school, Melisa's family did not want her to send it to the school because the course books and teaching materials they used in English classes were quite unaffordable for them. In addition, her father had low expectations for Melisa and did not hope that she would become an English teacher. With her teacher's efforts to persuade her parents to send Melisa back to the school, she returned and started with increased motivational intensity and vigor. Melisa consistently reminded herself that she had a unique opportunity that many other girls in the village could never dream about. Melisa told that such financial problems created extra stress to her already tough education life as a commuter student. In an attempt to understand what she felt about the English courses offered in the foreign language division, I asked:

R: How did you feel about being a student in the foreign language division?

M: We had two English teachers. One was giving grammar courses and was giving skill-based courses, but we focused on grammar structures in both courses. They were exam-oriented, and at first, we started with learning basic English tenses and proceeded with other difficult ones. At first, I was afraid I would fail because they seemed too difficult. But later, as I worked on them, I made good progress. There was a particular increase in the number of questions I solved in the foreign language tests. We were writing the same vocabulary ten times every day ... this drastically expanded my vocabulary, but I never used these new words in speaking or writing because we did not do any listening, speaking, or writing. We're just solving questions to be ready for the national exam. (Melisa, Interview I)

In the interview excerpt above, Melisa reported that the two-year foreign language division at high school was reduced to taking multiple-choice tests and learning test strategies to use in the university entrance exam. Thus, she had diminished access to L2 using and interactional opportunities in the classroom because the exam-oriented policy limited the opportunities to focus on improving basic foreign language skills. As evident in her statements, basic foreign language skills were not measured in that critical exam for them and they did not trust the value of showing improvements in

those areas of language and its potential contributions to their immediate future goals. Therefore, Melisa's investments in the past English learning stage seemed to be restricted to improving herself in terms of grammar and vocabulary and she was not keen on improving in four main L2 skills.

It is obvious that her investments in grammar and vocabulary reflected her commitment to her *short-term goal* of passing the university entrance exam and alignment with her extended imagined identity of being an English major individual. Her desire for being good at grammar and vocabulary was directly associated with her being an English-major student identity. For Melisa, since mastering grammar structures and knowing many new vocabularies fitted her plan of passing the university entrance exam to reach her future career goal, she did not invest the extra time and effort to the subtlety of the English language. Even though her difficulties after her choice of the division made her a more dedicated student in classes, she mentioned that the negative atmosphere at home resulting from familial problems regarding economic hardships caused her *not* to do well in the university entrance exam. She expressed why she did not show satisfactory performance in the exam as follows:

My parents kept arguing over money and we didn't have a good father-daughter relationship ... um ... our home felt like there was full of bad vibes. I didn't even have a place to study, so I wasn't able to concentrate on my studies. When I was at school, I kept telling myself 'it's going to be okay' but all ambition I had fallen away at home while I was struggling with such family problems. (Melisa, Interview I)

As she made it clear in the interview excerpt above, Melisa was overexposed to money problems her parents struggled with. The negative atmosphere at home resulted from such family-financial concerns that seemed to crash her perseverance and stifled her achievement in the university entrance exam. Her statements indicated clearly how such individual factors altered her decision-making process while she was under stress. For instance, Melisa told that she decided to major in a two-year program that is Applied English and Translation Studies because she thought that she could not show little or no tolerance to such negative concerns around her anymore. Thus, she made a critical decision that she would take the examination once again next year but prepare

in a place where she would stay away from that perceived discouraging environment at home. In respect to her decision-making process, Melisa said:

In our classroom, everyone had hopes and goals. My dream was to become an English teacher, but it didn't happen. To stay away from the familial problems that I mentioned, I decided to go to study in an English-related department and take the exam once more. I chose it [Applied English and Translation Studies] because it was the only option left to me not to live the same things over and over again. (Melisa, Interview I)

This excerpt shows that Melisa's limited aspirations and investments in L2 learning before the 10th grade radically transformed into a positive attitude when she felt a sense of achievement in her English proficiency. Despite many hurdles she faced, she did not want to give up on her dream of becoming an English teacher and hoped to become more active in investing in her imagined community of English teachers. For that purpose, she took the initiative to temporarily major in a relevant department that required its students to attend to the Compulsory Preparatory Program in the one-year language program before they started to take departmental courses. Besides, in the first interview, Melisa told about her expectations from the language program that participating in an English-medium classroom might enable her to improve previously *undervalued* foreign language skills. For Melisa, such a favorable environment might also become a trigger to keep studying for the university entrance exam.

From a broader perspective, early episodes from Melisa's L2 learning story indicate that she constructed a positive L2 learner identity although she initially portrayed herself as a disengaged student in English classes. Before her second year at high school, as her story revealed, she did not possess a strong vision of a competent L2 learner and intentions, plans and desire to seek alternative means to learn English. In Figure 9 below, her salient L2-mediated identities in Melisa's past stage of English learning story after the second year at high school are illustrated. Figure 9 below demonstrates the dimensions of Melisa's past salient L2-mediated identities from primary to high school.

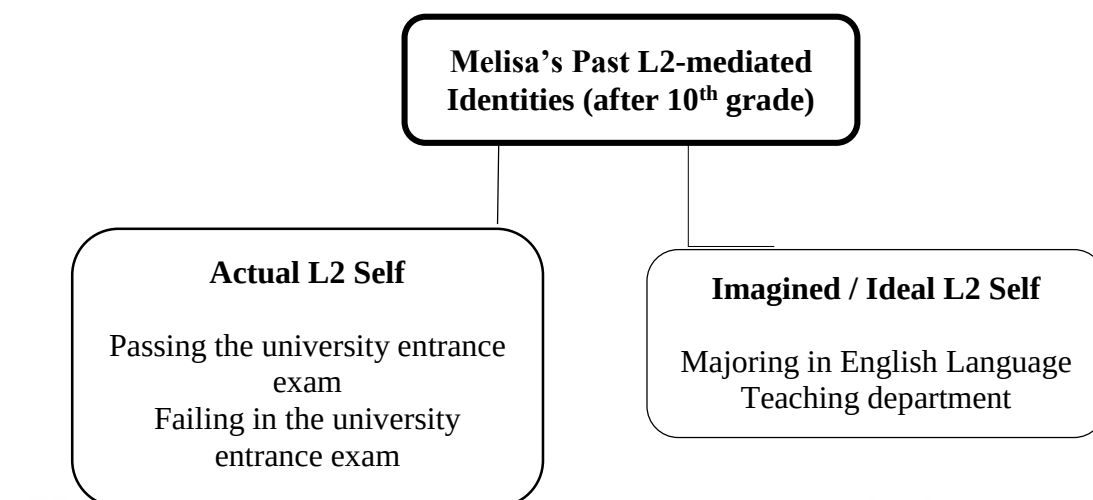


Figure 9. The strength of Melisa's L2-mediated identities from the 10th grade to the preparatory school.

Her ought-to L2 self seemed to represent her actual L2 self in which she positioned herself as a student who *had to* pass the university entrance exam. With her clear 'ought-to' L2 self-guide, Melisa inclined to put herself in circumstances where her lack of competence in spoken English proficiency was exposed. Consistently, she emphasized the importance of English for her future and referred to a *need* to master it to make herself more marketable; therefore, her past feared L2 self reflecting the fear of failure in the university entrance exam holds features that are aligned with Melisa's ought to L2 self and ideal L2 self. Melisa also had a strong ideal self as a competent L2 speaker that encapsulated an instrumental value. As her above-mentioned statements showed, she had a strong desire for socioeconomic progress because she had experienced many family-financial hardships and hoped to improve her future with a good command of English. She was persuaded and charmed by her immediate social environment and believed that it would promote her to an upper level. It seemed that Melisa's imagined identity as an English major student allowed her to regulate her learning of English, developing her grammar knowledge, vocabulary and actively participating in L2 classroom practices. Table 19 below summarizes Melisa's L2-mediated identities and investments in the past English learning stage.

Table 19.
Representation of Melisa's L2-mediated identities and investments in the past English learning stage (from primary to high school)

Melisa's L2-mediated identities	Past English Learning Stage	
	(before 10th grade)	(after 10th grade)
Her feared L2 self	Failing the exams in English courses	Failing the university entrance exam
Her ought-to L2 self	Getting a passing score in school English exams Showing sufficient performance in nation-wide exams	Passing the university entrance exam
Her imagined / ideal L2 self	No strong English-mediated desired self	Becoming an English major, a competent English speaker and an English teacher
Her actual L2 self	A disengaged student at a disadvantaged school A student with a low sense of self-perceptions about her L2 competence No interest in L2 learning Demotivated behaviors in L2 classes	An L2 learner with increased self-confidence and awareness A struggling commuter student with familial and financial problems An L2 learner charmed by the possibilities of increased job prospects and socio-economic progress in the future
L2 Investments	Limited aspirations and investments in L2 learning Not willing to take agentive actions to change her actual self No vivid plans, expectations, aspirations to participate in the English speaking community	Increased investments in L2 learning Improving areas of language that are tested in the university entrance exam (i.e., grammar and vocabulary) No extra effort to the subtlety of the English language

As discussed throughout this section, several factors might largely account for Melisa's transformation in her L2 self-system from a negative academic identity as a disengaged student to a positive academic identity as a commuter student with increased self-confidence and awareness. Prior to Melisa's second year at high school, she had struggles with building a positive identity as a competent L2 learner.

In essence, as her L2 learning story revealed, she developed negative perceptions about English primarily because of poor quality teachers at a disadvantaged school and impact of social axioms around her immediate social network inculcating English is no value in the nation-wide exams. Lack of a resourceful playground for L2 learning at school and weak impression of a good command of English caused him to a diminished agency which displayed itself as a little or no investment in L2 learning from primary to the 10th grade at high school. Melisa's changing mode of engagement in L2 learning at that period could be attributable to her improvements in her English proficiency coupled with an encounter with a good English teacher acting as a source of her inspirational L2 learning experiences, socio-cultural value exerted on English proficiency by her immediate social environment (i.e., her teachers and brother) and her strong desire to major in English-related department as a fast-track to her imagined *upper-level* life.

4.2.3 Emre: Negotiating a negative academic identity as a dyslexic student

“Shaky hands, trembling legs”

Emre began to receive English instruction when he was studying in the 2nd grade in the private primary school in Diyarbakır. With respect to his early language learning experiences in that school, Emre constantly acknowledged that his long-lasting engagement with English and his failure to speak despite early exposure to English during the first interview. When asked about his attitudes towards English learning in the primary and secondary school years, he replied:

I did not have a perspective on English ... My father speaks English and I used to have my dad do my homework and I used to sleep in classes. It [English] was a burden on me ... The highest grades I received were not over 30 or 40 points. (Emre, Interview I)

In line with the above interview except, Emre made sure in his L2 Learning Profile task that he did not assign great value to exert effort to learn English during his school life until he became a university student by noting: “It was completely meaningless and pointless for me. I saw it as an unnecessary difficulty that would never work”. (L2 Learning Profile Task)

Reminiscing about his English classes at the primary school, he stated that the teachers were teaching English through pictures and mostly focused on vocabulary learning. He also talked about different vocabulary games in which the student who knew an unfamiliar word received a reward. Although he enjoyed such games, he admitted that he never attempted to put an extra effort to participate in these activities. He just preferred to watch his classmates with a passive role in the classroom. He said:

R: Do you remember what you were doing [in English classes] in the second grade?

E: They [his English teachers] were teaching vocabulary ... They were trying to teach in a pictorial way. Those who knew the word earned 10 points or 20 points. They awarded the student with 100 points. When you got 100 points, you were given a scooter.

R: Did you ever get one?

E: ... um ... I had no effort.

R: You mean you never attempted to receive a reward?

E: I thought about it ... I think just ... I don't know. I felt I couldn't even do what I could. I was lost. I didn't trust myself ... I couldn't control my shaky hands and trembling legs. For example, I kept telling myself, 'go up to the board and do this'. But later, I gave up. (Emre, Interview I)

This interview excerpt indicates that Emre constantly beat himself up for failing to meet expectations in the classroom and hunted for self-encouragement to his self-esteem problems. His inner voice kept telling him that it was hopeless and pointless to

bother himself; therefore, it urged him to run away and hide. His lack of optimism caused him to opt for becoming a completely invisible student with comfortable anonymity. In addition, his accounts in the interviews show that his negative self-image reflected in his classroom behaviors as avoidance from being ridiculed by the peers and spotlighted by the teachers. Besides, when elaborating on his early experiences of learning English, he consistently referred to his low self-esteem, fear of failure and emotional stress all of which resulted from his dyslexia. He also mentioned that he was struggling to learn to write and read in Turkish and English at the same time. He shared his feelings as follows:

R: You said that you started to learn English very early compared to many of your peers. I mean when you were a second-grader. This seems to be a great advantage for you. What do you think that you were not interested in English?

E: ... um ... interest ... It was not the case. The case was ... um ... shyness. I was an adolescent ...um ... my psychology ... um ... I was late with learning to read and write in Turkish. I had just learned to write when people were solving math problems. I couldn't learn it [English] because I didn't trust myself. (Emre, Interview I)

This statement demonstrates that his repeated negative experiences primarily related to his negative self-perceptions which was far from his desired self induced a reduced sense of self-esteem and undermined his ideal L2 self as a competent English user. It is worth reiterating that these experiences in the school environment invited a dull passion for language learning throughout Emre's past English learning stages.

In all three interview sessions, Emre emphasized that he did not portray himself as a successful learner throughout his academic life. In the first interview, he often used the following sentence "I failed *again*" and highlighted his negative perceptions about his academic self while sharing his school life experiences. He mentioned his underperformances in nation-wide exams administered at the end of secondary school and high school. He reported that he had to study at one Anadolu Imam-Hatip High School in Istanbul because he failed in the high school entrance exam. In his accounts, he stated that he had to choose one type of high school from two options, that is, Anadolu Imam-Hatip High School or Vocational High School. Considering the

negative image of vocational schools in the society, he decided to go to the former type of school which is established to train imams and hatips who will serve in the mosques and where religious education courses are offered. He stated that the first year was a totally *easy* period for him because his academic level was sufficient to study in the 9th grade. It was surprising for him because his dyslexia caused him to fall behind his peers in the learning and got discouraged up until that time. Since such types of high schools did not offer English courses, Emre did not have any opportunities to hear or use English. However, he took Arabic courses for one year in that school and he expressed his enjoyment in learning the Arabic language and he put all his time and energy to learn it. He also explained that he did not study hard for any other languages as much as he tried to learn Arabic.

Even though the initial periods were not so challenging for him in this school, several problems started to arise towards the end of his first year of high school. He began to have difficulties in learning and speaking the Arabic language, which was mostly propelled by his dyslexia. Then, he was taken and sent to a private high school in Istanbul and he could study there for one year. They moved to a small city, Burdur, when he was a two-year high school student in his new school. Emre went on and completed his high school education in a private high school in Burdur. With respect to the English classes during the 10th, 11th, and 12th grades, he reported that they were used to follow a coursebook that was a work of a well-known publisher in English language learning. He mentioned his memorable experiences in the last three years of high school in the first interview and emphasized that they were never provided opportunities to speak English. He reported they were only completing exercises in the textbook. In addition to such ‘safe’ practices, Emre said that their English teachers gave them the exam questions beforehand because all of the students were studying for the national university entrance exam. English was not included in such exams; therefore, he and his classmates preferred to focus more on other *significant* courses for them.

The data from the first interview reveals that his parents and his past English teachers made a detrimental impact and caused him to lose his early language learning battle.

Under emotional stress, Emre expressed that his father, in particular, made him feel clumsy since he wanted to make sure that his son could not fall behind his colleagues' children. In respect to his father's high expectations, he said:

My dad made some mistakes ... he was the chief of police ... um ... he constantly compared me with his colleagues' sons. He kept asking, 'how my son fails while their kids do well?' ... It was confusing to me. (Emre, Interview I)

Emre also mentioned how his father overhelped in doing all of his homework to prevent Emre's underperformance and make him keep up with his peers. Because Emre's father knew English, his past language learning trajectory was highly externally-supported. However, constant comparison and pressure of competition with other people around him did not produce directly desired outcomes for his language learning. When reflecting on his past, Emre seemed to be aware of how his father affected his learning process negatively:

... I thought that I fell behind others. I felt the game was up when I was an 8-year student. I definitely felt that way ... um ... I was used to making my father do my homework ... and every time my teacher was writing 'Don't make your dad do your homework!' on the back of my notebook. (Emre, Interview I)

In another interview excerpt, Emre again expressed her regret of receiving redundant parent help for his homework. He said:

... He [his father] shouldn't have done it. Perhaps, then I could make it up ... um ... My dad did all my homework to keep me from staying behind, but what he did was totally wrong. I would never have it done right now ... This affected my life. He did my homework in the 2nd grade, 3rd grade, 4th grade, 5th grade, 6th grade, high school ... I could not improve myself. So I could not gain self-confidence. (Emre, Interview I)

The interview excerpts illustrate that the cost of backing him up was an absence of opportunities for personal experiential experiences and no sense of accomplishment during his 11-year language learning story. His forced identity proposed by his parents was a source of stress which led to diminished self-esteem in his attempts to use English along with chronic failures and self-disappointment.

It was also at this stage that Emre developed negative self-perceptions which resulted from the impact of his ‘ignorant’ past teachers in addition to his parents. In his accounts, Emre also attributed his underperformance to his indifferent past teachers. When his story was analyzed, it seems apparent that he was constantly in search of his teachers’ interest, support and encouragement. He noted that he had serious problems following the classes and fell behind his peers. As he always lost at the starting line, he was not included in classroom learning by the teachers. He consistently related the idea that his teachers’ pigeonholed him to his chronic failures and learning difficulties as in these extracts from the first interview:

R: How was your elementary school years? Your teachers, your classmates?

E: Our classroom was very crowded at the elementary school. Then, I was transferred to a private school ... but my teachers didn’t give me too much value because I wasn’t a successful student ... when I came to Istanbul, they didn’t care about me because I failed again. It made me very sad ... um ... so I couldn’t study. I wasn’t happy.

R: You mean that they should have given more support?

E: Yeah ... I needed special attention. They should’ve shown more interest. I was learning a bit lately ... I was struggling to understand. I felt like I was dumped. (Emre, Interview I)

What is clear from Emre’s excerpt is that he recognized himself as a victim of his past teachers’ ignorance. He related his low motivation for learning English and lack of self-esteem to the absence of teachers’ additional support and interest in him. When combined with his turbulent, portable and unsteady school life encompassing many instances of moving homes as well as school changes, he acknowledged himself as a dumped/forgotten language learner. With regard to his negative experiences with his English teachers, Emre’s statements also indicated that teachers played a huge role in shaping his self-perceptions as an individual and a language learner. This inference can be well understood when his attempts to learn Arabic or German during the high school years were closely looked at. Emre started to work hard to learn Arabic despite his learning difficulties as his Arabic teacher was showing him great interest and providing him with necessary (perceived) support. He considered it as a way of

proving to the teacher that he was a good and smart child. Emre commented on this and said, “I might like English if I met English later” (Emre, Interview I).

It was evident in Emre’s interview data that he encountered challenges in his participation in language learning practices and negotiations of an ideal L2 learner identity as a fluent student in class learning practices. It is evident in his story of L2 self that the distance between Emre’s actual L2 self and his imagined L2 self particularly restricted Emre’s access to L2 learning and speaking opportunities in the English-medium classroom. Also, his statements reveal that there is a clear mismatch between his desired, idealized L2 self and his actual L2 self. He admitted that he wanted to be a *visible* and successful language learner who could use the target language in the following (above-mentioned) excerpt, “I kept telling myself, ‘go up to the board and do this’. But later, I gave up” (Interview I). In another statement, his ideal L2 self manifested itself as a strong desire to participate in interactional opportunities with an American teacher:

... in high school, we had an American teacher. He was giving English classes. I was observing him ... um ... I wanted to talk to him. I had such a strong desire to speak with him ... I just want to speak although I couldn’t get my point across. (Emre, Interview I)

The two interview excerpts indicate that Emre’s accounts appear to reflect his *vague* ideal L2 self. In the first interview, there were very few instances associated with his ideal L2 self and his positive experiences. Since he had a very constrained set of interactional practices, his desire for learning and using English was not guided by a strong imagined L2 self before his university life. Emre’s statements in the following excerpt might also help us to understand his vague L2 identity which was represented through little or no effort to find ways of learning and using English in the past language learning periods, “I never tried to learn English ... I was sleeping in classes. I never attended classes” (Emre, Interview I). In addition to such limited investment inside the classroom, his *overhelping* parents might also be considered among the underlying reasons that caused him *not to* seek alternative means of learning English.

Emre's statements in relation to his past language learning experiences show that he had a dominant ought-to L2 self rather than a strong Ideal L2 self from his primary school to high school year because he consistently referred to how he struggled to meet the expectations of and responsibilities towards his parents (particularly his father's), his English teachers as well as her peers. Despite the huge discrepancy between his ideal L2 self and his actual L2 self, he did not make an effort to learn the language; instead, he had a negative and discouraging past learning experiences.

Although he mentioned his particular memorable moments in which he wanted to be a fluent language learner with a desire to have a visible identity in the classroom, Emre's statements in the following interview excerpt show us that he possessed a clearly defined feared L2 self. When asked about his English learning experiences in the high school years, he expressed his persistent fears of using English, "... I was always afraid to speak English in class. I was completely scared that the teacher would pick on me" (Emre, Interview I). This statement also indicates that his feared L2 self caused him to be a withdrawn student who was not willing to take agentic actions to foster changes in his actual L2 self far from his desired L2 self.

Emre's early learning story indicates that his feared L2 self was fed by the negative self-images (i.e., low self-esteem, self-doubt, frustration, disappointment) which were constructed as a result of failures to live up to his ideal vision as a fluent L2 speaker in the classroom throughout his past language learning experiences. His repeated negative L2 learning experiences hindered him to form a strong identity of a competent L2 speaker. Since he did not actively participate in class opportunities for oral practices and was not provided with favorable language learning environments at particular periods of his trajectory, Emre was more likely to adopt a form of non-participation, detached himself from the class, and wanted to be invisible. His statements also show that he was a language learner who avoided face-threatening acts, preferred not to respond to interactional opportunities by taking a silent observer role in English classes most of the time.

When a holistic perspective is taken, it is worth stressing that the strength of his feared or *undesired* L2 self encapsulates an academic self who never chose to break out of his comfort zone. His early period L2 identity seems to be associated with an invisible identity in Emre's past language learning experiences despite his struggles or conflicts in negotiating a visible identity as a competent L2 learner in English classes. Overall, while his vague ideal L2 self was activated by his *restricted* first-hand learning opportunities despite an 11-year English learning history, it seems clear that his feared L2 self was activated by multiple factors, involving his *fossilized* negative self-perceptions formed as a result of unfavorable in-/out-of class environments, emotional stress and a forced identity proposed by his parents and a delayed language learning process in response to his dyslexia.

The episodes from Emre's story of early stages of English language learning experiences reveal that he did not construct a positive L2 learner identity. He did not have a strong vision of being a competent language learner or did not have plans, aspirations, or expectations to participate in the English speaking community. Even he was silently enjoying vocabulary games, he did not respond to the created opportunities when he was a 2nd grader. Since his early L2 learner identity lacked a strong vision of learning and using English, he made little or no investment in English during his past language learning trajectory. However, Emre's negotiation of a negative academic identity as a dyslexic student did not take place in isolation. His construction of a negative L2 learner identity in the past years was influenced and activated by many factors embedded in his *turbulent* social and academic life.

Broadly speaking, Emre's struggles in building a positive identity as a competent L2 learner in the early stages of his English learning could be largely attributable to five central factors that were discussed in detail in this section. He developed negative L2 self-perceptions primarily because of his delayed language learning process in the consequences of his dyslexia. His learning difficulties and his parents who constantly forced him to compete with his peers providing excessive support in his homework aroused fears of failure, low self-esteem, and frustration in him. He experienced situations in which his father and his teachers looked at him humiliation because he

always failed to achieve the expected performance. Lack of optimism and frustration automatically led to a lack of agency which displayed itself as little or no desire, investment and commitment to learning English from primary to high school years. Added to his dyslexia and bitter consequences of his parents' impacts on him, his unsteady school life encompassing many schools and city changes paved the way for Emre's attrition in his language learning journey. Lastly, lack of sufficient teacher support and school's language policies of 'first national exams' might also be considered among the factors at play contributing to the negotiations of a negative academic identity as a late and disengaged student. In that regard, Figure 10 illustrates three salient L2-mediated identity in her past L2 learning story:

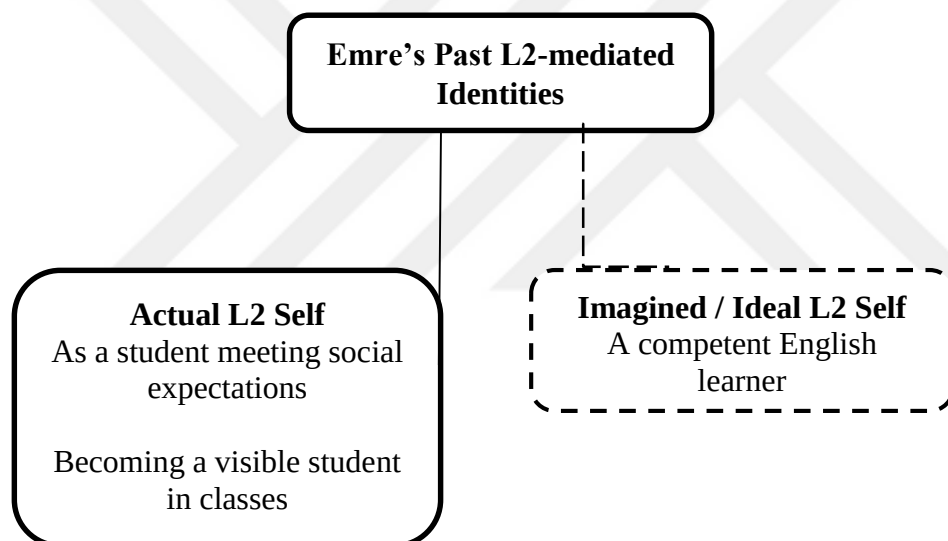


Figure 10. The strength of Emre's L2-mediated identities from primary to high school.

In Figure 10 above, the dimension of Emre's L2-mediated identity illustrated using a dotted square represents his *vague* ideal L2 self which stood in contrast with the more salient identity dimensions, that is, actual L2 self representing his feared and ought-to L2 self. Table 20 below also summarizes Emre's L2-mediated identities and investments in the past English learning stage.

Table 20. *Representation of Emre's L2-mediated identities and investments in the past English learning stage (from primary to high school)*

Emre's L2-mediated identities	Past English Learning Stage
His feared L2 self	Being a visible learner Being ridiculed by the peers and spotlighted by the teachers Being under the teacher's radar Breaking his comfort zone
His ought-to L2 self	Trying to meet expectations of his parents Struggling to fit in parent-imposed identity Feeling a need to prove himself to the teachers and peers
His imagined / ideal L2 self	No strong English-mediated desired self
His actual L2 self	A late and disappointed student with dyslexia A struggling student learning to write and read in his mother tongue in addition to English A student with a strong sense of being dumped/forgotten A student with an invisible identity and chronic failures An embarrassed, withdrawn student
L2 Investments	Getting excessive parent help in his homework Limited to L2 learning and using opportunities in the classroom Not willing to take agentive actions to change his actual self Non-participation in class Avoiding from face-threatening acts in class No vivid plans, expectations, aspirations to participate in the English speaking community

As discussed throughout this section, there are various elements hindering him from negotiating a positive identity as a competent L2 learner. Several factors made him suspect that his academic self or L2 self was not as good as he had thought. His learning difficulty, unsteady school life, destructive impacts of his parents, perceived insufficient teacher support and ignorance and exam-oriented school policies in the high school made a great influence on his L2 investment in English classes. His previous educational experiences might have placed him at a disadvantaged position in participating in oral practices in the classes. His feared L2 self far from desired L2 self which related to avoidance from face-threatening behaviors seems to be closely intertwined with his restricted investments in L2 learning. It was indicated that when the likelihood of achieving her imagined identity was threatened, which was a recurring theme in Emre's past learning story, he did not take actions for more investment in English learning. His early language learning story reveals that he moved away from actively participating in interactional opportunities as a consequence of his struggles in negotiating a positive L2 learner identity.

4.2.4 Ahmet: Negotiating a negative academic identity as a disengaged student with no clear L2 visions

“... English didn't mean a lot to me”

Ahmet began to take English instruction when he was in the fourth grade in the context of formal schooling as a school subject at a public primary school. Like Melisa and Emre's past L2 learning stages, Ahmet's early exposure to English was restricted to school English courses prior to the preparatory program. Talking about his primary school education, Ahmet referred to the difficulties he encountered because of the conditions of village school:

In fact, I wasn't very happy at the primary school because we were taught in mixed-grade classes. They [*teachers*] combined the 3rd and 4th grades. Classes were 40 minutes but the teacher devoted the first 20 minutes to the 3rd graders and the last 20 minutes to the 4th graders. It was a small group of students. So I had to change my school. (Ahmet, Interview I)

As he explained in the interview excerpt above, Ahmet did not have a favorable learning environment, which caused him to move to another primary school. In his *second* primary school, Ahmet started to take English classes and he portrayed himself as a disengaged L2 learner who never showed interest or desire to learn or use English. In relation to his early L2 learning experiences in that village school, he consistently acknowledged that he had had low levels of language awareness particularly until he became a university student. In the interviews, Ahmet also talked about his indifferent attitudes towards English learning and considered it *only as a school subject* which was taken for exams. When I asked him how he approached English learning from primary to high school education, he said:

... actually... um ... English didn't mean a lot to me at those times ... good English education wasn't given in the schools I attended. I started taking English classes in 4th grade, but perhaps I had ten English teachers from 4th to 8th grade ... umm ... sometimes, our math teacher was giving English classes. Teachers mostly used to rely on the standard course book given by the state. We constantly used to study grammar in classes, so I remember only a funny game of numbers about English. (Ahmet, Interview I)

As his statements indicate, Ahmet portrayed himself as an indifferent English learner and seemed to attribute his disengagement to the school and instructional practices during the earlier L2 learning stage. He emphasized that he could not generate a positive self-image as a competent English learner prior to the university because he was exposed to poor quality and inconsistent English instruction. He seemingly did not approve the teacher-dominated English lessons based on a standard course book comprised of grammar and vocabulary exercises. In addition, Ahmet consistently referred to the difficulties in adapting to new (non)English teachers every semester. In parallel to his statements regarding his demotivation for English classes from primary to high school years, he wrote in the timeline section of L2 Learning Profile Task:

In fact, learning English didn't mean anything to me when I was at primary school and even at high school. I thought it was *ridiculous* to learn it. I believed it would not help my future. I thought they should learn Turkish. (Ahmet, L2 Learning Profile Task).

As evident in his comments in the task, Ahmet differed from Melisa and Emre in terms of his nationalistic, ethnocentric, and essentialist understanding regarding his views

about learning English in the early stage. In the first interview with Ahmet, he also emphasized that he had a conservative mindset with respect to learning and speaking English, which might be partially account for his deprivation of meaningful forms of identification in English classes. Similar to Melisa, Ahmet also completed his secondary education at the village school and got accepted to a high school in the city center where he had to commute everyday by bus. Although he appreciated the quality of education and teachers, he disapproved the student profile in that high school. In relation to his high school years, Ahmet noted:

At high school, my teachers were very qualified. They were quite interested in their work and cared for the students, but the problem was the students in that school. There used to be big school fights every two days. The students were not very good. I wish I would have studied more, then I could go to a better high school. The high school I went to was already the best of the worst in the city where I lived. (Ahmet, Interview I)

The interview excerpt reveals that Ahmet did not have favorable school experiences while he was studying at high school. Even though he did not attempt to put an extra time and energy to learn and use English, he acknowledged that he possessed a neutral but not totally negative stance to learning English before the first year at high school. In speaking of his high school L2 learning experiences, Ahmet mentioned a *critical* and frustrating incident for him in an English class in which he had a small quarrel with the English teacher. He talked about this discouraging incident as a starting point for developing negative perceptions of learning and using English in class and outside. When I asked about what they were doing in English classes at high school, he also referred to his negative stance to English learning with a focus on the classroom activities:

Afterwards, English started to be a burden ... umm ... it was even harder than math. Again, we were using the course book given by the state in the classes. Our English teacher made explanations of grammatical structures. Not much had changed for the better in high school. Differently, they bought English story books for those who could afford. (Ahmet, Interview I)

His statements clearly show that he did not approach the learning of English with a neutral mode of engagement as primary and secondary school when he was a high school student. He said the English classes were repetitive of what he already learnt

in prior ones at primary/secondary school and did not find the high school English courses useful for improving his L2 skills in any significant ways. The data from the first interview also demonstrated that Ahmet had diminished access to L2 learning and interactional opportunities in the classroom because of the teacher-dominated classes in which they constantly (re)learnt particular grammar points. The *traditional* instructional practices in English classes involving reading comprehension tasks, teacher explanations of grammar, writing a list of words ten times on the board and oral chanting seemed to cause a struggle for negotiating a positive/desirable identity as a competent language learner in English classes throughout Ahmet's language learning story prior to the university. From a holistic point of view, early episodes from Ahmet's L2 learning story reveal that he did not build a desirable L2 self. Throughout a prolonged English instruction, as his story showed, he did not construct a strong vision of a competent L2 learner and articulated no clear intentions, aspirations, or plans in relation to English. Ahmet represented his L2-mediated identity as being merely guided by an ought-to self with no other idealized L2 vision. As evident in his story, his past L2 self-image did not seem to be activated by a competent English speaking self. In Figure 11 below, the dimension Ahmet's L2-mediated identity is illustrated as a representation of his ought-to L2 self and feared L2 self with no feature of ideal L2 self.

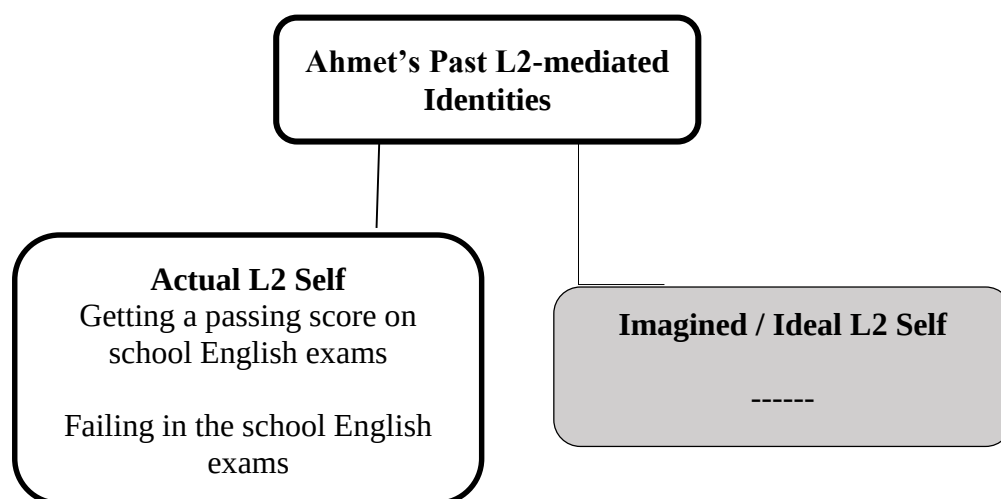


Figure 11. The strength of Ahmet's L2-mediated identities from primary to high school.

As indicated in Figure 11 above, his L2-mediated identities prior to the university was being directed by an instrumental feature with no clear idealized L2 self. He seemed to be primarily motivated through his strong ought-to L2 self which encapsulated a limited vision of getting a passing score in school English exams. His ought-to L2 self appeared to guide her central L2 self in which he positioned himself as a student who *needed to pass* the English exams at school. As he admitted that he found learning English as *ridiculous* and tended to believe that it would not help him in the future, Ahmet's investments in the past L2 learning stage were constrained to improving himself in terms of grammar and vocabulary.

Based on his accounts, it was also clear that the institutional policies and instructional practices played a significant role in preventing him from developing a strong competent English speaker identity. Since the teachers mostly taught with a grammatico-lexical syllabus, and undervalued basic English skills, he had limited access to classroom interactional opportunities. In other words, he was not provided with extensive L2 experiences which helped to participate in real English communities of practice (CoPs). The lack of favorable language learning environment and L2 using opportunities made him adopt a form of resistance to English courses and eventually a form of withdrawal. In addition, particular negative incidents with the members of the target community of English-speaking people (his English teachers) in his immediate social environment caused him to prefer not to create and respond to the classroom activities most of the time. Furthermore, Ahmet's skepticism about the value of showing improvement in English skills and its possibility of profitable returns brought by English seemed to be aligned with his ought-to L2 self and fitted his plan of passing the school English exams in the short term. In an attempt to understand whether he put an additional effort to learn English outside the school, I asked:

I: What did you do to improve your English after school?

A: To be honest, I wasn't even opening the cover of the English book until the next lesson. It was a *mission* to be completed for me. (Ahmet, Interview I)

In the interview excerpt above, Ahmet stated that he was not willing to take agentic actions to change his actual L2 self far from a desirable competent L2 learner. Since he was not able to develop a vivid image of himself as an English user, he did not tend to invest extra time and energy in learning English to close the gap between his missing ideal self and his actual self. As a learner with a clear ought-to L2 self, he only made investments to prevent failures in English exams, rather than seeking out genuine L2 learning opportunities.

As discussed throughout his past language learning story, there are various influential elements serving as a basis for negotiating an identity as an illegitimate peripheral English user. Ahmet's accounts about his past L2 learning experiences show us that he did not generate a substantial image of his ideal L2 self for many reasons despite an eight-year English instruction. He did not construct a positive identity as a competent L2 learner and his negotiation of a negative academic identity as a disengaged student with no clear L2 visions could be largely attributable to the following factors: inconsistent school practices of English teachers involving irregular English teacher recruitment, substitute teachers from non-ELT subject areas and multi-grade English classes; instructional practices of English teachers with grammatico-lexical syllabus in a teacher-dominated manner and negative experiences with English teachers and lack of participation opportunities in real English-mediated communities of practice. Table 21 below summarizes Emre's L2-mediated identities and investments in the past English learning stage.

Table 21.
Representation of Ahmet's L2-mediated identities and investments in the past English learning stage

Ahmet's L2-mediated identities	Past English Learning Stage
His feared L2 self	Failing the exams in English courses
His ought-to L2 self	Getting a passing score in school English exams
His imagined/deal L2 self	No English-mediated desired self
His actual L2 self	A disengaged student at a disadvantaged school Indifferent attitudes towards English learning Low level of language awareness No interest in L2 learning As a student with nationalistic/ethnocentric mindset Merely guided by an ought-to L2 self with no desired L2 vision Having a limited vision of getting a passing score in school English exams
L2 Investments	No vivid plans, expectations, aspirations to participate in the English speaking community Limited to L2 learning and using opportunities in the classroom No willingness to improve his English skills. Restricted to improving himself in terms of grammar and vocabulary

4.3 SUMMARY OF IMAGINED IDENTITIES AND L2 INVESTMENTS IN THE PAST ENGLISH LEARNING STAGE

As described in the case studies, Melisa, Ahmet, and Emre received roughly the same amount of English instruction in the past learning stage. Except for Emre, two participants began to take English courses when they were studying in the 4th grade since were going to public schools in their towns. In contrast, Emre started to take English classes when he was a 2nd grader at a private school. Whereas Emre emphasized the negative impact of unsteady school life, Melisa and Ahmet thought that being a student at village schools and commuting every day placed them at a disadvantaged position. Furthermore, three participants' initial exposure to English was restricted to English classes at school in the early learning stage. They portrayed themselves as English learners who were never interested in learning and using English. Emre viewed learning English as 'completely meaningless and pointless' while Melisa stated she 'didn't really like English classes'. Similarly, Ahmet could not assign any value to learn it and described learning English as 'ridiculous'.

Three participants were taught English in exam-oriented schools, whether at private schools or public schools. Regardless of their school type, they reported that the English teachers used grammatico-lexical syllabuses and undervalued four basic L2 skills. They did not engage in communicative language practices before the university, rather teacher-dominated lessons based on standard course books provided by the government. From a broader perspective, it seems obvious that limited access to interactional opportunities in English learning communities both in the classroom and outside as well as negative and discouraging experiences dulled their desire to learn English. Moreover, limited meaningful experiences in such communities failed to feed their imagination of becoming a competent English user.

None of the participants seemed to generate a positive self-image as a competent English learner in the past learning stage despite their self-reported early exposure and prolonged engagement with learning English. The data showed that participants did not tend to feel fully legitimate throughout their past learning trajectories. In this sense,

they seemed to negotiate restricted and passive learner identity and could not visualize any strong L2-mediated imagined identities in mind prior to the university. Participants positioned themselves as English learners who were only concerned about getting a passing score in school English exams. In other words, they lacked a strong vision of becoming a proactive/legitimate participant in the wider English-speaking community in the future. Taking a pragmatic stance towards language learning, three participants' L2 self-systems appeared to be guided by a strong sense of obligation to meet the course requirements within the schools they attended. All of them positioned themselves as English learners since they believed that they possessed limited English proficiency and low linguistic self-confidence. Three of them thought that they needed to improve their language skills.

Due to the complex and dynamic nature of the experiences and L2-mediated identities, imagined identities and corresponding investment in English learning showed variations among the past language learning trajectories. The striking difference in Melisa's learning story compared to the other two participants, she could visualize her desired English-speaking self as an English learner, English major, and English teacher after the second year of high school. In parallel to two other participants' learning trajectories, Melisa was also motivated through her ought-to L2 self which encapsulated a restricted vision of getting a passing score in school English exams before the second year of high school rather than an expanded vision of ideal L2 self.

Different from her male counterparts who did not have acquired a positive identity position as a competent student until their choice of degree, Melisa's past English learning story incorporates two contrasting (i.e., negative academic identity as a disengaged student and a positive academic identity as a commuter student with increased self-confidence) identity positions. Although she had also negative and discouraging learning experiences before the 10th grade at high school similar to Emre and Ahmet, she later managed to build a positive academic identity as a competent student at a rather earlier stage. Melisa could generate a positive academic identity as a competent English learner primarily thanks to her improvements in English proficiency, inspirational L2 learning experiences at high school, and socio-cultural

value exerted on English proficiency around her social network. Thus, she tended to set on a learning trajectory from non-participation to full participation in her imagined community of English teachers after the 10th grade when she revised her ideal and ought-to L2 selves in response to her actual L2 learning experiences not only in the classroom but also in her broader social context.

Ahmet and Emre shared similar modes of engagement for learning and using English before they began to take English courses at the preparatory school. Emre and Ahmet did not tend to have aspirations, plans, or expectations for full participation in the wider English-speaking community until they graduated from high school which coincided with the decision-making process of their major. Emre, a dyslexic English learner, was mainly motivated through his ought-to L2 self in which he set himself an external instrumental goal of becoming a successful learner to be appreciated his immediate social environment in the early learning stage. Similarly, Ahmet's L2 self-system in the past English learning stage was primarily guided by an ought-to L2 self to meet the course requirements with no clear ideal L2 self.

Overall, imagined instrumental identities as L2 learners or L2 test-takers appeared to have the strongest impact on their L2 motivation. In other words, three participants did not appear to be in fuller participation positions in any L2-mediated imagined communities. In parallel, they did not have any English-mediated visions of ideal self as a competent English speaker or user in the past learning stage. They positioned themselves as English learners with a low sense of linguistic self-confidence who felt a need to make further improvements in their language skills. Melisa could build a positive imagined identity as an English learner after she decided to major in an English-related field. She gradually began to visualize her possible trajectory in the future and her plans to have an English-medium degree created particular varied identity options in her imagined communities. Apart from Melisa having visualized new and extended imagined identities as English users, two other participants could not envision any English-mediated imagined identities. Table 22 below illustrates the three participants' respective L2-mediated imagined identity negotiations and investment in their past English learning stage.

Table 22.

Summary of L2-mediated imagined identities and investments in the past English learning stage (from primary to high school)

Participant	Imagined identity	L2 investment
Melisa	Before 10th grade at high school <i>L2 learner/test-taker</i>	Before 10th grade at high school (1) Limited investments to improve areas of language tested in school English exams, (2) not willing to take agentive actions to become a legitimate member of the English-speaking community
	After 10th grade at high school <i>English major and English teacher</i>	After 10th grade at high school- (1) More increased investments to improve areas of language tested in the university exam, (2) no extra effort to the subtlety of the target language
Emre	<i>L2 learner/test-taker</i>	(2) Limited investments to improve areas of language tested in school English exams, (2) not willing to take agentive actions to become a legitimate member of the English-speaking community, (3) complete withdrawal/non-participation
Ahmet	<i>L2 learner/test-taker</i>	(1) Limited investments to improve areas of language tested in school English exams, (2) not willing to take agentive actions to become a legitimate member of the English-speaking community, (3) complete resistance/withdrawal/non-participation

4.4 PRESENT ENGLISH LEARNING STAGE

4.4.1 Melisa: Negotiating a positive academic identity as a competent L2 learner with instrumental expectations

“I would like to take advantage of the facilities here as much as I can”

In the previous section, Melisa’s negotiation process of two contrasting academic identities concerning L2 learning that ended up with increased investments to benefit from legitimate peripheral participation in the community of practice in the classroom and outside is revealed. In her past L2 learning experience stage, it seems evident that she switched from complete withdrawal and disengagement to full engagement, persistence, and self-directed behaviors to reach her future goals. Her clear efforts to learn and use English appeared to be propelled by her stronger vision of how she started to see herself in relation to English. In this section, what imagined identities guided Melisa’s present L2 learning experiences as well as corresponding investments in English.

It was at the previous stage that Melisa decided to pursue an English-related career in the future; therefore, she chose to study in the foreign language division at high school. After she completed high school, Melisa took the university entrance exam, however, she did not do well because the familial and financial problems dulled her passion for studying English. In order not to give up on her dream of becoming an English teacher and avoid a discouraging atmosphere at home, Melisa opted for majoring in Applied English and Translation Studies instead of an English Language Teaching major. In this program, as its name suggested, students who got acceptance were expected to have basic foreign language skills all of which would be useful during their academic and professional lives in the future. Thus, Melisa enrolled in a one-year intensive English language program and hoped to intensify her efforts to study and improve her English proficiency to pass into a four-year Bachelor of Education, with a major in English Language Teaching.

Concerning her studies in the preparatory program, Melisa consistently noted that she deliberately and temporarily chose to study in the one-year compulsory preparatory

program. Since she envisioned herself as a language teacher and never thought of continuing her studies in the registered program, her present identity as a preparatory school student is not an end-state vision, rather it represents *a temporary self* she desired to experience of which features obviously appeared to be built upon her long-term, career-oriented self as an English teacher. She often mentioned in the interviews that the preparatory school not only provided her with an access to the opportunity of learning and using English for future academic purposes, but also strengthened her imagined identity as an English teacher. With respect to her current self-perception as an L2 learner, Melisa seemed to possess a perceived high sense of language ability. She acknowledged her successful L2 learning experiences at high school and appeared to position herself as a gifted student with an innate ability who presented a natural competence to learn the foreign language as she noted in the interview excerpt below:

When I started the prep classes, I had an extensive vocabulary which attracted my teachers' attention. I was able to translate immediately when I saw a sentence or word in English. But here at the preparatory school, the subjects covered in English classes because they were quite superficial and simple for me. I know many words my peers don't know. Thus, I was disappointed. I think I'm good at learning languages. (Melisa, Interview II)

As she stated, she seemed to be relying on her previously improved knowledge of words and perceived ability to learn English easily. In parallel, her responses to seven Linguistic Self-Confidence questions of the questionnaire showed that her self-perception of language competence appeared high. She chose "tremendously (6 points)" for six questions and "very much (5 points)" for one question on the 6-point Likert scale. In an attempt to understand her current self-perception as an L2 learner at a preparatory program, when I asked how she viewed herself as a preparatory school student, Melisa also stated her actual language proficiency level was B1 even though she was placed to an A1 language level class.

Although she displayed a high sense of self as a gifted and successful learner in English, Melisa seemed to be struggling in negotiating a positive L2 identity as a fluent, competent student at preparatory school. She stated that she had difficulties in engaging in speaking and listening activities in classes:

... although I was quite good at learning vocabulary, I had difficulty in speaking and listening activities in classes. I sank into despair when I could not understand what people were talking about in the podcasts or when I could not speak in speaking activities ...umm ... because I have never watched a movie or listened to songs in English. I admit that it was very hard at the beginning. (Melisa, Interview I)

The interview excerpt above indicates that Melisa's struggles with her English competence and participating in L2 classroom activities. Her perceived challenges in establishing meaningful forms of participation in the classroom community of practice appeared to be closely linked to the L2 learning experiences in the past. It seems evident in her story of L2 self that the deprivation of such opportunities to learn and use English during early stages caused her to form negative self-perceptions about her English proficiency. Additionally, Melisa also mentioned that her underperformance in these areas of language was rooted in classroom practices of her past English teachers. She stated that they used to ignore and undervalue speaking and listening activities due to the exam-oriented policies and continued using repetition drills or memorization of dialogues; therefore, she had little or no opportunity to practice speaking English while at primary, secondary and also high school.

Her previous language learning experience, particularly at a disadvantaged village school, appeared to be placed her at a disadvantaged position in participating in interactional activities in the preparatory school. In particular, her low self-confidence in participating in oral activities and her negative self-perceptions as a *non-native* L2 learner adversely impacted her spoken fluency in classes. Because Melisa positioned herself as a non-native speaker of English in such interactional opportunities, she opted not to seek out L2 using opportunities with peers inside class. She also confirmed her unwillingness to participate in such interaction opportunities in her responses to the questions concerning her participation in classes in the questionnaire. She had chosen "slightly (4 points)" in the 6-point Likert scale for the following statement "When I am in English class, I volunteer answers as much as possible". In the second interview, I revisited this issue with Melisa:

R: In the questionnaire, you said that you *slightly* volunteered answers as much as possible. Do you think you are not active enough in classes?

M: Yes, definitely, I am reluctant to speak in classes and I don't feel comfortable in speaking English because of my bad pronunciation. I am afraid that my classmates might laugh at me if I make a mistake.

R: Why do you think so?

M: When the conversation goes faster and faster, I don't understand and I feel lost ... umm ... I don't know what to do. At the private teaching institution, I went to prepare the university entrance, we had a foreign English teacher and I had opportunities to talk with him many times. He always corrected my mistakes, but I couldn't understand what he said ... I wasn't familiar with such types of conversations with foreigners. (Melisa, Interview II)

In this interview excerpt, Melisa explained why she often felt frustrated and anxious particularly in speaking classes. Her statements above showed that when speaking English, she thought that she did not sound *native-like* in such areas of English use as pronunciation and fluency. What is clear in this interview excerpt that Melisa's weak spoken proficiency restricted her attempts to participate in class discussions and increased the likelihood of constructing a negative identity as a *fluent* English speaker. Since she began to recognize that her spoken English was not as good as she had thought at high school as a result of a series of incidents in speaking classes, she became withdrawn in the speaking portfolio tasks in which they were supposed to prepare a video, do role-playing or discuss a controversial issue with their partners. She told:

... for example, we are expected to prepare a video with our friends as part of our speaking portfolios we 're going to submit at the end of the semester. I worked with two of my classmates ... umm ... they could speak English *perfectly* but I couldn't. I know they are better than me. I can't speak because I am extremely shy. I am sure that I don't sound like a native speaker. (Melisa, Interview II)

This interview excerpt reflected a sign of a *feared* or *undesired* L2 self that Melisa avoided. She chose to withdraw from any type of engagement and refused to participate in speaking-related activities both in class and outside when she was studying with her peers. As evidenced in the interview excerpt above, she believed that the ability to use English perfectly from a prosodic point of view was quite essential to become and identify herself as a member of a *socially meaningful* community of native speakers of English. It

seems clear that her feared L2 self far from her desired L2 self as a competent English speaker is closely related to the acts of avoidance from face-threatening situations. Her perceived lack of spoken proficiency also appeared to impact on her agentic behaviors in particular social spaces with familiar people (i.e., classmates in and outside class).

Although she had limited investments in oral activities in-class discussion, Melisa seemed to be eager to make efforts to find ways of using English outside class. It is evident that she displayed varying degrees of investment in L2 learning in different contexts. Melisa stated in the interview that she did not completely move away from actively participating in interactional opportunities as a preparatory school student. In order to foster changes in her actual L2 self and eliminate the fear of ending up as an incompetent English teacher in the future, Melisa stated that she engaged in L2 practices in a different setting in which she could benefit from legitimate peripheral participation in the community of practice outside the classroom. Melisa participated in a student club called “Erasmus+” to speak with international students and have conversations with them. She said:

There is a student language club called ‘Erasmus+’ at the campus. I often attend the club activities to get a chance to practice English skills. It is a good place for us to use English in a casual setting and meet new people who speak English. I think it is more like real life. We move beyond the realm of grammar. I have many opportunities to talk with foreign students. The club members speak English fluently. I also want to communicate fluently and confidently like them. (Melisa, Interview III)

The interview excerpt indicates that she was willing to invest in immersing in this English-speaking community because of her strong desire to *speak so native-like* or perfect English and to get rid of her *feared* incompetent student image in speaking classes. Her ongoing participation in an English-speaking environment reveals a sign of her desired L2 self as a fluent, competent English speaker that has brought her to the compulsory preparatory program in which she hoped it cultivate and eventually materialize. In that regard, Melisa appreciated the contributions of the preparatory program to her existing but restricted repertoire of L2 proficiency.

We are taught by highly-qualified teachers, so I want to learn all the grammar points in detail. I want to improve my speaking, listening and other skills ... I

would like to take advantage of the facilities here as much as I can. The prep school is the only space that helps me to achieve my dreams. (Melisa, Interview III)

As the interview excerpt above reveals, Melisa's decision to attend a preparatory program enabled her to develop herself linguistically by undergoing language training during one-year. Melisa also emphasized that the classroom environment at preparatory school provided her with a convenient environment with multiple resources and qualified teachers. In relation to her views of her current improvements in English proficiency, she hoped to not only continue improving her competence in basic foreign language skills but also gain access to participating in English-speaking communities (i.e., classroom and the Erasmus+ student club) through L2 learning and using opportunities. Melisa considered her studies in the program as a means of becoming her desired subject position in the short and the long run, which encapsulated a vision of an English teacher with *perfect* English.

In addition to her investments in L2 speaking practices in the student club, Melisa's current investments in improving English was also guided by her proximal goals of passing into a four-year English-related program. She emphasized in the interview that she put improving grammar knowledge and vocabulary capacity in a high priority since she thought that those areas of language were mostly focused on the university entrance exam she planned to take. Considering that she could better ensure that she could major in an English-related department, her investment in English learning was therefore directed to improving those aspects of English proficiency that were tested. It can be said that Melisa's sustained investments in grammar and vocabulary reflected her commitment and willingness to achieve her short-term and long-term imagined identities and showed alignment with her extended vision of becoming an English teacher. In this respect, it seems obvious that Melisa took a more *pragmatic* and practical stance to L2 classroom activities in the preparatory program and considered being a preparatory school student as a springboard for achieving her particularly short-term goals. For Melisa, an improved English proficiency completely fits her distal goals of becoming a competent L2 speaker and an English teacher whereas a good grasp of grammatical structures and

strong vocabulary capacity aligned with her proximal goal of majoring in an English-related department. Thus, showing improvement in these areas of L2 proficiency was among her top priorities as a preparatory school student.

4.4.2 Melisa: Negotiating a professional identity as an English teacher with socioeconomic aspirations

“It [English] brings prestige and makes you better and noticeable”

Although she was raised and exposed to an environment with ethnocentric and nationalistic tendencies where English was viewed as a non-significant asset, Melisa’s changing social environment during her high school years made a positive impact on her impression of English. It was also at this stage that Melisa started to recognize the instrumental values associated with a good command of English. As discussed in the previous section, her growing L2 proficiency, a resourceful school environment with qualified teachers, and inculcations of her brothers made a great influence on her future career path. When I asked the primary motivation for her choice of an English-related major, she expressed:

... I chose to be an English major student because I believe that people who could speak English have special advantages. If you have the ability to use it, you help yourself stand out ... um ... you have a good reputation around your environment ... your friends, your family. If you have the ability to fluently speak English, you have more job opportunities. You can be good at math and this doesn’t make you different from others but a good command of English makes you stand out from the crowd. I am sure that it will open doors while preparing my CV in the future ... it brings prestige and makes you better and noticeable. (Melisa, Interview II)

The interview excerpt above illustrates Melisa’s reply to why she decided to major in Applied English and Translation Studies and her extended vision of passing into a four-year English-related program in the short-term. As can be observed in the excerpt above, Melisa appeared to believe that being able to speak English would automatically offer multiple benefits. She tended to be primarily motivated through the likelihood of increased career prospects and social advancement in her choice of major. In the Learning

Profile Task, Melisa touched upon this issue with regard to the place of English to her future plans and wrote, “Learning English will not only help me get a job with a high salary but also put me in a prestigious position” (Melisa, L2 Learning Profile Task). As her statements provide glimpses of the relevance of English in Melisa’s life, her envisioned English teacher identity seemed to be guided by her desire to attain different forms of capital in the future. Her reply to my question of why she decided to become an English major showed that the underlying imagined identity tended to be career-oriented as an English teacher through which she expected to have a more secure and socially and economically upper position than majoring in a two-year program. This underlying imagined identity that Melisa desired to achieve as an English teacher seems to show signs of more than a career-oriented L2 self. It is obvious that there are also social, socioeconomic and utilitarian incentives. These representations of her self-system can be clearly seen in her statements as she expressed:

... I am sure that English will help bring me big opportunities in my future life. I need it [English] to become a respectable person. I need it to be employed ... to get better pay and move to an upper level ... [contemplating] ... yes, job opportunities plus prestige. It will offer comfort and respectability. I need to help my family financially ... they should have better living conditions. (Melisa, Interview II)

As her statements above indicate, an image of *a competent English speaking self* Melisa constructed appeared to be partially affected by the financial conditions of her family. Therefore, her imagined English teacher self appears to be an attractive option for an individual whose family had financial problems because the social and economic circumstances attracted her to choose English as her major. Melisa was clearly drawn to the idea of expecting to have tangible benefits from English proficiency through increased job opportunities and superior social position with better life conditions.

It is worth stressing that Melisa’s English-mediated imagined identities incorporate a career-oriented L2 self which encapsulates both *a social self* and *a socioeconomic status-oriented (instrumental) self*. In terms of the dimensions of her career-oriented L2 self, Melisa referred to her realization of the importance of English during the interview sessions and attributed it to her *tough* personal and educational life. Closely intertwined

with her socioeconomic status-oriented L2 self, Melisa stated that she had to find a fast and secure track to avoid such pressing problems that are part of her past and present life. In this respect, she was more likely to focus on the ‘teaching’ part that she desired to achieve in the future rather than the ‘English knowledge’ part as she described:

I realized that I had to find a secure job. Because of the problems I have, I have to find a job that offers me a comfortable lifestyle, pays me a lot. Teaching is a safe career choice for me. I can handle such money problems if I become a teacher ... I hope that English is a great opportunity for me to have a secure and trustworthy job. (Melisa, Interview II)

The interview excerpt evidently shows us that Melisa’s intention to become a teacher is closely tied to her imagined self-representation that seeks for a guaranteed profession. The problems she experienced pushed her to find a *fast* track to provide financial support to her family to be promoted to an upper level. Melisa’s long-term, career-oriented L2 self is also guided by a social self as a fluent speaker of English with a desire to be respected and validated in her social environment since she believed that knowledge of a foreign language made a great impact particularly on her immediate social network (i.e., her family members and people in her village). In the interviews, she often emphasized how her mastery in English impressed people:

There is no one speaking English in our village. I’m the only one in the village. My sister used to call me every morning and say ‘You show them how it’s done. You make it easy for others to follow you’. Therefore, as I said, it is really important to me. (Melisa, Interview III)

What is clear in this interview excerpt that Melisa could articulate a vivid vision of L2 learning and speaking with social value. With an assumption that knowledge of a foreign language would have a powerful image in the communities she was already participating in, she appeared to be charmed by such social resources that were not already available to her. Melisa’s vignettes reveal how an English knowing person was positioned as a legitimate member of an upper class merely because of his/her English proficiency. Melisa appeared to rely on the *linguistic prestige* of English particularly in the communities she participated in. She often emphasized the strong impression of English on the people in her village because they attached a great social value and high degrees

of esteem to speakers of English. Therefore, it can be argued that the perceived status of English in her communities seemed to strengthen the construction of her imagined identities as an English teacher with ‘perfect’ English. Her statements could be manifestations of perceived status of English as a powerful tool that enabled its speakers to gain high social prestige in their social network. Such social associations with English were more likely to activate her motivation for learning English in Melisa’s L2 learning trajectory.

In combination with her desired self in which she positioned her English learning with respect to the social and linguistic prestige, Melisa’s social self appeared to be encapsulating another vision of future self associated with an *altruistic identity*. When discussing her future aspirations, she stated that she wanted to be the one who would inspire the people particularly the girls to learn English. She said:

If I learn to speak English, I believe that the result will be a lot of respect for me in society. People give more respect to an English-speaking person... Perhaps, I will help children especially girls in my village who are left behind, perhaps I will inspire them for continuing their education. So, respectability and helping the people in my village matters most to me. (Melisa, Interview III)

In the excerpt above, Melisa explained why achieving her goal of becoming an English teacher was so important for her. She tended to believe with altruistic connections that if she could materialize her dreams, she would be an inspirational source for them to learn English; therefore, they had an opportunity to target and attend to an upper-level social class by studying an *elite* language. Melisa’s statements suggest that English learning would contribute to their welfare thereof their socio-economic advancement. The way these social and altruistic resources feeding her imagination as an English teacher was encapsulated in her following expression in an impressive way, “I want them to eat a whole block of chocolate [English] that I ate” (Melisa, Interview III).

Another dimension of her imagined identities is *the socioeconomic status-oriented self* as an English teacher. Perceived benefits of English associated with social mobility and economic mobility were likely to activate her desired L2 self as a proficient English

speaker. Consistently, Melisa took an optimistic approach to a good command of English and expected it to have a facilitating effect on her socioeconomic progress. Being affected by the possibilities of a secure profession, increased career prospects, and socioeconomic aspirations, Melisa considered English not only as a vehicle for becoming a legitimate member of a community that involved people of a higher social network but also as a means of having better lifestyle. Melisa reflected on the relevance of English to her imagined identity as follows:

English learning was and is the only way I could achieve the life I have always dreamed of. For my big dream to flourish, I need to make a room for it and study hard to learn English ... I had no choice but to study. Life in our village is very tough ... umm ... you have to get up at 5 o'clock and work until 6 o'clock in the evening. You're expected to do it every day. This is very bad. (Melisa, Interview I)

Melisa made it clear in her statements that English would serve her as a point of departure to achieve upward mobility as well as an alternative path to avoid from tough working and life conditions of the place she grew up in her future vision of self. In this excerpt, she explained one particular justification for her learning English and investments as well as her career choice. She stressed that she determined her course of action by observing significant people in the immediate social environment who had difficulties in getting up a job without English as she exemplified as follows:

My sister is an accounting graduate and she was looking for a job last year. She couldn't take up a job since they wanted her to have a really good command of English. So I recommended her to go to a language course. She started to read books in English and told me that we really need to learn English. She is right because it helps you get a better job. English is an essential skill. (Melisa, Interview II)

This interview excerpt clearly shows us a sign of her desired fluent English speaker with an *instrumental* value attached to this future vision of self. Melisa, as her L2 self-story reveals, began to recognize the role of English and hoped to gain immediate and profitable returns such as increased job prospects. Her long-term *instrumental L2 self* seemed to be incorporating an assumption that English would be a potential resource channel to achieve a dreamed profession for a better social status in her community. In other words, her

instrumental L2 self as an English teacher appears to encapsulate an imagined identity of an instrumental L2 self that expected English to contribute to her *curriculum vitae (CV)* *enhancement* in addition to its impact on her *status enhancement* in the future:

... learning English is so important for my career. For example, speaking English will make much easier to apply for jobs. When I put it on my CV, I'm sure that it will make me a serious candidate for the job. It means prestige, it means power, it means money. One of my acquaintances is a graduate of Istanbul Technical University and she had such good English. I want to be respected and see many countries like her. (Melisa, Interview II)

These statements demonstrate a sign of an instrumentally-oriented L2 self that Melisa envisioned for her future self. This dimension of her imagined identity as an English teacher can be understood in light of a series of instrumental L2 selves that had some joint potential to contribute her social mobility and economic mobility. In fact, Melisa's instrumental L2 self may be strengthened by her previous tutoring experiences when she used English as a tool for money-making. She expressed, "I started tutoring in Tarsus when I was at high school. I shared an announcement on the internet. I prepared a few students for English exams. At the university, I also gave private lessons" (Melisa, Interview II). Melisa's statements indicate that she appeared to articulate a vivid vision of L2 learning to be able to exploit the social and economic resources that were potentially made through English since she experienced that her L2 knowledge granted broad access to different forms of capital (i.e., social capital and financial capital). In sum, Melisa's ongoing financial hardships, a strong desire to change her socioeconomic status, altruistic reasons, previous tutoring experiences and her observation of significant other having difficulties without English appeared to shape the way she perceived the likelihood of what she can become in the future. Consistent with her statements in the interviews, she also stressed her underlying desired selves in her L2 Learning Profile Task. She wrote:

English language learning is like *experiencing a rebirth* because we face many problems while we are learning a new language. There are many times when we give up while we learn a new language. Likewise, babies need to learn to fall before they learn how to walk. The important thing is not to give up. (Melisa, L2 Learning Profile Task)

Her self-expression with respect to English also reveals the strength and vividness of her imagined identity as an English teacher. In addition to her academic and career-oriented imagined identities as an English major and an English teacher, Melisa underscored the importance of L2 learning to reach her *short-term imagined identity*. In the interviews, she gave a detail of the reasons why she needed to master English by emphasizing her short-term visions of self in the preparatory school. The underlying desired self in the short run for Melisa incorporates a desire to improve her L2 skills in order to reach her long-term vision of self as an English teacher. The next excerpt from the second interview summarizes Melisa's perspective on this topic:

I want to get into a four-year English-related program. I don't want to major in a two-year program. The preparatory school is a step for me to improve my English skills ... um ... to move forward. Therefore, I keep on studying English. (Melisa, Interview III)

This interview excerpt also shows that she seemed to express a clear vision of L2 learning with an instrumental value not to fail in the university exam and pass into a four-year English-related program next year. In the excerpt from the second interview above, it seems obvious that she placed a high priority in preparing for the university entrance exam, which represents her *instrumental self* in the short-term. Thus, her current investments were mostly directed to her desire to achieve one of her distal goal of becoming an English major. In addition, Melisa expressed her concerns about failing the preparatory school as a compulsory program student since her imagined community of English teachers seems to be contingent on the likelihood of her performance in the preparatory school as well as in the university exam. In the interviews, she also talked about the scholarship burden on her as follows:

... initially, I am getting a scholarship and I couldn't put it at risk. I can't lose it. What will happen if I can't pass the proficiency exam at preparatory school? I have to pass all the exams to get into an ELT department. (Melisa, Interview II)

This interview excerpt demonstrates that her success in the preparatory school stood as the most immediate hurdle to tackle before she would be able to materialize her distal future selves in the imagined community of English teachers.

4.4.3 Melisa: Negotiating an internationally-postured identity as an L2 sojourner

“I used to be very interested in how they spoke English”

Influenced by the ‘linguistic capital’ of English proficiency, Melisa also talked about her desire and her future aspirations with regards to participating in short-term study abroad programs. Her consistent accounts in the interviews seem to suggest that her internationally-postured self with an interest in learning different cultures. She believed that having an international experience would provide her with many opportunities to develop her English language skills through communicating with English-speaking people. Similar to Emre, Melisa’s imagined identity in an international community also appears to be represented through only a temporary vision of studying abroad rather than her long-term vision. In an attempt to understand whether she had any future plans to study or work abroad, she told:

I am planning to go abroad as an exchange student ... umm it can be through Erasmus, Work and Travel, or whatever it is, even if it’s two or three days. I want to have this experience, because I believe this is a great opportunity to experience and observe people from other cultures. I will travel a lot and meet new people. I will communicate with people in English just as our English teachers at high school told us. (Melisa, Interview II)

The stories of international experiences told by Melisa’s English teachers at high school could be considered as a contributing factor to her construction of an internationally-postured L2 self. Although she never participated in a multicultural environment before, her exposure to English through foreign tourists who came to see their village as an attractive destination also seems to feed her imagination. Table 23 below summarizes Melisa’s L2-mediated identities and investments in the present English learning stage.

Table 23.

Representation of Melisa's L2-mediated identities and investments in the present English learning stage (in the preparatory school)

Melisa's L2-mediated identities	Present English Learning Stage
Her feared L2 self	Failing the FL exams in the prep. school Failing the university entrance exam and staying in the registered program (Applied English and Translation Studies) and losing her scholarship Speaking English with a non-native accent
Her ought-to L2 self	Passing the FL exams in the prep. school Preparing for the university entrance exam Improving her L2 skills, keeping her scholarship
Her imagined / ideal L2 self	Being a competent, native-like English speaker and becoming an English major Hoping to improve L2 skills to pass the university entrance exam
Her actual L2 self	English learner with a sense of achievement and a strong vision of a competent L2 speaker English learner keeping her studies for the university entrance exam and hoping to improve previously undervalued foreign language skills Withdrawn English learner in speaking & listening classroom activities
L2 Investments	More active in investing in her imagined community of English teachers/speakers in the classroom and outside Seeking alternative ways of improving her spoken English proficiency Benefitting from meaning forms of English-mediated socialization opportunities (through Erasmus + student club) Putting improving grammar & vocabulary in a high priority with a pragmatic stance

In the interviews, Melisa mentioned her contacts with foreigners and her efforts to talk with them as follows:

Many foreign campers used to come to our village for bicycle races and tournaments, especially in summers. They used to set up their caravans. Back then, I would try to communicate with them in English many times. I used to be very interested in how they spoke English. I want to have such great moments and experiences once again. That's why I'm planning to attend exchange programs. (Melisa, Interview II)

As in the interview excerpt above, Melisa explicitly stated her ambitions to study abroad revealing her plans to become a legitimate member in her envisioned international communities of practice.

4.4.4 Emre: Negotiating a positive academic identity as a competent English learner with an enhanced understanding

“I am at least trying to use it even if I feel embarrassed”

Emre completed his high school education and his performance in the university entrance exam was not satisfactory. Therefore, he decided to take the exam once again and took a one-year break from formal education. He mentioned how meeting one of his teachers at a private teaching institution where Emre went to study for the national exam was a turning point for him. In the past years, he consistently emphasized the significant role of teachers' impact on his academic success and talked about the negative consequences of their ignorance. He stated that the teacher with whom he studied the exam gave him words of encouragement and made him believe that he could do better.

In this first interview with Emre, his expressions about his teacher mostly focused on how she helped him to improve his motivation and rebuild his self-confidence, which ultimately led to his success in the exam. He told, “She always cared about me ... showed more interest in me than others. In her office, we were having talks and ... um ... having fun. I felt valued and appreciated back then” (Emre, Interview I). After one year, he was

accepted into a four-year Bachelor of Agricultural Sciences, with a major in Agricultural Genetics Engineering. Since English as a medium of instruction (EMI) was adopted as a language policy in his choice of department, incoming students were required to possess basic foreign language skills and competencies they would benefit from in their academic and professional lives. Therefore, Emre enrolled in a one-year intensive English language program to be able to follow and complete his undergraduate education.

With regard to his studies in the language program, Emre often stated in the interviews that he deliberately chose to study in a one-year compulsory preparatory program because he felt incompetent and embarrassed in speaking English; therefore, he planned to improve his L2 competence in general, his English speaking skills in particular. He seemed to be aware of that a good command of English would put him in an advantaged position both during his undergraduate education and in his future career-oriented plans. However, he considered her withdrawn and embarrassed L2 self as a potential barrier to his career-oriented goals and international travel and socialization plans on his future agenda. Consistently, his responses to seven Linguistics Self-Confidence questions of the questionnaire also indicated that he did not have a high sense of self-perceptions with regard to his communicative competence. He chose “not very much (2 points)” for four questions and “slightly not (3 points)” for three questions on the 6-point Likert scale. When asked how he perceived himself as a language learner, he said:

I didn't trust myself before because I constantly beat myself up for not doing enough in English classes. But now, I am struggling to speak English no matter what happens um, I am at least trying to use it even if I feel embarrassed because I know I can only learn through using it. Otherwise, it is impossible to learn by staying silent in classes. (Emre, Interview I)

The interview excerpt above shows that Emre had struggles with his English fluency, however, he seemed to be eager to make an effort to find ways of learning and using English. His statements also suggest that he wanted to overcome his withdrawn L2 self by taking the initiatives in contrast to his L2 self in his past language learning. Thus, he gave high priority to improving his speaking skills corresponding to his imagined career-oriented and internationally-postured identities which will be detailed in this section. The

motivation behind this initiative is his desire to become a university lecturer with an international orientation which appears to have brought him to the compulsory preparatory program where he anticipates it to cultivate and ultimately materialize. It seems clear that his prioritization of speaking skills was likely to be driven by his recognition of English as a gateway to different forms of capital. As it will be discussed in this section, Emre's future long-term goal of becoming a respected university lecturer was closely related to his desire to eliminate his *feared* unsuccessful student image in his immediate social environment through becoming a fluently speaking L2 learner. Since he intended to abstain from his feared self, he approached the self at the other end of his system of L2-mediated identities (i.e., the desired L2 self). This suggests that the impact of his feared L2 self made a positive impact on his current motivated learning behavior. In addition, Emre considered the ability to fluently speak English as a means of becoming his *desired* subject position, which encapsulates an image of a respected and legitimate university lecturer. For that purpose, Emre's current investments in learning English was also guided by his imagined identities (i.e., an English-speaking engineering student and university lecturer self and an internationally-postured self). In respect to his efforts to seek alternative forms of using English, he recalled in an interview that he tried to speak with a Russian tourist in a touristic destination in Turkey:

Once I visited Pamukkale to see the travertines. I met a Russian guy there and he wanted me to take a photo with me [laughs] ... I didn't understand what he meant at first. But later he showed what he wanted by his hand, then I could get it. I remember that I felt very nervous. (Emre, Interview III)

This interview excerpt indicated why he put the ability to speak English as a high priority. Emre made it more important than other language skills because of the discrepancy between his actual L2 self and his desired L2 self. In another interview session, he also expressed his feelings of self-fulfillment when he was able to interact with foreigners:

I again met a group of tourists two years ago. I approached them to speak English and asked one of them, 'where are you from?'. He answered me, corrected my pronunciation mistakes ... but I could only make two or three sentences. I wish I was able to talk a little bit more ... speaking English made me cool and it was as if I walked on air [laughs]. It was as if I became a confident person. (Emre, Interview III)

What is clear in this interview excerpt is that his desired L2 self as an English speaking person in the future seems to feed into and enhance his sense of self-esteem along with his imagined identity of English fluent speaker. It can also be said that Emre's investment in his speaking skills reflected his commitment to his imagined identities and alignment with a broader academic community as well as an international community of English-speaking people. His realization of English for achieving his future goals seems to fundamentally change the nature of his investment in learning English. In this respect, when I asked him about his additional efforts to learn English in a daily life context, he told:

When I was in high school, I was just worried about doing my homework. I wasn't working on English anymore, but now I am not doing that. I make an effort to use it. For example, I came across a foreigner in Istanbul during the mid-term break. I tried to speak with him ...umm [contemplates], I am trying to learn new vocabulary using the internet, watching films ... sometimes speaking English instead of Turkish with my friends in the dormitory just for fun [laughs]. In class, there are black students and I often listen to their conversations. (Emre, Interview I)

For Emre, the ability to fluently speak English completely fits his long-term plans of becoming an English-speaking engineering student, an English fluent university lecturer and traveling and meeting people around the world. Therefore, showing improvement in other language skills was not one of his top priorities. In addition, as his statements suggest, his fear of speaking English with people incompetently directed his efforts to engage in meaningful forms of using both inside the class and outside. This shifting pattern in his agentic behaviors seems to go parallel with the fact that he started to view English as a form of self-expression in communities of practice he participated and planned to participate in the future.

4.4.5 Emre: Negotiating a professional identity as a respected and legitimate university lecturer

“I learn English to stand out from the rest in the future”

When I asked the main reason for his choice of major, he expressed:

... Nobody affected my career choice. I searched for universities and departments ... I came across this department [Agricultural Genetics Engineering]. I thought it would be the right choice for me because I was interested in plants ... I love them ... my parents are also doing gardening. ... I thought I would be happy with this job ... but, of course, my primary goal is to become a university lecturer. (Emre, Interview I)

This interview excerpt reveals that Emre’s reply to why he made a decision to major in Agricultural Genetics Engineering. He emphasized that he was not influenced by his immediate environment (i.e., his parents or friends) in his decision-making process. He also said with respect to his imagined future identity, “I want to become a university lecturer. I have already chosen to be an academic staff, not a farmer ... I imagine myself as a scientist spending time in the lab. I want to ask questions to find the right answers” (Emre, Interview III). What we understand from Emre’s interview excerpt is that although he decided to major in agricultural sciences, the underlying imagined self was to become a future university lecturer that appeared to be an extended vision that encapsulates his career aspirations.

Emre’s envisioned university lecturer self was primarily constructed through his desire to be *respected* and *validated* by others. His extended vision of future career seems to be a reasonable and attractive option for a ‘lagged behind, withdrawn’ learner in his school life until now. Emre was obviously drawn to the idea of anticipating to be in his *prestigious* imagined community of academic staff to transform his enduring, fossilized incompetent learner self-image into a triumphant academic future self. On the other hand, Emre’s future visions of self appear to be sensitive to his parents’ influences. Despite a claimed independent process of decision-making in his major, his imagined identity of a university lecturer also seemed to be strengthened by his parents. An embedded vision of

academic life in his family was likely to be an influential factor contributing to his construction of an image of a university lecturer. To illustrate, Emre's father completed his Ph.D. ten years ago and his mother encouraged him to become a university lecturer in the future. In sum, it seems clear that both the influence of parents and his desire to prove himself through his imagined 'successful' academic self in a respectable institution seems to reinforce his future career self.

When asked what English stood for him and where he put it in his future professional plans, Emre consistently emphasized its relevance to his one of his distal goals, which was to become an L2 competent university lecturer with an international mindset in a globally competitive context. He responded to the open-ended 'what does English mean to you?' question in the questionnaire as, "I learn English to stand out from the rest in the future" (Emre, L2MQ). Later in his L2 Learning Profile Task, he reflected on his current perspectives for learning English and wrote again:

As we, people, grow up, we are becoming more and more aware of what is around us. It is very difficult to have a job in a globalizing world, in other words ... money doesn't grow on trees. This very important for me and I am trying to do my best ... at least, I realize how necessary it is for me. (Emre, L2 Learning Profile Task).

When compared to his early stage perspectives, Emre's story of English learning turns out to show a shifting pattern with respect to his motivation. Specifically, when we were talking about his experiences from primary to high school, he consistently portrayed himself as a *sleeping* learner who lacked the motivation to learn English, showed no interest in benefitting from legitimate peripheral participation in the communities of practice in class and outside. However, his choice of career pushed him to study English in an intensive language program. In speaking of his current motivation for learning English along with his imagined future self-representations, Emre could articulate a clear motivation. In fact, his persistent engagement in learning English despite the challenges resulted from his withdrawn L2 self coupled with his dyslexia makes him an interesting case. An understanding of why he decided to place English at the center of his future plans by choosing to be a student in an EMI program and how he sustained his L2 motivation might provide valuable insights into the complex nature of his L2 self-system

and other underlying influential factors. In an attempt to understand the possible reason for this contrasting stance towards English, I asked him what made him choose a major which was not only required him to study in a compulsory language program before his undergraduate education but also in a four-year department conducting the policy of English as a medium of instruction:

Even though I was free to choose my career, our relatives gave me a piece of advice. They told me that I could be *at least* a teacher if I chose a teaching department ... even they suggested I was able to find a job more easily if I preferred to take up a two-year program ... but I explained what aspects of this department truly excite me ... actually, even if I made a no-go decision, it is my own decision, which motivates me. I'm the one who's going to have to live with a career I either love or hate ... in fact, it is a friend of mine who really motivates me to choose this department and encourages me to go on. He is a senior-year student in the same faculty. I constantly observed him ... um ... I didn't choose blindly. (Emre, Interview I)

In this interview excerpt, Emre explained his particular justifications for his choice of major at the threshold of his university life. He emphasized that he determined his course of action by selecting a certain exemplary person and observing him as his friend had the same story with Emre. It also seems obvious that his inspiring role model enabled him to make attainable, concrete goals by putting himself imaginatively into the shoes of his 'role model' friend. Since the relevant characteristics of his friend represented his imagined identities in the future he aspired to be, he patterned his behaviors despite the temptations and changing winds around him during his decision-making process. Also, Emre highlighted during the interviews that he did not let his parents control while he was making a decision on his major. To illustrate his changing motivation for learning English, he seemed to focus on different influential factors. His influential role model, a sense of ownership over his life and his academic decisions and the academic requirements of his major that caused him to end up with a compulsory preparatory program may account for why he started to recognize the relevance of English to his future goals.

In consistent with his statements, Emre also referred to his *realization* of the significance of English in all the interview sessions and related it to his attendance to the Compulsory Preparatory Program. He said:

... I came here and started to realize how truly important English is for me. It is a global language. I do and will almost certainly come across English ... English is everywhere. It is time to learn and speak it because people who can use it have a better chance of finding a good job. (Emre, Interview I)

This interview excerpt clearly shows us that Emre started to recognize the position of English and could establish bonds with his imagined self-representations in light of his changing goals and *emerging* motivation for learning English. His discovery that English would offer him increased job prospects in the future may also be added to the above-mentioned influential factors explaining his shifting L2 motivation. Emre repeated the same comments in the interviews and highlighted the significance of English predominantly for his long-term academic goals and career aspirations. However, in the interviews, he gave another reason to as why he had to master English by mentioning his proximal goals in the university in addition to his long-term professional goals. He said:

Our faculty [Faculty of Agricultural Sciences] gives scholarships to incoming students. It is a very respectable amount for a university student ... umm, so people focus more on exams not to lose their scholarships ... everyone is trying to score 60 points or above in the exams. Nobody cares about showing active participation in the classes ... umm ... I am also afraid ... I fear to fail and lose my scholarship. (Emre, Interview II).

Emre's statements indicate that he appeared to articulate a vivid vision of L2 learning with instrumental value. In the excerpt from the second interview above, it is clear that he placed his scholarship, which represents his *instrumental* L2 self, at the top of his priority list. Therefore, he expressed his concerns and fears about failing in the preparatory school as a compulsory program student because his imagined community of university lecturers and people from foreign cultures is contingent on the likelihood of his being a successful L2 learner. Although Emre appeared to be bothered by the scholarship burden and he felt extra pressured, he later told me that his primary short-term goal was to get a passing grade in the proficiency exam of the program, "... right now at least, my only goal is to pass the exam and start my undergraduate education in my department" (Emre, Interview III). What is clear in his statements that he believed that he could materialize his dreams of becoming a university lecturer in an international arena and interacting with individuals from other cultures. This, in turn, suggests that his

success in the preparatory program stood as his uppermost challenge to deal with before he would be able to materialize his imagined future self-representations and his participative plans in his imagined community of university lecturers.

Emre's long-term professional goals are closely associated with not only his personal interest in plants but also his desire to become a fuller member of communities of academic staff and his desire to broaden his horizon through meeting different people and different cultures. In that regard, when asked where English stood among his academic and professional plans and aspirations, he stated,

... for me, one of the reasons for learning English is ... umm... to communicate with people [pauses to contemplate], to meet new people, to discuss with them, to share my thoughts with them. So I want to learn English to have great conversations with new people ... because the more people we know, the more successful we will be. As we know about other people so does our view of life ... our job opportunities increase, our economy will be better ... I think the best way is to learn to get to know different people. (Emre, Interview II)

This interview excerpt reveals that Emre's motivation for L2 learning and his imagined identity as a competent L2 speaker seems to reflect more than his university lecturer self. In his statements, there are instances of hints that he did not fail to envision a legitimate membership in imagined English-speaking communities of practice. When talking about his experiences as a language learner in the Compulsory Preparatory Program, he appeared to articulate a clear vision associated with his imagined identity as a competent English speaker to compete in a global community. The next excerpt from the second interview summarizes Emre's perspective on this topic:

R: Would you volunteer to study in the preparatory program if you were not expected to take English classes compulsorily?

E: ... um ... of course ... I would ... because I would go to a department where English is offered as a compulsory course even if I did not get acceptance. That was my plan ... because the world is changing so quickly and ... it is full of competition. If I can't improve myself at this point, how can I be useful to society? ... how can I make money? ... even I think I should learn two or three more foreign languages, not one. (Emre, Interview II)

In the third interview, Emre's professional goals appeared to become slightly more vivid. He expressed that he wanted to learn more foreign languages in addition to English:

As a Turk, I always have to be better than people in England. I have to represent my country well ... I need to improve myself, read more books ... um ... these all add value to my life ... sometimes I question why I am learning English ... then I think of Atatürk. His life motivates me because he learned and could speak seven languages. (Emre, Interview II)

In the interview excerpt, Emre sounds as if he is imagining his future self as a professional, a conscious citizen who feels a responsibility for contributing to building his country. Patriotically, he wanted to extend his language repertoire through other foreign languages to do something for the country. It is also clear in his data that his desired L2 self has an international element. He emphasized that English was not the sole language he showed interest in expressing his plans and aspirations to learn other languages.

4.4.6 Emre: Negotiating an internationally-postured identity as an L2 sojourner

“... it is awesome to hear different ways of speaking”

He recognized the ‘linguistic capital’ of English and confirmed that English learning would open new gates to different forms of capital (i.e., cultural and economic capital). It is also worth highlighting that the establishment of intercultural bonds in addition to enhanced job opportunities was a recurring theme in his statements about the current motivation behind his English learning in all data sources. Thus, it could well be said that Emre's long-term L2 self as indicated in the excerpt above seems to carry an *international* value and reflects his imagined identity of an internationally-postured L2 learner. His consistent accounts suggested that his internationally-postured L2 self with an interest in learning other foreign cultures and languages in addition to English seems to be closely tied to his linguistic habitus as well as the cultural capital he inherited. His familial background and his experiences in international settings may account for his international posture. Emre spent three months in the Kyrgyz Republic due to his father's job. When

asked what he thought about studying or working abroad, he referred to his previous experiences:

... because of my father's duty, we lived in Kyrgyzstan for 3 months. I had a group of foreign friends there from ... Bulgaria, France, England. I was very happy when living abroad. You plunge into a new society ... umm... different cultures, new people. I got the opportunity to meet people from different countries. I remember all that made me happy.

In this interview excerpt, Emre explained his opinions about the enjoyment of his intercultural encounters. His international experiences seem to be part of his thinking about imagined communities because he acknowledged that he valued his stay in Kyrgyzstan and recognized how the multicultural environment contributed to him in terms of providing an opportunity to communicate with different people, to experience their social and cultural environment and to understand their beliefs and perspectives. His response shows that he possessed a positive image of the international community of which he once became a member. Moreover, he did not show ethnocentric, nationalistic, or essentialist inclinations towards English learning. Rather, his open-minded mindset towards different cultures and people seemed to be incorporated into his future participation plans in his imagined communities. I asked him whether he was planning to study or work abroad in the future and he explained his intentions as follows:

I: Do you have plans on studying or working abroad in the future?

E: Definitely, yes ... but I would like to come back to Turkey because I want to contribute to the welfare of my home country ... plus I would like to attend the Erasmus program.

Despite his specific and clear vision of gaining membership in his imagined intercultural communities, his statements suggest that his aspirations to engage in such an international experience were likely to be represented through only a *short-term* vision of studying abroad or working abroad. Emre's imagined identity in an international community is likely to reflect his future *temporary self* instead of his long-term vision of a future self. Emre's familial background can also be considered another aspect that contributed to Emre's construction of an internationally-postured L2 self as an L2 sojourner. He was quite familiar with multicultural environments along with discourses of foreign people

with the help of his exposures to English-speaking individuals. In particular, an English-speaking father and his father's travels abroad for work were very appealing to him because he wanted to reach his father's level of English. In addition to his father, Emre's mother played a significant role in strengthening his imagined future vision of an internationally-postured self. His exposure to English through his regular visits to his mother's working place which was a tourist attractive destination in Istanbul appears to feed his imagination. In the interviews, Emre seemed persistent to mention his contact with foreigners he met and his effort to communicate with them. He said:

While we were living in İstanbul, I was used to going to places where mom and dad worked. My mum was in charge of security at Dolmabahçe Palace. You can find a lot of tourists visiting the palace. When I went there, I met new people and I was trying to speak with them ... umm ... sometimes, I was just trying to hear how people really speak. I had such a curiosity back then. (Emre, Interview II)

In another interview excerpt, Emre talked about how it was amazing to listening to the different accents of English, "... it is awesome to hear different ways of speaking. I remember Bulgarian people speaking English. For instance, they say 'kufi' not 'coffee'" (Emre, Interview II). To sum up, his early contacts with people of different cultures appeared to shape the way he perceived the likelihood of what he can become in the future. His previous intercultural encounters and his familial background encapsulating an image of English-speaking community enabled Emre to feel confident and comfortable with the integration into different societies and the internationally-postured L2 self that English generated for him. Therefore, he explicitly articulates his ambitions to study and work abroad revealing his plans to become a legitimate participant in his envisioned (international) communities of practice for his future plans. Consistent with his statements in the interviews, he also emphasized his international orientation with respect to his L2 learning in the metaphorical analysis part of the L2 Learning Profile Task. He wrote, "Language learning is like a rebirth experience because it allows me to meet new people, see new places" (Emre, L2 Learning Profile Task). His self-reports also indicate the strength and clarity of his internationally-oriented L2 self.

Emre displayed different and contrasting modes of engagement with a gradual movement from *complete* withdrawal towards *more* legitimate peripheral participation. His negative academic identity as a dyslexic and disengaged student constructed in the past English learning stage began to fade away from his L2 self-system as he started to recognize how English could facilitate his access to his imagined communities in the future. However, it might be misleading to assert that his positioning as a withdrawn and embarrassed student completely died out and he reached the other end of the continuum concerning the levels of classroom engagement or put all his effort. He said that he adopted a form of non-participation in which he gave selective attention to classroom activities, as the instructor with whom I interviewed confirmed, took a silent position in the classes. In parallel, I felt the need to go through his responses to the questions related to the immediate L2 learning experience in the questionnaire. He mostly chose “not very much” or “slightly not” for the questions asking him to evaluate the curriculum, teaching materials, teachers, and peers. As an example, he responded as “slightly not” to the following question, “When I am in English classes, I volunteer answers as much as possible”. Later, in the second interview, when I asked what he thought about his participation in classroom activities, he said:

... in CALL classes, I feel more comfortable because I could work *alone* on computers. It keeps me more motivated and interested. It is based on the use of time limits and this is the most important aspect of these classes for me. I could easily control how I go about my learning. There is no interaction in these classes. I could sit safely in my seat ... umm, no teachers calling me on or no need to answer questions in front of the whole class. (Emre, Interview II)

His statements above indicate that Emre’s disengagement in participating in classroom activities could be largely attributable to his fossilized/persistent withdrawn, embarrassed self which was constructed as a result of his negative experiences in the past learning stage. What is clear that though his *feared* withdrawn self surfaced explicitly in his statements as “... nor the *courage*...”. In line with his feared L2 self which he positioned himself as an incompetent and embarrassed learner, this interview excerpt above also shows that he preferred to engage in tasks that did not threaten his face in the classroom. On the other hand, a further reason why he did not actively seek opportunities to participate in L2 learning practices could also be related to his understanding that

focusing on other L2 skills did not correspond to the features of his imagined identities. With respect to his (non-) participation in English classes, he noted:

I'm trying to attend the classes, but oftentimes, I have neither courage nor desire to English ... generally, teachers focus on teaching new vocabulary, we do exercises from the textbook ... umm ... there are more listening activities than speaking ones. I think we don't focus that much on improving our speaking skills. (Emre, Interview II)

This excerpt shows that Emre's detachment from the classroom activities could be explained by his perceived lack of a good return on the investment in other foreign language skills except for interactional activities. This lack of meaningful forms of using English in class appears to push him to seek alternative ways of learning and using English outside. Therefore, he appeared to make deliberate investments in his improvement of *spoken* English proficiency by seeking meaningful forms of L2-mediated socializing opportunities such as interacting with his foreign peers and people. Emre's analysis of L2 learning story indicated that his withdrawn self went through a constant transformation as he took up different subject positions that were directed by his assessment of his own competence in classroom tasks. Even though he portrayed himself as a student with a *more positive* academic identity, he appeared to be an English learner who is making progress little by little and went through a particular progressive transformation from less to more engaged and competent. Considering these particular subject positions Emre took various actions that involved more engagement in *less face-threatening* CALL classes, selective participation in L2 classroom practices (i.e., opting for improving his spoken English) and his more active investment in speaking with foreign people. Emre's shifting positioning in parallel to the specific situations seems to have resulted from his complex process of negotiation of his multiple identities in a network of power relations and discourses in the classroom and outside. Table 24 below summarizes Emre's L2-mediated identities and investments in the present English learning stage.

Table 24.

Representation of Emre's L2-mediated identities and investments in the present English learning stage (in the preparatory school)

Emre's L2-mediated identities	Present English Learning Stage
His feared L2 self	Failing the FL exams in the prep. school, losing his scholarship Being embarrassed, withdrawn student
His ought-to L2 self	Passing the FL exams in the prep. school, keeping his scholarship Eliminating his negative social image as an underperforming student
His imagined / ideal L2 self	Becoming a respected individual in his social environment as a competent English speaker Becoming a legitimate/accredited university lecturer and studying or working abroad as a sojourner Passing the FL exams in the prep. school
His actual L2 self	English learner with an enhanced understanding of the role of English to become a legitimate member in his imagined communities English learner struggling to move away from his embarrassed, withdrawn student self with a low sense of self-perceptions about L2 competence
L2 Investments	More increased investments in using L2 learning in the classroom and outside. Willing to take agentive actions to change his actual self More positively responsive to classroom learning participation Seeking ways of improving his spoken English proficiency, meaningful forms of L2-mediated socializing opportunities Clearer visions of future self to gain legitimacy in his imagined communities

4.4.7 Ahmet: Negotiating a negative academic identity as an incompetent L2 learner choosing to remain at the periphery

“... it is a path I would have never chosen”

After Ahmet completed his education at high school, he took the university entrance exam and he was accepted into a four-year Bachelor of Engineering Faculty, with a major in the Electrical and Electronics Engineering program. Different from Melisa and Emre, Ahmet's choice of the department did not adhere to English as a medium of instruction as departmental language policy, however, he deliberately preferred to enroll in this one-year language program. Concerning his becoming a student in the Optional Preparatory Program when I asked why he made this decision, he regretfully expressed his opinions: ‘If they had a chance to go back in the past, I am sure that I would not choose it [becoming a student in the OPP]’ (Ahmet, Interview I). Thus, it seems intriguing that he chose to spend his one-year in an English-medium program although he had never envisioned himself as a competent L2 learner or thought of intensifying his efforts to study and improve his L2 skills.

During the past English learning stage, Ahmet seemed to negotiate an L2-mediated identity which was guided by an ought-to self with no vivid ideal L2 self. He possessed similar modes of engagement along the eight-year English instruction as a disengaged student who showed no investment in and commitment to participate in English learning opportunities. His ought-to self tended to be concerned with external instrumental goals of passing the school English exams before attending to the preparatory school. Also, he had a strong sense of obligation to meet the English course requirements before the preparatory school. In that regard, it is also noteworthy that Ahmet represented a rather unusual case since he preferred to voluntarily study in the given one-year intensive English education program despite his low motivation to learn English and negative self-perceptions about his L2 competence.

In the first interview with Ahmet, he said he deliberately choose to study in the program for two reasons. First, Ahmet pointed out that he viewed the preparatory year as a holiday

after long and stressful months of studying for the university entrance exam in his last year at high school. Second, he was charmed by the stories told by an exemplary person, that is, his cousin who was a successful electrical and electronics engineer working in an international private company. He determined his course of action by consulting him during the decision-making process of attending the preparatory program. His cousin appeared to build a highly positive image of an English-speaking individual in Ahmet's imagination as he enjoyed a wealth of resources provided by his English competence such as traveling, working abroad, increased job opportunities, and high-salary job positions. Therefore, Ahmet acknowledged that he was persuaded by the likelihood of such profitable returns brought by English proficiency. According to him, he made a great influence on his decision to participate in that program as a voluntary student. Because his cousin represented the most relevant characteristics of imagined identity as an English-speaking engineer in the future he wanted to reach, he was tempted by his inculcations of English proficiency. What is clear in Ahmet's data that he was primarily motivated through the instrumental benefits offered both by English proficiency and taking English classes not as a requirement but as an option for a one-year preparatory program:

R: How do you feel about studying English in this Optional Preparatory Program, now you're in the second semester?

A: I think ...umm ... it is a path I would have never chosen.

R: What makes you feel in this way?

A: I chose this program because I had no spare time while studying for the university exam last year. I couldn't spend time with my friends play football. I thought I'd be pretty comfortable for one year. I didn't prefer it because I had a strong desire to learn English. I had never such a strong motivation before ... umm, I mean at secondary or high school.

R: You mean you chose the optional one to be psychologically comfortable?

A: Yes ...in addition, I chose it because of my cousin. He made a great impact on me. In fact, I hadn't such an intention. He works as an engineer. I asked him and he said I should if I want to work abroad and have more job opportunities (Ahmet, Interview II)

The interview excerpt indicates that Ahmet seemed to choose this one-year intensive English education program primarily because of short-term plans. It is evident that his present identity as a preparatory school student is not an end-state vision, rather it represents a temporary self he aspired to experience of which features apparently based on his proximal vision of having a holiday after all his work passing the university entrance exam. It is therefore understandable that Ahmet's ought-to L2 self did not appear to occupy an important position in motivating him to learn English. The following interview excerpt illustrated how he was motivated through a weaker form of motivation and his relatively weak ought-to L2 self:

R: How do you feel if you are expected to take English classes compulsorily? I mean if you were in the Compulsory Prep. Program?

A: ...umm ... then, I would study hard ... because then I have to. It is because of the reasons beyond my control. I have to study as I have responsibilities.

R: You mean you would study hard just because it is a requirement?

A: Yes, that's true... perhaps, I would try to like English at least. But now, I don't have to do so. (Ahmet, Interview II)

This interview excerpt obviously shows that he tended to be more concerned about the obligations or duties imposed by the school(s) he attended. Thus, his L2 self-system is likely to be guided by ought-to L2 self-guides with a prevention focus on negative outcomes, rather than an ideal L2 self with a promotion focus on hopes, desires, aspirations, growth, and achievements. In another snapshot from the second interview with Ahmet, he talked about his sense of duties and obligations which represents a sign of his weak ought-to L2 self:

R: In the previous interview, you told that you feel psychologically comfortable since are in the Optional Prep. Program?

A: Yes, I am very happy about that.

R: So you don't feel stressed because you don't have to attend English classes compulsorily?

A: If I was getting a scholarship like the students from the Faculty of Agricultural Sciences, I would definitely feel stressed. Then, I would have obligations. I would need to study hard to keep it. (Ahmet, Interview III)

As indicated in the interview excerpt from two separate interviews, Ahmet portrayed himself as a learner who will be willing to take action to learn English only when there are external instrumental motives. The analysis of his interview data clearly indicates that his representation of L2 self encapsulates a self that primarily focuses on failing a course or avoidance of losing his scholarship. He consistently referred to the relaxed and carefree atmosphere at English classes offered by the Optional Preparatory Program. When I asked what he thought about the students taking compulsory English classes at preparatory school, he said:

In the class, we... all of us don't care about attending classes so much. None of us have such concerns as exam grades or class attendance. But they [students in the CPP] have to follow classes. They have to pass English exams. It is not a big problem for us [students in the OPP] if we don't attend a maximum of 136 hours of English classes ... what if I don't go to school? I haven't already participated in the classes for more than 53 hours this semester. (Ahmet, Interview I)

This interview excerpt reveals that his ought-to L2 self was less influential in studying the optional English classes. In that regard, he seemed to enjoy the ease of meeting the course requirements in the Optional Preparatory program which made Ahmet less concerned about class attendance or examinations. His statements clearly demonstrate that it was his sense of obligation to meet external requirements to motivate them to learn English. Thus, Ahmet's ought-to L2 self tended to be steadily weakened while taking optional courses in comparison to his ought-to L2 self during his past L2 learning stage (i.e., primary, secondary and high school years).

His statements above might help us to understand his L2-mediated identities which were not guided by a strong imagined L2 self as a competent English user at the preparatory school. His accounts also are useful for us to explore his vague desired identity which was represented through little or no effort to find ways of learning and using English, which indicates that he had a similar mode of engagement in L2 learning to his past L2 learning stage. His expressions of the concerns about the English classes at preparatory

school shows that Ahmet's ought- L2 self became weaker when he was taking optional English classes. He also acknowledged that he felt less nervous when compared to the students who took compulsory English courses.

Ahmet constantly emphasized how influential the external factors (i.e., exams, grades, obligation to attend classes, etc.) made on him to make an effort to learn English. He mentioned that he was less likely to put an additional effort to learn English when his ought-to L2 self became weaker in optional English classes. In addition to his instrumental self which is prevention-oriented, he also talked about another dimension of his instrumental self which is promotion-oriented. Although he consistently emphasized his non-English goal of attending the preparatory school to have a 'holiday' year, he also talked about his sense of obligation to learn English to have more job opportunities, particularly in foreign contexts. Ahmet tended to take a utilitarian approach to learn English and concurrently referred to a need to learn it to be able to work abroad and have more job opportunities in international companies. Besides, as he acknowledged, Ahmet's vague ideal L2 self as a competent English user seemed to be activated by his cousin who was a source of inspiration for him. As the analysis shows, the highly positive image of his cousin may partly account for why he decided to spend his one-year in an English-medium context. Though he originally undervalued the role of improving English, he was influenced by his cousin about the instrumental benefits of English proficiency. Therefore, he started to see the value of mastering English and tended to be aware of its potential instrumental functions in their imagined communities like the other two participants, that is, Melisa and Emre.

Ahmet reported that he had negative self-perceptions about his L2 competence which reduced his desire to invest in English learning in the interview and said, 'I'm not fluent in English, I repeatedly revert to a broken form of that language when speaking it. Long story short, I speak broken English' (Ahmet, Interview III). He made clear in his vignette that he constructed a negative identity as an incompetent English speaker. In line with this excerpt from the third interview with Ahmet, his responses to seven Linguistic Self-Confidence questions of the L2MQ indicated that his self-perceptions of English

competence seemed low. He chose “not very much (2 points)” for three questions and “slightly not (3 points)” for four questions on the 6-point Likert scale. In an attempt to understand how he viewed himself as a language learner, I asked:

R: You circled ‘not at all’ for the statement ‘I am happy that I am taking this course this semester’ in the questionnaire. Do you think you might have changed your mind?

A: Yes, I chose ‘not at all’.

R: You aren’t happy in English classes?

A: ...umm ... I don’t know. I don’t like English.

R: You mean you don’t feel happy since you don’t like English?

A: In fact, ... umm ... no ... It isn’t because I don’t like it but because I couldn’t speak it. I don’t have self-confidence while using it in class. (Ahmet, Interview II)

What is clear in this excerpt that he tended to have a low sense of language ability and it reveals that Ahmet had struggles with his English competence and taking part in the classroom speaking activities. In a later interview, he also emphasized that he felt anxious and frustrated particularly in classroom discussions and said:

R: You circled ‘not at all’ for the statement ‘I feel comfortable in my English class this semester’ in the questionnaire?

A: Yes, because I have bad grades.

R: You think your grades are the major obstacle?

A: ... umm, I am not so comfortable because I cannot speak English like my classmates. They all have good English and most of them used to receive good English education at high school. I have zero self-confidence in class discussions. I am afraid to speak because they might judge me. (Ahmet, Interview III)

The interview excerpt indicates that he positioned himself in an inferior position when using and learning English alongside the more English proficient peers in preparatory classrooms. According to Ahmet, his competent English speaker identity was challenged by his classmates who often speak more fluently during the in-class discussions. The

excerpt above also reveals that his perceived challenges in establishing meaningful forms of participation in real English-mediated communities of practice at school were closely tied to the inadequate L2 learning education in the past.

He acknowledged that he was deprived of such extensive interactional opportunities to learn and use English before the preparatory school; therefore, this resulted in constructing negative self-perceptions about his English competence. Similar to Melisa and Emre, Ahmet also attributed their failure in speaking English to the instructional practices of past teachers. According to him, their underestimation of basic foreign language skills, in particular, speaking and listening, put him at a disadvantaged position and made him feel linguistically inferior in preparatory classes. Because Ahmet could not position himself as someone ‘worthy to speak’ (Norton, 2000) compared to his classmates, when attempted to participate, his anxiety increased and he was not able to establish his legitimacy and membership in his only English-speaking community.

It seems obvious that Ahmet’s weak spoken proficiency limited her attempts to participate in class discussions and increased the possibility of building a negative, undesired L2 self as an incompetent L2 learner. As he considered that his spoken proficiency was not as good as his peers in the classroom, he chose to stay at the periphery and became withdrawn in interactional opportunities. His withdrawn L2 self can be regarded as a sign of his feared self that Ahmet wanted to avoid and his perceived lack of spoken proficiency was likely to influence his agentic behaviors in classroom spaces.

In addition, he appeared to withdraw from any type of engagement with English learning outside the class. When asked what he did to improve his English in daily life context, he told that he solely watched English movies with Turkish subtitles. This might be relatable to his weak English-mediated ideal L2 self which is not strong enough to push him to take agentic behaviors and put extra effort and energy to improve his English proficiency. Even though he acknowledged that he thought about studying hard on English, he told that he never put actually this thought into real practice, rather into

watching English movies. Thus, Ahmet differs from Melisa and Emre in terms of his (de)investments in L2 learning.

Ahmet had almost no investment and was not willing to make efforts to find ways of using English outside the class. Even though he noted one of his motivation for attending the preparatory program was to improve his basic English skills except grammar, he did not increase his investments in using English both in class and outside or sought ways of getting rid of his feared L2 self which is far from his desired English-speaking self. In that regard, Ahmet, the least motivated learner from the focal group, presented a relatively unusual case because he stayed confident he would keep studying English in the long term despite his persistent resistance and withdrawal from English learning opportunities.

4.4.8 Ahmet: Negotiating a professional identity as an engineer with vague L2 visions

“I need English only if I want to go and work abroad”

With respect to his future career plans, Ahmet often portrayed himself as a language learner who joined the Optional Preparatory Program to learn to speak English to communicate with the members of his imagined community of engineers. In speaking of his decision-making process of taking optional English classes, Ahmet indirectly expressed why he decided to major in a field of engineering. However, I attempted to asked it again in a later interview to better understand the main motive for his choice of major. He explained why he wanted to become an engineer in the future as follows:

I chose this department because of my family ... and my relatives and friends, because of the way my mind works. They think I can tackle problems easily and creatively. For example, I could easily repair electronic devices at home. I think so, too. I believe I will do my job with pleasure and therefore, I chose it [*Electrical and Electronics Engineering*]. (Ahmet, Interview, III)

His statements indicate that Ahmet’s response to why he decided to major in Electrical and Electronics Engineering. He stressed that he was affected by his immediate social

network while making this critical decision. He also mentioned his future professional plans were tightly related to his personal interest and belief that he had an inherent ability to repair the electronics devices.

In parallel to my question in the excerpt above, I was repetitive of how he aspired to employ English for his future plans during the interviews. However, he was not able to express a clear vision of his ideal self as a competent English user and insisted that he wanted to improve it only to work abroad in addition to increased job opportunities. Considering that his statements regarding working abroad might be a representation of an internationally-postured self in addition to his promotion-oriented instrumental L2 self, I revisited this issue in a later interview with Ahmet:

R: You told me before that you wanted to be in the preparatory school to improve your English to be able to work abroad in the future. Is this your first future plan after graduation?

A: No, working abroad is not a necessity for me. It doesn't matter whether I go abroad or not ... I know I need English only if I want to go and work abroad, otherwise I do not necessarily need it.

R: You mean you don't need English if you decide to work in Turkey?

A: Yes... umm, actually if you want to work in public institutions, you don't need to know English. (Ahmet, Interview III)

I assumed that a student who requested to take optional preparatory classes partly because of a desire to work abroad would possess a rough L2 future vision with an international value; therefore, I repetitively asked him about this topic during the interviews. As his statements in the interview excerpt above suggest, he seemed to recognize the value of English if he wanted to have a job position abroad, but it is obvious that there is no clear sign of his desired competent English speaker with an internationally-postured self. An international value did not seem to be an essential part of his imagined communities because he emphasized that he did not totally rely upon the option of working abroad as evident in his words '... working abroad is not a necessity to me. It doesn't matter ...' above.

This excerpt similarly shows us that despite his awareness of better job opportunities offered by English proficiency, he also did not view English learning as necessary for his career-oriented long-term goals. This situation could closely be related to his beliefs that he could always get a ‘plausible’ job position in which he would not be expected to learn and speak English in a domestic company. Thus, compared to Melisa and Emre, Ahmet’s articulated ambitions to reach his L2-mediated imagined identity were rather vague. His statements demonstrate that he could not articulate a vivid image of a proficient English speaker to be able to exploit the potential resources that would be possibly made through English. This might be an indication of his career-oriented self which was reduced to a limited L2-mediated vision which encapsulates an instrumental self. Ahmet’s future-oriented instrumental self views English as a commodity he would need only if he decided to work as an engineer in a foreign country. In speaking of his recognition of the importance of English for his future, he also expressed his opinions in the timeline activity of the L2 Learning Profile Task about his current perspectives of English learning. It reads:

Compared to my stance on English learning before the prep. school, I could easily say that I’m more conscious about its significance. I think it’s a language of communication across the globe; therefore, it is an essential skill for those who want to work abroad. (Ahmet, L2 Learning Profile Task)

His statements in the task reveal that he could see the relevance of English in principle to his imagined identity as an engineer who has career plans to work in international companies abroad. However, he considered his feared incompetent L2 self as a potential barrier to his career-oriented goals of working abroad like his cousin. In the interviews, Ahmet stressed that the lack of opportunities to use English caused him to have challenges in imagining himself as an engineer working in an international job position. He stated, ‘If I could speak English fluently, I would think of an option of working abroad, but I couldn’t’ (Ahmet, Interview III). His suspect about his competent L2 self made him feel uncertain about his English proficiency which in turn caused him to have self-doubts about the plausibility of speaking English in the future. The lack of optimism appears to dull his passion to learn it and undermine the construction of his ideal L2 self. Since he

considered that the likelihood of achieving L2-mediated English identity was threatened, his investments in this ‘not necessarily’ critical goal of working abroad were restricted solely to watching English movies with Turkish subtitles.

From a holistic standpoint, data from in-depth interviews with Ahmet, his response to the questionnaire, and his accounts in the L2 Learning Profile Task apparently show that he started to recognize the position of English and could establish links with his career-oriented L2 self as an engineer compared to his past L2 learning experiences. It is also noteworthy to reiterate that his attitudes towards English learning were likely to be comparatively shifting and he could articulate vivid and specific L2 visions. However, this mode of engagement in English learning during the language program does *not* seem to incorporate an emerging motivation which is dominantly guided by an ideal L2 self as a competent English speaker. Thus, it can be suggested that Ahmet’s L2 learning is inclined to be a *slightly* upward trajectory but not moving towards full participation as a legitimate peripheral member of the classroom community. Influenced by his engineer cousin acting as a source of inspiration, he considered English as a form of *linguistic capital* (Bourdieu, 1977) he may draw upon in the future and realized he might have more private-sector job prospects upon graduation, even working abroad at international enterprises. Eventually, his initial but vague desire to improve English and hope to integrate his imagined community of engineers failed to survive. Table 25 below summarizes Ahmet’s L2-mediated identities and investments in the present English learning stage.

Table 25.

Representation of Ahmet's L2-mediated identities and investments in the present English learning stage (in the preparatory school)

Ahmet's L2-mediated identities	Present English Learning Stage
His feared L2 self	A weak feared L2 self Not specifically concerned about failing the FL exams in the prep. school
His ought-to L2 self	A weakened ought-to L2 self Not specifically concerned about getting a passing score in the FL exams or class attendance in the prep. school
His imagined / ideal L2 self	A vague ideal L2 self Not specifically concerned about being able to use English competently in the future Having challenges in imagining himself as an English-speaking engineer in an international company
His actual L2 self	English learner with a weak ought-to L2 self No sense of obligation to meet the optional English classes No interest in L2 learning Possessing negative self-perceptions about his L2 spoken proficiency Feeling linguistically inferior with more proficient classmates at school
L2 Investments	Limited to L2 learning and using opportunities in the classroom No willingness to improve his English skills. Restricted to improving himself in terms of grammar and vocabulary Little or no effort to find ways of learning and using English Withdrawal from any type of engagement with English learning outside the class

4.5 SUMMARY OF IMAGINED IDENTITIES AND L2 INVESTMENTS IN THE PRESENT ENGLISH LEARNING STAGE

In the last part of this section, I provided the main findings regarding the three focal participants' imagined identities and investments in L2 learning in the present language learning stage. After the data for each participant separately were presented, their individual English learning stories were weaved together on the basis of the emergent divergences and convergences among their language learning experiences, imagined identities and L2 investments.

4.5.1 Melisa: Imagined Identities as English Learner, English major, International English Speaker as an L2 Sojourner and English Teacher

As Melisa's story of L2 self indicates, she has represented her L2 self-system as being informed by two core English-mediated imagined identities: long-term imagined identities and short-term imagined identities. The long-term imagined identities incorporate the academic and career-oriented L2 self as an English major and an English teacher. This underlying academic and career-oriented L2 self is represented through two different types of subject positions. First, her academic and career-oriented L2 self encapsulates a *social* self in which she positioned and envisioned herself as a respected and validated individual as a legitimate member of an upper class because of her English proficiency. The ability to fluently speak English seems to be an important attribute in her social self because she tended to believe that a good command of English would provide her with a powerful tool to gain a high social prestige and esteem, particularly in her immediate network. Another significant aspect of Melisa's social self is that it holds features of an altruistic identity that is aligned with her social self, reflecting her desire to inspire the people in her village to learn English. Melisa envisioned herself becoming an English teacher with perfect English and hoped to be an inspirational source for them to help improve their welfare.

Under the long-term imagined identities appear future vision of self that reflects Melisa's desire to reach social and economic mobility, that is, the *socioeconomic status-oriented*

(*instrumental*) self as an English teacher. This dimension of her long-term imagined identities seems to be guided by the perceived benefits of English competency that deals with potential socioeconomic resources and social prestige in the society. Therefore, Melisa seemed to realize the significance of English learning to her plans, aspirations, and hopes and sought to materialize and participate in the English speaking community in the future through her career-based future visions. From a holistic point of view, Melisa's socioeconomic status-oriented self occupies a central place in her long-term imagined identities because she believed that materializing her academic and career-oriented self as an English teacher would enable her to have a series of instrumental L2 selves. When she became an English teacher, she hoped to become a person of higher social role since she would possibly be in a position to command access to social resources that are not already available to her through English. Besides, she hoped to have identifiable instrumental features with particular reference to socio-economic progress and status enhancement or elitism. This dimension of Melisa's imagined identities is also termed as the *instrumental* self because she expected that an imagined English-speaking self would increase the likelihood of ending up with a secure teaching position, increased job prospects and a powerful tool for CV enhancement.

Since Melisa considered English proficiency as a means of a legitimate channel for achieving upward mobility and a point of departure, her current efforts to learn English appeared to be primarily devoted to improving her grammar knowledge and vocabulary which were tested in the university exam as well as her spoken proficiency. In order to become a legitimate peripheral member of her imagined English speaking communities (i.e., L2-mediated classrooms as an undergraduate student and English teacher), she benefitted from interactional opportunities in Erasmus+ student club. Her investments in engaging in L2 practices in this setting reflect not only her strong desired L2 self to become a native-like English speaker, but also her undesired/feared L2 self as an incompetent student image in the preparatory school classrooms. As part of her long-term imagined identity as an L2 sojourner, she intended to materialize through improving her L2 skills and passing the university exam to major in an English-related department. In addition to Melisa's academic and career-oriented L2 selves, her long-term imagined

identities are also guided by an internationally-postured L2 self as a sojourner student with a desire to study abroad. Her internationally-postured L2 self is placed under her long-term imagined identities because it incorporates an imagined sojourner identity who planned to study abroad through international exchange programs when she went into her own department. In this sense, her international posture could have motivated her increased L2 investments during the preparatory school years.

Melisa's L2-mediated imagined identities are also guided by her proximal goals as a preparatory school student with a strong desire to improve her L2 skills to become an English major. Her instrumental L2 self is placed under Melisa's short-term imagined identities since it encapsulates a *temporary* self rather than an end-state self she expected to improve her English proficiency to reach her distal vision of self as a *native-like* English teacher. In Figure 12 below, the complicated structure of Melisa's negotiation of multiple L2-mediated imagined identities (e.g., as an English learner, English major, international English speaker as an L2 sojourner, and a native-like English teacher).

Starting from the top, Figure 12 demonstrates that Melisa's L2 imagined identities fall within two central dimensions, that is, short-term imagined identities and long-term imagined identities. Her long-term imagined identities incorporate the academic and career-oriented L2 selves which are represented through two self-representations: social self and socioeconomic status-oriented self. The long-term imagined identity encapsulates the internationally-postured L2 self which reflects her desire to study abroad as well as the instrumental L2 self as a preparatory school student which reflects her strong desire to get into an English-related department. Overall, as Melisa's story reveals, her academic and career-oriented L2 selves and instrumental (temporary) L2 self seem to guide her current investments as a preparatory school student with aspirations to have international experiences and to pass into an English-related program to become a competent English teacher.

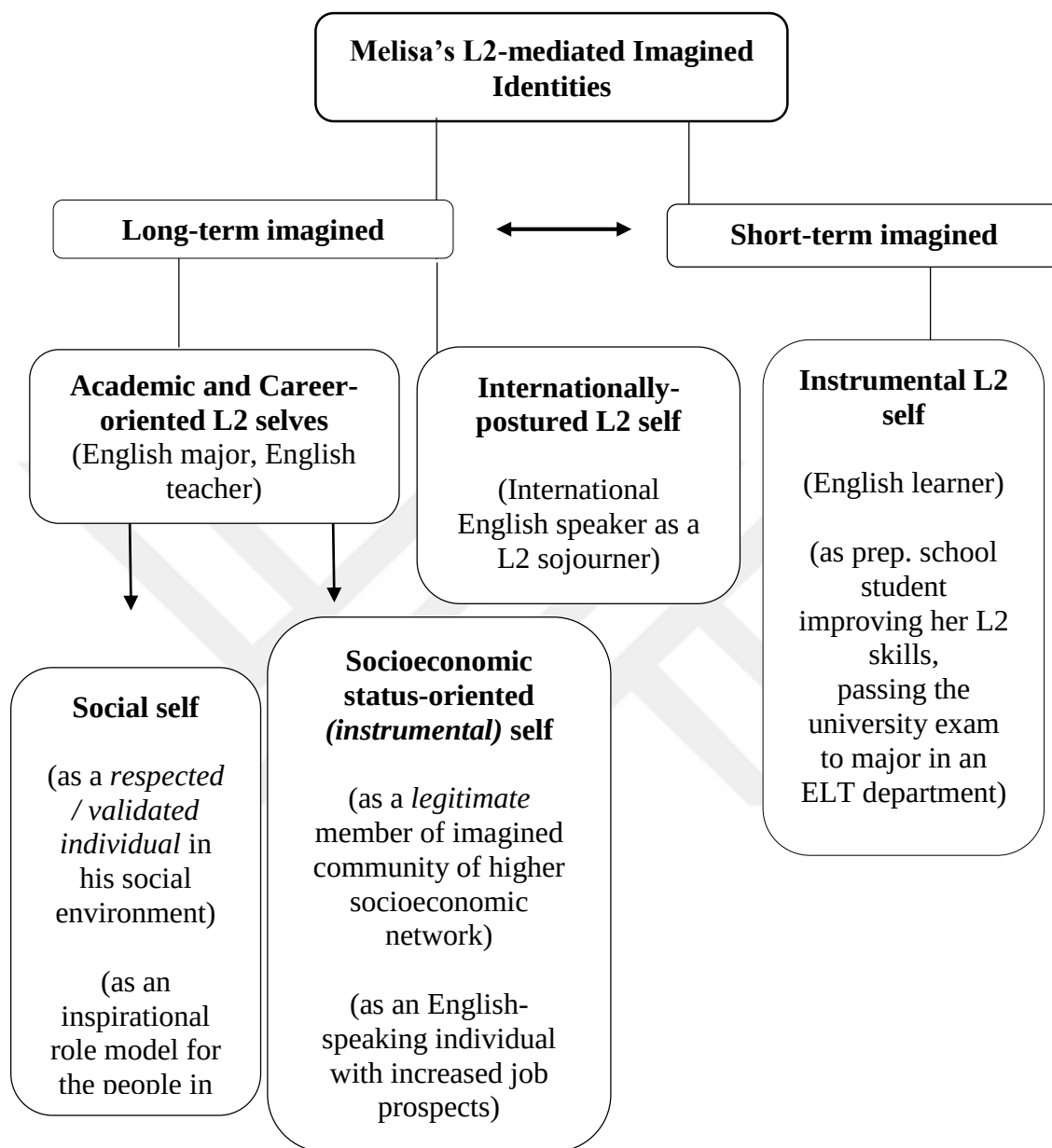


Figure 12. Diagrammatic representation of multiple L2-mediated imagined identities emerging through Melisa's story.

Specifically speaking of her initial L2 learning experiences from primary to high school, Melisa portrayed herself as a disengaged and oblivious student who lacked the motivation to learn English and displayed no interest in benefitting from legitimate peripheral participation in the communities in class or outside. However, her inspirational L2 experiences during high school years, improvements in L2 skills and her strong desire to

major in English-related department as a fast track to her imagined self as an English teacher in the future appeared to have increased her investment in L2 learning.

Melisa's story shows that she was clear about which aspects of English proficiency would contribute to the strength of her imagined identities and hence made strategic selections of investments in different L2 practices. Contrast to her past L2 learning period, her increased L2 investments particularly in the classroom (i.e., trying to consolidating her mastery of English grammar and vocabulary) and outside the classroom (participating in activities of Erasmus+ student club) obviously seems to be directed by her extended vision of becoming a legitimate participant in her imagined international community as a sojourner student and imagined community of English teachers with perfect English. Both her short-term and long-term imagined identities made her realize the importance of English to her future life and put more efforts to show improvements in particular areas of L2 proficiency which she had negative L2 self-perceptions.

4.5.2 Emre: Imagined identities as English Learner, International English Speaker as an L2 Sojourner and an English-speaking engineering student and university lecturer

As Emre's storied experiences of L2 learning and using reveal, he has represented his L2 self-system as being guided by two central English-related imagined identities: long-term imagined identities and short-term imagined identities. The long-term imagined identities encapsulate the academic and career-oriented L2 self as an engineering major and a university lecturer in addition to the internationally-postured L2 self as a sojourner with international travel and socialization plans. Emre's academic and career-oriented L2 self is represented through two types of subject positions. First, his career-oriented L2 self incorporates a social dimension in which he envisioned himself as a *respected and valued* individual to eliminate his social image of an unsuccessful, underperforming student and transform it into a successful academic identity. Another dimension of Emre's career-oriented L2 self is his academic L2 self in which he imagined himself as a legitimate member of his imagined community of academic staff. The ability to speak English

occupies a relatively important place in his academic self-representations since Emre considered it as a gateway to gain legitimacy and accreditation in the future English-speaking community of university lecturers.

Emre's long-term imagined identities are also guided by an internationally-postured L2 self as a sojourner with a desire to work abroad to travel and meet people of other cultures. Thus, it seems obvious that his internationally-postured L2 self enabled him to realize the relevance of English to his future life and increase his investments in English learning. The internationally-postured L2 self is placed under Emre's long-term imagined identities because it also incorporates an imagined sojourner identity who planned to study abroad through the Erasmus program when he went into his department. As it is discussed earlier, his imagined identity as an L2 sojourner is not an end-state self, instead, a temporary self he aspired to experience that was rooted in his previous international experiences in Kyrgyzstan. Another aspect of Emre's short-term imagined identities as an English learner is his instrumental L2 self which he intended to materialize through passing the FL exams in the preparatory program to get into his own department. Figure 13 below indicates the complex structure of Emre's negotiation of multiple L2-mediated identities (e.g., as an English learner, international English speaker as a sojourner, engineering major, and university lecturer).

From a hierarchical perspective on the order of his short-term and long-term L2-mediated imagined identities, however, his instrumental L2 self is not positioned as the central L2 self. His imagined identities as an engineering student and a university lecturer with an international stance and his internationally-postured self as an international English speaker are dependent on his achievement in the language program which is a proximal goal for Emre. His changing motivation for learning English in this stage may be explained through his realization of the link between the mastery of the target language and his possibility of achieving his short-term goals (passing the proficiency exam to get into the department of his choice) and his long-term goals of (becoming an English-speaking engineering major and university lecturer and traveling/working abroad).

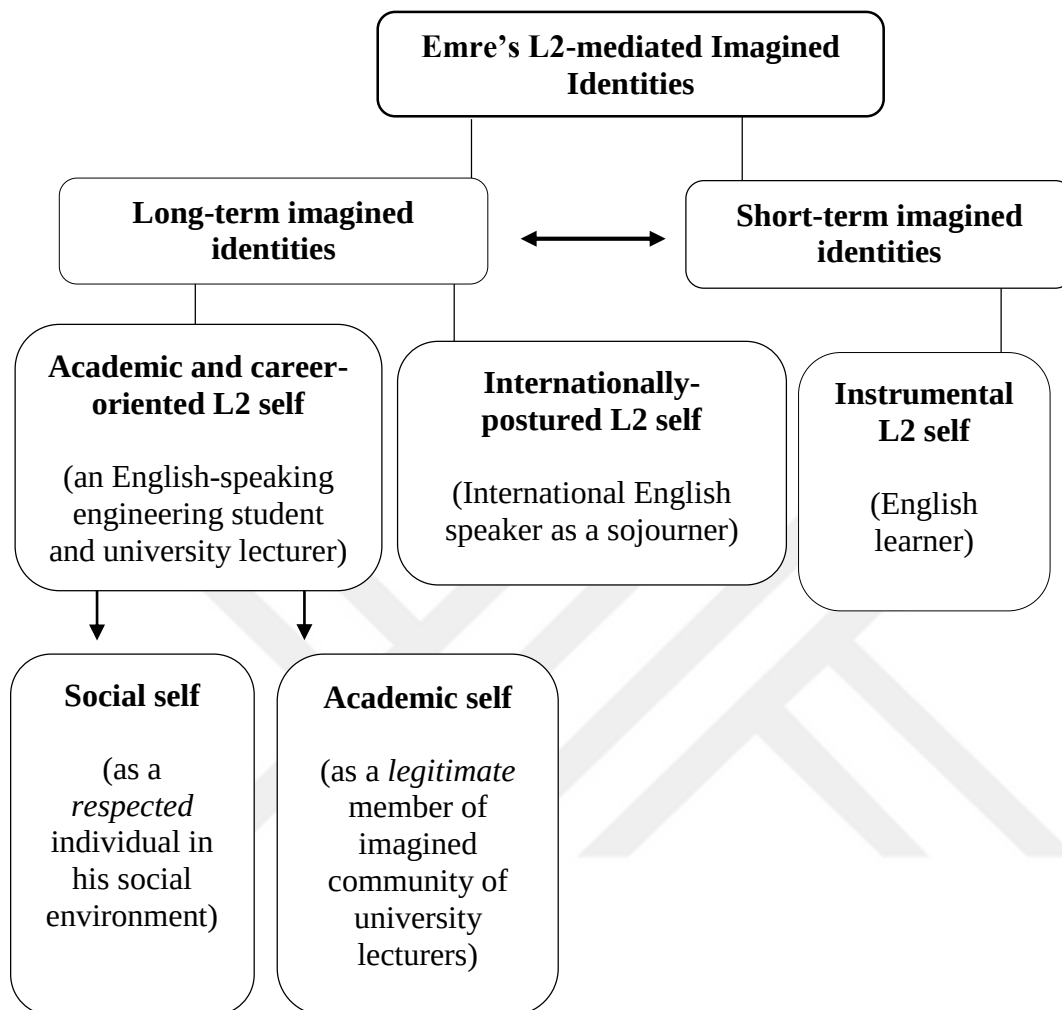


Figure 13. Diagrammatic representation of multiple L2-mediated imagined identities emerging through Emre's story.

It appears, then that Emre's imagined academic, career-oriented, internationally-postured, and instrumental identities have motivated his increased L2 investments during his preparatory school years. His proximal and distal goals to study and work abroad would suggest that English, as a global lingua franca, would make him a step forward toward his imagined identities in the future. As Emre's story shows, he was clear about which aspects of English competence would be useful for him in his projected future and hence considered the ability to fluently speak English as a good language exercise through which he could gain a legitimate position in his future career and communicate and establish relationships with people of other cultures as a sojourner. He viewed spoken

English proficiency as a means to that end and as an important symbolic resource. Compared to his primary to high school years, his increased L2 investments in the classroom (i.e., trying to speak with foreign students or closer attention to their ways of speaking) and outside (watching films, seeking alternative ways of using English) might have been guided by his desire to gain entry into his imagined community of university lecturers as well as the community of international English-speaking people. In sum, Emre's realization of the important place of English in his imagined communities could have contributed to his active investments in L2 practices following his entrance to the preparatory school.

4.5.3 Ahmet: Imagined Identities as an English learner and an engineer with irresolute L2 plans

Ahmet's past and present English learning experiences demonstrate that he has represented his L2-mediated self-system as being directed by only one central English-mediated imagined identity, that is, his long-term imagined identities as opposed to those of Melisa and Emre. His long-term imagined identity incorporates the career-oriented L2 self as an electrical and electronics engineer who have a vague ambition and irresolute plans to work abroad. Ahmet's statements, in the interviews, did not clearly show signs of any internationally-postured self which has an integrative orientation with English-speaking communities, unlike Emre. When asked why he wanted to be employed in a foreign country at some point in the future, he simply said his goal was to 'be like his cousin'; in the second interview, he stressed he wanted to increase the possibility of getting a job for a better life in the future. In contrast to Emre's case, Ahmet's plans to work abroad did *not* encapsulate an internationally-postured self with traveling, meeting new people, and different cultures. His underlying career-oriented L2 self incorporates an instrumental L2 self which he intended to materialize through improving his English proficiency by taking optional English classes in the preparatory program to be able to find a job in a foreign setting. In Figure 14 below, we can see a single salient ideal self which represents Ahmet's L2-mediated imagined identity.

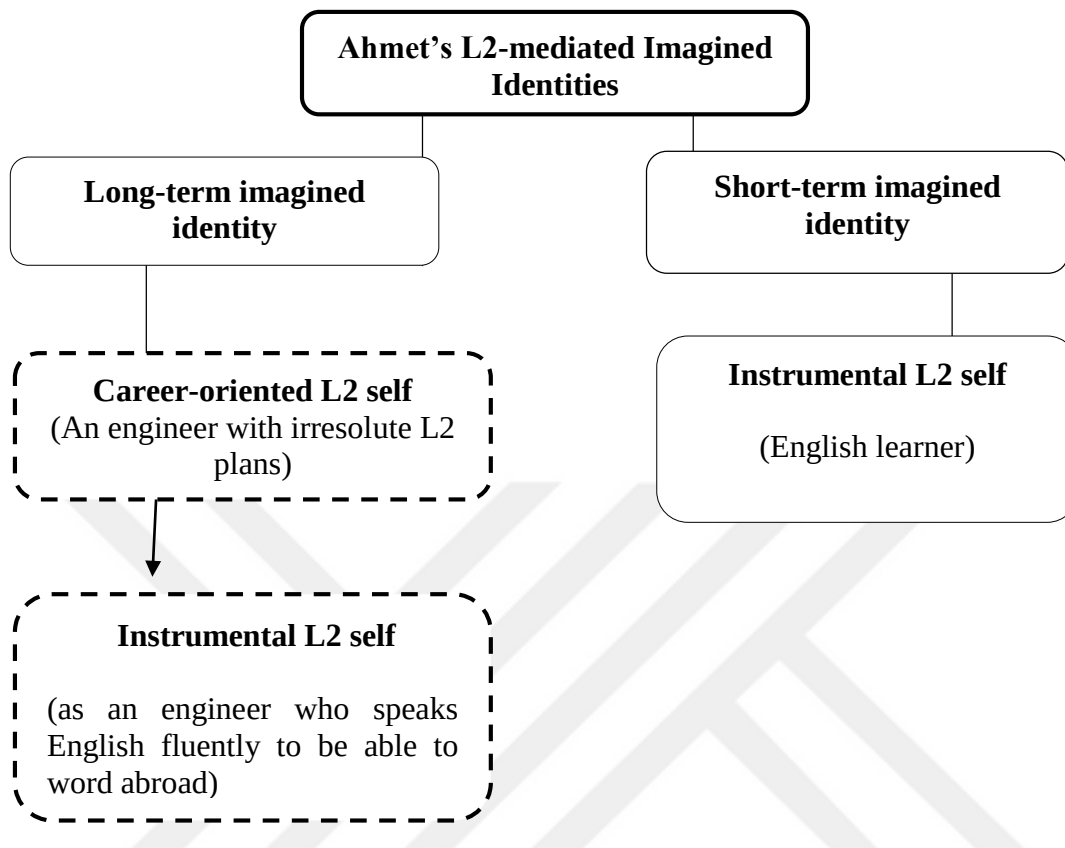


Figure 14. Diagrammatic representation of L2-mediated imagined identities emerging through Ahmet's story.

Based on his representation of L2-mediated future visions below, Ahmet appears to be influenced by resources that were not available to him but his cousin. As the analysis showed, his statements show how an English knowing individual was positioned as a legitimate member of his imagined community solely because of his English competence. Although not so vivid and specific, like Melisa, Ahmet also tended to depend on the linguistic prestige of English in particular based on his inspirational role model, his cousin's life, who represented his future visions imaginatively. Thus, the perceived state of English proficiency in his 'uncertain' imagined community seemed to contribute to the construction of his ideal self in which he positioned and envisioned himself as an English-speaking engineer. Ahmet believed that English might be a powerful tool for him in the future since he firsthand saw that his cousin gained high prestige and increased job prospects in international companies as well as high salaries. He made such material and

symbolic associations with English and these associations partly played an important role in activating his decision to improve English by taking optional English classes.

The dimension of Ahmet's career-oriented imagined identity is illustrated using a dotted square as a representation of his vague ideal L2 self. Although he hoped to learn English for his future life, he was not specifically concerned about not being unable to use English competently in the future. For him, being able to speak English in a proficient way represents a *desirable* identity position rather than a *necessary* one stated by Ahmet: '... I don't necessarily need it [*English*]' (Ahmet, Interview III). From the beginning of his English learning trajectory, Ahmet had a weak ideal L2 self as a competent English speaker while his ought-to L2 self became weaker after he started to take optional English classes. His ought-to L2 self is merely integrated with fulfilling the obligations or requirements in English courses prior to the university. At that stage, his ought-to L2 self was likely to occupy a more important position in motivating him in contrast to his ideal L2 self. However, his prevention-oriented self position to meet the course requirements seemed to be gradually weakened after he started to take optional English classes although his vague ideal L2 self became slightly specific and clearer. Nevertheless, he felt hesitant and uncertain of what course he would take with respect to English in the future. Since his L2-mediated career plan was not fully established in his mind, his vague desired self as an English knowing engineer failed to motivate him out extra effort into English learning. Even he regretfully talked about his decision to become a preparatory school student.

In contrast to Melisa and Emre, Ahmet's L2-mediated imagined identities do not seem to articulate any specific proximal goals as an English learner. When asked what he planned to do with regard to his English learning, he mentioned that he did not have any particular aspirations and hopes to improve it in the short-term. However, it is understandable from his story that his short-term imagined identity seems to be guided by an instrumental (*temporary*) self in which he positioned himself to have a holiday year. Despite his initial desire to improve his English skills, his vague ideal L2 self consistently weakened and nearly disappeared due to the lack of external pressure in the optional English classes.

Ahmet did not appear to view English proficiency as a primary means of materializing his future career plans; therefore, he might lower the status of studying optional English classes for one year. Because of the vagueness of his ideal L2 self, he did not benefit from English learning and using opportunities to become a legitimate member of his imagined identity as an English speaking engineer. His limited investments and engagement in learning English do not seem to reflect the existence of a strong ideal L2 self, rather it represents his *temporary self* in the language program. Ahmet stated that he was not particularly worried about not being unable to use English proficiently in the future despite his hopes to work abroad like his engineer cousin. As his story reveals, he still recognized that English might be of use in the future, however, he did not align his L2 investments towards the goal of acquiring as much legitimacy as possible in the imagined community he aspired to take part in. In that regard, one possible explanation for why he did not seek opportunities to participate in L2 learning practices might be his impoverished imagination of using L2 in the future. In a similar vein, his limited investment in L2 learning could be attributable to his L2-mediated future goal of becoming an English-speaking engineer which became *less* vivid and plausible.

The analysis of three language learning trajectories indicates that participants possessed restricted imagined identities concerning English learning prior to the university. They had limited or no aspirations, goals and plans to connect with the members of a global community of English speakers. They generally tended to position themselves as *English learners* who expressed their embarrassments, anxiety and frustration. However, they underwent a positive transformation at the threshold of their university life due to many contextual and biographical resources. As shown in Table 26 below, participants experienced a shift in their outlook and stances towards English learning.

Through inspirational L2 experiences in the class and with her role model English teacher, sense of achievement and perceived sociocultural value of English proficiency, Melisa had already developed a positive identity as an English learner at the past learning stage. After she developed an idea of becoming an English teacher in the future to reach different forms of capital she aspired to have during high school years, Melisa could visualize a

highly positive image of a competent English speaker in her imagination. Positive and encouraging language learning experiences in the second year at high school, his brother's inculcations of the profitable returns of being a competent English speaker and her desire to major in an English-related field as a fast-track to her imagined community of elite people made a strong impact on her identity expansion. On her realization of the relevance of English to her future life, Melisa's limited aspirations and investments radically transformed into a positive attitude. Thus, she took the initiative to temporarily major in a related department which required its students to take compulsory English classes before they started to receive their departmental courses.

Compared to Melisa, Emre and Ahmet could not generate positive affiliations with learning English before they graduated from high school. However, both started to see the importance of learning English to their imagined futures while they were on the verge of choosing their major after the university entrance exam. Emre, the medium motivated participant, decided to attend compulsory English classes in the preparatory school and continue his undergraduate education in an EMI program as in Melisa's case. On the other hand, Ahmet, the least motivated learner, was a student who preferred to receive optional language classes in this one-year program. Similar to their female counterpart, Emre and Ahmet started to recognize the position of English in their imagined self-representations through a particular exemplary person. They determined their course of action by observing their inspiring role models whose characteristics were the most relevant for their imagined identities they aspired to have. In that regard, Melisa was charmed by the stories of her English teacher's experiences of traveling abroad and having better living standards through English proficiency. Emre was influenced by one of his friends who was about to graduate from the university as an engineer and learned to fluently speak English. Ahmet's cousin who worked as an engineer in an international company thanks to his English proficiency seemed to contribute to his visualization and crafting his course of learning English in the preparatory school.

In addition to such individual factors, their imagined identities as English users were also shaped the likelihood of enjoying the wealth of profits offered by English. The socio-

cultural value exerted on English proficiency by their immediate social environments (i.e., teachers, family members, or relatives) also helped them to appreciate the relevance of English to their future goals. They were able to construct more extended imagined identities as *English users/speakers* or *English-speaking professionals* to attain different forms of capital such as increased career prospects, CV enhancement, social prestige and economic mobility. In other words, three participants' imagined identities as English speakers and English-speaking professionals tended to be contingent on the linguistic prestige of English particularly in the communities they participated and they planned to participate.

Although their anticipation of the wealth of resources offered by the English proficiency appeared to share many commonalities, their selections of investments represented their respective proximal and distal goals. As three participants' language learning stories revealed, their varying degrees of investments in different areas of language seemed to be closely tied to different types of imagined memberships in the communities to which they aspired to belong to in their imagination. For instance, instead of riding all the struggles, she encountered in continuing her language education, Melisa exerted personal agency to channel her efforts towards developing herself linguistically by undergoing intensive language training for one year. She was selective in investing the particular areas of language skill that could offer the most profitable returns valued in her imagined communities. Thus, Melisa was willing to invest in improving grammar knowledge and vocabulary capacity which were the language areas tested in the university exam to achieve her short-term goals of majoring in an English-related program. To become a legitimate participant in her imagined community of English teachers with perfect English, she opted for participating in English learning communities available to her with the hope to improve her self-perceived low L2 speaking competence. In order to enhance her restricted repertoire of English proficiency, she engaged in interactional opportunities both in the classroom with her peers and outside with foreign students in the international student club.

On the other hand, Emre was also selective in seeking alternative ways of learning and speaking English. He tended to make intentional investments in his improvement of spoken English proficiency through benefitting from meaningful English-mediated socialization opportunities. Since he considered the ability to fluently speak English as a means to gain a legitimate position in his imagined future, he channeled his efforts towards improving his speaking skill. In doing so, he started to give selective attention to classroom activities instead of adopting a form of non-participation and attempted to interact with his foreign peers or pay close attention to their different ways of speaking English. As a dyslexic English learner who seemed to make little by little progress, he opted for participating in less face-threatening learning opportunities (i.e., CALL classes) and showed more engagement and moving towards full participation. Ahmet as a language learner who had a low sense of language ability reported his struggles in taking part in the interactional classroom activities. Since he placed himself at a linguistically inferior position in classes with the more competent classmates at the preparatory classrooms, he chose to remain at the periphery and withdrawn from participating in such classroom learning communities. He also opted for withdrawal from any type of engagement with English outside the class. His limited investments in L2 learning might be relatable to his irresolute future plans with respect to English as well as his future vision which lacked a clear sign of the ideal L2 self as a competent speaker.

What is clear from the analysis that three participants appeared to have an English-mediated imagined identity compared to their past language learning trajectories. They all tended to negotiate different L2-mediated imagined identities (e.g., English learners, English-speaking professionals and international English speakers). Their desired future selves represented their *short-term imagined identities* and *long-term imagined identities*. The short-term imagined identities incorporate their desired subject positions in the immediate future and their proximal goals while they were studying at the preparatory school. Their short-term imagined identities mostly were guided by their instrumental and temporary self which they intended to materialize through passing the English proficiency exam in the preparatory school to get into their own department and also improving their foreign language skills. In this sense, their language learning stories reveal that

participants' short-term and long-term imagined identities seem to guide their current investments as English learners in the preparatory school.

Both of their imagined identities made them realize the position of English in the future lives and characterized their participation patterns in English classroom interactions and personal agency in seeking out opportunities to practice English outside the preparatory school classrooms. From a hierarchical standpoint on the order of their English-mediated imagined identities, participants' long-term imagined identities that encapsulate the academic and (or career-oriented self are contingent on the likelihood of materializing their short-term imagined identities. Therefore, it can be concluded that the extension of participants' imagined identities and active investments in L2 learning in the present learning stage might be explained through their realization of the link between mastery of the target language and the likelihood of achieving their proximal goals as preparatory school students. Table 26 below illustrates the three participants' respective L2-mediated imagined identity negotiations and investment in their present English learning stage.

Table 26.

Summary of L2-mediated imagined identities and investments in the present English learning stage (in the preparatory program)

Participants	Short-term		Long-term	
	Imagined identities	L2 investments	Imagined identities	L2 investments
Melisa	<i>L2 learner</i> <i>/test-taker</i>	Increased investments directed to improve areas of language tested in the university exam and the proficiency exam at prep. school (grammar & vocabulary)	<i>English major</i>	Limited investments in c-room oral practices in familiar social circles
			<i>English teacher</i>	Joined an English-speaking community outside the school
			<i>International English speaker as an L2 sojourner</i>	Seeking alternative ways of improving her spoken proficiency
Emre	<i>L2 learner</i> <i>/test-taker</i>	More positively responsive to participating in c-room learning and took the initiative to involve more in CALL classes	<i>English-speaking engineering student,</i>	Seeking alternative ways of improving her spoken proficiency and interacting with foreign students and tourists
		Intensified his efforts to pass the proficiency exam at prep. school and to improve speaking skill, watching films	<i>University lecturer,</i>	
			<i>International English speaker as an L2 sojourner</i>	Directed his attention to English people's ways of speaking and his efforts to improve speaking skill
Ahmet	<i>L2 learner</i> <i>/test-taker</i>	Watching English movies with Turkish subtitles and kept attending optional English classes	<i>Engineer with irresolute L2 plans</i>	not willing to take agentive actions to become a legitimate member of the English-speaking community
		Withdrawal any type of engagement with English outside the class		

4.6 RHETORIC ON INSTITUTIONAL VISIONS FOR STUDENTS AND REALITIES FROM THE PROGRAM MEMBERS' PERSPECTIVES

Before presenting the findings obtained from the interview data with the six program members and the document analysis, the results of the L2 Motivation Questionnaire will be given to “provide consistent tools to track general patterns” (Gao et al., 2015, p. 140). The quantitative data obtained from the questionnaire were not the main focus of this study, however, offering the results of a series of statistical tests might be helpful not only for providing and maintaining full transparency in the participant selection procedure but also in offering descriptive insights into the overall motivational profile of the students in the program. In general, the result demonstrated that the respondents all possessed high levels of the Ideal L2 Self, meaning that they had a vivid, ideal image of themselves as L2 learners with dreams, wishes and great expectations from English as well as a desire for integration into the target L2 community (integrativeness) in order to benefit from economic and social gains (instrumentality). The students rated higher the Linguistic Self Confidence than the L2 Learning Experience and the Ought-to L2 Self while they rated the Ought-to L2 Self as the lowest construct. These results on these two constructs of the L2MQ confirms Papi's (2010) findings that if a learner is motivated through their Ought-to L2 self, it is more likely for him/her to have a ‘raised’ affective filter and feel anxious.

In this study, since the respondents were generally motivated through their Ideal L2 self with an overall belief in being able to communicate as a proficient L2 user, their linguistic self-confidence was also rated high. They were satisfied with their immediate L2 learning context. The mean values on the Linguistic Self-Confidence and the L2 Learning Experience were close to each other confirming that the learners' perceived L2 competence and their attitudes towards L2 community were impacted by their immediate learning environment (Erdil-Moody, 2016). In essence, the research findings indicated that all the components of the L2 Motivational Self System made an impact on L2 learners' motivation with varying levels of influence.

4.6.1 THE UNIVERSITY AND INTENSIVE ENGLISH EDUCATION DOCUMENTS

Since this study is an exploration of an intensive English language program, the official documents involving the program descriptions (i.e., aims and objectives, mission and vision statements), program outcomes, syllabuses, institutional strategic plans, regulations and directives in addition to the official webpage were analyzed. In this section, I presented the data obtained from documentary analysis and one-to-one interviews with the six program members who represented different positions and perspectives in the preparatory school to unveil what kind of imagined identities and imagined communities informed its school policies and practices.

This study was conducted in an Intensive English education program at one of the state universities located in central Turkey. Founded in 1992, the university acknowledges that it prioritizes the ethical and social values, the production of information with a technological integration to keep up with international standards, and has graduates who could question, participate and share. In parallel, the university claims that it adopts a student-oriented approach to prepare students with quality education with a slogan ‘for a brighter future’ in its official webpage (The institutional identity is masked for ethical considerations both in the text itself and in the references). The university declares its mission on its webpage as follows:

[Our mission is] to educate individuals who can question, think critically and globally with a sense of ethical and social values; to contribute to the development of the country and region with the awareness of respect for the environment by contributing to scientific, technological, and artistic advancements.

As described in its mission statement above, the graduates of this university are expected to possess ethical and cultural values, critical thinking skills and a global mindset. The university assumes responsibility in the development of the region as well as the country and set national standards for itself. In line with the mission statement of the university, its vision statement also seems to be locally-oriented instead of setting universal standards for itself. The webpage of the university describes its aim as “to foster sustainable regional development, to specialize in

priority areas, to become a pioneering and innovative university in serving the society”. The information about the university on its webpage shows that it tends to be locally oriented and highlights that it gives clear priority to the development of the country. Although the description in the mission statement refers to the objective of fostering a global mindset in students, the focus is more on territorial development. There is no reference to taking initiatives to lead and innovate in achieving success at the international level. No detailed information is available in the official documents of the university about any commitment towards universal or international aspirations.

The university introduces a relatively brief official language policy on its webpage. The university considers English as a crucial element to improve English exam performance in the university and ensure exam success in Erasmus+ proficiency exams for those who have mobility plans. As seen in its description of language policy, the functions of English as a foreign language are to increase the university’s success rate in school-based examinations. In that regard, the institutional language policy focuses on the importance of English for utilitarian purposes. However, there are no official guidelines in which variety(-ies) of English needs to be taught in university classrooms. Similarly, there is not any kind of label orienting toward memberships in an imagined global community of English users and memberships in a British or American imagined community of non-native speakers. Thus, it seems clear that the official language policy does not contain specific reference to possible long-term imagined communities. It appears to prioritize the immediate imagined communities that students will become members of English learners in the short run. Therefore, it can be concluded that the university’s language policy tends not to target the improvement of English skills to help them to gain legitimacy in their long-term imagined communities. Besides, it does not appear to congruent with the focal participants’ ideal/imagined L2 selves as English users in their imagined academic, professional, and internationally-postured communities.

The intensive English education program where this study was conducted was established in 2010 and consisted of three distinct units (e.g., Department of Basic English, Department of Translation-Interpretation and Department of Modern

Languages). The focal participants of this study were receiving either compulsory or optional English classes in the Department of Basic English. 38 instructors were offering L2 classes in the program. As for the mission statement of the program, the webpage of the preparatory school defines it as follows:

This program aims to equip the students with necessary foreign language knowledge, skills and strategies that will enable them to express themselves in different environments where English is used as a communication tool. Our primary mission is to provide students with the basic English language skills they will need in their future academic, professional, and social lives and to help them to become self-directed and independent learners to continue their future foreign language learning that cannot be confined to a learner's school life.

As evident in the mission statement, the program set its mission as providing quality language education that enables them to navigate through their academic, professional, and social lives. It also works for the development of lifelong learning habits and learner autonomy with respect to learning English. It seems clear that the mission statement of the program highlights the important role of L2 competence in gaining different forms of capital the students will possibly aspire to have upon their graduation. Besides, the program is expected its graduates to have basic foreign language skills which are necessary for their further studies and future lives. In parallel, the vision statement of the program appears to overlap with the description of its mission. The direction that the program needs to move is clarified in the quote below:

Our vision is to become an educational institution that is distinguished with its qualities and to raise students in such way that they not only benefit from their foreign language in their academic departments but also in their future lives through developing all of the programs, educational tools and educational environments within the program parallel to our university's general vision and modern international qualities.

What is clear in the vision statement of the program, as it sets forth in its mission statement, the focus is more on advancing the students' English proficiency level to enable them to follow their departmental courses and increase their accessibility to all kinds of resources related to their academic studies and future lives. Therefore, it

seems evident that the mission and vision statement on the webpage of the program make references to the notion of English users and seems to envision particular imagined English-speaking communities for its students. The language program appears to hold the idea that the students will grow up to be part of an international community in which English is used as a communication tool. As can be seen from the mission statement, graduates of the program are expected to be able to effectively use and speak English in diverse contexts. The graduates of the program are also expected to become English users engaged in ongoing and deliberate investments in their L2 proficiency. Furthermore, the students should be able to take concrete actions and exercise their personal agency in capitalizing English opportunities when they need to use it in their projected future. The program also acknowledges that it is not possible to learn to use English within four-walled classrooms for a determined period of school life.

In summary, the analysis of program mission and vision statement as well as its official webpage indicated that the IELP underlines the role of English and establishes its relevance to students' potential imagined futures on a documentary level. There is also a tacit understanding that the students in the program will become legitimate members of a global English-speaking community in the future. In this sense, the program claims that it effectively prepares its students for such memberships through providing them a quality foreign language education.

4.6.1.1 Intensive English Education Program Outcomes

As for the specific characteristics of the language learner to be trained in the IELP, the program documents provide an explanation. The program outcomes as shown in Table 27 below demonstrated that it assigned great importance to the improvement of four language skills. As evident in the program outcome, the alumni of the IELP are expected to use appropriate English in line with their needs and interest within particular contexts and purposes. They are also expected to express themselves in both written and spoken language with a reasonable accuracy and fluency as well as relevant register in addition to listen and recognize the outline of the conversation and

the specific information (Item 1, 2, and 3). They are anticipated to make inferences and draw conclusions from the sentences in the text and establish connections between the ideas in the text (Item 3 and 4) and use reasonably accurate grammar (Item 5 and 6).

Table 27.
The Intensive English Language Program Outcomes

Alumni of IELP should be able to:
1. Write a consistent paragraph (approximately 200 words) making use of grammatically, stylistically and socially appropriate language and choosing an appropriate delivery technique to best support their topic/task (e.g., cause and effect or comparison).
2. Express themselves in spoken language about familiar and unfamiliar topics and use conversational discourse routines effectively.
3. Understand main ideas in daily conversations, debates, news, university-level lectures, or speeches, as well as make inferences and understand meaning not explicitly stated.
4. Recognize the relationship between ideas in the academic and non-academic texts and distinguish between different levels of information such as main ideas and supporting ideas by using signal words and cues.
5. Make use of tenses and modals correctly and appropriately as well as subject-verb agreement.
6. Form simple, compound and complex sentences in different genres.

Overall, the program outcomes seem to prioritize the integration of four language skills and making use of these basic skills for the specified purposes within particular contexts. In other words, the IELP's priorities are the practice of main areas of language with the aim of creating realistic and meaningful purposes which reflect the ones they will encounter in their future studies. However, there is no reference to any metalinguistic goals with respect to the development of learner autonomy strategies and independent learning in the program outcomes. Besides, there is no information about raising students' awareness of ethical and social values, developing their cross-cultural understanding and intercultural as well as the ability to evaluate and analyze

information in the target language, and examination of the relevance of English to their academic and professional lives.

In its institutional strategic plans and goals shown in Table 28 below, as explained in the program outcomes, the IELP documented what types of skills and competences the alumni students would acquire when they pass into their own department. The ability to effectively use four language skills was also highlighted in the strategic plan (Item 1). In contrast to the program outcomes, there are references to the program objectives that underline intercultural learning and the cultivation of international attitudes (Item 2). Besides, the IELP strategic plan provides explanations about learner's knowledge and skills about monitoring their life-long and independent learning in response to the relevant professional and social needs and interests in the future (Item 3 and 4). Another core objective articulated in the strategic plan is the ability to use what they have learned in the program in academic and professional L2 opportunities and improve their problem-solving skills as broader objectives (Items 5 and 6).

Table 28.
Goals and objectives in the institutional strategic plan

Types of skills and competences an alumni will acquire in the program:
1. Ability to make use of four language skills (reading, writing, listening, speaking).
2. Ability to use English for intercultural communication and interact with foreigners.
3. Knowledge and skills that will form the basis for life-long language learning in accordance with their changing needs of academic, business, and social life.
4. Study skills and self-discipline to organize and plan their ongoing language learning.
5. Ability to transfer English knowledge and skills into practice.
6. Problem-solving skills

4.6.1.2 Intensive English Education Program in Service

The IELP program is conducted in two consecutive semesters and each semester is 13 weeks. On the webpage of the program, it is stated that the modular methods in European Union CEFR Standard Levels of A1 (Beginner), A2 (Elementary), and B1 (Pre-intermediate) are conducted. The number of course hours at A1 level is expected to take 30 hours per week whereas the students in A2 classes are supposed to attend 26 hours of English classes. As the ones with B1 language level are assumed to receive English instruction, 22 hours of English course is offered for them every week. In Table 29 below, the weekly course hours are presented.

Concerning the English courses in the program, it can be stated that four basic language skills as well as grammar and vocabulary knowledge are not taught in an equal distribution. Considering that the focal participants' complaints about their diminished access to English using and speaking opportunities in the classroom due to the exam-oriented policies in the past learning stage, the IELP program does not seem to be congruent with their imagined identity as English speakers. Furthermore, the intense curriculum does not appear to offer students different and multiple ways of practicing the target language and interacting with the members of the English-medium classroom learning community.

Table 29.
Weekly Course Hours According to Language Levels

Type of course	Class hours per week		
	A1	A2	B1
Main Course (based on the integration of reading, listening and speaking skills with grammar and vocabulary knowledge)	24	20	16
Writing Course	4	4	4
CALL Course (Computer-Assisted Language Learning)	2	2	2
Total	30	26	22

As indicated in Table 29 above, the IELP offered three separate courses on language skills. The program curriculum combined three language skills (i.e., reading, speaking, and listening) and grammar and vocabulary knowledge in one course called 'Main Course'. One course was given to focus more on the development of students' writing skills. In relation to the course distribution, I asked the instructors in the curriculum office about the reason why there was a separate course focusing only on writing skills rather than other language skills. They said that the textbook utilized in English classes did not allow them to improve students' written production effectively; therefore, they specifically decided to offer a 'Writing Course'. Lastly, students were provided with technology-integrated classes called 'CALL Course'. In the documents, it was stated that CALL classes were offered with the intent to enable them to continue their studies in a multimedia environment.

As the number of English courses that allows them to practice their language skills seems to be quite limited in the IELP program, they are not provided with opportunities for L2 classroom interactions. As the distribution of the courses in the program show, it tends to offer English classes integrating three basic language skills instead of segmenting them except writing skill. As seen in the table above, there were no courses specifically allocated to the improvement of speaking, listening and reading skills. In this sense, the instructors I interviewed expressed that they could allocate only two-course hours to interactional tasks and activities which enable students to practice and use English within a typical weekly course plan. Therefore, students are more likely to have limited opportunities to use the target language in their real learning community.

The analysis of the IELP curriculum demonstrated that it did not appear to offer opportunities to facilitate the emergence of students' ideal L2 self as competent English users in contrast to the goals and objectives articulated in the institutional strategic plan as well as mission and vision statements. With a very limited focus on interactional L2 opportunities as in the course distributions which seemed to result in diminished exposure to English, it might be difficult for students to visualize their L2-speaking self and pursue their plans and aspirations to become a legitimate English

user which they brought with them to the IELP classrooms. Given the focal participants' self-reported challenges in English spoken proficiency, offering only one course (i.e., Main Course) in which very limited time could be allocated to oral activities might not encourage them to speak the target language in the classroom as much as they could. In that regard, the IELP does not clearly state that it provides students with any systematic and specific support for external L2 learning opportunities in response to such restricted in-school language learning opportunities. In this sense, there seems to be in stark contrast to one of the IELP's explicitly articulated missions of helping students "to become self-directed and independent learners to continue their future foreign language learning that cannot be confined to a learner's school life".

It is also worth noting that the rhetoric of institutional documents could point to the influence of the native speaker ideology on instructor recruitment policies. In the institutional strategic plan, the IELP highlights the necessity of recruiting native English instructors and describes their absence in the program as a weakness. It also emphasizes that native speakers should be recruited to provide 'appropriate models of English' that the IELP tends to think Turkish-speaking instructors of English lacked. Based on such statements in the institutional documents, it can be concluded that the IELP preferred to recruit native speakers because they were considered at a higher and more powerful position. This preference could be closely tied to positive attributes associated with native speaker English instructors and the prevailing ideology in which they are perceived to be 'the best English teachers' and more superior than their non-native counterparts.

4.6.1.3 Summary of Document Analysis

The analyzed documents for English-mediated imagined communities envisioned by the IELP and informed its policies and practices revealed that there are conflicting messages implied in the given institutional setting. As the table below (see Table 30 below) indicates, the university did not provide a clear and detailed explanation

concerning the language learners to be educated and the function of learning and teaching English at all educational levels. No specific data were presented concerning possible future imagined communities either as non-native English speakers or as multilingual English speakers. The university documents seem to create limited future options for its students by prioritizing proximal goals (e.g., school-based attainments and mobility) over distal goals (academic, professional and social goals). Moreover, they appear to assign a passive role to its students in implementing what they have learned in classes to school-based examinations. It tends to be largely oriented to attainments measurable in English proficiency exams and tests.

Table 30.
Summary of Document Analysis

University documents	Discursively constructed image of English	Envisioned imagined communities
Mission & vision statement	English for instrumental goals (school-based attainments in English & Erasmus+ proficiency exams)	No specific reference to <i>extended</i> imagined communities for students
Official language policy		
IELP documents	Discursively constructed image of English	Envisioned imagined communities
Mission & vision statement	English as a language of possibilities (as a means of achieving academic, professional, and social resources)	Imagined academic, professional and social communities of English users
Program outcomes		
Strategic plan		
IELP curriculum	English for instrumental goals (school-based attainments in English proficiency exams, tests)	Imagined community as non-native English users

Table 30 above summarizes the findings of document analysis. As shown, the discursively constructed image of English in the university documents appears to focus more on short-term instrumental gains offered by English proficiency, rather than creating a more extended vision of an imagined global community of English users. Therefore, there seems to be a lack of a certain direction in the official language policy of the university.

In fact, the documents of the IELP are contradicting each other since the type of language learner aimed to be trained by the IELP does not seem to be in line with the curricula it offers. The IELP documents acknowledged that their students will be able to improve their English skills through which they will gain access to the imagined academic, professional and social communities as English users when they complete the program. In this sense, it seems evident that the IELP consciously tries to create an international environment and envisioned an imagined global community of English users at least on a documentary level (i.e., based on its mission and vision statements, program outcomes and strategic plan).

Although the institutional rhetoric in these documents does not tend to discursively construct and prioritize the prevailing dominant hierarchy between native and nonnative speakers from students' perspective, there is an explicit preference for the recruitment of native English teachers which was documented in the IELP strategic plan. From the teachers' perspective, the document seems to give a hint of prevailing native speaker ideology, leading to a perception of native English teacher authority. However, the curricular documents do not tend to be congruent with the mission of educating legitimate English users who are part of an imagined global community. The IELP curriculum does not seem to comply with the broader goal of the IELP which aimed to educate an English speaker who could use English in diverse contexts for their relevant purposes. As the analyzed documents portray, the IELP uses an overly intense curriculum with an unequal distribution of courses on language skills and diminished access to multiple ways of practicing the target language. Besides, there is no hint into any systematic support for complementing the lack of interactional opportunities beyond the four-walled classrooms on a documentary level. Therefore,

it might not be possible that the main focus of the IELP is preparing English users or speakers for idealized visions of English-speaking communities.

In essence, the document analysis in this multiple-case study indicated that there are conflicting messages and differing goals in the different documents of the same higher education institution. From the rhetoric of the current institutional documents such as program outcomes, program descriptions, course syllabuses, strategic plan as well as an official webpage, several imagined English-speaking communities seem to be partially reflected in the strong links that are established between their English proficiency and their future academic, professional, and social lives. However, the rhetoric does *not* appear to be reflected in the curriculum documents and course distributions and reinforced through the courses on language skills. Although the IELP claims that their students will have memberships in an imagined global community of English speakers, and gain access to various forms of capital, the curriculum offered or used by the same institution do not appear to comply very well with this vision. The following section will indicate the program members' perspectives as to the imagined identities and imagined communities envisioned by the IELP for the students.

4.6.2 PERSPECTIVES FROM PROGRAM MEMBERS OF THE SCHOOL COMMUNITY

A deeper analysis of the in-depth interviews with the six program members through my interpretations is presented under three superordinate themes: *prioritizing short-term gains in the immediate context over long-term academic and career objectives in the projected future; prioritizing catching up with the syllabus over providing experiential and transformative learning experiences, and prioritizing accuracy and standards over intelligibility.*

4.6.2.1 Prioritizing Short-Term Gains in the Immediate Context over Long-Term Academic and Career Objectives in the Projected Future

“The more you learn, the more you earn!”

Consistent with the analyzed documents, the program members explicitly expressed that they recognized the unique position of English as a lingua franca in the global world. What is clear from the interview data with the six program members is that they were more likely to highlight the function of English as a foreign language which needs to be learned for employability in the future. They provided specific data indicating that their students need to consider English as a desirable goal for practical or utilitarian purposes. The following interview excerpts a few representative statements by two program members:

In my classes, I often highlight the potential benefits of English in their future professional lives ... because, for example, students from the faculty of economics and administrative sciences usually plan to work as a senior manager in the bank ... I often tell them ‘if you don’t want to work in low-paid positions, improve your English’. I always try to help them find their professional motivations. I’m sure, English will be most helpful in seeking highly-paid jobs or in their career advancement. (PM3, Interview)

As we all know, English is a global language and it leaves a strong impression on people in work life. I believe an English-speaking engineer will stand out from the rest ... umm, you know ... it is very hard to find a job anymore. So, they need to possess outstanding skills such as English. It is a very convenient tool for this. I try to talk about its potential contributions of English to their CV, especially in my first classes. (PM1, Interview)

As shown in the interview excerpts above, the program members appeared to rely on the use-value of English. They believed that a good command of English would strengthen their curriculum vitae (CV) since they trusted the value of English and its contributions to students’ marketability in the professional life. In this sense, they tended to recognize the ‘linguistic capital’ of English (Bourdieu, 1991) and believed that the mastery of English would enable them to achieve different ‘forms of capital’ and enhance their career portfolios.

“Non-imagined English-speaking communities”

Although they clearly referred to the *benefit-driven* motivations of English proficiency and inculcated their students about its profitable returns, they failed to envision imagined communities of practice in which their students become legitimate members because of perceived limited linguistic and cultural capital that students were equipped with. In speaking of the students' lack of appropriate linguistic and cultural capital, the program members articulated what qualities they looked for in their students and pointed to the discrepancy between the student profile they idealized and the students' characteristics in their real classrooms. Their descriptions of an ideal language learner traits seemed to share particular commonalities based on the data analysis. They considered 'the ability to take the ownership of one's learning', 'creating their own opportunities for using and practicing the target language in the school and outside', 'the ability to be openly critical and reflective on the relevance of English to their future plans and visions', and 'the ability to set concrete and achievable goals' as essential language learner qualities.

Considering the idealized image of an English learner, the program members were less likely to express their satisfaction with the student profiles in the language program which were perceived to be far from these qualities they envisaged. In that regard, the program members reflected much about the students' limited linguistic and cultural capital. The program members expressed their perceptions of the student profile by referring to their negative images as incompetent English learners from several aspects. All of them at least one point during the interview expressed students' vague English learner identities, their lack of personal agency and low level of L2 competence, as well as their ethno-centric views with no international posture and insufficient generic academic skills that were expected to be acquired for adult learners. Firstly, one of the instructors (PM4) in the material development unit stated regarding the students' restricted visions of L2 learning:

... in fact, the preparatory school is a second chance for them [students]. Maybe, there is no other course like English that they have been exposed to for so long in their lives. These students receive almost ten years of language education plus they devote a full one-year to the preparatory school ... but the problem is that the majority of our incoming students are not totally aware of why they need to learn English. Let me give an example! It was at the registration year last year. One student came and said he would study in the department of international relations. He wanted us to persuade him why he should register in the optional preparatory program. He clearly thought that English was not very important for him ... he wasn't able to establish connections between English and his future plans. (PM4, Interview)

As evident in this interview excerpt, PM4 believed that the students had less of a clear vision of English learning despite long years of exposure to English. He reported that the students even those who were eager to take optional English classes could not identify a particular need for improving English for their future career goals. According to PM5 in charge of the testing unit, their students did not appear to be aware of the utility of English competence in their future. He said:

Unfortunately, our students aren't still aware of why it is important to learn English. Some of them come and say, 'I wouldn't have come if I knew I had to attend the preparatory classes'. Even they aren't conscious of why they chose their university major. For example, when I ask them why you decide to study in this or that department, their response is typical. They say, 'I decided to choose it because my score in the university exam wasn't high enough for going to other majors'. Shortly, most of them didn't take English classes here not because they love English but because there is no better option available to them. (PM5, Interview)

PM4 in the excerpt above stressed that the preparatory school students did not deliberately choose their majors or becoming preparatory school students since they were passionate about them. Rather, their university exam results restricted their choices of degree and English was an end to their choice by default. As PM4 explained, other program members also agreed that students were not totally aware of what communities they would participate in or might want to invest in their projected future through their English skills. In this sense, the instructors believed that the students participated in the English courses with their *vague English learner identities* who were not willing to benefit from the English learning and using opportunities offered by the preparatory school.

“Resistance and reluctance more than enjoyment and enthusiasm”

Second, students’ lack of personal agency in their L2 investments is another issue most frequently expressed by the program members with regard to their vague English learner identities. According to them, their students were expected to take agency and seek opportunities for exploring the target language and culture through taking active participation in the classroom and outside to expand their existing linguistic repertoires. However, they were perceived to avoid investing, putting in effort and time and taking concrete actions to benefit from what the preparatory program promised and practiced. Regarding students’ exercise of agency, PM1 commented:

... when they [students] aren’t at school, I’m sure they break away completely from English. They never try to use it or speak it in their out-of-class time. These guys are preparatory school students. Here is the very place they can learn more about English. They are not good at English in many aspects. We all know it. For example, they can use practice apps to support their learning or try to learn new vocabulary or speak with foreign students on campus ... but, I don’t know, they never try to do so. I believe we do our part and students need to do something to learn. (PM1, Interview)

In the interview excerpt above, PM1 appears to express her dissatisfaction with the students’ unwillingness to take concrete actions outside the classroom to foster changes in their lack of sufficient language proficiency. PM4 also stressed a similar concern as, ‘Since they view English as a burden, they certainly don’t want to make an effort to learn outside the school’ (PM4, Interview). In parallel to PM1 and PM4’s comments focusing on the students’ disinvestments in opportunities to practice English outside the preparatory school classroom, PM3 pointed to students’ tendency to turn away from investing L2 classroom interactions:

They [students] prefer not to speak in classes because if they don’t speak, they won’t lose points. Grades are everything for them. I try to use funny English games to motivate them to talk, but they’re so reluctant to participate that I give up after a while. (PM3, Interview)

In the quote above, PM3 refers to her students’ strong sense of obligation to meet the minimum requirements to complete the preparatory program. Their lack of personal

agency in capitalizing L2 classroom opportunities seems to be linked to their strong ought-to L2 selves which occupy a crucial position in motivating them. In addition to students' worries about the exam grades, their limited English spoken proficiency is also reported to make a constraining impact on their will to act and take agentic actions to participate in oral activities. For example, PM4 explained:

... [Students are] very obsessed with the correct pronunciation. Perhaps, the problem is not motivation; it is this obsession. They don't speak because they think they couldn't speak like a British or an American. They don't speak because their speaking skills haven't still improved despite taking long years of English education. They don't want to talk because they hesitate and fear of being laughed at by their peers. (PM4, Interview)

PM4 tended to believe that students' strong beliefs about they should be like a native-like and their limited English spoken proficiency prevented them from investing in L2 classroom interactions. As for students' unwillingness to invest in L2 learning and using opportunities, PM5 stressed another point as follows:

... they are assigned to do three different video tasks to make them speak English. In these tasks, we wanted them to prepare a role-play scenario, act it out, record and upload to our Facebook group. But, they often don't submit any of the video tasks and neglect to turn them in. Many of their online assignments are left undone. More than half of the students missed 140 hours of optional English classes. In the first semester, most often-absent students failed. (PM5, Interview)

PM5 pointed to students' diminished investments in different English-mediated practice opportunities in classes and outside. He stressed students' lack of desire to invest in assigned tasks, their resistance and reluctance more than enjoyment and enthusiasm. Based on their perception of students' exercise of personal agency, it could be concluded that the non-existence of strong English learner identities seems to be closely related to their non-imagined English-speaking communities. As the students could not imagine English-mediated communities they aspired to be part of someday, they did not look for ways to get an acceptance to those imagined communities.

“Little English in their pockets”

In addition to the students’ lack of clear English-mediated visions, their low levels of L2 competence was also most frequently mentioned across the interviews with the six program members. They all reported that the students had ‘lower-than-expected’ language levels. PM6 in the curriculum development unit expressed her opinions on this issue by contrasting the English proficiency levels of Turkish students and the foreign from underdeveloped countries on campus as follows:

... English levels of the students are in serious decline. The number of A1 level students outnumbers their A2 or B1 peers. We are worried about the future because every year worse than the previous one. As an example, many foreign students come and pass the exemption exam easily. These students are from countries like Sudan or Somalia. Even Syrian refugee students do better than Turkish students in the same exam. (PM6, Interview)

In relation to students’ limited English levels, this concern was also shared by other program members. PM3 and PM4 echoed similar opinions in the interview:

They are very bad at grammar. They can only select from a list of options in a multiple-choice test. Production? No, they have no such concerns. It’s almost impossible for us to take them from beginner to ESP (English for Specific Purposes) level. It looks so unrealistic with little English in their pockets. (INS3, Interview)

... almost all of them go through 10-year language education, you know, but almost all of them are absolute beginners. Every year, we have to start from scratch. They have nothing to build on. (INS4, Interview)

As seen in the program members’ statements above, the students were considered to have limited linguistic capital which was a great hurdle for them to overcome in a one-year language program. They tend to think that their unsatisfactory levels of English proficiency were closely tied to their early educative experiences. In this sense, the instructors thought that traditional teaching practices in their past language learning trajectories largely relied upon grammar-translation methods, memorization, reading aloud, choral repetition, and teacher-student questioning. Given the cumulative nature of language development, they believed that lack of purposeful learning-oriented

environments led to a limited sense of English as a school subject teaching practices in students' initial language learning periods, PM3 stated:

... Most of our students aren't even aware of that English is a must-skill. They don't know because they have been taught English through grammar formulas, you know, 'subject + verb + object' formulas and so on until they end up here. They don't acquire the needed language skills. Without production, they are left to memorize grammatical structures. They are passivized. This is so frustrating. They have to process the language input. Thus, they are stunned by the teaching activities that require them to create or produce something new in my classes. (PM3, Interview)

In addition to non-interactive initial L2 experiences, the program members also pointed to unsystematic curriculum changes and poorly-planned English learning and teaching system. One of them shared her opinions as follows:

... each year, we are faced with a group of students who have lower motivation for learning English and insufficient English levels. A couple of years ago, there was pre-high school English preparatory programs. We could advance those students graduating from these programs to B1 level. We could easily speak English in our classes back then ... but, as they changed this pre-high school system, we witnessed a big drop in English levels. It's too hard to create a hero from zero. (PM1, Interview)

What is also clear in the excerpt above is the instructors appeared to believe that such major systemic problems made negative impacts on students' massive achievement by resulting in repeatedly discouraging L2 learning experiences. Their data appears to indicate that such systemic problems caused students' imagined communities to collapse and possibly resulted in identifying themselves as illegitimate/failed and struggling Turkish speakers of English.

“... they expect to be spoon-fed”

As well as students' insufficient language levels, the program members reported several concerns in relation to their generic academic skills. The following are a few representative comments by some of the program members:

Based on my observation, the biggest problem of my students is that they expect to be spoon-fed. Perhaps, we should take it naturally because they have been formula-fed children up to now. We aren't able to go beyond formulas because they believe they have to learn what the teacher shows and writes on the board. They weren't able to analyze the information, combine it with different sets of information and move to the production stage. They don't have questioning minds because no one has asked them to think in an analytical way before. As they often rely on the teacher, they have had a scant chance of developing higher-order thinking skills. (PM4, Interview)

Many students don't know how, why and how much they should study. They depend on strategies that don't require time and energy. They don't value deeper learning and they do not make any extra effort to change their current situation. They do so only if they have to. (PM1, Interview)

As shown in the program members' statements, they were likely to express their dissatisfaction with their underdeveloped academic skills. In line with the ones expressed by the two program members above, other instructors considered the students were weak in terms of planning their work, reflecting on what they have learned and transfer it to another context, analytical and critical thinking skills, time management, and self-discipline. They tended to believe that the current education system ignored the particular policies and practices that are sensitive to the development of students' generic academic skills they might need to study and learn efficiently. Furthermore, they explained that the same education system which is highly structured and driven by the high-stakes testing did not allow students to acquire basic academic skills necessary to succeed in the school.

“Established prejudices, ethnocentric views”

Lastly, the majority of the program members reported that the students possessed very limited visions of using English. According to them, they were not equipped with a sense of belonging to a much more global community. They expressed that their students viewed English more as an object to study in the classroom, rather than as an additional language of their own to express their identity as INS2 explained, ‘Since the majority of them have been exposed to English so far only as a compulsory school

subject at schools, they begin the preparatory program with established prejudices about English' (PM2, Interview).

In parallel to this restricted vision of English, the program members also noted the students were likely to end up with a sense of national identity instead of imagining a sense of belonging to other forms of belonging such as memberships in a global English-speaking community. The program members also expressed their concerns about students' nationalistic, ethnocentric, and essentialist tendencies regarding their views of learning English as PM1 and PM5 stated:

... in fact, our students are not really aware of what World English means. So they don't want to come out of their shells too much. They possess previously formed prejudices towards English. Unfortunately, there is still a common perception of 'why we learn English, they should learn our language' that still exist. This makes an obviously negative impact on their attitude towards learning the target language and culture. (PM1, Interview)

... intercultural identity, I mean, the desire to be entirely free of prejudice to all cultures or languages and to learn about them. I think this is one of our greatest weaknesses in our students. I still have many students who question why we are learning their language; they should learn ours. (PM5, Interview)

As PM1 and PM5 explained, the students were perceived to lack an international posture that encapsulates wider and positive visions of English-speaking communities and extended identity options as competent English speakers. The perceived conservative mindsets of students seem to prevent the program members from imagining legitimate memberships as competent English speakers for their students in different imagined communities.

In conclusion, the program members' perspectives on students' limited linguistic and cultural capital (i.e., vague English learner identities, lack of personal agency, limited L2 competence, ethnocentric and nationalist tendencies, and insufficient generic academic skills) would imply that they frequently seemed to position the language program students as illegitimate users of English or failed native speakers of the target language. Their perceptions about students as having insufficient and appropriate

forms of skills and impoverished backgrounds appeared to prevent them from envisioning a wider and positive imagined community for their students.

The features of linguistic and cultural capital students brought to the classrooms are not likely to be valued and recognized in the imagined communities of English speakers envisioned by the program members; therefore, they failed to imagine legitimate positions for their students with their existing capital. In this sense, all the program members agreed that students' limited background made a negative impact on the quality of English courses, namely their choices of instructional practices. They were less likely to believe they could provide inspirational learning environments and have a far-reaching influence on their students although they wanted their students to learn English for employability in the long-run. In the interviews, the program members tended to portray English as a must-skill for practical/ utilitarian purposes. However, they seemed to consider and implement the function of English as a foreign language course which helps students to pass the English proficiency exams. In other words, they considered they were pushed to target students' achievement in school-based attainments. Students' limited linguistic and cultural capital was recognized as a constraint by the program members. In turn, they appeared to restrain themselves from prioritizing long-term academic and career objectives over short-term instrumental gains in the immediate context. In sum, the program members appeared to rely heavily on a temporary and short-lived imagined community in which students are positioned as English proficiency 'test-takers', rather than a much wider and motivating imagined community of English users.

4.6.2.2 Prioritizing Catching up with the Syllabus over Providing Experiential and Transformative Learning Experiences

“Perceived contrast of institutionally imagined to real classroom communities”

In the interviews, the program members implied that there was a discrepancy between the mission statement of the IELP and what was actually offered by the curriculum including textbooks, materials, evaluation and assessment systems. They pointed to

the clash between the rhetoric and the classroom realities. According to them, if the preparatory program made specific claims about its goal of effectively preparing students to be able to speak and use English in different settings (e.g., academic, professional, and social), then this should be supported by more systematic and appropriate efforts. In relation to this perceived contrast of imagined communities informing the IELP policy documents to real classroom communities, PM2 said:

... when you look at the policy documents of the program, yes, it has already developed a vision and mission. They are well-worded goals, but in reality I don't think we're working towards these goals effectively. Maybe, we're not relying on grammar-oriented approaches as at an elementary or a high school, but we're like 'open your textbook to page blah, blah, blah' ... I don't think these goals fit in to stick to the textbook. Thus, we, I believe, are not so good at turning our dreams on the written pages into classroom realities. (PM2, Interview)

In her vignette, PM2 stressed that there is a clash between the policy documents of the program and the teaching practices which were relied heavily on textbooks. PM1 was more likely to express her opinions about this discrepancy as follows:

... it's true, we have a clear vision and a mission to fulfill on a documentary level. But, I don't think these statements are so much reflected in our classroom practices. Yes, we recognize English as a global language in the documents, but in practice our efforts can't go beyond catching up with the syllabus. (PM1, Interview)

Similar to PM2, PM1 also tended to believe that the dominant instructional practices were not congruent very well with the articulated mission and vision in the policy documents. The perception of such an unhealthy conflict was reported in a different way by PM6:

The biggest shortcoming of our current program is that we don't have clearly identified goals. In addition, I think the program is ineffective because we still depend on the previous needs analysis. We need to see what our students want, what's working, and where the gaps are. So, we first need to develop a clear language policy and develop the necessary strategies to determine what's in and what's out. (PM6, Interview)

As the interview excerpt above indicated, PM6 seemed to consider there was a lack of clear direction in the language program which prevented them from deciding the priorities and readiness of the target audience, namely their students.

“Different textbooks, same students”

In line with the program members’ perceived contrast of institutionally imagined to real classroom communities, they also frequently emphasized their instructional practices were heavily tied to traditional teacher-led English classes in which students were provided with limited L2 interactional opportunities. In that regard, the overreliance on the standard textbook is a common concern criticized by almost all program members. As an example, PM4 remarked:

In fact, it is obvious that we never think about how we can help our students and which opportunities can be offered to make them use English. Rather, the main focus of our program policies and practices is how many hours of lessons will be taught, which textbooks will be selected, from which textbooks we will start and finish, which parts of the textbooks will be focused on the exemption exam and quizzes. We are constantly worried about such useless things. There is no real effort to motivate students and encourage them to speak the language. (PM4, Interview)

In the interview excerpt above, PM4 explicitly stated his dissatisfaction with the prevailing instructional practices and approaches which primarily targeted at success in school-based attainments (i.e., the exemption exams, quizzes). In addition, he is likely to believe that the curriculum prescribed by the preparatory program prevented them from investing in L2 interactional opportunities in their classrooms. This concern was also shared by PM2 and PM3 as follows:

I feel sorry when I hear such statements as ‘I couldn’t catch up with the syllabus. I couldn’t teach this or that unit of the textbook I targeted this week’. As long as we continue to focus on following textbook pages strictly, completing the textbooks, we cannot provide an inspirational learning environment for our students. (PM2, Interview)

... I can’t say that we can make good progress because we haven’t still determined our direction and we don’t have a fully-established system. Thus, the textbooks are changing, but the student is still the same. (PM3, Interview)

“We suffocate them with lots of exams, quizzes, ...”

What is clear in the representative comments of the two program members above is that they appeared to think the textbooks were still a mainstay in the preparatory program. The strict overreliance on the standard textbooks was considered to limit students' access to meaningful, inspirational learning experiences. On the other hand, the program members stated their opinions about the instructional practices as well as the instructional materials with regard to the lack of an intercultural focus. They tended to consider that English learning experiences were restricted to the activities in the textbooks in the four-walled classrooms. According to them, the instructional practices and materials were not appropriate to develop their intercultural understandings since they did not take the international status of English. As an example, PM5 told:

Unfortunately, our students do not come here as having broader perspectives. Each year, we are facing a group of students asking ‘why we learn English, they should learn our language’. In response to this, we never think of taking concrete actions to expand their visions by incorporating intercultural elements into our course contents. We should be able to change their attitudes towards different cultures. (PM5, Interview)

In his vignette, PM5 tended to imply that the preparatory program fell short of raising students' awareness about the global status of English, eliminating their ethnocentric and nationalistic tendencies towards the target language and culture as well as fostering intercultural understandings. The program member seemed to attribute this weakness of the program to insufficiently represented intercultural components in their instructional practices and materials. Similarly, PM4 emphasized how the institutional concerns about exam-grades and syllabus catchup played a major role in hampering their professional agency in promoting a sense of a global identity. He expressed:

Intercultural elements are left out in our classroom practices because we have a strong tendency to be routine performers. I mean, we are consistently concerned with catching up with a schedule or making students get satisfactory scores in proficiency exams. We suffocate them with lots of exams, quizzes, scoring criteria and so on. We need to admit that we cannot go beyond the traditional ways of teaching. Students should be equipped with a sense of belonging to a global worldwide culture, but we tend to minimize the

significance of intercultural components in classroom practices. In turn, we prevent them from developing new understandings. (PM4, Interview)

As PM4 explicitly stated in his statements, the majority of the program members were less likely to express their satisfaction with the traditional instructional practices deeply reflected in their classroom realities. According to them, they are inclined to recognize the importance of performing well in the exams but not offering an ideal context where students end up with global identities. Furthermore, their interview data revealed that these exam-oriented policies in addition to the overreliance on the commercial textbooks hindered them from providing students with opportunities for critical reflection on their own cultural beliefs and assumptions. In this sense, the program members seemed to be aware of a need to provide experiential and transformative learning experiences through which they might help students imagine alternative forms of participation in a much wider and positive community of English speakers.

“... what happens at school stays at school”

The data obtained from the interviews with the six program members also indicated that the preparatory program did not take initiatives for providing experiential and transformative learning experiences outside the school. They believed that their colleagues were talking about covering concepts in the textbooks in-classroom time, however, the program did not take action to complement students' language learning through external learning opportunities. In my attempts to understand what types of institutional investments were made to help students gain memberships in envisioned communities (i.e., academic, professional, and social) of English users in the policy documents, the program members said that there was no complementary learning context facilitated both by the preparatory program and the university. As an example, PM6 stated:

As a preparatory program, we are limited to what we teach in the classroom. The students are not so willing to go beyond that. The language skills we focus on our classed already restricted. We don't have enough time to make them speak English. I think we aren't successful in supporting their language

learning outside the class. There is an urgent need to bridge this gap because what happens at school stays at school. (PM6, Interview)

Unfortunately, we don't have any strategic initiatives to ensure engagement with English outside the school. As an example, we decided to organize movie sessions to expose students to the language. Most of them did not participate in these sessions because attendance was voluntary. I think students don't consider such efforts as efficient and plausible because almost all of them have internet connections and watch English movies at home or in their dormitories. Except for movie sessions, we try to put shared ideas into actions, but after one week or two, we quit because students aren't interested. (PM2, Interview)

Based on the two program members' views, the preparatory program seemed to make limited investments in creating purposeful learning-oriented spaces where students might be interested and want to participate. In that regard, the realities of the preparatory school fell very far short of its rhetoric in which it assumed responsibility to help students become independent and life-long learners according to the program members. Besides, the other program members shared their opinions about how they attempted to take classroom learning outside. They commonly stated that they encouraged students to pursue extensive reading outside of the school. Although some of them pointed to the CALL course as a complementary learning context, they tended to believe these CALL-based classes did not serve its original purpose, rather there was much reliance on commercially-published sources. They added that these classes were not effective because the instructional approach in this course was likely to rely on mechanical practices rather than meaningful practices. They reported their dissatisfaction with non-interactive approach taken in this course. According to them, this technology-based course was reduced simply to completing CALL-based assignments; therefore, students were passivized. The program members' perspectives on the supplementary learning communities outside the school appeared to show that the preparatory school favored doing and performing over analyzing, reflecting, interacting and negotiation of meaning in its instructional practices.

In this sense, they also reported that the instructional needs of the students were ignored due to such non-interactive pedagogies and exam-oriented institutional policies. Thus, it can be stated that the preparatory program seems to privilege

students' language achievement in school-based exams over alternative forms of participation in real classroom communities. The perceived prioritization of catching up with the syllabus over providing experiential and transformative practices seems to prevent them from creating real and critical learning communities that go beyond the traditional communities of American or British English speakers. Based on the program members' perspectives, it can be concluded that the preparatory program did not attempt to create experiential and transformative learning spaces both inside the classroom and outside. This could be largely attributable to the institutional ideology that considers performing and doing well in school-based examinations as a principal goal.

4.6.2.3 Prioritizing Accuracy and Standards over Intelligibility

All the program members I interviewed believed that the majority of the preparatory program students strongly associated English with the American and British cultures. Furthermore, they considered that students also viewed the native-speaker accent as more desirable and recognized in L2 interactions. Although the program members clearly stated that students were aware of the status of English as a global language, they tended to have native-like pronunciation. This could be closely tied to students' desires to become legitimate participants through a native-like accent in an imagined community of native English speakers. One of them shared her opinions as follows:

If you ask them, most students will probably say that English is a global language. But it actually reconciles with the U.S. and the U.K. as a traditional perception. They try to speak like an American or a British in speaking classes or exams (PM6, Interview)

In the interview excerpt above, it seems evident that students' image of English in the preparatory program tended to be congruent with the perception of imagined American or British community rather than a culturally and linguistically heterogeneous community. In line with the students' traditional orientation which is evidence of the native speaker ideology, the preparatory program appears to reproduce this prevailing hierarchy through classroom practices and instructional materials. In that regard, all

the program members admitted that the majority of the instructional materials utilized in the preparatory school were still imported from the publishing houses in the U.S. and the U.K. Thus, they believed that the learning and teaching practices were characterized by a heavy focus on American and British cultures.

In fact, all the program members explained a clear preference for selecting the textbooks that had a Standard English orientation for several reasons. For instance, PM2 remarked, ‘... In choosing our teaching materials, we, of course, consider whether it is of American or British origin because they are *the correct ones*’ (PM2, Interview). Similar to PM2 who perceived the American or British varieties of English as correct Englishes, PM5 stated, ‘... they need to learn the Standard English because it seems more plausible to learn the language from its *original source*’ (PM5, Interview). In addition to this statement, PM5 also evaluated the recent orientations towards non-standard English accents in the textbooks as ‘unhealthy attempts’. He stressed that it might lead to a sense of confusion as it was an unfamiliar phenomenon for their students.

In addition to this tendency towards American and Anglo-centric discourse in the selection of the teaching materials, PM6 in the testing unit mentioned the preparatory program’s failure to develop a sense of belonging to the international community of English speakers. Specifically speaking, she noted that the program tended to focus on grammatical accuracy and native-speaker pronunciation in their teaching practices, particularly in the speaking classes or speaking parts of the exams. In relation to the classroom practices focusing on grammatical accuracy, she said:

... we often say that we don’t care about grammar in our classes. We claim that we prepare exams based on this understanding. However, I think we aren’t successful in putting our principles into practice at least in the testing unit. To be honest, we cannot expect students to perform well in speaking activities and speaking parts of the exams since we basically teach them to identify grammatical structures in the textbook. (PM6, Interview)

In the interview excerpt above, the program member told that they invested more in the traditional language practices in contrast to their claims about the curriculum was

of a communicative pedagogical focus. She also reported that these implementations did not resonate with their proclaimed commitment to creating an awareness of different varieties of English. Furthermore, PM6 talked about how the concentration on certain spelling conventions impacted students' performance during oral activities and exams:

... In oral exams, we want them to do a monologue. In doing so, they try to speak like a native speaker and they have such a pronunciation obsession. Let me give another example, I observe them in speaking classes and as they want to sound like a native-speaker ... umm to be more superior. But when they make a grammatical mistake or pronounce something incorrectly, they feel frustrated and embarrassed. (PM6, Interview)

As evident in her vignette above, their instructional practices in the classroom community seemed to connect 'good and correct English' to have either American or British English, most likely striving to emulate their spelling conventions. Based on the interview data, students' talk of embarrassment and frustration in oral interactions appears to indicate that they position themselves as non-native speakers of English. Thus, it seems clear that the preparatory program is likely to reproduce the native-speaker ideology through a range of classroom practices.

Following the analysis and interpretation of the data obtained both from the learner participants and the program members and document reviews, the complex and interrelated nature of imagined identities and communities were illustrated on two different diagrams below (see Figure 15 and Figure 16). In Figure 15, the framework with three guiding factors in the (re)construction of the three learners' imagined identities, namely biographical, socio-educational and socio-ideological factors were presented. In Figure 16, the link between the participants' future L2 visions and the possible imagined communities envisioned by the preparatory program for students was displayed.

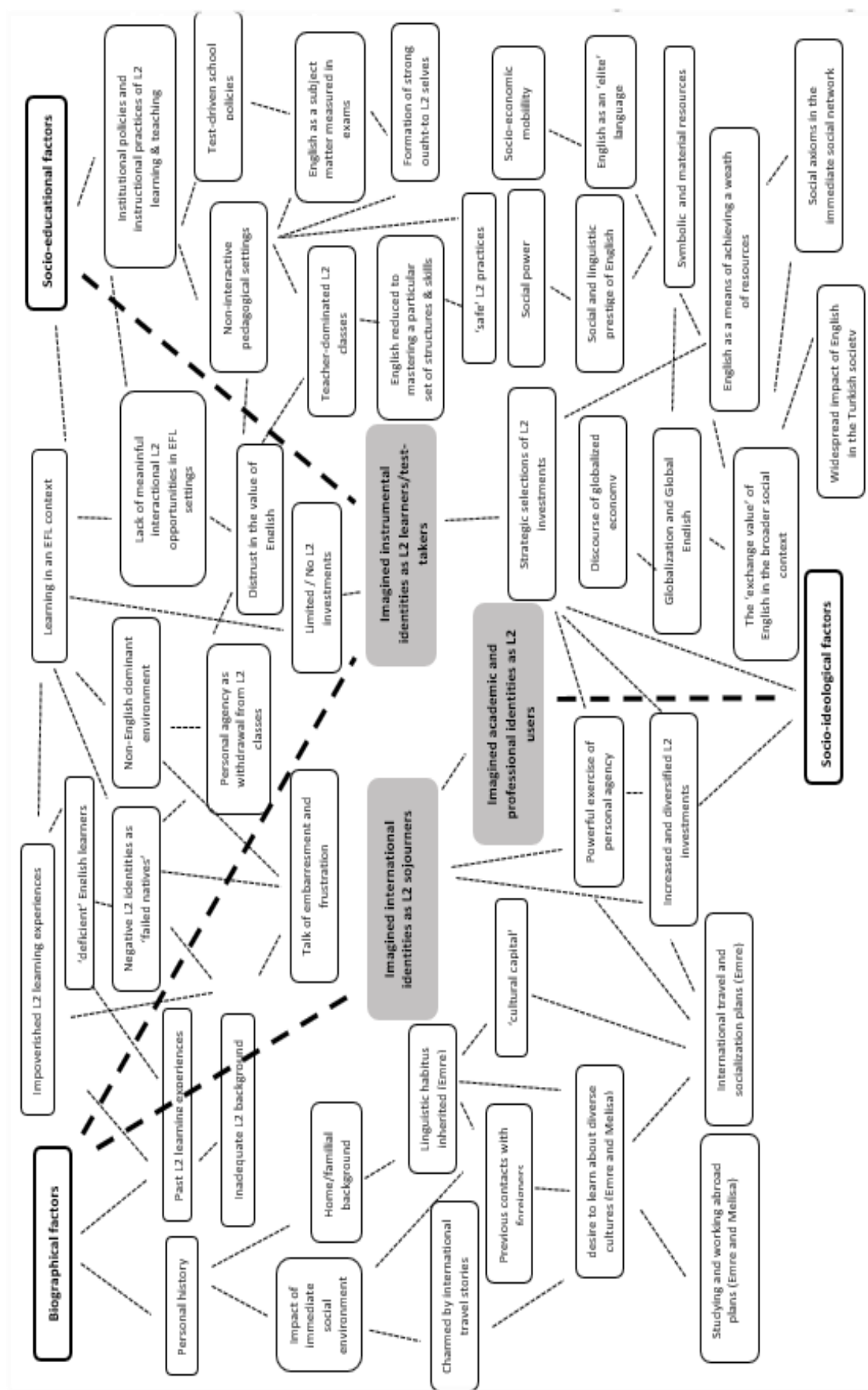


Figure 15. Three participants' construction of different imagined identities with the three guiding factors

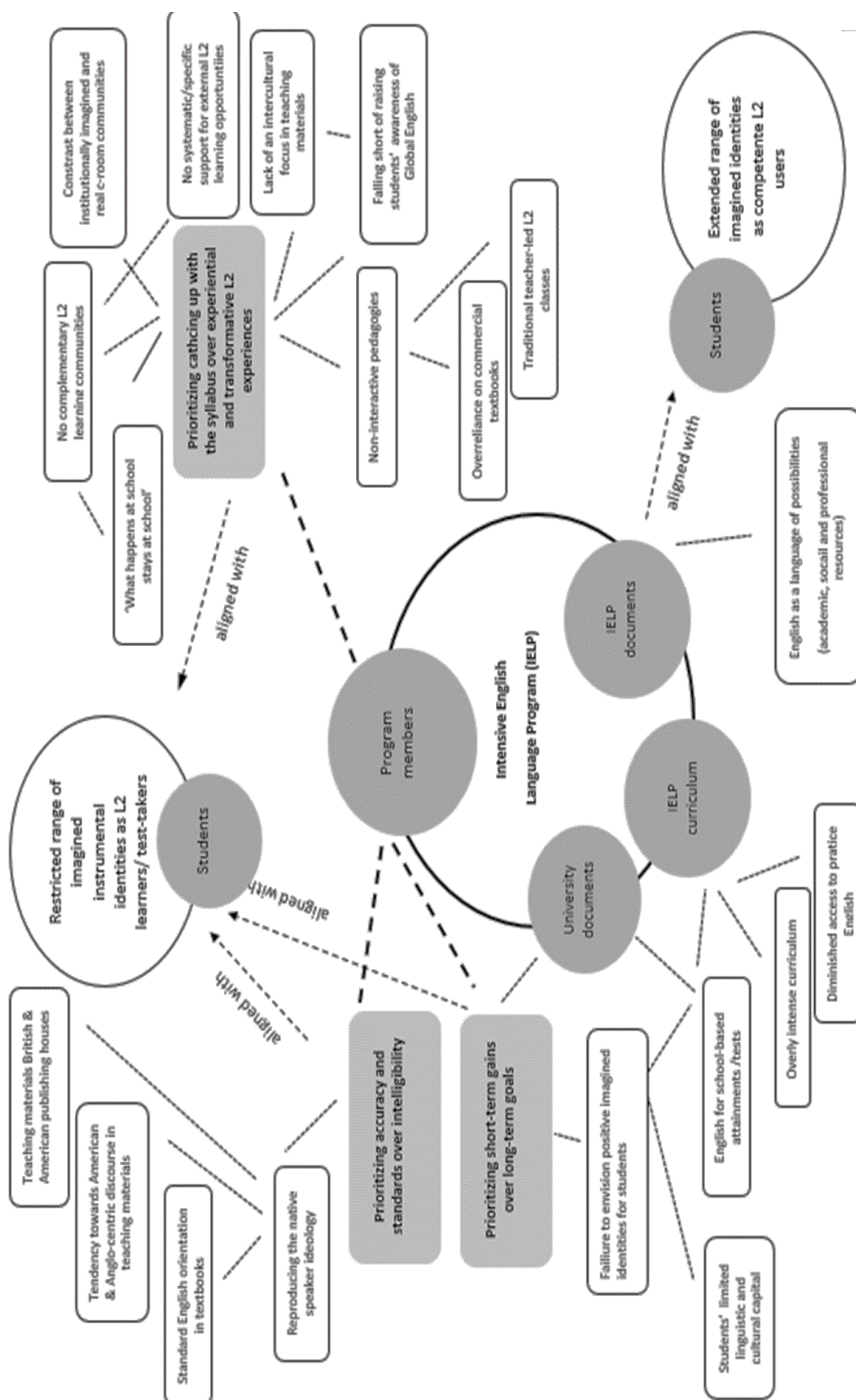


Figure 16. Link between the students' L2-mediated future visions and those envisioned by the IELP for the students

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This multiple-case study set out to investigate the relationship between imagined identities and L2 investments through an in-depth analysis of the three learners' English learning stories who had different motivational profiles in a pre-undergraduate language education program in Turkey. Besides, this inquiry sought to explore the imagined communities informing the policy documents and the program members' perspectives in order to reveal how their envisioned communities interact with the learners' imagined identities and imagined communities. This study was carried out given the common caveat in the literature that imagined identities might have a powerful impact on learners' current efforts and investments in L2 learning (Norton, 2000; Norton, 2001; Kanno & Norton, 2003; Kanno, 2008; Wu, 2017; Sung, 2019). One more impetus behind this research effort was also another caveat concerning the influence of the schools' visions on their students' imagined identities (Norton, 2001; Kanno, 2003; Kanno, 2008). In parallel, previous studies warned us about that imagined communities envisioned by educational institutions for their students could create a stronger effect on their policies and practices through limiting or making students' imagined identities tangible and accessible (Kanno, 2003). Based on the investigation and interpretation of the findings, this study apparently provides supporting evidence for the standpoint in previous studies that considered the identity construction of language learners as highly complicated, multiple and dynamic as well as a site of struggle in response to unequal power relations (Pavlenko & Norton, 2007; Block, 2007; Norton & Toohey, 2011; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004; Sung, 2019).

In order to understand this complex and dynamic nature of identity construction, three unique and distinctive cases in learning English were exemplified in this study “to illustrate different modes of engagement” (Haneda, 2005, p. 275). Melisa, the most motivated participant, made increased investments in learning English which were propelled her stronger vision of becoming a competent English user. With the average motivation for English learning, Emre was the participant who seemed to be aware of a good command of English would put him at an advantaged position in the future, but his dyslexia and withdrawn self prevented him from forming a substantial self-image as a competent English user. Ahmet, the least motivated participant, was motivated through a weaker form of motivation and decided to study the optional preparatory program to have a holiday year in contrast to his two counterparts. Due to their diverse past experiences and multiple identity negotiations and future-oriented identities, the comprehensive analysis of the three participants’ stories showed how each of them went through a complex and dynamic English learning trajectory.

Considering the complexity and dynamics of identity construction, the data analysis revealed that the three learners had diverse and unique language learning trajectories; therefore, different stories of imagined identities and investments emerged in this study. Despite being language learners in the same EFL context, their imagined identities and L2 investments were influenced by different and situated factors (Kanno, 2003). In this chapter, the main themes and critical issues concerning the findings of this current study will be discussed.

5.1 Discussion

5.1.1 What are the three EFL learners’ imagined identities constructed throughout their English learning stories?

Informed by the sociocultural and poststructuralist view of language learning, the analysis of the three learners’ reflections yielded a framework with three guiding factors, namely biographical factors, sociocultural factors and socio-ideological factors. In light of the analysis, I argue that the construction of the participants’ imagined identities and regulation of their L2 learning was not shaped in isolation or

by one single factor. Rather, there was a dynamic and complex interaction among these factors in guiding their (re)construction of their imagined identities and in turn the strategic selection of their investments in L2 learning. In this sense, *biographical factors* are based on (1) the learner's personal history and (2) past experiences as a language learner. *Socio-educational factors* are those pertinent to (1) the institutional policies and instructional practices concerning English teaching and learning, and (2) learning in an EFL context. Lastly, *socio-ideological factors* included the sociocultural beliefs based on the exchange value of English as a language of possibilities in terms of acquiring a wide range of material and symbolic resources and the impacts of larger neoliberal ideological discourse in the globalized world that guided the participants' learning trajectories (Sung, 2017).

The findings revealed that the different L2 learning practices Melisa, Emre, Ahmet engaged in particular contexts led to the construction of different imagined identities. Overall, their English learning stories were marked with three range of imagined identities and communities: (1) *imagined instrumental identities as L2 learners/test-takers in the immediate English-learning communities*, (2) *imagined identities as L2 users in imagined academic and professional communities*, and (3) *imagined identities as L2 sojourners in imagined global communities*. The English learning stories of the three participants concurred with the socio-cultural, post-modernist standpoint concerning identity in the sense that their identities were multi-layered, complex, socially-situated, and dialogic (Norton, 2000; Pavlenko & Norton, 2007; Kanno & Norton, 2003; Darvin & Norton, 2018).

5.1.1.1 Imagined Instrumental Identities as L2 Learners/Test-Takers in Immediate English-Learning Communities

Similar to many learners who learn English as a foreign language (EFL) setting, the limited and passive imagined identities of the three participants of this study as L2 learners or L2 test-takers seemed to be primarily shaped by the socio-educational factors (Wu, 2017; Lamb, 2009). These factors mostly involve the constraints at the institutional and pedagogical levels which were mostly characterized by test-driven

school policies and traditional instructional practices. In a supportive vein to recent learner identity findings (e.g., Sung, 2019; Lamb, 2009; Block, 2007; Kanno, 2003), the participants of this study lacked a strong vision of becoming a proactive/legitimate participant in the wider English-speaking community as L2 users not only in their past English learning stage and in the present learning stage for their short-term goals. Rather, they constructed more fragile L2 identities in the imagined instrumental identities and viewed sustained investments in learning English as “unprofitable, at least in the short run” (Sung, 2019, p. 200).

To start with their past learning stage, all the participants received roughly the same amount of English instruction (i.e., almost ten years) and none of the participants generated a positive and extended imagined identity of becoming a competent language user. They were not likely to feel fully legitimate and visualized any strong English-mediated imagined identities in mind prior to the university. As a result of their language learning experiences in test-oriented schools, they positioned themselves as language learners who never showed interest and willingness to engage in L2 classroom practices. Thus, the participants took a pragmatic stance towards L2 learning and were mostly concerned about getting satisfactory scores in school English exams and meeting the course requirements within the schools they attended.

Regarding the test-oriented school policies, the participants reported their distrust in the value of showing improvements in their English skills as it was not a subject matter measured in the university exam. Norton Peirce (1995) explained this finding in the following way: “if learners invest in L2, they do so with the understanding that they will acquire a wide range of symbolic and material resources, which will, in turn, increase the value of their cultural capital” (p. 3). In this study, as the participants did not view English proficiency as a gateway to their future academic or professional goals during the early stage, their investments in L2 learning were relatively restricted.

The focal participants also expressed their concerns about the teacher-dominated English classes heavily relying on the traditional pedagogical practices (e.g., fill-in-the-blanks, true/false activities, reading texts aloud and choral chanting) based on a

standard textbook provided by the state. Since they received a limited set of L2 interactional opportunities, the participants were likely to deny the legitimate peripheral participation in the classroom communities. In turn, they adopted a form of non-participation in which they assumed a passive learner identity of giving selective attention and priority to achievements in school English exams, not to genuine language learning. Similarly, the English courses were reduced to mastering a particular set of grammatical structures and undervalued basic foreign language skills. This finding provides a shred of supporting evidence for the findings of Lamb (2009) who investigated the experiences of two EFL learners with diverse motivational orientations over two years and found that the impact of ‘safe’ instructional practices on learners’(non)participation in the wider community of competent English users. Lamb (2009) also concluded that such instructional practices threaten neither the face of teachers nor students; therefore, they were viewed plausible and directed to their instrumental goal of passing the course exams with satisfactory scores.

As for their imagined identities constructed in the present learning stage, all the participants also constructed imagined instrumental identities as L2 learners/test-takers. Different from Ahmet, although both Melisa and Emre assumed the extended and active imagined identity of being an English speaker in the long-term, they negotiated a temporary imagined identity as an L2 learner/test-taker which was likely to be guided by a limited vision with an instrumental feature.

The socio-educational factors analogous with the ones in their early learning stage that prioritized the school-based attainments (e.g., quizzes, proficiency exams) appear to form their imagined instrumental identities as language learners (Wu, 2017; Lamb, 2009). For Melisa and Emre, the classroom practices in their present learning stage were heavily relied upon on the textbooks and the completion of the activities in these teaching materials. They not only expressed their dissatisfaction with the limited L2 interactional opportunities offered in classes and outside, but also their complaints about the curriculum based on the revision of the pre-learned grammatical structures. Both of the participants also explained their unhappiness with the endless exams and quizzes. For instance, Melisa, as the most motivated participant, stated she did not

want to attend the CALL classes and put extra effort to complete the assigned tasks. Emre considered exam-driven instructional practices and non-interactive activities as irrelevant to their future academic and professional purposes. In this sense, since the instructional practices in the preparatory school classrooms do not seem to be congruent with their envisioned participation plans in their imagined communities of language users, Melisa and Emre did not make sustained investments in the classroom practices (Rabbidge, 2019).

One possible reason for Melisa's and Emre's negotiation of such a restricted imagined identity could be the institutionalized nature of English learning and the classrooms as an L2-learning community that focuses on exam results (Yim, 2016). It is likely to strengthen the participants' ought-to L2 selves and their sense of obligation to succeed in school-based exams. As the students receiving compulsory English classes, Melisa and Emre perceived the pursuit of their short-term, instrumental self of passing the English exams as a viable route to materialize their long-term future goals. In a sense, their ought-to L2 selves seemed to be highly influential in the shorter term and influenced by their assumption that they had to perform well in the exams to be able to pass into their own department (Dörnyei, 2005, 2009). They strategically positioned themselves as language learners considering that their imagined communities seem to be contingent on the likelihood of their performance in the preparatory program. This finding is also confirmed that the learner identity is of a contingent and dynamic nature given the participants' exercise of *personal agency* through taking on different stances in response to their particular aspirations and future plans (Ushioda, 2015). Another relevant explanation for this finding is explained by West et al. (2015) who explored the status of English in Turkey and found the Turkish students in the preparatory programs had the desire and motivation to learn English in the long-run for professional purposes, but they were not motivated to take 30-35 hours of English to learn the present perfect tense sixth time for shorter-term needs and benefits.

The findings of this study also showed that the biographical factors based on the individuals' personal histories and language learning experiences might act as a significant role in constraining or enabling the range of their imagined identities

(Ushioda, 2011a; Wu, 2017; Kharchenko, 2014; Csizér & Magid, 2014). The individuals have different language learning memories that brought their past to their present contexts of learning (Huang & Chen, 2017; You et al., 2016). In this study, the previous language learning experiences seemed to serve as a filter for the interpretation of the focal participants' new experiences in the current learning communities of practices (Csizér & Magid, 2014; Guerrero, 2015; Kanno, 2003).

The data of Ahmet demonstrated that he could not generate a positive and extended imagined identity as a language user contrast to his two counterparts in the present learning stage due to his impoverished language learning experiences in the past. The lingering impact of his inadequate L2 background caused him to have negative perceptions about English and made him suspicious about his L2 self-confidence, which also emerged from Melisa's and Ahmet's data. As a result, they had struggles with participating in oral activities in the classroom and positioned themselves in an inferior position when using English with their more proficient peers. For Melisa and Ahmet, studying at village schools put them at disadvantaged positions in participating in L2 interactional tasks in the preparatory classroom. On the other hand, Emre as a dyslexic student who learned English comparatively late compared to his peers experienced particular challenges resulted from his embarrassed, withdrawn self. Overall, their low L2 self-confidence and negatively constructed identities as non-native L2 speakers or "failed natives" (Cook, 1993, p. 196) in the past English classes prevented them from opting not to seek L2 using opportunities with peers in the current L2-mediated classrooms (Kanno, 2003).

It seems clear that the participants of this study possessed a sense of having a 'deficient' English proficiency similar to other language learners in non-English dominant settings (Hall, Cheng, & Carlson, 2006); therefore, they, as L2 learners or non-native speakers, "talk of embarrassment, frustration, desperation, and torment" (Pavlenko, 2003, p.260) in English classroom. Ahmet's and the other two participants' competent L2 user identity was challenged by the old-timers—namely, more proficient peers in the English-medium learning community of practices. Therefore, it seems inevitable that the participants' negotiability of imagined L2-mediated identities,

namely their claim of someone “worthy to speak” or “the right to speak” (Norton, 2000, p. 8) tend to closely interact with the degrees of their investments in L2 learning practices (Sung, 2019).

Concerning Ahmet’s present learning trajectory, although he was studying the optional preparatory program and expressed his desire to improve his English proficiency, he appeared to be primarily motivated through his temporary, instrumental goals. Therefore, his current identity as a language learner is not an end-state vision for Ahmet, rather it represents a temporary self based on his proximal vision of having a ‘holiday’ year after a stressful university entrance exam. Furthermore, Ahmet’s ought-to L2 self did not seem to occupy an important position in motivating him to learn English, which stands in stark contrast to his past learning trajectory. Enjoying the ease of meeting the optional English course requirements, he was less concerned about class attendance or school-based examinations. Besides, Ahmet did not view English as *necessary* for his professional plans and possessed self-doubts about its plausibility in the future. It can be understood that his L2-mediated identity was not guided by a strong desired L2 self as a language user. Thus, it is not surprising to see that Ahmet’s ought-to L2 self tended to be steadily weakened and represented through little or no effort to find ways of learning or using English. This finding resonates with Rabbidge’s (2019) finding that “if learners feel they will gain such advantages, they will likely to be less concerned with investing their time and effort in language learning” (p. 74). Ahmet did not believe he would gain any symbolic or material resources that might provide him instrumental benefits and social power or capital, he chose not to invest time and effort in language learning (Bourdieu, 1977). In a supportive vein to the recent research findings (e.g., Dörnyei, 2009; Dörnyei & Kubanyiova, 2014), Ahmet lacked a clear roadmap and were not likely to take agentive actions not only in the short-term but also in the long-term even if he could articulate the desired L2 self-image.

In addition to the socio-educational factors at the institutional and classroom level privileging attainments or knowledge practices measurable through exams (i.e., nation-wide and school-based), some concerns with regard to the teacher’s negative

impact on their learning were also shared by the participants as an impeding factor in the past learning stage. As an example, Melisa expressed her dissatisfaction with poor quality English classes taught by indifferent teachers because they did not provide any opportunities for active participation in the target language. Emre as a dyslexic language learner with special needs stressed the detrimental impact of his ignorant teachers and their insufficient support on his language achievement and his withdrawn self as a result of avoidance from face-threatening L2 practices. Ahmet was concerned about the English classes based on re-learning particular grammatical structures taught by irregular or substitute non-ELT major teachers at multi-grade classrooms. This finding stressed the critical role of teachers in the identity construction of language learners (Ortiz Medina, 2017; Takahashi, 2013). As noted in Reeves (2009), undifferentiated instruction without taking the language learners' linguistic repertoires and limitations into account might prevent them from setting up for success as language users. Dörnyei (2009) also emphasized the potential power of teachers in igniting the students' vision and enabling them to construct their desired L2 selves.

Furthermore, studying a non-English dominant environment where access to use English as a language of communication is likely to play a crucial role in restricting the focal participants' range of identities (Dörnyei, 2009; Wu, 2017; Sung, 2019). Both during their past and present L2 learning trajectories, they seem to be limited to a relatively limited range of contexts such as the language classrooms. Considering the classroom learning communities the participants have participated so far was mostly characterized by the lack of L2 interactional opportunities, it is not unfair to argue that they failed to envision *extended or strong* imagined identities as competent language users in such non-English dominant and non-interactive pedagogical settings. This finding also concurs with the findings of Wu (2017) who studied three highly motivated EFL learners' imagined identities and investments and found the lack of meaningful interactional opportunities in the target language in EFL settings is likely to constrain the range of their language learner identity (Kanno, 2003).

In sum, these findings supported again the existing literature in terms of the influence of learning contexts on the identity construction (e.g., Trentman, 2013; Norton &

Toohy, 2011; Blackledge, 2003; Kanno & Norton, 2003; Kharchenko, 2014; Block, 2007; Kanno, 2003). As discussed under the contextual constraints, they highlighted primarily on how real learning communities might play a significant role in facilitating or impeding learners' sense of belonging to their imagined community and their L2 investments. These findings also align with the epistemological underpinnings of the socio-cultural tradition that viewed language as a socially constructed and mediated practice by the activities of the individual learners (Johnson, 2009; Ushioda, 2015).

5.1.1.2 Imagined Identities as L2 Users in Imagined Academic and Professional Communities

As for the imagined identities constructed in the present English learning stage, the analysis showed that all the focal participants tended to recognize the relevance of English to their future plans as pre-undergraduate students. Like another language learner, Leo, in Taiwanese EFL contexts in Wu's (2017) study, Melisa and Emre did not fall prey to the existing social and contextual constraints like Ahmet had also exposed. Unlike Ahmet's case, Melisa and Emre as EFL learners were still able to generate clear imagined identities as competent language users in a wider community of English-speaking people despite their inadequate L2 learning backgrounds and non-interactive contexts of learning.

Aspiring to become an English major, a sojourner student, and an English teacher in the projected future, Melisa went through a particular progressive transformation from a disengaged language learner to a motivated one with increased L2 self-confidence. As she started to took up different positions with regard to English learning, her learning trajectory also began to be characterized by comparatively more increased investments to benefit from legitimate peripheral participation in the communities of practices in the classroom and outside. She switched from complete withdrawal and disengagement to full engagement, persistence and powerful exercise of personal agency.

In Emre's case, although he encountered challenges in his participation in L2 classroom practices as a dyslexic language learner, he was also able to envision extended imaginations of his English-speaking self for the future. Desiring to be placed in an engineering major after studying the compulsory English classes in the preparatory program, Emre also pursued the long-term goals of becoming a university lecturer and traveling and meeting people around the world. Since he realized the link between the mastery of English and his likelihood of achieving his aspired positions, he considered the ability to use English as a means to that end and as a symbolic resource. Therefore, he was able to exert his own agency through choosing to study in a language-dependent department and started to make comparatively more divergent investments in English. His L2 learning trajectory encapsulated a withdrawn, embarrassed self that underwent a particular transformation as he took up different positions that were directed by his self-assessment of L2 competence in the classroom learning community. Similar to Melisa, Emre also experienced a positive and upward transformation from less to more engagement.

As indicated in these findings, both of them re-evaluated their need to learn English and (re) imagined the conditions of memberships of their imagined communities, which in turn impacted their agency and investment in L2 learning (Ryan, 2006; Pavlenko & Norton, 2007). As a result, Melisa and Emre took agentive actions through their decision to major in a discipline that required them to participate and receive compulsory English classes. One factor closely intertwined with the socio-cultural context—the exchange value factor—could account for the shifts in the participants' outlook and formation of a more positive range of imagined identities.

From the findings, it seems clear that the participants' extended imagined identities were mainly shaped by their lived experiences outside the school, including their immediate social networks, and larger neoliberal ideological discourse of globalized economy and capitalism (Rabbidge, 2019; Kramsch, 2014; Kinginger, 2004) which put a clear emphasis on acquiring the cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1977). Charmed by the stories of their immediate social circles (teacher, family members, relatives, and friends) about the profitable returns of English competence for their future, all the

participants decided to improve their English skills by taking English classes in a one-year intensive English program. They were primarily motivated through its multiple instrumental benefits and influenced by the likelihood of increased career prospects and socio-economic progress. For Melisa, the construction of her imagined identities as an English major and becoming an English teacher was strengthened by her perceptions of English through which she hoped to gain high social prestige through studying an elite language and contribute to her socioeconomic mobility (Zacharias, 2012). For Emre, English was 'a source of profit' he could draw upon in the future for his academic, professional goals and international travel and socialization plans (Kramsch, 2014) and a versatile tool through which he could eliminate his unsuccessful, underperforming student image in the immediate environment. Although he failed to envision a strong range of imagined identity as a language user, Ahmet was also influenced by the exchange value exerted on English proficiency and his English-speaking engineer cousin ignited his imagination. Persuaded by the possibilities of enjoying a wealth of resources by English, he decided to study in the optional preparatory program.

Overall the analysis indicated that the participants appeared to rely on linguistic and social prestige (Bourdieu, 1977) of English in the communities they participated and in their imagined communities they aspired to participate. The participants' recognition of the social and linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1977), as well as their belief that the ability to use English was a gate to new 'forms of capital' and enhanced career portfolios, contributed to the construction of extended imagined identities in the wider community of English speakers. A similar pattern of this findings was also obtained in previous studies (Gao et al., 2008; Trentman, 2013; Wu; 2017; Kinginger, 2004) that found English was considered to be a tool through which the individuals might gain a cultural capital for negotiating their social relationships in the learning context and social capital for powerful social identities. These findings also confirmed the finding of Lamb (2009) that indicated the language learners might privilege 'the exchange value' over 'the use-value' of English in the longer-term and primarily focus on passing the exams as Melisa and Emre appeared to do.

The participants' negotiation of imagined identities as language users was also likely to be guided by the sociocultural or exchange value exerted on the English proficiency within the Turkish society. A close look at the status of English education in Turkey might be useful to understand the holistic picture of the broader social context. As many scholars (Selvi, 2011; Doğançay-Aktuna, 1998; Sarıgül, 2017) noted, English has started to take a skyrocketing role "in every strata of the Turkish education system" (Selvi, 2011, p. 186) as well as the role of lingua franca for trade, banking, tourism, popular media, science and technology. As a result of the influence of the globalization process and Turkey's attempts to integrate with the European Union, the language policy of English language education has been the subject of vital reforms in 1997 (Kırkgöz, 2007).

Based on the introduction of the concept of the communicative approach, the revision of the 1997 curriculum in order to provide students with a more performance-based curriculum was performed. For this purpose, one recent change in the language policy in Turkey was made concerning the onset of English education in formal schooling. The legal age of taking English education is lowered to the 2nd grade in 2013 (Aksoy et al., 2018). Clearly, English is currently the "primary linguistic means which connect Turkey to the rest of the world" in the response of the widespread impact and popularity of English as in many countries positioned in Kachru's (1992) Expanding Circle. Thus, English competence is of high market value in Turkey and tightly associated with 'instrumental purposes' and increased and better employability chances (Selvi, 2011). Many studies have indicated that there is a prevalent belief among Turkish learners that it would increase their visibility and employability in the global market in their future professional lives (e.g., Bektaş-Çetinkaya & Oruç, 2010; König, 2006; Çolak, 2008; Aydın, 2007; Kızıltepe, 2000). In other words, English is recognized as an essential means to gain access to symbolic and materials resources in the language learners' imagined communities in the Turkish context (Selvi, 2011; Bektaş-Çetinkaya, 2005).

In light of these larger societal ideals that viewed English as a commodity or 'an added value' to the individuals' economic and symbolic capital (Kramsch, 2014; Rabbidge,

2019), Melisa's brother's assumption that 'English won't leave you unemployed', Emre's belief that 'English is to stand out from the rest in the future' and lastly Ahmet's cousin's belief that 'You need to learn English for more job opportunities' seems to be quite convincing because the recognition of the linguistic and social capital of English appears to represent the social axiom in their immediate environment as well as the exchange value in the broader social context (Wu, 2017). As the findings of this study showed, the exchange value of English competence played a powerful role which inspired them to study in a one-year intensive English language program.

5.1.1.3 Imagined Identities as L2 Sojourners in Imagined International Communities

As mentioned before, Melisa and Emre generated imagined academic and professional identities as language users which were mainly influenced by the socio-ideological factors based on the exchange value of English. However, their imagined identities as L2 sojourners in imagined international communities seem to be formed more from the biographical factors. The findings showed that this extended range of imagined identities seems to be closely intertwined with the identities both participants negotiated in their personal contexts (e.g., home or familial environment). This finding is consistent with what has been found in previous studies that revealed the collection of individual personalities including one's age, cultural background, learning and professional experience, language proficiency, and other individual factors might play an essential role in the formation of the imagined possibilities (Haneda, 2006; Kharchenko, 2014).

In Melisa's case, her high school teachers' stories of international travel experiences and her previous contacts with foreign campers who came to their village for bicycle races and tournaments were likely to inspire her participative plans as a sojourner student in international student exchange programs in the future. It was through these experiences that Melisa could imagine participating in an international community where she would improve her spoken English competence and learn about diverse cultures. Inspired by the likelihood of speaking English outside the four-wall L2

classrooms, Melisa started to take the initiatives in immersing in an English-speaking community on campus—namely, the Erasmus+ Student Club to practice speaking. Her current and active participation in this speaking club could be considered as the manifestation of “the exercise of personal agency in capitalizing on L2 opportunities to practice English which would most likely to lead to meaningful interactions, positive language experiences, desirable identity options, and profitable returns” (Sung, 2019, p. 201).

Unlike Melisa who only planned to study abroad in the university, Emre’s imagined identity as an L2 sojourner seems to encapsulate the more specific and clear vision of studying and working abroad as well as international travel and socialization plans. In Emre’s case, his previous intercultural experiences with people of different cultures in Kyrgyzstan and linguistic habitus and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1977) he inherited may account for his *international posture* which is explained by Yashima (2002) as “an interest in international [...] affairs, willingness to go overseas to stay and work, readiness to interact with intercultural partners [...] a non-ethnocentric attitude toward different cultures” (Yashima, 2002, p. 57). Seen in this light, he started to possess a positive image of a wider global/international community of which he once became a member and could develop the idea of participating in imagined English-speaking communities as a language user. A similar conclusion was reached by Apple, Silva, and Fellner (2016) who showed that the ability to imagine desired L2 selves could be partly attributable to the richness of experiences, that is, what they call ‘experiential capital’.

These findings also concur with Lamb’s (2009) assumption that “individual learners may not have equal access to the resources of a community, nor be granted ‘legitimate’ status” (p.231). With this assumption in mind, Melisa and Ahmet who grew up in small villages had a comparatively more limited amount of social and cultural capital compared to Emre. His cumulative way of understanding the world through his home/familial background and early experiences appeared to put Emre at an advantaged position in imagining his future self as an L2 sojourner in international settings. Therefore, it can be argued that the participants who had more extensive

experiential learning opportunities in real communities of practice through English were likely to construct more positive and extended ranges of imagined identities language users in different L2-mediated communities and vice versa.

5.1.2 How do the three EFL learners' imagined identities in their imagined communities impact on their L2 investments?

5.1.2.1 Multiple Imagined Identities and Strategic Selections of L2 Investments

In the previous section, the extent of the participants' imagined identities (limited or extended), as well as the factors at play that shaped the formation of their future L2-mediated visions, were presented. Both in the past and the present English learning stage, the focal participants' strategic selections of investments in L2 learning seem to be guided by their vision of imagined communities closely related to with their imagined academic, professional and international identities, which is also broadly in line with the findings of previous studies (Kanno, 2003; Sung, 2019; Chang, 2011; Haneda, 2005). In other words, they tended to regulate their L2 learning and made corresponding and contextualized investments based on their imagined identities in their imagined communities (Wu, 2017).

In the past English learning stage, lacking a clear vision of a legitimate member of an imagined English-speaking community, all of the participants were concerned about getting satisfactory scores on school English exams. As the language learners who developed the limited imagined identities as L2 learners or L2 test-takers, they took a utilitarian stance towards English learning. Moreover, they all ended up integrating English into their range of identities as a compulsory school subject throughout their past learning trajectories. Given that they were less likely to hope any profitable or motivating returns on investing in English, they did not prefer to take agentic actions to foster changes in their existing language skills (Norton, 2000; Ryan, 2006). Their negotiation of negative learner identities which were shaped by particular social and educational factors appeared to result in the unwillingness and lack of personal agency on exerting great effort to make improvements in their English competence (Sung,

2019). Furthermore, in line with their restricted imagined identities as L2 learners/test-takers in the early stage, their L2 investments were also diminished to consolidating the mastery of grammar and vocabulary within the requirements of the school English courses. This finding also lends support to Trentman's (2013) observation stressing that contextual factors could play an impeding impact on their development of a sense of belonging to a wider community of practice, which in turn, leads to diminished investment in this context. In short, their past English learning stage was represented through the limited range of imagined identities as L2 learners/test-takers and little or no efforts to seek genuine English learning opportunities (Dörnyei, 2009).

Unlike her two male counterparts from whom English was nothing more than a school subject until they came to the verge of choosing their degree after the university entrance exam, Melisa could see the value of showing improvements in her L2 skills and its potential contributions to her different imagined identities (i.e., as an English major, English teacher and L2 sojourner) earlier, that is, in the second grade of high school. Inspired by her improvements in her English skills and increased self-confidence, she decided to choose the foreign language division and increased her investments to improve the areas of language that were tested in the university exam (i.e., grammar and vocabulary). However, she did not invest in additional time and effort to the subtlety of English knowledge or improving other L2 skills. Contrast to Melisa, Emre opted for taking an invisible and silent position in the previous English learning communities as a dyslexic, 'late and slow' language learner constantly beating himself up for failing the classroom expectations while Ahmet with a limited vision of getting a passing score in the exams adopted a form of resistance to English courses which later turned into a form of withdrawal from such classroom L2 practices. These findings of this study tie well with Norton Peirce's (1995) observation that "if learners invest in L2, they do so with the understanding that they will acquire a wider range of symbolic and material resources, which will, in turn, increase the value of their cultural capital" (p. 3).

In the present English learning stage, Melisa and Emre started to receive English courses in the preparatory school as the individuals whose imagined identities

expanded and transformed from L2 learners/test-takers to L2 users and L2 sojourners in different imagined English-speaking communities. The extended imagined identities they envisioned for their projected future, rather than proximal returns their immediate learning contexts might account for the two participants' sustained and diversified investments across settings (e.g., formal and informal school contexts) (Sung, 2019; Lamb, 2009).

In line with Norton's (2000) assumption that the crucial interconnection between imagined identity and investment, the findings of this study indicated that Melisa's long-term imagined identities (e.g., English major, English teacher, and L2 sojourner) seem to guide her in making diverse and relevant investments in particular areas of English in different contexts, such as the preparatory classroom and the international student club. Temporarily opting for majoring in a two-year program in Applied English and Translation Studies, Melisa's current investments to develop linguistically were guided by her goal of passing into a four-year English language teaching program. Therefore, she made continued investments in order to enhance her grammar knowledge and vocabulary capacity which were the areas of language mostly measured in the university entrance exam. Taking a pragmatic approach, Melisa considered being a preparatory school student as a springboard for her distal goals of majoring in English, participating in international exchange programs and becoming an English teacher. She seemed to appreciate the particular features of the preparatory program because she believed the classroom practices provided her with a very appropriate environment to have a good grasp of grammatical structures and strong vocabulary capacity and multiple opportunities to practice these areas.

On the other hand, Melisa was less likely to invest the oral activities in the classroom setting because of her feared L2 self as a non-native English speaker. Her limited English spoken proficiency, as well as self-reported low L2 self-confidence, appear to adversely impact her investment in L2 classroom opportunities. She refused to participate in such interactional tasks when she was with her *non-native* peers not only inside the class but also outside. In contrast to Zacharias's (2012) study that showed the learners did not challenge or show resistance to their negative identity options as

non-native speakers as it was associated with their negative self-perceptions as ‘failed natives’. However, in Melisa’s case, she exercised her agency and channeled her efforts towards improving her weak English spoken proficiency to take on her desired roles in her imagined community instead of *completely* withdrawing from interactional communities of practice (Chang, 2011). One possible reason for this finding might be her belief that the ability to use English perfectly from a prosodic point of view was quite important to be able to identify herself with her imagined socially meaningful community of native speakers of English (Zhang & Zhang, 2013). Instead of the classroom learning community, Melisa engaged in L2 interactional opportunities in a different setting on campus, that is, the Erasmus+ student club where she hoped to cultivate and materialize her desirable selves in her imagined communities. Another reason for Melisa’s engagement in this club might be its contributory impact of this social community on her identity negotiation which helped her to have a sense of ownership of English (Gao et al., 2008).

Likewise, considering the ability to speak English as a means of becoming legitimate a proactive participant in his imagined communities (e.g., engineering major, university lecturer, and L2 sojourner), Emre directed his current efforts to engage in meaningful forms of using English both inside the classroom and outside. Thus, he did not see the value of showing improvements in other language skills (e.g., reading, writing or listening). Furthermore, Emre took up particular subject positions in line with his withdrawn self resulting from his dyslexia. He took various agentive actions that involved more engagement in less face-threatening CALL classes. In contrast to his early learning stage, he increased his L2 investments by becoming more positively responsive to classroom learning, seeking ways of improving his spoken proficiency and meaningful socialization opportunities with foreign people both inside and outside the school.

Being completely different from Melisa and Emre, Ahmet was not willing to seek opportunities to participate both in formal and informal L2 learning practices because of the impoverished imagination of his English-speaking self in the future despite his recognition of the importance of English as a global language. His sense of obligation

to meet the course requirements in the preparatory program seemed to be gradually weakened and nearly disappeared due to the lack of external pressure in taking optional English classes. This finding aligns with Wang and Liu (2017) who emphasized the essential role of ought-to L2 self in sustaining L2 learning. In addition to his vague ideal L2 self, Ahmet's perceived limited English spoken proficiency caused him to have struggles in taking part in the interactional classroom opportunities. His acts of remaining at the periphery and withdrawal from any type of engagement could also be attributable to his construction of a 'linguistically inferior' learner identity in the classes when he was with his more competent peers.

As Pavlenko (2003) noted, the analysis showed that the participants' selections of investments seem to be negatively influenced by the prevailing discourse of native-speaker ideology as the ideal or superior. Given that the participants of this study were active agents, they took various stances of full or partial participation as well as resistance that relied on their needs and more importantly their desired role in their envisioned futures. This study demonstrated that the participants constructed identity of inferiority, particularly in L2 oral tasks. They felt unconfident, frustrated, shamed in these interactional activities, which reflected their desire to have native-like pronunciation. Therefore, they showed partial participation or resisted when the integrity of their imagined identities as L2 users was threatened (Wu, 2017) or withdrew from the classes that did not enable them to be engaged in the imagined community of English speakers. Overall, the findings showed the participants' agentive roles as participation and nonparticipation appeared to be intertwined with the native-speaker ideology. Although the participants could envisage extended imagined L2-mediated communities, they viewed their non-native status as a great barrier to participate in such L2 interactional opportunities in the classroom (Sung, 2017). In other words, the current classroom practices seem to (re)produced the native-speaker ideology, which ultimately restricted their participation and their ability to identify themselves as legitimate English speakers (Menard-Warwick, 2014).

One more important point to stress in relation to investment is the role of *personal agency* in the participants' L2 investments, in particular with regard to L2 interactional

activities in different settings. The participants' selective investments in different L2 practices could be taken as manifestations of their agency. For instance, Melisa's choice of turn away from L2 classroom interactions and seek out speaking opportunities in a different social community, Emre's intentional investments mostly in his spoken proficiency and less face-threatening technology-mediated classes, and Ahmet's withdrawal from interactional L2 practices because of his linguistic inferiority appear to show their exercise of personal agency (Sung, 2019). However, it should be noted that even if agency is related to one's personal choice (Duff, 2012), it could also be constrained by sociocultural and contextual factors (Sung, 2019; Lave & Wenger, 1991).

As indicated in the analysis, the participants' self-reported weak English language skills in addition to their limited L2 spoken proficiency were more likely to prevent them from moving towards full participation (Sung, 2019). Their lack of appropriate linguistic and cultural capital was shown to have resulted from the limited exposure to L2 interactional practices in their past learning trajectories. The privileging standard English in the past and present contexts of learning in an EFL environment appear to restrict their access to the real English-speaking communities of practices and L2 interactional opportunities. In that regard, the positions the participants of this study took up as 'non-native speakers' or 'linguistically inferior learners' in speaking classes in the preparatory classrooms could also be taken as the representations of the dominant ideology of native speakerism (Holiday, 2006). It is critical to allow language learners' rethink whose norms were operationalized in the English-mediated classrooms.

It can be, therefore, concluded that L2 learning might be considered as a process that is intricately intertwined with various sociocultural, contextual and affective factors (Norton, 2000; Block, 2007). It is also a social process through which L2 learners have agentive powers to foster changes in their actual L2 selves and resist the dominant norms (e.g., Anglo-centric and American discourse) in the classrooms. Although the participants had talked of frustration, embarrassment, or desperation (Pavlenko, 2003) in keeping the integrity of their imagined identities, the personal agency has the

potentiality to change their actual, self-perceived non-native speaker status. The process of language learning requires them to invest in, exert effort, and take agentive actions to acquire legitimate positions and take on an international posture as a result of their active participation in the purposeful learning communities of practice (Kington, 2013).

In essence, first, the findings of this study showed that all the participants' selections of investments represented their respective short-term and long-term future goals similar to the learners' investment and agency in similar contexts (e.g., Sung, 2019; Haneda, 2005; Chang, 2011; Lamb, 2009). In other words, as the interviews revealed, the varying degrees of investments in different areas of language appeared to be mainly tied to different types of imagined memberships in the communities to which they aspired to participate in the projected future. As previously discussed, as Melisa and Emre were clear about which aspects of English competence would be useful for them in their projected futures and considered the improvement of English spoken proficiency as a good language exercise and as an important symbolic resource through which they might gain legitimate positions in their L2-mediated imagined communities. Both were selectively investing the particular areas of language that could offer the most profitable returns. These findings resonate with the previous studies that found language learners were willing to exert effort to gain a return on their investment in the target language in terms of material resources and symbolic resources (Trentman 2013; Norton & Toohey, 2011; Pavlenko & Norton, 2007; Wu, 2017).

Second, the findings showed that the participants' strategic selections of investments were also closely interconnected with the different identities they constructed in their language learning trajectories (Kanno, 2003; Sung, 2019). Almost all of them were more likely to have struggles in constructing a positive academic identity in the current contexts of learning because of their perceived drawback as non-native English speakers who could not speak so native-like or perfect English (Sung, 2017). Their partial or complete withdrawal from any type of engagement from L2 interactional practices in classes could be traced to their identity as illegitimate language learners

or non-native speakers that grown out of their past and present learning trajectories (Haneda, 2005).

Third, personal agency plays an important role in the participants' selections of different L2 investments (Sung, 2019). It should be, however, considered that agency is not free will or unlimited power to act, rather various socio-cultural and contextual constraints might prevent them from gaining access to L2 practice opportunities and also might "sabotage their imagined future" (p. 226) as legitimate L2 users (Chang, 2011).

5.1.3 What kind of imagined identities and communities inform the program members' perspectives and the policy documents of an Intensive English Language Program?

5.1.3.1 Using English in International Communities: A Remote Vision?

In the previous sections, whether the participants' imagined identities encapsulate are limited selves as L2 learners/test-takers or extended selves as L2 users and how these future L2-mediated visions played a role in guiding the participants to make selections of relevant investments in different contexts. This section investigated the rhetoric on the imagined communities of the institution which was the participants' current context of learning as well as the classroom realities from the program members' perspective. It is important to gain insights into the imagined communities informing the preparatory school because the participants' imagined communities invite an imagined identity and their L2 investments in their imagined communities should be understood within this context (Norton & Kamal, 2003). Based on the findings, this study clearly supported the standpoint in the literature that the imagined communities envisioned by the schools for their students might have a powerful impact on their policies and practices (Kanno, 2003). These policies and practices, in turn, could restrict or make students' imagined identities tangible or accessible (Kanno, 2003; Wu, 2017; Nunan, 2013; Kanno, 2018).

The findings of this study indicated that there are conflicting messages and varying articulations of goals with regard to English language education in the policy documents of the program. The university was less likely to envision any extended imagined communities for its students, rather it seems to create restricted future options for them through prioritizing immediate goals, including university-based attainments over longer-term goals related to academic, professional, or social lives. In this respect, the language policy of the university tends to contradict the discursively constructed image of English in the IELP documents except for the IELP curriculum. Influenced by the globalization of English, the policy documents of the IELP envisioned an imagined global/international community of English speakers in which the students could participate in different communities of practice (e.g., academic, professional, and social) as language users when they complete the program. However, these kinds of imagined communities informing the IELP policy documents does not appear to in line with the curriculum it offers. The curricular documents were more likely to be incongruent with the mission of educating legitimate language users who are part of an imagined global community. The findings showed that the IELP curriculum utilizes an overly intense curriculum with an unequal distribution of courses on English skills in addition to diminished access to L2 practice opportunities. In addition, the curricular documents seem to assign a passive role to its students in applying what they have learnt in classes to school-based examinations. Thus, it can be concluded that an extended vision of a wider and global community of English-speaking people seems to be partly reflected in the analyzed documents.

Consistent with the participants as well as the policy documents, the program members also explicitly expressed their recognition of the prominent role of English as a global lingua franca (Graddol, 2006). Similar to the focal participants, they tended to believe ‘the exchange value of English’ which would help their students to enhance their career portfolios and increase their employability in the future (Kramsch, 2014). They also seemed to recognize ‘the linguistic capital’ of English (Bourdieu, 1977) as a source of profit to achieve different forms of capital. Likewise, the assumption held by the program members in relation to English as a commodity to gain access to symbolic and material resources and as ‘an added value’ in the local and global market

was mainly shaped by the exchange value and the larger societal ideals that considered English is of high market value in Turkey (Selvi, 2011; Kramsch, 2014; Rabbidge, 2019).

Despite their attempts to convince the students about the importance of English, the findings revealed that the program members failed to envision an extended range of imagined communities in which their students could become legitimate participants. What is clear in the analysis is that they frequently positioned the preparatory program students as illegitimate users of English or failed native speakers of the target language. In other words, the program members appeared to rely heavily on an imagined instrumental community in which the students were positioned as illegitimate users of English or Turkish users becoming people of a few words and many gestures or English or L2 test-takers.

One possible explanation for the program members' failure to envisage any positive imagined communities for their students might be the dominant institutional ideology that focuses on exam results (Yim, 2016). Although all of them portrayed English as a must-skill for utilitarian purposes, they seemed to consider and implement the function of English as a foreign language course which helps the students to pass the compulsory school-based exams. Furthermore, the institutionalized nature of English learning which privileged performing and doing in school-based examinations over analyzing, reflecting, interacting, and negotiation of meaning might have prevented the program members from envisioning *enabling* imagined communities for their students (Kanno, 2003).

Regarding the impact of dominant institutional policy on the classroom realities, the program members were less likely to express their satisfaction since they were pushed to follow the traditional instructional practices. They believed that the instructional practices they were expected to do were heavily tied to teacher-led English classes in which the students were provided with diminished access to L2 interactional opportunities. They were critical of the overreliance of the commercially-published textbooks of which content lacks an international orientation. They also referred to the

weakness of their classroom practices and teaching materials in terms of developing students' intercultural understandings. Considering the students' ethnocentric and nationalistic tendencies towards the target language, they stressed the lack of intercultural focus in their instructional practices and materials, which is a crucial point stressed by Alptekin (2002). He noted that the international status of English has raised a critical need for a new pedagogic model which could develop language learners' intercultural communicative competence "by equipping them with linguistic and cultural behavior which will enable them to communicate effectively with others, and also by equipping them with an awareness of difference, and with strategies for coping with such difference" (p. 63).

The findings also showed that the preparatory program seemed to make limited investments in creating purposeful learning-oriented spaces where the students might be interested in or aspire to participate despite its proclaimed responsibility to help students become independent and life-long learners. The institutional investments in L2 learning appeared to be restricted to CALL classes and encouragement of extensive reading outside the school. These findings are in line with the participants' data that revealed they found CALL-based classes and activities as demotivating due to its mechanic and non-interactive atmosphere. However, these technology-based classes could be used as an alternative learning environment and a social space in which the students are provided with many opportunities for innovative language instruction and learner engagement (O'Donnell, 2006).

Another explanation of the program members' vision of a restricted imagined community linked to the participants' imagined instrumental identities as L2 learners/test-takers is that the students' lack of appropriate linguistic and cultural capital valued both in the Turkish context (Doğançay-Aktuna, 1998; Bektaş-Çetinkaya & Oruç, 2010) as well as in the global arena (Kramsch, 2014; Rabbidge, 2019). The students were positioned as 'linguistically deficient' or 'failed native speakers' of the target language due to their low levels of L2 motivation, limited L2 (spoken) competence, lack of agency, ethnocentric tendencies and insufficient academic generic skills. The findings showed that the program members' instructional practices,

accordingly, aimed at improving grammar knowledge and vocabulary capacity rather than creating experiential and transformative practices in the real classroom communities. The program members held low expectations of the capabilities of Turkish students and attributed their ‘English deficit’ (West et al., 2015) to their educational, socio-cultural and economic backgrounds. This finding resonates with Coleman’s (2011) study who found that “underachievement is very difficult to correct in language classrooms because of the cumulative nature of the subject matter” (p. 17). In line with the analysis of this study, Coleman (2011) pointed out that those who possessed have appropriate social, economic, and cultural capital provided by home background and early educative experiences are more likely to exploit English learning opportunities, which results in “a massive’ gain over years” (p. 17). As mentioned before, this accumulated impact is called ‘Matthew impact’ by Coleman (2011) to explain the widening gap between those who have more positive and supportive L2 learning experiences and those who have more negative and unsupportive ones could also be observed in the focal participants’ language stories. In that regard, one caveat in the previous studies that there is a critical need for English classrooms to challenge the deficit ways of framing English learners (Núñez, Rios-Aguilar, Kanno, & Flores-Montgomery, 2016; Kramsch, 2014; Coleman, 2011).

In relation to the discourse of the English deficient students which was commonly shared by the program members, the scholar invites language teachers to recognize the resources that the students bring to the classrooms to prevent “the reproduction if existing social stratification and the lack of social mobility of children from disadvantaged groups” (Coleman, 2011, p. 18). Seen in this light, such language learners as Melisa and Ahmet who did not have any international experiences and learned English in disadvantaged schools might not materialize their goals if their social and historical contexts shaping their language learning histories are not addressed and they do not receive the support they need to succeed in the future (Núñez et al., 2016). For the program members, it seems to be critical to re-imagine their students as legitimate English users and accept them as multicompetent speakers or bilinguals (Cook, 1999; Rudolph, Selvi, & Yazan, 2015; Kramsch, 2014). This is an important point from language teachers’ point of view because they “can help to

awaken positive motivation and investment in the target language regardless of how hard L2 learners are concerned about the language” (p. 152) through constructing classroom practice to be interesting and informative and to recognize the value of students’ previous knowledge and experience (Gao, 2012).

Lastly, another main reason that might account for the program members’ visions of an imagined instrumental community for their students is the reproduction of the prevailing ideology of the standards of native speaker competency through a range of classroom practices. In this sense, Hall (2019) suggests that we need to consider language ideologies (beliefs, feelings, and conceptions about language) since they guide not only students’ access to contexts of interaction and their L2 investments in their and others’ social identities but also language policies with regard to which language varieties are valued. In parallel, the findings revealed that the preparatory school appears to reproduce this prevailing hierarchy through classroom practices and instructional materials. Most of the program members stated they did not allow language alternation and privileged standard academic grammar over non-standard language varieties (Zuniga, Henderson, & Plamer, 2018). Their understanding of effective classroom language practices seems to be linked to the standards of native speaker competency.

In addition to their self-reported clear preference for the commercially-published textbooks because of their Standard English orientation, they also considered ‘standard’ practices as the correct and original practices. They believed ‘non-standard’ practices might result in a sense of confusion for the students; therefore, they found these practices as ‘unhealthy attempts’. These findings seem to support the standpoint in the previous studies (e.g., Zuniga et al., 2018; Gao, 2012) that teachers’ imagination influences their teaching pedagogies and classroom practice. The program members’ failure to develop a sense of belonging to an international community of bilingual/multicompetent speakers seems to influence their teaching pedagogies that prioritized grammatical accuracy and native-speaker competency. It is not unfair to argue that the program members’ beliefs that associated ‘good and correct English’

with dominant norms (British and American English) made a substantial impact on both their teaching practices and imaginations for their students.

As mentioned in the previous section, particular sociocultural and contextual factors might constrain the language learners' exercise of agency in L2 investments and the outcomes of their English learning trajectories (Sung, 2019). Thus, language learners and language teachers should be encouraged to reject the standards of native speaker competency and position themselves as multicompetent speakers or bilinguals (Cook, 1999; Rudolf et al., 2015). Regarding the inconsistencies between the imagined communities informing the policy documents and the program members' perspectives and the imagined communities were apparent as shown in Figure 16 in the findings section. The analysis showed that the focal participants, particularly Melisa and Emre could envision themselves as language users in imagined professional, academic and international communities. They tended to recognize the relevance of English to their future plans as pre-undergraduate students and generate clear imagined identities as competent L2 users in a global community of English speaking people despite their impoverished L2 backgrounds.

On the other hand, some of the policy documents (e.g., the university documents and the IELP curriculum) except the IELP documents (e.g., mission and vision statement, program outcomes, and strategic plan) and the program members seems to envision an imagined instrumental community for the students instead of an international/global community of multilingual competent/bilingual speakers. At this point, the analysis revealed one alignment between the participants' restricted imagined identities as L2 learners/test-takers and the one envisioned by the policy documents and the program members. Based on these findings, the participants' negotiation of such restricted imagined identities could also be attributable to the limited nature of institutional imagined communities envisioned for its students (Kanno, 2003). As Huang and Chen (2017) noted, "... teachers play a vital role in creating positive English learning experiences – in particular, experiences that engage students' identities in a transformative sense so that a remote vision of using English fluently in international contact situations can become a personally meaningful pursuit" (p. 67). In this sense,

language teachers like the program members in this study are encouraged to “create images of a globalized world in which English is a medium of communication (Yim, 2016, p. 64).

5.2 Conclusions

This study focused on the three learners can be limited by its empirical generalizability, but a reader should evaluate a qualitative study considering it would allow “elaboration on the complexity and characteristics of that one case” (Duff, 2014, p. 6). Moreover, this inquiry was conducted with a small group of participants and might not reflect the identities of all Turkish learners of English in the local setting. However, the findings of this study could offer insights into the (re)construction of language learner’s identities in other EFL contexts (Vasilopoulos, 2015) and could inform our understanding of the complex interplay between identity negotiation and investments. As this research effort attempted to compare and contrast multiple cases of the three English learners, it might be helpful to explore the impact of differential patterns of their learning trajectories on varied L2 investments in the classroom community and outside (Sung, 2017, 2019).

This multiple-case study addressed the research gap in the field of English language education in Turkey concerning language learners’ learning motivation for English learning and identity construction from a sociocultural, post-structuralist lens. The existing body of knowledge mainly focused on the traditional socio-psychological Gardnerian standpoint of L2 motivation (i.e., instrumental and integrative motivation) and based on the results obtained from the quantitative data. Also, previous studies highlighted the need for in-depth studies to expand the unit of analysis beyond the ESL settings and to explore the identity construction of L2 learners from different contexts where English is learned and used as a foreign language. In the relevant literature in the Turkish context exploring the concepts of imagined identity, imagined community and investment (Kanno & Norton, 2003), studies mostly focus on the socialization experiences of international (Turkish) students in study abroad contexts and their social identity constructions in the U.S. contexts (Ortaçtepe, 2012, 2015). Thus, this

study intends to provide a comprehensive picture of Turkish language learners' L2 motivations considering the latest conceptual and methodological shifts in L2 learning motivation research. Through investigating the multiple perspectives in an Intensive English Language Program, the study aimed to unravel potential barriers to the creation of extended and motivating communities for pre-undergraduate learners as well as the maximization and optimization of their English learning experiences, thereby imagination, eliminating traditional monolingual orientations through identity expansion or transformation, intercultural awareness and understanding, and developed L2 self-confidence.

In the discussion section, the impact of different factors in generating and shaping the participants' imagined identities was explained. Biographical factors (learners' personal histories and past L2 learning experiences), the socio-educational factors (institutional policies and instructional practices, and learning in an EFL context) and socio-ideological factors (sociocultural beliefs about the exchange value of English and larger neoliberal ideological discourse of globalization) guided them in forming and shaping the participants' imagined identities. The analysis of the collected data supported the socio-cultural, postmodernist perspectives that highlighted the complex, dynamic, multi-layered, socially-situated and dialogic nature of identity construction (Norton, 2000; Pavlenko, 2003; Darvin & Norton, 2018; Norton & Toohey, 2011). This study concluded that language learners with different L2 learning trajectories brought their past to their present contexts of learning. Therefore, their previous L2 learning experiences functioned as a filter for the interpretation of learners' new L2 learning experiences in the current learning communities of practices. In this study, the participants had a sense of having a deficit English proficiency and talk of embarrassment, frustration, and desperation, which was challenged by the more proficient peers in the English-medium learning community of practices. It was concluded, therefore, that the negotiability of L2-mediated identities of learners, in particular, in the foreign language contexts were more likely to interact with the degrees of their L2 investments in the target language practices.

In this study, the participants' partial or complete withdrawal from any type of engagement of L2 interactional practices in classes was closely related to their identity as illegitimate language learners or failed native speakers that are grown out of their previous learning trajectories. There is, therefore, a critical need for gaining in-depth understanding in terms of learners' multiple and changing identities (Norton, 2000) and corresponding investments to their imagined identities in the real and imagined worlds (Chang, 2011).

Additionally, the focal participants' selections of L2 investments were guided by their visions of imagined communities linked to instrumental, academic, professional and international goals, which confirmed the recent discussions on the relationship between imagined community and investment (Kanno, 2003; Wu, 2017; Haneda, 2005; Chang, 2011; Sung, 2019). As Kanno (2003) noted, "School's visions of imagined communities, whether they be implicit or explicit, exert a powerful influence on their current policies and practices, ultimately affecting the students' identities" (p. 298), the powerful impact of limited imagined instrumental community envisioned by the preparatory program on its policies and classroom practices and the learners' imagined identities and L2 investments were also discussed. Based on the findings, some recommendations for further practice and research are made in the next section of this study.

5.3 Recommendations

5.3.1 Recommendations for Future Practice

1. This study found that the participants underwent a process of identity construction, reconstruction, and transformation throughout their English learning stories as members of multiple contexts, in different spaces and across time. As indicated in the findings, their 'negotiation of identities' were found to be shaped by socio-institutional arrangements, personal histories, agentic actions, and power relations (Pavlenko & Blackedge, 2003). These influential factors might result in a process of transformation and resistance in

(re)construction of their imagined identities. Therefore, the field of language education should take into account the relationship between the language learners' imagined identities and the macro and micro contexts, conflicts or overlaps with the practiced and imagined communities from a more holistic perspective (Ushioda, 2011a). The language learners' personal histories may be used as a 'narrative hook' in L2 education to expand their imagination and engage in emotional investment (Kramsch, 2014). L2 classrooms at all levels should be designed as a purposeful and personalized learning community where language learners want to belong and participate in the practices that are developed based on their needs, interests, and aspirations.

2. In line with the "whole people" and "whole lives" perspective (Coleman, 2013, p. 17), creating spaces where we are able to hear unheard stories of language learners and their social identities is of an important role for a comprehensive appreciation of their needs, expectations, desires and aspirations concerning English (Sung, 2019). As the language learners engage with a globalized world with transnational identities encapsulating a complex and dynamic interplay among different values, ideologies, and cultures, language teachers need to recognize English learners with their particular histories, skills and investments which all shape their investments in L2 learning.
3. This study revealed that the socially and institutionally imposed roles constrained the range of their imagined identities and prevented them from building possible future identity options as competent L2 users. Language learning in a non-English dominant context in addition to the non-interactive, traditional teaching pedagogies limited their access to the linguistic and cultural practices of the target community and in turn influenced the possibility of negotiating identities. Despite such constraints, some of the learners (e.g., Melisa and Emre) could envision the wider and global imagined communities where they would use English as a dominant language of communication "through power of imagination" (Kanno & Norton, 2003, p. 241). Therefore, the field of language education, particularly in EFL settings where the

opportunities to practice the target language limited to the school contexts need to consider the crucial role of *imagination* to help language learners negotiate *enabling* imagined identities. In doing so, language teachers should also acknowledge that the notion of imagination is not a magic itself; rather it is a complementary attempt to pay attention to learners' imagined identities as 'a fuel for action' (Appadurai, 1997) in designing courses, preparing materials as well as selecting teaching approaches (Zacharias, 2012).

4. Additionally, the analysis of this study indicated that the participants' visions of different imagined communities linked to their needs and aspirations appeared to guide their selective investments in learning English and impact their participation and non-participation in English classes. Considering the powerful influence, either negative or positive, of imagined identities on their investments and also the outcomes of their L2 learning trajectory, language teachers need to prepare classroom activities that enable language learners to connect "groups of people not immediately tangible or accessible" (Kanno & Norton, 2003, p. 241) with whom they gain access through the power of imagination. In doing so, teachers should bear in mind that learners' imaginary communities are not fantasy worlds or daydreaming; rather they are comprised of some dynamic factors and has real consequences of these imaginations for the individual language learner (Ryan, 2006; Kanno, 2003). In this sense, pedagogical practices which develop a strong sense of belonging to a global community of English users (Ryan, 2006) should be incorporated into language classrooms since they have the potential for giving them a good sense of purpose and direction along the long voyage of second language learning (Wu, 2017). These classroom practices may help particularly for those (e.g., Ahmet) who are not still familiar with the utility of English and decided to participate in one-year preparatory programs. These students may need to be explicitly informed about which areas of L2 language and resources would contribute to their future academic, professional, and social needs and desires. Specifically, for the preparatory programs, organizing a social network which

allows the interactional exchanges of language learning experiences alumni and prospective preparatory school students could be of important benefit.

5. To help students to generate and sustain ideal future selves, vision-based pedagogical interventions might be used in L2 classrooms. In that regard, Hadfield and Dörnyei (2013) suggested a wide range of classroom activities and materials that language teachers might utilize in their teaching practices. Moreover, because of the pervasive presence of technology in individuals' lives, participation opportunities for interaction with different L2-mediated communities could be offered for language learners in non-English dominant settings. To help them (re)imagine themselves as legitimate members of their imagined communities of competent L2 users, different online learning communities and diverse semiotic resources from multimedia, including computer-mediated communication and multimodal communication (Choi, Yang, & Chen, 2018) such as online intercultural exchange (OIE) (Ke, 2016) may be used to enable students to go beyond the traditional monolingual orientations and to develop their L2 self-confidence. Given the increasing number of international students in Turkish universities (Özoğlu, Gür, & Coşkun, 2015), the preparatory programs may set up both real and virtual practice-oriented L2 socialization communities on campuses. These educational spaces might become a trigger for identity transformation and strengthen their imagination beyond the EFL settings.
6. Furthermore, such international communities might be encouraged to help students to become more adaptive to an international context and to "create images of a globalized world in which English is used as a medium of communication" (Yim, 2016, p. 64). In the EFL context that is of different language ecology, these practice-oriented L2 communities might be useful for enhancing students' international posture.
7. This study found that the participants in the early learning trajectory did not see the value of showing improvement in their English skills as it was not a

subject matter in the university exam. As they were not acknowledged that the English proficiency might help them gain access to acquire a wide range of symbolic and cultural capital, the three participants similar to many of their compatriots made relatively restricted investments before the preparatory program. In parallel, the program members expressed their dissatisfaction with their unawareness of the utility of English in their future. The field of English education in Turkey, therefore, should seek alternative ways of engaging in motivational practices that expand their goals to use English as a medium of international communication. Besides, particular concrete actions should be taken to provide students with transformational L2 practices in L2 classroom communities from primary to tertiary settings. As a solution to the 'English deficit' in Turkey as a country of teaching to test orientation (Ortaçtepe, 2015), language teachers need to favor reflecting and performance over analysis and interpretation instead of being busy with "teaching testable structures and drawing up the structural progression of course syllabi" (Kramsch, 2014, p. 309).

8. In this respect, pre-service English language teacher education programs should incorporate formative and diagnostic assessment procedures into their curricular agendas (Richards, 2008). Given the impact of traditional institutional policies and instructional practices on the L2 learning trajectories, it is critical for teacher educators to recognize the relevance of promoting the process-oriented assessment of learning (Bayyurt & Sifakis, 2017). Also, these programs need to put a strong emphasis on the testing and evaluation of learning to progress the whole education system (Hatipoğlu, 2015).
9. Additionally, the program members consistently considered the students' limited L2 competence prevented them to provide an inspirational learning environments and far-reaching influence on their students. In parallel, the participants also pointed to their self-perceived low English skills as a critical barrier for them in participating in classroom activities. Thus, the preparatory programs might be encouraged to raise their entry-level at least to CEFR A2

for more improved intake (West et al., 2015) and purposeful L2 learning experiences. Remedial language courses for students with low L2 proficiency could be offered to support their L2 development. Language support can also be provided through one-to-one consultation services and self-study programs (Sung, 2017; 2019).

10. Since English is viewed as a gateway to different forms of capital that language learners, in particular in EMI programs aspired to acquire, the university policies should focus on offering sufficient language support for these students to maximize L2 learning and using opportunities both inside and outside the classroom. Language enhancement courses that help learners continue their L2 studies and workshops that raise students' awareness about the different opportunities to learn and use English beyond the school should be encouraged.
11. In the present English learning stage, the participants constructed a restricted and passive imagined identity as L2 learners/test-takers due to the institutionalized nature of English learning and the preparatory classrooms as a learning community that focuses on exam results. The institutional and instructional practices were found to strengthen the participants' sense of obligation to succeed in school-based exams. On the other hand, such exam-driven school policies pushed the program members to teach the curriculum based on the revision of the pre-learned grammatical structures, which were not relevant to the participants' academic and professional goals. In a sense, as Huang and Chen (2017) described, "rather than foreseeing themselves as English users in an imagined international context, they are probably inclined to envision a self-actualizing self that can successfully obtain high scores in English in future entrance exams" (p. 66). In order to help them participate more fully in the L2 classroom community of practice, the schools and teachers need to invest in policies and practices that are more responsive to their students' imagined futures.

12. The participants in this study showed the exercise of agency and made continued L2 investments despite the various socio-cultural and contextual constraints which have the potential for sabotage the integrity of their imagined identities. With individuals' agentive powers in mind, language teachers should be encouraged to reject the standards of native-speaker competence and position their students as bilingual/multicompetent speakers (Cook, 1999; Rudolf et al., 2015). If not, the participants might opt for seeking opportunities to benefit from opportunities in new and genuine learning communities of practice because of their self-perceived limited English competence and fear of speaking with more proficient ones or native speakers. A critical need for the language teachers emerged from this study in terms of creating possible professional learning spaces which might enable them to question their beliefs about hegemonic ideologies from a critical language perspective. The development of these critical skills may also shape learners' ability to access and produce legitimate knowledge and position themselves as legitimate English speakers (Darvin & Norton, 2018).

13. This study found that the students were positioned as illegitimate L2 users or failed native speakers by all the program members due to their limited and inappropriate linguistic and cultural capital. However, language teachers are encouraged to abandon the traditional discourse of linguistic competence and embrace the contemporary theories of bilingualism, specifically Cook's (1992, 1999) inclusive theories of *multicompetence* which open up an alternative possibility of an imagined community of multicompetent, bilingual, and multilingual speakers. His theory suggests that "people who know more than one language have distinct compound state of mind, not equivalent to two multilingual states, and can be considered legitimate L2 users" (p. 262). There is a critical need for English classrooms to challenge the deficit ways of framing English learners (Núñez et al., 2016; Kramsch, 2014; Coleman, 2011). Instead, language teachers should recognize the resources that the learners bring to the classrooms not to cause the reproduction of existing social stratification and prevent those learners who are socially disadvantaged from

acquiring English as a means of symbolic and material capital (Coleman, 2011). A more reflective, historically grounded, interpretative and politically engaged pedagogies are encouraged to be accepted in English classrooms (Kramsch, 2014).

14. A critical pedagogy approach should be encouraged in pronunciation instruction in language teaching (Sung, 2016). In parallel, language learners should be acknowledged about their non-native status and advised not to see themselves as linguistically inferior or illegitimate language speakers. In doing so, language teachers could encourage learners to critically reflect on their preference for the native-like pronunciation and underlying meanings attached to their accent choices. Similarly, language teachers are also encouraged to expose students with different varieties of English; however, they need to “have them critically engage with the social and political differences that they index” (Kramsch, 2014; p. 306).

5.3.2 Recommendation for Further Research

1. This study only focused on the imagined identities and investments of the three language learners who were participating in a preparatory program in the Turkish context. Further studies are needed to have an in-depth understanding of the identity construction of language learners in different EFL settings through more data collection sources. Further research is encouraged to move beyond cross-sectional studies to further the complexities of L2 identity by involving more participants and using sources of longitudinal data.
2. Further studies should be carried out with different cohorts in different local and international settings. Comparative studies in which the students in the optional preparatory program and those in the compulsory preparatory program could be conducted to help to gain a comprehensive perspective of

variation and complexity involved in the construction of different imagined identities.

3. Considering the “whole people” and “whole lives” perspective (Coleman, 2013, p. 17), future research needs to address the ways in which language teachers and researchers are able to hear unheard stories of language learners and their social identities. Future studies could explore how language teachers play a significant role in creating positive L2 learning experiences that engage learners’ identities in a transformative sense.



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APPENDICES

A. İNGİLİZCE ÖĞRENME MOTİVASYONU ÖLÇEĞİ

1. BÖLÜM: KİŞİSEL BİLGİLER

İsim-Soy isim: _____

Cinsiyet (Lütfen daire içine alınız):

a) Kız b) Erkek

Yaşınız: ____

Fakülteniz veya kazandığınız bölüm:

Hangi grupta İngilizce eğitimi almaktasınız?

a) A1 b) A2

Hangi programda İngilizce dil eğitim almaktasınız?

a) İsteğe Bağlı (Optional) Hazırlık Programı

b) Zorunlu (Compulsory) Hazırlık Programı

Kaç yıldır İngilizce öğreniyorsunuz?

_____ yıl

2. BÖLÜM: İKİNCİ/YABANCI DİL ÖĞRENME MOTİVASYONU

Aşağıda yabancı dil öğrenme motivasyonunuz hakkında bazı sorular verilmiştir. Lütfen size en uygun gelen yanıtı seçerek işaretleyiniz. Örneğin verilen ifadeye kesinlikle katılmıyorsanız “Hiç düşünmüyorum” seçeneğini, kesinlikle katılıyorsanız “Kesinlikle düşünüyorum” seçeneğini işaretleyiniz.

Lütfen size en uygun gelen yanıtı seçerek işaretleyiniz.		Hiç düşünmüyorum	Pek düşünmüyorum	Az düşünmüyorum	Az düşünüyorum	Çok düşünüyorum	Kesinlikle düşünüyorum
1	Bu dönem bu İngilizce dersini aldığım için mutlu hissediyorum.						
2	Genellikle kendimi İngilizce konuşabilen biri olarak hayal ediyorum.						
3	İngilizce öğrenmeyi önemli görüyorum çünkü saygı duyduğum insanlar İngilizce öğrenmem gerektiğini düşünüyorlar.						
4	Kendimi yabancı is arkadaşlarımla İngilizce konuşurken hayal edebiliyorum.						
5	Bu dönem İngilizce dersimi dört gözle bekliyorum.						
6	Kendimi ana dilim gibi İngilizce konuşan biri olarak hayal edebiliyorum						
7	Eğer İngilizceyi öğrenmezsem, ailem hayal kırıklığına uğrayacak.						
8	Kendimi rahatlıkla İngilizce yazar ve okurken hayal ediyorum						
9	Bu dönem İngilizce en favori derslerimden biri.						
10	İngilizce öğreniyorum çünkü yakın arkadaşlarım bunun önemli olduğunu düşünüyorlar.						
11	Bu dönem İngilizce derslerimi seviyorum çünkü dersin içeriği benim için ne çok zor ne de çok kolay.						
12	Ailemin, arkadaşlarımla, öğretmenlerimin ve patronumun onayını alabilmek için İngilizce öğrenmek benim için önemli.						
13	Eğer İngilizce öğrenmeyi başaramazsam, başkalarını hayal kırıklığına uğratacağım						

Lütfen size en uygun gelen yanıtı seçerek işaretleyiniz.		Hiç düşünmüyorum	Pek düşünmüyorum	Az düşünmüyorum	Az düşünüyorum	Çok düşünüyorum	Kesinlikle düşünüyorum
14	Bu dönem, İngilizce derslerinde ne yaptığımızı ve nasıl yapmamız gerektiğini genellikle anlıyorum.						
15	Kendimi İngilizce e-postaları akıcı bir şekilde yazarken hayal ediyorum						
16	İngilizce öğrenmem gerekli çünkü çevremde ki insanların benden beklentisi böyle.						
17	Ailem, eğitilmiş bir birey olabilmek ve iyi bir iş bulabilmek için İngilizce bilmenin bir şart olduğunu düşünüyor.						
18	İngilizce derslerinde, anlamadığım bir şey olursa hemen öğretmenime soruyorum.						
19	Bu dönem İngilizce dersi ortamını seviyorum.						
20	Kendimi yurt dışında yasarken ve İngilizce konuşursak tartışabildiğimi hayal edebiliyorum.						
21	Bu dönem, İngilizce derslerim için verilen ödevleri faydalı buluyorum.						
22	Kendimi yurt dışında yasarken ve İngilizceyi etkili bir şekilde kullanırken hayal edebiliyorum.						
23	İngilizce derslerinde öğrendiklerimi ders dışında da kullanmaya çalışıyorum.						
24	Bir gün çok güzel İngilizce konuşabileceğimden eminim.						

Lütfen size en uygun gelen yanıtı seçerek işaretleyiniz.		Hiç düşünmüyorum	Pek düşünmüyorum	Az düşünmüyorum	Az düşünüyorum	Çok düşünüyorum	Kesinlikle düşünüyorum
25	İngilizce dil becerilerimin gelişimi için bir hazırlık programında öğrenci olduğum için kendimi mutlu hissediyorum.						
26	İngilizce dersimde, sunum yaparken kendime güvenim tam.						
27	Yabancılarla İngilizce konuştuğum ortamları hayal edebiliyorum.						
28	Gelecekte yapmak istediklerim İngilizce konuşmamı gerektiriyor.						
29	İngilizce öğrenmek benim için önemli çünkü eğitimli bir insan İngilizce konuşabilmeli.						
30	İngilizce öğrenmek benim için önemli çünkü eğer İngilizce bilirim, diğer insanlar bana daha çok saygı duyarlar.						
31	İngilizce dersindeyken, elimden geldiği kadar derse katılıyorum.						
32	Bu dönem İngilizce dersimde ilerleme kaydettiğimi hissediyorum.						
33	İngilizce öğreniyor olduğum için kendimi iyi hissediyorum.						
34	Genel olarak İngilizce derslerinde öğrendiğimiz konuların ileride faydalı olacağını düşünüyorum						

35	Bu dönem İngilizce dersimde sık sık başarılı olduğum hissini deneyimliyorum.						
36	Ne zaman gelecek kariyerimi düşünsem, kendimi İngilizce kullanırken hayal ediyorum.						
37	Bu dönem, İngilizce öğrenmede başarılı olduğumu düşünüyorum.						
38	Bu dönem İngilizce dersimde yüksek bir not alacağımı düşünüyorum.						
39	Bu dönem İngilizce dersimde çok rahat hissediyorum.						

3. BÖLÜM: BENİM İÇİN İNGİLİZCE

Lütfen aşağıdaki soruları cevaplayınız.

1. İngilizce öğrenme isteğinizi/motivasyonunuzu değerlendirecek olursanız aşağıdaki ölçekte 1'den 10'a kadar hangi sayıyı seçersiniz?

Çok düşük				Orta				Çok yüksek	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

2. İngilizce dil yeteneğinizi değerlendirecek olursanız ölçekte 1'den 10'a kadar hangi sayıyı seçersiniz?

Çok başarısız					Orta			Çok başarılı	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

3. İngilizce öğrenmenin sizin için önemi nedir?
4. Bir üniversite öğrencisi olarak İngilizce' nin size ne gibi katkıları olacağını düşünmektesiniz?
5. Okul dışında İngilizce öğrenmek ya da İngilizce seviyenizi geliştirmek için neler yapmaktasınız?
6. Aşağıdaki kutucuktakilerden hangilerini daha önce duydunuz? Hangisine daha fazla aşina olduğunuzu hissediyorsunuz?

American English Pakistani English (Paklish)
British English Indian English
Australian English Chinese English (Chinglish)
Canadian English South African English

B. L2 MOTIVATION QUESTIONNAIRE –L2MQ

PART 1: BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Name: _____

Gender:

- a) Female b) Male

Age _____

Your department/Major: _____

What is your class level in preparatory school?

- a) A1 b) A2

What is your program type?

- a) Optional Preparatory Program
b) Compulsory Preparatory Program

How many years do you learn English?

_____ year(s)

PART 2: L2 MOTIVATION

The following are a list of questions about your foreign language learning motivation. Please check the circle which most accurately describes your answer for the question below. If you don't agree with the statement, you would mark the circle all the way on the left under "not at all." If you agree, you would mark the circle all the way on the right under "tremendously."

Please check the circle which most accurately describes your answer for the question below.		not at all	not very much	slightly not	slightly	very much	tremendously
1	I am happy that I am taking this course this semester.						
2	I imagine myself as someone who is able to speak English.						
3	I consider learning English important because the people I respect think that I should do it.						
4	I can imagine myself speaking English with international colleagues.						
5	I look forward to my English class this semester.						
6	I can imagine myself speaking English as if I were a native speaker of English.						
7	I have to study English, because if I do not study it, I think my parents will be disappointed with me.						
8	I imagine myself reading and writing in English easily.						
9	English is one of my favorite subjects at school this semester.						
10	I study English because close friends of mine think it is important.						

Please check the circle which most accurately describes your answer for the question below.		not at all	not very much	slightly not	slightly	very much	tremendously
11	I enjoy my English lessons this semester because what we do is neither too hard nor too easy.						
12	Studying English is important to me in order to gain the approval of my peers/teachers/family/ boss.						
13	If I fail to learn English, I will be letting other people down.						
14	In English lessons this semester, I usually understand what to do and how to do it.						
15	I imagine myself writing English e-mails fluently.						
16	Learning English is necessary because people surrounding me expect me to do so.						
17	My parents believe that I must study English to be an educated person and get a good job.						
18	I immediately ask the teacher for help, if I have a problem understanding something in English class.						
19	I like the atmosphere of my English lesson this semester.						
20	I can imagine myself living abroad and having a discussion in English.						

Please check the circle which most accurately describes your answer for the question below.		not at all	not very much	slightly not	slightly	very much	tremendously
21	I find the assignments for this class useful this semester.						
22	I can imagine myself living abroad and using English effectively for communicating with the locals.						
23	I try to use what I have learned in my English class outside of the class as well.						
24	I am sure that one day I will be able to speak English very well.						
25	I am happy to be a student at a university where all my courses are taught in English.						
26	I feel confident doing speaking presentations in my English class.						
27	I can imagine a situation where I am speaking English with foreigners.						
28	The things I want to do in the future require me to use English.						
29	Studying English is important to me because an educated person is supposed to be able to speak English.						
30	Studying English is important to me because other people will respect me more if I have knowledge of English.						
31	When I am in English class, I volunteer answers as much as possible.						



Please check the circle which most accurately describes your answer for the question below.		not at all	not very much	slightly not	slightly	very much	tremendously
32	I feel I am making progress in English this semester.						
33	I feel good about learning English.						
34	In English lessons this semester, I think we learn things that will be useful in the future.						
35	I often experience a feeling of success in my English lessons this semester.						
36	Whenever I think of my future career, I imagine myself using English.						
37	This semester, I think I am good at learning English.						
38	I believe I will receive good grades in English this semester.						
39	I feel comfortable in my English class this semester.						

PART 3: MY ENGLISH

On a scale of 1 to 10, how motivated you are to learn English right now?

1. Your English language learning motivation

Very low					Medium			Very high		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

2. Your confidence in using English

Not confident				Sort of confident				Very confident	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

4. What does English mean to you?
5. What might be the potential contributions of knowledge of English to your academic/professional/daily life?
6. Do you put any additional efforts to learn or use English in a daily life context? If yes, what do you do?
7. Which of the followings in the box below did you hear before? Which one do you feel more familiar with?

American English Pakistani English (Paklish)
British English Indian English
Australian English Chinese English (Chinglish)
Canadian English South African English

C. L2 MOTIVATION CHECKLIST

Please write student names whose characteristics matches with the descriptors most you think.

Descriptor	Student(s) Name		
	Student(s) who <u>OFTEN</u> displays this attribute	Student(s) <u>SOMETIMES</u> who displays this attribute	Student(s) <u>NEVER</u> who displays this attribute
1. S/he feels confident and comfortable in using English.			
2. S/he has a desire to control his/her learning.			
3. S/he thinks that English is important to him/her.			
4. S/he puts all the efforts to improve his/her English.			
5. S/he chooses to work on more difficult tasks, persist longer in the face of failure.			
6. S/he displays higher levels of cognitive engagement.			
7. S/he produces work that is of higher quality.			
8. S/he enjoys and feels passionate about improving English competence.			
9. S/he prefers oral exercise more.			
10. S/he sees purpose in learning English and studies.			
11. S/he feels the learning is for them and not for the instructor.			
12. S/he participates extensively in class.			
13. S/he finds it boring, or may have no interest in English.			
14. S/he is more pleasant to learn English.			
15. S/he makes preparation more for class.			
16. S/he participates more actively in class.			
17. S/he has a desire to communicate in the L2 outside the classroom.			

D. INTERVIEW PROTOCOLS FOR STUDENTS

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL I

Focus: Background (personal and educational background), past language learning experiences, reflection on linguistic repertoires.	
Personal & educational background	1. Can you tell me a bit about your personal background? Prompts: Family; the environment where you grew up; educational background.
Language learning history	2. Could you tell me as much as possible about the details of your experience as a language learner? Prompts: The languages that you know; reasons for learning English or other languages; the role of English/other foreign languages in your life; age of onset to learn English/other languages. 3. How would describe the format of teaching and learning in past school years (primary, secondary, high school)? Prompts: Description of a typical English class; materials/textbooks used in English classes; preparation for English classes at that time; perceived difficulty in learning English; relationships with past English teachers; desired characteristics of an English teacher (native-non-native); influential people in your L2 learning. 4. How would you describe your efforts to learn English at that time? Prompts: Participation in out-of-school language learning activities.
Self-evaluation of L2 learning performance	5. How would you evaluate your English performance? Prompts: Self-evaluation of English performance before the preparatory program; self-confidence in using English; self-evaluation of current English performance in terms of main language skills.
6. Do you have anything else you would like to share about your English learning experiences?	

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL II

Focus: Present language studies, expectations/hopes/plans for the future, motivations for learning English, the perceived importance of English in their (future) lives and investment/commitment in English to reach their goals; self-perceptions about L2 learning, challenges and coping strategies.	
Reasons for learning English	1. What was/is your motivation for learning English? Prompts: Possible reasons (individual development; intrinsic interest; immediate achievement; going abroad; information medium; for job opportunities; because of the quality of teaching/materials/ teachers; fulfilling social expectations-family, friends, etc.) Probes: L2 Learning Profile Task 2. What factors might have impeded or assisted you in learning English? Prompts: Personality, economic or family situations, etc.
Expectations, hopes, plans	3. Can you tell me a bit about plans you might have for the future? Prompts: Expectations you bring to the preparatory program; how fulfilled they are; to what extent they are met; self-satisfaction with the current level of English; intention to give up/continue to learn English after transition to the department. Probes: L2 Learning Profile Task
Perceptions about L2 learning motivation	4. What does English mean to you now? What benefits do you think it will bring to you? Prompts: The relevance of knowledge of English/other languages to your academic/professional/daily life, what motivates and de-motivates you; any motivational changes compared to yourself in the past; teaching techniques/materials etc. help to motivate you; possible benefits to your ongoing university education; possible shortcomings to your university education. Probes: L2 Learning Profile Task

Investment in English language learning	5. How would you describe your efforts to learn English? Prompts: Any additional effort to learn English in a daily life context; participation/involvement in out-of-school opportunities to use English; the contributions of the program to your efforts; any provided extra-curricular activities to improve your English; commitment to learning English; times you spent for studying English;
Perceptions about the preparatory program	6. How do you value the language education you receive in the preparatory program for one year? Prompts: Self-perceptions about a good language learner, how close you are to this portrait; how the preparatory program helps you to improve these skills; the opportunities it will bring to you; your current instructors; the course materials/textbooks/activities/teaching format; major challenges for learning English; your coping strategies, your suggestions.
7. Do you have anything else you would like to share about your English learning experiences?	

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL III

Focus: Reflections on self-perceptions of a language learner, elaborations on imagined identities and imagined communities, elaborations on changes in their sense of identity.	
Self- perceptions as a language learner	1. How would you describe yourself as a language learner? Prompts: Self-descriptions as a L2 learner; your feelings about learning English at university; changes you noticed after you started to learn English (self-expression, courage, openness; closeness, cultural awareness). Probes: L2 Learning Profile Task 2. Who are you when you speak English? Do you feel you are still the same person? Prompts: Self-perceptions when speaking English (Western, modern, prestigious, etc.); your feelings when speaking English (in a higher or lower position); the contacts with people from target community.

Imagined identities/communities and English	3. When you imagine a competent speaker of English, what does s/he look like? Prompts: Your perception about the role/importance of English in your future; what areas you could use English. Probes: L2 Learning Profile Task 4. How do people around you (friends, family, peers) would regard you if you were an expert user of English? 5. Take me through a day in your future life. Can you imagine a clear situation when you are a successful speaker of English? Prompts: whom you would speak to; where you would be speaking; why you would be using English for; your feeling when you see a group of people who appear to be NS of English; your feelings when you see Turkish person talking to people who do not appear to be NS of English; your feelings when you see a Turkish person talking in English to people who do not appear to be NSs of English; kind of contacts has English brought to you. Probes: L2 Learning Profile Task
Awareness of different/multiple Englishes	6. What do these phrases “world English identity” or “global English” mean to you? Prompts: which cultures you associate English with; would you prefer to have native English speaking English teachers; your opinion about the best English; your awareness about the existence of different Englishes. Probes: L2 Learning Profile Task
7. Do you have anything else you would like to share about your English learning experiences?	

E: L2 LEARNING PROFILE TASK

[Student Name]



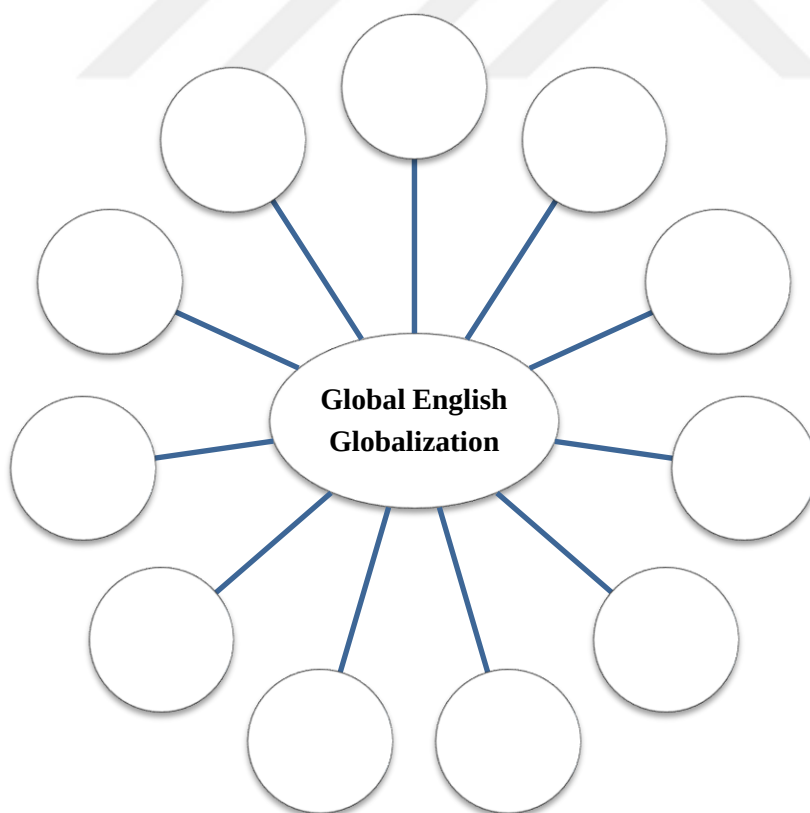
Example: English language learning is **like crossing an ocean** because **you have to be brave enough to venture into uncharted territory** when you learn a language.

English language learning is like

because.....

Past	Present	Future
How would [student name] view English language learning as a student during primary, secondary, and high school years?	How does [student name] view English language learning as a student in a preparatory program?	How will [student name] view English language learning as a student in his/her future life?

[Student Name], brainstorm and list terms related to the words below.



F: INTERVIEW PROTOCOL FOR PROGRAM MEMBERS

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL FOR PROGRAM MEMBERS

CAREER STORY

1. Could you please talk about your career story?
 - a. Why did you choose the profession of teaching?
 - b. How long have you been teaching? How long have you been working in this department?)

PERCEPTIONS OF ENGLISH TEACHING AND LEARNING

- a) What does English mean to you?
- b) Why do we need to learn English?
- c) Why should your students learn English?
- d) What characteristics do 'a good language learner' possess?
- e) Do you think that you teach English good language learners?

INTENSIVE ENGLISH LANGUAGE EDUCATION PROGRAM

2. **Do you think the Intensive English language education program you are teaching at has a mission or a philosophy or a particular language teaching policy?**
 - a. What type of a language student do you have at the end of the program?
 - b. What skills, knowledge, attitudes etc. should they have at the end of the program?

Aim of the program: This program aims to equip the students with necessary foreign language knowledge, skills and strategies that will enable them to express themselves in different environments where English is used as a communication tool. Our primary mission is to provide students with the basic English language skills they will need in their future academic, professional, and social lives and to help them to become self-directed and independent learners to continue their future foreign language learning that cannot be confined to a learner's school life

3. Do you think that your students gain these type of knowledge, competences, and strategies as claimed in the aim of the program? To what extent?

- a) How does the program help them to gain these attributes?
- b) What do you think about your students' expectations from the program? In what aspects do they expect to improve?
- c) Are their expectations met in the program? Any strengths or shortcomings of the program?

4. What do you think about the overall motivational dispositions of your students to learn English?

- a) What motivates/de-motivates them in learning English?
- b) What differences are there between the students in the Optional Preparatory Program and Compulsory Preparatory Program in terms of their motivations for learning English?)
- c) How do these two groups influence each other?
- d) How would you describe the overall level of English performance of the students?
- e) Do you think that they feel confident while performing listening, speaking, reading, and writing activities? Why/Why not?

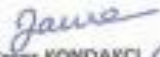
Mission/Vision Statement: Our vision is to become an educational institution that is distinguished with its qualities and to raise students in such way that they not only benefit from their foreign language in their academic departments but also in their future lives through developing all of the programs, educational tools and educational environments within the program parallel to our university's general vision and modern international qualities.

5. What do you think about the relevance of English to students' lives in the future?

- a) Would English still be important to them?
- b) How does the program provide students with extracurricular activities to increase the opportunities for more use of English?
- c) How does the program contribute to the students' efforts in learning English? If yes, how do you find these activities? If not, what type of activities should be provided in the program?

6. **What do you think about the native English speaker instructors in the intensive English language programs?**
- a. Have you ever hired any English speaking instructors or invited to the courses?
 - b. Would you prefer to have/hire English speaking staff/colleagues in the program?
 - c. In what ways could they contribute to the program or not?
 - d. Could you tell me about the teaching materials you utilized in your English classes?
 - e. Which publishing houses did/do you collaborate? Why/Why not? Please elaborate.
7. **What do these phrases "world English identity" or "global English" mean to you?**
- a. How aware are the staff in the program of global community of English users/these phrases?
 - b. What could be done to help them gain this perspective?
8. **In the strategic plan of the program, it is mentioned that one of the aims is "to raise students' interest in foreign language classes and to create opportunities and organizations to raise their awareness of the necessity and significance of English language".**
- a. How successful is the program to fulfil this strategic aim?
 - b. What opportunities are created to raise their awareness about the role of English in their academic, professional and daily life?
9. **Which cultures or countries do you associate English with?**
- a. Do you think that British or American accents are the most desirable ones in learning English?
 - b. Do you think that prioritize and associate English with the people and cultures of traditionally English speaking countries? Why/Why not?
10. **Do you have anything else you would like to share about your English teaching experiences?**

G. APPROVAL OF THE METU HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE

UYGULAMALI ETİK ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ APPLIED ETHICS RESEARCH CENTER	 ORTA DOĞU TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY
ÖZELİZMİN ERİLMESİ GANGUZA, ANKARA/TURKEY T: +90 312 210 22 11 F: +90 312 210 22 11 e: iletme@metu.edu.tr Sayı: 286206167/632	
	11 ARALIK 2018
Konu: Değerlendirme Sonucu	
Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (IAEK)	
İlgili: İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu	
Sayın Prof.Dr. Gölge SEFEROĞLU	
Danışmanlığını yaptığınız Reyhan ASLAN'ın "Learners' Stories of L2 Selves and Investment in their Imagined Communities: A Study in a Turkish EFL context" başlıklı araştırması İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülerek gerekli onay 2018-EGT-185 protokol numarası ile araştırma yapması onaylanmıştır.	
Saygılarımla bilgilerinizi sunarım.	
 Prof. Dr. Ayhan SOL Üye	 Prof. Dr. Tolun GENÇÖZ Başkan
 Prof. Dr. Yaşar KONDAKCI (4.) Üye	 Prof. Dr. Ayhan Gürbüz DEMİR Üye
 Doç. Dr. Emre SELÇUK Üye	 Doç. Dr. Dyes Pinar KAYGAN Üye

H. CURRICULUM VITAE

Personal Information

Surname, Name: ASLAN, Reyhan

Nationality: Turkish (TC)

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Education

2016-2020 Middle East Technical University, Ph.D. in English Language Teaching

2018- present Anadolu University, A.D. in Photography and Camera Operation

2013-2016 Middle East Technical University, M.A. in English Language Teaching

2009-2013 Erciyes University, B.A. in English Language Teaching

Work Experience

2013-2018 Middle East Technical University, Research Assistant

2018- present Niğde Ömer Halisdemir University, Research Assistant

Foreign Languages

Advanced English (C2)

Intermediate French (B1)

Publications

Aslan, R., Şahin, M. (2020). 'I Feel Like I Go *Blank*': Identifying the factors affecting classroom participation in an oral communication course. *TEFLIN Journal*, 31(1), 19-43.

Conference Papers

1. Aslan, R. & Seferoğlu, G. (2018). Teaching research skills in pre-service teacher education. Paper presentation at: *13th METU International ELT Convention*, Ankara, Turkey.
2. Aslan, R. & Seferoğlu, G. (2018). Teacher candidates' attitudes towards research. Paper presentation at: *27th International Conference on Educational Sciences*, Antalya, Turkey.
3. Aslan, R. & Eröz-Tuğa, B. (2017). Choosing teaching as a new career path: Narratives of second career EFL teachers from a Turkish context. Paper

presentation at: *3rd Cukurova International ELT Teacher Conference (CUELT)*, Adana, Turkey.

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- Journal of International Students

Accomplishments & Scholarships

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2211- National Post-Graduate Scholarship, TUBITAK, 2013- 2020

I. TURKISH SUMMARY / TRKE ZET

İNGİLİZCEYİ YABANCI DİL OLARAK ÖĞRENEN ÖĞRENCİLERİN HAYALİ KİMLİKLERİNE VE HAYALİ TOPLULUKLARINA ULAŞMAK İÇİN YAPTIKLARI YATIRIMLAR: TÜRKİYE’DEKİ BİR İNGİLİZCE HAZIRLIK PROGRAMINDAN FARKLI BAKIŞ AÇILARI

Giriş

İngiliz sömürge gücünün genişlemesi ve Amerika Birleşik Devletleri’nin zamanın en etkili ekonomik güç olarak ortaya çıkmasının bir sonucu olarak, İngilizce diğer diller arasında yeni ve özel bir konum kazanmıştır (Crystal, 2003). Dünya çapında, ikinci dil olarak İngilizce konuşanların sayısı, anadili İngilizce olan insanların sayısı geçtikçe (Crystal, 1997), Uluslararası Dil Olarak İngilizce (Pakir, 2009), Ortak Dil Olarak İngilizce (Seidlhofer, 2011), Dünya Dili Olarak İngilizce (Kachru, 1992) ve Küresel İngilizce (-ler) (Pennycook, 2007) gibi çeşitli kavramsallaştırmalar da ortaya çıkmıştır. Gittikçe daha da küreselleşen dünyada İngilizce, uluslararası iletişim için önemli bir araç haline gelmiştir ve öncelikle küresel bir kültürle ilişkilendirilmeye başlanmıştır (Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005). Farklı kökenlerden bireyler (örn. ana dili İngilizce olanlar ve yabancı dil olarak İngilizce konuşanlar) tarafından İngilizce’ nin ortak ve bağlantılı ortamlarda kullanılması, İngilizce’nin standart normlarına değil, yerel çeşitlerine olan ilginin artmasına da yol açmıştır (Warschauer, 2000).

Küreselleşen dünya bağlamında İngilizce’nin konumundaki bu köklü değişim, yabancı dil öğreniminde kimlik kavramını daha önemli bir hale getirmiştir ve bu değişim tek yönlü / monolitik bir dil öğrenimi görüşünün eleştirilmesini ve terkedilmesini de tetiklemiştir (Crystal, 1997). Ryan’a (2006) göre, İngilizce konuşanların kimliği günümüz küreselleşmiş dünyasında önemli bir yer tutmaktadır, çünkü hedef dilin mevcut konumu, dil kullanıcılarının İngilizce’yi sahiplenme duygusunu da değiştirmiştir. Bu nedenle, yabancı dil olarak İngilizce öğrenenler için bu dilin ne anlam ifade ettiğini, küresel dünyada hedef dili ne derece önemli gördüklerini,

İngilizce ile ilgili isteklerini, İngilizce öğrenirken inşa ettikleri kimlikleri yeni modeller ışığında yeniden düşünmek önem arz etmektedir (Sung, 2013). Ayrıca, küresel kimlik duygusu ile ilişkili olarak genişleyen söz konusu küresel İngilizce kavramı, yabancı dil öğrenme motivasyonunun yeniden kavramsallaştırılması için bir gereksinim yaratmaktadır (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2009) çünkü bir dili öğrenmede kimlik, o dili öğrenme motivasyonunun en önemli bileşeni olarak görülmektedir (Ryan, 2006). Buna binaen, kimliğin birincil sembolü olarak dili tanımlayan araştırmacılar (Jenkins, 2007; Seidlhofer, 2006; Crystal, 2003), bireylerin İngilizce'yi sahiplenme duygularına ve İngilizce'nin iki dilli ve çok dilli kişiler tarafından edinimi konularına (De Costa, 2010) katkıda bulunabilecek derinlemesine çalışmalar için çağrıda bulunmaktadır.

İkinci dil öğrenenlerin kimlik oluşumu hakkındaki mevcut alan yazın, anadilin İngilizce olduğu ülkelerdeki dil öğrenenlerin kimlik oluşumuna daha çok odaklanmıştır. Dolayısıyla, İngilizce'yi yabancı dil olarak öğrenen diğer ülkelerdeki dil öğrenenlerin hakkında oldukça az araştırma çalışması bulunmaktadır (Vasilopoulos, 2015; Sung, 2019; Yoshizawa, 2010). İngilizce kullanımının çoğunlukla dili yabancı dil olarak konuşanların arasında gerçekleştiği düşünüldüğünde (Seidlhofer, 2001), araştırmalardaki bu eşitsiz dağılım nadili İngilizce olmayan dil öğrenenlerin kimlik oluşum olgusunu çalışmaya değer bir araştırma konusu haline getirmiştir. Buna ek olarak, dil öğrenimi ve kimlik oluşumu ortama bağlı olarak değişkenlik gösterdiğinden, anadili İngilizce olanların üzerinde yapılmış dil kimliği araştırmaları, hedef dilin yabancı dil olarak kullanıldığı bağlamlarda araştırma sonuçlarının farklı yorumlanmasına (Vasilopoulos, 2015) veya işlevsiz genellemelere sebep olabileceği düşünülmektedir (Kumaravadivelu, 2005).

İngilizce öğrenmek artık hedef topluluk hakkında daha fazla bilgi edinmek ya da bu topluluk üyeleriyle benzer nitelikleri paylaşma istekliliği olarak yorumlanmaktadır (Ueki & Takeuchi, 2013). Bu sebeple, İngilizce'yi yabancı dil olarak öğrenenlerinin dil kimliklerinin ne ölçüde açık ve ayrıntılı çalışıldığı sorusunun acil bir cevaba ihtiyacı vardır (Eusafzai, 2013). Buradan yola çıkarak, bu çalışmanın Kachru'nun (1992) Dünya İngilizcesi çeşitlerinden genişleyen çember'e ait olan Türkiye'deki dil kullanıcıları için bu tür varsayımların geçerli olup olmadığını anlamamıza yardımcı

olacağı umulmaktadır. İkinci dil öğrenenlerin kimlik oluşumu üzerine yapılan çoğu çalışma, anadili İngilizce olmayan bireyleri İngilizce öğrenmeye neyin motive ettiği konusundaki belirsizliğini vurgulamaktadır (Prapunta, 2017). Türkiye, tipik olarak İngilizce'nin yabancı dil olarak konuşulduğu veya öğrenildiği bir ülkedir; bu bağlamda İngilizce'nin buradaki üstlendiği işlev birkaç özel alanla sınırlıdır (Doğançay-Aktuna, 1998). Türkiye gibi dil öğrenme ortamları benzersiz ve karmaşık olarak kabul edilmektedir, çünkü bu tür bağlamlardaki bireylerin hedef dile sınırlı erişime sahip oldukları ve hedef dili öğrenme isteklerinin, sosyal kimlik ya da deneyimlerine geliştirmekten daha çok, okul başarısı gibi araçsal motivasyonlar üzerine kuruluğu olduğu düşünülmektedir (Kinger, 2004).

Kavramsal Çerçeve

Hayali kimlik ve *hayali topluluk* kavramları, dil öğrenme, hedef dile *yatırım* ve kimlik arasındaki karmaşık ve dinamik ilişkiyi derinlemesine anlamamıza yardımcı olduğundan, ikinci dil olarak İngilizce'nin kullanıldığı yerlerde yapılan çalışmalara ek olarak, İngilizce'nin yabancı dil olarak öğrenildiği ve kullanıldığı farklı bağlamlardan kapsamlı çalışmalara ihtiyaç vardır (Sung, 2019). Bu nedenle, bu çalışma alanyazındaki bu boşluğu doldurmayı ve Türkiye'de yabancı dil olarak İngilizce öğrenen bireylerin, dil öğrenim deneyimlerine, hedef dile dair hayal edilmiş kimliklerinin oluşumuna vurgu yaparak ayrıntılı bir araştırma tasarımıyla, İngilizce'nin odağı ikinci dil olarak kullandığı ortamlarının ötesine taşımayı amaçlamaktadır. Literatürdeki araştırma boşluğunu gösteren tüm bu noktalar ışığında, bu çalışma bir devlet üniversitesinde lisans öncesi bir hazırlık programındaki İngilizce'yi yabancı dil olarak öğrenen öğrencilerin kapsamlı bir resmini sunmaya çalışmaktadır.

Literatürdeki çalışmaların da gösterdiği gibi, yabancı dil öğrencilerinin dil kimliği oluşumu ve hedef dili öğrenmek için yaptıkları yatırımları hakkındaki mevcut araştırma çalışmaları sınırlıdır. Bu nedenle, bu çalışma öncelikle, bir İngilizce hazırlık programında eğitim gören Türk öğrencilerin İngilizce ilgili hayali topluluklarındaki hayali kimliklerini ve bu kimlikleri elde etmek için yaptıkları yatırımları incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. İkinci dil öğrenenlerin deneyimlerine ilişkin çok sayıda vaka

çalışmasına dayanarak, bu çalışma sadece hayal edilen toplumlardaki hayali dil kimliklerinin derinlemesine bir analizini sağlamakla kalmayıp, aynı zamanda gelecek odaklı yabancı dil kimlik oluşumu sürecinin irdelenmesine de yardımcı olmaktadır. Öğrencilerin bireysel deneyimlerine ve görüşlerine değer vermenin yanı sıra, bu çalışma araştırmanın yürütüldüğü dil programında çalışan öğretim elemanlarının da (örn. program geliştirme, materyal geliştirme ve ölçme ve değerlendirme biriminde görev alan öğretim elemanları) deneyim ve fikirlerini ön plana çıkarmayı da hedeflemektedir. Dolayısıyla, bu araştırma, öğrenci katılımcıların mevcut öğrenme ortamı olan hazırlık programında oluşan hayali kimliklere ve topluluklara dair söylemleri araştırmayı amaçlamaktadır.

Yöntem

Önceki bölümde belirtildiği gibi, kapsamlı alanyazın incelemesi, İngilizce'yi yabancı dil olarak öğrenenlerin bireylerin dil kimliği oluşumu hakkında yapılan araştırmaların azlığına açıkça vurgu yapmaktadır. Ayrıca, literatürdeki çalışmalar, İngilizcenin yabancı dil olarak öğrenildiği ve kullanıldığı farklı ortamlardan farklı dil kullanıcılarıyla daha derinlemesine çalışmalara duyulan ihtiyacın da altını çizmektedir. Bu nedenle, bu çalışmaya katılmak üzere seçilen bir devlet üniversitesinin İngilizce hazırlık programındaki Türk öğrencilerden oluşan bir grupta ayrıntılı bir araştırma yapmanın uygun olduğu düşünülmüştür.

Merriam'a (2002) göre, nitel araştırma, araştırmacının "bir olguyu, bir süreci veya ilgili kişilerin bakış açılarını ve dünya görüşlerini keşfetmesini ve anlamasını sağlar" (s. 11). Bu çalışmadaki genel amaç, nitel araştırma yöntemlerine dayanarak, İngilizce'yi yabancı dil olarak öğrenen Türk öğrencilerinin kimlik oluşum sürecindeki dinamikleri ve karmaşıklıkları anlamaktır. Bu amaç göz önünde bulundurularak, araştırmacı bir yabancı dil bağlamında öğrenim gören öğrencilerin hayali kimliklerini, hedef dile yaptıkları yatırımları ve dil öğrenme deneyimlerini daha iyi irdellemek için, araştırma deseni olarak çoklu durum çalışmasını kullanmıştır. Bu araştırma desenini kullanarak, farklı profillere sahip katılımcıların dil öğrenme deneyimlerine ilişkin kendini ifade ettikleri kimlik anlatılarını toplamayı ve analiz etmeyi amaçlamıştır. Çalışmanın amaçlarına bağlı olarak, araştırma odak katılımcıları seçmek ve yabancı dil öğrenme

motivasyon eğilimlerine göre sınıflandırılmak amacıyla İngilizce Öğrenme Motivasyonu Ölçeği'ni kullanmıştır. Ölçek sonuçlarından elde edilen nicel veriler katılımcıların motivasyon eğilimlerine göre sınıflandırılmak ve çalışmanın ileri safhalarında yapılacak olan üç aşamalı görüşmeler için odak katılımcı seçmek amacıyla kullanılmıştır. Araştırma sürecinin ortaya koyduğu gibi, bu çalışma, daha çok derinlemesine, nitel araştırmanın yapılmasına yönelik çağrı yapan araştırmacıların çağrılarına yanıt olmaya çalışmaktadır (örn. Sung, 2019; Prapunta, 2017; Erdil-Moody, 2016).

Bu çalışma, Türkiye'deki bir devlet üniversitelerinden birinde bulunan İngilizce Hazırlık Programında yürütülmüştür. Bu hazırlık programı, 2010 yılında kurulmuş, bünyesinde Zorunlu Hazırlık Programı ve İsteğe Bağlı Hazırlık Programı olmak üzere iki ayrı hazırlık programı bulundurmaktadır. Bu araştırma, 2018-2019 Bahar döneminde gerçekleştirilmiştir ve araştırmanın katılımcıları, Şubat-Haziran 2019 tarihleri arasında yoğun bir İngilizce eğitim programında eğitim alan öğrencilerdir. Odak katılımcılar belirlenmeden önce gerekli kurum izinleri ve etik kurul onayı alınmıştır.

Katılımcıların belirlenmesi aşamasında, çalışmaya yabancı dil öğrenme motivasyonuna sahip geniş bir katılımcı yelpazesini dahil etmek ve yabancı dil motivasyonunun önemli yönlerini, dil kimliği oluşumunu ve hayal gücünü şekillendirmedeki rolünü incelemek için maksimum çeşitlilik örnekleme (Patton, 2002) kullanılmıştır. İngilizce Hazırlık Programından, yabancı dil öğrenimine yönelik, bir yüksek düzeyde motivasyona sahip, bir orta düzeyde motivasyona sahip ve bir düşük motivasyona sahip olmak üzere toplam üç hazırlık öğrencisi seçilmiştir. Katılımcı seçimi, İngilizce Öğrenme Motivasyonu Ölçeği'ndeki açık ve kapalı uçlu sorulara verilen yanıtlarla, öğretim elemanlarından istenen Yabancı Dil Motivasyon Kataloğu'ndan elde edilen veriler arasındaki çapraz referanslamaya dayanmaktadır. Diğer bir deyişle, hazırlık programında çalışmaya katılmayı kabul eden tüm öğrenciler, hem kapalı hem de açık uçlu sorular içeren bir ölçek aracılığıyla İngilizce öğrenme motivasyonlarını değerlendirmeye davet edilmiştir. Katılımcı seçiminde izlenen bu çok katmanlı strateji, araştırmanın daha güvenilir bulgular ürettiğinden

emin olmayı ve elde edilen verileri incelerken derinlemesine bir bakış açısı kazanmayı amaçlamıştır (Merriam, 2001).

Bu çalışmada veriler beş farklı ancak birbiriyle ilişkili veri toplama araçlarından elde edilmiştir. Araştırmanın geçerliliğini sağlamak, zengin ve çok yönlü bakış açılarını sunmak amacıyla (Mathison, 1988; Thurmon, 2001), bu çalışmada birden çok veri kaynağı ve veri toplama yöntemi kullanılmıştır. Bu araştırma çalışmasına rehberlik eden üç kapsamlı araştırma sorusuna ayrıntılı ve güvenilir veriler sağlamak için, bu araştırmanın verileri (1) İngilizce Öğrenme Motivasyonu Ölçeği, (2) üç aşamalı görüşmeler, (3) yabancı dil öğrenme profil çalışma kâğıdı, (4) program üyeleriyle (program geliştirme, materyal geliştirme ve ölçme ve değerlendirmeden sorumlu öğretim elemanları) görüşmeler ve (5) doküman analizinden elde edilmiştir.

İngilizce Öğrenme Motivasyonu Ölçeği'nden elde edilen nicel veriler, açıklayıcı ve çıkarımsal istatistikler oluşturmak için istatistiksel yazılım programı kullanılarak analiz edilmiştir. Ölçekten elde edilen sonuçlar, araştırmada ana hedef olarak değil, odak katılımcılarla yapılacak olan üç aşamalı görüşmeleri içeren daha ileri bir veri toplama adımı için araştırma aracı olarak kullanılmıştır. Çoklu durum çalışmalarının odak noktası, seçilen durumları karşılaştırmak ve kıyaslamak olduğundan (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2007), bu çalışma iki aşamadan oluşan veri analizi stratejisini izlemiştir (Merriam, 2009). Altı program üyesi ile yapılan derinlemesine görüşmelerden elde edilen görüşme verilerinin analizi için nitel araştırmada yaygın olarak kullanılan tematik analiz yöntemi (Braun & Clarke, 2006) kullanılmıştır. Hazırlık programının amaç ve hedeflerini, stratejik planlamasını, yönergelerini, yıllık raporlarını ve resmi web sayfasını içeren ilgili tüm belgeler görüşme oturumlarından önce ve sonra Bowen'in (2009) belge analizi adımları izlenerek analiz edilmiştir.

Bu çalışma, verilerin güvenilirliğini, geçerliğini, doğrulanabilirliğini, ve aktarılabilirliğini sağlayabilmek amacıyla çeşitli stratejiler kullanmıştır (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Bu nedenle, bu çalışma sadece yapıcı (çalışma esnasında) stratejilerden değil, aynı zamanda çalışmanın güvenilirliğini ve niteliğini artırmak için değerlendirici (post hoc) stratejilerden de yararlanmıştır (Bowen, 2008). Bu araştırmanın tüm aşamalarında, İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu gerekliliklerine sıkı

sıkıya bağı kalınmıştır. Gerekli etik onayı ve kurum izinleri aldıktan sonra, katılımcılara araştırma süreçleri hakkında bilgi verilmiş ve veri toplamaya başlamadan önce onam formu verilmiştir. Katılımcıların kimliklerini gizlemek amacıyla, tüm odak katılımcılara takma adlar verilmiş ve kurumların kimliği hem tez metni içerisinde hem de kaynakça da etik kaygılar sebebiyle maskelenmiştir.

Bulgular

Nitel araştırmalarda temel amaç, elde edilen bulgulardan genelleme yapmak değildir ve genelleştirilmiş, istatistiksel bir temele dayalı olarak sunulamaz. (Lewis, 2014). Bu bağlamda, nitel araştırma deseninden faydalanan bu çoklu vaka çalışması, incelenmekte olduğu olgunun “kapsamını ve doğasını ortaya çıkarmaya” odaklanmıştır (Lewis, 2014, s. 351). Bu nedenle, bireylerin belirli bir olguya yönelik görüş veya deneyimlerinin genel ve ortak yanlarını anlamaya çalışmak yerine, bireylerin söz konusu olguya dair deneyimlerini derinlemesine betimlemeye ve yaşadıkları deneyimin bireyler için ifade ettiği anlamı ortaya çıkarmaya çalışmaktadır (Merriam, 2009, s. 5). Tüm bunlar göz önüne alındığında, bu araştırma genellemeler yapmaktan ziyade, bulguların benzer bağlamlara aktarılabilirliğini hedef edinmiştir (Stake, 2000). İncelenen her durum çalışması, okuyucuya söz konusu olguya ilişkin yaşanmış tüm deneyimleri katılımcıların gözüyle sunulmasına yardımcı olmaktadır. Bu çalışmadaki ilk veri kaynağı ve veri toplama aracı İngilizce Öğrenme Motivasyonu Ölçeği’dir. Bu nicel veri kaynağı taraflılık riskini azaltmak ve yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmeler yapmak amacıyla uygulanan odak katılımcı belirlenme sürecinde şeffaflığı sağlamak için kullanılmıştır. Ölçekten elde edilen nicel veriler bu çalışmanın ana odağı değildir ve nitel veri kaynaklarından elde edilen bulguları üçgenlemek için kullanıldığından, bu ölçekten elde edilen veriler bulgular bölümünde okuyucu ile paylaşılmamıştır. Nitel veri kaynaklarından elde edilen bulgulara göre, tüm odak katılımcılar Türkiye’deki bir devlet üniversitesinde hazırlık programı öğrencilerinden oluşmaktadır. Tüm katılımcılar hazırlık programında A1 dil düzeyi sınıflara yerleştirmiş öğrencilerdir. Odak katılımcılar Melisa, Emre ve Ahmet şeklinde isimlendirilmişlerdir. Melisa ve Emre Zorunlu Hazırlık Programı’nda, Ahmet İsteğe Bağlı Hazırlık Programı’nda dil eğitimi almaktadır. Hepsinin anadili Türkçe’dir.

İlk katılımcı Melisa, lise 10. Sınıfta eğitimini alırken, gelecekte dil öğretimi ile ilgili bir bölümde uzmanlaşmak için lisede yabancı dil alanını seçmeye karar vermiştir. Ailevi ve maddi sıkıntılar yaşadığı için, üniversite giriş sınavında istediği bölüme gidebilmek için yeterli puanı alamıştır. Ancak, Melisa, hedefine ulaşmak için daha farklı bir yol izlemeye karar vererek iki yıllık Uygulamalı İngilizce ve Çeviri Çalışmaları ön lisans programına gitmeye karar vermiştir. Diğer katılımcı Emre, ailenin en büyük çocuğudur ve ailesinin işi nedeniyle, eğitim ve özel hayatının ilk yıllarında çalkantılı zamanlar geçirdiğini aktarmıştır. Emre, hazırlık programını tamamladıktan sonra Tarımsal Genetik Mühendisliği bölümünde okuyacaktır. Üçüncü katılımcı Ahmet, liseden mezun olduktan sonra bir Elektrik ve Elektronik Mühendisliği programında okumaya vermiştir.

Durum çalışmalarında da belirtildiği gibi, Melisa, Ahmet ve Emre dil öğrenimlerinin ilk yıllarında benzer dil öğrenme deneyimlerine sahiptirler. Emre dışındaki diğer iki katılımcı yaşadıkları kasabalardaki devlet okullarına gittikleri için 4. sınıfta İngilizce eğitimi almaya başlamışlardır. Emre ise bir özel okul öğrencisi olduğu için Melisa ve Ahmet'ten iki yıl daha erken dil eğitimi almaya başlamıştır. Bu dönemle ilgili olarak, Emre, düzensiz okul hayatının dil öğrenimi üzerindeki olumsuz ve yıkıcı etkisine vurgu yaparken, Melisa ve Ahmet köy okullarında öğrenci olmanın ve taşınmalı eğitimle öğrenim görmenin onları dezavantajlı bir konuma düşürdüğünü belirtmişlerdir. Ayrıca, üç katılımcının erken dönem dil öğrenme sürecinde, İngilizce kullanımı yalnızca okuldaki İngilizce dersleriyle sınırlıdır. Tüm odak katılımcılar, görüşmelerde kendilerini İngilizce öğrenmek ve kullanmakla hiç ilgilenmeyen dil öğrencileri olarak tasvir etmişlerdir. Emre İngilizce öğrenmeyi "tamamen anlamsız ve amaçsız" bir durum olarak görürken, Melisa "İngilizce derslerini gerçekten sevmediğini" belirtmiştir. Benzer şekilde, erken dönem dil öğrenme aşamasında, Ahmet de İngilizce öğrenmeye herhangi bir önem atfetmemiş ve İngilizce öğrenmeyi "saçma" olarak nitelendirmiştir.

İster özel okullarda veya devlet okullarında dil eğitimi görsünler, tüm katılımcılar sınav odaklı okullarda İngilizce öğrenmeye çalıştıklarını söylemişlerdir. Okul türü ne olursa olsun İngilizce öğretmenlerinin dilbilgisine ağırlık veren müfredat kullandıklarını ve dört temel ikinci dil becerisinin öğrenim gördükleri sınıflarda hafife alındığını

düşünmektedirler. Bulgular, katılımcıların hiçbirinin üniversiteden önce iletişimsel dil uygulamalarına maruz kalmadığını göstermiştir. Bunun yerine, devlet tarafından sağlanan standart ders kitaplarına dayalı ve öğretmen egemen İngilizce derslerine maruz kaldıklarını söylemişlerdir. Daha geniş bir bakış açısından bakacak olursak, hem sınıf içi hem de sınıf dışında İngilizce etkileşim fırsatlarına sınırlı erişim ve bireysel olarak yaşadıkları dil öğrenimine dair olumsuz ve cesaret kırıcı deneyimler, katılımcıların İngilizce öğrenme arzularını köreltmıştır. Üstelik bu deneyimler, yetkin dil kullanıcısı kimliği oluşturmalarını da engellemiş görünmektedir. Oldukça erken dönemde ve uzun yıllar boyunca hedef dile maruz kalmalarına rağmen, hiçbir katılımcı, erken dil öğrenme sürecinde, olumlu bir dil öğrencisi veya kullanıcısı kimliğini veya öz imajını yapılandıramamıştır.

Bulguların da gösterdiği üzere, söz konusu dönemde, hiçbiri İngilizce'yi kullanma konusunda kendini yeterli veya yetkin görme eğiliminde olmamıştır. Bu anlamda, sınırlı ve pasif dil öğrencisi kimliğini oluşturmuşlar ve hazırlık programına katılmadan önce yabancı dile dair güçlü hayal edilmiş kimlikleri olmamıştır. Katılımcılar kendilerini sadece okuldaki İngilizce sınavlarında geçmelerine yetecek puanı almaktan başka endişesi olmayan dil öğrencileri olarak konumlandırmışlardır. Başka bir deyişle, gelecekte daha olumlu ve İngilizce konuşmaya yetkin bir toplulukta proaktif/meşru bir dil kullanıcısı olma konusunda güçlü bir hedefe sahip olmadıkları görülmüştür. Dil öğrenimine karşı faydacı bir duruş sergileyen üç katılımcının yabancı dil öz-sistemleri, katıldıkları okullarda ders gereksinimlerini karşılamak için güçlü bir yükümlülük duygusu ile yakından ilişkilidir. Hepsi, sınırlı İngilizce yeterliliğine ve düşük yabancı dil özgüvenine sahip olduklarına inandıkları için kendilerini yetkin İngilizce kullanıcısı değil, bunu yerine yalnızca sınav odaklı dil öğrencileri olarak konumlandırmaktadırlar. Katılımcıların üçü de, dil becerilerini geliştirmeleri gerektiğini düşünmektedirler.

Yabancı dil odaklı deneyimlerin ve kimliklerin karmaşık ve dinamik doğası nedeniyle, katılımcıların hayal edilmiş yabancı dil kimlikleri ve İngilizce öğrenimine yaptıkları yatırımlar, her bir dil öğrenme hikâyesinde farklılıklar göstermiştir. Diğer iki katılımcıya kıyasla, Melisa'nın dil öğrenme hikâyesindeki çarpıcı fark, lise eğitiminin ikinci yılından itibaren daha olumlu ve yetkin İngilizce hayali kimlikleri oluşturmayı

başarmasıdır. Diğer iki katılımcının dil öğrenme hikâyelerine paralel olarak, Melisa, lisenin ikinci yılından önce olumlu bir ideal ikinci dil benliği oluşturamamış, İngilizce'yi yalnızca bir okul dersi olarak görmüş ve yalnızca dil sınavlarını geçmeye çalışmıştır. Lisede, ilerlemek istediği alanı seçene kadar yetkin bir dil öğrencisi olarak olumlu bir kimlik oluşturamayan Melisa'nın geçmiş İngilizce öğrenme hikâyesi, ilgisiz bir dil öğrencisi olarak olumsuz bir akademik benliği ve artan özgüvene sahip bağımsız dil öğrencisi benliği olmak üzere iki zıt kimlik pozisyonu içerir. Emre ve Ahmet'e benzer bir şekilde, 10. sınıftan önce de olumsuz ve cesaret kırıcı öğrenme deneyimlerine sahip olmasına rağmen, Melisa daha sonra oldukça erken bir aşamada yetkin bir dil öğrencisi olarak olumlu bir akademik kimlik oluşturmayı başarmıştır. Melisa, öncelikle İngilizce yeterliliğindeki gelişmeler, lisedeki dil eğitimi boyunca yaşadığı ilham verici dil öğrenme deneyimleri ve sosyal çevresinde İngilizce yeterliliğine atfedilen sosyokültürel değeri sayesinde yetkin bir İngilizce öğrencisi olarak olumlu bir akademik kimlik oluşturabilmiştir. Bu nedenle, 10.sınıftan sonra, sadece sınıfta değil, aynı zamanda daha farklı sosyal ortamlarda da hayal ettiği İngilizce Öğretmenliği programı öğrencisi ve İngilizce Öğretmeni kimliklerine sahip olmak için hem sınıf içi hem de sınıf dışı yatırımlarını çeşitlendirmiştir.

Buna karşılık, Ahmet ve Emre, hazırlık programında İngilizce eğitimi almaya başlamadan önce İngilizce öğrenmek ve kullanmak için birbiriyle benzer benzer dil öğrenme deneyimlerine sahiptirler. Emre ve Ahmet, lise eğitimleri bitene kadar daha olumlu ve kapsamlı İngilizce konuşan bir topluluğa yetkin bir dil kullanıcısı olarak katılım için herhangi bir istek, plan veya beklentilere sahip değildir. İki katılımcının bu tutumu gelecekte yapmak istedikleri mesleği seçme aşamasına kadar bu şekilde devam etmiştir. Okuma ve yazma güçlüğüne sahip bir dil öğrencisi olan Emre, temel olarak, erken öğrenme aşamasında yakın sosyal çevresi tarafından takdir edilmek ve başarılı bir öğrenci olarak anılmak amacıyla İngilizce'yi bir araç olarak belirlemiştir. Benzer şekilde, Ahmet'in ikinci dil öz-sistemi de erken dönem İngilizce öğrenme aşamasındaki gibi açık bir ideal ikinci dil benliği yerine İngilizce ders gerekliliklerini karşılamak için çabalayan bir dil benliği tarafından yönlendirilmiştir.

Genel olarak, sınav odaklı dil öğrencisi olarak hayal edilen araçsal kimliklerin, katılımcıların yabancı dil öğrenme motivasyonları üzerinde en güçlü etkiye sahip

olduğu ortaya çıkmıştır. Başka bir deyişle, üç katılımcı, yabancı dil odaklı hayal edilen topluluklara daha meşru veya yetkin katılım gösteren dil kimlikleri yapılandırmamışlardır. Buna paralel olarak, erken dönem dil öğrenme aşamasında, katılımcıların yetkin bir dil konuşmacısı veya kullanıcısı benliklerini barındıran İngilizce odaklı bir hedefleri de bulunmamaktadır. Kendilerini, dil becerilerini daha da geliştirmeye ihtiyaç duyan düşük yabancı dil özgüven duygusuna sahip dil öğrencileri olarak nitelemişlerdir.

Üç farklı katılımcının dil öğrenme deneyimlerinin derinlemesine analizi, hemen hepsinin hazırlık programından önce İngilizce öğrenimi ile ilgili sınırlı hayali kimliklere sahip olduklarını göstermektedir. Daha kapsamlı ve küresel bir dil topluluğunda yetkin İngilizce kullanıcısı olarak bu topluluğunun üyeleriyle bağlantı kurmak için herhangi bir hedeflerinin veya planlarının olmadığı ortaya çıkmıştır. Genellikle kendilerini, yabancı dil kullanmaya dair endişelerini ve hayal kırıklıklarını ifade eden İngilizce öğrenenler olarak konumlandırma eğilimindedirler. Bununla birlikte, çeşitli bağlamsal veya biyografik faktörlerin etkileşimi sonucunda üniversite eğitimlerinin eşik noktasında, tüm katılımcılar İngilizce'nin gelecek planlarını gerçekleştirmelerindeki önemini kavramaya başlamışlardır.

Melisa ile karşılaştırıldığında, Emre ve Ahmet lise eğitimlerini tamamlamadan önce İngilizce öğrenmekle ya da onu kullanmakla ilgili sorunlar yaşamışlardır. Bununla birlikte, her ikisi de üniversite giriş sınavından sonra üniversite programı seçmenin eşğinde iken, hayal ettikleri gelecekleri için İngilizce öğrenmenin önemini görmeye başlamışlardır. Örnek olarak, orta düzeyde yabancı dil motivasyonuna sahip katılımcı Emre, hazırlık okulunda zorunlu İngilizce derslerine katılmaya ve Melisa'nın durumunda olduğu gibi, eğitim dili İngilizce olan bir programda lisans eğitimine devam etmeye karar vermiştir.

Öte yandan, en az düzeyde yabancı dil motivasyonuna sahip olan Ahmet, bu bir yıllık programda isteğe bağlı dil dersleri almayı tercih etmiştir. Melisa ile benzer şekilde, Emre ve Ahmet, sosyal çevrelerinde ilham aldıkları rol model insanlar aracılığıyla gelecek planları için oluşturdukları hayali kimliklerinde İngilizcenin konumunu anlamaya başlamışlardır. Kendi yol haritalarını belirlemek için, ulaşmak istedikleri

hayali kimlikleriyle özellikleri en ilişkili olan bu rol modellerini gözlemlemişlerdir. Bu bağlamda Melisa, İngilizce öğretmeninin yurtdışı seyahatleri ve İngilizce yeterliliğinin getirdiği daha iyi yaşam standartları ile ilgili deneyimleriyle motive olduğunu belirtmiştir. Emre, üniversiteden mühendis olarak mezun olmak üzere olan ve akıcı bir şekilde İngilizce konuşmayı öğrenen bir yakın arkadaşından etkilenmiştir. İngilizce konuşma becerisi sayesinde uluslararası bir şirkette mühendis olarak çalışan Ahmet'in kuzeni, onun isteğe bağlı olarak İngilizce dersler almasına ve zayıf bir hayali kimlik bile olsa yetkin bir dil kullanıcısı kimliğini yapılandırmasına katkıda bulunmuştur.

Bu tür bireysel faktörlere ek olarak, yetkin İngilizce kullanıcıları olarak hayal ettikleri kimlikler, İngilizce'nin gelecekte onlara sunacağını düşündükleri potansiyel faydalar tarafından şekillenmiştir. Yakın sosyal çevreleri (örn. öğretmenler, aile üyeleri veya akrabaları) tarafından İngilizce yeterliliğine verilen sosyo-kültürel değer, İngilizcenin gelecekteki hedeflerine hitap ettiğini düşünmelerine yardımcı olmuştur. Çeşitli iş olanakları, zengin bir özgeçmiş dosyası, sosyal saygınlık ve ekonomik hareketlilik gibi farklı sermaye biçimlerine ulaşmak için yetkin dil kullanıcıları/konuşmacıları veya hedef dili konuşan profesyoneller olarak daha kapsamlı hayali kimlikler inşa edebilmişlerdir. Başka bir deyişle, üç katılımcının İngilizce konuşanlar ve İngilizce konuşan profesyoneller olarak yapılandıkları hayali kimlikleri, özellikle katıldıkları ve katılmayı planladıkları hayali topluluklarda İngilizce'nin dilsel saygınlığı ile oldukça yakından ilişkilidir.

Her ne kadar tüm katılımcılar İngilizce dil becerisinin onlara sunacağı fırsatlar konusunda yüksek beklentiye sahip olsalar da, hedef dile yaptıkları yatırımlar onların yakın ve uzak gelecekleriyle ilgili hedeflerini temsil etmektedir. Üç katılımcının dil öğrenme deneyimlerinin analizlerinde, farklı yabancı dil becerilerine yapılan farklı düzeylerdeki yatırımların, katılımcıların ait olmak istedikleri hayali topluluklardaki farklı hayali kimliklerle yakından ilişkili olduğu saptanmıştır. Örneğin, dil eğitime devam ederken karşılaştığı tüm zorluklardan kaçmak yerine, Melisa bir yıl boyunca yoğun bir dil eğitimi alarak çabalarını yabancı dil becerilerini geliştirmeye yönlendirerek *kişisel eylemlilik* örneği sergilemiştir. Diğer bir deyişle, Melisa, hayal ettiği topluluklarda değerli olan en karlı getirileri sunabilecek dil becerilerine yatırım

yapma konusunda seçici davranmıştır. Bu nedenle Melisa, İngilizce ile ilgili bir programda uzmanlaşmak ve kısa süreli hedeflerine ulaşmak için üniversite sınavında test edilen dilbilgisi ve kelime kapasitesini geliştirmeye yönelik yatırım yapma eğiliminde olmuştur. Yetkin bir üyesi olmayı hayal ettiği kusursuz İngilizce becerisine sahip İngilizce öğretmenlerinden oluşan hayali topluluklara ulaşmak amacıyla Melisa çevresinde ulaşabileceği ve ona sunulan İngilizce öğrenme veya kullanmasına katkı sağlayacağı topluluklara katılmayı seçmiştir. Yetersiz olduğunu düşündüğü İngilizce becerilerini geliştirmek için, hem arkadaşları ile sınıfta hem de uluslararası bir öğrenci kulübünde yabancı öğrencilerle etkileşimde bulunmaya çabalamıştır.

Öte yandan Emre, İngilizce öğrenmenin ve konuşmanın alternatif yollarını aramakta da seçici davranmıştır. İngilizce odaklı sosyalleşme fırsatlarından yararlanarak, konuşma dil becerisini geliştirmeye yönelik bilinçli yatırımlar yapma eğiliminde olmuştur. Akıcı bir şekilde İngilizce konuşma becerisini, hayal ettiği gelecekte meşru bir konum kazanmanın bir aracı olarak gördüğü için, bu beceriyi geliştirmeye yönelik fırsatlar kollamıştır. Bunu yaparken, sınıf etkinliklerine veya etkileşimine kayıtsız kalmak yerine, bu etkinliklere katılmaya daha çok dikkat etmeye başlamıştır. Bununla birlikte, yabancı öğrencilerle daha çok İngilizce konuşmaya çabalayarak onların sahip oldukları farklı konuşma biçimlerine veya aksanlarına dikkat etmeye çalışmıştır. Az bir ilerleme kaydetmiş gibi görünen ve okuma ve yazma güçlüğü olan Emre, bir dil öğrencisi olarak, iyi bir kimlik oluşturmaya engel olabilecek 'tehlikeli' sınıf etkinliklerinden kaçmayı seçmiştir. Daha olumlu bir kimlik oluşturabileceği sınıf etkinliklerine daha fazla katılım gösterdiğini belirtmiştir.

Yabancı dil yetkinliğinin zayıf olduğunu düşünen Ahmet, etkileşimsel sınıf etkinliklerine katılmakta zorluk çektiğini söylemiştir. Hazırlık programında yapılan derslerde, daha yetkin yabancı dil becerisine sahip sınıf arkadaşlarıyla aynı ortamda bulunduğu kendisini dilsel olarak daha düşük bir konuma yerleştirdiğini düşünmektedir. Bu sebeple Ahmet, bu konuda herhangi bir inisiyatif almaktansa konfor alanında kalmayı seçerek bu tür sınıf öğrenme topluluklarına katılmayı reddetmiştir. Ayrıca, sınıf dışında da İngilizce öğrenme ya da İngilizce'yi kullanma ile ilgili herhangi bir uğraşının olmadığını da görüşmelerde eklemiştir. Ahmet'in yabancı dil öğrenimine yaptığı sınırlı yatırımlar, İngilizce ile ilgili kararsız gelecek planları ve

yetkin bir konuşmacı olarak ideal ikinci dil benliğinin oluşmaması ile yakından ilişkilendirilebilir.

Dil öğrenme deneyimlerinden de çıkarılacağı gibi, üç odak katılımcının sahip oldukları hayali kimlikler, erken dil öğrenme döneminde yapılandıkları hayali kimliklere kıyasla daha çok İngilizce ile bağlantılıdır. Tüm katılımcılar, farklı hedef dil odaklı hayali kimlikleri (örn. dil öğrencisi, yetkin dil kullanan profesyoneller ve uluslararası dil kullanıcısı) yapılandırma eğilimindedirler. Gelecekte ulaşmak istedikleri benlikleri, kısa süreli hayali kimliklerini ve uzun süreli hayali kimliklerini temsil etmektedir. Kısa süreli hayali kimlikler, hazırlık programında dil eğitimi alırken yakın gelecekte ulaşmak istedikleri hedefleri işaret etmektedir. Katılımcıların kısa süreli hayali kimlikleri çoğunlukla kendi bölümlerine girmek için hazırlık programında İngilizce yeterlilik sınavını geçerek ve yabancı dil becerilerini geliştirerek gerçekleştirmeyi amaçladıkları araçsal ve geçici benlikleri tarafından yönlendirilmektedir.

Katılımcıların oluşturdukları İngilizce odaklı hayali kimliklere hiyerarşik açıdan yaklaşıldığında, akademik ve/veya kariyer odaklı benliklerini de içinde barındıran uzun süreli hayali kimliklerinin, kısa süreli hayali kimliklerini gerçekleştirme olasılığına bağlı olduğu ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu nedenle, katılımcıların hayali kimliklerinin kapsamının genişlemesinin ve mevcut dil öğrenme ortamlarına yaptıkları etkin yatırımların kısa süreli hayali kimliklerine ulaşma olasılıklarını artırmaya yönelik olduğu sonucuna varılabilir.

Bu çoklu durum çalışmasındaki doküman analizi, aynı yükseköğretim kurumunun farklı belgelerinde yabancı dil öğrenimine yönelik çelişkili hedeflerin olduğunu göstermiştir. Bununla birlikte, program çıktıları, kurumsal stratejik plan, resmi internet sayfası gibi incelenen dokümanlarda yalnızca birkaç yerde kapsamlı hayali yabancı dil topluluklarıyla (örn. akademik, profesyonel ve sosyal topluluklar) ilgili söylemler yer almıştır. Diğer yandan, bu söylemler hazırlık programının belgelerine ve ders dağılımlarına yansımamış ve güçlendirilmemiştir. Buna paralel olarak, altı hazırlık programı üyesiyle yapılan derinlemesine görüşmelerin analizi üç ana tema altında sunulmuştur; uzun süreli akademik ve mesleki hedeflerinin yerine kısa süreli

kazanımlara öncelik vermek, deneyimsel ve dönüştürücü öğrenme deneyimleri sağlamak yerine müfredatı yetiştirmeye öncelik vermek ve yabancı dil kullanımında anlaşılabilirlik yerine hata yapmamaya ve standartlara öncelik vermek.

Tartışma ve Sonuç

Araştırmadan elde edilen bulgulara dayanarak, yabancı dil öğrenmede dil kimliği oluşturma doğasının son derece karmaşık, çok yönlü ve dinamik olduğu ortaya çıkarılmıştır. Bu çalışma, dil öğrenmede kimlik oluşumunun aslında bir kimlik mücadelesi içerdiğini göstererek literatürdeki çalışmaların bulgularını destekleyici kanıtlar sunmaktadır (Pavlenko & Norton, 2007; Block, 2007; Norton & Toohey, 2011; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004; Sung, 2019). Üç hazırlık programı öğrencisi ile yürütülen bu çalışma, deneysel genellemeleri amaçlamadığı için elde edilen bulgular sınırlı olabilir. Ancak bu çalışmanın okuyucusu, “incelenen her bir durum çalışmasının incelenen olgunun karmaşıklığının ve özelliklerini detaylandırılmasına” yardımcı olacağını düşünerek değerlendirmelidir (Duff, 2014, s. 6). Ayrıca, bu araştırma küçük bir katılımcı grubu ile yürütüldüğünden yabancı dil olarak İngilizce öğrenen tüm bireylerin kimliklerini yansıtmayabilir. Bununla birlikte, bu çalışmanın bulguları, yabancı dil olarak İngilizce öğrenilen benzer bağlamlarındaki insanların dil kimliklerinin doğasına (Vasilopoulos, 2015) ve kimlik oluşumuna ve yatırımlarına dair bilgimizi artırabilir.

Dil öğrenimini sosyo-kültürel ve post-yapısalcı bakış açısıyla inceleyen bu araştırma, biyografik faktörler, sosyo-kültürel faktörler ve sosyo-ideolojik faktörler olmak üzere üç temel etkenden oluşan bir çerçeve ortaya koymuştur. Analizler ışığında, katılımcıların hayali kimliklerinin inşasının ve yabancı dil deneyimlerinin tek bir etken çevresinde gelişmediği gösterilmiştir. Aksine, bu etkenler arasında, katılımcıların hayali kimliklerini yeniden inşa etmelerine ve yabancı dil öğrenimine yatırımlarının stratejik seçimine rehberlik eden dinamik ve karmaşık bir etkileşim bulunmuştur. Bu anlamda, biyografik faktörler (1) katılımcıların bireysel yaşantılarına ve (2) geçmişteki dil öğrenim deneyimlerine dayanmaktadır. Sosyo-eğitimsel faktörler, (1) İngilizce öğretimi ve öğrenimi ile ilgili kurumsal politikalar ve öğretim uygulamaları ve (2) yabancı dil olarak İngilizce öğrenilen bir bağlamında dil öğrenme ile ilgili

durumlardır. Son olarak, sosyo-ideolojik faktörler, çok çeşitli maddi ve sembolik kaynakların elde edilmesi açısından İngilizcenin bir fırsat dili olarak değerlendirilmesine dayanan sosyokültürel inançları ve küreselle dünyadaki neoliberal ideolojik söylemin etkilerini içermektedir (Sung, 2017).

Bulgular, Melisa, Emre, Ahmet'in belirli bağlamlarda yer alan farklı dil öğrenme uygulamalarının farklı hayali kimliklerin oluşumuna yol açtığını ortaya koymuştur. Genel olarak, katılımcıların İngilizce öğrenme deneyimlerinin üç farklı türde hayali kimlik ve toplulukla şekillendiği ortaya çıkmıştır: (1) yakın bağlamdaki İngilizce öğrenme topluluklarında sınav odaklı dil öğrencisi olarak hayali araçsal kimlikler, (2) hayali akademik ve mesleki topluluklarda dil kullanıcısı olarak hayal edilen kimlikler ve (3) hayali küresel topluluklarda küresel dil kullanıcısı olarak hayal edilen kimlikler. Üç katılımcının yabancı dil öğrenme deneyimlerinin ve dil kimliklerinin oluşum sürecinin, çok katmanlı, karmaşık, sosyal çevre ile bütünleşik ve çift yönlü olduğu ortaya konulmuştur. Böylelikle, bulguların alanyazındaki güncel çalışmaların benimsemiş olduğu dil öğrenme kimliği ile ilgili sosyo-kültürel, postmodernist bakış açısıyla paralellik gösterdiği saptanmıştır (Norton, 2000; Pavlenko & Norton, 2007; Kanno & Norton, 2003; Darwin & Norton, 2018).

Bu çalışmanın bulguları, katılımcıların hedef dile yaptıkları yatırım seçerken, benzer bağlamlardaki yabancı dil öğrencileri gibi kısa süreli ve uzun süreli gelecek hedeflerini göz önünde bulundurdıkları görülmüştür (örn. Sung, 2019; Haneda, 2005; Chang, 2011; Lamb, 2009). Başka bir deyişle, derinlemesine görüşmelerin ortaya koyduğu gibi, katılımcıların hedef dilin farklı alanlarında değişen düzeylerdeki yaptıkları yatırımlar, gelecekte katılmak istedikleri hayali topluluklardaki farklı hayali kimliklere bağlıdır. Bu bulgular, dil öğrenenlerin maddi kaynaklar ve sembolik kaynaklar açısından hedef dile yaptıkları yatırımlardan geri dönüş elde etmek için çaba göstermeye istekli olduklarını gösteren önceki çalışmalarla aynı yöndedir (Trentman 2013; Norton & Toohey, 2011; Pavlenko & Norton, 2007; Wu, 2017).

Bulgular, katılımcıların stratejik yatırım seçimlerinin, dil öğrenme deneyimlerinde oluşturdukları farklı kimliklerle de yakından ilişkili olduğunu göstermiştir (Kanno, 2003; Sung, 2019). Katılımcıların hemen hepsinin standartlar normlara uygun şekilde

kusursuz İngilizce konuşamayan bireyler olarak kendilerini algılamaları sebebiyle, mevcut öğrenme ortamlarında olumlu bir akademik kimlik oluşturmada sorun yaşadıkları görülmektedir (Sung, 2017). Bu nedenle, yabancı dil öğrenen bireylerin çoklu ve değişen kimlikleri (Norton, 2000) ile hayali kimliklerine karşılık gelen yatırımlar açısından daha çok derinlemesine çalışmaya ihtiyaç duyulduğu aşıkardır (Chang, 2011).

Kişisel eylemlilik, katılımcıların farklı dil yatırımlarını seçmelerinde önemli bir rol oynamaktadır (Sung, 2019). Bununla birlikte, çalışmalarda da gösterildiği gibi, dil kullanmak veya öğrenmek için harekete geçme ile ilgili olarak eylemliliğin özgür irade veya sınırsız güçten ibaret olmadığı bilinmelidir. Bunun yerine çeşitli sosyokültürel ve bağlamsal kısıtlamaların meşru/yetkin yabancı dil kullanıcıları olarak hedef dili kullanma fırsatlarına erişmelerini engelleyebileceği ve “hayal edilmiş geleceklerini sabote edebileceği” göz önüne alınmalıdır (Chang, 2011, s. 226).

Hazırlık programı üyelerinin, öğrencilerini İngilizcenin önemi konusunda ikna etme girişimlerine rağmen, bulgular, onların, öğrencilerinin meşru katılımcı olabilecekleri geniş yelpazede farklı dil topluluklarını hayal edemediklerini ortaya koymuştur. Analizlerde gösterildiği gibi, program üyeleri yapılan görüşmelerde, sık sık öğrencilerini yetersiz dil kullanıcıları olarak konumlandırmışlardır.

Bu çoklu durum çalışması, Türkiye’de İngilizce dil eğitimi alanındaki araştırma boşluğunu, yabancı dil olarak İngilizce öğrenmeye yönelik istekliliklerini ve hedef dile ilişkin kimlik oluşumlarını sosyokültürel, post-yapısalcı bir bakış açısı ile ele almıştır. Alinyazındaki çalışmalar, yapılan analizlerin ana dili İngilizce olan dil kullanıcılarının kimlik oluşumuna odaklandığını vurgulamıştır. Dolayısıyla, İngilizce’nin yabancı dil olarak kullanıldığı farklı bağlamlarda dil öğrenenlerin kimlik yapısının araştırılması ve derinlemesine incelenmesi için çalışma çağrıları da bulunmaktadır. Bu nedenle, bu çalışma, yabancı dil öğrenme motivasyonu hakkındaki en son kavramsal ve metodolojik değişimleri dikkate alarak, yabancı dil olarak İngilizce öğrenen Türk öğrencilerin dil öğrenme motivasyonlarının kapsamlı bir resmini sunmayı amaçlamıştır.

Yoğun bir dil programında çoklu bakış açılarını ele alarak, bu çalışma, lisans öncesi hazırlık programı öğrenciler için kapsamlı ve motive edici dil toplulukların oluşturulmasının yanı sıra İngilizce öğrenme deneyimlerinin en üst düzeye çıkarılması ve en ideal hale getirilmesinin önündeki potansiyel engellerin anlaşılmasını amaçlamıştır. Böylece hayal edilmiş güçlü dil kimlikleri ile bu kimliklerin kapsamının genişletilmesi veya dönüşümü aynı zamanda kültürlerarası farkındalık yoluyla geleneksel tek dilli yönelimleri ortadan kaldırarak ve ikinci dil özgüvenini geliştireceği umulmaktadır.

Bu çalışmadaki bulgulara dayanarak, yabancı dil eğitimi alanı, dil öğrenenlerin hayali kimlikler, makro ve mikro bağlamlar, uygulanan ve hayal edilen topluluklarla arasındaki çatışmalar veya örtüşmeler arasındaki ilişkiyi daha bütünsel bir bakış açısı ile ele almalıdır (Ushioda, 2011a). Hayal edilmiş kimliklerin, hedef dile yapılan yatırımlar üzerindeki olumsuz ya da olumlu etkisinin ve tüm dil öğrenme deneyimleri üzerindeki güçlü etkisi düşünüldüğünde, dil öğrenenlerin gelecekte yetkin bir parçası olmak isteyecekleri hedef dil topluluklarının hayal edilmesine ortam hazırlayacak sınıf etkinlikleri hazırlanmalıdır (Kanno & Norton, 2003, s. 241). Diğer yandan, düşük yabancı dil yeterliliğine sahip öğrencilerin dil gelişimlerini desteklemek için geliştirici dil dersleri sunulabilir. Yabancı dil desteği, bire bir danışmanlık hizmetleri ve bireysel çalışma programları aracılığıyla da düşük yeterlikteki öğrencilerin dil gelişimine katkı sağlanabilir (Sung, 2017; 2019). Öğrencilerin yabancı dil çalışmalarına devam etmelerine yardımcı olan dil geliştirme programları ve öğrencilerin okul dışında İngilizce öğrenmek ve kullanmak için farklı fırsatlar hakkında farkındalığını artıran atölye çalışmaları teşvik edilebilir. Telaffuz öğretiminde eleştirel bir pedagoji yaklaşımı teşvik edilebilir (Sung, 2016). Buna paralel olarak, yabancı dil olarak İngilizce öğrenen bireylerin kendilerini dil yeterliliği açısından yetersiz veya yetkin dil konuşmacıları olarak görmemeleri telkin edilmelidir. Bunu yaparken, , öğrencilerin geleneksel İngilizce aksanlarını kullanma eğilimleri ve bu eğilimin altında yatan sebeplerin üzerinde düşünmeleri teşvik edilebilir.

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