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L2 selves and motivation at the University of Geneva: a study of language learning in social and economic contexts

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**L2 selves and motivation at the University of Geneva:
a study of language learning in social and economic contexts**

THÈSE

présentée à la Faculté des lettres
de l'Université de Genève

par

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sous la direction de

prof. Claire Forel et

prof. François Grin

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Résumé

Cette thèse porte sur une étude quantitative qui avait pour objectif d'explorer les attitudes et la motivation des étudiants envers l'anglais langue étrangère dans le contexte multilingue de Genève. Dans ce but, la recherche a adopté une approche basée sur les aspects identitaires de l'apprentissage des langues (les *L2 selves*), en s'interrogeant sur la pertinence et l'utilité de ces derniers dans le contexte genevois. Cette perspective a apporté des résultats inattendus et a mené à des questions importantes dans l'enseignement des langues, concernant notamment l'identité, les représentations sociales et les valeurs économiques associées aux langues étrangères. Basé sur des données quantitatives obtenues d'une enquête numérique, le projet met l'accent également sur l'influence motivationnelle des contextes multiples avec lesquels les étudiants interagissent. La thèse argumente pour une perspective dynamique et contextuelle de l'apprentissage de langues qu'elle définit en termes de création d'une identité langagière. Cette approche, inspirée par des développements récents dans le domaine de la motivation, semble essentielle pour une interprétation complète des résultats. Ceux-ci, en effet, démontrent que des éléments sociaux et économiques, liés aux « sphères » contextuelles locales ainsi que globales auxquelles les étudiants participent, se reflètent dans leurs attitudes langagières et dans leur concept de soi. Les différences significatives entre participants suisses et étrangers et entre étudiants de différentes facultés de l'Université de Genève soulignent ces constats. Ces conclusions attestent l'importance des *L2 selves*, qui permettent de bien comprendre non seulement l'apprentissage des langues dans ses contextes différents et continuellement en interaction dynamique mais également l'apprenant, en tant qu'individu qui interagit activement avec son environnement. Ainsi, les résultats de cette recherche sont indicatifs du potentiel des approches théoriques tenant compte de ces dynamismes ainsi que des nouvelles méthodologies de la recherche en motivation qui seraient mieux adaptées. Enfin, ils offrent des retombées didactiques importantes pour l'enseignement et l'apprentissage d'une langue « mondiale » dans un contexte plurilingue.

Abstract

This dissertation reports on a quantitative survey study investigating Swiss university students' attitudes and motivation toward English as a foreign language in multilingual Geneva. In order to do so, the study applied a self-based approach, examining the relevance and applicability of the L2 selves in the Geneva context. This approach led to some unexpected results that raised questions of identity, social representations and economic value in foreign language learning. Based on quantitative data obtained through an online questionnaire, the project also placed special emphasis on the motivational influence of the multitude of contexts in which learners and users participate. This dissertation argues that a dynamic, contextually enhanced view of language learning as an aspect of identity creation, inspired by the latest developments in L2 motivation theory and research, is essential for a meaningful interpretation of the survey results. Indeed, the findings indicate that elements of the social and economic spheres, both local and global, with which participants interact are reflected in their language attitudes and their self-concept. This is underlined by significant differences between Swiss and foreign students and among participants enrolled at different faculties of the University of Geneva. These conclusions testify to the importance of the L2 selves as a means to understanding language learning in its various, dynamically interacting, contexts and language learners as individuals who actively navigate and shape their environment. They are also suggestive of the potential of theoretical approaches that take these dynamics into account and highlight the need for new, emerging, methodologies in L2 motivation that can further such investigations. Last but not least, they offer important insights into the pedagogical implications of teaching and learning a global language in a plurilingual environment.

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List of Abbreviations

ANOVA: One-way analysis of variance

B: Unstandardized regression coefficient

β : Standardized regression coefficient

CEFR: Common European Framework of Reference

DC: Direct contact

DST: Dynamic Systems Theory

EFL: English as a foreign language

ELT: English language teaching

FL: Foreign language

L2: Foreign/second language

M: Means

MAS: Specialized Master's

MLB: Motivated learning behavior

n: Number of participants included in the analysis

n.s. Statistically non-significant

p: Level of significance

PCA: Principal component analysis

r: Pearson's correlation coefficient

SD: Standard deviation

SES: Structural equation modeling

SES: Faculty of Economic and Social Sciences

SLA: Second language acquisition

SPSS: Statistical Package for the Social Sciences

UK: United Kingdom

UNIGE: University of Geneva

US: United States

WTC: Willingness to communicate

1

Introduction



Source: Carroll, 1965 (artist: John Tenniel).

Chapter 1 Introduction

“Let us say therefore that, given motivation, it is inevitable that a human being will learn a second language if he is exposed to the language data.”
(Corder, 1981)

While the above quote requires some clarification, foreign language teachers and learners, researchers and experts agree that motivation is an important part of learning a foreign language. However, they often find it difficult to explain why it is so exactly, how motivation can influence the learning process or, simply, what the term of language learning motivation refers to. Even more frequently, I hear teachers and learners remark on the futility of trying to access this hidden treasure, this mystical gem, this abstract ingredient that can turn their journey into a story of success. In this dissertation, I prove that language learning motivation is real, it is powerful, and it is closer and more accessible than it is often considered to be.

“[Y]ou are as many men as many languages you speak.”
(Csizér & Kormos, 2009)

This Hungarian proverb highlights an interesting aspect of language learning motivation. Dörnyei (2005, 2009) proposes that the concept is linked to learners’ language related self-concept, which is constructed and enriched throughout the learning process. In the chapters to follow, I report on a survey study investigating university students’ foreign language selves and motivation in the plurilingual and multicultural context of Geneva, Switzerland. In environments like the Geneva one, where linguistic and cultural diversity are a part of daily life, the question of selves and identity is an especially pertinent one.

“Indeed, it is the tension between the conditions that produced the semiotic resources of “identity,” “language,” and “culture” and those that make them available to be put into play as commodities that is most characteristic of our times.”
(Heller and Duchêne, 2016)

It is understandable that in such a diverse linguistic environment as the Swiss one, the value of a given language is a frequently debated issue. Therefore, it is important to consider the role English plays in the social and economic systems of Swiss society. Its place in education policy has undergone considerable changes in the past few decades, and several studies examined the

profitability of English instruction, both at a societal and at an individual level. Nevertheless, the question arises as to the influence of these phenomena on foreign language learners' and speakers'¹ attitudes and motivation toward English. Therefore, the study presented in this work pays special attention to these contextual factors, examining language learning motivation not as a standalone characteristic but as part of a greater framework of language attitudes, L2² selves and contextual influences.

1.1 The UNIGE project

When I moved to Switzerland at the conclusion of my MA studies, I was astonished by the cultural and linguistic diversity present in Geneva. Later, I learned that this is not only a superficial characteristic of a city with many visitors and international organizations but a fundamental aspect of the everyday reality of the region. I discovered, through numerous discussions with language learners and educators, that this *plurilingualism*, a term and phenomenon I had previously not encountered, was an important element of their lives and emblematic of Swiss society.

Coming from Hungary, where, at the time, monolingual values were the norm, I found the Geneva context intriguing for a number of reasons. As a language learner and English teacher in Hungary, the learning environment to which I was accustomed was composed of Hungarians of monolingual heritage studying different languages, but mostly English, in an essentially monolingual setting. They did so for a variety of reasons, but, on the whole, their profile corresponded to the EFL (English as a foreign language) learners described by Canagarajah, (1999b) and Dörnyei (2009), for whom native speaker ideals seemed unrealistic and distant and the global community only a few clicks away. Moreover, in this predominantly monolingual space, language learning was not considered as a priority at the social level. In light of this, it is not surprising that most learners I met and surveyed (Csillagh, 2010) considered studying English a personal endeavor that might open new vistas toward future

¹ Since the present study confirmed that these categories can be subjective and difficult to define, this dissertation focuses on foreign language learners, speakers and users and is not limited to individuals currently studying the language in question.

² In this dissertation, the abbreviation *FL* refers to foreign languages, while *SL* denotes a second language. Typically, while the former are often learned to communicate outside of one's own country or community, the latter are languages that possess "social functions within the community where [they are] learned" (Littlewood, 1984). Often, however, such distinctions are redundant and therefore the term *L2* is used for both foreign and second languages. Therefore, *L2* and *FL* are used interchangeably in this text to refer to these languages.

adventures abroad or toward better possibilities of self-expression in a globalized world. Certainly, some faced requirements that ensured their presence at classes, but that was not the main reason why their heart was in learning the language.

Therefore, when I became familiar with the Swiss context and understood the role and extent of its linguistic diversity, I knew I wanted to investigate the question of Swiss language learners' motivation further. I was confident that I was in possession of the right tools to do so. In addition to my experience in learning and teaching foreign languages in a monolingual setting, I arrived in Geneva equipped with years of training in quantitative research as well as a flexible theoretical model of L2 motivation. Applying these tools to my impressions of my new environment, I set out to formulate my interest in more scientific ways, which resulted in the questions that formed the basis of this PhD study.

1.1.1 Questions asked

Based on my knowledge of language learning and motivation, I presumed that the distinct characteristics of the Geneva setting can be expected to leave a mark on English learners' motivation. Consequently, my first question was in what ways their attitudes to English differ from those of learners in other contexts and how they can reflect the particular learning environment of Geneva. I must admit that some of the answers I found were unexpected and surpassed all my anticipation.

Secondly, as I mentioned above, through my experience in language teaching and research, I had developed an understanding of L2 motivation that I was interested in putting to the test in this special environment. Thus, my second question centered on Dörnyei's (2005, 2009) theoretical model of the L2 Motivational Self System (or Self System for short), as my goal was to investigate how well it performs in this setting and whether it is as versatile and adaptable as earlier research claimed. A dynamic model of L2 motivation, built around learners' self-concept, the Self System appeared to be both a logical choice and an intriguing theoretical framework of great potential. Earlier research in this area also offered a number of standardized tools that presented distinct methodological advantages. Once more, the results of my investigation took me by surprise, revealing a side of the Geneva context – as well as of the Self System – that I had not seen before.

1.1.2 Tools of investigation

Using these standardized tools, I conducted a quantitative survey study at the University of Geneva (UNIGE), in which 375 students from four faculties participated. The questionnaire yielded a vast dataset, which I submitted to a series of mainstream statistical tests, in order to pinpoint the main trends and connections. This analysis was especially rich, not only because it uncovered surprising details about UNIGE students' attitudes to English but also because it showcased the challenges of applying clear-cut models and methodologies to complex phenomena such as language learning.

These findings led to a slight shift in perspective that became one of the central themes of the study. In order to mitigate the challenges and to seek further answers, I decided to complement the quantitative research with a more qualitative element. I explored the role of the contextual spheres, both local and global, that contributed to participants' experiences learning English. Applying this “shifting lens” (Ushioda, 2015), which had a double focus tuned to the internal mechanics of study participants' language attitudes as well as to the broader framework of contextual dynamics, provided intriguing clues and important conclusions that became instrumental in forming my understanding of language learning motivation and that can have considerable implications for researching, conceptualizing and teaching foreign languages in context.

1.1.3 Complex answers

In the chapters that follow, I demonstrate the complete process of this investigation, which was, on the one hand, a powerful personal and professional experience and, at the same time, the source of a number of intriguing and revelatory trends. These showed, first of all, that the issue of language attitudes and L2 motivation is an especially interesting one in the Geneva context. Moreover, they shed light on the composition and mechanics of study participants' English-related self-concept, as well as its role in their motivation to learn the language. The contextuality of these selves indicated that taking into account the influence of the social and economic spheres with which language learners interact might greatly contribute to our understanding of learning phenomena.

Secondly, and as a result of this contextual link, the answers to the initial questions were revealed to be more complex, and more intriguing, than expected. This complexity and this

contextuality are among the main themes that this dissertation aims to uncover, analyze and, to the extent allowed by the tools available, explain. The concept of motivation they portray points beyond simplified models and streamlined statistics, challenging but also complementing traditional approaches to language learning motivation.

1.2 This dissertation

The present dissertation gives a detailed account of the process and findings of the research project described above, discussing its relevance to both the Geneva context and the theoretical and methodological traditions in the field of L2 motivation studies. Thus, it explains how notions of selves, identity and learners as individuals have traveled with me, from a predominantly monolingual learning environment to a highly plurilingual one. This journey also testifies to the maturation of my own ideas, in addition to reflecting more general shifts in L2 motivation theory.

1.2.1 Aims

The aims of this dissertation are manifold. First of all, as a work of this genre, its main goal is to report on the findings of the UNIGE study and to offer answers to the initial questions that it was designed to investigate. As I argued above, and do so repeatedly throughout the text, the findings of the research were, to some extent, unexpected. Moreover, the answers they provided were far from clear cut or simple, and tended to raise further, interesting, questions. Therefore, it became an important objective of this work to add context to the results, explore their evident and covert significance and pinpoint the issues they represent.

In order to meet this goal, in this dissertation, I enumerate and analyze the main findings of the research, examining them in light of the particular setting of the study. Furthermore, I discuss their implications and relevance to researching and teaching English as a foreign language in this environment. My conclusions confirm that language learning is a complex process that involves similarly complex subsystems of attitudes, motivation and self-identification, which are all related, in different non-linear ways, to the learning context(s).

Secondly, from a methodological point of view, this dissertation showcases the techniques used to investigate Swiss university students' motivation to learn English and how they were adapted to the Geneva context. As a researcher, I believe this aspect of this work is especially relevant

since it allows comparability with other studies and helps identify the advantages and shortcomings of these methods, when applied to the task in question. In addition, this approach ensures that the UNIGE study remains reproducible, providing future research the opportunity to repeat or adapt its procedures.

Finally, I strongly believe that a project and text of this type has a responsibility to further research in the field by opening new horizons. Consequently, I frequently highlight issues that point beyond the scope of this dissertation but that constitute interesting areas for future projects to explore. I return to these possibilities in [Chapter 6](#).

1.2.2 Organization

Following this brief introduction, I move on to illustrating, through a series of chapters, the main phases of the UNIGE study. As I explain below, the organization of these chapters corresponds to the logic and design of the empirical survey study, from its conception to the potential implications of its findings and the questions they raise. Thus, the next chapters relate a story, all the while ensuring the transparency and adaptability of the research.

This journey begins with [Chapter 2](#), in which I present the theoretical background of the study and describe the Swiss learning context. I start by addressing a few challenges that SLA (second language acquisition) research faces today, before reviewing the theoretical developments in L2 motivation and language economics that inspired this work. I also discuss earlier findings in these fields as relevant to the project. This overview explains the development of my research questions and demonstrates the shift of focus toward a more contextualized view of language learning that the research underwent.

Building on these theoretical foundations, [Chapter 3](#) describes the process of designing, adapting and perfecting the research instrument and the various steps of data collection and analysis. I discuss in detail the different elements of the questionnaire as well as the measures taken to ensure the validity of the scales and the reliability of the results. This chapter also introduces the sample of 375 students who completed the questionnaire. Finally, I explain how the statistical analysis was conducted and what tools were used, followed by an account of the advantages and limitations of this procedure. This detailed description of the research method provides readers with an insight into how the survey data was obtained and processed.

[Chapter 4](#) is dedicated to the results of these procedures. With special emphasis on the most important findings, it aims to demonstrate the different steps of the statistical analysis and the results they yielded. In line with my goal of providing a reproducible study and a well-documented resource for future research, the organization of this chapter follows the statistical procedures described in the preceding one. Thus, the first figures displayed are of a simpler, descriptive nature, while the chapter ends with a discussion of the final regression model, which depicts the complex structure of participants' motivational profile. These results showcase the potential and the limitations of mainstream statistical tests when it comes to complex phenomena such as motivates learning behavior and self-construction. They revealed trends of plurilingualism as well as significant social and economic influences, underlining the importance of examining learner selves in context.

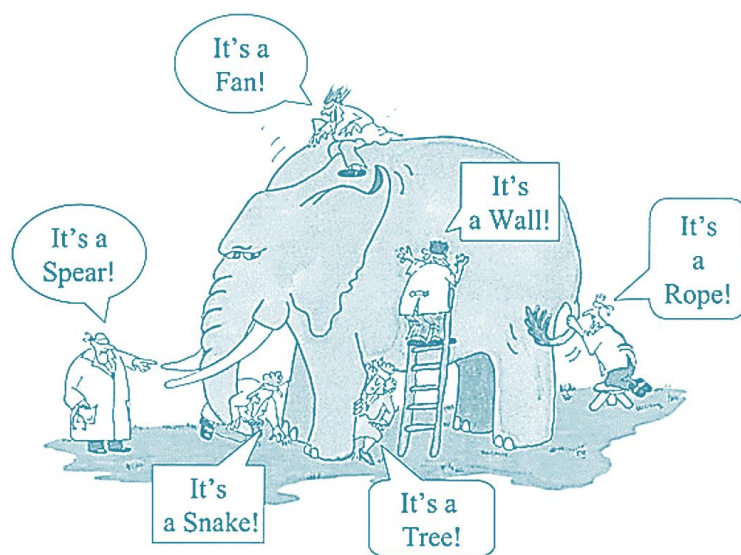
Hence, [Chapter 5](#) introduces a slightly altered approach, based on both the quantitative results shown in Chapter 4 and elements of the contextual summary of the Swiss learning environment presented in Chapter 2. In this chapter, I discuss the main themes that emerged from the survey data in light of the contexts involved. Therefore, I focus on not only the findings but also their broader implications. In particular, I address the relevance of the final regression model as regards language learning motivation in the plurilingual setting of Geneva. Thus, in order to reflect this contextually enriched perspective and to address the central questions of the research, this chapter is organized by themes that reflect the final conclusions of the study. These conclusions are summarized in the final chapter ([Conclusion](#)), which also discusses the educational implications of the findings.

1.2.3 To the reader

I am pleased and excited to hand over this report to my future readers. My wish is that it may do justice to the vast project that helped it come to fruition and that it may inspire teachers, students and researchers alike to build upon its conclusions. I believe that these conclusions are relevant to how we think about and conceptualize language learning and motivation. May they continue to travel beyond these pages.

2

Theory and context



Source: Himmelfarb et al, 2002 (artist: G. Renee Guzlas).

Chapter 2 Theory and context

2.1 Current challenges in (researching) language learning and teaching

The aim of this chapter is to enumerate and examine the different issues and theoretical considerations that led me to investigate in more detail the attitudes and motivation of students at the University of Geneva toward English. One of the questions that arose from my experience working with language learners in the Geneva context was how factors related, on the one hand, to the global status of English and, on the other, to the linguistic diversity of the region interacted to influence learners' views of learning the language. Numerous studies discuss the implications of the spread of English on language learning and teaching and its impact on multilingual environments. I review these sources below, highlighting their main findings and their relevance to the Geneva context. I also argue that there is a need for further research in order to fully understand the relationships between these two larger trends and to investigate the influence of globalization on plurilingual learning contexts. Moreover, in this section, I explain how these studies have shaped my interest in motivation in such contexts and informed the research project presented in this dissertation.

2.1.1 English as a global language: implications for teaching and learning

Researchers identified the particular characteristics of language learning early on and argued that foreign languages are to be distinguished from other school subjects for a number of reasons (Williams, 1994). The most important of these, from the perspective of the present study, is their strong connection to the social contexts in which they are used and learned (ibid.). Furthermore, this relationship goes beyond the obvious cultural references that languages contain to the social groups that speak them. In this dissertation, I illustrate how foreign language learning can be embedded and influenced by the social, economic and ideological issues that characterize the environments in which the languages in question are used, learned and represented, explicitly or covertly. It is this special amalgam of contextual features and connotations that language learners are faced with when they engage in the learning process.

Therefore, it is not surprising that learning English, a language with a considerable global spread, is wrought with questions of values and representations, identity and economic benefits.

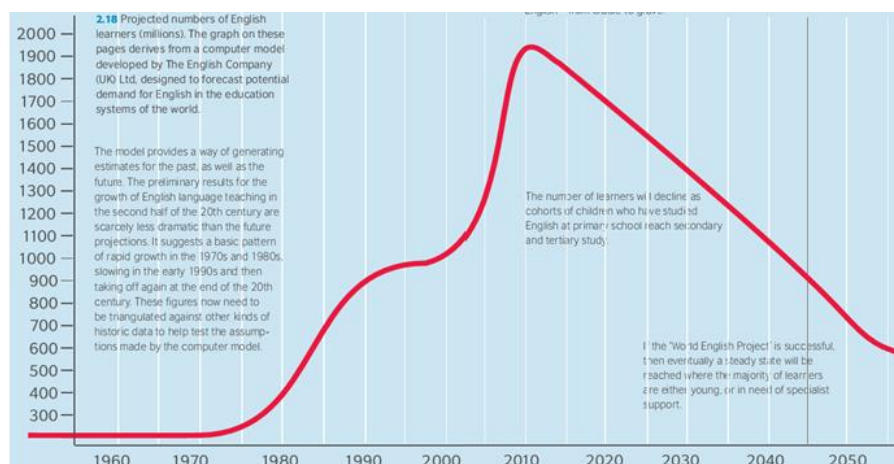
As an official language in 118 countries and administrative regions (Eberhard, Simons, & Fennig, 2019), used on a daily basis and taught all around the world, English touches the lives of an incredibly large number of people. About 330-360 million of them speak it as a first language (Crystal, 2006), while the number of L2 speakers reaches twice (Eberhard, Simons and Fennig, 2018) or three times (Crystal, 2003) that number. These figures also mean that, instead of clearly representing one single culture, the language has gained in socio-cultural, ideological and economic complexity. It has become a symbol of globalization and a medium of Anglo-American as well as multicultural values and products. At the same time, this heavy socio-cultural load and the inequalities it might produce render the phenomenon of English as a global language the topic of much controversy.

Indeed, Crystal's seminal work (2003), in which he examines some of the issues behind the unique status of English at the turn of the twenty-first century and the consequences of the spread from a linguistic standpoint, generated considerable debate and concern. Most importantly, the discussion evolved around questions of ownership and inclusion, the equal opportunities provided by a denationalized common language as opposed to the dangers of linguistic imperialism (e.g. Pennycook, 1994; Phillipson, 1992, 2013). A concise overview of these texts can be found in Pupavac (2012), while Kachru (2006) discusses the issue from the larger perspective of the "War of Cultures". Further studies address more concrete examples of these processes in specific local contexts (cf. Heller and Duchêne, 2008). In summary, these sources highlight the magnitude of the cultural and ideological load that English carries, due to its colonial history and its current role in promoting globalized values that maintain the hegemony of developed, essentially Anglo-American economies. They also demonstrate how mainstream discourse on the global spread of English serves to strengthen this status quo and point out that such figures, some of which I mention in this section, are to be treated with caution and critique.

As an example of a somewhat simplistic explanation of the spread of English, Graddol (2006) analyzes some otherwise interesting research findings. He claims that the number of English speakers rose, in part, as a result of shifting educational trends. The project he discusses, led by The English Company, aimed at predicting the number of learners up to the year 2060. Although the numbers, displayed in Figure 2.1, are speculative and fail to account for the finer nuances inherent to such a large population of learners, they nonetheless tell an impressive story. The phenomenon dubbed as the "The World English Project" (ibid.), which set off at the

end of the twentieth century following a period of slower growth of interest in the 1990s, is claimed to reflect educational tendencies all over the world. The study explains that, due to high demand for English language competence in the labor market, language certificates swiftly made the top of the list of the criteria for obtaining, or at a later stage even enrolling in³, a tertiary degree at many institutions (ibid). In addition, and partly as a consequence, private language schools in many countries experienced a wave of adult learners suddenly determined to perfect or maintain skills acquired earlier in life, or to add English to their portfolio in order to meet market needs. At the same time, foreign languages, along with computer skills, became top goals for the education systems of most countries, in order to prepare learners for requirements in the labor market and for life in twenty-first century society.

Figure 2.1 Projected numbers of English learners (millions, graphic reproduced from Graddol, 2006, pp. 98-99)



It is important to take note of the underlying economic and social processes at which these conclusions hint, as such considerations are central to trends in foreign language learning, influencing decisions at all levels of educational policy making, in addition to individuals' attitudes and perceptions. Graddol (2006) mentions labor market demand, and associated compensations, for language skills as an incentive behind educational policies and learner decisions. Moreover, he claims that outsourcing practices and their influence on labor market trends have transformed the FL landscape of many Asian economies. Although these

³ This is exactly the case at the time of writing at Hungarian tertiary institutions. Applicants for a degree are required to present one or two language exam certificates at the end of their studies, specified by the respective faculty. Moreover, some degrees already require proof of proficiency upon entry. These are mostly in language-specific fields, but more frequently disciplines where language skills are considered as essential to the completion of certain modules hosted by foreign language speakers or attended by international students, or where they are necessary for the treatment of the literature.

developments could be attributed to the basic economic principles of supply and demand, it is clear that the place occupied by English as a foreign language in these processes is a rather controversial one.

Moreover, the figures quoted in Crystal (2003) and Graddol (2006) raise the question of ownership, not only in an ideological but also in a linguistic and economic sense (see Crystal, 2006 for more information on the former and Phillipson, 1992 and 2013 on the latter). It is apparent that non-native speakers of English are more numerous than native speakers, and a number of studies discuss whether the latter should still be the sole beneficiaries of ownership over the global language (e.g. Crystal, 2003; Widdowson, 1994). The boundaries separating Kachru's (1992) famous circles, which represent these different types of speakers also become increasingly blurry, making it difficult as well as less relevant to put too great an emphasis on traditional speaker categories. At the same time, these categories are often evoked and thus held up by academic discourse.

While this debate undoubtedly has important ideological implications, its economic ramifications are even more significant. Graddol's (2006) analysis implies that, as Phillipson argues in his influential volumes (1992, 2013), the spread of English as a second and especially as a foreign language is closely linked to the economic hegemony of Anglo-American nations. He points out that the demand for English language skills is in fact a result of Anglo-American investment and influence, as well as an overflow of manpower and resources produced by the ELT industry, the profits of which in turn benefit said economies (Phillipson, 2012). Graddol (2006), on the other hand, views globalization as already past the phase of neo-imperialism and, therefore, more complex and inclusive than the mere global diffusion of American culture and ideas. These two, seemingly opposing points also represent two aspects of the same phenomenon. Following Phillipson's argument, ownership of a language entails economic and social powers, from which only speakers of the language can benefit.

This might explain why, despite the fact that based on the dynamics of the labor market, Graddol (2006) expected the trend to reverse by 2010, the number of English learners continues to grow and the language maintains momentum as a foreign language taught in many countries. The language education policies recently adopted by some Swiss cantons (cf. [2.3.3](#)) stand as an example of this tendency and show that, even in highly multilingual contexts where plurilingual practices are a part of everyday life, an English-first approach remains influential. According to Phillipson (2012), this distorted image of supply and demand can be attributed to

the economic power of Anglo-Saxon states and the multi-billion business of the ELT industry. At the writing of this dissertation, no clear decision had been reached as to the exact terms of the separation of the United Kingdom from the European Union, accepted in a referendum on June 23, 2016 by a slight majority (51.9%) of Brits. However, it can be argued that this rift might have an effect on ELT, but its consequences are yet to be analyzed.

At the same time, research into the perceptions and attitudes of learners of English in a variety of contexts has uncovered a complex structure of learner motives. These findings, discussed in the subsequent section, suggest that high levels of motivation involve strong identification. However, as opposed to previous theories, this identification process consists of efforts to ‘make the language one’s own’, incorporating language skills into one’s self concept without giving up one’s locally constructed identity. Proponents of this bicultural identity (Arnett, 2002; Lamb, 2004, 2009; Yashima, 2009, also examined in Section [2.1.3](#) below) suggest that, for an increasing number of learners, English also becomes a means to expressing local cultural and even sociolinguistic identities. It might be argued that the ideals and values associated with such globalized identities as described by Lamb (2004, 2009) are also products of the processes that help maintain the hegemony of economies in Kachru’s (1992) first circle. Nevertheless, it is clear that the spread of English has changed how learners experience and approach the learning process, both internally and externally.

As the study presented in this dissertation illustrates, this intricate relationship between external and internal factors not only plays a crucial role in shaping learners’ motivation, but it also constitutes a fundamental aspect of twenty-first century language learning contexts. Changes in the status of English on a global scale are instrumental in forming the local foreign language learning landscape both directly and indirectly. On the one hand, Csillagh and Waltermann (to be published) found that French Swiss learners’ and teachers’ representations of German and English incorporate many of the central themes of what Phillipson (2012) classifies as hegemonic discourse. Their study participants all talked about the global importance of English as opposed to the negative social representations associated with German. On the other hand, the above mentioned Swiss language education policies testify to the effects of the spread on the learning environment, and it can be argued that an English-first policy might have important consequences in terms of students’ attitudes to the languages they learn.

Hegemonic views are not only present in policies or anecdotal accounts. Murray’s (2003) study of 253 English teachers in Switzerland revealed their references for standard varieties of

English and native speaker norms. Therefore, it seems that the global presence of English has not fostered more openness and cultural flexibility in the Swiss linguistic scene. On the contrary, as Phillipson (2013) warned, it appears to have reinforced already existing patterns of Anglo-American hegemony and native speaker role models. This is especially interesting in light of the figures that I quoted above, which show that only a small number of speakers live in Anglo-Saxon countries. In addition, in later years, the concept of the native speaker has come under serious scrutiny (cf. Canagarajah 1999b; Holliday, 2005; Kubota, 2009; Pennycook 1994).

2.1.2 Native speakers: disappearing role models?

Most approaches to language teaching build greatly on the idea of the Anglo-American native speaker as role model, even though the educational benefits of such a stance are far from unquestionable (Canagarajah, 1999b; Cook, 1999). Similarly, earlier models of motivation analyzed language learning as a form of integration, focusing on learners' aspirations to become members of certain prestigious native speaker groups (cf. [2.2.2.1](#)). However, as I pointed out earlier, Kachru's (1992) circles continue to expand and overlap, and the group of traditional native speakers, as portrayed in teaching materials, becomes more and more abstract. This raises the question whether their influence as role models remains relevant to present-day language learners.

Several authors argue that foreign language learners are to be taught or at least exposed to other varieties of English (e.g. Matsuda, 2003, Pennycook, 2017), while Seidlhofer (2004) examines the educational merits of a European version and Jenkins (2006, 2012) analyzes *English as a lingua franca* (ELF), a standalone language to be taught to FL learners. It is clear that this question has serious roots and consequences and it is not the aim of the present dissertation to take a position in any direction. Nevertheless, I wish to discuss another interesting aspect of this issue, namely that of the native speaker as not only the ideal language user but also a cultural and economic role model. For it is this role that learners have been accustomed to know them since the dawn of ELT.

Throughout this chapter, I repeatedly put forth the argument that the traditional image of the Anglo-American native speaker gradually loses its relevance as an educational reference and motivational tool. Indeed, the spread and fragmentation of English in its various forms supports this view, as do the latest findings of L2 motivation research in many contexts (cf. [2.2.3.1](#)). It

can be argued that English has developed as an entity separate from its traditional native speakers (cf. Pennycook, 2017) and that learners' goal is no longer to become similar to native speakers but to construct their own identity, make the language their own. It appears that this process would eventually resolve all questions of ownership and free learners of the constraints of native speaker norms.

However, as I pointed out earlier, one cannot ignore the cultural load that English as a foreign language carries. This often means that native speakers are positioned as the representations of the successful language user, with all the cultural and behavioral references that that entails. In addition, and even more powerfully, this image of the native speaker is also loaded with certain attributes that are the result and an emblem of the above mentioned hegemony of Anglo-American economies. This relationship reinforces the image of the native speaker and, in turn, maintains the status quo. It also suggests that learners, as individuals, might be drawn to the ideal of the Anglo-American native speaker not only for their language skills but principally for their economic prowess, the benefits of which can be accessed, to some extent, through proficiency in English.

It is, therefore, not contradictory for learners of a global language in today's multicultural world to nonetheless aspire for "identification with the native speaker." However, this identification is not necessarily driven by a desire for flawless mastery of English but by the more powerful and widely recognized economic advantages that the Anglo-American native speaker represents. Thus, it appears that economic power can lead to learner attitudes that resemble integrative tendencies and as a result can reinforce integrativist views. I discuss the integrative-instrumental dichotomy in Section [2.2.1](#), but it is clear how the processes discussed above might have contributed to an interpretation of motivation as a combination of aspirations toward membership of the target community and a desire to access proficiency-related benefits. This type of motivation is suggestive of a different role that the ideal native speaker plays in influencing learner's attitudes, as it reinterprets traditional target groups as communities of power, characterized by certain linguistic competences among other traits that learners can endeavor to acquire.

On the other hand, this dissertation, as well as the survey project it reports on, offers a self-based approach to motivation and language learning. From this perspective, acquiring or developing language skills is part of learners' journey toward identity construction and elaboration. This conceptualization of learner identity does seem to perfectly accommodate

arguments of both integrativism and linguistic imperialism. At the same time, it places great emphasis on the place of languages in learners' self-concepts and on learner agency in the development of the selves. In this framework, native speakers represent a range of attitudes and values, traits and prerogatives that learners might decide to incorporate in their self-concept and thus feel motivated to attain. However, due to the effect of globalization and the complexity of the contexts in which learner identities develop, learner selves and, therefore, their connection to traditional native speaker target groups can be considered as intricate and influenced by many factors.

2.1.3 *Learner identity in a globalized world*

Three important conclusions emerge from the above. First of all, essentially Anglo-American native speakers of English enjoy certain economic advantages that might render them desirable role models to language learners. Secondly, such native speaker target groups can thus preserve their importance and status, as well as their privileges. Thirdly, my earlier observations suggest that, while the image of the Anglo-American native speaker remains influential, learners of English develop complex self-concepts that are influenced by a range of factors. As a consequence of these processes, learner identities have become increasingly important in language acquisition research. On the one hand, they offer more insight into the complicated dynamics of twenty-first century language learning while, on the other, they help explain and examine the intricate pattern of motives that drive it. Below, I discuss learner identities from a self perspective, concentrating on learners' attitudes and self-concepts as a reflection of the multitude of influences that globalization represents.

Analyzing the motivational impact of globalization, Dörnyei (2005) argued that, due to the global status of English, L2-related aspects of English learners' identity imply no real association with any one culture in particular. At the same time, his notion of "world English identity" (Dörnyei, 2005) implied a strong identification orientation as well as a well-defined image of the "world English user" with which to identify. So as to reflect the blurred boundaries and many forms of identification that a positive orientation toward a global community can entail, Yashima (2009) developed the concept of *international posture*. International posture explains the phenomenon in terms of openness toward foreigners and their cultures as well as a general interest in international values and issues. This type of orientation is not linked to one particular cultural or linguistic group and is not limited to any specific language. Thus, it might

prove to be a better tool to explore the international component of learner identities in a globalized world. Several studies have examined the applicability of international posture as a measure of learners' motivation and, therefore, performance. Moreover, the concept also formed a part of the questionnaire study presented in this dissertation. Consequently, I further discuss international posture in the sections dedicated to L2 motivation research and the UNIGE study.

Furthermore, in addition to having an international element, learner identities in globalized contexts are often viewed as complex systems, which are under the influence of a multitude of factors. As Heller explains, “(o)ne of the hallmarks of the idea of post-modernity is hybridity, métissage, and other forms of blurred and multiplex identities and practices” (2000). Dörnyei argues that in such contexts learners might develop a “bicultural identity, in which part of their identity is rooted in their local culture while another part is associated with a global identity that links them to the international mainstream” (2009). Dewi, one of the young Indonesian learners in Lamb's (2009) study, talks about the duality of her identity when she defines her desired self as an Indonesian professional who moves easily in international circles. She also dreams of having two homes, “in foreign and in Indonesia” (ibid), which shows how important these dimensions are to her self-concept.

Lamb (2004, 2009) argues that this new form of identity is further strengthened by the methods of self-expression available to twenty-first century language learners. Graddol (2006) draws attention to the fact that “(e)asier and cheaper communication is encouraging the development of a new social texture, in which, ironically, small communities – and even individuals – can become more separated from their neighbours but better connected with distant people.” These relatively new channels of communication, such as online platforms, forums and social networks, undoubtedly influence the way learners approach the issue of language use and might even challenge traditional, locally determined, forms of identification. On the one hand, these new means of communication offer individuals easy access to the so-called global community and, as a result, further motives for learning and using foreign languages. On the other hand, they also provide opportunities to connect and strengthen ties to groups with similar linguistic, ethnic or religious heritage, regardless of geographical proximity or the lack thereof. These processes can increase the importance of languages and language learning as an aspect of one's identity and self-concept, both in the case of English and that of other, first, second or third, languages.

Research findings demonstrate the importance of L2 use in identity creation. Kramsch (2006), for instance, points out that foreign languages provide adolescents with more opportunities to fully express their personality. In Ryan's (2009) study, some young Japanese learners of English reported interest in the language either as a means of communication or as an aspect of their future identity. Yashima (2009), on the other hand, emphasizes the motivational force of the desire for self-expression when one has *something to say* to an imagined international community, implying that "merely communicating" in a foreign language also serves to express one's identity. These arguments suggest that foreign languages offer individuals the possibility to expand and solidify their self-concepts and, at the same time, to give voice to these selves.

Moreover, with the spread of internet-enabled communication platforms, it appears that such opportunities now surround many learners at a click. First of all, these platforms present learners with culturally and linguistically diverse communities of practice that are more easily accessible than traditional native speaker target groups. In addition, due to the relative anonymity or geographical remoteness of these communities, online platforms can represent less anxiety-provoking contact opportunities. Finally, and as a result of these characteristics, they can also allow language users to refine their self-concepts and perhaps even develop bi- or multicultural identities.

This echoes one of the key conclusions of modern L2 motivation research, discussed in more detail in the next section. Dörnyei (2005, 2009) explains that in order to construct strong visions of their future L2 using self, learners go through several identification processes, one of which is the defining of an L2-related self, with all its facets. This can take place through positive experiences of language use and can be described as sharpening the image or images of the L2-related behavior of the future self (cf. Yashima, 2009). In other words, learners create a series of criteria according to which they intend to perform in the L2, thus defining the characteristics they aim to personify. Comments and views broadcast through different social media channels can reflect this self-image and help advance and strengthen it.

It is important to note that while L2 competence can add an important element to one's self concept, even reshaping it in a certain way, this self-concept is also influenced by other, often contextual factors. Through foreign language learning and use, learners can become participants in the global context, in addition to their local roots. Dewi's case in Lamb's (2009) study exemplifies this and shows how her bicultural identity allows her to dream of becoming

a successful Indonesian and an international professional. “You are as many people as many languages you speak,” says the Hungarian proverb (Csizér and Kormos, 2009), and yet it is clear that those roles belong to the same individual. And learners, as individuals can be strongly influenced by the contexts in which they participate. These contextual influences are gaining considerable traction in current discourses on L2 learning and I will discuss their importance in understanding learner motivation in the next section.

2.2 Language learning motivation

The importance of motivation in language learning was recognized early on in SLA research. Already in 1959 it was regarded by researchers and practitioners alike as one of two major factors influencing the outcome of the learning process, the other being language aptitude (Gardner and Lambert, 1959). However, while the variables constituting aptitude were considered rigid character traits with a straightforward impact on performance, motivation provided researchers with a more complex and potentially more practical explanation to a number of phenomena related to language learning (Dörnyei, 2010). During the past fifty years this unique element, which Dörnyei (1998) describes as the driving force that initiates and sustains learning effort, has been the topic of many school corridor discussions as well as numerous scientific projects. This section aims to demonstrate, on the one hand, the gradual shift of focus that has taken place, in several stages, in theoretical works ever since the first large-scale studies. I will argue that this change of perspective was both essential and inevitable for a better understanding of the dynamics of language learning motivation and its practical implications. On the other hand, the remarkable subsistence of a small set of salient constructs, in spite of the marked paradigm shift that dominated L2 motivation theory during the past fifty years, prompts me not only to explore their continued development throughout the history of motivation theory but also to investigate the function and relevance of these elements in twenty-first century foreign language contexts.

2.2.1 Dualities in language learning motivation

The first of these dichotomies is as old as motivation theory itself and refers to the two general directions the driving force can take. Ryan and Deci (2000) give a detailed overview of the emergence and evolution of the *intrinsic-extrinsic* dimension, explaining that most human activities stem from a combination of these two forces. While they draw attention to the detrimental effect of disproportionately strong extrinsic incentives, they also emphasize the

synthesis in which these two drives coexist. Through the processes of internalization and integration, externally driven behaviors gain intrinsic importance and extrinsic motives become integral parts of the personality. As the following sections demonstrate, the flux of external and internal influences is a crucial aspect of learners' motivation, with special emphasis on the role it plays in the construction of learner identities.

Another means by which L2 motivation theory approaches the internal-external continuum is through the concepts of *instrumentality* and *integrativeness*, *benefits* and *identity*. Whereas instrumental motives, linked to benefits associated with language proficiency, have traditionally been considered to complement and to some extent compete with learners' needs to become members of a certain target group, modern theories suggest that it is through incorporation into one's identity that these external influences become personal goals and thus a significant factor of motivation. Such constructs are also crucial to the investigation of the impact of global phenomena on local and personal learning contexts. Furthermore, the present study proposes a novel approach to the duality of perceptions of external benefits and internally driven identity creation, situating it against the background of contemporary findings in language economics. Therefore, the rest of this chapter focuses on the application of these dimensions throughout the course of the history of L2 motivation theory while providing an overview of the relevant models.

2.2.2 A brief history of early L2 motivation theory

The earliest attempts at a unified model followed a top-down approach in the sense that they examined L2 motivation from a socio-psychological point of view, focusing on the general characteristics of the society where language learning takes place. This line of investigation, however, failed to account for the influence of the immediate learning environment. Nor, as this dissertation argues, did it address issues raised by the growing global presence of English, thus inviting revision from both an individual-oriented perspective and a holistic one. The two subsequent phases of motivational theories arose from these two incentives respectively. My view is that in order to fully understand motivation, this powerful force that directs learner's choices, strengthens their resolve and guides them through the tedious process of language learning, all three aspects must be taken into account.

In their introductory chapter to a volume covering the most influential orientations in L2 motivation research over a decade, Dörnyei and Ushioda (2009) elaborate on a number of novel

perspectives. Among other questions concerning the reconceptualization of language learning motivation, they ask, for instance, whether the concept of *identity* can be applied to provide satisfactory explanations to long-investigated motivational phenomena. I believe that the answer lies partly in thorough examination of previous and existing theoretical perspectives as well as thoughtful consideration of contemporary research findings. While the present study demonstrates the importance of extensive empirical investigation into the particularities of specific local contexts, no such project can be carried out without sound theoretical foundations. Arguably, L2 motivation constitutes a special field as regards its theoretical heritage, as it boasts a long history of continuity and perpetual development.

2.2.2.1 The socio-educational model

Modern L2 motivation research originates from 1959, when a group of Canadian researchers conducted a series of studies on learners' cognitive characteristics, attitudes and motivation in order to investigate correlations with performance (Gardner & Lambert, 1959). Their final paper, published in 1972 (Gardner & Lambert, 1972), was a decisive reference in the field during the next two decades, and the subsequent model developed by Robert Gardner and his associates has been considered influential ever since. The report established motivation as a factor worthy of investigation in its own right and a predictor of achievement equally powerful as aptitude. Although later developments in SL motivation research rendered the reliability of the Canadian findings questionable in many contexts, their importance has never been disregarded.

The pioneer nature of these studies lay in the fact that they examined SL motivation from a socio-psychological point of view, putting special emphasis on the learning environment as a contributor to the learning outcome. Gardner's original *socio-educational* model (Gardner, 1985) is centered on the construct of *integrativeness*, or integrative motivation, as the principal inspiration behind motivated learning behavior. Integrativeness denotes the wish to learn a language in order to facilitate integration into the target community, which, as Gardner (2006) later explains, is not so dissimilar from a child's intention to learn the language spoken by the parents. In the case of the Canadian studies, this target language (TL) community was very much physically present, since English mother tongue learners of French had daily contact with the French-speaking community. While it is easy to see that the fact that the model was based in such a peculiar bilingual learning context might have stood in the way of generalizability, it

took scholars the better part of two decades to voice their concerns and initiate a shift in paradigm.

Nonetheless, although their definitions and applications have changed, several of the concepts introduced in the socio-educational model are still influential today. Integrativeness is only one of these notions, albeit it is undoubtedly the most often cited and discussed. The subject of a series of theoretical discussions questioning its power in learning situations different from the Canadian one, integrative orientation can be considered, nevertheless, an intriguing instance of identification. MacIntyre et al. (2009) highlight the fundamentally human aspect of the construct, which made Gardner's model stand out in its time and point further than traditional laboratory-oriented theorizing. Whether examined in its strong form (aspiration to complete identification with and integration into the target community) or its weak variety (positive attitudes toward the language and a sense of affiliation with its speakers) (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2009), it inevitably involves a change in one's self concept. And it is exactly this aspect of the construct that prompted theorists in the early years of the twenty-first century to reconsider integrativeness.

The other key concept that has since been studied from various perspectives is *instrumentality*. As Dörnyei (2010) argues, later theoretical considerations regarding instrumentality have been falsely attributed to Gardner's original model. Despite the fact that Gardner merely mentions the construct in his 1985 book, it has nevertheless been regarded as part of his famed legacy. Instrumentality refers to the perception learners have of the usefulness of the target language from various aspects. While integrativeness has been the target of much debate, instrumentality has enjoyed more acceptance and has been studied by researchers from different theoretical backgrounds (cf. Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005).

In addition, already in the earliest description of the model Gardner pointed out the importance of affective variables, such as learners' attitudes toward the target community and the learning process, and their innate desire to learn the language (1985). I will consider this last, as a direct reference to the intrinsic dimension, in more detail in the last section of this chapter. It is important to note that these factors have maintained their relevance over the successive phases of language learning motivation research even though other aspects of the theory were challenged by later developments in the field.

2.2.2.2 Cognitive-situated theories

The first of these challenges came in the form of what is known as the cognitive revolution in SLA research. In the early 1990s many authors argued that the socio-psychological approach, introduced by Gardner and his colleagues, did not provide satisfactory explanations and that alternative directions were to be explored in order to enlarge the scope of inquiry and the generalizability of the findings (for an overview see Dörnyei, 2005). Ushioda and Dörnyei (2012) explain in their discussion of the period that this shift toward cognitive perspectives was mainly a result of new developments in mainstream motivational psychology (cf. Dörnyei, 1998). Nevertheless, the more apparent novelty that characterized the studies of the *cognitive-situated* era, from a theoretical perspective, was the emphasis on the immediate learning context, for instance the classroom, instead of the larger social environment. Dörnyei (1998) highlights the importance of the fact that these studies did not reject the claims of the socio-educational model, but aimed instead at investigating the elements that arouse motivation instead of focusing on the direction of motivation once aroused, lending special significance to the educational situation in which the learning takes place.

This approach allowed for a more generalizable view of L2 motivation, where the notion stood for both second and *foreign language* contexts, but with more attention dedicated to the latter. The introduction of the L2 concept, a language acquired later than one's mother tongue, removed the requirement for the presence of an easily distinguishable target community, thus bringing L2 motivation research in line with modern socio-cultural and ethno-linguistic trends. While the socio-educational model primarily targeted *second language* (SL) contexts, where, similarly to Canada, the language in question is accorded a certain level of official status, the global spread of English created an abundance of L2 contexts with dim boundaries and foreign language learners beyond the number of SL or L1 speakers (Graddol, 2006).

To address these issues, cognitive-situated research proposed to investigate different instructional contexts, in the most varied geographical locations, especially where a distinct target language group was only vaguely characterizable or altogether non-existent. Furthermore, the shift of perspective away from the macro level meant that the investigation of the learning environment became key to understanding learners' motives. An essential consequence of these new developments was the emergence of novel elements so far unaccounted for in motivation theories.

One such notion was the dynamic nature of motivation, which, at the time, manifested itself in situation- and task-specific considerations. Situation-related motives became central to models

that relied on the specifics of the language learning context to account for differences in the level and composition of learners' motivation. This meant that the flow motivation, closely linked to the learning experience, could be further analyzed, rendering the conclusions of L2 motivation research more easily accessible to teachers and at the same time more worthy of their attention. As Oxford and Shearin explain, understanding 'the source of motivation is very important in a practical sense to teachers who want to stimulate students' motivation' (1994, as cited in Dörnyei, 1998). Therefore, it is thanks to this wave of studies that the need for practical considerations was born and became a fundamental requirement of L2 motivational research.

As important as this shift in focus was in the history of L2 motivation theory, so was the emergence of standardized quantitative tools in mainstream research practice. Similarly to some theoretical perspectives, borrowed from contemporary psychology, the data collection methods of the period became instrumental in the development of motivation research. Accordingly, the principal conclusions of the cognitive-situated era emerged through large-scale research projects conducted in a number of countries both in and outside of Europe (Dörnyei, 1998).

One particular series of studies, which later became the definition of these standards, relates the findings of a longitudinal nation-wide survey of Hungarian primary school students. The final paper (Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002) addressed issues relevant to the situated paradigm, focusing on learners' attitudes and preferences as regards the five target languages: English, German, French, Italian and Russian, as well as regional, age- or gender-specific variation. The research investigated motivation both from a static and dynamic point of view, applying language choice and intended effort as criterion measures, while learners' motivational profiles (i.e. snapshots of their momentary disposition) were established through multivariate analysis of a complex set of variables. Thus, it not only provided a link with earlier theories in the form of a cross-sectional, almost static, view of motivation, but the project also conformed to the multi-stage definition of motivation as proposed by later theorists (cf. Dörnyei, 1998) and cited earlier. The longitudinal method employed supported the latter approach, while it also enabled the researchers to access instantaneous data contributing to the above mentioned cross-sectional perspective of motivation.

Interestingly, one of the motivational dimensions included in the analysis was integrativeness, "a general positive outlook on the L2 and its culture, to the extent that learners (...) would like to become similar to the L2 speakers" (Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002), indicating theoretical

continuity with Gardner's model, even though respondents' contact with the L2 community in this case was of a different nature than in the Canadian studies. Instrumentality, the pragmatic benefits associated with the language, was another of the factors examined, as was direct contact, cultural interest and vitality of the L2 community, which last essentially denotes the perceived financial and cultural power attributed to the speakers. Milieu and linguistic self-confidence emerged through factor analysis and accounted for the role of the immediate social environment and learners' level of anxiety respectively.

Thus the Hungarian study played an important role in synthesizing formerly influential motivational constructs with a new set of variables, building on the rich heritage of motivation theory on the one hand, and forecasting the coming paradigm shift on the other. From a theoretical point of view this change manifested in the widening range of variables included in the analysis, while, from a methodological view, the project relied on thorough statistical analysis of the quantitative data obtained, conforming to contemporary trends in psychological research.

Table 2.1 Correlations between independent variables and intended effort (Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002)

	English/UK		English/US		German		French		Italian		Russian	
	1993	1999	1993	1999	1993	1999	1993	1999	1993	1999	1993	1999
<i>Integrativeness</i>	.63*	.67*	.63*	.67*	.66*	.72*	.70*	.74*	.71*	.75*	.64*	.65*
<i>Instrumentality</i>	.50*	.49*	.50*	.49*	.49*	.51*	.51*	.56*	.54*	.59*	.57*	.56*
<i>Direct contact with L2 speakers</i>	.38*	.38*	.30*	.28*	.46*	.49*	.50*	.54*	.51*	.56*	.45*	.47*
<i>Vitality of L2 community</i>	.23*	.22*	.23*	.21*	.22*	.22*	.25*	.27*	.27*	.31*	.24*	.24*
<i>Cultural interest</i>	.26*	.27*	.25*	.22*	.31*	.34*	.32*	.36*	.35*	.40*	.30*	.34*
<i>Milieu</i>	.29*	.31*	.29*	.31*	.18*	.23*	.17*	.20*	.13*	.16*	.07*	-.02
<i>Linguistic self-confidence</i>	.26*	.28*	.26*	.28*	.19*	.21*	.17*	.14*	.14*	.12*	.08*	.03
<i>Multiple correlations</i>	.68*	.70*	.68*	.70*	.69*	.74*	.72*	.76*	.73*	.77*	.68*	.68*

* $p = .001$

Based on the correlational results the study concluded that the strength of integrativeness as a predictor of language choice gradually diminished in the case of English over time, while the figures in Table 2.1 indicated that the construct remained a prevalent factor in influencing the actual effort learners were willing to invest in learning the language. Besides integrativeness, instrumentality and direct contact were shown to have an impact on learners' initial motivation. However, an integrative disposition overtook the role of direct contact in every subset of data, which showed that in FL contexts learners' attitudes were a stronger driving force than firsthand experience. Gardner's (2001) extended model refers to this type of integrative

disposition as a general openness to the L2 community, and even to other language groups, which notion foreshadowed the research directions of the next decade and hinted at a potential broadening of the theoretical horizon. The question that these results raise is how the discrepancy between the importance of the integrative dimension prior and during language learning can be explained. The authors claim that participants' initial decision might have been influenced by the growing relevance of English in various contexts, while one can also hypothesize that continued involvement in learning promotes certain cultural aspects related to the language. On the other hand, the striking strength of L2 speaker vitality and the marked significance of integrative tendencies prompted the authors to reconsider the pertinence of the Gardnerian definition in settings such as the Hungarian one.

Considering the sociolinguistic context of the Hungarian study, integrativeness found by Dörnyei and his colleagues (2006) undoubtedly differs from that observed in Canada (Gardner, 1985) due to the contrast in the distance and accessibility of the L2 community. Since Hungarians lack the same L2 experiences Canadian learners possess and their prospects of any physical integration are insignificant, the distinct presence and apparent power of an integrative element required further theoretical consideration in order to account for the consistent albeit unexpected appearance of the phenomenon.

Moreover, these intriguingly similar results achieved in the two countries clearly highlight a need for change in perspective, since they indicated that differences in the learning situation alone could not account for motivational levels. The potential key to the interpretation of such results, however, was soon proposed in the form of approaching the data through the notion of the learner's self concept. An attempt at redefining integrativeness thus implied a broadening of its definition in order to permit a wider field of application, which transformed integration from a willingness to become part of a community into accommodating some of the characteristics of that group in one's identity. Dörnyei and Csizér argued that 'the motivation dimension captured by the term is not so much related to any actual, or metaphorical, *integration* into an L2 community as to some more basic *identification process* within the individual's *self concept*' (2002, author's formatting).

The developments in L2 motivation theory that unfolded due to the Hungarian findings aimed further delineating such an identification process and its results. Considering that process as the drive behind motivated learning behavior, new theories also started to move away from a static image of motivation toward a dynamic view, in quest of a flexible framework that would

allow not only for differences in context but also for the ebbs and flows of motivation throughout the learning process. In addition, questions related to the characteristics, and indeed the existence, of a particular target L2 group at which learners' attitudes could be directed were the basis of the next stage of research in language learning motivation. Therefore, with this new wave of theories theorization of the internal-external dichotomy underwent considerable changes. Motives traditionally regarded as external influences maintained their source of origin, however as motivational factors were hypothesized to undergo certain filtering through learners' self concept or identity. As a consequence, the formerly strictly intrinsic dimension became enriched with internalized motives, which, nonetheless, constituted important and influential aspects of the self – the prime source of motivation according to the novel approach.

2.2.2.3 Toward dynamic approaches to motivation

As the above overview of the first two phases of L2 motivation theory illustrates, while perspectives have changed in order to accommodate theoretical developments and new directions of investigation, a continuity can be observed as regards fundamental research paradigms. The cognitive theories of the early 1990s addressed the need to adjust the conceptualization of the constructs introduced by Gardner's (1985) model to the emergence of new socio-cultural and ethno-linguistic trends as well as the notable revival of foreign language education (c.f. Dörnyei, 1998; Graddol, 2006). Moreover, whereas the original socio-educational model was designed to explain a top-down process, where powerful motives, encompassing several factors each, provide an explanation for learning effort, the studies in this second phase of motivation research applied a more flexible method. Their findings (cf. Dörnyei & Clément, 2001; Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002; Dörnyei et al., 2006; Warden & Lin, 2000) revealed a complex set of individual factors that could either be grouped together under the motives identified earlier or were shown to interact with those motives in addition to the extensive links between said factors. The orientation and strength of these relations, in turn, can account for the differences among the learning contexts examined.

This shift of perspective toward individual personality traits and the particularities of the learning situation proved to be an important step in the direction of establishing a unified model that can explain learners' motivation regardless of their socio-cultural and regional background or the educational context. Such a model, however, would have to accommodate a dynamic view, to take into account the ebbs and flows of motivational drives throughout the learning process and from one situation to another. Therefore, a flexible set of key variables would be

needed, which would allow for free interaction of a larger plethora of subordinate factors. Similarly to previous developments in the field, a potential model emerged, among others, as a result of thorough examination of extensive survey data.

In their final report of the extended longitudinal study discussed earlier Dörnyei et al (2006) submitted the data obtained in three stages, from 1993 to 2004, to structural equation modeling (SEM). The results of this complex statistical procedure revealed not only the correlations among the different variables but the way they could be organized to form a composite model. With language choice as the dependent variable, the researchers aimed to explain the links among various factors and how their collective force influences learners' decision to learn a particular language. Interestingly, although completely in line with former research, they found that integration, along with attitudes, was by far the prime predictor of language choice. This, as Dörnyei later explains, "did not make much theoretical sense" (2010). Given the complete lack of substantial target communities that the learners of these languages could integrate into, integration seemed an odd concept in the Hungarian linguistic environment, unaccounted for by the arguments offered by either socio-educational or cognitive-situated theories.

These findings called for new theoretical explanations and urged Dörnyei and his team to reconsider the meaning of integrativeness. On the basis of the data, one option is to conclude that the two sets of studies deal with different types of integration, which, while relatively simple in the case of Canadian learners, raises a number of issues when it comes to Hungarians' integrative orientation. Let us set aside the Canadian considerations and assume that Gardner's model provides a sufficient account, and focus on the Hungarian data. It can be concluded that due to the lack of a physically present L2 community, learners either aspire to leave their country and become members of an actual L2 group – or, as later theorists argue (e.g. Pavlenko and Norton, 2007), their integrativeness is toward an imagined community, therefore their integration mainly imaginary. However, it was not until after the publication of Dörnyei's composite model, and the dawn of a new era in L2 motivation research, that experts started to bring into perspective *imagined target communities* as an aspect of learner identity formation and a manifestation of the power of self images in general. Further attention is dedicated to these points of view as my discussion progresses.

Thus, the new framework was required to justify the existence of curiously similar findings in vastly dissimilar learning contexts. In addition, as discussed earlier, it was expected to take into account the dynamic nature of motivation, thus adjusting to situation specific conditions and

individual variation throughout the learning process. Thus, it was essential to bring together the conclusions of the previous decades and examine them from an entirely novel perspective, thus addressing old questions through new methods in order to yield potentially satisfactory explanations.

2.2.3 *The L2 Motivational Self System*

One possible answer to all these issues presented itself in the form of contemporary considerations in psychology, founded on the theory of possible selves (Higgins, 1987). To showcase the link between the key elements of the theory and the findings of the Hungarian study (for the final report see Dörnyei et al, 2006), Dörnyei (2010) explains:

[T]wo types of possible selves – the ideal self and the ought self – seemed particularly relevant (Higgins, 1987). The former refers to the representation of the attributes that someone would ideally like to possess (i.e. representation of hopes, aspirations or wishes), whereas the latter refers to the attributes that one believes one ought to possess (i.e. a representation of someone's sense of duty, obligations or responsibilities) and which therefore may bear little resemblance to desires or wishes. The motivational aspect of these self-guides was explained by Higgins's (1987, 1998) self discrepancy theory, postulating that motivation involves the desire for people to reduce the discrepancy between their actual and ideal/ought selves. (p. 78)

This interpretation meant, at a fundamental level, that integrativeness, any type of integrativeness, indicated an involvement of the learner's self. In the Canadian context, this manifested itself, in its strong form, as a willingness to adopt characteristics associated with the L2 group or, in its weak form, as an assimilation of positive attitudes toward the target community. In the case of Hungarian learners, this explanation requires further broadening of the concept, diluting it to encompass general openness toward international issues and favorable disposition regarding foreigners and other cultures. However, this account of the phenomenon is far from perfect as it does not explain the unwavering strength of the variable.

On the basis of Higgins's (1987) model, Dörnyei (2005) claimed that the integrative motive could be reinterpreted in terms of one's future self-image, the ideal self. The notion stands for one's vision of oneself, a collection of the attributes one envisions to possess in the future. Regardless of the actual degree to which these characteristics feature in the vision, the strength of their influence depends on the intensity of the image. For instance, a learner with a strong vision of himself or herself as speakers of the L2 at a satisfactory level can experience higher levels of integration, and thus motivation, than one with a weak self-image of becoming a

highly proficient speaker. Upon consideration of such examples it becomes evident that the theory holds severe educational implications. Before I discuss these at length, however, let us examine the other elements of the model.

As expected of a composite framework, Dörnyei's (2005) L2 Motivational Self System offers a learning-in-context view, as it centers around three key constructs, the dynamic interactions of which are to a great extent accountable for motivated learning behavior (for an overview cf. Dörnyei, 2010). It is important to note that the model furthermore accommodates influences exerted by other variables, or a combination of these factors, on any of the central elements, rendering the application of the theory highly versatile. Further research into the reliability of the Self System relies exactly on these attributes and has revealed significant links to other fields of investigation. Therefore, the triad of variables that the model builds on can be considered as a stable and, at the same time, flexible guide.

The first and, as research conducted all around the world has indicated (see Dörnyei, 2010), most important of these factors is the *ideal L2 self*, which refers to the L2 specific part of the vision of one's ideal future self. The model, therefore, interprets integrativeness partly in terms of this self-vision: learners with high integrative scores are, in fact, in possession of very concrete notions as to what level of linguistic competences they intend to acquire to fulfill their future personality goals. This, in turn, reflects powerful emotional ties to proficiency in the L2, as the strength of the desire to achieve such goals determines the driving force of the vision. However, in accord with earlier hypotheses, the concepts included in learners' ideal images of themselves as successful users of the L2 show strong links to the environments in which the language is acquired and used. As language learning and, especially, language use are inseparable of either the immediate or the broader social context, no investigation of learners' Ideal L2 self is complete without taking into account the impact of environmental factors.

These influences, in the form of perceptions related to external influences, are represented in the model through the construct of the *ought-to L2 self*. This self-guide comprises of L2 related characteristics one thinks one should possess, in other words an image of oneself as a personality that adapts completely to the expectations put forth by one's social environment. The ought-to L2 self can, moreover, be associated with some of the motives earlier attributed to instrumentality, that is, the social and economic benefits proficiency in the L2 provides. Indeed, closer examination of empirical data obtained from a series of projects in Japan and China revealed that while prevention-related aspects of instrumentality correlate strongly with

the ought-to L2 self, promotional drives, on the other hand, are part of the ideal L2 self. Nonetheless, I must emphasize the fact that similarly to the ideal L2 self, the power of the ought-to L2 self lies not so much in the severity of the actual requirements the learner is faced with, but the importance he or she contributes to them.

From this respect the two self-guides shed light on a formerly unconsidered aspect of the internal-external dichotomy of language learning motivation. Learners' perceptions are key to the definition of the concepts, and it is the place accorded to these perceptions in learners' identity that determines the strength of the various motivational factors. Thus, depending on whether they are reflected in one's personal future goals or rather as part of the expectations one feels one has to conform to, motivational factors are assigned these traditional labels by learners themselves throughout the process of self creation. Arguably this novel approach to internal and external influences places the two self-guides in a central role, with high expectations as to their influence on learner behavior.

Research shows that, in line with these considerations, the driving force exerted by these two aspects of one's self image is indeed reflected in their relation to motivation. A list of studies investigating the correlation between the ideal L2 self and motivated learning behavior in order to testify the impact of one's future self-vision on the actual effort invested in language learning can be found in Dörnyei and Ushioda (2009). While the significance of these papers is discussed in detail in the following subsection, there is one important point to make here concerning the interpretation of the findings they report on.

It can be argued, from the perspective of learner identity, that a strong ideal L2 self denotes, in fact, a significant L2-related component in one's identity. It is, therefore, the need to express this identity and to live up to the standards set by this vision that results in increased involvement in developing skills in the L2. This argument goes beyond the boundaries of ethnolinguistic considerations and remains pertinent in any context. Thus further exploration of the factors loading into the ideal L2 self is inevitable in order to gain sufficient understanding of the construct and shed light on the underlying patterns behind the process of incorporating an L2 element into one's self concept. On the other hand, the notion is to be applied with care, as it represents a complex process, and its application in research practice presupposes sound theoretical foundations.

To continue our overview of the key elements of the theory, it can be concluded that the L2 Motivational Self System offers a reinterpretation of the traditional intrinsic-extrinsic dichotomy, with the prospect of revealing a more intricate pattern of factors originating from these two directions and gaining power through their integration into learners' identity. Based on my observations above, the ought-to L2 self can be theorized to impact the ideal L2 self, or, in accordance with the process of internalization, to partially or even fully load into it. Two questions arise in relation to this reasoning. The first of these, namely whether internalization results in elevated correlations between the two variables or a complete dissolution of the ought-to L2 self in the construct of the ideal L2 self, was one of the issues investigated in the studies discussed below. The second question, that of the origin of the extrinsic values involved in forming the two self-guides, however, was already addressed in the original model, in the form of the third central construct of the theory.

The third, not yet fully researched, pillar of the theory, the *L2 learning experience* covers the plethora of factors related to the immediate learning environment. Influences from the part of the teacher, peers and other social actors as well as the teaching material, course objectives and specific tasks and the curriculum are, among others, are gathered under the broad umbrella of the term (Dörnyei, 2010). In addition, learners' experience of failure and success also constitutes an aspect of the drive. Dörnyei states that the L2 Learning Experience "is conceptualised at a different level from the two self-guides" (2009b,) and I believe the difficulty of tracking its influence consists exactly in its comprehensive nature discussed above. As mentioned earlier, some features of the learning environment, such as perceived expectations, are also crucial elements of the ought-to L2 self, indicating that this last constituent of the model in fact might be described as a composite set of variables loading into various other factors, which in turn affect motivated learning behavior either directly or indirectly. Indeed, elements of the notion are apparent in both self-guides, which indicates the relevance of the learning context and hints at its potential as a predictor of both the ideal L2 self and the ought-to L2 self. It is questionable, though, whether statistical evidence can be found for the existence of one separate variable corresponding to as complex a construct as the L2 Learning Experience. From a psycholinguistic point of view, the impact of the educational milieu is clearly observable as a set of background factors (cf. Segalowitz et al, 2009), while its implications are the topic of much research and discussion in the field of pedagogy (cf. last section).

The profound relation of theory to practice becomes apparent in light of Dörnyei's (2009a) account of the viewpoint the framework presents. In a recent overview of the model he writes, "possible selves involve images and senses, approximating what people actually experience when they are engaged in motivated or goal-directed behavior" (2009b). This approach is especially important from a practical perspective, and it not only gives rise to pedagogical conclusions but also renders the model a valid guide to the mechanisms of L2 motivation. Rooted in learners' everyday experiences, possible selves are thus pliable to a wide range of influences, some of which can, to some extent, be monitored and even regulated in a classroom environment.

2.2.3.1 The L2 self and empirical evidence

In a 2009 volume Dörnyei and Ushioda (2009) set out to compile a collection of papers on research projects investigating the relevance of identity and the ideal L2 self in various learning contexts. The studies included in the book originate from a wide range of countries, including, among others, Japan and China, Iran and Saudi Arabia as well as Canada and Hungary. They also offer different approaches to the interpretation of the data, which often transcend original considerations related to the L2 Motivational Self System, thus contributing to a very productive trend in motivation research. Following the theoretical developments outlined above, a surpassingly rich pool of research findings emerged through empirical testing. My aim in discussing these findings here is twofold. Firstly, it is to investigate the applicability of the model in different language learning contexts and draw conclusions as to its potential relevance to the sample of Swiss university students in the present study. Secondly, a subsequent section is dedicated to the examination of the key elements of the model in relation to other well-established frameworks and theories and, especially, to proposing further directions both in terms of research questions and theoretical perspectives.

Since the L2 Motivational Self System was designed to accommodate all types of learning environment, partly due to the fact that the ideal L2 self was theorized to encompass a more general phenomenon than the strong version of integrativeness, it logically follows that the model would function in settings formerly identified as highly integrative in Gardner's terms (1985). In order to test this hypothesis and compare the predictive value of both the integrative dimension and the ideal L2 self, MacIntyre et al. (2009) conducted quantitative studies of Canadian high school learners of French. Comparative analysis of a host of scales adopted from the AMTB (Attitude/Motivation Test Battery, Gardner & Smythe, 1981) and 18 items

centering around an L2 specific conceptualization of Higgins's (1987) Self Discrepancy Theory found that possible selves were a single factor structure, in contrast to integrativeness, which was composed of 11 scales tapping into its 3 distinct components. Self-related items in the questionnaire were based on the work of Markus and Nurius (1986), whose writings were also seminal in the development of the L2 Motivational Self System (cf. Dörnyei, 2009b). The theory defines learning as a process of continuous development the starting point of which is the actual self and that has as target the learner's future self. Therefore, the scales corresponding to the concept of possible selves describe facets of the ideal L2 self, as they aim to define learners' vision of their future French-speaking selves through questions regarding desired characteristics associated with proficiency in French. Correlation analysis revealed that although the two notions tap into the same motivational processes, they do not define the same constructs. However, results showed that they can be considered complementary, accounting for different facets of the same phenomenon. Furthermore, while the accord between AMTB scales and motivation was greater, the scales of self-concepts demonstrated higher correlations with perceived competence in all but one instance. It is important to note that the AMTB was developed precisely in order to analyze motivational directions in contexts similar to the Canadian one, a fact which, along with its long history of development, might explain its close fit. Indeed, the authors emphasize that further studies are needed to adapt the new instrument and to refine the description of possible selves. In conclusion, the results of the study indicated that the integrative dimension produced a better fit as opposed to the scales employed to measure the influence of the ideal L2 self. On the other hand, the question remains whether the findings are related to the physical presence of a significant target language group, and thus whether the Ideal Self proves to be a better guide in foreign language settings.

Interestingly, Taguchi et al (2009) replicated the above findings almost exactly in China, Iran and Japan. A large-scale nationwide Japanese study (Ryan, 2009) yielded partly similar results, in addition to revealing a strikingly strong link between integrativeness and the ideal L2 self, while showing that the two concepts are nevertheless significantly different. The fact that the participants in these studies were learners of English renders the results only more remarkable. In response to my initial query, Ryan argues that the two guides are in fact context-specific manifestations of the same emotional affiliation to values associated with the language and its speakers (2009). The unique global status of English, outlined in the previous section, lends this argument special importance, since foreign language learners perceive the target language group vastly differently from their peers in second language environment. As it was discussed

earlier, the presence of a tangible target community renders future membership possible, thus enabling learners to be driven by their goal of acceptance. However, where such a target community is expected to be not only distant but also very vaguely defined, the notion of integration becomes problematic.

On the other hand, the similarities between the two seemingly opposing constructs, instead of disqualifying, further confirm the hypothesis (Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002) that brought about the above mentioned second shift in paradigm describing language learning motivation as an assimilation of language-related values and behavior into one's self concept. It can, therefore be argued that the integrative motive contains more elements related to the target community than does the ideal L2 self, while positive attitudes toward the language and the values it represents constitute a significant component of each guide. Dörnyei (2009) explains the fact that positive attitudes toward L2 speakers remain strong among FL learners as well by noting that speakers represent manifestations of the values incorporated in learners' future self. Who these speakers are and what their role is in shaping learners' self-concepts will be discussed in the next section of this chapter. The notion of imagined communities might provide some insights, since such images might be theorized to contribute to the construction of stable learner identities, which enable learners to keep their goals in sight. In conclusion, while integrativeness remains a better predictor of motivation and success in certain second language environments (MacIntyre et al., 2009), it can nonetheless be redefined as a form of identity creation, as its relation to the ideal L2 self suggests.

Nevertheless, as Ryan (2009) argues, the Japanese context represents a unique example, where the English taught throughout the different levels of education is completely stripped of its communicative function. The fact that the ideal L2 self proves to be a strong predictor of motivation in Japan (ibid.) raises the question whether its relevance can be generalized over a larger variety of more traditional FL contexts. It is therefore worth looking at the results of a similar study conducted in Hungary, where the target community, though arguably distant and almost exhaustively restricted to speakers from England and the United States of America, presents a central aspect of English language teaching.

In order to validate the theory as part of a larger framework, Csizér and Kormos (2009) investigated the validity of a set of scales based on the three components of Dörnyei's (2009b) L2 Motivational Self System, and the relations among these variables and motivated learning behavior. Applying previously standardized scales, piloted and tested for internal consistency,

they collected questionnaire data from a criterion-based sample representing students learning English at both secondary and tertiary level of education, in the capital city of Budapest. Analysis of correlation coefficients identified three distinct variables that interacted with each other only to a small extent, thus confirming the existence of the three separate components of the selfsystem. Moreover, the SEM model emerging for both subsamples partly verified the initial hypotheses, since two components of the system contributed significantly to motivated learning behavior. On the other hand, while both the ought-to L2 self and learning experience showed low regression values toward the ideal L2 self, there was no further connection among the variables. Despite the high internal reliability of the scale, the ought-to L2 self remained unrelated to most of the other factors, only showing strong links to parental encouragement and low predictive value toward the ideal L2 self in the secondary school subsample. Nevertheless, the strength of learners' ideal future self-vision in determining motivation was relevant for both groups (0.37 for secondary school students and 0.49 for college and university students), which clearly indicated that the ideal L2 self indeed offers an explanation for learning effort, and thus for achieved performance.

This finding was replicated by Al-Sheri (2009), on a sample of Saudi and Arab young adults studying English in Saudi Arabia and the UK (United Kingdom) in various learning situations. He reports high correlations between motivated behavior and the Ideal Self, while the latter was also linked to visual style and imagination, demonstrating the importance of the ability to visualize and maintain the future self image. In some, the results lend further credibility to the conceptualization of the ideal L2 self as a reflection of the vision that language learners construct of their future L2 speaking selves and that forms an inherent part of their identity, inspiring them to invest valuable resources in language learning.

However, it is not only their findings that render the above studies relevant to our overview of theoretical developments. They also showcase two essential aspects of dynamic motivation research, the first of which is undoubtedly to validate the central concept of the Self System, that of the ideal L2 self, as a predictor of L2 motivation, thus confirming the hypothesis that learners' future self-visions determine their motivated learning behavior and, as a consequence, the success of the learning process. Secondly, it is important to examine the ideal L2 self in relation to other motivational factors, the two additional key constructs of the theory, the ought-to L2 self and Learning Experience only representing two of them. My view, supported by the results of the MA study preceding the present project, is that while the Ideal and ought-to L2

self can be regarded as elements of the central circle of factors directly influencing motivated learning behavior, other variables load into these, creating a second circle of factors. In the MA study, regression analysis revealed the ought-to L2 self among the factors of the second circle, loading directly into the ideal L2 self (Csillagh, 2010), hinting at the results of internalization processes. Independently of their methods of representing these relationships, the studies discussed below followed the two trends of inquiry and thus deepened our understanding of the internal mechanisms of the complex structure of motivational components.

Subsequent large-scale research projects in Asia confirmed that the ideal L2 self is indeed a stronger predictor of learning effort in foreign language contexts (Dörnyei, 2010). Furthermore, the same source examines the two self-guides in relation to traditional motivational concepts, such as that of the dichotomy of promotion and prevention. From this perspective, whereas the Ideal Self represents desired future self states, the ought-to L2 self stands for perceptions of obligations and responsibilities; potential negative outcomes to be avoided (Dörnyei, 2010). Since the traditional factor of instrumentality, referring to the pragmatic motives associated with language proficiency, can be similarly divided into promotional and preventional goals, Dörnyei theorizes that positive aspects of instrumentality form part of the ideal L2 self, presumably in the form of professional aims regarding the L2. Characteristics to be avoided, on the other hand, such as that of a bad student, are incorporated in the ought-to L2 self (ibid.). Therefore, it can be argued, in light of previous findings, that the relationship between integrativeness and the ideal L2 self might follow the same pattern. Certain aspects of integrativeness, for instance endeavors to avoid ridicule, can be hypothesized to contribute to the ought-to L2 self, while positive aspirations related to the language and its speakers are manifested in the ideal L2 self.

Nevertheless, the force of each of these components remains, to a great extent, dependent on the educational context. Varying results as to the relevance of certain aspects of the self-guides in different countries (Csizér and Kormos, 2009; Dörnyei et al., 2006; Taguchi et al., 2009) verify the claim that learners' visions of themselves are influenced, to a considerable degree, by their immediate as well as larger social environment. Dörnyei et al. (2006) report on the high predictive value of the variable labeled *milieu*, which indicates the strong social support Hungarian language learners' experience. Moreover, Csizér & Kormos (2009) point out the salience of the learning experience throughout their data and explain the weak presence of the ought-to L2 self as a manifestation of globalized trends. They argue that since English language

input and globalized values are highly accessible to learners, sometimes even only at a click, a substantial amount of what would in other circumstances be perceived as external influence is in fact internalized and already part of the their ideal future self. Taguchi et al. (2009) explain differences in the composition of the ideal L2 self between subsamples by theorizing that while Japanese learners' ideal L2 self is not linked to their pragmatic aspirations, Chinese and Iranian learners possess more fully fledged self-concepts and are therefore influenced by attitudes and promotional instrumental aspects of language learning by an equal measure.

In line with the original aim of the approach, these findings clearly indicate the salience of the ideal L2 self in predicting learners' motivation in a number of foreign language contexts. Furthermore, research in different countries revealed a link between the concept and that of integrativeness, and I examined several aspects of this relationship, arriving at the conclusion that they are overlapping variants of the same construct, namely a form of identity creation that is manifested differently depending on the cultural and linguistic environment. On the other hand, the ought-to L2 self emerged either as a weak or an indirect predictor of motivated learning behavior, which points at the need for further research in order to fully explore its role and potential. The third tenet of the L2 Motivational Self System, the Learning Experience remains even more elusive than the ought-to L2 self, its influence on motivation difficult to capture. This might be due to the fact that experience becomes either internalized or rejected with the passage of time and therefore would lend itself to more appropriate study through observation and introspective methods, or retrospective dialogue.

However, it is important to note that the versatility of the Self System lies not only in its flexible, multifaceted composition but also in the fact that it can be viewed from a broader perspective, which connects it to a wide range of developments in the field. Research has shown the importance of the ideal L2 self in predicting learners' motivation, but the two self-guides are also important in revealing the influence of other motivational factors. The following section, therefore, discusses research findings demonstrating the indirect impact of a number of variables, shedding further light on the mechanisms of language learning motivation.

2.2.3.2 Further motivational factors: a broader framework

As argued above, thorough examination of the performance of the L2 Motivational Self System in the larger framework of motivation theory is crucial to the understanding of its potential. The previous section discussed the internal reliability of the key concepts, and their predictive

value as motivational drives. Moreover, the results analyzed revealed important interrelationships among the central variables of the theory and other basic motivational factors. Nevertheless, this review cannot be complete without an investigation of research findings as regards the connection between elements of the self system and contemporary concepts of motivation.

In addition to the complex relationships among instrumentality and integrativeness on the one hand and the self-guides on the other, the components of Dörnyei's model as well as the entire system was shown to accommodate tenets of a number of influential theories in modern L2 motivation research. Segalowitz et al (2009) demonstrated, through analysis of data obtained from three studies on the psycholinguistic aspects of cognitive processes, the link between ethnolinguistic affiliation and the system. In a discussion of the universal features of ethnolinguistic identity in the globalized context of twenty-first century language learning, the authors state that strong ethnolinguistic affiliation, in other words, close identification with values associated with the L1 community, considerably limits the scope of the experience learners gain in L2 situations they engage in through L2 use. These results are not so striking considering the role of experience in language learning, namely that limited contact with the language alters the outcome of cognitive and psycholinguistic processes (Segalowitz et al., 2009). Therefore, identity creation and cognitive aspects of language learning act in a circular pattern, since while engaging in perception- and production-oriented activities strengthens the L2 component of the self, the lack of such an element inhibits participation in such situations. This certainly raises the question whether aspirations at preserving one's L1 identity or relevant non-native aspects of the self can act as a restraining factor in L2 learning and use. This dissertation argues that L1-specific elements, along with other non-native characteristics, form an essential part of learners' identity in the postmodern era (Graddol, 2006; Heller, 2000), and increasingly frequent discussions on *bicultural identity* offer further insights, which are addressed in the next section of this chapter.

On the other hand, one of the most influential concepts of twenty-first century L2 motivation research emerged along similar lines, and *international posture* (Yashima, 2009) soon became a widely accepted conceptualization of the phenomenon. The notion, earlier named *intercultural competence*, refers to a general openness toward international affairs and cultural dissimilarities (ibid.). Similarly to other modern constructs observed earlier, the three subcomponents of international posture incorporate both instrumental and integrative aspects,

and the entire phenomenon translates as a reflection of a self-determined and possibly internalized subgroup of extrinsic motivation. Furthermore, Yashima explains that international posture can be argued to reflect “possible selves of a future English-using participant in an international community” (2009), which suggests close links with the ideal L2 self. It was indeed shown to relate strongly to the ideal self-guide, as well as willingness to communicate (WTC), self-confidence and motivated learning behavior (*ibid.*). Its role in predicting the strength of learners’ ideal L2 self, further confirmed by Csizér and Kormos (2009), as well as the MA project, draws attention to the relevance of positive attitudes toward other communities to the construction of strong and inspirational L2 identities. It merits further consideration that both studies specify the universal nature of the concept, distancing it from the process of identification with native speakers. Striking correlations with L2 identity prompted Yashima to paraphrase the phenomenon as “students’ interest in participating in an imagined international community” (2009). Indeed, imagined target communities offer a fresh view on the interpretation of integrative dispositions among FL learners, and corresponding theories enrich the plethora of modern concepts that are discussed at the end of this section.

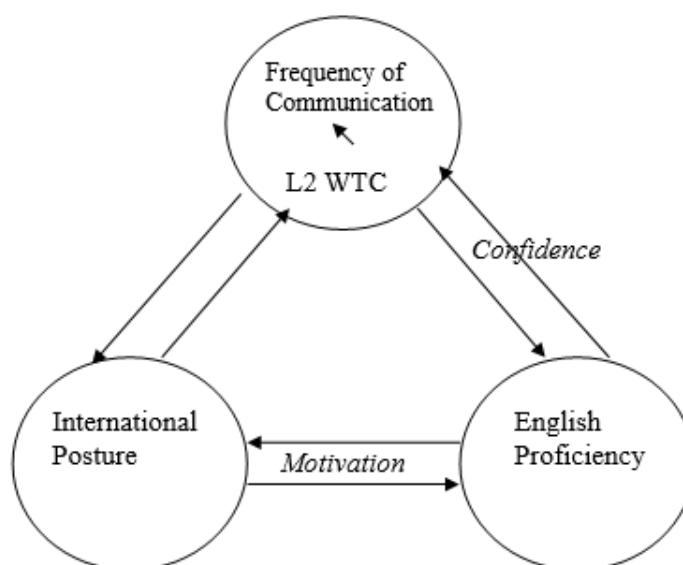
Csizér and Kormos (2009), on the other hand, explain results demonstrating the relationship of international posture to the L2 Motivational Self System differently. In the Hungarian dataset, the variable was shown to interact only with one of the key concepts, the ideal self-guide. In the globalized context of the Hungarian learning environment, the authors argue that the link reflects the internalization of globalized values (*ibid.*) and their crucial place in learners’ self-concept. They point out, furthermore, that given the high predictive value of the ideal L2 self, it is essential that teachers and other stakeholders help learners maintain such ideals in order to facilitate achievement. It is important to consider, however, that while this is arguably valid reasoning, in order to avoid misconceptions further investigation of such promotional ideals is necessary.

Traditionally, however, Hungarian foreign language education has for a long time relied on Anglo-American culture as the norm to transmit powerful images of speakers. Research investigating the importance of such intercultural contact in motivation and identity creation among Hungarian primary school learners of English (Csizér and Kormos, 2008) revealed interesting patterns. Further explaining the remarkable significance of contact through media sources, the researchers concluded that ‘English, being a language of international communication, Internet, pop music and electronic media, is more attractive for students in

Hungary than German, which is spoken in neighbouring countries and has been traditionally an important regional language but is perceived to have lower ethnolinguistic vitality'. These findings illustrate, on the one hand, the extent to which these foreign language contexts differ from settings that offer learners real contact opportunities, since the study shows that Hungarians had very little actual contact with foreigners, who would constitute the relevant target group according to traditional L2 motivation models. On the other hand, the results support the view to which English teachers commit increasingly often around the world, namely the recognition of modern media sources in language teaching and the encouragement of autonomous engagement on the part of the learner in activities involving these platforms. The question whether such forms of contact promote a sense of real identification or whether they rather create an imaginary link with a global target community is one worthy of further research.

Last but not least, let us consider one more concept, which offers a more practical approach toward language learning motivation. *Willingness to communicate* (WTC), first proposed by McCroskey and Baer (1985, cited in Dörnyei, 2010) as a factor of L1 use and later developed by MacIntyre (1994) into a powerful construct in language learning, was analyzed as a complex system of situational and individual variables in MacIntyre et al. (1998). Interestingly, the concept was originally introduced as dependent on extrinsic factors, while its later conceptualization, especially in light of developments in motivation theory, reveals it as an important aspect of individual attitudes and identity construction. Besides analyzing the internal dynamics of willingness to communicate, the heuristic model developed by MacIntyre et al. (1998) furthermore outlined the strong influence WTC is expected to exert over learners' motivation. These ties were confirmed and further explored by Yashima (2009), who argued that WTC is part of a set of key variables that influence motivation and identity creation in foreign language contexts. Her model, based on the results of previous studies in Japan (cf. Yashima, 2009), illustrates how interrelationships among language use, WTC and international posture boost learners' self-confidence and motivation, thus augmenting L2 proficiency. The model, therefore, draws attention to the role these variables play in promoting successful language learning, indicating their relevance in classroom practices and autonomous learning alike.

Figure 2.2 A schematic representation of the interaction between L2 WTC, International Posture and English Proficiency (Yashima, 2009)



In conclusion it can be stated that the ideal L2 self emerges as a distinct factor in all datasets, and strongly interacts at a significant level with a number of motivational factors. It is, in addition, partly related to traditional conceptualizations of motivation, explained by the possibility that integrativeness and the ideal self-guide tap into the same pool of motives. Moreover, the L2 Motivational Self System proved to revisit old concepts rather than disqualify them (Raby, 2008). This reinterpretation of the findings also allowed for broader spectrums of interpretation, through the extensive framework of a multitude of secondary factors. On the other hand, the design of a unified model, accountable for learners' efforts in all circumstances, has invited dissenting voices from a number of directions. In the following subsection I will argue that a composite framework of several context-specific models would prove more beneficial, considering the disparity of the findings in the different contexts outlined above

2.2.3.3 Words of caution

Indeed, while the late 1990s was considered as an era with a need for a uniform model of motivation, the twenty-first century saw an upsurge of seemingly opposing, sometimes even eclectic theories. As this review demonstrates, a close examination of these theoretical directions reveals complementary trends, to such an extent that earlier I proposed the creation of a standardized set of models in order to account for the multitude of situations in which

postmodern foreign language education takes place. Similar arguments were put forth by MacIntyre and his colleagues (2009b), who found the two systems (Gardner, 1985, 2001, 2006; Dörnyei, 2005, 2009) partly related and suggested that they be used in a complementary manner.

In a separate chapter of the same volume, the authors warn against “throwing the baby with the bathwater”, supporting the view that continuity be preserved in order to lend depth to L2 motivation research (MacIntyre et al., 2009a). Their reasoning promotes a synthesis of concepts, which I consider as a direction of high potential and one that can lead to a flexible but stable framework of motivational theories. Ryan (2009) echoes these ideas, emphasizing the necessity of fresh perspectives and the danger of allowing the concept of the ideal L2 self ‘mature’ to such an extent that it becomes another rigid attempt at explaining motivation. Kim (2005), on the other hand, urges for a new start without theoretical patching, offering a Vygotskian approach.

It is also important to note that there is much need for further research into the mechanics of the complex system of motivational variables discussed in this chapter. Whereas my analysis of the Ideal and Ought to L2 Selves revealed them to be well defined and thoroughly researched constructs, the elusive nature of the learning experience as a factor of motivation certainly invites investigation. The studies discussed above support my views that elements of the construct can be traced in scales examining other factors, however this conception needs to be analyzed further in order to draw conclusions that are informative from an educational as well as theoretical point of view. In addition, while beyond the scope of the present dissertation, questions related to culturally identified self-concepts and their relevance to motivation constitute an intriguing direction for further investigation. From a theoretical perspective, the prospect of developing eclectic models of motivation and alternatives to a simplified uniform model are also among the most prevalent currents in McIntyre et al. (2009b), which would indeed contribute to the creation of a flexible framework of interrelated models that responds to the challenges posed by the diversity of modern foreign language learning contexts.

2.2.4 *Alternative dynamic theories*

Ushioda’s (2009) person-in-context model approaches language learning motivation from a slightly different angle from the theories discussed so far. While Dörnyei’s self system (2005, 2009) examines the learner as an actor in a particular learning situation and social milieu,

Ushioda centralizes her conceptualization of motivation on the learner as individual acting in the context (2009). In her model the learner is considered, in addition to his or her learning activity, a complex human being with all the influences that implies. Ushioda criticizes the socio-educational model, arguing that it accommodates social factors merely in the form of social attitudes and to a very limited extent (*ibid.*). Moreover, the use of self-report data further complicates the achievement of decisive conclusions concerning multi-actor processes at the societal level. She makes a similar point regarding cognitive-situated approaches, since whereas the period put more emphasis on the micro-context of the classroom, it likewise made use of interviews and questionnaire data, which are highly inappropriate for the scientific examination of the learning situation. Furthermore, the analysis of self-report findings is problematic, she claims, because it presents the impact of the context on the individual through learners' perceptions, while Ushioda (2009) proposes the learner as the focus of her model, investigating the influence of *the person on the context*. She nonetheless concedes that the dynamic nature of motivation implies that its mechanism is not context-independent. However, along the same lines, participation in the context is also dynamic and influential. Interestingly, from an identity perspective, Ushioda (*ibid.*) displays revolutionary thinking in the field of L2 motivation when she argues that country-level generalizations oversimplify the context and therefore it needs to be analyzed at a local level. She also favors a multi-framework view of motivation, a relational approach as opposed to linear, which relies on the socio-educational model to identify variables that, unlike cognitive factors, might be affected by the educational context. Therefore, a more intricate model permits the observation of the learner as a complex personality, and to go beyond the limitations of psycholinguistic factors in order to accommodate broader motives in a holistic view, centered around the learner.

The notion of imagined communities constitutes another direction in language learning motivation research that might offer additional insights toward the reinterpretation of the integrative motive (Gardner, 1985) in today's globalized world. Since for learners of English the global community remains more imagined than real (Lamb, 2009), and, as Pavlenko and Norton (2007) state, the postmodern learning environment undoubtedly transcends the classroom, and, in certain cases, the community of engagement. The importance of such a claim becomes evident upon consideration of the findings mooted earlier, since it might account for integrative dispositions found in FL contexts. The authors explain that through imagination, a natural human trait, learners can see farther than their immediate social networks. Pavlenko and Norton (2007) link the phenomenon to the concept of possible selves, arguing that

imaginary membership influences L2 motivation to the same extent as physically present communities do, with a potential to contribute to learners' self-concepts. In order to understand this reasoning, it is enough to consider learners' insistence on the importance of one language or another in a foreign language context, without any real contact with speakers or any hope of traditionally defined integration. As I claimed earlier, this attachment, whether the result of practical or emotional drives, might stem from a wide range of convictions, specific to the particular context but not necessarily reflecting reality. Nevertheless, L2 competence was shown to form an essential part of these learners' future self, thus supporting claims regarding both identity creation and the motivating power of self-images. As McIntyre et al (2009) explain, by painting a vivid picture of a contact situation, relying on her imagination, the learner interviewed was able to benefit from this experience both in terms of L2 development and as a motivational drive. Imagination certainly provides an affective link to language learning, however, perhaps more importantly, it also helps integrate the L2 element into the learner's self-concept, which, as I argued, leads to the attainment of higher levels of performance.

On the other hand, it is important to note that, despite learners' positive attitudes toward English, certain concerns persist as to the dangers its status might provoke. While theorists from very disparate backgrounds continue to voice fears similar to those put forth by Crystal (2000) at the turn of the century, claiming that official languages might come to be displaced by English, in retrospect it can be concluded that in many FL context this is not the case. Pavlenko and Norton (2007) argue that, even in other forms of multilingualism, where English enjoys a definitely more physical presence, target language use remains subject to personal, ethnic and other aspects of speaker identity. Taking this argument further, I propose that in foreign language environments with little L2 contact, self-expression in the L2 might play an even more important role, due to the lack of pressure to conform to the ideals of a distinctive target group. In these contexts, expressing oneself in the L2, therefore, can be interpreted at a much larger scale, referring not only to lending voice to one's opinions and views but doing so in a way that reflects one's identity, with all its inherent elements. I maintain that the image today's language learner wishes to communicate to the world truly comprises of a local, or L1 specific, element, among the many components that make up the complicated structure of learner identity. Thus, the notion of *bicultural* identity (cf. Dörnyei, 2009), also discussed above, may shed more light on the phenomenon and offer a more modern approach to the question of identity in FL contexts of the twenty-first century.

Ushioda's (2009) conclusions regarding the importance of contextual factors in language learning also signaled in new, more contextually sensitive approaches to L2 motivation. A series of studies collected into a volume by Dörnyei and colleagues (2015) explored language learning from a dynamic systems perspective. Dynamic Systems Theory (DST; de Bot, Lowie & Verspoor, 2007; Larsen-Freeman, 2002), originally a theory of mathematics, can be applied to language learning and provides further insight into the mechanics of learning processes as components of the *ecosystem* surrounding learners. In order to do so, two main axioms of the theory need to be observed, namely that the contexts surrounding language learners are in constant flux and interaction and that individuals are not only influenced by these spheres and their interplay but also have an active role in shaping both.

De Bot et al. (2007) state that "language can be seen as a dynamic system, i.e. a set of variables that interact over time", supported by historical perspectives on the relationship between languages and speakers. Secondly, they point out that "language development shows some of the core characteristics of dynamic systems: sensitive dependence on initial conditions, complete interconnectedness of subsystems, the emergence of attractor states in development over time and variation both in and among individuals". These characteristics further underline two important aspects of L2 learning. On the one hand, they emphasize the interrelatedness of the multitude of contexts that learners interact with, while, on the other, they accord motivated learning behavior, as an *attractor state*, special importance.

DST offers a more comprehensive view of L2 motivation, but it also presents researchers with a number of challenges. First of all, as MacIntyre et al. (2015) point out, the lack of an established terminology renders some of the concepts of the theory difficult to capture in SLA terms. For instance, they voice concerns about the difficulty of researching attractor states as a motivational phenomenon. These states represent sets of conditions into which the system settles for a length of time, such as learners might settle into a period of motivated learning. However, as these authors explain, elements of attractor states cannot be easily translated into variables and are therefore hard to measure through traditional research methods. Secondly, the dynamic nature of language learning as a system indicates that it is continually in motion, which means that the method of investigation has to be designed to take these constant changes into account.

While further refinement of both theory and research methods is needed so as to make the DST approach accessible to mainstream research, the studies collected by Dörnyei et al. (2015) have

a few important messages. First of all, the dynamic, interacting, context(s) in which language learning takes place need to be taken into account in the examination of motivational phenomena. Similarly, the reciprocal relationship between learners and contexts is also an essential aspect of language learning and thus has to be accounted for. Last but not least, it is important for motivational frameworks to allow for change and to view L2 learning as a *process* rather than a *product* (MacIntyre et al., 2015). The present study builds on these developments, and offers a contextually enriched, relationally enhanced approach to Swiss university students' language learning motivation.

2.3 Swiss language learners: individuals in multiple contexts

No examination of contextual influences on modern FL learning can be complete without taking into account the *global status* of English. As I concluded at the beginning of this chapter, the spread of English as a foreign language (EFL) is indeed unprecedented and has serious implications on social and economic processes. It is also bound to impact learners' attitudes not only toward English but toward all other L2s. Some view this aspect of EFL as empowering (Crystal, 2003; Graddol, 2006), while others argue that a language that can connect can also separate, leading to the marginalization and subjugation of non-speakers or those with less proficiency (Phillipson, 1992; Pennycook, 1994).

Nevertheless, whether proficiency in English is viewed as a fundamental need or a coveted privilege, the motivational power of its status cannot be denied. As seen in the previous section, various aspects of the issue are reflected in the different elements of the L2 Motivational Self System (Dörnyei, 2009). The ideal and ought-to L2 selves gauge the importance of the language to learners' self-concept, either in the form of aspirations and personal goals or of perceived obligations. Other motivational variables, such as Yashima's (2009) international posture or the world citizenship/global village scale used in the present study, embody further attitudinal facets related to the spread of EFL and were shown to influence the self-guides (Csillagh, 2010; Yashima, 2009, also Sections [4.6.3](#) and [5.4.2](#)). In addition, social networks, pop culture and English language media are also often seen as exceptional attractors, as are the world of science and professional communication. These can all be powerful motivators, but their influence hinges on "whether the pursuit of mutual intelligibility and participation in the global community are perceived as somehow a threat to, or an enrichment of, one's linguistic identity and sense of self" (Ushioda, 2006).

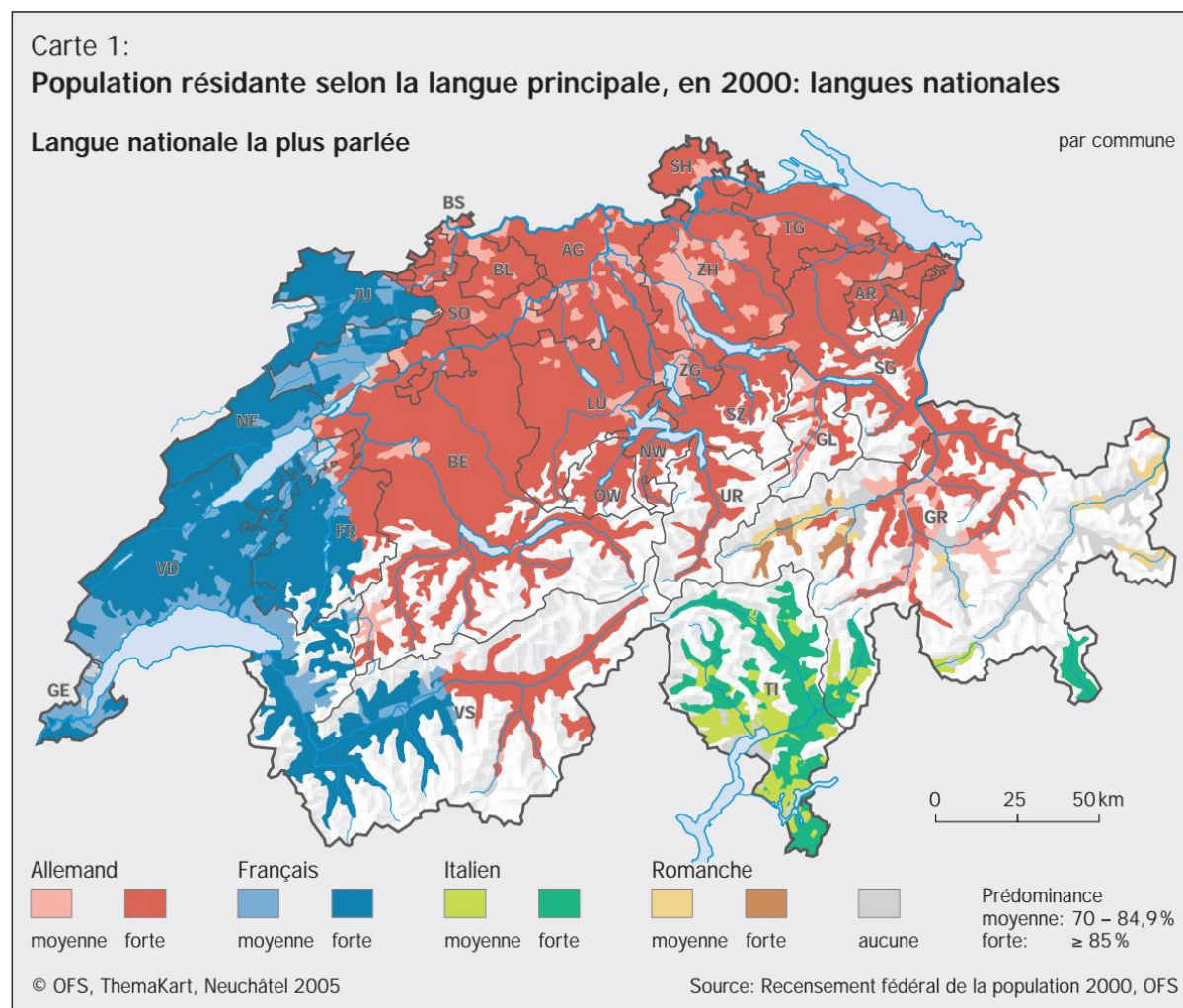
This question is an especially pertinent one in today's globalized learning contexts, where L2 learner identity, addressed at the beginning of this chapter, is also constructed at several levels and individuals' self-concept incorporates social as well as personal aspects. Thus, as learners negotiate the values and representations of the different contexts in which they live, tension can arise between global and local elements of the self. In the historically multilingual European context, the European Language Portfolio (ELP, cf. Breidbach, 2003; Ushioda, 2006) aims to bridge this gap by promoting individual plurilingualism. In contrast with the multilingualism of the community, the ELP focuses on the development individual language skills (at any level) in multiple languages. As the Swiss example testifies, plurilingualism can also be exercised at several organizational levels at once. I will argue below that, in addition to being an important aspect of learner identity, it can even become a symbol of social cohesion and a pillar of national identity.

2.3.1 *The linguistic context: “speaking Swiss”*

If scholars and practitioners often have the impression that the language issue in Switzerland is a delicate one it is partly because it is as old as the country itself. Indeed, its history goes back to the time of Napoleon, who united the three language regions (German, French and Italian) by force and thus created the first plurilingual state (Elmiger and Forster, 2005). Today, with three official languages (German, French, Italian) and Romansh given a semi-official status, the Swiss context remains just as intriguing in terms of FL research but also holds a number of surprises.

The first is that, despite the coordinating role of the Swiss Conference of Cantonal Ministers of Education (CDIP), regulations on language, culture and education are formulated by cantonal authorities. Therefore, linguistic and educational governance can take different forms depending on the region or canton examined. First of all, while the three languages mentioned above are all Swiss official languages of equal status, their role varies from one canton, or even one municipality, to the other. Figure 2.3 below (Lüdi and Werlen, 2005) displays the distribution of Swiss national languages, spoken as census participants' first language, in the different municipalities.

Figure 2.3 Geographical distribution of national languages in the Swiss municipalities (published in Lüdi and Werlen, 2005)



Out of the twenty-two constitutionally monolingual cantons seventeen are officially German speaking and are separated from the four French-speaking and the single Italian-speaking cantons by the *Röstigraben*, the metaphorical border between the two culturally and linguistically different regions (Grin, 2010). The term itself draws on the dissimilarities between the two regions as regards their culinary traditions, although their cultural heritage can be contrasted on a number of points. At the same time, French and German are both official languages in three bilingual cantons and this duality is also preserved in official documentation and road signs. The trilingual canton of Grisons (Graubünden in German, Grischun in written Romansh) has been the center of the fight for the preservation of Romansh and the initiative to support plurilingualism (cf. Grin, 2010). Last but far from least, in cantons like Geneva, where numerous multinationals and NGOs attract the international workforce, foreign residents account for a considerable portion of the population, further enriching the linguistic landscape.

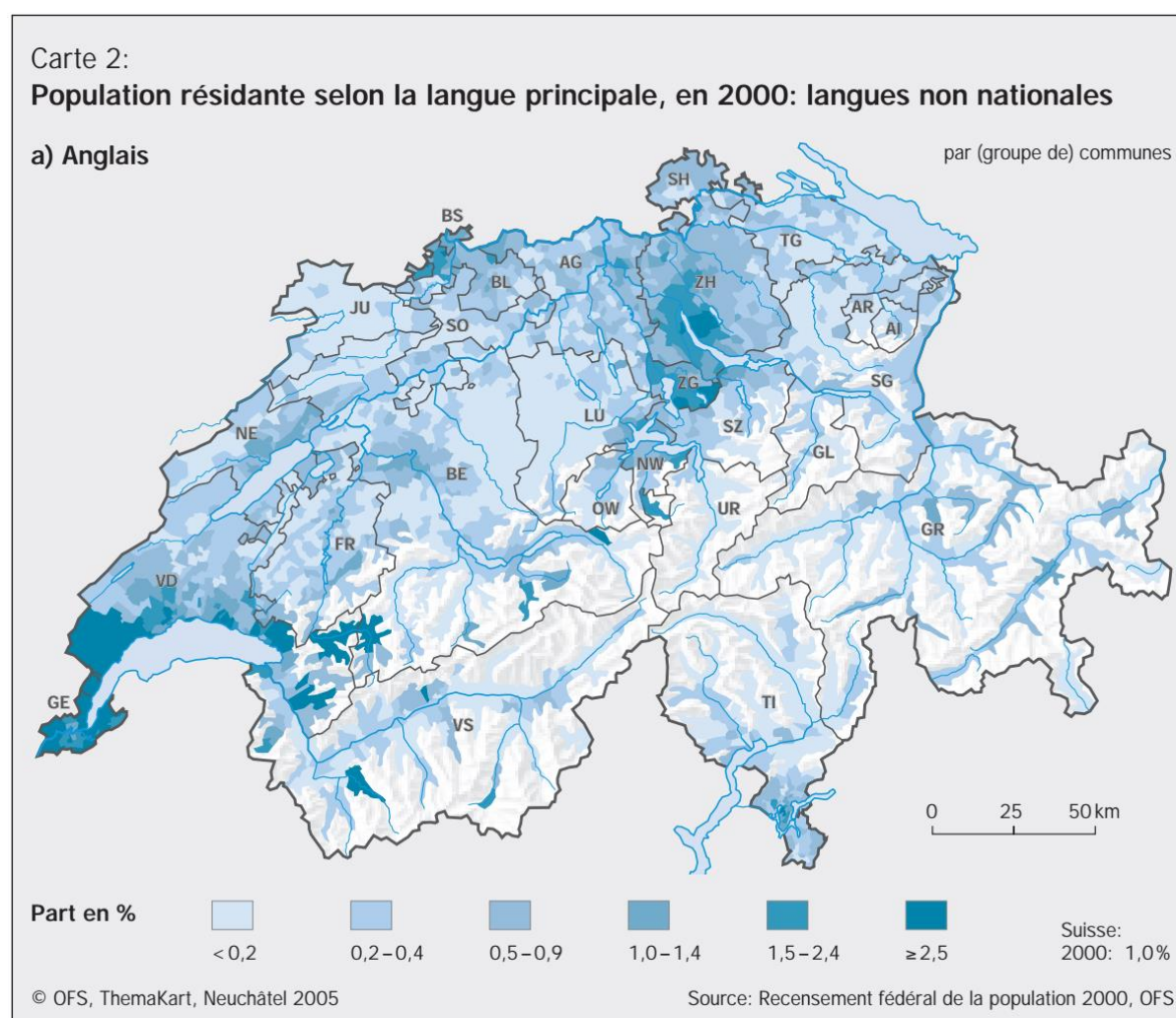
As regards the linguistic compositions of the overall population, they generally correspond to the geographical distribution described above. Census results show that 63.7% are German L1 speakers, while 20.4% declared French, 6.5% Italian and 0.5% Romansh as their mother tongue (Lüdi and Werlen, 2005). It is interesting to note that, despite the importance of plurilingual trends in the population surveyed, participants were allowed to choose only one language. Even more interestingly, the question on languages used at home, which, by contrast, took plurilingual practices into account, yielded comparable answers with only a slight to moderate increase in all categories (*ibid.*). However, even these minor differences might be indicative of the individual plurilingualism of participants and the volume of second and third generation immigrants among Swiss residents.

The German-speaking cantons are also home to a wide range of local Swiss German dialects, collectively called *the dialect*. They are especially interesting as a case of diglossia, since the use of the dialect is mutually exclusive with that of Standard German. While the former has always been a metaphor for the home and everyday life, the latter traditionally represented the professional sphere. Therefore, it is not surprising that in these areas 90.8% of Swiss residents speak the dialect but not Standard German at home (Lüdi and Werlen, 2005). Moreover, in the course of the twentieth century, *Schwyzertütsch* started gaining ground and became an emblem of Swiss ideological and economic independence and gradually replaced Standard German in a number of contexts, so much so that French speakers have started to question the use of learning Standard German.

A different type of multilingualism is prevalent in the French-speaking region, where 18.4% of residents marked a main language other than French (Lüdi and Werlen, 2005). In addition, foreigners constitute one fifth of the population nationwide and, while most are French or Italian mother L1 speakers, 37.7% of them speak a non-national language at home (*ibid.*). This trend is even more marked in urban areas, Geneva being one of the centers of this diversity. It is clear from Figure 2.4 that most speakers of English as a main language also live in these regions. In addition to English, many other languages were listed in this category, resulting in 390 different combinations of home languages. Along the same lines, the 375 participants in the study on which this dissertation reports spoke a total of 36 different languages. Similarly, a questionnaire survey that I coordinated and analyzed with the invaluable help of Profs. Claire Forel, Fabio Lorenzi-Cioldi and a class of second-year teacher trainees found 34 languages spoken in a sample of 151 Geneva secondary school pupils. Ranging from Albanian to Wolof,

these languages further enrich the linguistic makeup of the already multilingual Swiss society. In a context where such a multitude of languages coexist, the question arises as to what language practices emerge in multilingual speakers' daily interactions. Moreover, even more interestingly, how do speakers and institutions ensure efficient communication and negotiate situations where languages and interests are in conflict?

Figure 2.4 Distribution of speakers of English as a main language in the Swiss municipalities (published in Lüdi and Werlen, 2005)



Heller (2003) and others have suggested that the use of English could offer a solution, but a study of Swiss firms' communicative practices (Lüdi et al. 2009) found the case to be entirely different, revealing that diversity and even linguistic virtuosity play an important role. The findings discussed by Lüdi and his colleagues (ibid.) show that multilingual speakers in professional settings make active use of *plurilingual* strategies that involve several languages, instead of relying on English as a lingua franca. Indeed, Murray et al. (2001) confirm this as a

general observation, stating that English is rarely used for communication among Swiss interlocutors of different mother tongues. While plurilingualism is not an exclusively Swiss phenomenon (cf. Breidbach, 2003), the concept is fundamental to understanding the linguistic landscape as well as the history and development of the country. In order to illustrate this, a series of studies (cf. Berthoud et al., 2013) was dedicated to investigating the economic and social advantages of such cultural and linguistic diversity and concluded that Swiss *plurilingualism* is not only a genuine, living example of successful multilingual communication and linguistic governance but, as I further illustrate below, it is also a key factor in many aspects of Swiss society.

2.3.2 The social context: Swiss plurilingualism

Plurilingualism, as proposed by the European Language Portfolio (ELP), has become an important resource in communicative practices and a priority in language teaching in Switzerland (Elmiger & Forster, 2005). The term covers significantly more than the mere coexistence of the four official languages and many dialects. It refers to the equality of these languages as communicative tools and an expression of speakers' identity as well as a heightened awareness of their linguistic and social interrelationships (Breidbach, 2003). As Forel and Gerber (2013) conclude, this awareness can enrich and influence speakers' understanding of all the languages they are proficient in. Interestingly, this also includes one's first language (Forel, Therefore, in this text I distinguish between multilingualism, the use or knowledge of several languages resulting in linguistic diversity, and plurilingualism, the creative application of the linguistic repertoire of an individual or group with special emphasis on the equality of the languages in question. In Switzerland, it has become an emblem of social cohesion and national identity.

As I pointed out earlier, four cantons are officially plurilingual, their legislation, education, road signs and many other aspects of daily life conducted in multiple Swiss languages. While this type of *institutional plurilingualism* is one of the key principles of Swiss linguistic governance, Lüdi and Werlen (2005) warn that, as this form of multilingualism remains limited to a small number of official languages, it does not necessarily equal true plurilingualism as described above. On the other hand, research has also focused on *individual plurilingualism*, which is manifested at the level of speakers and characterizes their everyday practices.

Indeed, several studies (e.g. Lüdi et al. 2009; Pfefferli 2008, 2010) demonstrate the importance of plurilingual strategies in corporate communication among employees at Swiss firms. Lüdi et al. (2009) argue that such communicative tools are indispensable in business dealings across linguistic borders and in multilingual settings. Their findings show that while employers rely on special corporate guidelines to enhance communicative efficiency, employees navigate these delicate situations using plurilingual communication techniques. The latter seem especially effective in successfully resolving communicative situations where no common language is available, even though the policy relative to these instances recommends the use of Standard German (ibid.).

Corporate multilingualism is an important feature of all three language regions. In French-speaking areas, the context of the most interest to this dissertation, using languages other than French is often part of daily business. Research shows that, in these regions, 29.9% of employees use German on a daily basis, whereas English is used by 27.5% and Italian by 11.8% (Grin, Sfreddo and Vaillancourt, 2009). In a similar vein, 13% of all professional communication takes place in English, 10% in German and 2% in Italian (ibid.).

Plurilingualism at this scale inevitably has economic implications. Statistics show that if all residents who speak another national language suddenly became monolingual, the loss could amount to as much as 10% of the country's GDP (Grin et al., 2009). At the same time, plurilingualism also has social roots in Switzerland, since active cooperation among linguistic regions and, even more importantly, the *willingness* to put such cooperation into place is key to national cohesion (Grin, 2014). Plurilingualism, at the institutional as well as the individual level, has thus become an inherent element of Swiss national identity. As a result, issues of language teaching are always central to Swiss education policy.

2.3.3 *The learning context: FL teaching in Switzerland*

The first thing to note about language education in Switzerland is that, despite the high level of multilingualism and the prevalence of plurilingual practices in daily life, none of the languages taught at school are considered as *second* languages. While earlier I observed that such distinctions are becoming increasingly difficult to make, multilingual settings also present certain educational advantages of which learners of the languages in question can greatly benefit. Therefore, in many multilingual contexts (cf. Beardsmore, 1993), language education places special emphasis on these, drawing attention, for instance, to the availability of second

language contact. However, in Geneva, for instance, languages other than French are taught as *foreign* languages, whose speakers mainly live in respective monolingual countries where these languages are official majority languages.

As seen in the previous sections, this might be understandable to a certain extent in the case of Standard German. Although one of the official languages in Switzerland, Standard German is nonetheless a minority language when it comes to the number of its L1 speakers and its role in family language use. Thus, many children in the German-speaking regions acquire it through schooling, as the language of instruction. This also explains why learners of Standard German in the French-speaking half of the country might find it difficult to associate the language with their German-speaking compatriots.

The second characteristic of Swiss language education to which I would like to draw attention is its territoriality. Policies are set at the cantonal level, based on recommendations issued by the Swiss Conference of Cantonal Ministers of Education (CDIP). As formulated on the website of the latter,

“[i]n the multilingual and federally structured Switzerland the 26 cantons have the primary responsibility for education. Compulsory education is largely rooted in the cantons and local municipalities. In post-compulsory education the cantons and the federal authorities each have their own responsibilities (CDIP, 2017)”.

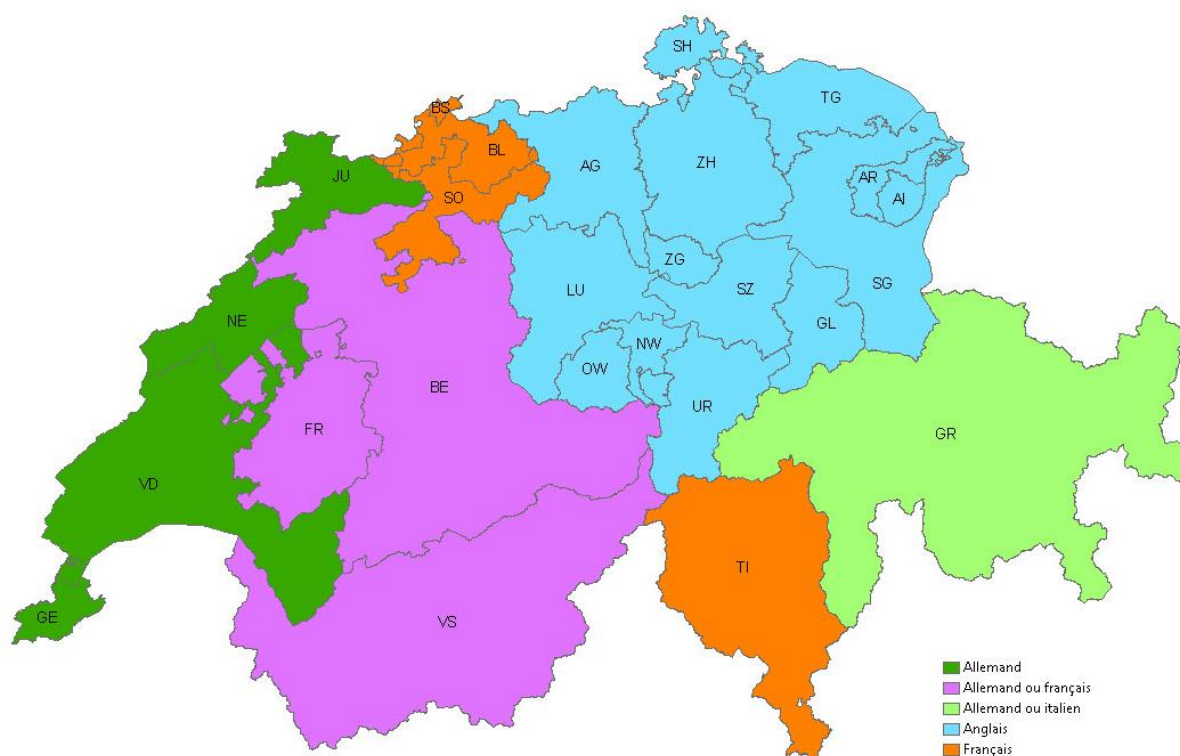
Traditionally, despite their territorial variance, these policies, for a long time, aimed to promote understanding among Swiss citizens and learning the *language of the other*. Thus, foreign language education put special emphasis on the early introduction of German in French-speaking cantons and that of French in German-speaking areas, with the addition of Italian at some institutions (for a more detailed discussion, see Waltermann and Csillagh, 2016). A historical overview, as offered in Elmiger and Forster (2005) clearly showcases how the emergence of EFL gradually changed this balance.

One of these changes manifested in the growing number of German-speaking cantons that began to contemplate an English-first policy. Finally, in 1997, the canton of Zurich announced its intention of introducing English as the first L2 taught, relegating French to second place. The modifications came into effect at the start of the 1999 school year. From that moment on, primary school pupils in the canton of Zurich were to study English first and another obligatory language (added in year 5) later, with some establishments offering a third language (from year

7) as an option. Although learning one national language was still mandatory, the order in which the two first foreign languages were to be introduced was not specified. As a result, local policy-makers often opted for English as the first foreign language taught.

It was this shift toward an English-first approach that prompted the CDIP, which was no longer able to reinstate the balance of language policies, to appoint a number of regional Conferences that would collaborate in redesigning the framework. One of the main goals of this collaboration was the harmonization of regional and cantonal language education policies. The new regulations (EDK-CDIP, 2004), to be implemented by the 2015 school year, now required all cantons to introduce a national language as well as English by grades three and five the latest. In addition, these are no longer mere recommendations, although the choice of the first FL remains at the discretion of the individual cantons.

Figure 2.5 First foreign languages first taught at Swiss schools (published in *La Suisse : la répartition des langues*)



While completely in line with these regulations, the recent change from French to English as the first FL in the cantons of Nidwalden and Thurgau brought the issue back to the agenda and caused several German-speaking cantons to reconsider their policies. First of all, the question arose whether introducing only one foreign language in primary school would lower the

cognitive load and increase the quality of teaching. Second, proponents of English voiced arguments for the international usefulness and profitability of the language and suggested that it should replace French in primary schools. On May 21, 2017, Zurich voters rejected an English-only policy. Therefore, pupils in the canton will continue to learn English and French, from ages seven and eleven respectively.

In the French-speaking region, these decisions raised the question whether German should prevail as the first foreign language. Arguments for and against the introduction of English as the first FL were voiced in all types of media (cf. Waltermann and Csillagh, 2016). Commenting on the debate, Grin (2014) points out that abandoning or even postponing national language instruction might have dire sociological, political and economic consequences. Nevertheless, many see English as the pragmatic choice for the first foreign language taught in Swiss elementary schools, despite research findings indicating otherwise.

2.3.4 *The economic context: language skills at market*

As the Swiss debate illustrates, arguments for the usefulness of English often rely on its global status and the sheer number of its speakers around the world. Supporters of EFL claim that these factors make the language more profitable to learn than other, even locally important, alternatives (e.g. Graddol, 2006). However, as Grin (2001, 2014) points out, these statements are rarely supported by economic theory and research.

For instance, in light of the rules of supply and demand that govern the labor market as strongly as other areas of the economy, it is clear that the ever increasing number of English speakers, while it might make the language a useful tool of communication, might also lower the level of compensation for such skills. Indeed, these rules imply that once the market reaches saturation point, English language skills of a certain level might be taken for granted but the need and compensation for higher degrees of proficiency might decrease and therefore present less of an incentive to learning. The figures cited in the next section support this assumption and show that, as early as the 1990s (Grin, 1999), the Swiss labor market might have already been undergoing this change.

In addition, if the strength of English lies in the number of its speakers, other languages are just as important for communicating and doing business with the remaining 70% of the world (Grin, 2014). Therefore, I suggest that economic considerations should be reevaluated rather than

dismissed, especially since FL education constitutes CHF 1.5 billion of the yearly federal budget (Grin & Sfreddo, 1997). I propose a more detailed discussion of the economic aspects of language learning and their relevance to L2 motivation research in the next section. Moreover, I will also revisit and discuss in more depth the question of language learning as a profitable endeavor in the Swiss context. Here, I only wish to briefly examine the most striking findings that studies have provided as these highly interesting figures help complete my overview of the Swiss linguistic landscape.

First of all, a study of more than 2000 companies revealed that Swiss official languages were used more often than English in communication across linguistic borders (Andres et al., 2005). Grin et al. (2009) also found official languages in higher demand at the labor market. In the French-speaking cantons, German skills were in shortage at 54% of firms while English skills at 42%. Across the language border, the figures were 77% for French as opposed to 51% for English (ibid.). Revenue differentials showed a similar pattern, as in French-speaking Switzerland English skills resulted in an average salary increase of 10%, whereas proficiency in German was rewarded by a raise of 14% (Grin, 1999). In the German-language regions these figures amounted to 12% against 17% for English and French respectively (ibid.).

These results suggest that proficiency in Swiss official languages is not only in great demand and thus a key to better employment but also highly marketable and therefore a means to increase one's revenue. The above findings are especially striking because they are little reflected in everyday discourse concerning the relative value of English and Swiss official languages. As I observed earlier, arguments for the introduction of English as the first foreign language are rarely based on economic facts and Waltermann and Csillagh (2016) suggest that they are the result of conflicting social representations regarding German.

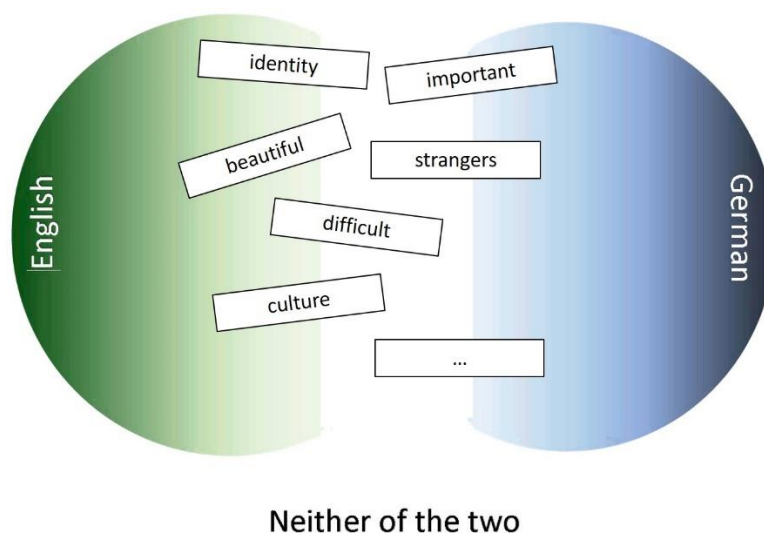
2.3.5 Social representations of English and German

Jodelet (1989) defines social representations as forms of shared knowledge, which permeate social interactions and discourse. They are also a central aspect of foreign language teaching and learning, since they can be transmitted along with the subject material and thus have considerable impact on learners' language attitudes. Moreover, Castellotti and Moore (2002) warn that "it is precisely because representations and images of languages play a central role in language learning processes, and because they are malleable, that they are relevant to linguistic and educational policy".

Waltermann and Csillagh (2016) demonstrate how different foreign languages taught at schools in French-speaking Geneva evoke strikingly different representations, both among teachers and learners. Their findings echo those of Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004), who observe that “[t]he fact that languages – and language ideologies – are anything but neutral is especially visible in multilingual societies where some languages and identity options are, in unforgettable Orwellian words, “more equal than others.” Indeed, in a small-scale interview study, Csillagh and Waltermann (to be published) found that both teachers and learners perceived English and German significantly differently and assigned different sets of values to the two languages.

During these interviews, participants were asked to talk about their language history and to take part in a cue sort task (Figure 2.6), deciding with which of the two languages, if any, they associated the cue words. Then they were invited to comment on the cue words and elaborate on their choices. The interviewees were highly motivated individuals with multilingual backgrounds, who had generally positive attitudes to both English and German (ibid.). The three learners and two teachers who participated in the study had otherwise diverse profiles and represented a variety of age groups.

Figure 2.6 Board used for the cue sort task (Csillagh and Waltermann, to be published)



Interestingly, despite their favorable views of German, they all acknowledged the fact that the language was little valued by society in general and had a negative connotation. At the same time, older learners and teachers agreed that it had considerable local relevance, as opposed to the global, and thus more distant, aspects of English. The two older learners, both university students, had a strong view of the usefulness of German both in Switzerland and in the larger

European context. They insisted that the language was not only important locally but, being spoken in Germany, one of the most economically influential nations in Europe, was paramount to the future of the region.

These testimonies suggest that even motivated, successful, learners of German are subject to the negative representations surrounding the language. Younger learners, with less mature self-concepts and greater exposure to peer pressure (Kormos and Csizér, 2008), are especially susceptible to such views. On the other hand, the interview study also showed that successful language learners, while aware of these shared images, are willing to contest them and formulate their own, more motivating, attitudes. Teachers represent a great influence in the construction of these attitudes and, therefore, the representations they transmit can have a serious impact on learners' motivation.

2.4 Studying the economic context: insights from language economics

Language economics, as Grin (2003) explains, “refers to the paradigm of mainstream theoretical economics and uses the concepts and tools of economics in the study of relationships featuring linguistic variables; it focuses principally, but not exclusively, on those relationships in which economic variables also play a part.” In other words, an economic perspective applies rigorous analysis to linguistic phenomena, especially in areas where economic processes are also involved. In order to do so, it relies on statistical methods of investigation frequently used in economics as well as samples the characteristics of which are dictated by the needs of such analysis. Last but not least, this examination of linguistic phenomena makes use of theoretical frameworks that were developed to analyze economic processes but which are nonetheless highly useful for and in line with the goals of language economics.

It is true that economic elements in this concrete sense do not form part of the traditional discourse in language learning motivation, which focuses mostly on perceptions and orientations (see [2.2](#) above). However, in light of my earlier conclusions, there is good argument to be made for the use of such tools in the investigation of contextual influences on learning attitudes. Economic concerns regarding the special status of English worldwide are inherent to any examination of language learning and teaching phenomena. Fields such as language economics can offer new perspectives on how these factors can be more seamlessly integrated into motivational frameworks.

This section briefly outlines the most relevant concepts in language economics in order to lay the foundations for the ensuing discussion of the potential links between economic and motivational variables. In addition, I illustrate my argument with the main findings of language economics research as pertaining to the Swiss context. Unfortunately, it is beyond the scope of this dissertation to provide an exhaustive overview of the theoretical developments and research results in the field. Therefore, my focus below will be on the tools and conclusions that best help answer the main questions of my study and understand university students' motives and attitudes toward a global language in a multilingual local setting.

2.4.1 A system of values

Due to their particular nature as social constructs (cf. Forel and Gerber, 2013) and their qualitative characteristics related to the individual and the learning context, languages, or language skills more specifically, represent a special category of commodity. While their financial *value* on the labor market is nevertheless determined according to the laws of supply and demand, they also carry other, less tangible, advantages. As these factors all contribute to the overall appeal of a given language, and thus to learners' motivation to perfect their skills, it is important to take them into account when assessing the economic value of any particular language.

Based on well-established constructs in economics, Grin (1999, 2003) developed a model that arranges the benefits associated with language proficiency along two central dimensions. Summarized in Table 2.2, these *values* can, on the one hand, be categorized according to their nature, more precisely whether they represent financial gains (*market value*) or other types of benefits (*non-market value*). On the other hand, they can be further divided based on the level of their impact (*individual value* or *social value*). Examples of the *individual market value* of a language are positive salary differentials or higher availability of positions due to language proficiency. These are enjoyed by the individual but they are also important at the societal level, since they might also determine the *societal market value* of the language.

Table 2.2 A system of values, adapted from Grin (2003)

Individual market value	Societal market value
Individual non-market value	Societal non-market value

As social values are calculated at the level of the economy of a certain community, in many cases of economic analysis the total of social gains corresponds, with some extra calculations, to the sum of individual benefits. However, languages as social constructs (Forel and Gerber, 2013) represent more complex systems, thus the equation cannot be upheld without factoring in a number of variables, many of which are difficult to gauge or simply unavailable to the analyst. For instance, one can argue that changes in individual wage rates are bound to translate into gains at the level of society, but as individuals join a growing pool of speakers, the balance of supply and demand and the issuing diminished reward levels are also to be taken into account. Therefore, studies in language economics have traditionally dealt with market values at the social (e.g. Grin & Sfreddo, 1997) and individual levels (e.g. Grin, 1999).

In contrast, psycholinguistic inquiry into the dynamics of L2 motivation have for the most part focused on private gains, although societal benefits can also be considered as an indirect influence on individuals' orientations. At the same time, both market and non-market values are central to motivation research, with considerable emphasis on the relationship of the two dimensions. Non-market benefits have traditionally been regarded as belonging to both the external or the internal category of motives, while market values have mostly been associated with the extrinsic, instrumental or ought-to (Dörnyei, 2009) dimension.

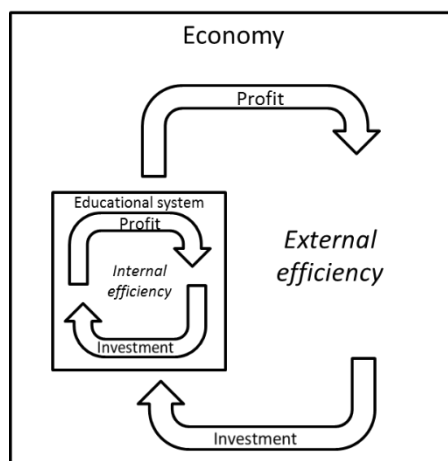
I discuss the implications of these connections at more length in the next section. However, one essential difference between psycholinguistic and economic perspectives is the different views taken in these fields regarding the conceptualization of value. Whereas motivation research is essentially based on learners' perceptions, language economics defines the different values a language represents according to the fundamental laws of supply and demand (Grin, 2014, personal communication). From this perspective, language skills are considered to possess economic value if they are in demand and compensated accordingly. This means that, in strictly economic terms, in order to be deemed profitable, a system of language education is required to produce such skills of a value surpassing the cost of investment. In economic analysis, this profitability is captured by the construct of *efficiency*.

2.4.2 *Language education and economic efficiency*

Economic efficiency, displayed in Figure 2.7, can be categorized as *internal* and *external* and provides analytical tools for the assessment of education policies in terms of their utility inside as well as outside the educational system (Grin, 1999). Internal efficiency refers to the self-

sustaining, or even profitable, nature of the educational system itself and measures whether the resources invested in different internal activities result in system-internal gains. An example of this can be seen in initiatives to provide better schooling and thus raise the socio-economic status of certain groups who in turn will invest some of their income in financing their children's education. External efficiency, on the other hand, shows the profitability of the educational system as part of the larger economy of a given administrative unit. The above-mentioned investment in improving public education can be considered externally efficient if it leads to higher wages, an increase in GDP or contributes to the productivity of the economy in any other way.

Figure 2.7 Schematic representation of economic efficiency, based on Grin (2003)



When it comes to language education, which corresponds to approximately 10% of Swiss public spending on education (cf. Grin, 2003, 2005; Grin and Sfreddo, 1997), it is clear that economic efficiency is a central issue. Research investigating the market value of language skills has shown that they constitute a highly profitable investment, both from a societal and an individual perspective. For instance, Grin (2009) estimates that were speakers of multiple languages in Switzerland to lose this ability, it would cost the Swiss economy 10% of GDP. Similarly, in an earlier study he (1999) calculates that foreign language skills can increase Swiss men's revenue by 10.28 to 18.08%, depending on respondents' mother tongue and the foreign language in question. (In the case of women such skills often increased the rate of employment, thus resulting in even higher revenue differentials.) Therefore, it seems that public investment in foreign language teaching in Switzerland benefits individuals as well as the whole economy.

Although this type of analysis might appear at first glance, and quite understandably, to have little bearing on learners' motivation, it is also worth noting that the concept of investment and even that of *efficiency* are far from alien to L2 motivation theory. Language learning motivation by definition implies a certain investment on the part of the learner, both in the form of learning effort and time but also other, often costly, resources. The learning process can thus be considered efficient if there are sufficient returns on this investment, that is, if certain learning goals are achieved. By contrast, language economics calculates efficiency at a level higher up in the educational structure of a given economy.

The second difference is that, as I mentioned before, language economics research, for the most part, focuses on market-related costs and benefits as these are easier to measure reliably and, as a result, provide a more appropriate basis for statistical analysis. At the same time, successful language learning also requires another type of investment, often treated as symbolic and associated with an ethnographic conceptualization of human capital (e.g. Bourdieu 1986). However, individuals' engagement in the learning process nonetheless entails serious costs, involving both financial and non-material resources. Indeed, this investment of one's time and personal resources as well as some of the advantages to which they lead are far from symbolic and can be assigned economic value.

On the one hand, the costs of learning a language, such as incurred by course fees, material or other expenses, are closely related to the individual market value of the skills gained. In this case, it is relatively easy to compare investments and rates of return, as learners undoubtedly often do so. On the other hand, learners' time and energy constitute less easily calculable assets. While more difficult to gauge statistically, they are nonetheless important when it comes to the efficiency of the learning process. In addition, these types of resources are central to the theme of motivation and learning success and therefore offer important links between economics and motivation theory.

Norton (2013) writes at length about the concept of *engagement*, or *investment*, referring to the actual time and energy that learners dedicate to learning a language, which may vary from one situation to another. She notes that engagement does not necessarily reflect one's level of motivation (ibid.), as the resources and the effort that one is willing to commit to language learning are determined by a host of social factors and one's relationship to target language speakers. Moreover, Norton (2013) emphasizes the relationship between engagement and learner identity and argues that efficient language learning takes place as an aspect of successful

identity creation. These statements capture some of the most important characteristics of learners' personal investment into language learning and thus describe the mechanics at play at the lowest level of language education. They are especially interesting as they pinpoint the importance of social and individual factors in determining the outcome of the learning process at the level of the learner, which, ultimately, affects the efficiency of the entire system.

There are two powerful conclusions to draw from this. First, contextual factors, motivational dynamics and learner identity appear to have a significant impact on the efficiency of a given educational system, by influencing individual's language learning success. Therefore, they can be considered as important elements to account for in a top-down analysis. Second, from a bottom-up perspective, concepts of economic theory, especially that of efficiency, can help provide a more in-depth view of the dynamics of language learning. In a larger sense, this means that interdisciplinary studies that bring together approaches from these two fields can be instrumental in building functioning bridges between policy making and implementation, thus increasing the potential and impact of developments in both fields.

2.4.3 Efficiency in L2 motivation

Although the current economic status of English is often considered as an inherent aspect of teaching and learning the language (e.g. Crystal, 2003), there is very little empirical research available investigating its impact on learner attitudes. Nevertheless, as I argued before, the above discussion of economic concepts finds an echo in L2 motivation research. While in the previous section I touched upon the applicability of economic efficiency to the analysis of smaller sub-systems of language learning, below I address this idea, as well as other relationships between economic and motivational constructs, in more detail.

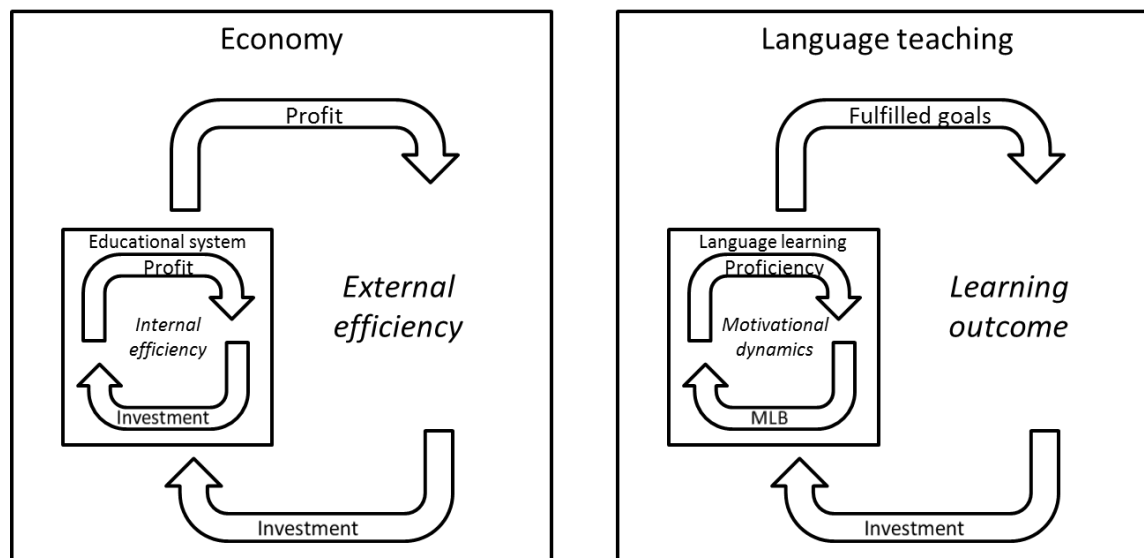
Initial developments in L2 motivation theory and research (for an overview cf. [2.2.2](#) and Dörnyei, 2012) were spurred by the basic question as to why, aptitude being equal, certain learners achieved a more positive learning outcome than their peers. It became clear that this variety can persist even within the same learning group, showing that the characteristics of the teaching method are not the only factors that affect learning. Therefore, researchers aimed to investigate why language teaching proves to be more *efficient* in some cases than in others. In light of my earlier parallels with economic analysis, this question can be further developed to compare the investments and gains involved in language education.

I have argued that language teaching requires considerable investment, both financial and of the non-market type, on the part of the various stakeholders and the actual learning process is no different. In the previous section, I mentioned Norton's (2013) description of the concept of learner engagement or investment as a link between economic and linguistic approaches to this phenomenon. Indeed, Norton's analysis of the rich interview data, detailing several learners' accounts of their motives and efforts to learn a foreign language (ibid.), clearly draws attention to the similarities between economic and psycholinguistic processes.

The present dissertation, however, approaches learner motivation from a slightly different point of view. As I explain in [Chapter 1](#), the study discussed here adopts Dörnyei's (2009) self-based view of L2 motivation. In addition to examining language learning as a site of identity creation, I also strongly believe that it can only be fully understood in relation to the multitude of contexts that it spans (cf. Ushioda, 2015). This entails that motivational factors are strongly intertwined with elements of the social and economic spheres that affect learners' lives. Moreover, as motivation has been shown as a prime predictor of learning success, it is especially interesting to address the question of efficiency from this perspective.

In the previous section, I discussed the most important differences between economic and psycholinguistic approaches to language learning. Despite these dissimilarities, I also pointed out that the concept of efficiency, while defined differently, plays a central role in theories in both fields. In addition to illustrating the mechanics already shown in Figure 2.7 above, Figure 2.8 also displays the dynamics of internal and external efficiency as they apply to language teaching and learning. At first glance, two things might be of immediate interest. First, it is interesting to note how remarkably well the processes involved in language teaching and learning fit the structure drawn up in Figure 2.7. Second, this visual also draws attention to the fact that the efficiency of teaching largely depends on the success of learning.

Figure 2.8 Schematic representation of internal and external efficiency in an economic system and in language education (MLB stands for motivated learning behavior)



A closer look reveals that the schema on the right-hand side presents a smaller unit of language education than the one on the left. This half of the figure shows how language learning is embedded in the larger context of L2 teaching, similarly to the educational system, which forms a part of a given economy. However, instead of focusing on the market-related benefits circulating in both system and subsystem, this arrangement appears to be fueled by mostly non-market gains.

Therefore, profits at the highest level of this structure do not manifest in financial benefits but can rather be seen in fulfilled learning goals. While these goals often provide access to marketable advantages, these are not the main objectives of the system. Similarly, investment in language teaching refers, in addition to the costs incurred, to the efforts and non-market resources spent on aiding learning. These different contributions can result in successful teaching, provided certain goals are met through learning.

This interdependence is characteristic of the structure and explains the influence of the learning experience, as in a great part determined by the teaching context, over the outcome of the learning process. At the same time, that process itself is crucial to the success of the entire system. The dynamics displayed above illustrate that, while language learning greatly benefits from the resources dedicated to providing teaching, the smaller subsystem also has its own mechanics that need to ensure its “profitability”.

Those dynamics, the focal point of this dissertation, appear to form a more complex system. To summarize my earlier definition of L2 motivation (cf. [2.2](#)), this driving force that helps

transform determination into motivated learning behavior (MLB) also determines the efficiency of the learning process. It manifests in the investment individuals put into learning the target language and, as research shows, correlates strongly with the success of the learning process. In addition, an important feature of motivated learning behavior is that it not only leads to increased proficiency but can result in other, equally important, gains.

To summarize that section, theorists agree that L2 learning takes place in the larger context of learners' lives and that it is closely interrelated with elements of that context. As a result, the resources that individuals mobilize when they engage in learning a foreign language, as well as the benefits they reap from doing so, tend to have important consequences for various aspects of their lives. Thus, it is not surprising that language learning can involve strong sensations of self fulfilment and can contribute to an elaborate, strengthened identity. Indeed, learners' strong ideal L2 self, identified by research in a wide range of settings testifies to this enhanced sense of self.

The smaller subsystem of foreign language learning, within the greater framework of L2 teaching, captures some of these processes. Motivational dynamics are responsible for the internal efficiency of this structure, as motivated learning behavior permits the transformation of investment into profit. These investments can vary in form, from financial assets, such as course fees, the cost of travel and materials or the time dedicated to learning, to less tangible resources, for instance one's energy and free time, commitment and courage.

It is interesting to note that many of these resources themselves are complex and span over several categories of economic value. Second, committing them requires adjustments at all levels of learners' lives and their sacrifice may have far reaching consequences. Time, as an example, undoubtedly holds marketable value but can also be important for individuals' personal goals and wellbeing. Moreover, dedicating one's time to foreign language learning can not only influence one's professional and personal life but can also induce further changes in the contexts one interacts with.

Thus, the results of this commitment also come in varying forms, encompassing both market and non-market benefits. It is, for instance, difficult to measure the full impact of learners' investment of time as one has to take into account all the different costs and gains incurred. For instance, learners might have less time to spend with their friends and loved ones and, as a result, might feel that language learning becomes a strain on their relationships. At the same time, they might also inspire those around them to engage in similar endeavors, potentially

leading to positive changes in their lives. The examples are endless, and so are the possible effects of an individual's decision to learn a foreign language and perseverance in doing so. Therefore, while economic approaches focus on the measurable profits induced by individuals' language development, which mostly take the shape of salary differentials, from a motivational perspective it is important to consider language learning and its consequences in the larger context(s) implicated.

As I argued earlier, one of these contexts is the economic milieu in which individuals participate, especially relevant in the case of would-be young professionals. I demonstrated above how the dynamics of economic efficiency can be echoed in the processes of language teaching and learning. Similarly, numerous concepts used in language economics find an echo in L2 motivation theory. Below, I discuss these relationships in detail, as I believe they can greatly contribute to an in-depth understanding of language learning in an economic context.

2.4.4 Love or money? Economic value in L2 motivation theory

As an English language teacher, I have always liked to ask learners about their motives and language attitudes, preferably several times in the course of a language training. Even before my interest in L2 motivation research, I found that these discussions were beneficial on many levels. They undoubtedly aided me in adapting the content and direction of my courses. Besides, more importantly, these dialogues often had unexpected long term consequences. Similarly to Magid's (2014) experiment, I found that my questions, and the reflections that followed, helped learners access that inner enthusiasm of which they were sometimes not even conscious.

Two main themes emerged from this non-scientific inquiry. Some learners displayed an attraction toward the more affective aspects of language proficiency, such as learning English to make their holidays abroad more enjoyable or in order to be able to watch movies and understand songs in English. On the other hand, others claimed that the language would help them find better employment, earn them a promotion or provide an advantage in business dealings.

Initially, I considered these two axes as mutually exclusive orientations. However, I soon noticed that many learners were motivated by both and that the two dimensions were not always easy to separate. This made perfect sense in light of self-based perspectives of language learning, which, as I concluded in Section [2.2.3](#), view the process as a part of the creation and

development of learners' self-vision. I understood that the economic environment plays an important role in these visions and thus in learners' language attitudes and motivation. As a consequence, when I first took note of Grin's (1999, 2003) classification of the various types of economic value, I immediately realized their relevance to L2 motivation and their potential in understanding the seemingly controversial attitudes of my former students.

In Section [2.4.1](#) I examined these values and observed that, by definition, research in language economics on the one hand and L2 motivation on the other tend to concentrate on different areas of economic value. Nevertheless, there are strong links between the different conceptualizations of language learning motives discussed in Section [2.2](#) and the key elements of the economic approach presented above. Indeed, the influence of the economic milieu in which language learning takes place is manifest in Gradner's (1985, 2001) Socio-Educational Model as well as in Dörnyei's (2005, 2009) L2 Motivational Self System.

To start with an overview, aspects of both integrativeness and the ideal L2 self incorporate values of all four types. They can undoubtedly be associated with, first and foremost, individual non-market values, which can form components of one's aspirations to gain membership in a community or to bring to life a certain self-vision. Societal benefits also influence this type of motivation as they often become part of a desired identity, be it through aspired community membership or the internalization of social representations. Last but not least, market values are most importantly addressed by instrumentality and the ought-to L2 self, since financial benefits are often part of the argument for learning English. Nevertheless, due to the complex and dynamic nature of the selves, it can be argued that financial benefits, as well as non-market gains, can be key to the understanding of both self-guides. Below, I propose to analyze these connections in more detail.

For a complete understanding of the L2 self-guides, it is important to note that they do not present clear-cut categories but rather descriptors of the different perceptions that learners have of themselves. Thus, the ideal L2 self incorporates all the L2-related characteristics of the personality that an individual *wants* to be, while the ought-to L2 self describes the person they think they *should* become. It is not surprising then that the four types of economic value can, to varying extents, emerge as important elements of both of these descriptors.

As I mentioned above, the ideal L2 self, this vision of oneself as a future speaker of a language, is especially closely associated with the individual non-market value of the language. Self-expression, the sense of fulfilment that results from reaching personal goals as well as the joy

of engaging in various leisure activities, for instance, are all non-market benefits to which proficiency in a second or foreign language might lead and that also contribute to one's identity and sense of self. Studies on L2 motivation investigate these factors through a number of variables (for examples see [2.2.3.1](#)). These, such as *direct contact*, *attitudes to learning English* and to the *global village*, to name only a few, were also central components of the questionnaire analyzed in this dissertation. The results discussed in the following chapters showed them to be relevant not only to university students' L2 selves but also to their motivation to learn English.

On the other hand, the market value of a given language can also be an important aspect of this L2 self. Individuals' future visions of themselves can easily incorporate elements of a socio-demographic nature and thus involve foreign languages as the means to attain, for example, financial stability, a certain standing or professional success. In the case of university students, these considerations tend to be especially significant, as their self-images, as projected into the near future, often portray them as young professionals. Therefore, the ideal L2 self can be considered as reliant on market-related as well as non-market orientations.

Although, as these conclusions indicate, learners' motives are generally regarded as driven by individual goals, social values can play an indirect role in individuals' attitudes, the Swiss context, discussed in the previous section, being a perfect example. While I have repeatedly argued that learners of English in today's world are not always attracted to a certain, well-defined, target group (e.g. [2.1.2](#)), research has shown that their social milieu nonetheless has a marked influence on their language attitudes and motivation (e.g. Csizér & Kormos, 2009 and Section [5.5 2.3](#) of this dissertation). This influence might take different forms, one of which is as a facet of language learners' ideal L2 self.

Dahrenberg's (1958, cited in Frey, 1999) model of human behavior explains how the social man, *homo sociologicus* is influenced by the social environment. Although Frey (1999) states that human action and choice are a result of more complex processes, the concept of the *homo sociologicus* aptly complements that of the *homo economicus* and reveals the multi-faceted nature of the human self. It confirms that, in addition to individual benefits, the societal value of the foreign language can as well have an impact on learners' self-concept. As regards the ideal L2 self, these social values exert their influence mostly indirectly, through the ought-to L2 self.

By definition, the ought-to L2 self describes learners as they perceive they *ought to* behave as determined by the expectations of their social environment. Some of these expectations can become internalized and thus act as powerful internal motives, while others may remain external to the individual, who continues to consider them as a form of social pressure. Therefore, in this regard, the boundaries between the two self-guides are characterized by considerable flexibility and fluidity. Consequently, the societal values discussed below may contribute to either or both of them, depending on the learner.

My summary of the particularities of the Swiss context (Section [2.3](#)) earlier showed that, in this plurilingual environment, discourse on foreign language teaching is wrought with debates over the social benefits associated with one or the other of the languages taught institutionally. This is understandable in light of the costs of institutional language education, which I mentioned above, nonetheless, it seems that the arguments are often rooted in social representations rather than economic analysis (e.g. Grin, 2014). Interestingly, the same representations emerged in Waltermann's (2016) survey of Swiss language teachers and were voiced by the participants, teachers and learners alike, in an interview study that the two of us conducted.

The main theme that emerged from interviewees' comments was the contrast between perceptions of German, a Swiss official language taught in French-speaking Geneva, and English, the so-called global language, introduced into the curriculum a few years after German. As I explored in [2.3.3](#), in French-speaking Switzerland, the status of these two languages is markedly different. The teachers and learners we interviewed all agreed that English has more of a global appeal, while German is generally considered as more useful in the European context. In addition, German is often viewed as a language that sounds rather harsh, whereas English, while not exactly beautiful, is often said to be easier to learn. It was especially intriguing to note that, in the course of these interviews, even participants who strongly disagreed with what they perceived as public opinion mentioned these representations as an omnipresent force shaping *others'* language attitudes.

These results demonstrate the importance of social representations and their influence on learners' attitudes and self-concept. Their impact was marked even when interviewees did not adopt the views they considered as widely shared among their peers and acquaintances. In their case, it was this defiance that characterized their attitudes toward the languages in question and that influenced the way they described themselves as language learners and users.

Learners' ideal L2 self is considerably linked to the social milieu, as this background is often an integral part of how individuals portray their future self. One might envision oneself as an active and dedicated member of the local society and might even place social norms and values above one's personal interests. As a consequence, such norms and values can become decisive in learners' individual orientations. This can be observed in the prominence as a motivational factor as well as the strength of their ought-to L2 self, which might act as an indirect motivator but, as the present PhD study shows, can also become a direct influence in some contexts.

While, through this self-identification, non-market and market values at the societal level can become part of learners' ideal L2 self, their impact is better reflected in their ought-to L2 self. It can be argued that most perceived expectations are of the societal non-market kind. In Switzerland, as I pointed out in Section [2.3.2](#), language skills are central to the national self-image, which builds heavily on plurilingualism and mutual understanding. Moreover, as I also observed, national cohesion rests on society members' willingness to learn and communicate in Swiss official languages, a sign of membership and the key to the country's economy. Thus, the non-market benefits associated with plurilingualism – Swiss pride, national cohesion, mutual intelligibility – are strongly connected to the financial gains enjoyed by society.

The image of the ought-to L2 self therefore manages to capture that important moment when social representations such as the above become part of language learners' self-concept. They might view their socially-defined self as a member of the Swiss community and of a prosperous society, in which language skills, or at least language awareness, are key to the success and wellbeing of individuals as well as society. Moreover, these values might solidify as aspects of the ought-to L2 self and become internalized, thus exerting their influence on the ideal L2 self.

In light of the above, university students' ought-to L2 self can be expected to be especially strong and influential. As young professionals, they seem to be making that transition themselves. Indeed, at the beginning of their career, they face important internal and external expectations, many of which leave an imprint on their self-concept. These can range from the individual non-market type, such as the desire to turn a powerful dream into reality or achieve self-fulfillment, to the societal market-oriented, as in the case of aspirations toward becoming a highly regarded member of an affluent society. At the same time, some of these values might become internalized and thus might rather contribute to students' ideal L2 self. They might also form more complex motives, loading into both L2 self-guides. Finally, these relationships showcase the impact of contextual factors on university students' self-concept and language

learning, rendering the motivational dynamics of the two self-guides and these influences particularly worthy of study.

Before moving on to further discussing the advantages of this contextually enriched analysis, I would like to briefly revisit the concept of economic efficiency in L2 motivation. Earlier I argued that, as motivated learning behavior tends to be a reliable predictor of learning outcome, it also acts as a measure of the efficiency of the learning process. In addition, the theoretical conclusions and research results overviewed in Section [2.2](#) confirmed the strong influence of the L2 self-guides, especially the ideal L2 self, on motivation, indicating that they indirectly contribute to the learning outcome. It is therefore not surprising that, through the relationships among aspects of the L2 self and the four types of economic value, these values can become relevant in determining the success of language learning.

This observation is of particular interest from a mechanical point of view, as motivational dynamics appear to have a similar structure to the components of economic efficiency (cf. [2.4.2](#)). While it might seem trivial, almost banal, to assert that the value of a certain language influences learners to take it up and learn it successfully, it is interesting to observe the phenomenon through scientific inquiry. On the one hand, the notion of economic efficiency can explain how effort and other resources are transformed into positive learning outcomes through motivated learning behavior. On the other hand, approaching efficiency in L2 learning through the lens of the L2 Motivational Self System sheds further light on the internal mechanisms of the process, increasing the credibility and the practical potential of the analysis.

Indeed, the concepts of the ideal and ought-to L2 self offer a powerful tool for such investigation. They showcased how economically or socially defined values can become important motivational forces through identity construction and provide a snapshot of how these motives can lead to successful learning. Thus, when applied, in conjunction with the above insights from language economics, to the analysis of motivational processes, the self-guides can provide invaluable details about the psychology of efficient L2 learning. Such a self-based interdisciplinary perspective therefore carries great potential, both in terms of research findings and regarding the practical aspects of language learning and teaching.

2.4.5 The potential of an interdisciplinary approach

Csizér (2012) laments the lack of interdisciplinary approaches in SLA research training, and while in recent years there has been an increase in initiatives to bring together different perspectives within L2 motivation research (cf. Dörnyei and Ushioda, 2009b; Dörnyei et al., 2015), the field continues to offer little in terms of projects reaching over its boundaries. At the same time, these initiatives have also broadened the scope of inquiry into motivational phenomena, taking into account the interrelationships of motivational and contextual factors, which can greatly influence language learning. Throughout this chapter I have argued repeatedly that the economic and social milieu in which language learning takes place can have significant impact on learners' language attitudes, selves and motivation. I also concluded above that components of the L2 Motivational Self System can help explore, describe and understand these relationships and their effect on the learning process. However, in order to fully understand the role of economic phenomena in learners' self-concept and motivation, I believe it is necessary to further expand the research perspective taken.

The current study, while in part it follows the research traditions of psycholinguistic inquiry, provides a more in-depth view of language learning motivation in an economic context. It does so by complementing the results of a standardized questionnaire survey with detailed analysis of contextual factors, with the help of concepts employed by language economists. Although somewhat limited in scope, this interdisciplinary approach nonetheless offers valuable insights unavailable through traditional research methods in the field of L2 motivation. Moreover, it showcases the possibilities and advantages inherent in such context sensitive investigations.

First of all, as I mentioned before, interdisciplinary studies that provide rich contextual information can significantly further our understanding of motivational phenomena. In addition to providing the necessary background to a thorough analysis of language learning processes, such a perspective fits into the framework of the dynamic systems approach currently gaining momentum in L2 motivation theory (see [2.2.4](#)). It allows for a dynamic conceptualization of language learning, which takes place as a part of the interactions between learners and contexts, influenced by but also having an impact on these relationships. Interdisciplinary research projects exploring these connections have important implications for the field of L2 motivation, as they help map and describe the network of ties that link learners and learning contexts together. Thus, they also contribute to the advancement of the field and can further the development of new theoretical frameworks.

Bringing together motivational and economic perspectives can lead to especially valuable findings. As I endeavored to demonstrate above, when situated in an economic context and influenced by economic considerations, aspects of L2 learning inevitably also conform to the rules of economics. I argued that, due to their close link to the notion of efficiency, motivational dynamics constitute a particularly appropriate topic for such analysis. This enhanced view of motivational phenomena can shed light on how economic factors can become important motivational influences and in what ways they can contribute to successful learning. As a result, the approach can also help gauge the efficiency of language policies (Grin, 2003) and thus complement a purely economic analysis, as it becomes possible to track the effects of policy measures from planning to implementation, from policy making to learning outcome.

Furthermore, projects of this type have the potential to provide additional insight on issues related to economic aspects of linguistic imperialism (Phillipson, 1992, 2009) and the spread of English as a global language (e.g. Crystal, 2003; Graddol, 2006). The relationships between economic and psycholinguistic variables, once identified and analyzed, can reveal much about the way the economic status of languages, in particular the power often attributed to English, influences learner motivation. Finally, interdisciplinary investigations of L2 motivation in context can also give rise to new research methodologies. MacIntyre et al. (2015a) discuss emerging trends in L2 motivation research from a dynamic systems perspective, and it can be argued that the methods described can complement traditional techniques so as to further our understanding of the role of the economic context in L2 motivation.

2.5 Brief summary of the background of the study

Language learning motivation has always been a highly dynamic field, strongly influenced by current issues in second language acquisition as well as theoretical developments in a variety of areas. In this chapter, I provided a historical overview of the progression of L2 theories, from fixed-trait approaches to more dynamic and contextually-driven perspectives. I examined in detail Dörnyei's (2009) L2 Motivational Self System, as the basis of my investigations. I also argued for the importance of contextual factors in language learning and endeavored to situate the study described in the following chapters against a rich background of contextual analysis.

In order to do so, I reviewed various aspects of the Swiss language learning context, from linguistic to economic. In addition, I discussed the findings and conclusions of language

economics, as pertaining to the study. I showed that the economic milieu plays a central role in both language education policies and learner attitudes but highlighted that neither are always based on concrete economic evidence. This is because, as I pointed out, L2 motivation is at the same time individually but also socially constructed, closely linked to learners' perceptions and aspirations. It is therefore not merely a reflection of contextual factors, but part of a complex system in which elements of multiple learner identities, or selves, and contexts interact.

In this sense, it is especially interesting to look at university students' attitudes toward English in the multilingual setting of Geneva. University students, as young professionals, are on or just beyond the threshold of joining the labor market. Yet their decisions might still reflect their educational background and language learning history. I theorized above that, as a result, students' choices can be strongly influenced by the social and economic contexts, but the nature of these relationships will be examined in the course of the next chapters, which detail the methodology and the results of an empirical study of students' language attitudes and motivation at the University of Geneva.

3

Research methods

“Alice started to her feet, for it flashed across her mind that she had never before seen a rabbit with either a waistcoat-pocket, or a watch to take out of it, and burning with curiosity, she ran across the field after it, and fortunately was just in time to see it pop down a large rabbit-hole under the hedge.”

(Carrol, 1965)

Chapter 3 Research methods

3.1 A foreword on methodology

Over the years, numerous works have focused on research methods in the field of second language acquisition. For instance, Brown (2011) examines the history and present state of quantitative inquiry in SLA, while Dörnyei (2007) provides a thorough overview of the different methodologies employed in mainstream psycholinguistics, offering practical, step-by-step guidelines for the execution of empirical studies investigating language learning. In addition, these authors also draw attention to the wealth of sources that take a closer look at one or the other of the various different research methods available. As a result, they constitute powerful references and resources to a thorough understanding of quantitative methodologies in second language research.

Therefore, the aim of this chapter is not to offer yet another general description of the topic. Although it presents the data collection method and analytical procedures used in the study in ample detail, it does so for two reasons. First, this chapter aims to clearly explain the measures taken throughout the study in order to ensure its validity and reliability (cf. Dörnyei, 2007). Accordingly, issues of validity, reliability and representativeness are addressed continuously throughout the chapter and summed up in section [3.7.9](#).

Secondly, it is important, for the advancement of the field, for studies like the one reported here to be easy to adapt and replicate. Therefore, below, I discuss the research design employed as well as various aspects of the instrument and data collection. Then, I discuss the most important characteristics of the study participants, before moving on to providing further details about the statistical analysis. Finally, I examine the strength and weaknesses of the methodology used in the study, pointing out potential improvements that can be implemented in future studies.

3.2 Research design

In line with these principles, the study presented here relies, most importantly, on quantitative data obtained through an electronic survey. Multi-item scales were constructed on the basis of standardized questionnaires developed in previous research studies in various foreign language

learning contexts. The items were further tuned and tested in the course of my MA research in Hungary, before they were translated into French and adapted to the Geneva context through a series of think-aloud pilots. Students of four faculties at the University of Geneva filled out the online questionnaire during the fall of 2013 and their responses were analyzed through statistical procedures using SPSS. In this chapter, I present in detail the instrument and the participants in the survey study, as well as the statistical tools used for the analysis.

The structure of the chapter was inspired by the different phases of research design and data collection that the study followed. Similarly, the decision to introduce the instrument before moving on to describe the sample of students who participated in the project stems from the incredible wealth of descriptive data that the questionnaire yielded. The richness and complexity of this information renders it difficult to discuss without repeated detours explaining the corresponding steps in research design or the relevant features of the questionnaire. Therefore, I elected to address these elements in detail first, so as to provide a background to the descriptive analysis that follows. In the same vein, all the statistical procedures employed are presented at the end of the chapter.

3.3 The questionnaire

Informed by previous research, both Swiss census surveys (Lüdi & Werlen, 2005) and questionnaire studies on language learning motivation (for a collection, see Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2009), the three-part questionnaire was developed and translated into French with the particularities of the target population of Geneva university students in mind. The final online version consisted of a total of 102 items and took on average 20 minutes to complete. The questionnaire was divided into three parts, the first of which contained questions on students' demographic and linguistic background. The second section, composed of ten of the eleven attitudinal scales, asked participants to rate various statements about English on five-point Likert scales, indicating how strongly they agreed or disagreed with them. In the third part, consisting of one scale, *direct contact*, students were to choose one of five options based on how often they used English during different activities. Let us now consider the different items in more detail.

3.3.1 Part I: Demographics

The first nine items in the questionnaire were designed to gather basic demographic information about the respondents. This information would play an important role in the

analysis, rendering sorting participants according to certain criteria and grouping them based on their responses possible. Secondly, thanks to these questions, a more complete description of the participants could be gained, which was essential to situating their group against the larger population. This aspect of the data will be explored in [3.7.1](#) Sample and target population.

One item each focused on their age and gender and whether they currently pursued any professional activity. Three additional questions asked about the faculty, major and level of instruction at which they were currently enrolled. The last item under this heading interrogated participants about the place where they completed their secondary education.

While some of the questions were open ended, allowing respondents to type in their own responses, others offered a predetermined selection of options. One of the most notable items in the latter category is the one concerning the faculties at which students were enrolled. The options for this item included only the four faculties included in the study, namely that of Law and Medicine, Science and Economic and Social Sciences (SES). Participants were also offered the possibility of choosing multiple answers, and 7 of them did so. As regards the level of the degree programs in which students participated at the time of enquiry, the five options offered ranged from bachelor to master, to Master of Advanced Studies (MAS) to PhD, with the possibility to input any *other* answer. It bears noting that none of the participants chose to do so.

Similarly, the three items on the place of participants' secondary education offered them a set of options to choose from, based on their answer to the first question. This item asked respondents if they had completed their secondary studies in Switzerland. In case of a positive answer, item number 8 appeared, containing a list of the Swiss cantons for students to choose from. However, if the answer to the first question was negative, participants were only asked the next question, where they were offered a list of the rest of the countries of the world.

Although participants' answers to the demographic items will be discussed in [3.7](#) Participants, it is worth highlighting here the difficulties related to item number 5, which asked students to input their major(s). A good number of the responses (56) could not be analyzed, since they contained either comments on the item or unanalyzable text. In addition, 15 participants indicated 'bachelor' as their major and two of them wrote 'master' as a reply.

3.3.2 Part II: Language skills and use

In this section of the questionnaire, 20 items in total aimed to gauge what languages students were proficient in and to what extent. Moreover, in addition to proficiency, participants were asked about the languages they studied at the time of enquiry and the languages they used in different situations. Thus, it was possible to measure not only the reported language skills of the respondents but also the frequency with which students made use of these skills.

First of all, students were asked about their mother tongues, which were defined in a footnote as “a language or languages that you learned as a child and that you still understand” (see Appendix 1). Participants were offered the choice of French and German, Italian and English as well as an open-ended option for other languages. Taking into account the aims of the study and the particular case of diglossia presented by Standard German and the Swiss dialects, the latter were considered part of the option for German. Similarly, participants who marked their L1 as Swiss German in the *other* category were also regrouped under this option (cf. [3.8.1](#)). It is important to note that multiple answers were enabled so that respondents could express their plurilingualism, which, indeed, proved to be of a large scale (see [4.3](#)).

In addition, the same selection was offered to students in item 12, which asked them to choose the additional languages they spoke. Multiple answers were accepted, though no distinction was made between languages learned in different settings, be it during childhood, through schooling or outside of the educational context. Interestingly, since the platform allowed it, a number of participants named their L1 among their additional languages. For the purposes of the study, as explained in section [3.8.1](#), such answers were disregarded and the choice of mother tongues prevailed. Nevertheless, the issue, along with other, more noteworthy, discrepancies will be discussed in [3.7.8](#).

The item on languages learned at the time of enquiry also contained the same five options. These included the three Swiss official languages, English and an open choice. Again, multiple answers were enabled and similarly to the previous item, participants’ mother tongues were not excluded. However, inconsistencies in the data in this case might indicate more intriguing underlying patterns, which will be explored later.

Four items investigated the level of participants’ language skills in four languages, which only appeared to respondents who marked French or German, Italian or English as other than their mother tongue, that is, who either spoke or studied any of these languages as a second language. The six options offered to participants in each case were the same, and they were developed

based on the short descriptors issued by the Council of Europe (2001). It is important to highlight an interesting aspect of the Swiss context that played an important role in designing this scale. It is indeed a unique feature of Swiss language education that the levels set forth and described by the Framework of Reference are part of everyday metalanguage and students are continuously made aware of their progress on the scale. As a result of participants' familiarity with the descriptors, the options used in the final questionnaire could remain very precise and concise. Consequently, they ranged from A1 to C2 and were listed as follows (for the French original, see Appendix 1).

1. A1 (production/comprehension: familiar and everyday expressions, simple language)
2. A2 (production/comprehension: frequent expressions, simple descriptions and arguments)
3. B1 (production/comprehension: clear language, can manage in most situations)
4. B2 (production/comprehension: the gist of even complex messages, spontaneous and easy communication)
5. C1 (production/comprehension: long and complicated texts and conversations, spontaneous and complex communication)
6. C2 (production/comprehension: practically all forms of communication, fine nuances, precision)

The last set of questions in this section of the questionnaire measured how often students used the languages they speak in different settings. Similarly to the previous group of items, the questions focused on the same four languages and conditions were set so that they only appeared if participants reported proficiency in the given language. The settings investigated in the four items per language were home, with friends and acquaintances, for respondents' studies and at work. The five options provided ranged from never or almost never to very often or always. In order to facilitate selection and decrease the influence of subjective interpretation, some included short specifications.

1. Never or almost never.
2. Rarely (at least once a year).
3. Sometimes (monthly).
4. Often (weekly).
5. Very often or always (daily).

3.3.3 Part III: Language attitudes

The rest of the questions belonged to eleven multi-item scales that composed Part III of the questionnaire. Ten of the scales investigated aspects of participants' attitudes toward English and the role the language plays in their aspirations, identity and sense of self. The *direct contact* scale, which somewhat resembled the items in Part II, is treated as part of this category, since from a thematic perspective it bears some important similarities to the other ten.

The first of these lies in the development process that led to the final form of the scales, as they were used in the questionnaire. All eleven of them were developed based on scales used in previous studies on foreign language learning motivation and tested through my MA research in Hungary. Reworked, translated and adapted to the Geneva context, they retained the essential elements of the original item sets and, therefore, a strong link to established constructs in L2 motivation research.

Secondly, and so as to preserve that link, the study followed a construct-based approach. Thus, the eleven scales were each based on a well-defined concept and the items were formulated so as to investigate different but related aspects of the construct. Below, I provide further details on each of the scales and the original sources as well as the items included and the tests that were run to measure their efficiency. In addition, in order to further probe the accuracy of this approach, the final data was subjected to factor-based tests. The results of these analyses are also discussed below.

One feature, however, clearly differentiates the items of the *direct contact* scale from the rest of the questions in Part III. For while the former focus on the frequency of contact in various situations and through different channels and activities, the latter measure the extent of participants' agreement with certain statements. Consequently, the options presented to students were of a different nature in each part of the questionnaire as well.

Thus, the choice of answers for the 21 items in the scale on direct contact corresponded to the frequency options offered for the final items on language use in Part I (see previous subsection). By contrast, the other ten attitudinal scales presented participants with a set of statements each, with which respondents could signal their agreement by selecting one of five options. Therefore, each item in these sets could be answered on a five-point Likert-type scale containing the following labels.

1. Completely disagree.

2. Disagree.
3. Neither agree nor disagree.
4. Agree.
5. Completely agree.

In the next section, I explain the construction of the eleven attitudinal scales in more detail. However, I would like to discuss one last item in the questionnaire, which was not designed as a part of any of the multi-item scales. As a final question, participants were asked whether they would like to further comment on the theme of the study and were allowed complete freedom in doing so. Since the answers to this item do not constitute an integral part of the analysis, I would like to draw attention to some of the more relevant ones here.

3.3.4 Comments

As a last, optional, question, participants were offered the possibility to voice their comments. The item was worded as to assure respondents of the value of their contribution and the complete anonymity of their comments. This option was added in order to allow students to add any extra information they wished to share. In addition, it provided an opportunity for respondents to comment on the questionnaire, its items or its theme. Last but not least, this little personal touch, emphasizing the value of each response, aimed to raise students' interest and warm the tone of the closing message.

3.4 Attitudinal variables included in the study

The questionnaire in Appendix 1 shows the full set of items in French, in the order they were presented to participants. In this section, I review the eleven scales that composed Part III of the questionnaire one by one, discussing their origins, development and relevance to the study. The following list provides a summary of the scales along with the sources that were used to create the items.

- 1) *Motivated learning behavior* (MLB, Kormos and Csizér, 2008)
- 2) *Ideal L2 Self* (Kormos and Csizér, 2008)
- 3) *Ought-to L2 Self* (Kormos and Csizér, 2008)
- 4) *Attitudes to learning English* (Kormos and Csizér, 2008)

- 5) *Attitudes toward traditional target groups* (Kormos and Csizér, 2008)
- 6) *International Posture* (Csizér and Kormos, 2009; Yashima, 2009)
- 7) *Ethnocentrism* (Ryan, 2009)
- 8) *Global village* (Csillagh, 2010)
- 9) *Willingness to communicate* (McCroskey, retrieved June 22, 2009).
- 10) *Perceived importance of contact* (Kormos and Csizér, 2008)
- 11) *Direct contact* (Kormos and Csizér, 2008)

In what follows, I discuss the scales from a concept-based point of view (Dörnyei and Csizér, 2012). This perspective relies on the assumption that the scales were composed and validated on the basis of well-defined concepts in the field. Therefore, it examines the items as inherent components of the scale to which they were designed to contribute. The study followed this approach, with complementary principal component analysis, the results of which will be analyzed at the end of the section.

In order to adhere to these principles in practice, the development of the scales rigorously followed the same set of steps in each case. First, each concept to be studied was chosen based on its salience in the field (see [2.2](#)) and its relevance to the context ([2.3](#)). Second, an appropriate definition was formulated or chosen from an established source. The third step was that of item creation, whereby the key elements of the definition were transformed into questionnaire items that would, together, compose a multi-item scale (Dörnyei, 2007). These scales, each consisting of a set of related items, provided the *variables* included in the statistical analysis.

It is important to note that, since the study was designed as a link in the chain of contemporary L2 motivation research, most of the variables were based on questionnaires established and widely tested in other contexts. This, on the one hand, ensured the continuity and comparability of research findings, thus enhancing the relevance and further applicability of the project. On the other hand, it also meant that while the first three steps of scale development posed less of a challenge, the final stages of translating and adapting the questionnaire to the Swiss university context required more precision and resources. They were more time consuming and ultimately more challenging. Before I move on to discuss the next steps of developing each of the eleven scales, however, I would like to focus on the first three stages of . Table 3.1 sums up the results

of these phases by listing the scales along with the number of items in the questionnaire and the final analysis as well as the reliability scores and mean values.

Table 3.1 Number of items, reliability scores and mean values for the attitudinal scales

Scale	Number of questions in the questionnaire	Number of questions used for the final analysis	Cronbach's Alpha for the final scale	Means N=375
1. <i>Motivated learning behavior</i>	3	3	.755	4.19
2. <i>Ideal L2 Self</i>	5	4	.874	4.41
3. <i>Ought-to L2 Self</i>	3	3	.635	3.60
4. <i>Attitudes to learning English</i>	3	3	.907	4.21
5. <i>Attitudes toward traditional target groups</i>	10	10*	.897	3.79
6. <i>International Posture</i>	4	4	.736	3.79
7. <i>Ethnocentrism</i>	5	5	.805	3.79
8. <i>Global village</i>	4	4	.806	3.85
9. <i>Willingness to communicate</i>	6	6	.933	4.17
10. <i>Perceived importance of contact</i>	4	3	.763	4.26
11. <i>Direct contact</i>	21	21*	.894	2.89

Note: scales marked with an * were further developed into subscales using principal component analysis.

3.4.1 *Motivated learning behavior*

This scale measures participants' motivation to learn English through their disposition to invest in the learning process. Raby defines L2 learning motivation "comme un mécanisme psychologique et sociale qui génère le désir d'apprendre la langue seconde, qui déclenche des comportements d'apprentissage, (...) et qui, une fois la tâche terminée, le pousse à renouveler son engagement dans le travail linguistique et culturel⁴" (2008). This elaborate description, which echoes Dörnyei's more concise conceptualization of motivation, "the primary impetus to initiate learning the L2 and later the driving force to sustain the long and often tedious learning process" (1998), contains three main elements. Motivation therefore implies an initial decision to learn the language, the effort of commencing the process and the perseverance to continue. Raby, in addition, emphasizes the emotional as well as the practical aspects of this

⁴"A psychological and social mechanism that creates a desire to learn the second language, that triggers learning behaviors, (...) and that, once the task finished, drives [the learner] to renew their engagement in the linguistic and cultural effort."

engagement, the desire that enhances the behavior. In the questionnaire, three items explored this spectrum by regrouping initial and maintained effort into one. The statements were originally part of Kormos and Csizér's (2008) scale of *motivated learning behavior* and were further tested in my MA study with high reliability (Csillagh, 2010). Once adapted to the Geneva context, they appeared in the following format in the final questionnaire. For the sake of this discussion, the items throughout this chapter are listed in English but the French version of all the scales can be found in [Appendix 1](#).

1. I have decided to learn English.
2. It is very important for me to learn English.
3. I am doing my best to learn English.

After data collection, the scales were computed and their reliability examined using Cronbach's Alpha coefficients. This value indicates the internal consistency of the items, ensuring that they all measure the same concept (Dörnyei, 2007). The higher the Cronbach's Alpha obtained for the whole scale, the more coherent that scale is. A result of 1 would indicate that the questions are virtually identical. These values also show which items are to be removed to achieve higher consistency. The overall coefficient for the three items in the scale was $\alpha = .755$, therefore, as Table 3.2 testifies, deleting any of the items would diminish the reliability of the scale. It can be concluded that all three items contributed to the measurement of MLB and form an integral part of the scale.

Table 3.2 Reliability values (Cronbach's Alpha) for each item in the motivated learning behavior scale

Item	Scale mean if item deleted	Scale variance if item deleted	Corrected item-total correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if item deleted
1	8.469	3.089	.569	.698
2	7.971	4.071	.605	.686
3	8.680	2.871	.627	.626

3.4.2 The ideal L2 Self

One of the key concepts of the study and the questionnaire was the ideal L2 self, "which is the L2-specific facet of one's 'ideal self': if the person we would like to become speaks an L2, the 'ideal L2 self' is a powerful motivator to learn the L2 because of the desire to reduce the discrepancy between our actual and ideal selves" (Dörnyei, 2009). A central element of the L2

motivational self system (Dörnyei, 2009), it has been thoroughly researched and revealed to be a direct predictor of motivated learning behavior (see [2.2.3](#)). The items in this scale, adapted from Kormos and Csizér (2008), were designed to cover the most important aspects of the ideal L2 self. Therefore, they focus on the role of English in personal and professional as well as goal setting and study-oriented facets of the desired self.

1. I like to imagine myself in the future as someone who can speak English.
2. When I think of my future, speaking English is important.
3. I have to be able to speak English in order to reach my future goals.
4. It is essential for me to speak English for my future studies.
5. Being able to speak English will help me in my future career.

The analysis of the reliability values revealed that the first item behaved differently from the rest, thus omitting it from the final statistics augmented the internal consistency of the scale. The resulting $\alpha = .874$ Chronbach's Alpha indicates that the remaining four items indeed describe the same phenomenon. In addition, Table 3.3 reveals that all of them are necessary to achieve this high reliability and thus measure the strength of participants' ideal L2 self.

Table 3.3 Reliability values (Cronbach's Alpha) for each item in the ideal L2 Self scale

Item	Scale mean if item deleted	Scale variance if item deleted	Corrected item-total correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if item deleted
1	17.629	9.421	.500	.874
2	17.456	9.136	.746	.826
3	17.715	7.910	.799	.801
4	18.011	6.925	.710	.838
5	17.563	8.605	.750	.818

3.4.3 The ought-to L2 Self

As opposed to the ideal L2 self, which incorporates innate desires and aspirations, the ought-to L2 self “concerns the attributes that one believes one *ought to* possess to meet expectations and to *avoid* possible negative outcomes.” Dörnyei (2009, original emphasis). Although strongly related to one's ideal self-image, these aspects of the self represent, nonetheless, a

different, clearly distinguishable facet. To further explain the difference, Dörnyei goes on to point out that as the ought-to L2 self “is external to the learner (as it concerns the duties and obligations imposed by friends, parents and other authoritative figures), this future self-guide does not lend itself to obvious motivational practices” (ibid.). Taking these clarifications into account and after several adjustments and revisions, three items of the same Hungarian questionnaire used in the previous set (Kormos & Csizér, 2008) were included in the study. They embody different aspects of social recognition, peer pressure and milieu, focusing on students’ perceptions of the obligations they feel they face.

1. Learning English makes you an educated person.
2. People around me think that it’s important that I learn English.
3. People around me think that learning English is part of basic education.

The reliability scores in Table 3.4 show that, indeed, the three items work together, though the overall Alpha, $\alpha = .635$, was the lowest among the scales. This, on the one hand, showcases the difficulty of pinpointing and researching the ought-to L2 self that previous studies have often drawn attention to (2.2.3). On the other hand, these statistics indicate that the scale functions as a whole, in which every item plays an important role. The implications of these results, different from those of previous research, became clearer once the data was analyzed and the importance of the ought-to self in the Swiss context revealed.

Table 3.4 Reliability values (Cronbach’s Alpha) for each item in the ought-to L2 Self scale

Item	Scale mean if item deleted	Scale variance if item deleted	Corrected item-total correlation	Cronbach’s Alpha if item deleted
1	7.736	2.922	.437	.558
2	6.755	3.672	.474	.518
3	7.099	3.148	.442	.541

3.4.4 Attitudes to learning English

The third central concept of the L2 motivational self system is that of the learning experience. However, as previous studies and theoretical discussions have indicated (2.2.3), learner’s experience with a language is hard to access and measure. This difficulty might be in part linked to humans’ capacity to continually reinterpret past experience in order to fit with their

present world view and personality. At the same time, past experience is similarly instrumental in forming present attitudes. That is why Csizér and Kormos titled their scale on “L2 learning experience: the extent to which students like learning English” (2009). In line with these conclusions, their questionnaire (Kormos & Csizér, 2008) offers three items that measure the key elements of respondents’ attitudes to learning English. These focus on the language and the learning process as well as participants’ genuine interest in the activity. Once adapted and translated, they were featured in the final questionnaire as follows.

1. I like learning English.
2. I find learning English interesting.
3. I like the English language.

The three items obtained a really high overall Alpha, $\alpha = .907$. Although the results of the reliability tests, displayed in Table 3.5, indicate that omitting item 3 would further increase even this value, the difference is not sufficiently significant to justify such a radical reduction of the scale. Nonetheless, it is worth noting that as a result of its high Alpha, the scale was the second most consistent in the set.

Table 3.5 Reliability values (Cronbach’s Alpha) for each item in the attitudes to learning English scale

Item	Scale mean if item deleted	Scale variance if item deleted	Corrected item-total correlation	Cronbach’s Alpha if item deleted
1	8.448	3.253	.850	.835
2	8.451	3.403	.832	.850
3	8.365	3.676	.761	.909

3.4.5 Attitudes toward traditional target groups

Two scales from Kormos and Csizér’s (2008) questionnaire were merged to create this set. First, it included items measuring cultural interest, which was described by the authors as follows. “Cultural interest (four questions): attitudes to L2 cultural products (films, TV programs, magazines, pop music). Questions relating to both British and American cultural products” (ibid.) were equally important to the original scale, as they were both easily available to Hungarian learners and therefore presented important sources of language contact and, potentially, motivation. Second, further items were adopted from the scale designed to gauge the “[v]itality of the L2 community (four questions): students’ views concerning the role of the

United States and the United Kingdom in today's world and the wealth of these countries" (ibid.), in the authors' words. In addition to these eight statements, two more investigating cultural aspects were added to form the set below.

1. I like English people very much.
2. I like American people very much.
3. I would like to know more about English people.
4. I would like to know more about American people.
5. I (would) like speaking to English people.
6. I (would) like speaking to American people.
7. I (would) like to travel to England.
8. I (would) like to travel to the United States.
9. I like the English culture.
10. I like the American culture.

Table 3.6 demonstrates that all the ten questions contributed to the overall Alpha of $\alpha = .897$. This value also shows that the scale is a highly coherent one. Nevertheless, since the same five questions were asked about Americans as about English people, the question arises whether the ten items in fact form two separate scales.

Table 3.6 Reliability values (Cronbach's Alpha) for each item in the attitudes toward target groups scale

Item	Scale mean if item deleted	Scale variance if item deleted	Corrected item-total correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if item deleted
1	34.117	41.997	.630	.888
2	34.555	40.435	.656	.886
3	34.141	40.566	.687	.884
4	34.352	39.464	.717	.882
5	33.800	41.781	.721	.883
6	33.976	40.441	.738	.881
7	33.499	43.678	.571	.891
8	33.648	41.780	.575	.892

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Item	Scale mean if item deleted	Scale variance if item deleted	Corrected item-total correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if item deleted
9	34.027	42.138	.605	.889
10	34.613	41.158	.566	.893

To address this question, Principal Component Analysis was used, which identified two distinct components. In line with previous expectations, the scale can be divided into two sub-sets, on the basis of the target culture investigated. Interestingly, the Cronbach's Alpha values for these two sub-scales were slightly lower than for the original. Table 3.7 shows the results for the questions concerning England ($\alpha = .883$), while Table 3.8 displays the same for the items on the United States ($\alpha = .872$).

Table 3.7 Reliability values (Cronbach's Alpha) for each item on attitudes toward the English

Item	Scale mean if item deleted	Scale variance if item deleted	Corrected item-total correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if item deleted
1	15.968	9.277	.720	.858
3	15.992	8.944	.702	.864
5	15.651	9.447	.771	.847
7	15.349	10.190	.651	.873
9	15.877	8.985	.766	.846

Table 3.8 Reliability values (Cronbach's Alpha) for each item on attitudes toward Americans

Item	Scale mean if item deleted	Scale variance if item deleted	Corrected item-total correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if item deleted
2	14.845	11.644	.765	.828
4	14.643	12.043	.678	.850
6	14.267	12.442	.728	.839
8	13.939	12.592	.646	.857
10	14.904	11.884	.684	.849

In sum, despite the remarkable coherence of the two sub-scales, these Alpha values suggest that the ten items achieve higher internal reliability unseparated. Thus, they were treated as one set during most of the analysis. Nonetheless, tested on this sample, the two smaller scales can also function in their own right in contexts where one of them is not applicable or otherwise redundant.

3.4.6 *International posture*

International posture refers, in short, to “students’ attitudes to English as an international language” (Csizér & Kormos, 2009). Yashima (2009) also theorizes that in EFL contexts the construct might offer “an alternative to the Gardnerian concept of integrativeness.” In her words, international posture “tries to capture a tendency to relate oneself to the international community rather than any specific L2 group” (ibid.). Therefore, the scale presents an interesting complement to that on participants’ attitudes to native speakers. On the other hand, as an intriguing and emblematic aspect of the global status of English, results show that the language is nonetheless inseparable of its speaker base (5.4.2), which encompasses the international community but does not exclude traditional target language groups. The final scale, loosely based on those developed by Csizér & Kormos (2009) and Yashima (2009), explored the role of English as an element of this international orientation. It included the following four items.

1. If I could speak English well, I could get to know more people from other (not only English-speaking) countries.
2. English is one of the most important languages in today’s world.
3. If I could speak English well, I could understand people from all over the world.
4. I would like to speak English better in order to be able to communicate with people from different countries.

The reliability analysis indicates that the items form a coherent scale, with an Alpha of $\alpha = .736$. Although this value places the scale among the weaker item sets in the questionnaire, the set remains satisfactorily accurate to merit inclusion in the analysis. In addition, as the Alpha values shown in Table 3.9 suggest, the last item was the strongest element of the scale, while item number 2 was the weakest of the set.

Table 3.9 Reliability values (Cronbach's Alpha) for each item in the international posture scale

Item	Scale mean if item deleted	Scale variance if item deleted	Corrected item-total correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if item deleted
1	11.581	5.447	.590	.639
2	10.760	7.766	.426	.735
3	11.757	5.981	.467	.718
4	11.341	5.461	.674	.586

3.4.7 Ethnocentrism

In their extensive overview of the early psychology of ethnocentrism, Neuliep & McCroskey (1997) describe the behavior as one based on the assumption that one's own culture and principles as well as the people who embody these are superior to other cultures, principles and groups. The questions in this scale, adapted from Ryan (2009), focus on general openness toward other cultures and easy acceptance of their values. So as to avoid the use of negatively phrased items (Dörnyei, 2007), the questions were instead reversed, thus measuring the opposite of ethnocentrism. This is signaled by the asterisk preceding each question. The results were then recomputed in Microsoft Excel to show the proper ethnocentrism scores ([3.8.1](#)).

1. *I am interested in the customs of other cultures.
2. *I can easily accept the customs of other cultures.
3. *I respect the customs of other cultures.
4. *I find it easy to work together with people whose customs differ from mine.
5. *I find it easy to trust people whose customs differ from mine.

Once the scores were reversed, Cronbach's Alphas were computed for the scale and for each item in case of omission. On the whole, the items achieved an Alpha of $\alpha = .805$. The individual Alpha values in case any of them were deleted are displayed in Table 3.10, and they indicate that omission of the first item would result in marginally higher coherence. Nevertheless, the difference is negligible and at $\alpha = .805$ the scale is sufficiently reliable.

Table 3.10 Reliability values (Cronbach's Alpha) for each item in the ethnocentrism scale

Item	Scale mean if item deleted	Scale variance if item deleted	Corrected item-total correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if item deleted
1	7.261	6.343	.461	.806
2	6.920	5.560	.631	.754
3	7.301	6.254	.671	.753
4	7.043	5.699	.611	.761
5	6.877	5.573	.610	.761

3.4.8 Global village

Formerly named *world citizenship*, this scale was first developed and tested in my MA project, on a sample of adult language school learners in Hungary (Csillagh, 2010). While the idea of world citizenship is a recurrent theme in English and Hungarian discourse (Csillagh, 2010), in French it corresponds more to the term *global village*. Thus, I use the two expressions to refer to the same concept interchangeably, the only difference being that whereas the global village remains an expression invoking spatial images external to the respondent, global or world citizenship might be interpreted as an internalized characteristic and as a result part of one's identity and sense of self.

Concerning the motivational power of the phenomenon, Dörnyei highlights that “in an era when international holidays are becoming increasingly accessible and cross-cultural communication is a standard part of our existence in the ‘global village’, it is possible to devise creative ideal-self-generating activities drawing on past adventures, on the exotic nature of encounters with a foreign culture, and on role models of successful L2 learning achievers” (2009). In search of the historic roots of these ideas, Cates (1999) quotes Socrates: “I am not an Athenian or a Greek, but a citizen of the world.” He goes on to enumerate the key content areas for educating students for global citizenship, which are “geographic literacy, world themes and global issues” (ibid.). Moreover, he describes the basic principles of such programs, which, in turn, can also be used to characterize world citizens. “Global knowledge and skills” (ibid.) appear in a central position, fostered by raising students' awareness of real-life occurrences and issues, so that they have “a feeling (...) of becoming international cosmopolitans” (ibid.). According to Cates, the ultimate characteristic of successful global

citizens is adopting William Lloyd Garrison's philosophy: "The world is my country, all men are my brothers, to do good is my religion."⁵

Certainly, this declaration is rather philosophical in nature. Nevertheless, it pinpoints that extra element that distinguishes global citizenship from a more general international orientation or international posture. For global citizenship rests on conviction in the existence of a cohesive global community and includes feelings of belonging in addition to acceptance or approval. Four items were designed to capture these aspects and thus measure participants' attitudes to a global community with English as its central language.

1. It is important for me to be a member of the global village.
2. Being able to speak English helps/ would help me become a member of the global village.
3. It is good that people from different countries can speak a common language.
4. In my opinion English is the language of the global village.

The overall reliability value was $\alpha = .806$, which is comparable to that of the ethnocentrism scale. All four items were indispensable to achieve this score, the second question being the strongest contributor. The results of the analysis are shown in Table 3.11.

⁵ A quote also attributed to Thomas Paine, British-American political writer, theorist, and activist.

Table 3.11 Reliability values (Cronbach's Alpha) for each item in the global village scale

Item	Scale mean if item deleted	Scale variance if item deleted	Corrected item-total correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if item deleted
1	11.821	6.452	.615	.761
2	11.637	5.890	.757	.686
3	11.091	7.666	.584	.779
4	11.707	6.609	.558	.791

3.4.9 Willingness to communicate

MacIntyre et al. (1998) observe that traditional definitions of willingness to communicate (WTC) treat the construct as a personality trait or general predisposition, "the probability of engaging in communication when free to do so." They continue to point out that this orientation can nevertheless be examined in very specific contexts, for which purpose they propose a situated model of WTC. The scale included in the questionnaire follows this view. It was adapted from an item set developed by McCroskey (2009), whose introduction states that

"[w]illingness to communicate is the most basic orientation toward communication. Almost anyone is likely to respond to a direct question, but many will not continue or initiate interaction. This instrument measures a person's willingness to *initiate* communication". (original emphasis)

The questions in this scale can be arranged along two axes. First, they can be divided into two groups based on the size of the audience in front of which one speaks. Secondly, three types of audience are covered, namely friends, acquaintances and strangers. The combination of these two features generates six statements. It is important to note that the French items were all positively worded.

1. I don't mind speaking English in a small group of friends.
2. I don't mind speaking English in a small group of acquaintances.
3. I don't mind speaking English in a small group of strangers.
4. I don't mind speaking English in a large group of friends.
5. I don't mind speaking English in a large group of acquaintances.
6. I don't mind speaking English in a large group of strangers.

The reliability scores in Table 3.12 testify to the coherence of the scale. All of the six items contribute to the overall Alpha of $\alpha = .933$, which is the highest among all the sets. These figures are not so surprising in light of the long history of the scale, which is the product of decades of research and testing on the part of James McCroskey⁶ and his colleagues.

Table 3.12 Reliability values (Cronbach's Alpha) for each item in the willingness to communicate scale

Item	Scale mean if item deleted	Scale variance if item deleted	Corrected item-total correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if item deleted
1	20.598	23.270	.725	.930
2	20.612	22.759	.843	.917
3	20.627	23.527	.786	.924
4	21.038	19.826	.880	.910
5	21.038	19.820	.902	.907
6	21.117	20.963	.741	.931

3.4.10 Perceived importance of contact

Defined as “the importance students attribute to contact with target language speakers” (Csizér & Kormos, 2008), perceived importance of contact was revealed as a key motivational factor in Hungary (Csizér & Kormos, 2008, 2009, Dörnyei et al., 2006). Indeed, Csizér and Kormos (2008) emphasize that in foreign language learning environments where direct contact with target language speakers is scarce, more indirect forms of contact become important motivators (see [3.4.11](#)). Therefore, assembling questions on direct and indirect contact as well as their perceived importance, these last two scales focused on the role of participants' experience with the English language outside of the classroom. The item set on perceived importance was based on Csizér and Kormos's (2008) questionnaire. The statements that were included in the final analysis investigate different aspects of the role direct contact plays in participants' life. These items inquire about the impact of contact on language skills, self-confidence and intercultural knowledge as well as participants' readiness to engage in preparatory activities. Therefore, they provide insight into respondents' attitudes to these contact situations.

⁶Dr. James C. McCroskey passed away on December 27, 2012. His pioneering work and contributions to the field of communication and language studies were instrumental in the development of modern SLA research, and a great inspiration for the project presented here.

1. I find it useful to talk to foreigners, because the more I do so the more I feel like learning foreign languages.
2. I find it useful to talk to foreigners, because the more I do so the more at ease I feel during the conversation.
3. Before meeting foreigners, I prepare for the conversation (e.g. by looking up words in the dictionary or thinking through what I am going to say).
4. I find it useful to talk to foreigners, because it helps me understand how people live in their country.

As it can be concluded based on the Cronbach Alpha scores in Table 3. 13, the overall reliability value of $\alpha = .591$ was greatly improved when the third item was removed from the original scale. The three-item scale thus obtained an Alpha of $\alpha = .765$, which confirms its sufficient coherence. It is interesting to consider the characteristics that distinguish item 3 from the rest of the scale, since it covers a distinctly different aspect of evaluating the importance of contact situations. While the other statements focus on respondents' experience of the changes *following* the conversation, this item is related to their actions *prior to* contact. Even more intriguingly, further analysis of the scales through principal component analysis suggests that this item is a true odd-one-out, as it performs best on its own, without belonging to any of the sets.

Table 3.13 Reliability values (Cronbach's Alpha) for each item in the perceived importance of contact scale

Item	Scale mean if item deleted	Scale variance if item deleted	Corrected item-total correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if item deleted
1	11.429	4.395	.548	.394
2	11.235	5.062	.499	.462
3	12.779	4.472	.165	.765
4	11.405	4.723	.449	.469

3.4.11 Direct contact

Part II of the questionnaire consisted of the 21 items that measure language contact. Language contact is instrumental in shaping the learning experience, attitudes and motivation (Csizér & Kormos, 2008). However, as mentioned earlier, in modern foreign language environments, this

interaction can take many forms. Certainly, the most emblematic of these is direct face-to-face communication with foreigners. It is this ideal form of interaction that most English textbooks promote and that, at the same time, has become the most difficult to attain in many EFL contexts. On the other hand, indirect input in English is now widely available and at the center of many types of activities, from media consumption to social networking and to general discussions related to everyday issues. In addition, with the increasing availability of the Internet, other forms of direct communication are on the rise. It is these aspects of language contact, direct and indirect, that the scale was designed to measure. Based on the same study as the previous scale (Csizér & Kormos, 2008), it was named to preserve continuity in the research tradition, although it covers a wide range of contact types.

1. How often do you speak English while traveling abroad?
2. How often do you speak English during your holidays in French-speaking Switzerland?
3. How often do you speak English during your holidays in German-speaking Switzerland?
4. How often do you speak English during your holidays in Ticino?
5. How often do you speak English with foreigners you know?
6. How often do you speak English with foreigners in your neighborhood?
7. How often do you use English to write emails?
8. How often do you use English to surf the web?
9. How often do you use English to take part in the discussion on social networking platforms (chat, Facebook, Twitter, etc.)?
10. How often do you use English to write text messages?
11. How often do you use English to write formal or informal letters?
12. How often do you use English during your university studies?
13. How often do you watch films or series in English?
14. How often do you watch TV in English?
15. How often do you read books in English?
16. How often do you read newspapers or magazines in English?

17. How often do you read emails in English?
18. How often do you read formal or informal letters in English?
19. How often do your teachers talk about life in English-speaking countries?
20. How often do members of your family talk about life in English-speaking countries?
21. How often do your acquaintances talk about life in English-speaking countries?

As a scale, the 21 items function well together, which is confirmed by the combined Alpha value of $\alpha = .894$. Nevertheless, as Table 3.14 shows, all items are really close to this mark and can therefore be considered as equally important contributors.

Table 3.14 Reliability values (Cronbach's Alpha) for each item in the direct contact scale

Item	Scale mean if item deleted	Scale variance if item deleted	Corrected item-total correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if item deleted
1	58.160	200.562	.443	.891
2	60.799	204.471	.421	.891
3	59.799	194.939	.477	.890
4	60.219	200.440	.339	.894
5	58.621	195.698	.568	.887
6	60.006	197.749	.417	.892
7	59.230	193.236	.682	.884
8	58.032	201.686	.566	.888
9	59.187	191.620	.548	.888
10	59.545	189.793	.660	.884
11	59.956	191.054	.734	.883
12	58.883	204.057	.297	.895
13	58.566	200.135	.460	.890
14	59.472	194.191	.509	.889
15	59.344	195.302	.568	.887
16	59.469	193.174	.596	.886
17	58.930	192.451	.652	.885

Research methods - Attitudinal variables included in the study

Item	Scale mean if item deleted	Scale variance if item deleted	Corrected item-total correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if item deleted
18	59.778	190.255	.684	.884
19	60.332	205.930	.282	.895
20	60.300	203.252	.362	.893
21	59.650	201.936	.443	.891

On the other hand, despite the high internal coherence of the scale, its thematic composition raised the question whether an even better fit can be obtained by dividing the scale into smaller, situation or task-specific subsets. In order to test this hypothesis and establish the dividing lines, the items were submitted to principal component analysis (PCA). Table 3.15 shows the PCA results, which identified four different factors. The first of these centered on written material (items 7 – 8, 10 – 12, 15 – 18), while the second category included items on direct contact through traveling and talking to foreigners (items 1-6). The third theme that emerged grouped together questions on social networking and media consumption (items 9, 13 – 14). Finally, the last component was made up of the final three items in the scale, which focused on target cultures as a recurrent topic of discussion in participants' milieu and therefore on second-hand contact (items 19 – 21).

Table 3.15 Principal Component Analysis (Rotated Factor Matrix^a) for the direct contact scale

Items (in order of importance)	Factor			
	1	2	3	4
	Written contact	Direct contact	Social & media	Secondary contact
17	.818			
18	.780			
7	.741			
11	.695			
15	.491		.419	
16	.489		.392	
8	.470		.420	
12	.436			

Research methods - Attitudinal variables included in the study

Items (in order of importance)	Factor			
	1	2	3	4
	Written contact	Direct contact	Social & media	Secondary contact
10	.434		.427	
4		.703		
3		.659		
5		.568	.326	
1		.517		
2		.444		
6		.405		
13			.691	
14			.611	
9	.328		.483	
21				.682
20				.626
19				.502

Extraction Method: Principal Axis Factoring.

Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

a. Rotation converged in 5 iterations.

As further verification of the coherence of these sub-scales, I calculated reliability coefficients for each of the four components. The nine items that focus on written contact obtained an Alpha of $\alpha = .888$, which can be improved by the omission of item 12 to achieve a coefficient of $\alpha = .898$, as Table 3.16 suggests. This value is only marginally higher than the one obtained for the whole scale, although the sub-scale is fit to be included in further analysis as a factor in its own right.

Table 3.16 Reliability values (Cronbach's Alpha) for each item in the written contact sub-scale

Item	Scale mean if item deleted	Scale variance if item deleted	Corrected item-total correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if item deleted
7	25.373	49.533	.750	.867

Research methods - Attitudinal variables included in the study

Item	Scale mean if item deleted	Scale variance if item deleted	Corrected item-total correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if item deleted
8	24.175	54.724	.585	.882
10	25.688	49.724	.595	.881
11	26.099	49.084	.757	.867
12	25.026	54.517	.368	.898
15	25.487	50.771	.609	.879
16	25.612	49.799	.627	.877
17	25.073	48.103	.777	.864
18	25.921	47.599	.767	.865

The six questions on direct forms of contact, on the other hand, achieved a significantly lower rate of reliability at $\alpha = .760$, which could not be improved upon by deleting any of the items, as also shown in Table 3.17. Although they all contributed to the coherence of the sub-scale, these items can be considered to perform better as part of the original twenty-one-item scale. Therefore, in subsequent tests, the subset was used on its own whenever justified from a thematic point of view. At the same time, I would like to point out that its development might form an objective for future studies (6.5).

Table 3.17 Reliability values (Cronbach's Alpha) for each item in the direct contact sub-scale

Item	Scale mean if item deleted	Scale variance if item deleted	Corrected item-total correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if item deleted
1	12.627	20.094	.505	.725
2	15.265	22.114	.426	.745
3	14.265	17.500	.580	.702
4	14.685	17.895	.546	.713
5	13.087	19.080	.577	.706
6	14.472	19.513	.408	.753

Social networking and media consumption showed better results ($\alpha = .815$), which, with the exclusion of item 9 as per Table 3.18, could be increased to $\alpha = .826$. Still not higher than the reliability value of the original scale, this figure nonetheless suggests that the sub-scale can be used on its own as well as part of the larger set.

Table 3.18 Reliability values (Cronbach's Alpha) for each item in the social & media sub-scale

Item	Scale mean if item deleted	Scale variance if item deleted	Corrected item-total correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if item deleted
9	12.134	16.777	.469	.826
15	12.292	17.061	.601	.780
16	12.417	16.472	.620	.774
17	11.878	16.342	.681	.757
18	12.726	15.942	.684	.755

The lowest reliability score was reached by the three-item sub-scale on second hand contact. As Table 3.19 testifies, the initial Alpha of $\alpha = .680$ could not be improved by decreasing the number of items. Therefore, as a standalone factor, this contact variable could greatly benefit from further testing and development.

Table 3.19 Reliability values (Cronbach's Alpha) for each item in the Secondary contact sub-scale

Item	Scale mean if item deleted	Scale variance if item deleted	Corrected item-total correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if item deleted
19	4.803	3.581	.435	.661
20	4.787	3.329	.493	.587
21	4.144	3.402	.557	.506

3.4.12 Principal component analysis of the main scales

The above analysis showcases the different phases of a concept-based technique. As I demonstrated in the previous chapter, this approach meant that in designing the scales for this study, I first carried out an in-depth literature review that allowed me to select the relevant constructs to be included and then to define them. Finally, the item sets were developed based on these definitions and on existing questionnaires standardized through previous research.

These steps also ensured the external validity of the instrument, as each item in a scale was designed so that the set would correspond to the original definition of the construct it represents. Moreover, the Chronbach's alpha values presented above demonstrate the high internal consistency of the final scales.

Nevertheless, in order to put the accuracy of this process to the test, I used principal component analysis (PCA) to identify potential underlying variables. I was interested in examining the performance of the standardized scales (cf. [3.3.3](#)) in the context of the study, and in investigating whether the preset item clusters indeed measured different attitudinal concepts. In line with traditions in the field of L2 motivation and for increased comparability with previous studies, a varimax rotation was used with Kaiser normalization. Thus, the aim of these tests was merely experimental, although the results, summarized in Table 3.20, revealed a remarkable pattern. In general, most of the scales corresponded to a single component and showed a good fit with the original clustering, while other sets presented a more complex structure. Below, I first discuss the former and conclude with the latter category.

First of all, the variable with the highest internal consistency, as identified by the analysis, was composed of the six items in the Willingness to communicate scale. As I mentioned earlier, this is a highly standardized scale, thus it is not surprising that it attained such high scores both in terms of reliability coefficients and component correlations. The figures displayed above echo the results of the internal reliability measures discussed previously. Consequently, the check can be regarded as successful, the scale stood the test.

Interestingly, the second strongest variable was made up of one half of the scale on traditional native speaker groups, namely the English. The five items show a high level of correlation, which is in line with the results of the reliability analysis. On the other hand, the remaining five statements form the fourth variable in the list, therefore they demonstrate similar levels of importance and correlation.

It is not entirely surprising that the scales on motivated learning behavior and attitudes to learning English converge into a single component, given their strong relationship in this ([Chapter 4](#)) and previous studies ([2.2.3](#)). They each contribute three items to the third factor. Moreover, this component also includes the first item of the ideal L2 self scale, which was omitted from that set due to its low performance.

The central constructs of the L2 Motivational Self System, the ideal L2 self and the ought-to L2 self form two distinct components, number 5 and 10 respectively. First, this further confirms that the two scales measure two separate concepts, distinct not only from one another but also from the rest of the motivational factors. As mentioned earlier, the first item in the ideal L2 self scale represents the only exception, but, in line with a concept-based methodology followed in the study, that statement was not included in the final analysis. Secondly, the difference in strength between the two scales reflects the issues of researchability (2.2.3) and internal reliability (3.4.3) discussed above.

Table 3.20 Principal Component Analysis (Rotated Factor Matrix^a) of the main attitudinal scales

		Latent dimensions											
Scale	Item	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Motivated learning behavior	1	-.024	.011	.790	.073	.003	.075	.122	.005	.113	-.040	-.029	.145
	2	-.053	-.058	.621	.100	.322	.005	.110	.108	.081	.094	-.166	.011
	3	.069	.095	.754	.077	.144	-.026	.037	.124	.007	.251	.080	.032
Attitudes to learning English	1	.263	.314	.757	.113	.065	-.019	.030	.041	.029	.004	.081	-.041
	2	.168	.385	.684	.119	.097	-.033	.049	.063	.052	-.049	.131	-.058
	3	.239	.427	.526	.206	.006	-.071	.177	-.030	-.052	.015	.144	-.084
Willingness to communicate	1	.768	.140	.128	-.054	.061	-.066	.059	-.005	.010	.139	-.031	.027
	2	.848	.185	.078	.022	.058	-.052	.053	.047	-.005	.073	-.089	-.028
	3	.797	.153	.163	.040	.050	-.098	.040	.081	.006	-.004	-.072	-.059
	4	.920	.018	-.004	.084	.132	.020	.013	.066	-.066	.056	.062	.001
	5	.934	.057	-.031	.066	.102	.059	.020	.137	-.053	.014	.049	-.023
	6	.827	-.001	.058	.073	.012	-.077	.026	.168	-.047	-.034	.089	-.052
Ideal L2 self	1	.084	.315	.369	.054	.353	-.152	.191	.066	.053	.043	-.027	.072
	2	.089	.190	.271	.042	.631	-.159	.175	.113	.102	.101	-.057	-.020
	3	.137	.053	.089	.015	.824	-.069	.161	.088	.075	.081	.014	.053
	4	.062	.061	.062	.049	.899	-.058	.097	.094	.015	.051	.156	-.012
	5	.099	.059	.093	.061	.819	-.041	.077	.061	.006	.056	-.006	-.031
Ought-to L2 self	1	.043	-.022	.190	.195	.237	.090	.417	.166	.034	.496	.119	.176
	2	-.018	.086	.341	.165	.218	-.096	.090	.162	.110	.488	-.114	-.020
	3	.200	.128	.011	.060	.082	-.074	.105	.070	.036	.815	.099	-.016
Global village	1	.041	.102	.097	.098	.078	-.145	.494	.490	.040	.025	.467	-.136
	2	.061	.187	.127	.096	.119	-.052	.648	.415	.068	.009	.310	-.065
	3	.074	.176	.064	.040	.207	-.110	.697	.001	.092	.013	.049	.057
	4	.043	.132	.096	.122	.086	.035	.835	-.005	.075	.137	-.099	.021
Perceived importance of contact	1	.167	.082	.069	.062	.149	-.293	.057	.636	.082	.113	.059	.119
	2	.146	.082	.182	.079	.134	-.209	.126	.500	.141	.022	-.043	.086
	3	-.125	.096	.079	.082	-.007	.009	.018	.163	.067	.020	.081	.943
	4	.210	.171	.007	.050	.093	-.260	-.009	.607	.069	.179	-.092	.061
International posture	1	-.086	.114	.069	-.015	.054	-.070	.086	.171	.869	.072	.074	.036
	2	.033	.103	.161	.147	.186	.028	.458	.018	.271	.112	.076	-.036
	3	-.014	.064	.100	.120	.138	-.059	.204	-.191	.372	.146	.690	.223
	4	-.080	.094	.122	.145	.085	-.079	.228	.110	.827	.009	.079	.034
Ethnocentrism	1	-.126	-.145	-.044	-.112	-.078	.465	-.029	-.509	-.084	.020	.133	-.015
	2	-.033	-.043	.047	-.108	.034	.766	-.055	-.204	.080	-.069	-.023	.026
	3	-.016	-.090	-.027	-.014	-.034	.712	-.064	-.247	-.026	-.064	.074	-.007
	4	-.025	-.037	-.034	-.107	-.113	.773	.023	-.008	-.127	.017	-.085	-.030
	5	-.050	.026	-.004	-.014	-.118	.776	.005	-.082	-.036	.012	-.052	.029
Attitudes to traditional target groups	1	.117	.753	.138	.175	.060	-.015	.074	.058	.031	.095	.203	.058
	2	.078	.186	.068	.849	.006	-.043	.038	.041	.012	.080	.158	.023
	3	.056	.686	.132	.269	.081	.085	.023	.390	.110	.053	.029	.022
	4	.043	.319	.159	.669	.039	.014	.045	.398	.076	-.027	-.037	.021
	5	.103	.749	.120	.233	.124	-.070	.137	.141	.055	-.013	-.078	.067
	6	.127	.331	.151	.666	.086	-.157	.147	.132	.081	-.030	-.109	.012
	7	.169	.685	.135	.113	.048	-.073	.194	.026	.122	.019	-.226	.001

Research methods - Attitudinal variables included in the study

8	.026	.084	.250	.678	.073	-.124	.295	-.066	.090	.064	-.171	.143
9	.093	.829	.112	.081	.079	-.098	.106	.038	.022	.091	.096	.003
10	.004	.104	.049	.831	.051	-.092	.033	.018	-.001	.134	.136	-.028

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

a. Rotation converged in 14 iterations.

The central constructs of the L2 Motivational Self System, the ideal L2 self and the ought-to L2 self form two distinct components, number 5 and 10 respectively. First, this further confirms that the two scales measure two separate concepts, distinct not only from one another but also from the rest of the motivational factors. As mentioned earlier, the first item in the ideal L2 self scale represents the only exception, but, in line with a concept-based methodology followed in the study, that statement was not included in the final analysis. Secondly, the difference in strength between the two scales reflects the issues of researchability ([2.2.3](#)) and internal reliability ([3.4.3](#)) discussed above.

Another standardized scale, the one on ethnocentrism, was identified as the sixth factor. What is more surprising, the items on world citizenship or the global village comprised a single component, the strength of which was ranked seventh in the list. These results suggest that the concept is indeed a valid one and distinct from the other motivational constructs included in the study.

Similarly to the fifth component, which was composed of all but one item in the scale on the ideal L2 self, factor number eight included all except one of the items in the perceived importance set. The third item, which was identified as a weak performer in the reliability tests and was thus discarded from the analysis, formed a scale on its own.

However, there was one scale that did not conform to this pattern, interacting in more complex ways with the other factors. True, similar behavior could be observed when examining the first item of the ideal L2 self scale, which showed more resemblance to the items in the third component, which grouped together MLB and learning attitudes. Nevertheless, the rest of the items in that scale were shown to belong to the same factor. In contrast, the items on international posture almost all contributed to different scales. The first and the last statement together formed factor 9, while second item correlated with the component containing statements on the global village and the third item formed a scale on its own. These results raise questions concerning the applicability of the concept of international posture in the Geneva setting. Part of a standardized scale, the items obtained a combined Cronbach's Alpha of $\alpha = .736$, to which all the items contributed. Therefore, the results suggest that there is room

for development through further research, so as to develop this item set into a scale that performs with higher efficiency in the Geneva setting.

In sum, the ten scales formed twelve factors, with the last two consisting of a single item each. The first ten were thus composed by the joining of two scales, the items on motivated learning behavior and on attitudes to learning English merging into a single component. Unsurprisingly, the scale on attitudes to target groups clearly revealed its double composition. Overall, as the analysis indicates, most of the item sets performed well as individual variables.

Although the PCA results did not impact further procedures, they allowed a few interesting observations. First, as one of the goals of the study was to test the standardized scales in the Geneva context, it can be concluded that the dataset examined confirmed the integrity and validity of the item sets. It is also to be noted that the same item set might produce different components in different settings, and, as a consequence, differences between contexts might be expressed not only at the level of motivational factors but also in the internal structure of these elements. While the above can provide some pointers as to the particular sample at hand, further research at a larger scale is needed to explore this angle of potential contextual influences.

3.5 Piloting

The paper-based questionnaire was piloted through a series of think aloud sessions. Due to the considerable inaccessibility of the target population, participants of the pilot sessions were selected from among the researcher's acquaintance in order to match the target population. Five students from different neighboring universities took part in the sessions, two of them male and three female. Their areas of study ranged from biology to medicine to economics, and they represented all three levels of university education, from bachelor to PhD, although no specialized master's students took part in the pilots.

During each session of 30 to 40 minutes, one or two students were asked to fill out the paper-based questionnaire and either voice their thoughts or simply mark items for a follow-up discussion. The second option was markedly more popular as a result of the high cognitive load of the task, as most of the participants found it difficult to talk while reading the items and contemplating their answers. Completion of the questionnaire took about twenty minutes in each case, a little less for those who opted to discuss the items separately.

Pilot participants' comments touched on various aspects of the questionnaire, however, three main themes emerged. First of all, many of their suggestions focused on the wording of the items and they were willing to offer translations that they considered as more appropriate to the context. Secondly, they voiced concerns over the repetitiveness of some of the questions, despite the fact that items appeared in a completely randomized order in the third part of the questionnaire. Last but not least, they pointed out that some of the instructions and phrases required further clarifications, which could be added in the form of footnotes or side notes. Their comments were taken into account in the subsequent stages of development and contributed greatly to the final digital instrument presented below.

3.6 Data collection

3.6.1 Sampling

Sampling refers to the selection process through which participants or particular groups of participants are chosen to take part in the study, and the *sample* of a study consists of the participants included in the analysis. This process is of particular importance since a central issue in designing quantitative empirical studies is that of generalizability. Could the findings of a study conducted in one school be extended to another or even to the general population of language learners in that particular area? The answer lies in the extent to which the sample represents the target population to which the conclusions are to be applied, in other words how *representative* the sample is. High levels of representativeness can be achieved by applying a number of rigorous measures throughout the selection process (Dörnyei, 2007), a detailed discussion of which is beyond the scope of this dissertation. Nevertheless, questions of sampling and representativeness are key to the reliability of any study. Therefore, in what follows I examine these through the lens of the present project.

As opposed to probability sampling, which aims at selecting participants in a completely or systematically randomized manner so as to access a sample that represents naturally occurring groups of the target population, in this study, a non-probability method was used. Thus, as is the case of this type of sampling, the raw results cannot be considered to perfectly reflect the opinion of any random group of students or all of the students at the university. This is partly due to the fact that in non-probability samples, a number of factors can influence participation. In other words, the group surveyed can become in many ways special, an unusual group of students who are characterized by features not controlled in the study. Nonetheless, there are

reasons why, especially in applied linguistics, this type of sampling has become more frequent than true probability sampling.

Dörnyei points out that “in most applied linguistic research it is unrealistic or simply not feasible to aim for perfect representativeness in the psychometric sense” (2007). Feasibility is indeed an important point, as accessing large samples of learners and teachers necessitates certain permissions and careful scheduling as well as a large amount of resources. On the other hand, the population targeted by the research might also be characterized by such unique features that they are simply not available in large numbers. This is often the case when the researcher is, at the same time, the teacher or observer of a particular group, which considerably limits the target population of the study and, as a result, the participants available. Therefore, as Dörnyei concludes, it becomes crucial “to describe in sufficient detail the limitations of such samples when we report the results, while also highlighting the characteristics that the particular sample shares with the defined target population” (ibid.). In this section, I propose to illustrate the former by describing the sampling process in detail, while the latter aspect will be addressed in the next section through a thorough comparison of the sample and the target population. Conclusions as to the limitations and the representativeness of the study will be discussed at the end of the chapter.

As mentioned earlier, the study followed a convenience-based sampling procedure, where students responded to a call and thus volunteered to participate. However, this method is rarely based on complete convenience and indeed the selection of participants was restricted by a small set of criteria. Respondents were all students at the University of Geneva at the time of enquiry, and they attended at least one of the four faculties selected for the survey.

The message ([Appendix 1](#)) containing the link to the online questionnaire was distributed to students via email either by their faculty administration (Law, Medicine, Science), teacher (SES) or student association (SES), with the use of collective mailing lists. There were small differences in style depending on through which of these channels students received the call. Nevertheless, all iterations of the message included the same information concerning the topic of the study and the length of the questionnaire as well as the deadline by which it needed to be completed and a short introductory description of the platform.

Two issues that need to be addressed here are that of *self-selection* and of *dropout*. As is often the case with questionnaire studies but even more frequently so in the case of online surveys,

participants can as easily opt in as they can opt out. Due to the limitations of the platform, the only way to preserve the layout and essential features of the questionnaire in addition to ensuring full completion was by disabling certain functions of the engine. Therefore, all items were made compulsory and participants were not allowed to switch back and forth between pages. As Dörnyei (2007) explains, these limitations of online questionnaires, as opposed to paper-based ones, often make their results less generalizable, due to high levels of self-selection and dropout. The two terms refer to the two sides of the same phenomenon, namely that participants who opt in inherently have something in common, as they are interested in and often enthusiastic about responding. This also means that they “may be different from non-volunteers in their aptitude, motivation or some other basic characteristics” (Dörnyei, 2007). On the other hand, members of the population who choose to opt out or abandon the questionnaire unfinished “may also share some common features that will be underrepresented in the sample with their departure” (ibid.). These aspects are very much inseparable from the way electronic surveys are utilized in language education studies and seriously compromise the generalizability of the results. Unfortunately, such issues are rarely addressed and clear descriptions of Internet questionnaires and their administration are scarce. Secondly, it is essential that the impact of self-selection is examined and taken into account when it comes to the interpretation of the results.

Indeed, the extent of dropouts was considerable in the study. Thanks to the extensive functionality of LimeSurvey, incomplete entries were also logged in the system. Therefore, the data on overall participation shows that in total 531 logons were registered, but only 375 questionnaires were completed. These abandoned questionnaires were not taken into account during the statistical analysis due to the importance of participants’ responses to the items in Part III, which were also the most frequently left unanswered as a result of their placement. Nevertheless, it is interesting to observe that such data is only available thanks to the capabilities of online survey platforms, which can record unfinished questionnaires as well as completed ones and do not require respondents to hand in hard copies or bring them back to class. Thus, participants can fill out the questionnaire at their leisure, and they can also rest assured of their anonymity.

The latter two features of online instruments are also at the heart of the last issue that I would like to draw attention to regarding the sampling process. As Dörnyei (2007) warns, participation in Internet surveys is difficult to supervise, which not only means that self-

selection has a considerable impact on the sample but also suggests that groups not tested in the research can have access to the questionnaire. Sample selection in the study was controlled to an extent due to the distribution of the invitation message and the web link via internal channels. As mentioned above, students enrolled at the four faculties were contacted through their official university email address and the link to the survey was only shared in this invitation message. Nonetheless, potentially and unknown to the researcher, a snowball effect might have taken place in the form of students spreading the word or the invitation message among their friends and classmates. On the other hand, questions on faculty affiliation and majors were placed at the beginning of the questionnaire and these multiple-choice items only offered options that were of interest for the project. Thus, the wide availability of access to the survey was balanced out by these initial tests of entry.

3.6.2 *The online survey*

The question that presents itself upon consideration of all these difficulties is why an electronic format would suit the purposes of the study better than a paper-based questionnaire. This is indeed an important issue since the advantages and limitations of the format chosen might influence the quality of the resulting data. Therefore, the questionnaire used in the study was initially developed in both forms and the online version was selected as the more promising after careful planning and testing.

Undoubtedly, the electronic format made a number of changes possible while it necessitated others. However, the choice was partly inspired by pilot participants' comments on the paper questionnaire, since many of their suggestions pointed toward the use of a more modern, digital, interface. The most frequent issues were the need to omit repetitive wording in items of the same scale and to have access to certain clarifications if needed. The former was met by grouping items of the same scale together as in Figure 3.1, where six items on direct contact are shown on the same page. The latter was achieved through footnotes to some of the items, such as the one defining mother tongues as "the language(s) that you learned as a child and that you still understand" ([Appendix 1](#)). These could not have been implemented in a paper-based questionnaire as seamlessly as the web interface allowed.

Figure 3.1 Excerpt from the online questionnaire. Screenshot of the first six items on direct contact

Questionnaire: Apprentissage des langues



Ce questionnaire, élaboré dans le cadre d'un projet de doctorat, a pour objectif de dresser un tableau de l'apprentissage des langues parmi les étudiants de l'UNIGE. Que vous appreniez une ou plusieurs langues en ce moment, ou aucune, votre témoignage nous permettra de mieux comprendre les attitudes et les préférences des étudiants à notre université à propos de l'apprentissage des langues afin d'en tirer des conclusions qui pourront éventuellement servir à sensibiliser les acteurs institutionnels.

Emploi de l'anglais

* 24 DC1
A quelle fréquence parlez-vous anglais...

	Jamais ou presque jamais	Rarement (au moins une fois par ans)	Parfois (chaque mois)	Souvent (chaque semaine)	Très souvent (chaque jour)
...lorsque vous voyagez à l'étranger?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...pendant vos vacances en Suisse romande?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...pendant vos vacances en Suisse alémanique?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...pendant vos vacances au Tessin?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...avec des amis de l'étranger ou des étrangers que vous connaissez?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...avec des étrangers de votre quartier?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Moreover, the digital format increased the potential of the questionnaire layout, making it more efficient and attractive, which, as Dörnyei points out, is “half the battle in motivating respondents to produce reliable and valid data” (2007). Once students opened the link in a browser, they were greeted by a title page marked with the logo of the Faculty of Letters, which featured a short welcome message and description of the study and instrument. At this stage, participants were informed that the project, as part of a PhD study, aimed at mapping language learning attitudes among UNIGE students. Their attention was also drawn to the fact that whether they studied any languages at the time of enquiry or not, their opinion mattered and there were no right or wrong answers to any of the questions. Our contact details and credentials were listed on this page as well, along with our sincerest thanks for students’ participation.

Specific instructions are key to the success of any questionnaire, and thanks to the technical tools it was possible to tailor these individually not only to each part of the questionnaire but to some of the items as well. Therefore, although the general instructions remained the same in each part of the questionnaire, further precisions could be added to certain items to indicate, for instance, the number of options allowed. However, as with clarification notes, these were kept to the minimum and worded in a neutral, non-leading way so as not to influence students’ responses (cf. [Appendix 1](#)).

Another important issue to revisit here is the method of item sequencing applied in the electronic questionnaire. While the initial paper version preserved the traditional layout of a randomized item list in each section, which maximizes the benefits of multi-item scales (cf. Dörnyei, 2007), the online questionnaire used a different format. As pilot participants and colleagues often pointed out, a mixed list might produce an effect of repetitiveness, partly due to the structure of multi-item scales that aims to eliminate idiosyncrasies by making use of several, differently worded items that are identical in meaning. The other reason is that questions in a multi-item scale frequently make repeated use of the same expressions or structures, which only serve as a framework for the more relevant part of the question. A good example of this would be the scale on direct contact, where each item starts with the words *How often do you...?* Although focusing on different aspects of the same concept, such items tend to lose their finer nuances in isolation, giving respondents the impression that it is the same question reoccurring several times. By clustering questions of the same scale together, the online questionnaire reduced some of the weight that the wording of each item carries. On the other hand, this method also decreased repetitiveness considerably by cutting the number of items with the same focus and by presenting questions of the same structure in tables, such as the one seen in Figure 3.1.

Similarly, the decision to open the questionnaire with items on demographic information was driven by pragmatic concerns and the goal of the research. Traditionally, factual questions would be included in the last section of the questionnaire. However, since this information was crucial to defining the sample and constituted the basis of the contrastive analysis, it was imperative that all participants complete these items. Consequently, placing them at the end of the questionnaire would have greatly augmented the risk of losing participants who completed all previous items. Nonetheless, questions in this part of the survey remained as non-intrusive as possible and thoroughly observed the governing principle of anonymity. Similar concerns inspired the decision to set all questions as compulsory.

The final pages of the questionnaire were dedicated to the item offering participants the option to voice their comments and the concluding thank you message. The latter included a link to the website where further information about the research and its results would be published. Overall, completion took approximately 20 minutes and was therefore within the range of acceptable length (Dörnyei, 2007).

Preserving participants' anonymity was a deciding factor in designing the instrument as well as in choosing the appropriate format. Therefore, data collection took place exclusively through the LimeSurvey platform of the University of Geneva, where each respondent was assigned an automatic identification number. The electronic IP address of each computer logging in was recorded in the dataset, however once double entries were controlled for, these were removed completely. Participants from there on were identified solely by the code assigned to them upon entering the system. Finally, although respondents were given the option of indicating their email address for further contact, none of them chose to do so.

3.7 Participants

This section provides an overview of the various characteristics of the participants, against the backdrop of the general population of UNIGE students at the time of enquiry. Therefore, the results of the descriptive statistics obtained from the dataset are contrasted with the figures published by the University's *Bureau des Statistiques* for the year 2013-2014 (Peila, 2014). On the one hand, this approach lends a framework to the analysis, placing the findings of the study in a broader perspective. On the other hand, it helps address questions of sample size and offers the necessary basis for gauging the representativeness of the sample. These issues are examined at the end of the section, with conclusions regarding the generalizability of the results.

3.7.1 Sample and target population

As defined in [Sampling](#), the target population of a study refers to the original group from which the sample was selected. Probability samples are chosen to reflect the characteristics of the target group, so that that they form a smaller, *representative*, section of that larger population. However, since the research presented here relied on an opportunity-based sample, the raw results cannot be generalized for the target population without further manipulation of the data. Nevertheless, this by no means implies that it is worthless investigating the relationships between the sample and the target population. On the contrary, as the yearly publications of the *Bureau des Statistiques* contain a wealth of information concerning the student population of the university and its various faculties, important comparisons can be made between the two groups. It is on the basis of these resemblances that the representativeness of the sample can be determined.

Based on a number of criteria, four faculties were chosen to be included in the study. First of all, in order to situate the results in terms of their connections to the economic milieu, it was

essential to gauge participants' career orientation. The faculties of Law and Medicine, Science and Economic and Social Sciences (SES, still one entity at the time of the study) offered the best fit for this purpose, as graduates from these domains tend to find employment in their own respective fields upon leaving university. Unforeseen career changes can undoubtedly occur in the life of students in all domains, but they can be considered as relatively rare in these four compared to other disciplines.

Therefore, the above four faculties were chosen as the target population and students enrolled at these were contacted to participate in the study. Overall, a total of 375 students completed the questionnaire. Despite the potential sampling issues that were discussed above in relation to electronic surveys, they represent a fairly heterogeneous sample in terms of their basic characteristics. Below, I review these in detail.

3.7.2 *Age and gender*

Participants were asked to indicate their age and the answers encompassed a wide range of 50 years. According to these, the youngest respondent was an unusual 16-year-old and the oldest of the age of 65. The average age was 23 years and the most common answer, selected by 69 participants, was 21. Figure 3.2 shows the distribution of participants along the age scale. Interestingly, when compared to the general population of UNIGE students, this distribution shows remarkable similarities. Although the smaller sample resulted in a somewhat less regular dispersion among the participants of the study, the overall results are comparable. The statistics for all students enrolled at the University of Geneva in 2013-2014, displayed in Figure 3.3, show marked resemblance to those portrayed in Figure 3.2. The most common age was 21 in both cases, and the majority of students, 60% in the case of the population and 72.9% for the sample were between 19 and 25 years of age. The youngest UNIGE student was 15 years old and the oldest 77.

Figure 3.2 Number of participants according to age

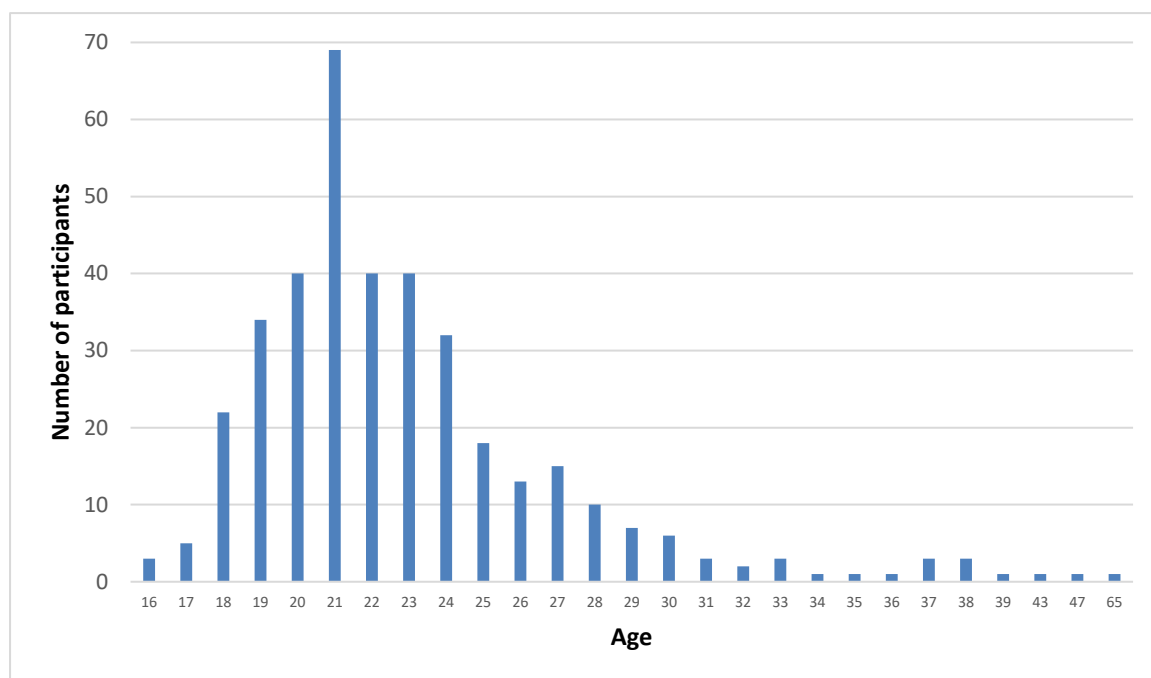
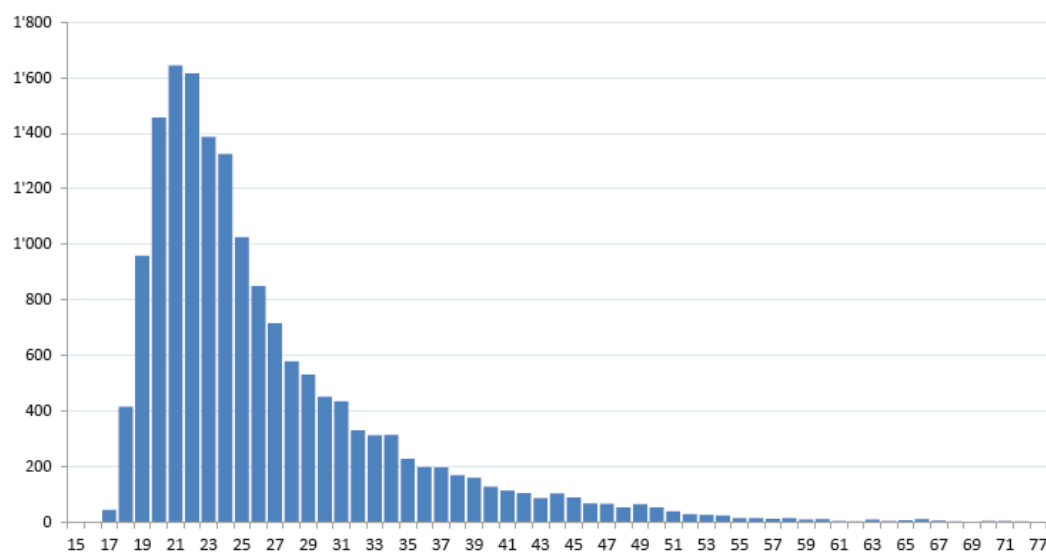
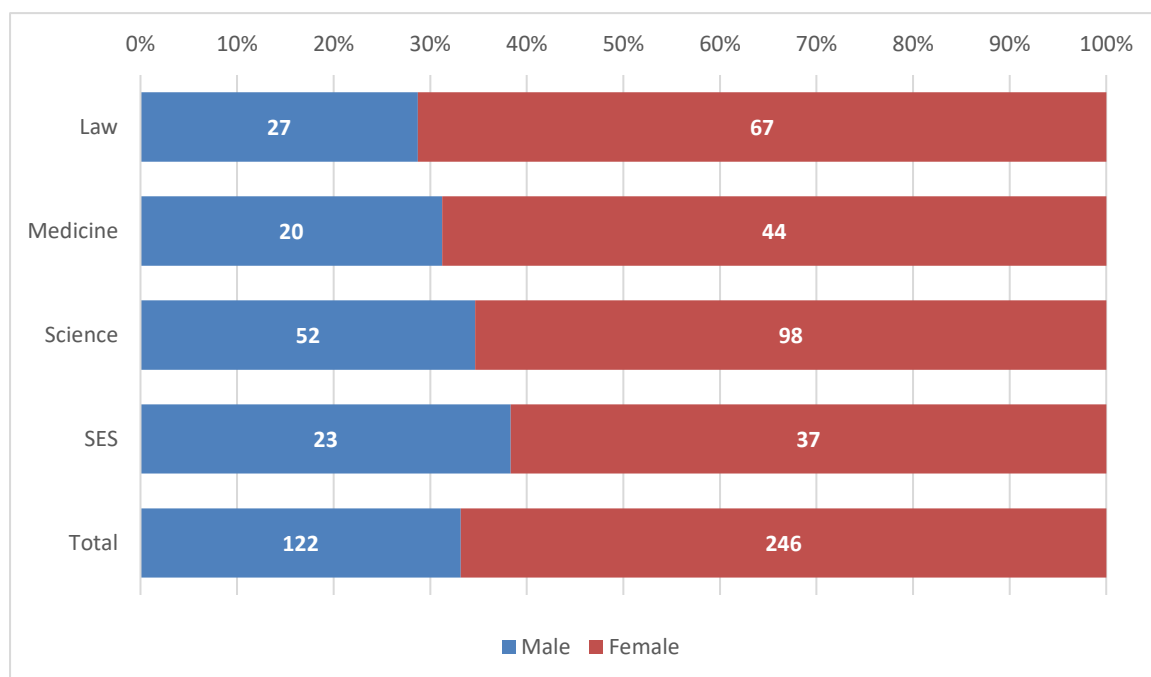


Figure 3.3 Number of UNIGE students according to age



As regards the gender of participants, female students represented 66.8% of the sample and male students the remaining 33.2%. Figure 3.4 shows the distribution of respondents among the four faculties, and it is clear that not all branches participated in the same proportions. At the faculties of Law and Medicine, the ration of male and female students was approximately 30%-70%, with science students represented in similar (35%-65%) proportions. However, participants enrolled at the faculty of SES displayed a composition closer to 40%-60%.

Figure 3.4 Number of participants per gender and faculty



As for the population of students at the four faculties, the *Bureau des Statistiques* (Peila, 2014) reports slightly different ratios. According to their results, female students are in a modest majority at the faculties of Law (62.2%) and Medicine (59.7%), while their presence is marginally weaker at the faculties of SES (48.8%) and Science (47.9%). On the whole it can be concluded that as opposed to the fairly balanced proportions in the original population, female students represented a marked majority in all of the subsamples in the study.

3.7.3 Faculties and majors

Furthermore, Figure 3.4 also testifies to one of the difficulties encountered during data collection. As further discussed in [3.9.2](#), the student populations of the four faculties were accessible to different extents. As a result, they were represented in the study to varying degrees. In addition, seven students attended several faculties and were thus excluded from the comparative analysis. On the whole, 24.7% of the final sample attended the faculty of Law, 16.6% of them studied medicine and 39.7% and 19% were students at the faculties of Science and Economic and Social Sciences. Table 3.21 compares their numbers to the statistics on students enrolled at these faculties.

Table 3.21 Number of students per faculty at the university in 2013 compared to the number of participants in the study

Faculty	Law	Medicine	Science	SES	Total
UNIGE	1927	2463	2620	3572	10582
Study	94	64	150	60	368
%	4.88	2.60	5.73	1.68	3.48

As the numbers indicate, the sample represents 3.48% of the total population of the four faculties. At first glance, this is in line with Dörnyei's (2007) recommendations, who advises a volume of one to ten percent. A closer look reveals, however, that not all faculties are represented equally. While those of Law and Science reach the higher segments of the range, the faculties of Medicine and SES fall below the average. Although not alarming in themselves, these details suggest that some of the conclusions of the study are to be approached with caution. I discuss the limitations they entail in [3.9.2](#) below.

3.7.4 *Level of instruction*

As the above list suggests, the university provided degree programs at four levels in 2013. In addition to Bachelor and master's programs, students could enroll in a variety of specialized Master's and certificate programs (for the sake of simplicity, MAS henceforth) as well as pursue doctoral studies. Participants were proposed these four options along with an extra field for any *other* level. For a more detailed view, Figure 3.5 displays the whole spectrum of the degrees and certificates on offer.

Although only two specialized master's students participated in the study, the other levels were represented in larger proportions. As Table 3.22 indicates, the largest group was that of respondents enrolled in Bachelor programs, while master's students came as a close second. In addition, a considerable number (15%) of participants pursued PhD studies, most of them at the faculties of Medicine and Science.

Figure 3.5 Programs offered at the University of Geneva (translated from www.unige.ch)

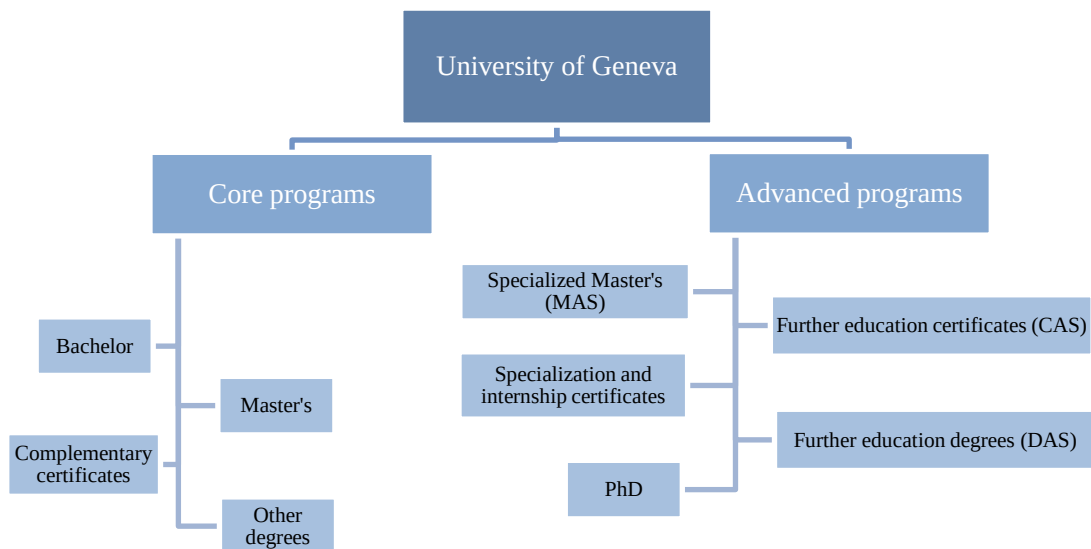
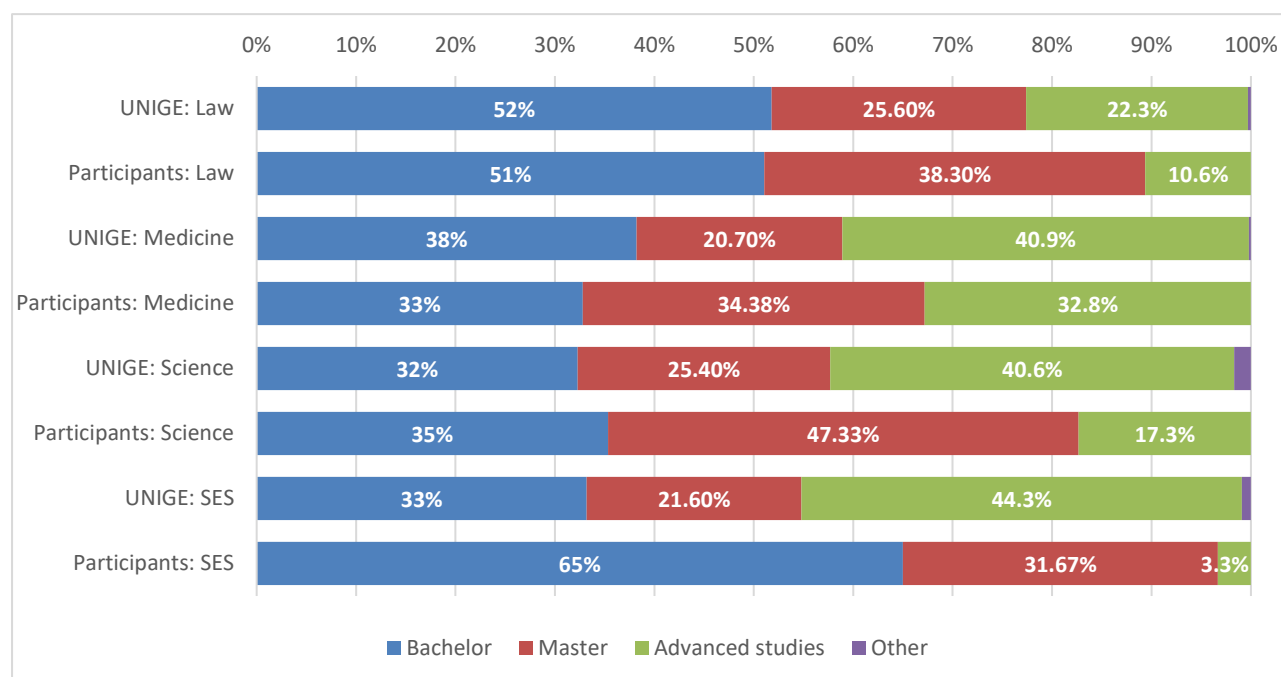


Table 3.22 Participants per faculty and level of instruction

	Bachelor	Master	MAS	PhD	Total
Law	48	36	0	10	94
Medicine	21	22	0	21	64
Science	53	71	2	24	150
SES	39	19	0	2	60
Total	161	148	2	57	368

A comparison between the different faculties reveals that whereas results from the faculties of Law and SES followed the general trend, medical students were almost equally distributed among three categories. In addition, Master's students were in a majority at the faculty of Science. The latter also had the largest group of doctoral students, with Medicine contributing almost as many, while only two from the faculty of SES participated in the study. These figures, contrasted with those obtained from the *Bureau des Statistiques* (Peila, 2014), show that the sample diverges from the population in several instances. Figure 3.6 reveals that as a general trend, Master's students are overrepresented in each category, as are MAS and doctoral degrees, gathered under the umbrella term of *Advanced studies*.

Figure 3.6 The population of UNIGE students as compared to the sample: distribution through faculties and levels of instruction



3.7.5 Place of secondary education

Since nationality and citizenship are complex issues in the Geneva context, participants who had completed their secondary studies in Switzerland were considered as Swiss for the purposes of the study. Their peers who had taken their school leaving exams abroad were assigned the label of *foreign students*. Table 3.23 summarizes the numbers of participants grouped by their regions of origin and the degree program at which they were enrolled at the time of enquiry.

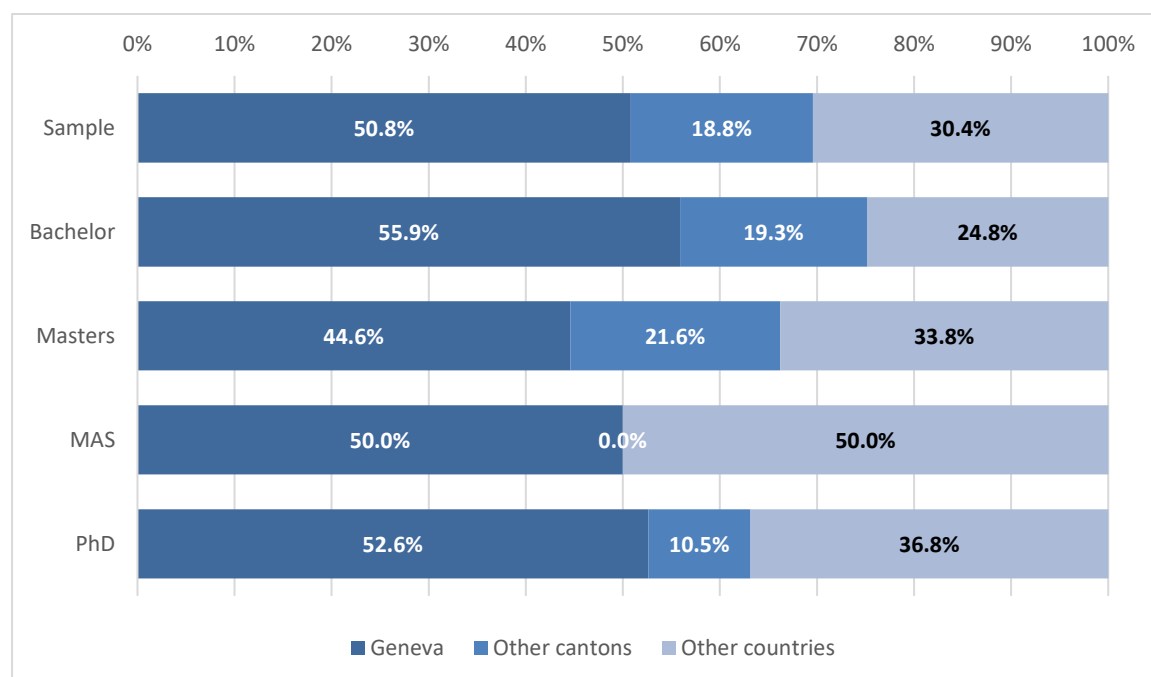
Table 3.23 Participants per place of secondary education and level of instruction

Program	Switzerland	Geneva	Other cantons	Other countries	Total
Bachelor	121	90	31	40	161
Master	98	66	32	50	148
MAS	1	1	0	1	2
PhD	36	30	6	21	57
Total	256	187	69	112	368

As expected, a great number of respondents (256, 68.3%) belonged to the group of Swiss students, whereas most (69) of the foreigners came from France. This is not surprising given the geographical and linguistic proximity of the country, but it also reflects the social and

economic ties between Geneva and the neighboring regions of France. Similarly, the majority of the Swiss students had completed their secondary studies in the canton of Geneva (187). The ratios of these subgroups, as shown in Figure 3.7, can further be contrasted with the overall population of UNIGE students.

Figure 3.7 Participants per place of secondary education and level of instruction



Using the same analysis, the *Bureau des Statistics* (Peila, 2014) identifies different trends. Their results, summarized in Figure 3.8, show that Swiss students were in a minority in specialized and doctoral programs in 2013. By contrast, in the sample, Swiss students constituted the majority in every category except that of MAS programs, to which only two of the participants belonged. The greatest divergence was found in the case of doctoral programs, where both Swiss and Geneva students were represented in larger numbers in the sample. One possible explanation to this might lie in the fact that the questionnaire as well as the invitation was written in French, and therefore might have been inaccessible to some foreign students.

When it comes to the composition of the different faculties, Table 3.24 reveals that the participants from the faculty of SES displayed the most balanced distribution, which might partly be the result of their group consisting of the fewest members. However, on the whole, students from other cantons formed the smallest category, while the group of foreign students ranked next with twice as many members. It is not surprising that the Geneva contingent proved the largest, given the location of the study.

Figure 3.8 Students at UNIGE per place of secondary education and level of instruction

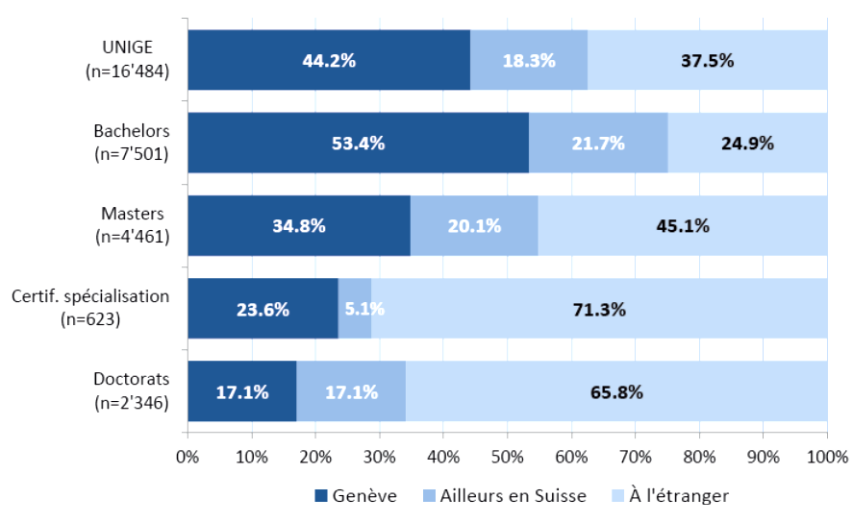


Table 3.24 Number of participants per place of secondary education and faculty

Faculty	Switzerland	Geneva	Other cantons	Other countries	Total
Law	70	52	18	24	94
Medicine	49	42	7	15	64
Science	87	66	21	63	150
SES	48	25	23	12	60
Total	254	185	69	114	368

A closer look at the proportions of students of different origins in the sample as a whole and at the four faculties separately, as shown in Figure 3.9, confirms that this is indeed a general trend. Foreign students are in minority in all of the sub-samples and participants from the canton of Geneva in a slight to marked majority at three faculties. Again, it is not much of a surprise that it was the faculty of Science that contributed the most foreign respondents, as mobility is especially important in this highly international domain.

When compared to the general population of the four faculties, shown in Figure 3.10, the same patterns can be observed as to the relative strength of the three categories. With the exception of the faculty of Science, where foreign students are twice as numerous as participants from Geneva, the latter are in distinct majority. Interestingly, the other three faculties show remarkably similar distributions. Representatives of the rest of the cantons compose the smallest group at all the faculties as well as among all UNIGE students, their total number reaching only half of that of foreigners.

Figure 3.9 Participants per place of secondary education and faculty

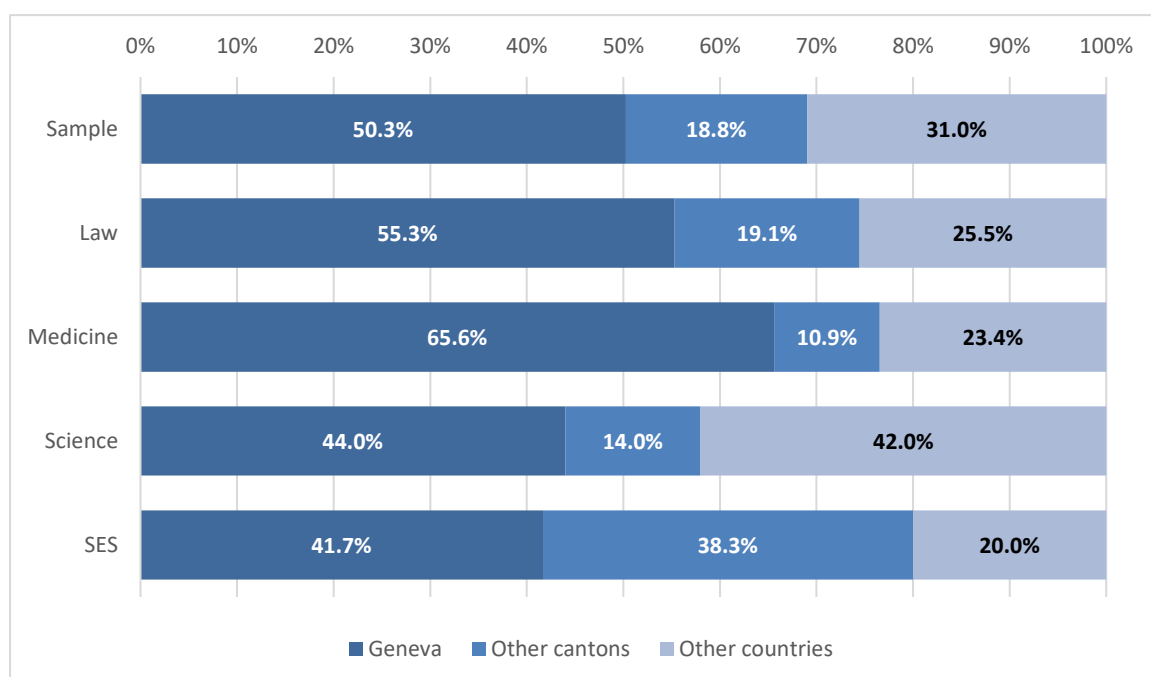
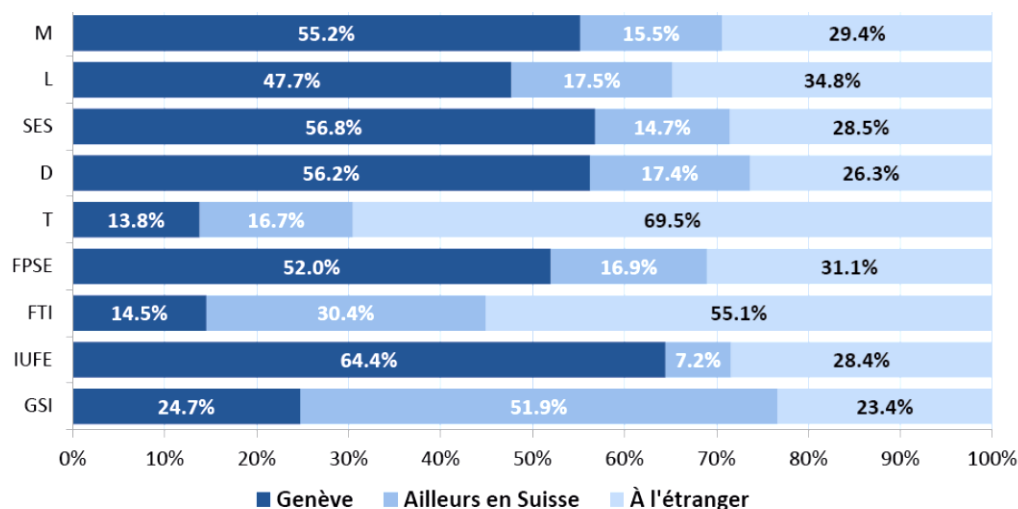


Figure 3.10 Students at UNIGE per place of secondary education and faculty or institute



Note: S stands for Science, M for Medicine and D for Law.

It is interesting to note that as per the university statistics, 54% of foreign students come from four countries: France (38.3%), Italy (7.1%), Germany (4.7%) and the USA (3.4%). In addition, the majority (72%) of Swiss students who are not originally from Geneva come from the cantons of Vaud (42.9%) and Valais (12.8%), Ticino (9.8%) and Neuchâtel (6.9%) (Peila, 2014). As the above analysis indicated, participants in the study were mostly from Geneva (n=187) and France (n=69). The other Swiss cantons were represented to varying degrees, as the result in Table 3.25 indicate.

Table 3.25 Number of students per place of secondary education

Canton	N
Geneva	185
Bern	7
Basel countryside	1
Fribourg	4
Jura	2
Lucerne	1
Neuchâtel	9
Thurgau	1
Ticino	8
Vaud	28
Valais	5
Zurich	3
Total	254

A different presentation of these results, offered in Figure 3.11, also shows that the second largest group, after Geneva, was that of students who had obtained their secondary certificate in the neighboring canton of Vaud. In addition, students came, in smaller numbers, from other cantons, mostly from Neuchâtel, Ticino and Bern. On the one hand, this composition reflects the situation of the University of Geneva, in the East most corner of French-speaking Switzerland. On the other hand, the results suggest that it might also be linked to linguistic practices at the university.

Indeed, Figure 3.12 shows that the vast majority of participants came from French-speaking regions, while German-speaking cantons were represented in a marked minority. Whereas the phenomenon might be related to the unquestionable necessity of French language skills for the completion of most programs at the University of Geneva (Commission politique des langues, 2012), it bears noting that German-speaking regions also host five of the ten Swiss universities as well as one of the two Federal Institutes of Technology. Therefore, it can be argued that the results discussed here merely reflect the equal distribution of universities between the country's two main language regions, which allows students to enroll at institutions closer to their homes and continue their studies in the language of their secondary schooling.

Figure 3.11 Swiss participants by place of upper secondary education, distribution per canton

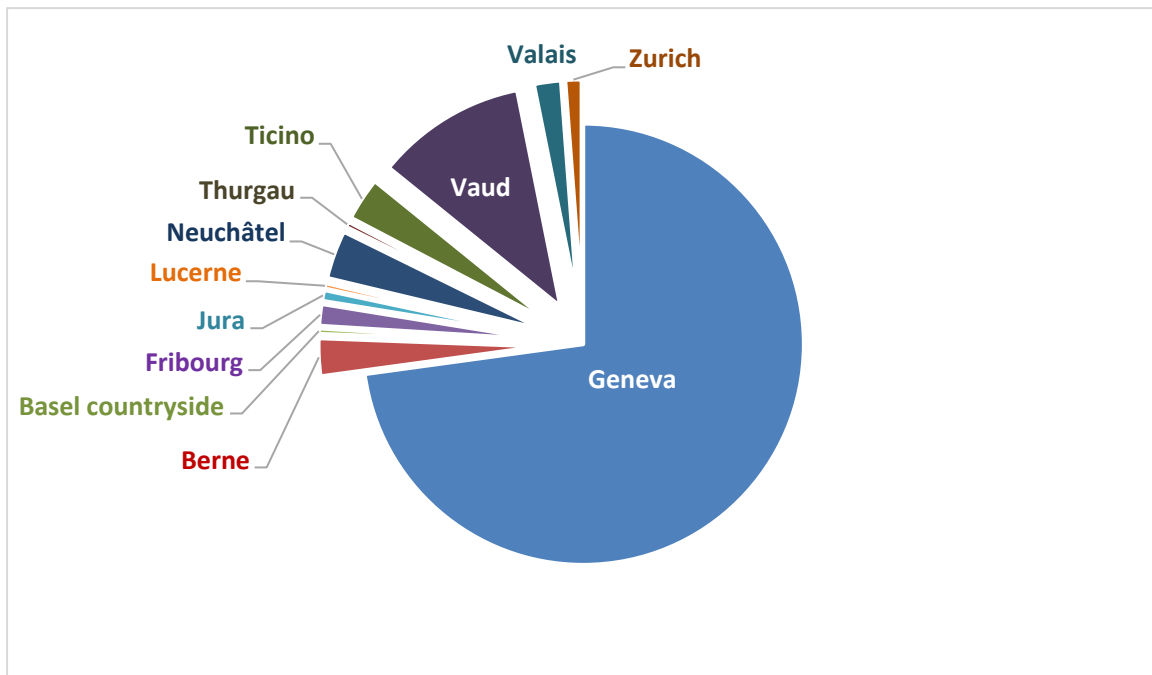
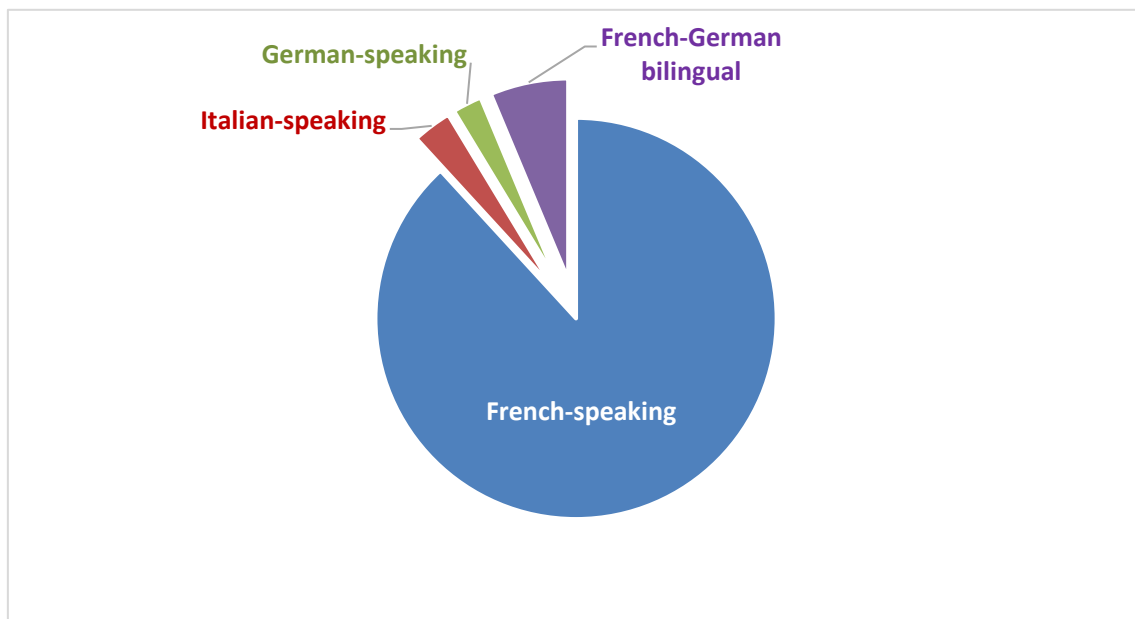


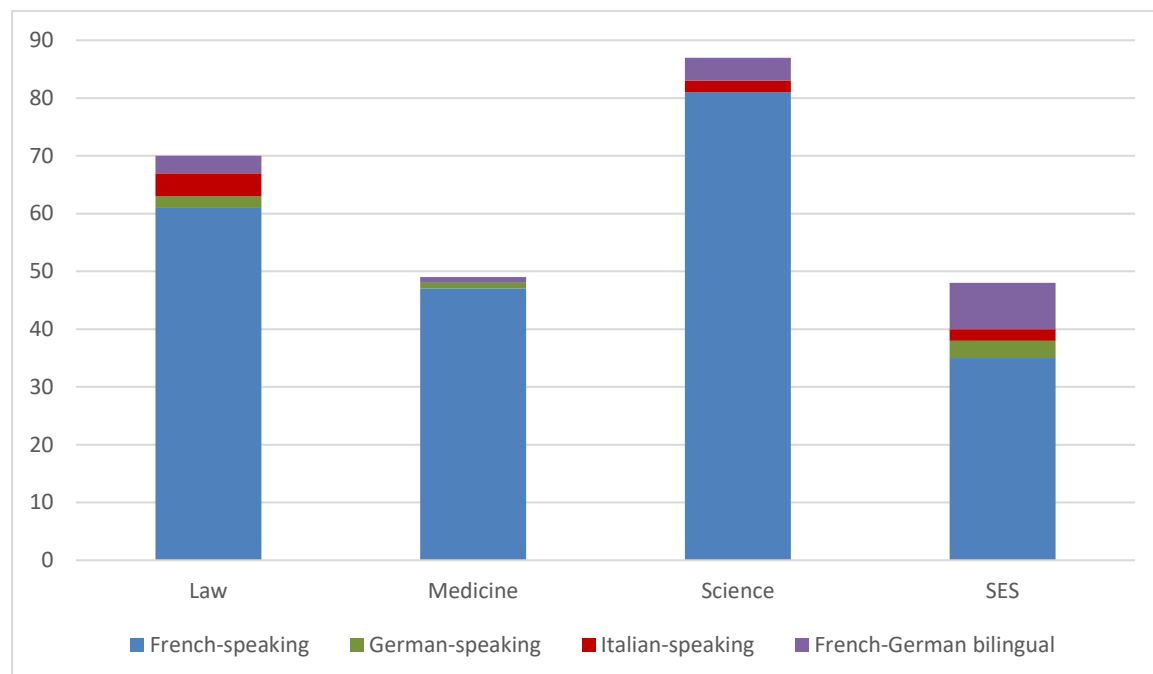
Figure 3.12 Distribution of Swiss students across language regions



A comparison of the distribution of participants at the different faculties shows that whereas students from French-speaking cantons constituted a majority in all four groups, other regions were represented in varying proportions. Summarized in Figure 3.13, these figures reveal that, the most heterogeneous subsample was obtained from the Faculties of Law and Economic and Social Sciences. There were no participants from the canton of Ticino among the medical

students participating in the study and no science students came from the German-speaking regions.

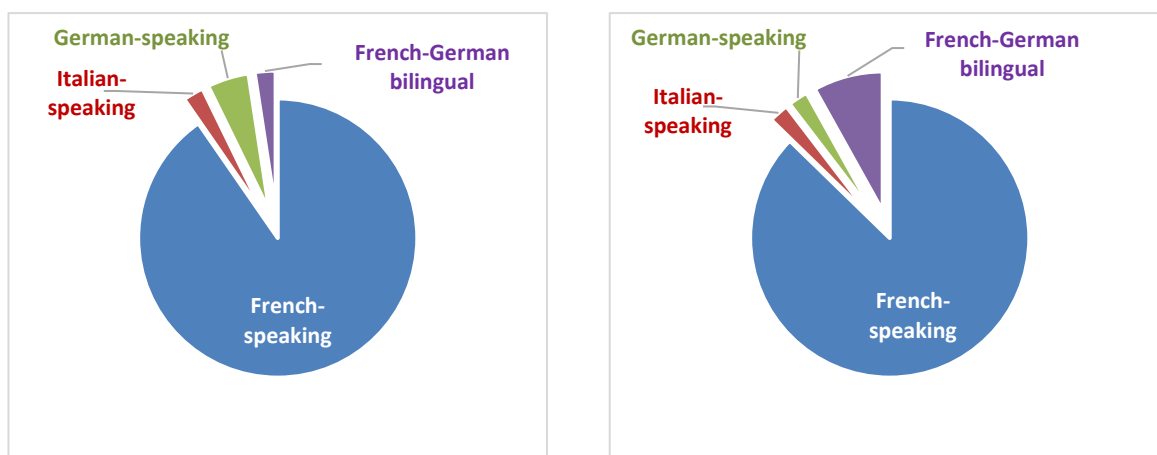
Figure 3.13 Proportions of students per language region per faculty



In the four subsamples based on the canton of secondary education, respondents' distribution according to gender was somewhat compromised by low participation levels in all but one category. All in all, however, it can be concluded that the group of *romand* students (from French-speaking cantons) conforms to the proportions observed in the general sample. As Figure 3.14 displays, a comparison between the subgroups of male and female participants, on the other hand, shows that bilingual cantons are represented in a higher ratio among female students, lessening the proportion of respondents from German-speaking areas. In the subsample of male students, the reverse is true.

The comparison based on the level of the program in which participants were enrolled yielded very small subsamples. Therefore, the results, which were not central to the goals of the research, are not discussed here. However, groupings according to language skills and use, more pertinent to the present study, provided the basis of further tests, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

Figure 3.14 Male and female participants by place of upper secondary education, distribution per canton



While 256 students had completed their secondary education in Switzerland, 119 participants came from 34 other countries. Table 3.26 below gives a detailed list of these countries, along with the number of students who marked them as the place of their secondary studies. It also shows that, similarly to university statistics, the three most frequently mentioned countries were France, Italy and Germany. On the other hand, the sample did not match those figures perfectly. Indeed, while Italy and Germany received five and three markings respectively, France was by far the most frequent answer, marked by more than half of the group. The rest of the students came from an astonishing variety of backgrounds, as 22 countries were mentioned by a single participant each. These results also help explain the high level of linguistic diversity discussed below ([3.7.7](#)).

Table 3.26 Number of students per place of secondary education

Country	Male	Female	Total
France	26	43	69
Italy	1	4	5
Germany	0	3	3
Greece	1	2	3
Madagascar	0	3	3
Russia	0	3	3
Albania	1	1	2
England	2	0	2
Belgium	0	2	2
Brasil	0	2	2
USA	1	1	2

Research methods - Participants

Country	Male	Female	Total
Saudi Arabia	0	1	1
Argentina	0	1	1
Armenia	0	1	1
Australia	1	0	1
Bolivia	1	0	1
Chili	1	0	1
Spain	0	1	1
Hungary	1	0	1
Libanon	0	1	1
Luxembourg	1	0	1
Malaysia	0	1	1
Morocco	0	1	1
Nigeria	1	0	1
Netherlands	1	0	1
Peru	1	0	1
Portugal	0	1	1
Democratic Republic of Congo	1	0	1
Czech Republic	0	1	1
Romania	0	1	1
Serbia	0	1	1
Trinidad-Tobago	0	1	1
Tunis	0	1	1
Ukraine	0	1	1
Total	41	78	119

3.7.6 Work experience

In order to gauge participants' professional status, they were asked to indicate whether they pursued and professional activity, remunerated or not, at the time of enquiry. Overall, 191 of them reported that they did so and therefore, as Figure 3.15 also illustrates, they were in a small majority. Moreover, the chart shows a balanced distribution, with medical students as the most and science students as the least professionally active.

3.7.7 Language proficiency: mother tongues

As regards the number of languages that participants spoke, the sample testifies to the plurilingual setting of the study. Table 3.27 summarizes the results, revealing the extent of their multilingualism. The majority of respondents spoke three (38.4%) or four (29.3%) languages, but some 7.2% were proficient in five, their number greater than that of monolinguals. It is important to note that only 6.4% of participants belonged to the latter category.

Figure 3.15 Proportions of participants per professional activity and faculty

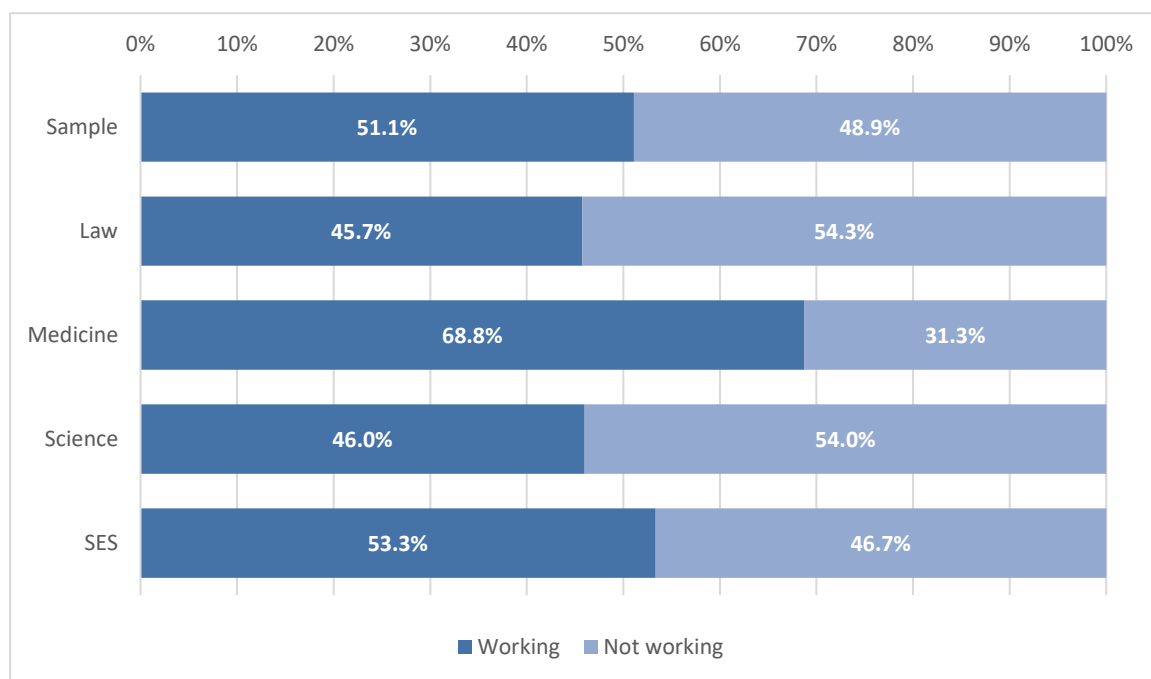


Table 3.27 Number of participants per number of languages spoken

Number of Ls	N	%	Cumulative %
1	24	6.4	6.4
2	70	18.7	25.1
3	144	38.4	63.5
4	110	29.3	92.8
5	27	7.2	100
Total	375	100	

However, these figures do not account for the route of acquisition or the level of proficiency. Therefore, in the following pages, I describe the participants in terms their mother tongues and their foreign language skills. First of all, in similar style as before, Table 3.28 displays the proportion of students as per the number of mother tongues reported. It is clear that most

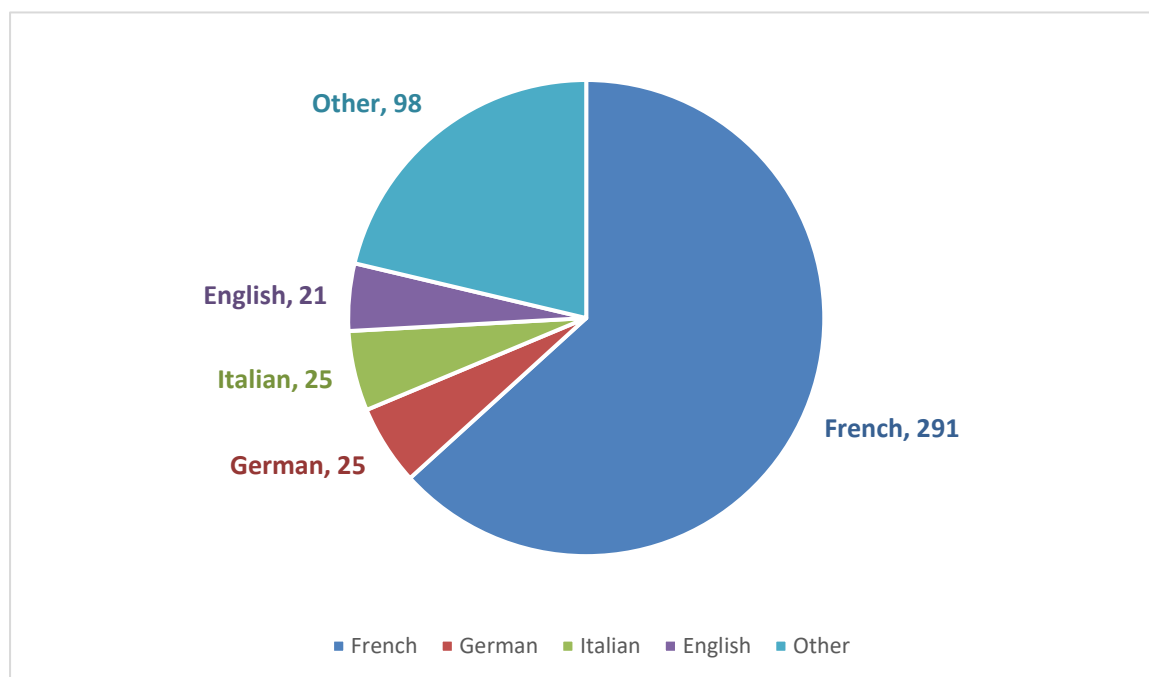
participants (80%) consider only one of their languages as mother tongue, while the rest reported being bilingual. In addition, six students marked three of their languages as L1s and two chose four.

Table 3.28 Number of participants per number of mother tongues

Number of L1s	N	%	Cumulative %
1	300	80.0	80.0
2	67	17.9	97.9
3	6	1.6	99.5
4	2	.5	100.0
Total	375	100.0	

On the whole, French was chosen 291 times, while German and Italian were each marked by 25 students as their mother tongue. While 21 participants declared English among their L1s, the category *other* was chosen 98 times. In the latter category, the most common language was Spanish (n=20), followed by Portugal (n=11) and Arabic (n=7). Albanian, Greek and Russian each had 6 speakers. Figure 3.16 shows a schematic representation of these results. They will be further analyzed and discussed in detail in Sections [4.3.1](#) and [4.3.2](#). It is worth noting that Swiss German dialects were treated in the same category as German throughout the analysis.

Figure 3.16 Number of responses per mother tongue



3.7.8 Language proficiency: foreign languages

Section [4.3.2](#) analyzes participants' L2 skills in more detail, nevertheless, a short overview is essential to complete the description of the sample. Similarly to participants' L1 profiles, their foreign language skills prove to be a highly multilingual set. Indeed, Table 4.29 shows that only 8% do not speak any foreign languages in addition to their L1. Taking into account the 6.4% rate of complete monolingualism, in fact six of these students are at least bilingual. Nevertheless, in contrast with mother tongues, participants' L2 profiles are arranged more proportionately. Respondents most often (37.1%) indicated knowledge of two foreign languages, while proficiency in one (26.7%) and three (24.3%) was equally common. It is important to note that these languages were marked in addition to participants' mother tongues, therefore the figures do not limit but rather enrich their language portfolio.

Table 3.29 Number of participants per number of foreign languages spoken

Number of L2s	N	%	Cumulative %
0	30	8.0	8.0
1	100	26.7	34.7
2	139	37.1	71.7
3	91	24.3	96.0
4	15	4.0	100.0
Total	375	100.0	

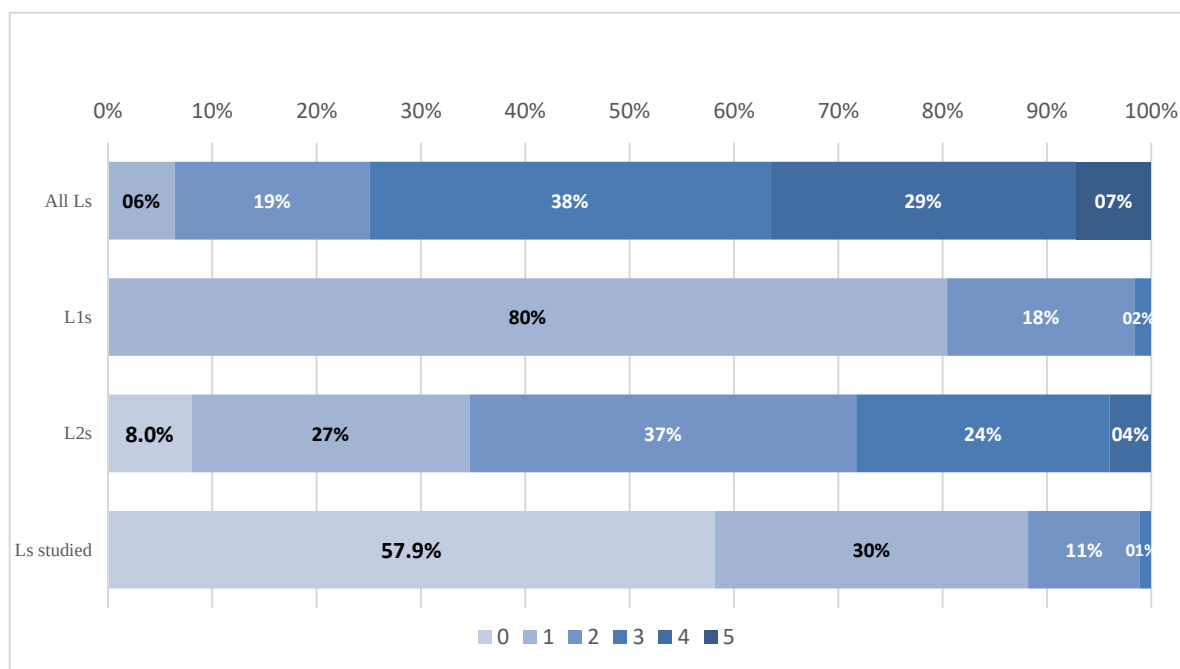
In a related article (Csillagh, 2015), I argued that despite the decisive role of the Swiss primary and secondary education in fostering skills in multiple foreign languages, the university students that participated in the study showed remarkable initiative when it came to language learning. One sign of this can be seen in Table 3.30, which reveals that a good number of participants (42.1%) continue to hone their L2 skills during their university studies. The majority of them studied one language at the time the survey took place, but some were learning as many as four.

Table 3.30 Number of participants per number of languages studied at the moment

Number of Ls studied	N	%	Cumulative %
0	217	57.9	57.9
1	112	29.9	87.7
2	40	10.7	98.4
3	4	1.1	99.5
4	2	.5	100.0
Total	375	100.0	

In sum, among all the languages participants spoke or studied, L2s showed the greatest diversity. The comparison in Figure 3.17 demonstrates that while participants tended to select one language as their mother tongue, they continued to study and speak a number of languages. Interestingly, the difference between perceptions of the two activities are marked. One intriguing aspect of the language data to be explored more thoroughly in the next chapter is the discrepancy between respondents' answers regarding their mother tongue and L2 learning activities on the one hand and their views on speaking and learning foreign languages on the other. Mother tongues were often also listed among students' L2s learned at the moment, and, reversely, some L2s were considered as being learned but not spoken. German was among the most frequent of the latter kind, after the languages categorized as *other*.

Figure 3.17 Proportions of participants per number of languages in the different categories



Note: categories represented by less than 1% were omitted from the chart.

3.7.9 Representativeness

As was shown in the course of this chapter, in general the sample represents a good enough fit when compared to the overall population of the four faculties included. On the one hand, this allows for certain generalizations over the population investigated. On the other hand, since students took part in the study on a voluntary basis, by deciding to fill out the online questionnaire, it can be argued that sampling was driven by the availability of participants. Thus, it is questionable to what degree these students, *motivated* to participate in such a study, represent the general population, many of whom elected not to respond to the call.

Dörnyei (2007) observes that, in the case of such non-probability sampling, researchers “have to be particularly careful about the claims [they] make about the more general relevance of [their] findings.” He also concedes that, “in most applied linguistic research it is unrealistic or simply not feasible to aim for perfect representativeness in the psychometric sense” (ibid.), confirmed by the fact that the majority of research in social sciences employs some kind of convenience sampling. One solution to this wide-spread phenomenon lies in the meticulous description of the sample, providing as many socio-demographic and psychometric details as possible. In addition, thorough comparisons with the target population can help identify the

extent to which the conclusions can be generalized. Secondly, it is sometimes prudent to apply research findings to the particular sample at hand and to refrain from overgeneralizations.

The stance that I take in the present study is one of caution, however, I point out general trends that might affect the entire population wherever applicable. This approach is based, in part, on the detailed presentation of the study participants, as offered above. Moreover, this dissertation aims to explore the role of contextual influences, thus shedding light on the possible role of the Geneva environment on students' attitudes toward English. As a result, its conclusions often hint at more generalizable trends that point beyond the limits of the present study.

At the same time, the direct generalizations that the research allows remain conservative and serve rather as indications of the broader implications of the project. Therefore, they are discussed as such. In addition, much attention was paid, thanks to the statistical procedures described below, to the potential effects of the type of sampling used, which will be discussed at the end of this chapter (section [3.9.3](#)).

3.8 Analysis

Data was collected through the university's LimeSurvey platform, where the original data file was also created. The data was then exported to Microsoft Excel, where cleaning and decoding took place. In the next phase, reliability measures were controlled and the scales described above were computed using SPSS. The descriptive statistics discussed in these chapters were also obtained through SPSS, where the rest of the analysis was conducted. The next chapter examines the results of the tests run using the software in more detail, whereas in this section I focus on the preliminary steps of creating the data pool and explain some of the main statistical concepts.

Once initiated, data collection in LimeSurvey is especially seamless since the software produces an output file in Excel format for direct use in most statistical programs. On the other hand, as SPSS computes advanced statistics based on numerical data, some of the answers had to be decoded to enhance the potential of the dataset. The decoding, along with a number of crucial steps that were taken to prepare the data for further analysis, was covered in the phase of *data cleaning*.

3.8.1 Data cleaning and reduction

This stage of the research consisted of various fundamental procedures that were essential to preparing the data for the more advanced statistical tests. Dörnyei and Csizér (2012) enumerate and explain these steps that lead from data collection to the actual analysis and aid in advancing from “raw data to processing”. A fully detailed description of the different procedures involved is beyond the scope of this overview but can be found in Dörnyei (2007). Therefore, this section focuses on the tools and techniques applied in preparation for the final analysis.

One of the advantages of computer-based questionnaires is that the tedious process of data recording (i.e. transferring responses from the questionnaires into a single spreadsheet) can be eliminated or significantly curtailed (Dörnyei, 2007). This, in turn, reduces the risk of typographical errors and produces more reliable, ready to use datasets. In the present study, since answers were recorded directly in a digital dataset through the LimeSurvey portal, the cleaning process was shortened and simplified considerably compared to paper-based surveys. Nevertheless, some of the procedures were indispensable for the data to be submitted to further analysis and thus were executed in accordance with the guidelines for traditional quantitative inquiries (ibid.).

The first step taken following data collection is commonly referred to as *coding* (Dörnyei, 2007) and entails translating responses to numeric code in preparation for number-based statistical tests. This is especially important in the case of textual input, however, some numeric data also might need recoding so as to match the criteria for further analysis. In addition, it is essential to start this process by creating a *logbook* (Dörnyei, 2007), where all the changes made can be registered. Moreover, it is in this file that the appropriate values assigned are recorded, along with their exact meaning.

Besides standardizing the codes used to distinguish different answers, the questions themselves were also assigned suitable labels so that they would be easily identifiable later on. Secondly, SPSS requires concise and consistent labeling in part for the statistical analysis but also for the creation of multi-item scales (cf. [3.4](#) in this chapter). However, before the scales could be computed, one more issue had to be addressed.

As I mentioned earlier, the use of the online platform and the structure of the questionnaire resulted in a dataset that needed little *screening* (Dörnyei, 2007). All items were obligatory, therefore it contained no missing data, and, thanks to the lack of manual recording, no impossible data. Similarly, as the majority of the items required participants to choose only one from among a predetermined set of options, the questions produced significantly fewer confusing answers than those in a traditional paper-based questionnaire. The few exceptions, such as the issue of participants' majors and the case of the 16 year-old student, were discussed earlier in this chapter ([3.7](#)).

Nevertheless, a crucial step of data cleaning remained to be taken. In section [3.4.7](#), I explained that in order to avoid the use of loaded expressions and negative constructions (Dörnyei, 2007; Dörnyei & Csizér, 2012), the items in this scale were reversed. These “negatively worded items” (Dörnyei, 2007) had to be recoded so as to reflect participant's real attitudes. For instance, the option *completely disagree*, chosen during the completion of in the questionnaire would reflect total agreement from the perspective of the analysis and vice versa. Therefore, answers equal to 1 had to be recoded to 5, 2 to 4 and so on.

Each of these steps was saved in a new Excel spreadsheet, thus preserving all the different versions of the dataset for potential future corrections. In addition, preliminary descriptive statistics were calculated in Excel, mainly in order to check the data for any discrepancies. An interesting example, namely the phenomenon of L1s being also considered as L2s in many cases, will be discussed in the next chapter ([4.3](#)). However, once these conflicting answers were

controlled for and rectified, the data was transferred into SPSS, where further “data reduction” (Dörnyei, 2007) measures were implemented.

3.8.2 Statistical analysis

The process of *data reduction* refers to a set of statistical techniques aimed at simplifying the dataset “so that the mass of details does not prevent us from seeing the forest for the trees” (Dörnyei & Csizér, 2012). Technically, these procedures resemble those of data cleaning to a great extent, nevertheless, they also constitute the first steps that the “actual analysis of questionnaire data always starts with” (ibid.). In practice, data reduction consists of the necessary techniques to transform individual items into clusters referred to as multi-item scales.

On the one hand, these techniques include calculating the mean values of the items in the cluster, for instance through the *compute scales* function in SPSS. On the other hand, reliability concerns require the researcher to carefully consider which items to combine to form the scale. As mentioned earlier (Section 3.4), there are two possible approaches to this question. The study followed a concept-based method, the theoretical aspects of which were explored previously. Here, I outline the statistical procedures involved in the creation of the item clusters used in the study.

A concept-based approach entails scale creation based on standardized item sets developed by previous research. Therefore, selecting the items to feature in a scale means discriminating between those that proved relevant to the investigation of the concept in question in the current study as opposed to the ones that, for some reason or other, did not perform well. As I explained in the section on the attitudinal variables included in the study, the performance of each item was measured by calculating its internal consistency coefficient as part of the scale. In statistical terms, this meant examining the Cronbach’s Alpha value for each question in the cluster, so as to decide which ones were to be excluded in order to enhance the internal reliability of the scale. The procedure is described in detail by Dörnyei (2007), who advises an Alpha of $\alpha = .60$ as the minimum, a principle which was also observed in the study.

Nevertheless, in some cases, scales of this type might not function as expected or might suggest the presence of several underlying variables. In these instances, *principal component analysis* was used to identify the internal structure of the scale. The workings and practical implications of this method can be observed in the description of the scales on target language groups and direct contact (Section 3.4). The former could clearly be divided in two subscales based on the

origin (American or English) of the speakers, while the latter formed four subsets embodying different types of contact. In summary, principal component analysis helped distinguish latent elements measured by the items in the original scale, therefore resulting in clusters of higher validity.

Once the scales are established and the mean values of the item sets computed, all further analysis is based on these new variables instead of the original item values. First, *descriptive statistics* are calculated, which can describe the sample in terms of its general characteristics. These characteristics include the average of all the answers (means) and the distance between the lowest and highest value (range), the number of respondents that chose a particular option (frequency), and the most frequently chosen option (mode), as well as the extent of consensus among participants in a given question (standard deviation). It is the nature of descriptive statistics that limits their applicability, and they provide little more than a general sense of the data and a summary of participants' answers.

In order to draw any conclusions that go beyond the sample, or, indeed, any conclusions at all, *inferential statistics* have to be used. As opposed to descriptive statistics, this type of data treatment examines “whether the results that we observed in our sample (for example, differences or correlations) are powerful enough to generalize to the whole population” (Dörnyei, 2007). This distinction, expressed in the form of significance values, “lies at the heart of statistics and failure to understand statistics is often caused by the fact that insufficient attention has been paid to this difference” (ibid.). Statistical significance, i.e. the extent of the probability that a particular result is caused by happenstance, is therefore key to the reliability of the research.

Consequently, as Dörnyei (2007) points out, generalizable conclusions cannot be drawn by simply contrasting the descriptive statistics available for two different groups. It needs to be proved that this difference is not restricted to the dataset but showcases a larger trend, one that might possibly be extended to the whole population. *T-tests* are statistical tools that can measure the significance of such differences, producing results that can be generalized outside of the sample. They are used when two groups or values are compared, while in the case of three or more figures, *one-way analysis of variance* (ANOVA) scores are computed. In the study, for instance, the former was applied to test the significance of the differences between male and female students, whereas ANOVA was used to compare the four faculties. Listwise exclusion permitted the analysis of participants to whom all variables were applicable.

In order to investigate the relationships between variables, the study made use of two statistical procedures, *correlation analysis* and *regression analysis*. Correlation coefficients show to what extent participants' scores for two variables 'move together'. While they can thus reveal interrelationships between two concepts by assuming that similar patterns indicate a connection, there are two important issues to keep in mind. First of all, similarly to the tests discussed above, the strength of the convergence is secondary in importance to the significance of the relationship. For, in reality, two variables are only related if their concurrence in the sample is not a result of random variance but a sign of true connection. Secondly, correlation analysis is often mistaken for a test of causation and its results tend to be interpreted as explanation. Nevertheless, significant coefficients only indicate a relationship between two variables, without taking into account possible causation or even the existence of a third factor influencing the scores.

Regression analysis (cf. Larson-Hall, 2010), a simplified form of *structural equation modeling* (SEM), however, can test the contributions of several variables at the same time. Moreover, when supported by a well-founded theoretical framework, it can also make inferences as to the direction of a connection. Regression tests the contribution of any number of *independent variables* with regard to a single dependent variable. This method computes *models*, consisting of several independent variables which, when combined, can explain some of the *variance* in the dependent variable. Thus, analyzed in the theoretical framework of the study and in the light of past research findings outlined in [Chapter 2](#), the regression analysis helped pinpoint factors in the dataset that can be argued to have an influence, be it direct or indirect, on their motivation to learn English.

So as to examine the interrelationships of different independent variables (such as language attitudes) and their predictive power toward a single dependent variable (motivated learning behavior), the present study combines the individual models computed through regression analysis to produce a similar output to SEM: an interconnected 'web' or network of factors, which can be used to illustrate the structural makeup of the results. Based on the conceptual framework introduced in [Chapter 2](#), the first step of this analysis focused on the key dependent variable of the research, motivated learning behavior. Once the set of variables with the greatest combined influence was identified, subsequent tests were carried out to examine the *predictors* of those variables. Repeated for each predictor, this analysis resulted in a layered set of regression models.

It is to be noted that, while regression analysis computes and compares several *models* or sets of independent variables, some of these models can be more powerful in their explanatory power, since they can account for a larger proportion of the *variance* in the dependent variable than the others. In the research, I used a stepwise method, which compares models beginning with the most simple one, consisting of the fewest factors, and adding independent variables one at a time, in the order determined by their correlational link to the dependent variable.

As with other tests, significance is key, as is the amount of variation explained by the models. These parameters allowed me to identify the combination of independent variables that are the most likely to explain differences in the given dependent variable. In [section 4.6](#), I focus on the individual models that showed the greatest fit with the dataset, in terms of the separate and combined predictive power of their components. I then present these individual models as part of what constitutes the schematic representation of the final, composite model of participants' motivational profile in [section 4.7](#). Accordingly, only significant connections and predictors belonging to the models with the most explanatory powers were considered in the complete structure.

3.8.3 Contextual analysis

As I concluded in the previous chapter, L2 motivation theory has, in recent years, moved toward a contextually enriched view of language learning. Moreover, in line with these developments, a shift of focus in research methodology has also started to take place, since traditional quantitative methods failed to account for the richness of contextual influences and the continually changing, dynamic nature of language learning motivation (cf. Dörnyei et al., 2015b). Interestingly, these challenges corresponded to the ones I faced during the collection and analysis of the dataset discussed here.

Indeed, I soon noticed that, despite its purely quantitative design, it was essential to situate the research in the economic and social milieu where it was conducted. Therefore, I paid special attention to the scale on the ought-to L2 self and found a great resource in the tools developed by language economists. Links to these concepts, and to the Geneva context in general, were a central theme throughout the analysis presented above. Furthermore, in addition to the statistical analysis, the present study also relies on a contextually enriched qualitative description of the Geneva context, both from a social and an economic point of view. This proved to be necessary for the interpretation of the statistical results, as these often presented

intriguing anomalies that could only be explained upon detailed examination of the context at hand.

Thanks to this contextually enhanced view, presented in part in [Chapter 2](#), [Chapter 4](#) and [Chapter 5](#), it became possible to address the challenges posed by the purely quantitative design employed as well as to account for the particularities of language learning attitudes in multilingual contexts. Undoubtedly, this approach constitutes but a first step toward a truly contextually driven methodology in the study of L2 motivation. However, as an alternative to traditional quantitative methods and as an experiment in responding to developments in the field, it provides valuable conclusions and feedback both in terms of research findings and regarding the success of such a design. Accordingly, in the following section, I discuss the limitations and challenges of the study, while in [Chapter 5](#), Discussion, I examine further research directions to tackle these difficulties and to take advantage of the lessons the present study offers.

3.9 Advantages and limitations of the research design

In this chapter, I described in detail the methodology applied to gather, process and analyze the data. I also examined the steps through which the instrument was created and the different stages that the statistical analysis followed. While much of this process was guided by the long tradition of L2 motivation research (cf. [2.2](#)), there were a number of decisions to take. These were resolved by carefully weighing the advantages and shortcomings of each of the options available, until the final design, as outlined in this chapter, emerged. Nevertheless, research resembles foreign language learning to some extent, as it is a dynamic and often lengthy procedure, which is influenced by a number of constricting factors and is prone to encounter challenges. This last section of the chapter focuses on the strengths and weaknesses of the final research design and summarizes the main difficulties the project faced.

3.9.1 Advantages

As the previous chapter enumerated the merits of quantitative methodologies in the investigation of language learning phenomena, I will restrict this discussion to the remaining features of the design. The most important of these was the digital element, as deciding on a web-based questionnaire changed some of the dynamics of the research. Dörnyei (2007)

provides a list of the benefits to be gained through the use of electronic instruments and they are numerous indeed.

First of all, these tools allow greaterw access to the population than paper-based surveys, an aspect that proved crucial to the success of data collection. In populations that are difficult to reach or where administering a paper questionnaire poses difficulties, web surveys are a viable solution. It was the latter, namely the issue of either taking up students' (and teachers') time during lecture and seminar sessions or confiding in students to fill out the questionnaires at home that drove the decision to reach out to potential participants this way. "Convenience of administration", as Dörnyei (2007) labels this characteristic of internet surveys, was not only important because it reduced the resources required on the part of the researcher. It was appealing, much more so because of its capacity to ensure the participation of students who might have otherwise been lost to the researcher, due to denied access or simply by not bringing back the completed forms.

Secondly, digital questionnaires offer a higher level of anonymity, which is essential to the reliability of such cross-sectional studies. As explained earlier (in Section [3.3](#)), participants were assigned automatic identification numbers upon entering the platform, and solely these ID codes were used to identify them from that moment on. Again, the benefits of this feature of the questionnaire design are twofold. On the one hand, participants might put greater trust into a system that appears genuinely anonymous and thus give more honest answers. On the other hand and as a consequence, the reliability of the research is augmented.

Third but not least, as the ID numbers exemplify, one of the main advantages of digital surveys is "automatic coding" (Dörnyei, 2007). This process results in a ready-to-use digital dataset, which can be extracted directly from the platform and that requires significantly less manual intervention. This has more benefits than simply decreasing the amount of work required by eliminating the inputting phase and simplifying the coding process. The crucial element here is the possibility of removing recorder mistakes altogether, which, along with the other advantages discussed above, renders web-based questionnaires a reasonable alternative to traditional data collection methods.

Another aspect of the research that is worth mentioning here is the concept-based approach applied in the creation of the multi-item scales. On the one hand, this perspective was driven by the abundance and high quality of standardized scales developed in previous L2 motivation studies. By adapting a selected range of these high performing scales, the research gained both

in concept validity and internal reliability (cf. Dörnyei, 2007). On the other hand, this methodological choice also proved empowering in terms of the generalizability of the findings. The use of the standardized scales meant that the results of the research could be contrasted with those of other studies in other contexts. In addition, it linked the project to the decades-long tradition of quantitative L2 motivation studies and placed it in the continuum of theoretical developments.

Finally, the choice of the four faculties included in the study, as discussed in section [3.7.1](#), was driven by a number of considerations other than convenience and proved to be a highly advantageous feature of the research. The faculties of Law and Medicine, Science and SES were chosen based, first, on the value of the degrees they issue, which ensures that graduates can immediately start a professional career upon finishing their studies. Secondly, these degrees also give them access to positions in their respective fields, where they tend to continue after leaving university. In addition, the statistical tests showed faculty affiliation to be a significant factor in a number of instances ([Chapter 4 Results](#)) and the ratio of students currently engaged in a professional activity was sufficiently high to allow further analysis. Surveying students at these four faculties, therefore, provided some interesting comparisons and allowed a few tentative conclusions as to the role of their professional orientation and career prospects.

3.9.2 Main challenges

However, these conclusions, discussed in [Chapter 5 Discussion](#), were limited by a number of challenges that had to be faced, especially in relation to the interdisciplinary perspective included in the study. The research aimed at situating university students' motivational profiles against the backdrop of the local economic milieu in order to investigate if such environmental factors were reflected in their motives and attitudes. This required, first of all, a theoretical synthesis of two, so far fairly distinct fields of study, those of L2 motivation and language economics. As I argued in the first chapter, economic considerations are inherent in many of the mainstream motivational concepts used in the study. However, as they tend to be represented covertly, once the challenge of building a theoretical bridge between the two fields was overcome, there were a number of practical issues to address.

Primarily designed to comply with research traditions in psycholinguistics and applied linguistics, the project illustrates some of the distinct characteristics of quantitative inquiries in

these domains. The concepts included in the questionnaire originated from previous research on foreign language learning motivation and the statistical tools used were also influenced by these earlier studies. Thus, while underlying economic aspects of participants' motivation and attitudes were treated as an important element of their profile, these were examined in the light of the sources presented in chapters [Chapter 2, Theory and context](#), and [Chapter 4, Results](#). These sources contributed the data necessary to compare and contrast the results of the motivation questionnaire with those of language economics research. Consequently, in some cases the scarcity of relevant research findings posed a considerable challenge and restricted the applicability of the results.

Nevertheless, the most significant obstacle to overcome presented itself during the data collection phase. As I stated above, one of the numerous advantages of internet questionnaires is easy access to participants. However, even when 'distributing' the instrument means transmitting an invitation message containing the link to the questionnaire via email, permissions are required, and regulations need to be observed. Therefore, it was decided that formal approval of the Deans of the four faculties would have to be obtained and faculty administration would handle the distribution of the message. At some of the faculties, this process proved to be lengthier and more difficult than previously estimated. Nevertheless, with the sole exception of the faculty of SES, the permissions were finally granted, and administrators were very helpful in circulating the invitation. In order to reach out to SES students, various student associations were contacted. Once their assemblies had discussed the question, most decided to circulate the message among their members. Despite their help, SES students' participation (Section [3.7](#)) fell behind compared to the rest of the faculties, a clear result of these difficulties.

One last difficulty to be mentioned here concerns the quantitative techniques used in the study. Despite the abundance of literature and long tradition of survey studies in L2 motivation, experts begin to question the suitability of mainstream statistical tools for the investigation of complex processes of foreign language learning (Dörnyei et al., 2015a). Although quite refined in their mechanics and capable of highly reliable results, statistical procedures employed in traditional applied linguistics research tend to produce conclusions that are rather limited in their applicability. By being generalizable and thus describing a large group of individuals, the results can be argued, in fact, not to describe any one particular participant at all. In addition, quantitative findings often seem to only scratch the surface of certain phenomena, which is

apparent in the large number of questions they raise for each one they answer. These shortcomings of traditional quantitative techniques have prompted researchers to turn to novel statistical tools, conduct mixed studies or develop new methodologies to reach finer conclusions (ibid.).

3.9.3 Limitations

In line with these considerations, it is important to point out that the study described in this chapter followed a methodology that was, at the level of empirical data collection, strictly quantitative. As a result, its findings are subject to the issues discussed above. One example of these often-criticized aspects of quantitative studies is the lack of additional contextual information as regards the individuals in the study. In order to tackle that difficulty and so as to provide a more extensive background to the findings, the study also relies on a detailed description of the social and economic context of the Geneva setting. As I argued above ([3.8.3](#)), this approach allowed a better interpretation of the results and helped mitigate the absence of qualitative information. Nevertheless, as I'll explore in more detail in [Chapter 6 Conclusion](#), there is great potential in future qualitative and mixed-method projects in expanding on the results of the study.

Furthermore, while earlier I outlined the main advantages of electronic surveys, they are also characterized by a number of drawbacks. First of all, the digital layout of the questionnaire, in addition to facilitating participation, at certain points restricted the functionality of the instrument. For instance, it was partly to avoid such restrictions that all of the items were rendered compulsory, which can nonetheless be considered as a constraint. In turn, this all-obligatory policy might also be linked to the rate of dropouts discussed in Section [3.6.1](#). Dropouts and self-selection not only impact sample size, but also the qualities of the sample, potentially playing a role in its representativeness.

In addition to dropouts and self-selection, two related problems that often characterize quantitative surveys, the findings of such studies are also curbed by the self-report nature of the data. The latter refers to the increased role of participants' interpretation of the question and their own thoughts and feelings when it comes to answering a particular item. Therefore, the quality of the data is greatly influenced by the personality of the respondents and by their willingness to share the information. In sum, despite all care taken during the creation of the instrument, it is important to bear in mind that most of the information shared by participants

is a product of their view of the world and themselves and can thus be considered as subjective rather than factual.

Finally, as one of the main obstacles to the generalizability of the results, I would like to briefly draw attention to the question of representativeness, addressed in more detail in Section [3.7.9](#). In that section, I concluded that the issue affects many studies in SLA, and even in social sciences in general, as often a more randomly selected sample is beyond the possibilities of the research. As shown above, different measures were utilized to minimize somewhat the drawbacks associated with opportunistic sampling techniques. At the same time, in the analysis and discussion of the results, presented in the following chapters, I exercise caution when it comes to drawing broader generalizations and overarching conclusions.

4

Results

“Alice felt dreadfully puzzled. The Hatter's remark seemed to have no sort of meaning in it, and yet it was certainly English.”

(Carrol, 1965)

Chapter 4 Results

4.1 From data to results

In the previous chapter, I described the steps that were necessary to collect the data and prepare it for the final analysis. As I pointed out there, the use of a web-based questionnaire meant that, with only a few exceptions, these processes followed straightforward guidelines. Therefore, once the data was cleaned and coded (cf. [3.8.1](#)), it was ready to be processed through a variety of statistical analyses.

In summary, these statistical procedures, discussed in more detail in [Chapter 3](#), belonged to two main categories. First of all, descriptive statistics were computed in order to summarize participants' answers to the items in the questionnaire and identify main trends. Moreover, as a part of this first phase, preliminary comparative tests were run, so as to check for significant differences among subgroups of students. Subsequently, the use of different inferential methods helped pinpoint and analyze the interrelationships among the different variables. In this chapter, I give a detailed overview of the results obtained.

4.2 Presentation of the results

The results are presented below following the same rationale that governed the statistical analysis. Thus, the figures are laid out and explained in an order that reflects the statistical procedures, from the simpler tests of descriptive measures to the more complex analysis of correlations and regressions. My reasons for choosing this method instead of a thematic approach were twofold. First of all, from a methodological point of view, this layout allows a progressive development of the complexity of findings, and helps explain the need for further, more elaborate tests. Secondly, it provides an organized series of anchor points that are easily searched and that can serve as the basis of the thematic discussion.

At the same time, for greater clarity and enhanced understanding, I divided the first part of this analysis, which focused on the main tendencies and comparisons, into two strands. First, I begin by summarizing the results of the basic quantitative tests as regards the different linguistic characteristics of the participants. This analysis of the different languages, practices

and skill levels complements my earlier description of the participants and reveals some interesting trends. Two sections provide an overview of the entire sample as a group and of the differences among the individual subsamples respectively. It is important to note that, since some aspects of the language data were secondary to the aims of the research and were used principally as a basis for further tests, only the most relevant results will be discussed here in detail.

The second strand presents the results obtained from the descriptive analysis of the attitudinal scales. This section (4.4) is structured slightly differently, in order to better reflect the cohesive framework of the study. It covers both the general, descriptive, angle as well as the relevant comparisons among subgroups, one after the other for each scale. The final three sections of the chapter focus on the relationships among the attitudinal variables, from the simple indication of connections as identified by the correlational tests to the more elaborate representation of the internal mechanics of participants' motivational profile, obtained through multiple regression.

4.3 Insights from the language data: a context of true plurilingualism

I presented the fundamental characteristics of the students who participated in the study in the previous chapter. As part of that description, the proportions of their responses as regards the different languages they speak were briefly examined. Even this cursory glance unveiled great linguistic diversity and indicated that plurilingualism (cf. 2.3.2) and plurilingual practices were wide-spread among study participants. Indeed, the questionnaire yielded a very rich dataset, one that could provide a wealth of information concerning respondents' language proficiency as well as the various settings in which they make use of their skills. While an exhaustive analysis of the language data is beyond the scope of this dissertation, I revisit this topic in the following sections for a slightly more in-depth examination of students' language portfolio.

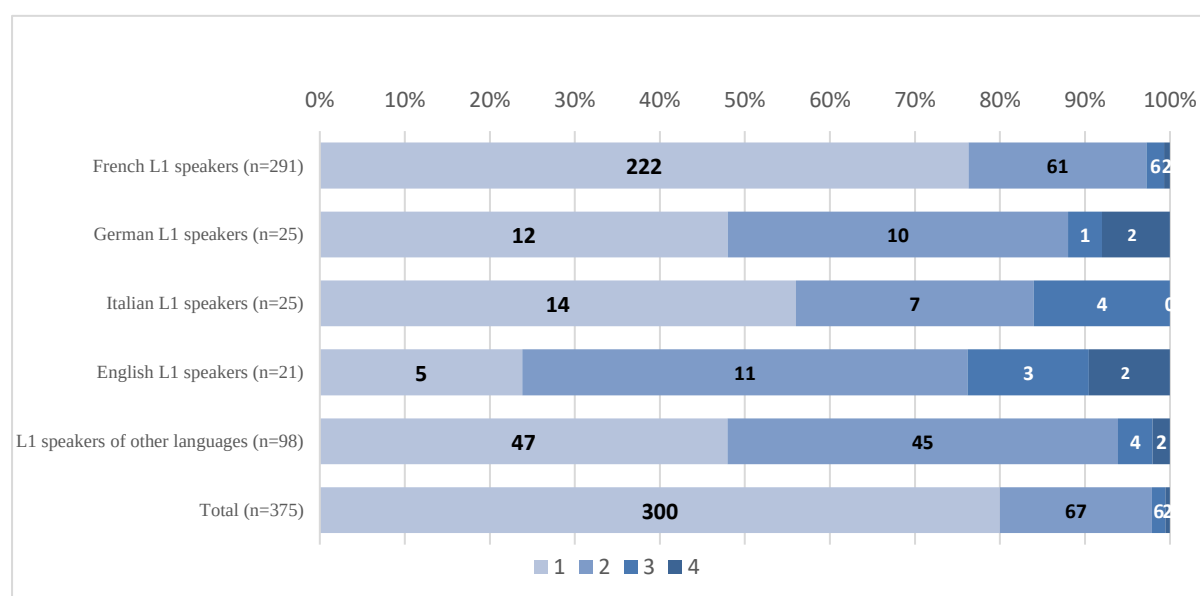
4.3.1 *Mother tongues*

First of all, responses to the question regarding participants' mother tongue, or in other words the language or languages that they learned as a child and could still understand, revealed a diversity that was characteristic of the sample. Among the 36 languages marked in this category, which ranged from Albanian to Vietnamese (cf. Appendix 3), French was by far the most frequently mentioned ($N = 291$), unsurprisingly. It was followed by languages

collectively labeled *other* ($N = 98$). Italian and German were each reported by 25 students, while English counted 21 first language speakers. It is important to note that, although the analysis clearly showed that the vast majority of students (93.6%) had skills in multiple languages, a similarly great number of them (80%) chose only one of these as their L1. This is especially interesting in light of their language use patterns discussed below, since these also testified to participants' plurilingualism.

Figure 4.1 summarizes the extent of mother tongue plurilingualism as testified by the different L1 groups. It also shows that the largest of the groups, that of French mother tongue speakers, reported the highest level of L1 monolingualism, with 222 students (76.3%) marking only one language as their first language. On the other hand, English L1 speakers, who were the least numerous ($N = 21$), reported having on average two mother tongues. Students who chose another language than the four listed by name also tended to have more than one first language, with an average of 1.6. The ANOVA tests, revealed that the above differences are not due to chance, as there was a significant link between membership of any of the five categories and the number of mother tongues participants spoke.

Figure 4.1 Number of mother tongues reported by speakers of different L1s

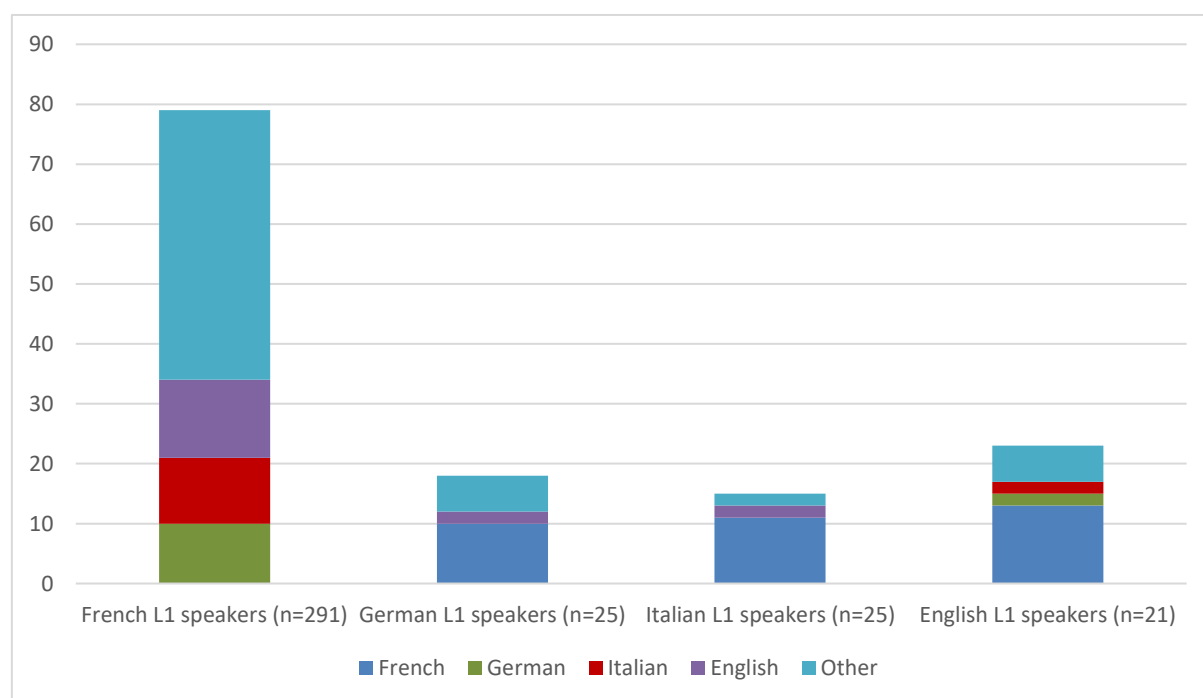


These figures also describe a central aspect of the plurilingual context at hand. First, they draw attention to the social factors that might influence university students' answers to the question of their mother tongues. In an officially French-speaking but predominantly plurilingual society, of which this sample is a perfect example, there is considerable social and economic

pressure to master French. Meanwhile, the results of the study also question the legitimacy of this categorization of languages, in a society where plurilingualism is not only a wide-spread phenomenon but also an economically beneficial one (cf. Grin, 1999).

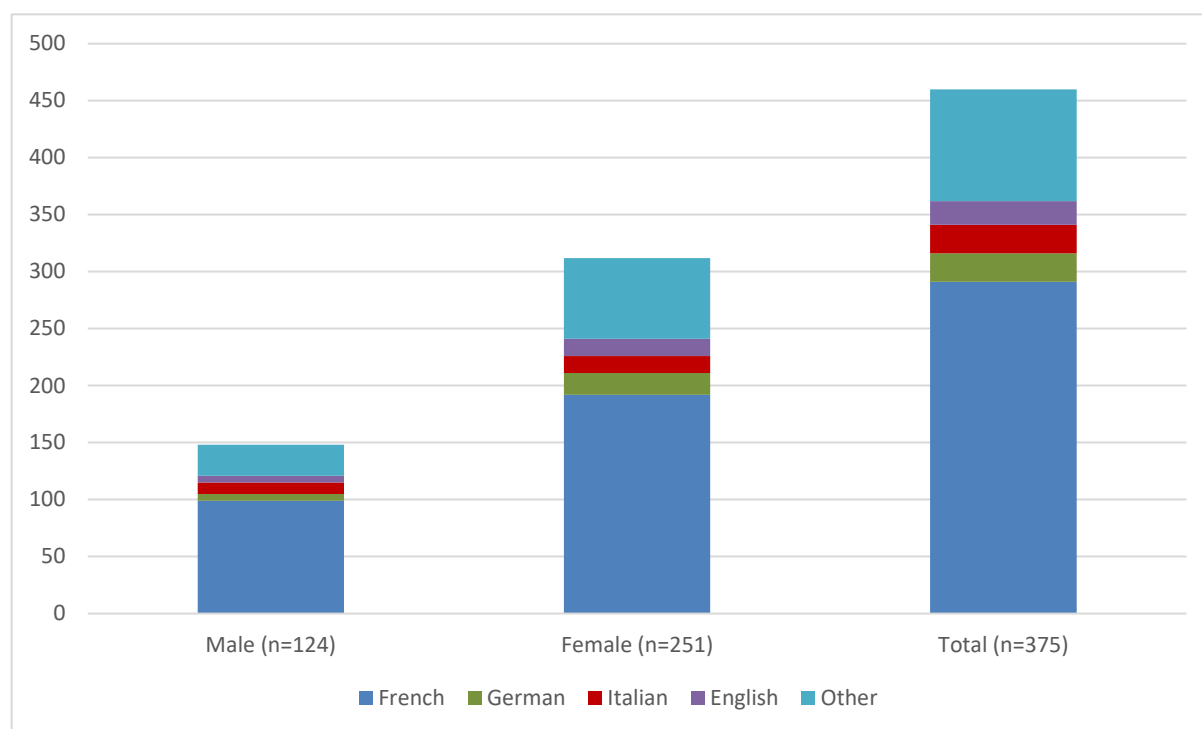
In light of the above, it might be surprising that, as Figure 4.2 shows, French speakers made up the most heterogeneous group in terms of the combinations of their first languages. On the one hand, it bears noting that French mother tongue students composed by far the largest group in the study, which helps explain the high level of variation. On the other hand, the figure makes it clear that French was part of most combinations, which is understandable given the setting of the study but it also accounts for much of these differences. The smallest subsample, composed of English L1 speakers, also displayed a heterogeneous composition, although the proportions of German and Italian speakers were lower. Interestingly, however, none of the participants spoke both German and Italian as their L1.

Figure 4.2 Responses per combination of mother tongues



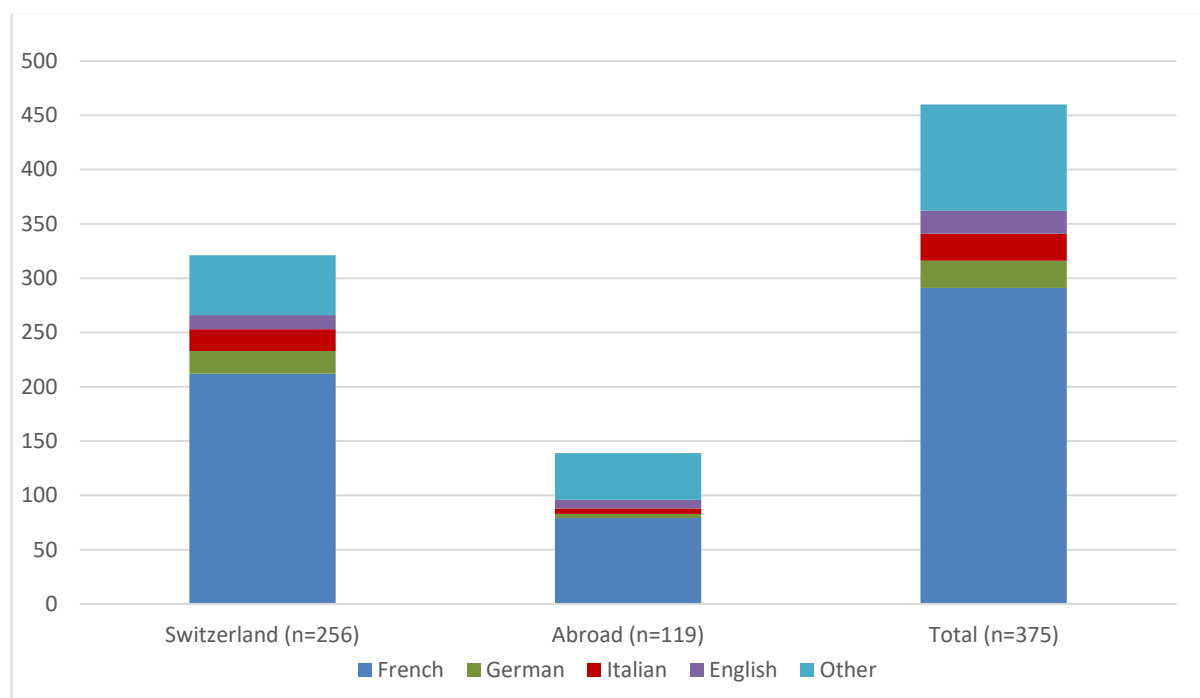
A similar pattern can be found in Figure 4.3, which compares the total scores for each of the five language categories in different gender groups. The group of female students, twice as large as that of male participants, showed a more diverse overall language portfolio. Nevertheless, as Figure 4.3 demonstrates, all of the language categories were represented in both cases.

Figure 4.3 Responses per mother tongue, compared by gender



It can already be concluded that the results discussed so far reflect the characteristic multilingual nature of the Geneva context, described in [Chapter 1](#). Nevertheless, these details became even clearer when students were compared based on the place of upper secondary education. Here, the distribution of first languages showed remarkable differences. Figure 4.4 indicates that Swiss students outperformed their international counterparts as regards the proportion of responses for both German and Italian. On the other hand, the figures reveal that English was an option more frequently chosen by foreigners (6.7%) than among the Swiss (5.1%). While the larger sample size might result in a more balanced language portfolio, the case of German and Italian can also be interpreted as a representation of Swiss plurilingualism, in which Swiss official languages play a central role.

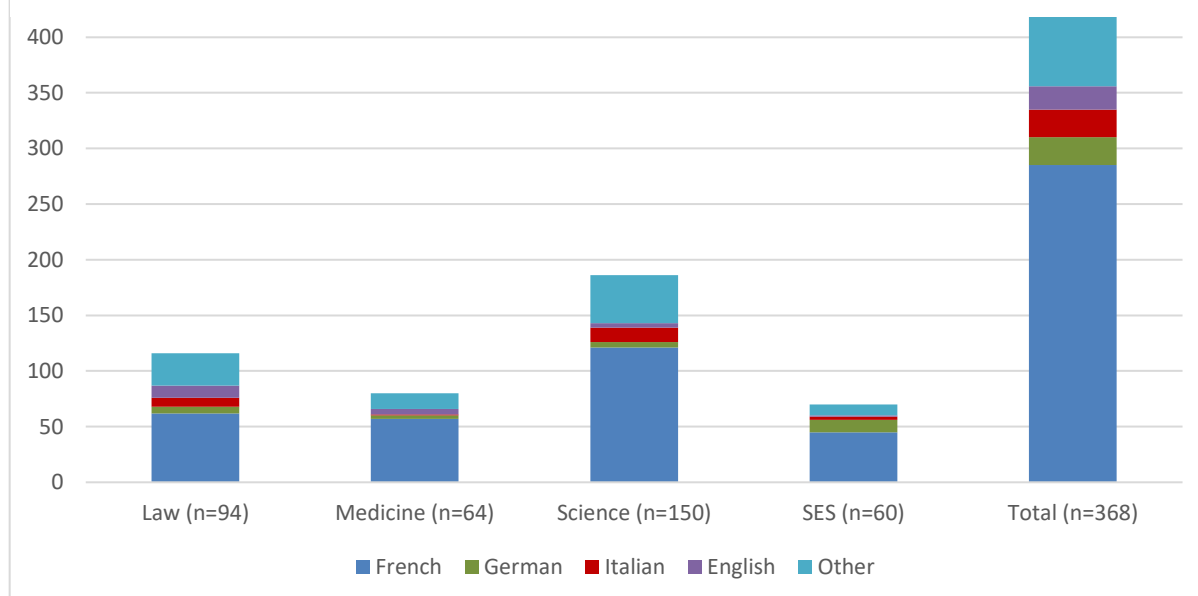
Figure 4.4 Responses per mother tongue, compared by place of secondary education



While comparisons among the four faculties were less straightforward due to considerable variance in sample sizes and the non-representative nature of the sample, Figure 4.5 displays the number of responses for each language category. In sum, Italian was most frequently chosen as a mother tongue at the Faculty of Science, which also contributed the largest subsample in the study. Eleven out of the total of 25 German L1 speakers attended the Faculty of SES, although this faculty yielded the lowest participation. Languages other than the three Swiss official languages were marked as students' first languages in the greatest proportion at the Faculties of Law (42.55%) and Science (31.33%), with the SES showing the lowest number at 18.33%. Nevertheless, Figure 4.5 also confirms my earlier observation concerning representativeness, showing that group sizes varied greatly among subsamples.

Figure 4.5 Responses per mother tongue, compared by faculty

Figure 4.6 Number of responses per foreign language, grouped by mother tongue



Unfortunately, groupings based on other factors raised similar concerns. Different aspects of the language data showed trends that might provide food for thought, however, the great variation in subsample sizes rendered decisive conclusions difficult. Therefore, additional tests were carried out so as to examine the statistical significance of these differences. The significant results of these calculations are presented at the end of this section, where I address the effects of socio-demographic factors on language skills and practices.

4.3.2 Foreign languages

In addition to mother tongues, the analysis of foreign language skills among participants revealed further trends of this large-scale diversity that was so characteristic of the Geneva sample. On the whole, 345 (92%) students reported skills in at least one foreign language. In total, 34 foreign languages were mentioned by respondents, from Amharic to Hungarian to Tagalog. When asked about the languages they studied, additional answers included sign languages and Elven, as well as Ancient Greek and Esperanto. The full list of these languages, which participants spoke or were in the process of learning (their distinction), can be found in

[Appendix 3](#), while Figures 4.6 and 4.7 below provide a summary of the results as regards the different first and second language combinations.

Figure 4.6 Number of responses per foreign language, grouped by mother tongue

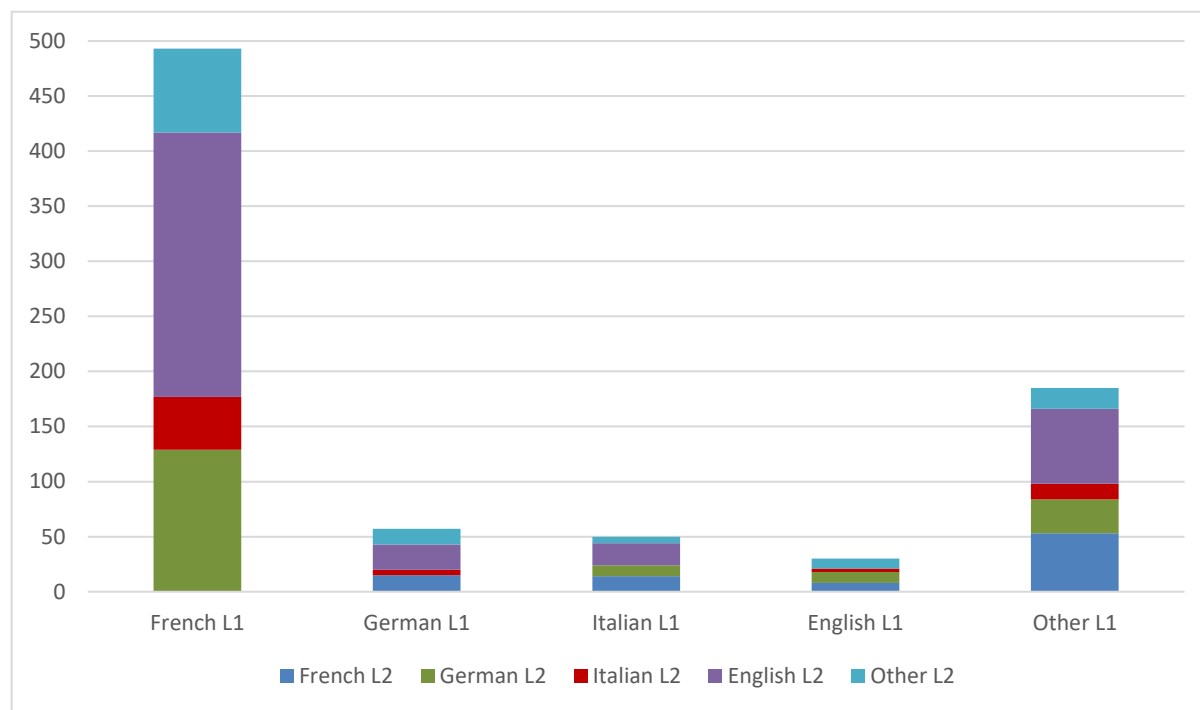
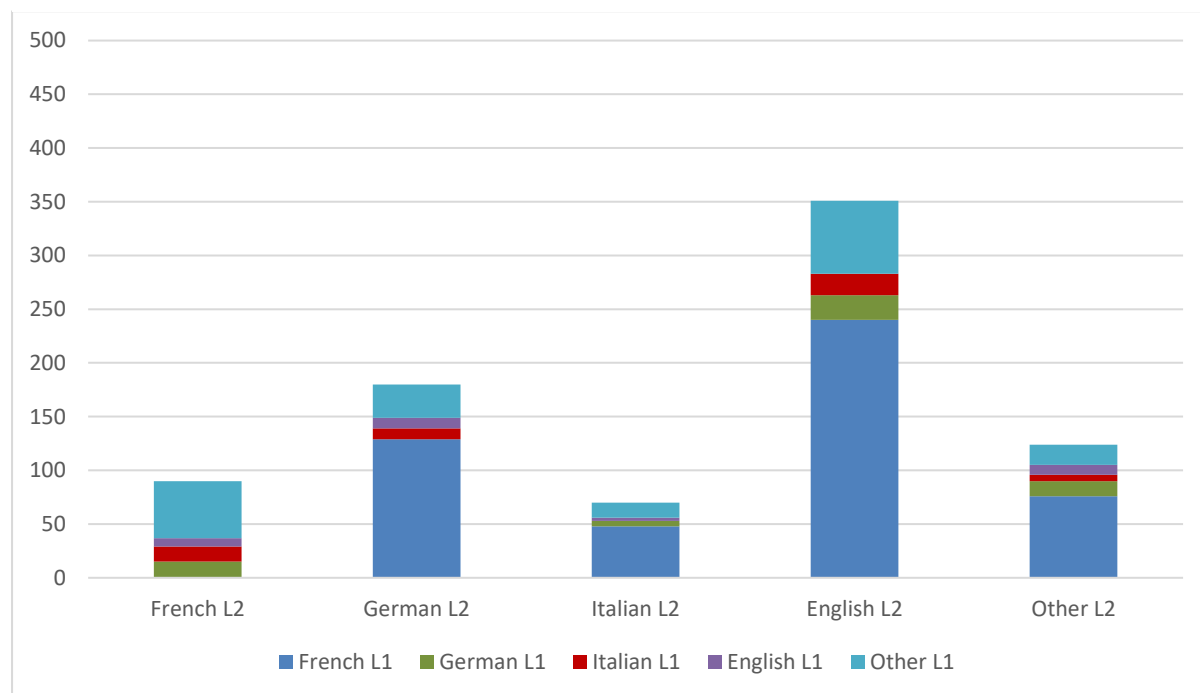


Figure 4.7 Number of responses per mother tongues, grouped by L2 proficiency



Based on these figures, it seems that English was the most popular foreign language in the list, spoken by 311 participants. However, the fact that only 84 students chose French as one of their L2s is not surprising as all students had some form of proficiency French, and most listed it among their mother tongues. As a foreign language, it was most frequent among L1 speakers of *Other* languages ($N = 53$), while German as an L2 was mostly spoken by French mother tongue students ($N = 129$). Participants who spoke Italian as a mother tongue, on the other hand, reported English ($N = 20$) more frequently than in French ($N = 14$) as part of their L2 portfolio. These differences hint at important tendencies that underline the role of linguistic diversity and competence in Swiss official languages in the Geneva context. So as to address the question of their significance, these will be further examined in Section [4.3.4](#).

It is clear that the numbers in the above figures are to be interpreted with caution, since most participants reported skills in more than a single foreign language. In addition, there were further discrepancies due to participants' answers to the different questions about their foreign languages. Interestingly, some marked a language as currently studied but not spoken, while others listed some of their languages in both categories. Thus, as can be seen in Table 4.1, the totals do not always correspond to the number of students who had any competence in the language and the percentages presented in this section are best treated as proportions relative to the same category. Although these anomalies raise intriguing questions regarding foreign language speakers' perceptions of their own competence, a more in-depth analysis would point beyond the goals and scope of this dissertation.

Table 4.1 Number of responses for the items on foreign language proficiency and learning

Language	Spoken as an L2	Studied as an L2
German	154	53
French	84	9
Italian	59	20
English	311	63
Other	103	67

Nonetheless, the numbers in Table 4.1 are interesting because, apart from the evident popularity of English, a language that most European countries introduce at some level of primary or secondary education, the also showcase the importance of German, Italian and other languages. They also indicate that a great proportion of UNIGE students pursue their language learning goals in a variety of languages by dedicating time and effort to develop their skills. This lends further weight to participants' claims in the final section of the questionnaire that

invited respondents to voice their opinions concerning the topic of the questionnaire. Several comments stressed the fact that foreign language skills are useful, if not recommended or even required, for their studies, however, students found courses offered by the University lacking.

The number of L2s spoken by members of different L1 groups, as displayed in Table 4.2, showed similarly revealing trends. The number of students who spoke only one or no foreign language was highest among mother-tongue speakers of French, which is easily explained by the French-speaking context of the study. Not only did this group include the majority of participants, French L1 speakers also represent the majority of the population of the University, as well as the city, canton and region. Accordingly, most monolinguals and respondents with the fewest L1s and L2s belonged to this subsample.

Table 4.2 Participants per mother tongue and number of foreign languages spoken

L1	No L2	1 L2	2 L2s	3 L2s	4 L2s
French	30	94	107	55	5
German	1	5	6	12	1
Italian	2	7	8	5	3
English	3	9	6	3	0
Other	3	24	40	25	6

Moreover, Table 4.3 sheds light on the different L2 combinations present in the sample. The fact that most students spoke multiple foreign languages accounts for the total of responses exceeding the number of participants. The most frequent combination in the sample was German and English ($N = 142$), followed by English and a language in the category *other* ($N = 89$). Nevertheless, French and English ($N = 71$) and Italian and English ($N = 51$) as well as German and an *Other* language ($N = 49$) were also popular responses. Once more, this shows that Swiss national languages were important components of participants' L2 profile and that they often complemented English as well as other languages.

Table 4.3 Number of participants per foreign language combination

L2	French L2	German L2	Italian L2	English L2	Other L2
French L2	-	25	11	71	27
German L2	-	-	20	142	49
Italian L2	-	-	-	51	17
English L2	-	-	-	-	89
Only 1 L2	6	6	5	76	7

L2	French L2	German L2	Italian L2	English L2	Other L2
Number of L2 speakers	84	154	59	311	103

Regarding the differences between gender groups, Figure 4.8 illustrates the similar distribution of foreign languages in both subsamples. It is worth noting, however, that English skills are slightly overrepresented in the group of male students, diminishing the proportions of the rest of the options. For the same reasons as mentioned above, the total number of responses does not correspond to the number of students in the sample, as both male and female participants

Figure 4.9 Participants per foreign language, compared by gender

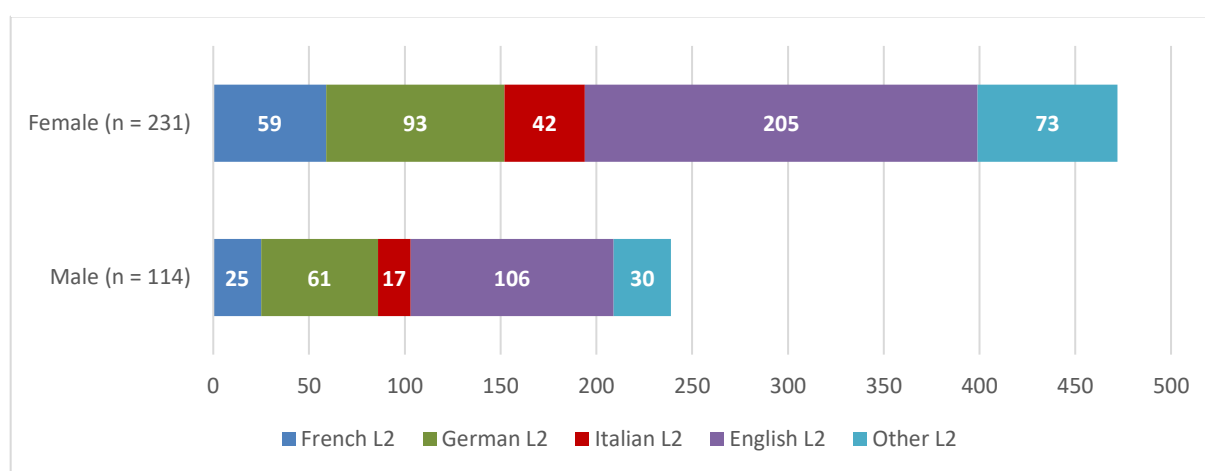
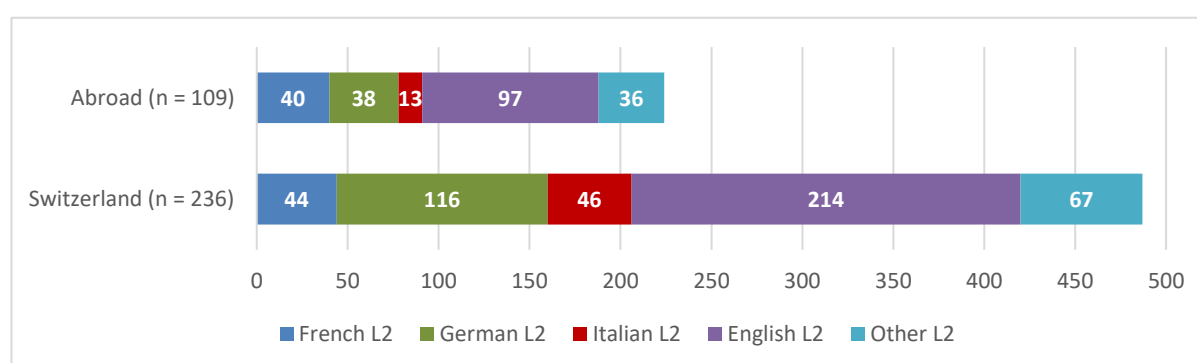


Figure 4.8 Participants per foreign language, compared by place of secondary education



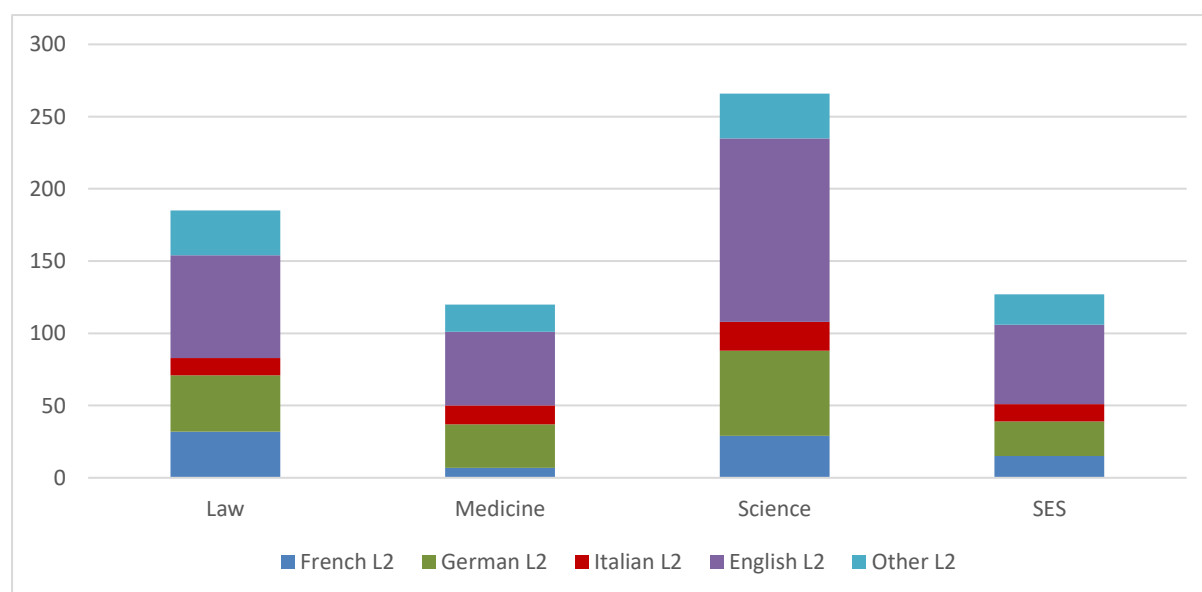
spoke on average 1.9 foreign languages and thus many of them appeared in multiple groupings.

Applying the same comparison to the groups of Swiss as opposed to foreign students (cf. Figure 4.9), the differences are marked. German and Italian were popular among participants who had

completed their secondary education in Switzerland, which might reflect language education policies in the country. By contrast, both groups had a similar number of French L2 speakers. Allowing for the relative size of the two groups, it can be concluded that French as a foreign language was twice as popular with foreign students as with the Swiss, which is understandable given that most participants in the Swiss subsample came from the French-speaking part of the country and were therefore often native speakers of French. Indeed, as I show in Section [4.3.4](#), confirmatory t-tests found the differences in the popularity of French and English to be significant.

As regards the different faculties, Figure 4.10 shows that French as a foreign language was the most popular among law students, 34% of whom marked the option. In terms of German L2 skills, respondents at the Faculty of Medicine (46.9%) surpassed even their counterparts at Law (41.5%) and SES (40%). Italian was frequently reported as an L2 at the latter (20%), slightly exceeded by medical students only (20.3%). Participants at the Faculty of SES also often declared English as one of their foreign languages (91.7%), followed by students of the sciences (84.7%). However, it needs to be pointed out that low representation rates from the former ($N = 60$) might influence the results, while the Faculty of Science ($N = 150$) yielded the largest subsample in the study. Participants from SES also spoke *other* languages in the greatest number (35%), with the Faculty of Law a close second (33%) a close second.

Figure 4.10 Participants per foreign language, compared by faculty



The level of instruction at which students were enrolled did not prove to be an important factor in their L2 profiles. This comparison showed steady trends of English being the most popular

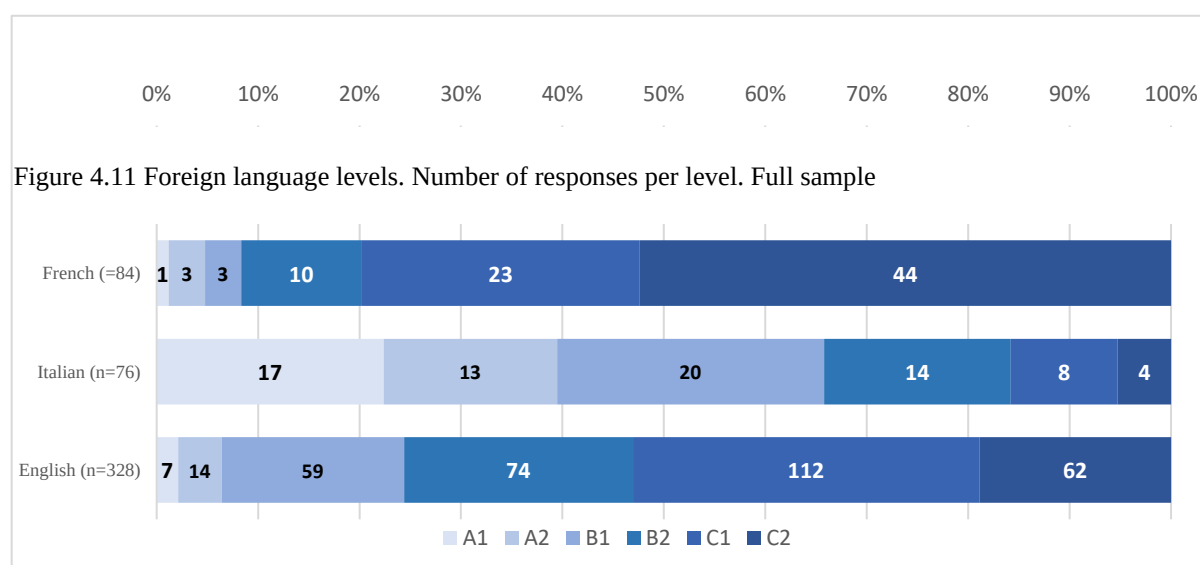
option in all subsamples, followed by German with about half as many responses. Similarly, students who were already professionally active at the time of enquiry reported French as one of their foreign languages only slightly less frequently than their non-working counterparts. On the other hand, they also testified to a somewhat higher proportion of German L2 skills.

Speakers' reported level of proficiency in the foreign languages they spoke or studied showed interesting differences among the languages in question. The number of responses in each category for the four languages included in the questionnaire are displayed in Table 4.4. These included students who marked the language in question among their spoken L2s and also those who reported studying it. A cursory glance reveals that once more German and Italian differ considerably from French and English.

Table 4.4 Number of responses per level

L2 Level (scale option)	German	French	Italian	English
A1 (1)	29	1	17	7
A2 (2)	34	3	13	14
B1 (3)	50	3	20	59
B2 (4)	48	10	14	74
C1 (5)	17	23	8	112
C2 (6)	9	62	4	62
Means	3.09	5.32	2.93	4.39

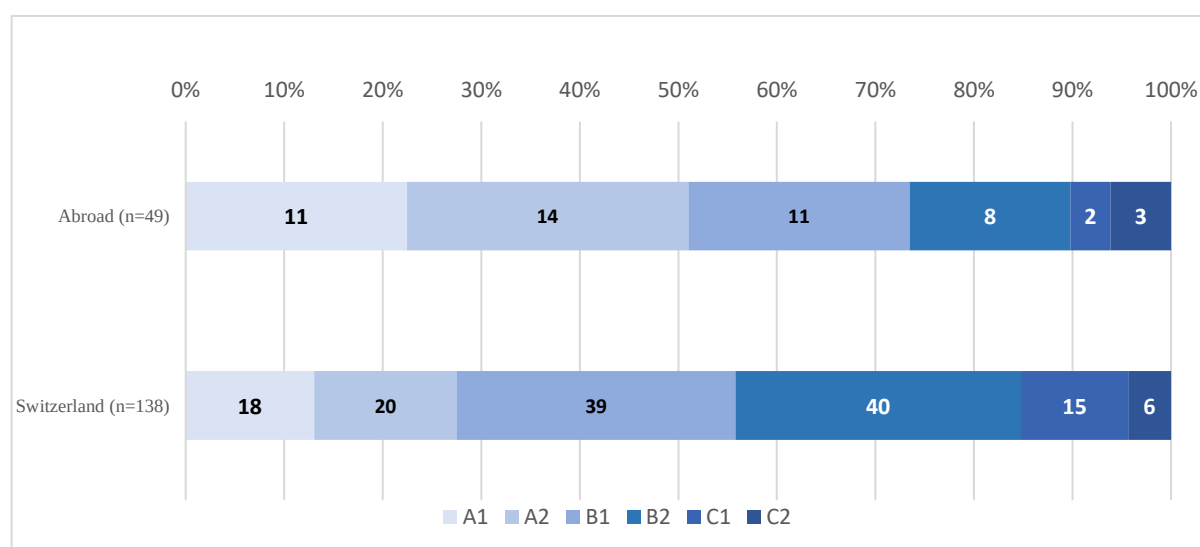
As Figure 4.11 illustrates, the distribution of speakers in the case of German and Italian tilted toward proficiency levels in the middle of the scale. Conversely, speakers of French and English situated themselves more at the higher end of the spectrum. The mean values in Table 4.4 also reflect this difference, as those for German and Italian were closer to the B1 level



required to pass secondary school leaving exams in Geneva at the time of the study, while French and English L2 speakers rated their competence at C1 and B2 on average respectively.

In light of the above observations, the question arises whether these trends can be viewed as a particular feature of the Swiss context. Therefore, below I explore this aspects of the data by comparing the answers of students who had completed their secondary education abroad with those of their peers who had done so abroad. The first language to which I apply this lens is German, and the results, displayed in Figure 4.12, show considerable differences. Not only were L2 speakers of German more numerous among Swiss participants, they also rated their skills higher in greater proportion. As regards the number of responses, I would like to point out that the group of Swiss students ($N = 256$) was much larger than that of foreigners ($N = 119$), which needs to be taken into account during the interpretation of the figures.

Figure 4.12 German as a foreign language levels per place of secondary education. Number of responses per level



Nonetheless, this pattern seemed to occur not only in the case of German but also with Italian (cf. Figure 4.13) and, to a lesser extent, French (Figure 4.14). Interestingly, the proportions of the different levels among English speakers, shown in Figure 4.15, were not strikingly dissimilar. All in all, these results suggest that Swiss students reported higher levels of skills in the languages included than their foreign counterparts, which might reflect the effects of Swiss language education. In order to examine the significance these observations, the differences

between the two subsamples were submitted to further testing, the results of which are discussed in the following sections.

Figure 4.13 Italian as a foreign language levels per place of secondary education. Number of responses per level

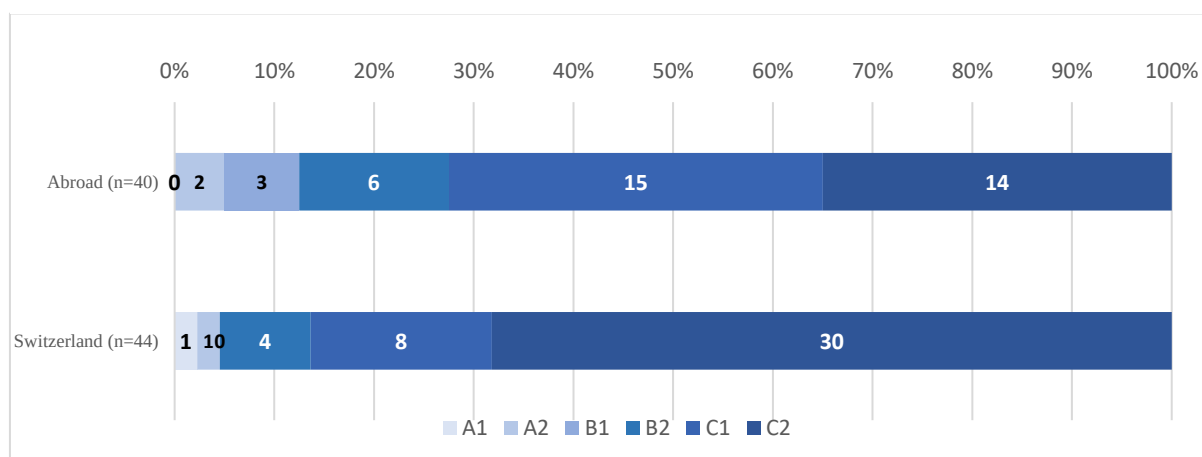


Figure 4.14 French as a foreign language levels per place of secondary education. Number of responses per level.

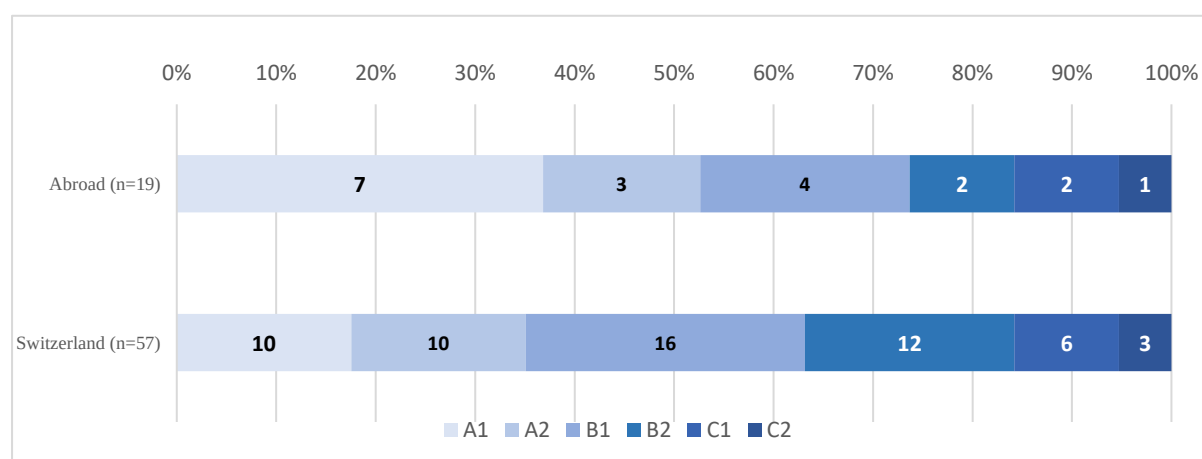
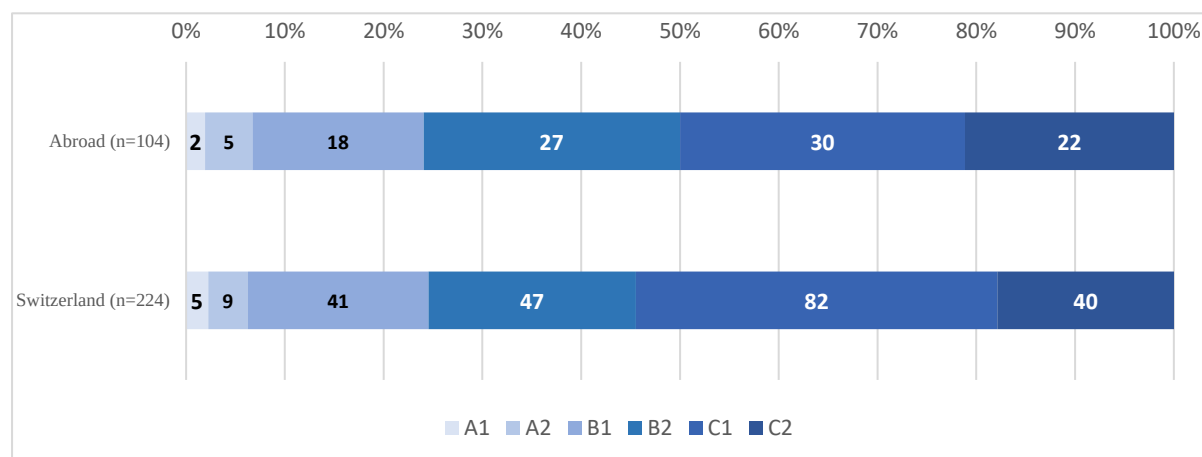


Figure 4.15 English as a foreign language levels per place of secondary education. Number of responses per level



Finally, L2 levels at the four faculties were surprisingly even. Table 4.5 shows that the greatest difference was observed between L2 speakers of French at the faculties of Medicine and Science. However, the low number of speakers of French as a foreign language among the former indicates that this disparity is hardly of significance in the statistical sense. These findings are especially interesting since they indicate that students preparing for their careers in different professional sectors are similarly geared as regards their foreign language skills. Nevertheless, the varying number of speakers at the four faculties slightly mitigates these assumptions.

Table 4.5 Average L2 levels at the four faculties. 1-6, L2 speakers and learners only. Mean, number of responses and standard deviation

Faculty	German			French			Italian			English		
	M	N	<i>SD</i>	M	N	<i>SD</i>	M	N	<i>SD</i>	M	N	<i>SD</i>
Law	3.07	55	1.45	5.50	32	1.02	2.59	17	1.42	4.69	74	1.17
Medicine	3.30	33	1.16	5.86	7	0.38	3.00	16	1.41	4.45	53	0.99
Science	2.86	65	1.33	4.72	29	1.33	2.72	25	1.40	4.17	133	1.34
SES	3.12	26	1.24	5.00	15	0.85	2.92	12	1.38	4.34	56	1.16
Total	3.04	179	1.33	5.17	83	1.14	2.79	70	1.38	4.37	316	1.23

By contrast, Table 4.6 below displays the overall language levels, including native speakers, who were assigned the level 7, and non-speakers, who represented the category 0. Indeed, these comparisons revealed that, all students considered, French language levels were lowest at SES, however, the differences were negligible. They were more marked in the case of German, in which SES students scored the highest at 2.63 (B2), while the overall level of participants from the Faculty of Science reached only 1.43 (A1). The latter also reported the lowest levels of competence in English, corresponding to a B2 classification as opposed to the highest mean value, that of a C1 at the Faculty of Law. Average levels of Italian skills were around the CEFR (Council of Europe, 2001) mark of A1, with small differences among the groups. These calculations take into account all participants, therefore, while they rely on categories that are less clear cut statistically, they are more indicative of the overall language levels of the individual subsamples.

Table 4.6 Average L2 levels at the four faculties. 0-7, all⁷ students. Mean, number of responses and standard deviation

Faculty	German			French			Italian			English		
	M	N	SD	M	N	SD	M	N	SD	M	N	SD
Law	2.17	94	2.16	6.49	94	0.92	1.06	94	2.15	4.51	94	1.95
Medicine	2.03	64	2.13	6.88	64	0.38	0.86	64	1.67	4.23	64	1.78
Science	1.43	150	1.90	6.56	150	1.07	1.06	150	2.17	3.83	150	1.81
SES	2.63	60	2.65	6.5	60	0.97	0.93	60	1.92	4.17	60	1.52
Total	1.92	368	2.18	6.59	368	0.94	1.01	368	2.04	4.13	368	1.81

4.3.3 Language use

Interesting patterns of language use can be observed across the sample. Participants with reported proficiency in the given language, either as an L1 or an L2 or even one that they currently studied, were asked to rate the frequency with which they used the language in question in different contexts. Their overall answers show that French was the language respondents used the most frequently, followed by English. German and Italian were spoken significantly less frequently, although their respective frequency scores were very close to one another. The results in Table 4.7 also reveal that the disparity among participants' responses was highest in the case of English, and only a little lower for German, underlining strong tendencies toward a few of the options. Questions about French and Italian resulted in average levels of standard deviation and thus in more harmonious distribution.

A closer look at the different contexts investigated, offered in Figure 4.16 below, shows that, in line with the overall results, French was the most often used in all situations. This was not surprising but, interestingly, English scored second in all categories, with Italian as the third most frequently used language in informal contexts. This indicated that the four languages had clearly different uses across the contexts investigated.

Table 4.7 Descriptive statistics for overall language use, all speakers.

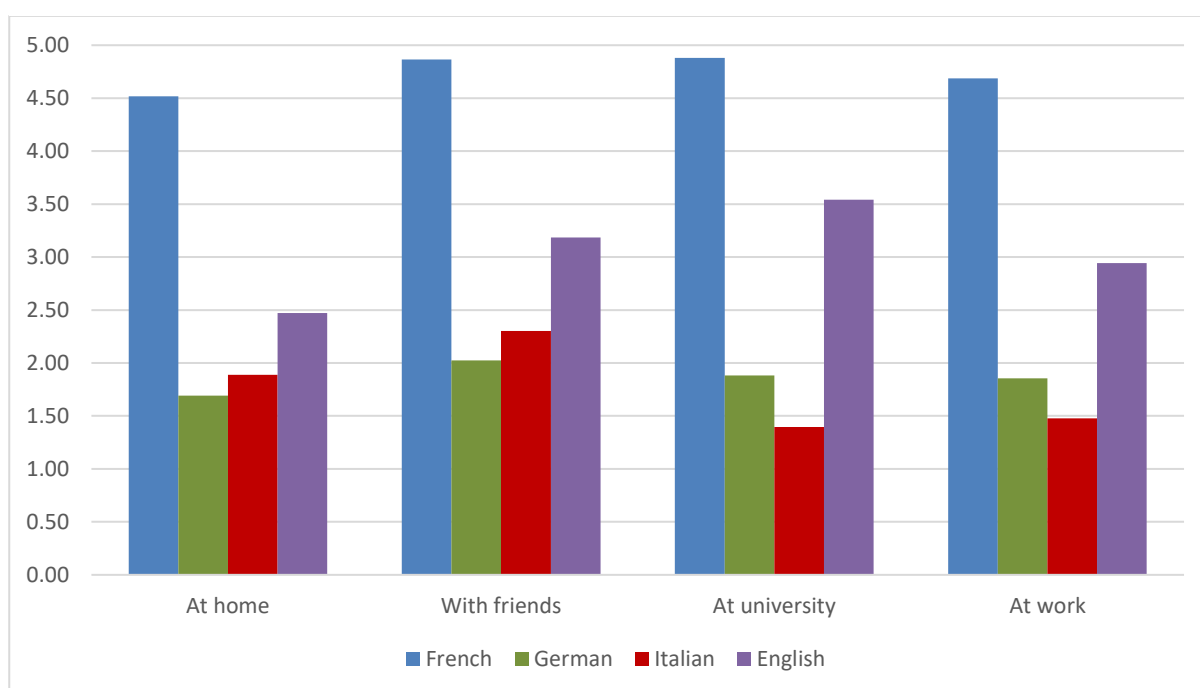
Language	M	N	SD
French	4.74	375	0.59
German	1.86	205	0.89
Italian	1.77	63	0.61

⁷ Seven students reported affiliations to more than one faculty and were thus removed from these comparisons.

Language	M	N	SD
English	3.04	343	0.94

Indeed, in more formal situations such as studying and work, English was overtaken by German. Although French was the prominent option throughout the spectrum of settings examined, participants used it more often when talking to friends and at university. English followed the same pattern, with both languages peaking at university and showing the lowest frequency in home usage. By contrast, German and Italian displayed to different profile,

Figure 4.16 Frequency of language use in different contexts



displaying the highest scores when used with friends. These trends indicate that students made use of their languages in distinct ways. Whereas French and English proved useful in all situations, German could be more associated with friends, home use and the professional environment. Italian was most often used when communicating with friends.

Further descriptive measures, shown in Table 4.8, confirmed these observations. The figures reveal that the lowest disparity was found in questions related to French, while those on English tended to yield more strongly grouped results. In line with my conclusions above, the lowest mean value was that of the frequency of Italian in the university setting, while French as the language used at work reached the highest score overall. These results indicate a predominantly

French working environment, where English was used *sometimes*, while Italian and German respectively are spoken *almost never* or *rarely*. This description of language use patterns raises an interesting question. As work environments can differ considerably from one field to another, it is worth investigating whether the four faculties presented any differences in this respect.

Table 4.8 Language use in different contexts

	French			German			Italian			English		
	M	N	SD	M	N	SD	M	N	SD	M	N	SD
At home	4.52	375	1.15	1.69	205	1.23	1.89	63	1.21	2.47	343	1.47
With friends	4.86	375	0.50	2.02	205	1.17	2.30	63	1.12	3.18	343	1.20
At University	4.88	375	0.49	1.88	205	1.05	1.40	63	0.79	3.54	343	1.19
At work	4.69	375	0.96	1.85	205	1.12	1.48	63	0.90	2.94	343	1.45

However, before moving on to examine that angle of the data, I would like to draw attention to one more aspect of the figures in Table 4.8. Participation rates in this part of the questionnaire reflected characteristic trends among the respondents, as in each case the number of answers also corresponds to the number of students who spoke or studied the language in question. All respondents ($N = 375$) had some proficiency in French, while most ($N = 343$) also spoke English, either as an L1 or an L2. Last but not least, the majority of participants ($N = 205$) reported skills in German and a significant number ($N = 63$) spoke Italian at one level or another.

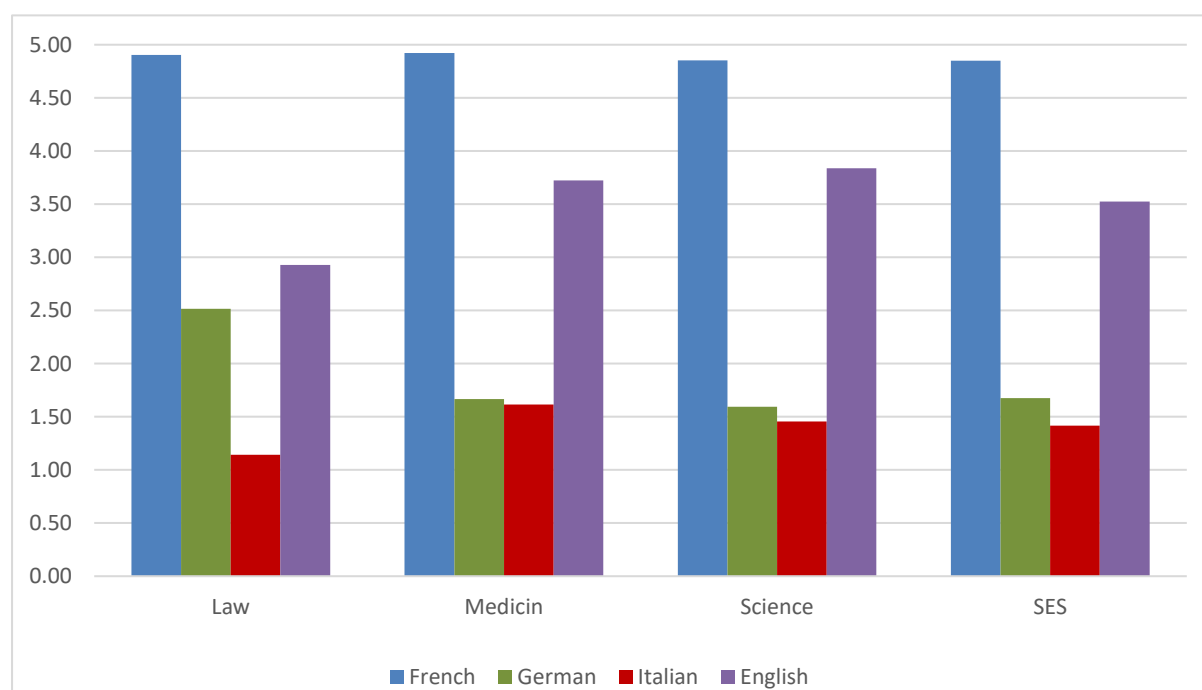
Although these numbers were discussed before, I believe they are important to mention here as they confirm that skills in the four languages included in the questionnaire were widespread among participants. At the same time, the data presented here also showed that not all of these skills were put to use in all environments. Indeed, students' competence in German and Italian was less frequently applied in their university milieu, although these could constitute an asset in many fields.

In order to continue my earlier observations, I now examine these patterns in the context of the different faculties. The comparisons of the frequency of language use at the university, summarized in Figure 4.17 (see also [Appendix 1](#)), yielded some unexpected results. Participants were asked how often they used their various languages in the university environment, and their responses reflect the predominantly French-language context of the

University of Geneva. Interestingly, second place was occupied by English, which scored highest at the Faculties of Science and Medicine. Italian was most frequently used by medical students, in which category it almost matched the use of German. The latter, on the other hand, was most often spoken where Italian obtained its lowest score, namely at the Faculty of Law.

These results are interesting because they hint at a few themes that did not emerge from

Figure 4.17 Frequency of language use at different faculties



previous testing. First of all, while English skill levels were not particularly high at the Faculty of Science, that subsample reported the most frequent use of the language in the university setting. Similarly, the somewhat higher score that the use of German obtained among law students might testify to a more regular need for skills in the language in order to study Swiss law. This might also explain the fact that self-reported use of English at the university was the least frequent among members of the latter group.

The last aspect of the language data that I would like to address in this cursory manner before proceeding to a more in-depth analysis is the differences in Swiss students' and foreigners' language practices. The figures in Table 4.9 below suggest that the place where participants had completed their secondary education might have played a role in the way they used the languages they spoke. As could be expected, Swiss students appeared to speak German and

French more often in all contexts, while their foreign peers used Italian more frequently in most settings. The figures for Italian were closest in the university environment, where both groups used the language *rarely* on average. Not so surprisingly, it was foreigners who used English more often, with the only exception of the home, where their overall score was lower than that obtained by the Swiss group.

Table 4.9 Frequency of language use per language, context and place of secondary education

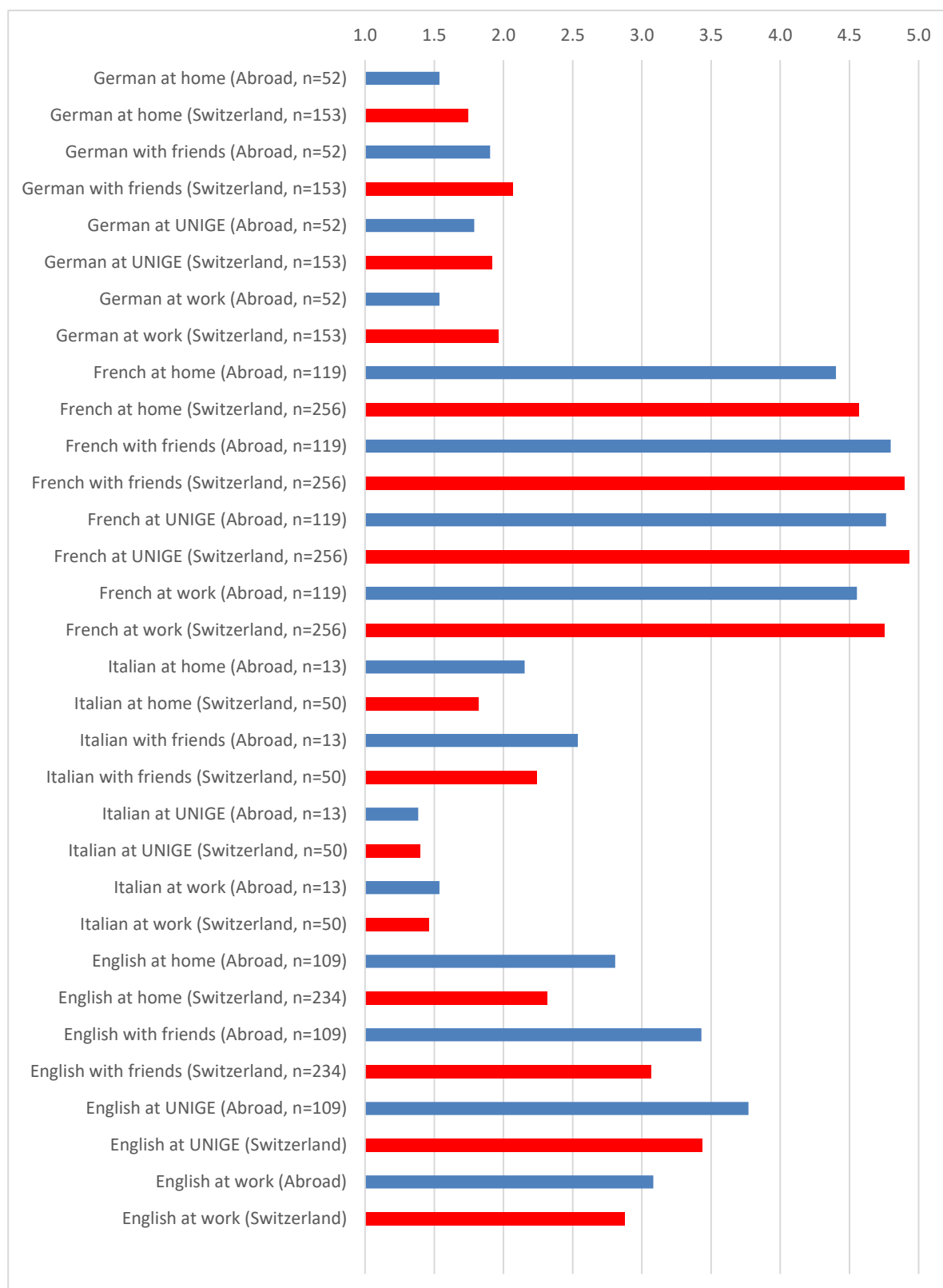
Language/context	Place of secondary education	M	N	<i>SD</i>
German at home	Abroad	1.54	52	<i>1.07</i>
	Switzerland	1.75	153	<i>1.27</i>
German with friends	Abroad	1.90	52	<i>1.18</i>
	Switzerland	2.07	153	<i>1.17</i>
German at UNIGE	Abroad	1.79	52	<i>1.02</i>
	Switzerland	1.92	153	<i>1.06</i>
German at work	Abroad	1.54	52	<i>0.75</i>
	Switzerland	1.96	153	<i>1.21</i>
French at home	Abroad	4.40	119	<i>1.26</i>
	Switzerland	4.57	256	<i>1.09</i>
French with friends	Abroad	4.80	119	<i>0.58</i>
	Switzerland	4.89	256	<i>0.46</i>
French at UNIGE	Abroad	4.76	119	<i>0.70</i>
	Switzerland	4.93	256	<i>0.35</i>
French at work	Abroad	4.55	119	<i>1.09</i>
	Switzerland	4.75	256	<i>0.88</i>
Italian at home	Abroad	2.15	13	<i>1.07</i>
	Switzerland	1.82	50	<i>1.24</i>
Italian with friends	Abroad	2.54	13	<i>1.05</i>
	Switzerland	2.24	50	<i>1.13</i>
Italian at UNIGE	Abroad	1.38	13	<i>0.96</i>
	Switzerland	1.40	50	<i>0.76</i>
Italian at work	Abroad	1.54	13	<i>1.33</i>
	Switzerland	1.46	50	<i>0.76</i>
English at home	Abroad	2.81	109	<i>1.57</i>
	Switzerland	2.32	234	<i>1.39</i>
English with friends	Abroad	3.43	109	<i>1.20</i>
	Switzerland	3.07	234	<i>1.18</i>
English at UNIGE	Abroad	3.77	109	<i>1.21</i>

	Switzerland	3.44	234	<i>1.16</i>
English at work	Abroad	3.08	109	<i>1.55</i>
	Switzerland	2.88	234	<i>1.40</i>

For a clearer visual, these results can also be displayed as in Figure 4.18, which better shows that answers among members of the two subsamples largely followed the same trends. This representation also invites further interesting conclusions, some of which I address in the next chapter. Nevertheless, although the statistical analysis of the questionnaires yielded a wealth of information on participants' language portfolio and linguistic practices, unfortunately not all

of that data could be examined in this dissertation due to space and time constraints. I intend to discuss these in future publications.

Figure 4.18 Frequency of language use per language, context and place of secondary education



One of the reasons for this, as I mentioned, is related to the physical limitations of this work. On the other hand, not all results were equally important to the research questions outlined in [Chapter 1](#). Therefore, while a detailed contextual description of participants' language profile was central to the arguments of this dissertation, certain angles were left out for a more streamlined presentation of the results. Last but not least, the question of statistical significance arose as to the comparisons presented above. Below, I will examine this aspect of the data further, as it also poses considerable limitations on the relevance of the results.

4.3.4 Testing for significance

The notion of significance is central to statistics, as it can determine whether the trends identified in the data are merely the result of random distribution or if they are indicative of true variation. In other words, significance levels can confirm if participants' answers correspond to existing patterns, as opposed to being influenced by self-selection, happenstance or other circumstantial factors. This also helps pinpoint statistically valid differences among different subsamples. Moreover, in the case of a representative sample, establishing trends and relationships characteristic of the sample also allow conclusions as to probable patterns in the population it represents. However, as I observe in section [3.7.9](#), representativeness was not controlled for in the present study, therefore, statistical significance was used solely to confirm the internal reliability of the trends discussed and was not an instrument aimed at ensuring wider generalizability.

In order to test the role of chance in obtaining the figures discussed in the previous sections, three types of comparative statistics were used. Independent sample t-tests, complete with eta squared values, measured the significance of the relationship between variables and the relative extent of the influence. Chi-squares, using unstandardized residuals, on the other hand, revealed more details as to the magnitude of the difference between subgroups. Both of these tests were used to examine variables where two subgroups were contrasted, mostly based on survey questions containing only two options (e.g. gender or Swiss higher education). Where groupings were more diverse and thus more than two subsamples were compared, ANOVA values were calculated.

In the next sections, I discuss the results of these tests, focusing on the most important grouping factors. As I mentioned before, since these comparisons are not central to the aims of the study, this aspect of the results will be presented and analyzed in a concise way. Nevertheless, the

aims of the following sections are twofold. On the one hand, they illustrate the mechanics of the statistical procedures used, so as to provide a deeper understanding of the results. On the other hand, their main goal is to draw attention to the most significant comparisons among subsamples based on a number of relevant demographic factors and thus showcase the potential impact of such contextual influences.

4.3.5 Gender differences

Traditionally, the first such grouping variable that studies tend to explore from a comparative perspective is gender. In order to examine the link between gender and the various demographic and language factors, independent sample t-tests were conducted, with gender as the independent variable. Where applicable, Chi-squares were calculated to confirm the results. These procedures revealed that not all the differences discussed in the previous sections were statistically significant, that is, some can be considered as random variation within the data. Table 4.10 summarizes the results of the t-tests for the variables that demonstrated a significant difference between genders. For easier reading, only the most important figures are displayed, while the original format has been conserved for demonstrative purposes.

Of all the sociodemographic variables tested, gender was the only one that seemed to have a direct effect on work experience. The results in Table 4.10 indicate that, as Levene's level of significance was low ($p < .05$), equal variance could not be assumed, and the difference between male and female participants was significant at .02. However, the eta squared value, which shows the magnitude of the difference (cf. Dörnyei, 2007), was calculated at .02, signaling that the variable explained a mere 2% of the variance, echoed by the small residual value of 10.8. This means that, whereas the majority (59.7%) of male students were engaged in a professional activity as opposed to a considerably lower portion (46.6%) of women, these results remain only indicative of potential more important trends.

It is interesting to note that they correspond to earlier research results in Switzerland (cf. Grin, 1999), which showed higher unemployment rates as well as more frequent part-time employment in female subsamples. It is important to note that the significant difference identified by the present study is only indicative of this trend, as it is much lower than those reported by Grin (1999). This might be due to the university setting of the study, which milieu might act as a filtering factor, where professionally active members of the female population are represented in higher proportions.

Table 4.10 T-test results for significant differences based on gender

Variable	Equal var.	Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means								
		F	P	t	d ^a	p	M Diff.	Std. Error Diff.	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference		N	Eta squared
									Lower	Upper		
Work	Yes	5.96	.02	2.39	373	.02	.13	.05	.02	.24	375	.02
	No			2.41	248.37	.02	.13	.05	.02	.24	375	.02
German L2	Yes	8.78	.00	2.26	373	.03	.12	.05	.02	.23	375	.01
	No			2.23	237.27	.03	.12	.05	.01	.23	375	.01
Study Italian	Yes	13.35	.00	-1.77	373	.08	-.04	.02	-.09	.00	375	.01
	No			-2.07	356.22	.04	-.04	.02	-.09	.00	375	.01

A very similar trend can be observed in the case of competence in German as a foreign language, although, once more, the small sample sizes meant that the difference was more indicative than conclusive. Low significance values obtained in Levene's test ($p < .05$) and in the t-test ($p < .05$) revealed a statistically significant disparity, while the eta squared value (.01) as well as the residual of 10.1 showed that the contrast was small. The latter figure means that ten more men (and therefore ten fewer women) spoke German as a foreign language than would be expected based on equal distribution among sexes, even though proportionally, the ratio of German L2 speakers seems considerably higher among male students (49.2%) than among female students (37.1%). While these results are interesting because they seem to contradict Heinzmann's (2009) findings exploring the role of gendered stereotypes among Swiss primary school students, they are to be handled with caution due to the small subsample sizes. Thus, the figures presented here raise questions as to the role that age can play in diminishing the effect and the relevance of such stereotypes. At the same time, they also suggest that gender differences in language learning and competence merit further study.

Conversely, gender appeared to have a different, albeit even smaller, influence on whether participants reported learning Italian at the time of enquiry. Low Levene's ($p < .01$) and t-test ($p < .05$) significance values confirmed this relationship, while the results of the Chi-square tests showed it to be a weak one. Although in terms of the eta squared value this link was comparable to the previous two discussed above, the small residual of 3.6 means that the comparison carries even less weight. Indeed, closer examination of the figures shows that only 3 (2.4%) men were learning Italian at the time of the study. This, on the one hand, suggests significantly lower rates than among female students (6.8%). On the other hand, it also renders statistical testing problematic, since Chi-square contrasts rely on subgroups that include at least 5 participants.

4.3.6 Swiss students and foreigners

The question whether there were any significant differences between students who had completed their secondary education in Switzerland and those who did so abroad was a central one throughout the study. From a contextual perspective, these distinctions offer more insight into the characteristics of linguistic practices and language learning in Switzerland. Moreover, as I pointed out over the course of the previous sections, the two subsamples seemed to differ in regard to the details of their linguistic portfolio and therefore testing the significance of these dissimilarities became especially worthwhile.

The comparative tests showed that, indeed, the place of secondary education was often a contrastive factor. The variable, which was used in the study to provide more information on participants' cultural background and education history, was shown to distinguish between students in a number of ways. These differences, markedly more numerous and of more consequence than the ones described above, are summarized in Table 4.11. They reveal that the distinction between Swiss students and foreigners, as they were referenced in the study based on their cultural backgrounds (cf. [3.3.1](#)), was a more influential one than the categorization based on participants' gender.

Table 4.11 T-test results for significant differences based on place of secondary education

Variable	Equal variance assumed (Levene's test)	<i>t</i>	<i>d</i> ^a	<i>P</i> (2- tailed, <i>p</i>)	Mean Diff.	Std. Error Diff.	<i>N</i>	Effect size ^b	Pearson's <i>p</i>
Level of program	Yes	2.1	373	.04	.24	.11	375	.01	.12 ^c

Results - Insights from the language data: a context of true plurilingualism

Variable	Equal variance assumed (Levene's test)	<i>t</i>	<i>d</i> ^a	<i>P</i> (2- tailed, <i>p</i>)	Mean Diff.	Std. Error Diff.	<i>N</i>	Effect size ^b	Pearson's <i>p</i>
German L1	No	-2.03	330.8	.04	-.05	.02	375	.01	.08
French L1	No	-3.32	190.27	.00	-.16	.05	375	.03	.00
Other L1	No	2.86	200.7	.01	.15	.05	375	.02	.00
German L2	No	-2.52	243.93	.01	-.13	.05	375	.02	.01
French L2	No	3.32	190.27	.00	.16	.05	375	.03	.00
Learning French	No	2.71	124.83	.01	.06	.02	375	.02	.00 ^c
Level of German	No	-4.1	276.43	.00	-.90	.22	375	.04	.00 ^c
Level of French	No	-3.69	162.17	.00	-.44	.12	375	.04	.00 ^c
Level of Italian	No	-2.1	278.46	.04	-.44	.21	375	.01	.27 ^c
German at work	No	-2.95	142.6	.00	-.42	.14	205	.04	.13 ^c
French at UNIGE	No	-2.5	146.89	.01	-.17	.07	375	.02	.01 ^c
English at home	No	2.79	189.76	.01	.49	.18	343	.02	.02

^a Degree of freedom.

^b Eta squared.

^c Some cells have an expected count of less than 5.

First of all, I would like to briefly observe that the t-test results identified a relationship between the place of secondary education and the level of the degree program in which participants were enrolled. Based on Levene's significance, equal variance was assumed and the effect size (eta squared = .012) was small but significant ($p < .05$). The residuals suggest that while at lower levels Swiss students were, proportionally, in majority, it was more likely for foreigners to attend higher level degree courses. These trends reflect foreign students' tendency to travel to Switzerland so as to enroll in masters' programs or in higher level degree courses. Once more, it needs to be pointed out that due to the small number of MAS students Chi-square calculations could not pinpoint a significant link (Pearson's $p > .05$).

Moreover, there were several differences between Swiss students and foreigners as regards participants' mother tongues. While Swiss respondents tended to speak German as an L1 in greater proportions (8.2%) than their foreign peers (3.4%), the statistics (residual = 3.9, Pearson's $p = .08$) showed this difference to be slight and not meeting the desired level of significance. French as a mother tongue displayed similar patterns (residual = 13.3, Pearson's $p = .00$), as it was more often spoken by the Swiss (82.8%) than by foreigners (66.4%). These results are far from surprising, given the linguistic context of Geneva. Nevertheless, they are

suggestive of the influence of contextual factors on the language data and render further tests into the relationships among contextual and language learning specific phenomena.

Interestingly, there were no statistically significant differences between the two groups as to the frequency of Italian and English mother tongues, indicating that the environment in which participants spent their secondary school years was not a contrastive factor in this regard. *Other* languages, on the other hand, were more frequently reported L1s among students who had completed their secondary education outside Switzerland, 36.1%, as opposed to the 21.5% among the Swiss. The comparison showed a residual of 11.9, while further tests revealed that this difference was significant (Pearson's $p = .003$) and explained 2% of the variance (eta squared = .02). Although not substantial, these results might nevertheless allude to the contribution of the foreign student population to the multilingual composition of Geneva society.

In terms for foreign language skills, place of participants' upper secondary education had a statistically significant impact on their mastery two of the official languages. Swiss students spoke German as a foreign language more frequently (45.3%) than foreigners (31.9%), a difference that additional tests showed to be significant ($p < .05$) and that explains 2% of the variance (eta squared = .02). Unsurprisingly, the opposite was true for French L2 competence, which was more frequent among foreigners, 33.6% of against 17.2%, with a residual of 13.3 (Pearson's $p = .000$, eta squared = .03, $p = .001$). Foreign language skills showed similar patterns, 6.7% of foreign students were engaged in studying French at the time of the survey, whereas only a single Swiss participant did (0.4%,). A significant difference both in terms of t-test results (eta squared = .02, $p = .008$) and Chi squared values (Pearson's $p = .000$), this simply reflects requirements at the University, namely that all students enrolled in programs taught at least in part in French need to testify to an appropriate mastery of the language.

These results are hardly surprising. As French was more frequent as a mother tongue among the Swiss, it is not unexpected that the subsample yielded fewer L2 speakers and learners. German, on the other hand, can be considered as the language of the other (cf. Section [2.3](#)) in the Geneva context, besides being the first foreign language taught at primary schools in the canton. As such, the language can be expected to have more speakers and learners among Swiss students. Therefore, the above figures reflect some inherent characteristics of the Swiss subsample, which were further confirmed in subsequent tests.

Indeed, there were significant differences between the two groups regarding the level of participants' skills in Swiss official languages. The results of the Chi-square tests (excluding mother tongue speakers) are summarized in Table 4.12 below. They display that foreign students reported low levels in German and Italian more frequently than could be expected, while their answers displayed reverse trends in the case of French. These differences are understandable, considering, on the one hand, the relative importance of German and Italian as foreign languages in Geneva. On the other hand, as I explained before, the greater number of foreign students in almost all categories of French L2 skills can be attributed to the fact that there are more non-native speakers among them, who are either required to possess or are at least in practical need of some level of French (Commission politique des langues, 2012). Therefore, although these results are not unexpected or spectacular, they merit further attention as they might be indicative of the impact of contextual factors related to Swiss language education policy.

It is interesting to note that they correspond to earlier research results in Switzerland (cf. Grin, 1999), which showed higher unemployment rates as well as more frequent part-time employment in female subsamples. It is important to note that the significant difference identified by the present study is only indicative of this trend, as it is much lower than those reported by Grin (1999). This might be due to the university setting of the study, which milieu might act as a filtering factor, where professionally active members of the female population are represented in higher proportions.

Similar trends could be observed when it came to the language use patterns of the two subgroups. Since I examined the distinctions identified by the descriptive tests earlier, I will now focus on the differences that emerged as statistically significant. Table 4.13 below shows the extent of these anomalies, which were often slight, albeit significant. The figures indicate that Swiss participants used German at work and French at the university more frequently, whereas foreigners tended to speak English at home more frequently than expected. These results contribute to an interesting description of the two subsamples, which will be further explored in the next chapter.

Results - Insights from the language data: a context of true plurilingualism

Table 4.12 Residuals based on foreign language skills and place of secondary education

CEFR level		German L2 by place of secondary degree		French L2 by place of secondary degree		Italian L2 by place of secondary degree	
		Abroad	Switzerland	Abroad	Switzerland	Abroad	Switzerland
No skills	Count	67	103	-	-	95	183
	Expected	53.9	116.1	-	-	88.2	189.8
	Residual	13.1	-13.1	-	-	6.8	-6.8
A1	Count	11	18	0	1	7	10
	Expected	9.2	19.8	0.3	0.7	5.4	11.6
	Residual	1.8	-1.8	-0.3	0.3	1.6	-1.6
A2	Count	14	20	2	1	3	10
	Expected	10.8	23.2	1	2	4.1	8.9
	Residual	3.2	-3.2	1	-1	-1.1	1.1
B1	Count	11	38	3	0	4	15
	Expected	15.5	33.5	1	2	6	13
	Residual	-4.5	4.5	2	-2	-2	2
B2	Count	8	40	6	4	2	12
	Expected	15.2	32.8	3.2	6.8	4.4	9.6
	Residual	-7.2	7.2	2.8	-2.8	-2.4	2.4
C1	Count	2	14	15	8	2	6
	Expected	5.1	10.9	7.3	15.7	2.5	5.5
	Residual	-3.1	3.1	7.7	-7.7	-0.5	0.5
C2	Count	3	3	14	30	1	0
	Expected	1.9	4.1	14	30	0.3	0.7
	Residual	1.1	-1.1	0	0	0.7	-0.7

Table 4.13 Residuals based on language use and place of secondary education

Frequency of language use		German at work		French at university		English at home	
		Abroad	Switzerland	Abroad	Switzerland	Abroad	Switzerland
Never/almost never	Count	31	77	2	0	34	99
	Expected	27.4	80.6	.6	1.4	42.3	90.7
	Residual	3.6	-3.6	1.4	-1.4	-8.3	8.3
Rarely (at least once a year)	Count	15	34	1	2	19	41
	Expected	12.4	36.6	1.0	2.0	19.1	40.9

Frequency of language use		German at work		French at university		English at home	
Sometimes (monthly)	Residual	2.6	-2.6	.0	.0	-.1	.1
	Count	5	21	3	2	15	38
	Expected	6.6	19.4	1.6	3.4	16.8	36.2
Often (weekly)	Residual	-1.6	1.6	1.4	-1.4	-1.8	1.8
	Count	1	13	11	7	16	33
	Expected	3.6	10.4	5.7	12.3	15.6	33.4
Very often or always (daily)	Residual	-2.6	2.6	5.3	-5.3	.4	-.4
	Count	0	8	102	245	25	23
	Expected	2.0	6.0	110.1	236.9	15.3	32.7
Total	Residual	-2.0	2.0	-8.1	8.1	9.7	-9.7
	Count	52	153	119	256	109	234
	Expected	52	153	119	256	109	234

4.3.7 Language skills at the four faculties

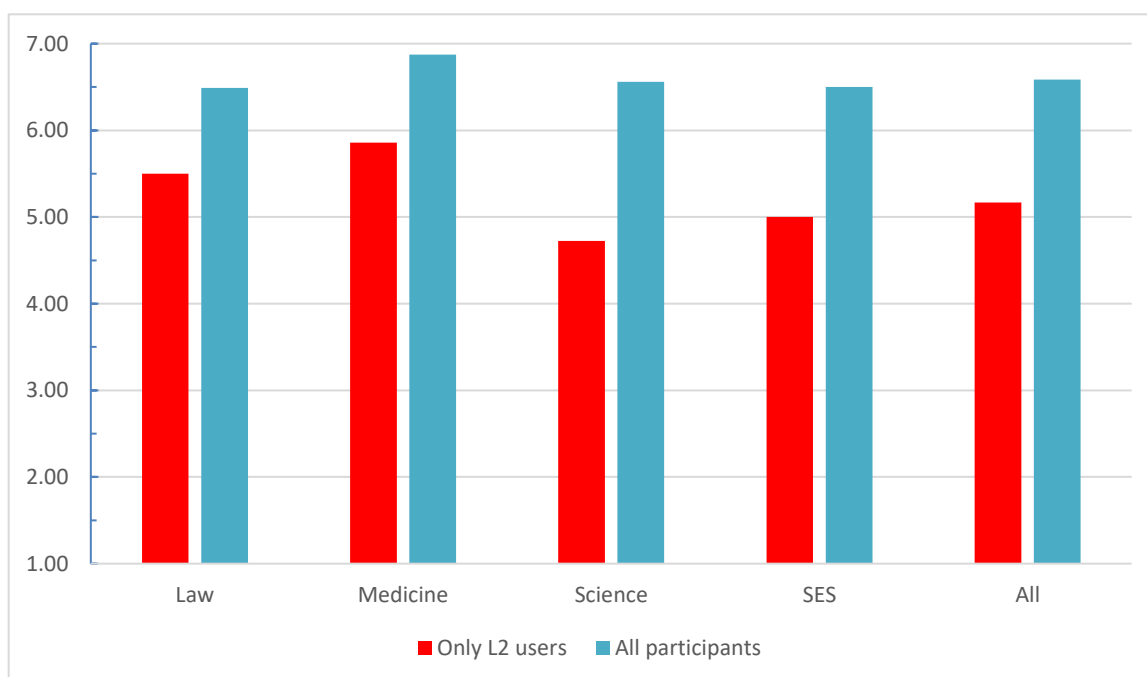
Earlier, I mentioned several details, especially in terms of language use, that suggested interesting differences among the faculties included in the study. Those hinted at the link between the various fields and students' language portfolio. While the distinctions, for instance in the case of foreign language proficiency levels, were not striking, their potential relevance made it especially worthwhile investigating their statistical significance.

However, the ANOVA tests showed that only one such connection reached the required level of significance ($p < .05$). With an eta square of .12, the link between participants' foreign language skills in French and the faculty at which they were enrolled can be considered as one of the strongest in the study. The differences, displayed in Figure 4.19 below and also in Table 4.5 previously, show that French L2 speakers' reported competence levels were significantly lower (not reaching C1) at the Faculty of Science and the Faculty of Economic and Social Sciences (C1) than at the other two. As the figure demonstrates, these disparities largely disappear when taking native speakers into account and thus showcase a balanced distribution of French skills throughout the sample.

The central goal of this section was to help construct a general image of participants' linguistic portfolio, so as to provide more background to the study of their language attitudes. I discussed the main characteristics of the sample, highlighted the most important trends, and drew

attention to the differences among subsamples. In the next section, I submit the attitudinal data to a similar analysis, before addressing the interpretation, relevance and implications of the entirety of the results.

Figure 4.19 French L2 levels at the four faculties



4.4 Attitudes and selves: a basic analysis of UNIGE students' perceptions of English

As I pointed out in [Chapter 3](#), the multiple item scales included in the questionnaire corresponded to eleven attitudinal variables. In that chapter, I also explained the construction and function of each of the scales, and presented their respective reliability coefficients obtained during the preliminary statistical analysis. Below, I examine the data yielded by the scales and the individual items in more depth, first from a descriptive point of view. The aim of this first stage is to illustrate the basic trends in the data, such as mean values and frequencies, and help identify the areas that are worth investigating through more sophisticated analytical procedures. In addition, as seen in the previous section, it can pinpoint central differences among subsample groups. In subsequent sections, I analyze these differences, as well as other notable trends in the dataset, all the while building on the results of the descriptive tests

presented here. Therefore, so as to begin this section with an overview of these results, Table 4.14 below summarizes participants' answers to each item in the form of frequency values for the different options.

Results - Attitudes and selves: a basic analysis of UNIGE students' perceptions of English

Table 4.14 Frequency values for each item in the questionnaire, number and percentage of answers

Variable	Item		Completely disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Completely agree	Total
Motivated learning behavior	1. I have decided to learn English.	N	20	16	63	87	189	375
		%	5.3	4.3	16.8	23.2	50.4	100
	2. It is very important for me to learn English.	N	5	8	23	64	275	375
		%	1.3	2.1	6.1	17.1	73.3	100
	3. I am doing my best to learn English.	N	19	28	81	98	149	375
		%	5.1	7.5	21.6	26.1	39.7	100
Ideal L2 Self	1. I like to imagine myself in the future as someone who can speak English. ^a	N	4	7	39	86	239	375
		%	1.1	1.9	10.4	22.9	63.7	100
	2. When I think of my future, speaking English is important.	N	1	4	26	68	276	375
		%	.3	1.1	6.9	18.1	73.6	100
	3. I have to be able to speak English in order to reach my future goals.	N	4	11	46	92	222	375
		%	1.1	2.9	12.3	24.5	59.2	100
	4. It is essential for me to speak English for my future studies.	N	15	31	60	71	198	375
		%	4.0	8.3	16.0	18.9	52.8	100
	5. Being able to speak English will help me in my future career.	N	4	5	30	85	251	375
		%	1.1	1.3	8.0	22.7	66.9	100
Ought-to L2 Self	1. Learning English makes you an educated person.	N	51	62	123	92	47	375
		%	13.6	16.5	32.8	24.5	12.5	100
	2. People around me think that it's important that I learn English.	N	7	11	75	149	133	375
		%	1.9	2.9	20.0	39.7	35.5	100
	3. People around me think that learning English is part of basic education.	N	18	38	89	125	105	375
		%	4.8	10.1	23.7	33.3	28.0	100
Attitudes to learning English	1. I like learning English.	N	10	20	45	116	184	375
		%	2.7	5.3	12.0	30.9	49.1	100
	2. I find learning English interesting.	N	7	17	61	106	184	375
		%	1.9	4.5	16.3	28.3	49.1	100
	3. I like the English language.	N	6	15	55	96	203	375
		%	1.6	4.0	14.7	25.6	54.1	100
Attitudes to traditional target groups	1. I like English people very much.	N	4	17	148	109	97	375
		%	1.1	4.5	39.5	29.1	25.9	100
	2. I like American people very much.	N	21	50	158	86	60	375
		%	5.6	13.3	42.1	22.9	16.0	100
	3. I would like to know more about English people.	N	12	26	110	135	92	375

Results - Attitudes and selves: a basic analysis of UNIGE students' perceptions of English

Variable	Item		Completely disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Completely agree	Total
		%	3.2	6.9	29.3	36.0	24.5	100
	4. I would like to know more about American people.	N	20	41	117	123	74	375
		%	5.3	10.9	31.2	32.8	19.7	100
	5. I (would) like speaking to English people.	N	2	12	78	153	130	375
		%	.5	3.2	20.8	40.8	34.7	100
	6. I (would) like speaking to American people.	N	10	16	92	147	110	375
		%	2.7	4.3	24.5	39.2	29.3	100
	7. I (would) like to travel to England.	N	3	10	32	134	196	375
		%	.8	2.7	8.5	35.7	52.3	100
	8. I (would) like to travel to the United States.	N	15	12	40	120	188	375
		%	4.0	3.2	10.7	32.0	50.1	100
	9. I like the English culture.	N	4	15	135	107	114	375
		%	1.1	4.0	36.0	28.5	30.4	100
	10. I like the American culture.	N	25	64	137	92	57	375
		%	6.7	17.1	36.5	24.5	15.2	100
International posture	1. If I could speak English well I could get to know more people from other (not only English-speaking) countries.	N	23	46	100	108	98	375
		%	6.1	12.3	26.7	28.8	26.1	100
	2. English is one of the most important languages in today's world.	N	1	8	28	146	192	375
		%	.3	2.1	7.5	38.9	51.2	100
	3. If I could speak English well, I could understand people from all over the world.	N	26	67	88	123	71	375
		%	6.9	17.9	23.5	32.8	18.9	100
	4. I would like to speak English better in order to be able to communicate with people from different countries.	N	17	26	85	132	115	375
		%	4.5	6.9	22.7	35.2	30.7	100
Ethnocentrism	1. *I am interested in the customs of other cultures.	N	211	119	33	12	0	375
		%	56.3	31.7	8.8	3.2	0.0	100
	2. *I can easily accept the customs of other cultures.	N	129	158	75	11	2	375
		%	34.4	42.1	20.0	2.9	.5	100
	3. *I respect the customs of other cultures.	N	195	156	22	2	0	375
		%	52.0	41.6	5.9	.5	0.0	100
	4. *I find it easy to work together with people whose customs differ from mine.	N	150	163	49	10	3	375
		%	40.0	43.5	13.1	2.7	.8	100
	5. *I find it easy to trust people whose customs differ from mine.	N	123	156	81	13	2	375
		%	32.8	41.6	21.6	3.5	.5	100
Global village	1. It is important for me to be a member of the global village.	N	23	24	123	116	89	375
		%	6.1	6.4	32.8	30.9	23.7	100
		N	23	14	94	135	109	375

Results - Attitudes and selves: a basic analysis of UNIGE students' perceptions of English

Variable	Item		Completely disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Completely agree	Total
Willingness to communicate	2. Being able to speak English helps/ would help me become a member of the global village.	%	6.1	3.7	25.1	36.0	29.1	100
	3. It is good that people from different countries can speak a common language.	N	6	8	32	140	189	375
		%	1.6	2.1	8.5	37.3	50.4	100
	4. In my opinion English is the language of the global village.	N	21	29	94	124	107	375
		%	5.6	7.7	25.1	33.1	28.5	100
	1. I don't mind speaking English in a small group of friends.	N	9	14	17	91	212	343
		%	2.6	4.1	5.0	26.5	61.8	100
	2. I don't mind speaking English in a small group of acquaintances.	N	7	9	29	95	203	343
		%	2.0	2.6	8.5	27.7	59.2	100
	3. I don't mind speaking English in a small group of strangers.	N	6	7	29	110	191	343
		%	1.7	2.0	8.5	32.1	55.7	100
	4. I don't mind speaking English in a large group of friends.	N	20	30	48	88	157	343
Perceived importance of contact		%	5.8	8.7	14.0	25.7	45.8	100
	5. I don't mind speaking English in a large group of acquaintances.	N	22	21	54	95	151	343
		%	6.4	6.1	15.7	27.7	44.0	100
	6. I don't mind speaking English in a large group of strangers.	N	24	28	52	97	142	343
		%	7.0	8.2	15.2	28.3	41.4	100
	1. I find it useful to talk to foreigners, because the more I do so the more I feel like learning foreign languages.	N	4	12	65	123	171	375
		%	1.1	3.2	17.3	32.8	45.6	100
	2. I find it useful to talk to foreigners, because the more I do so the more at ease I feel during the conversation.	N	3	5	27	151	189	375
		%	.8	1.3	7.2	40.3	50.4	100
	3. Before meeting foreigners, I prepare for the conversation (e.g. by looking up words in the dictionary or thinking through what I am going to say). ^a	N	87	78	65	99	46	375
		%	23.2	20.8	17.3	26.4	12.3	100
	4. I find it useful to talk to foreigners, because it helps me understand how people live in their country.	N	6	13	46	141	169	375
Direct contact		%	1.6	3.5	12.3	37.6	45.1	100
	1. How often do you speak English while traveling abroad?	N	8	42	19	60	214	343
		%	2.3	12.2	5.5	17.5	62.4	100
	2. How often do you speak English during your holidays in French-speaking Switzerland?	N	210	74	45	9	5	343
		%	61.2	21.6	13.1	2.6	1.5	100
	3. How often do you speak English during your holidays in German-speaking Switzerland?	N	113	62	60	60	48	343
		%	32.9	18.1	17.5	17.5	14.0	100
	4. How often do you speak English during your holidays in Ticino?	N	167	62	34	40	40	343
		%	48.7	18.1	9.9	11.7	11.7	100
	5. How often do you speak English with foreigners you know?	N	18	34	81	78	132	343

Results - Attitudes and selves: a basic analysis of UNIGE students' perceptions of English

Variable	Item		Completely disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Completely agree	Total
		%	5.2	9.9	23.6	22.7	38.5	100
	6. How often do you speak English with foreigners in your neighborhood?	N	133	60	71	35	44	343
		%	38.8	17.5	20.7	10.2	12.8	100
	7. How often do you use English to write emails?	N	32	63	98	110	40	343
		%	9.3	18.4	28.6	32.1	11.7	100
	8. How often do you use English to surf the web?	N	5	8	33	102	195	343
		%	1.5	2.3	9.6	29.7	56.9	100
	9. How often do you use English to take part in the discussion on social networking platforms (chat, Facebook, Twitter, etc.)?	N	69	43	68	67	96	343
		%	20.1	12.5	19.8	19.5	28.0	100
	10. How often do you use English to write text messages?	N	74	64	92	59	54	343
		%	21.6	18.7	26.8	17.2	15.7	100
	11. How often do you use English to write formal or informal letters?	N	83	109	84	45	22	343
		%	24.2	31.8	24.5	13.1	6.4	100
	12. How often do you use English during your university studies?	N	29	49	68	105	92	343
		%	8.5	14.3	19.8	30.6	26.8	100
	13. How often do you watch films or series in English?	N	16	31	64	110	122	343
		%	4.7	9.0	18.7	32.1	35.6	100
	14. How often do you watch TV in English?	N	75	64	75	64	65	343
		%	21.9	18.7	21.9	18.7	19.0	100
	15. How often do you read books in English?	N	33	92	92	70	56	343
		%	9.6	26.8	26.8	20.4	16.3	100
	16. How often do you read newspapers or magazines in English?	N	57	78	83	77	48	343
		%	16.6	22.7	24.2	22.4	14.0	100
	17. How often do you read emails in English?	N	26	51	86	91	89	343
		%	7.6	14.9	25.1	26.5	25.9	100
	18. How often do you read formal or informal letters in English?	N	77	100	77	49	40	343
		%	22.4	29.2	22.4	14.3	11.7	100
	19. How often do your teachers talk about life in English-speaking countries?	N	159	89	78	42	7	375
		%	42.4	23.7	20.8	11.2	1.9	100
	20. How often do members of your family talk about life in English-speaking countries?	N	156	93	78	36	12	375
		%	41.6	24.8	20.8	9.6	3.2	100
	21. How often do your acquaintances talk about life in English-speaking countries?	N	53	100	134	74	14	375
		%	14.1	26.7	35.7	19.7	3.7	100

* Reversed item.

^a Item excluded from scale to improve reliability.

4.4.1 A first glance at the survey results

Although the data presented in Table 4.14 is very rich, the conclusions this representation allows are limited to a few general observations. First of all, it is possible to compare the first ten scales and conclude that, among all the items, participants agreed most with the second statement in the scale measuring the strength of their ideal L2. Indeed, 73.6% of them stated that speaking English was an important part of their future self-image. The importance of English in the life of respondents becomes even clearer in light of the next items in this comparison. Students gave similarly unanimous answers to the second question in the scale on motivated learning behavior, which occupied second place with a rate of agreement of 73.3%. Three further questions on the ideal L2 self followed, making it the scale with the highest overall mean value.

By contrast, all five items of the ethnocentrism scale were featured at the very end of this list, so it is not surprising that the set had the lowest mean value. However, in order to better understand the implications of these results, two things need to be addressed. First, it is important to point out that, for reasons explored in the previous chapter, this scale was composed of a set of reversed items and therefore participants' answers have been recoded and assigned the opposite values so as to gauge the extent of their ethnocentrism. Consequently, the trends shown here can better be interpreted as adherence to non-ethnocentric values and views.

Interestingly, the items on ethnocentrism were preceded by the third question on the perceived importance of language contact, which was not only omitted from the final scale due to low reliability with the rest of the items but also identified as a standalone factor by principal component analysis (cf. [3.4](#)). The remaining questions in that group showed more balanced patterns of agreement and will thus be analyzed in more detail in the subsections below.

One final detail worth mentioning here is participants' tendency to remain indifferent, which was the most marked in the case of the second question related to traditional target groups. In fact, 42.1% of respondents chose the option in the middle of the scale, indicating that they neither liked nor disliked Americans. Intriguingly, the item was followed by the same question regarding speakers from England, to which 39.5% of students replied with indifference. Similar results were obtained in the case of both American and English culture, as well as global

citizenship. Table 4.15 below provides further details as to the items with the highest rate (at least 25%) of indecisive answers.

Table 4.15 Number of responses in each category, items with the highest rate of indifference

Question	Completely disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Completely agree
I like American people very much.	21	50	158	86	60
I like English people very much.	4	17	148	109	97
I like the American culture.	25	64	137	92	57
I like the English culture.	4	15	135	107	114
It is important for me to be a member of the global village.	23	24	123	116	89
Learning English makes you an educated person.	51	62	123	92	47
I would like to know more about American people.	20	41	117	123	74
I would like to know more about English people.	12	26	110	135	92
If I could speak English well I could get to know more people from other (not only English-speaking) countries.	23	46	100	108	98
Being able to speak English helps/ would help me become a member of the global village.	23	14	94	135	109
In my opinion English is the language of the global village.	21	29	94	124	107

As I observed before, the descriptive test results in the previous section raised several interesting questions that could be investigated through further comparative analysis. Below, I explore some of these issues, with the help of statistical tests contrasting various subsamples, in order to identify significant differences among respondents of different backgrounds. Therefore, this process, which follows similar steps to the ones applied to the language data in the previous section, can also help pinpoint the grouping variables that can lead to variation in language attitudes and motivation. My focus in the remainder of this chapter is the attitudinal scales themselves, and in the present section I examine the results that they yielded both from a descriptive and a comparative perspective. I would like to emphasize that the figures cited in this section do not reveal causality, although, in many cases, the latter can be assumed as certain demographic variables, such as age, are independent of other factors. The direction of these intricate relationships, many of which emerged as early as the first tests, is explored later in the chapter.

4.4.2 Motivated learning behavior

The core dependent variable in the study was that of motivated learning behavior toward English, which was represented in the questionnaire by three items, each covering a different aspect of the concept. Out of the three, the perceived importance of the language learning goal proved to be the most relevant to students' point of view. This statement, number two in Table 4.16, yielded the highest average, at 4.59 surpassing the second highest value by a full half a point. This figure also indicates that participants on the whole strongly agreed with the statement. It is important to note that both speakers of the language and students with no skills in English were asked these questions. Their answers are therefore especially interesting as regards the first item, which also elicited considerable agreement at a mean value of 4.09. On the whole, it can be concluded that, at the time of the study, respondents in general were rather motivated to learn English.

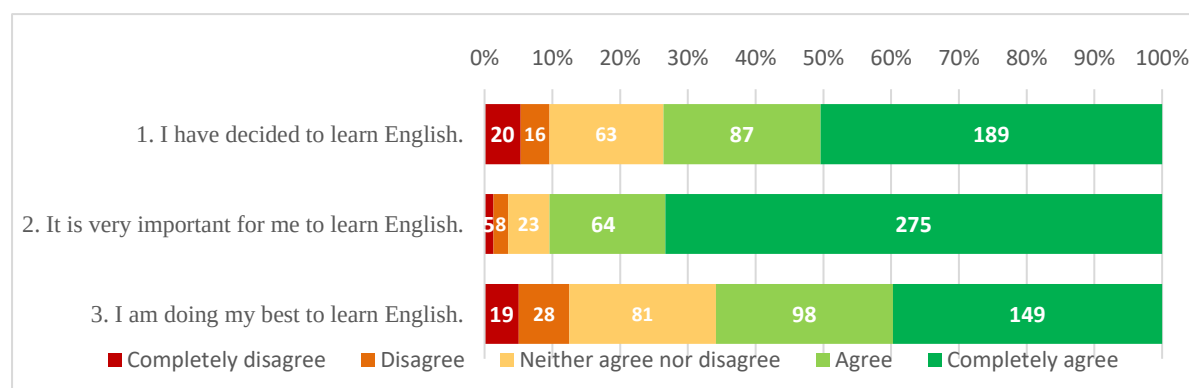
Table 4.16 Motivated learning behavior, descriptive statistics

Item	N	M	SD
1. I have decided to learn English.	375	4.09	1.15
2. It is very important for me to learn English.	375	4.59	.81
3. I am doing my best to learn English.	375	3.88	1.17
Total	375	4.19	.86

While these results demonstrate some general trends, a closer look at the number of answers for each option offered, as shown in Figure 4.20, reveals further details. First of all, the high mean value obtained for the second statement was due to the exceptionally high number (73.3%) of responses in the category of complete agreement. On the other hand, the first item, with a comparably high overall score, showed a much more heterogeneous pattern, with about twice as many participants choosing each of the first three options and 6% more (23.2% against 17.1%) opting to simply agree. As I pointed out earlier, these differences also result in the

second statement yielding the second highest mean value (and rate of agreement) among all the items.

Figure 4.20 Motivated learning behavior, number of responses per option, per item



4.4.3 Differences in motivation

Motivated learning behavior, as I examined at length in the course of the previous chapters, is considered as an important predictor of the learning outcome and a sound measure of learners' engagement in the learning process. Therefore, the factors that can lead to or that are related to contrasts in motivation to learn English among subsamples are especially worth investigating. Interestingly, tests based on the socio-demographic variables revealed no significant difference in students' scores on the scale. Nor did participants' mother tongues have any effect on their motivated learning behavior. The foreign languages that respondents spoke, on the other hand, were shown to influence their motivation, their impact depending on the language in question.

First of all, a small effect ($\eta^2 = .01$) was observed in the case of L2 competence in general. Students who did not report skills in any foreign language attained an average of 3.87 on the motivation scale, while participants who spoke at least one L2 had a motivation of 4.21. Unsurprisingly, whether English is among those foreign languages had a moderate impact ($\eta^2 = .08$), as participants who did not mark English among their L2s reached an average motivation of 3.66, whereas those who did had a mean value of 4.29 on the scale.

Similarly, studying an L2 at the time of inquiry had a modest effect ($\eta^2 = .02$). Respondents who did so had slightly augmented motivation at 4.34 as opposed to 4.08. If that language was German ($\eta^2 = .01$), motivation to learn English increased from 4.15 to 4.42, while in the case of English ($\eta^2 = .01$) learning it contributed to a growth in motivation from 4.15 to 4.39. What is surprising is that, first, learning these languages had a

very similar effect. Second, the effect size (eta squared value) of their connection was also comparable. Furthermore, the above suggests that it made an unexpectedly small difference whether respondents in fact spoke English as a foreign language.

These results indicate that, in addition to having learned or being currently engaged in learning English, other factors might have a more important influence on students' motivation. Indeed, as I will show in the next section, several of the attitudinal variables showed strong links to motivated learning behavior. On the other hand, as I noted before, while English as an L2 had a strong positive impact on speakers' motivation to learn the language, whether they were doing so at the time of the survey, did not have such considerable impact. Finally, there were significant correlations ($p < .05$) between motivation to learn English and students' level of proficiency in English and French as foreign languages, however, they only amounted to coefficients of .18 and .11 respectively. The tables in [Appendix 5](#) provide a summary of these tests.

4.4.4 The ideal L2 self

One of the scales with the highest potential was that of the ideal L2 self. Previous studies, also reviewed in [Chapter 1](#), showed the concept to be highly relevant in a plethora of modern L2 learning contexts. Its key role in learners' motivational profile in other locations raised intriguing questions as to its importance in the Swiss learning environment. As per its definition, explained in Section [3.4.2](#), the variable incorporates the L2 related facets of one's ideal future self-image. Thus, the items measure the place accorded to the language in the personality into which one wishes to develop. The mean values indicated in Table 4.17 suggest that, similarly to their peers in other countries, university students in Geneva found English to play an important role in their future plans.

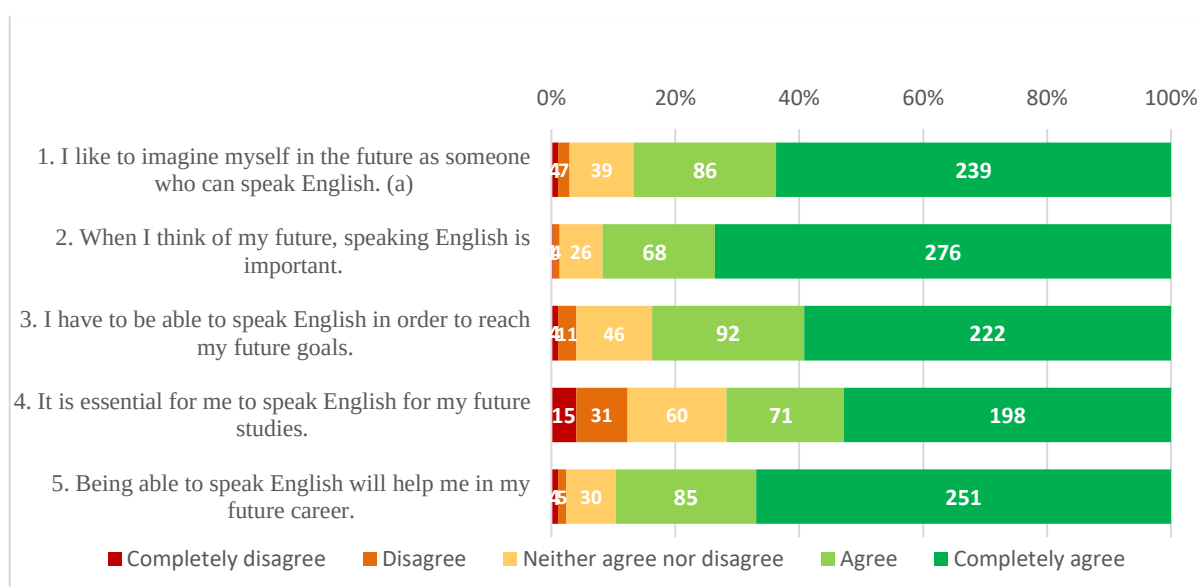
The scale achieved the highest overall mean value among all the variables, and its items were among those with the most significant scores. Indeed, the list of all items was topped by the second statement in the scale, both in terms of means and the rate of complete agreement (73.6%), only slightly surpassing the strongest question in the set on motivated learning behavior. In contrast with that scale, however, Figure 4.21 shows that the items on the ideal L2 self follow a more homogeneous pattern in terms of rate of agreement.

Table 4.17 Ideal L2 self, descriptive statistics

Item	N	M	SD
1. I like to imagine myself in the future as someone who can speak English. ^a	375	4.46	.84
2. When I think of my future, speaking English is important.	375	4.64	.68
3. I have to be able to speak English in order to reach my future goals.	375	4.38	.89
4. It is essential for me to speak English for my future studies.	375	4.08	1.17
5. Being able to speak English will help me in my future career.	375	4.53	.79
Total	375	4.41	.77

^a Item excluded from scale to improve reliability.

Figure 4.21 Ideal L2 self, number of responses per option, per item



A more detailed analysis of the frequency values for each option indicates that, with the exception of the fourth item, disagreement with these statements reached very low levels. In the case of the second item, only 2.9% of participants chose the first two options, while altogether 8.3% refused to agree. The figures were similar for the fifth statement (2.4% and 10.4% respectively), while the third resulted in non-agreement in only marginally higher ratios at 4% for disagreement and 16.3% for the first three options.

The above results also show that the fourth item yielded somewhat different answers, with the lowest level of agreement in the set. One possible explanation for this might lie in the wording of this particular item, which, due to the use of the word *essential* (*indispensable* in the French

original), would suggest a stronger commitment on students' part. On the other hand, even this statement, which elicited the most disagreement, was approved by 71.7% of participants.

As previously stated (section [3.4.2](#)), item three was excluded from the analysis of the scale in order to enhance its internal reliability. Nonetheless, it is perhaps worth pointing out that answers to that statement also conformed to the general trends observed in the scale in terms of frequency values. On the whole, it can be concluded that the remaining four items resulted in strong patterns of agreement and the highest overall mean value in the case of the complete scale. This suggests that, similarly to participants in previous studies in other contexts university students in Geneva regarded English skills as an integral part of their desired future personality.

4.4.5 Stronger and weaker future self-guides

As the tables in [Appendix 5](#) indicate, there were significant differences among participants of different subsamples as regards the strength of their ideal L2 self. First of all, the place where respondents had completed their secondary education also led to distinctions ($\eta^2 = .01$) in the relevance of their ideal self-image. Foreign students' ideal L2 self proved to be slightly stronger at 4.53, while their Swiss peers scored at 4.35 on average on the scale.

Moreover, ANOVA tests showed that the level of tertiary education at which students were enrolled distinguished among them in terms of their self-concept. The ideal L2 self was strongest in the case of PhD students ($N = 59$, $M = 4.65$) and bachelor students ($N = 162$, $M = 4.49$), followed by participants studying in master's programs ($N = 152$, $M = 4.24$). The two respondents enrolled in specialized master's (MAS) programs reported ideal L2 selves with an average strength of 3.25 on the five-point scale.

In addition, the frequency of language use in certain situations also correlated with the strength of speakers' ideal L2 self. It is not surprising that the more often students used English with friends ($r = .23$, $p < .05$) and at work ($r = .23$, $p < .05$) the more elaborate their English-speaking self-image. Even more importantly, the ideal L2 self correlated more strongly with the use of English at the university ($r = .32$, $p < .05$) and L2 speakers' level of proficiency in English as a foreign language ($r = .27$, $p < .05$). Interestingly, there was also a moderate correlation ($r = .32$, $p < .05$) between participants' ideal self-image as speakers of English and the frequency with which they use Italian at work.

As was the case before, speaking a foreign language, especially English, was linked to a slight increase in the strength of the ideal L2 self. Students who spoke an L2 had marginally stronger ideal L2 selves at 4.43 as opposed to 4.10 ($\eta^2 = .01$) in the case of participants who did not. English as a foreign language had a somewhat more significant ($\eta^2 = .02$) relationship to the self-guide, correlated with a rise in mean value from 4.16 to 4.46. It is interesting to note that the last demographic grouping variable that appeared to make a difference was whether participants' L1s were among the four languages (German, French, Italian and English) listed in the survey. Indeed, respondents who marked one of these languages as an L1 had ideal English-speaking selves of an average strength of 4.36 in contrast with 4.55 ($\eta^2 = .01$) for students whose L1s belonged to the *other* category.

4.4.6 The ought-to L2 self

As opposed to the ideal self, which incorporates one's innermost desires and aspirations concerning one's future self, the ought-to self refers to the personality one thinks one *should* become in order to conform to the expectations and requirements of one's immediate environment (see also [Chapter 2](#) and [Chapter 3](#)). The items that made up this scale, therefore, investigated the place of English skills in participants' self-concept as determined by their perceptions of the attitudes and expectations of their milieu. Table 4.18 below displays the descriptive statistics obtained for each of the items and shows that the scale was not only reliable, as confirmed by the Cronbach Alpha values in Section [3.4](#), but students also found the elements that it represented relevant to their self-concept.

Table 4.18 Ought-to L2 self, descriptive statistics

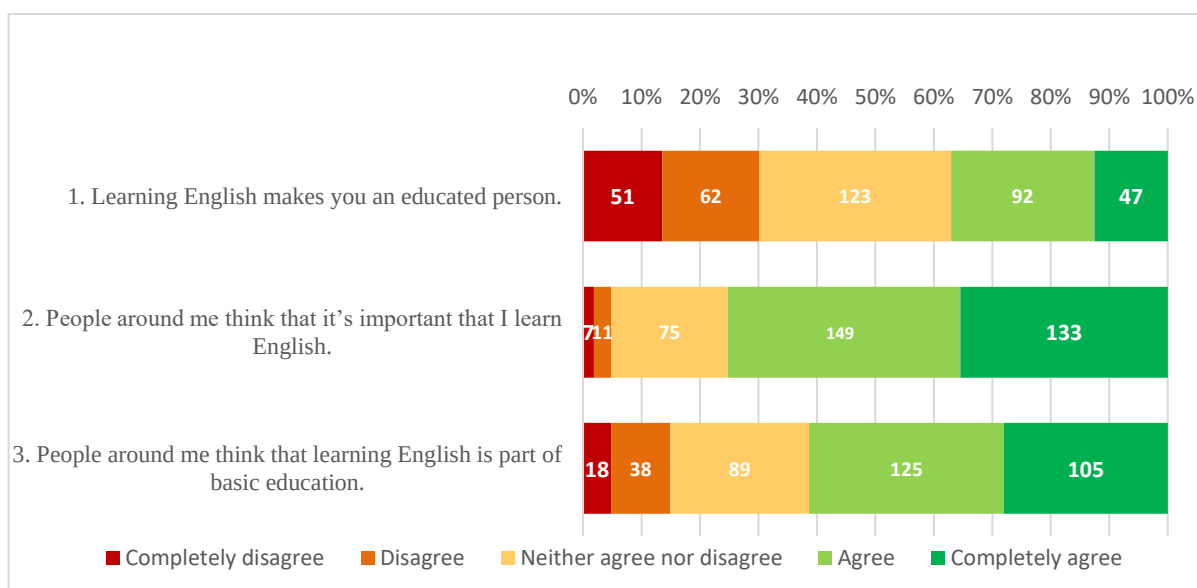
Item	N	M	SD
1. Learning English makes you an educated person.	375	3.06	1.21
2. People around me think that it's important that I learn English.	375	4.04	.92
3. People around me think that learning English is part of basic education.	375	3.70	1.13
Total	375	3.60	.83

In the previous chapter, I analyzed the statistical relevance of each item to the concept of the ought-to L2 self. That analysis revealed that the second item contributed most strongly ($\alpha = .518$) to the construct depicted by the scale, although the relative strength (Cronbach's Alpha) of each of the three questions was close to the average. Similarly, all items elicited answers in

the same range, encompassing all five options offered. In terms of means and the distribution of those answers, however, the three items performed markedly differently.

When compared, mean values showed that the second item also achieved the highest average, followed by the third and finally the first question. Standard deviation values displayed a reverse trend, which means that participants can be expected to form fewer but larger groups as regards the distribution of their responses. These results indicate that the item on how important students think English is considered in their social circles elicited the highest overall agreement. More in-depth analysis in Figure 4.22 below confirms that this is true both in terms of agreement with their peers but also as far as their agreement with the statement is concerned.

Figure 4.22 Ought-to L2 self, number of responses per option, per item



The figures displayed above reveal clear in the distribution of participants' answers to the three items. Agreement, both partial and complete, was lowest in the case of the first statement, whereas the second item resulted in the highest level of accordance. Altogether, 75.2% of participants agreed with this statement and disagreement only reached 4.8%. By contrast, much fewer students (37%) agreed with the first item, while a close 30.1% disagreed. Interestingly, a similar number, 32.8% remained undecided or indifferent, which can be interpreted in several different ways.

First of all, the high number of inconclusive responses might reflect on the abstract nature of the adjective *educated*. On the one hand, one might find it difficult to define the notion itself and on the other, to pinpoint the contribution of English to such a personality. Moreover, even

if one might manage to draw on a tangible definition, it might be an uncomfortable or unwanted responsibility to decide what qualities form part of the image of an educated person. From this follows the possibility that, even when participants consider English as an integral part of being educated, a higher importance is accorded to other factors, inspiring them to choose the option corresponding to *it depends*. The last two issues were mentioned by some of the pilot participants during think-aloud interviews, although, interestingly, they did not emerge as problematic in my previous study in Hungary (Csillagh, 2010). This suggests that contextual particularities might play a role in the patterns produced by the first item. Last but not least, based on further contextual and social characteristics of the Swiss sample, it is also possible that certain negative connotations or bias in relation to the word *educated* might have swayed participants' opinion. The considerably more conventional distribution of respondent's choices for the third item might confirm these concerns, as the term *basic education* elicited none of the patterns observed above.

4.4.7 The changing importance of a socially constructed self

Many of the languages that students spoke had significant, albeit slight, connections to their socially defined self-image. Speakers of Italian as a first language had weaker ought-to L2 selves at 3.25 than the rest of the sample ($M = 3.63$, eta squared = .01). As for foreign languages, being able to speak any L2 in general was shown to somewhat correlate with a growth in the strength of respondents' ought-to L2 self ($M = 3.20$ and $M = 3.63$, eta squared = .02). Similar results were found where learning foreign languages was concerned ($M = 3.51$ as opposed to $M = 3.71$, eta squared = .01).

In more detail, all German, Italian and English were linked to participants' concept of their English-speaking self, as portrayed by social expectations. German as an L2 was connected to an increased level of importance of the ought-to L2 self (3.49 as opposed to 3.76, eta squared = .03), which explained 3% of the variance. There was also a slight correlation ($r = .19$, $p < .05$) between L2 speakers' level of German and the self-guide. A similar relationship could be observed between this aspect of participants' self-concept and the fact whether they were engaged in learning German at the time of inquiry, with students who did so having stronger ought-to L2 selves ($M = 3.82$ and $M = 3.56$, eta squared = .01).

Interestingly, skills in Italian as a foreign language were negatively related to participants' English-specific ought-to self (eta squared = .01), but this connection only accounted for 1%

of variation. Whereas speakers of Italian as an L2 scored 3.40 on average on the scale, their peers had more prominent ought-to L2 selves at 3.64. In addition, participants' level of Italian as an L2 was negatively linked to the strength of their ought-to L2 self ($r = -.11, p < .05$), while using the language at work ($r = .31, p < .05$) or with friends ($r = .35, p < .05$) had moderate correlations with the self-guide.

Unsurprisingly, groupings based on English showed even more positive links to participants' English-speaking, socially defined, self-concept. First of all, using the language in various situations, such as at home ($r = .14, p < .05$), at work ($r = .16, p < .05$), at the University ($r = .16, p < .05$) or with friends ($r = .26, p < .05$), displayed modest to medium correlation with the self-guide. Second, respondents' reported level of L2 proficiency was also moderately linked to the variable ($r = .36, p < .05$). Last but not least, students who spoke English as a foreign language had more prominent ought-to L2 selves (3.65 in contrast with 3.33, $\eta^2 = .02$). While these relationships do not reveal effects of causality, it is easy to imagine that the ought-to L2 self, a component of Dörnyei's (2009) Self System (cf. [2.2.3](#)), can be linked to elements of language learning and use, as well as language learning motivation. At the same time, it can be argued that these connections belie a mutual influence, since through learning individuals encounter situations that can strengthen their language specific self-concept. Indeed, these first comparative results were indicative of the important role that the ought-to L2 would play in the final model.

In addition to the four languages listed as options, skills in a language in the category *other* were also linked to a stronger ought to L2 self ($M = 3.76$ against $M = 3.54$, $\eta^2 = .02$). In a similar vein, the statistical analysis showed a positive relationship between current engagement in learning any of these languages and the importance learners accorded to their socially defined English-speaking self ($M = 3.79$ as opposed to $M = 3.56$, $\eta^2 = .01$). This stresses the importance of other foreign languages for English learners' self-concept and motivation. These findings, summarized in [Appendix 5](#) might also confirm the conclusions presented in [Chapter 2](#), namely that, in today's world, proficiency in other L2s, in addition to English, is highly rewarded both in a social and an in an economic sense.

Finally, ANOVA tests ($\eta^2 = .03$) revealed that students at different faculties had ought-to L2 selves of varying intensity. As Table 4.19 demonstrates, the self-guide was strongest among medical students ($M = 3.83, SD = .75$), followed by the Faculties of Law ($M = 3.69, SD = .83$) and Sciences ($M = 3.50, SD = .81$), and was weakest in the case of

participants at the SES ($M = 3.83$, $SD = .75$). It is interesting to note that the subsamples with the most prominent ought-to L2 self were enrolled at faculties that prepare students for the locally relevant medical and legal, professions. Interestingly, the tests also identified that these distinctions were statistically significant when science students were compared to their peers at the Faculty of Medicine ($p < .05$), and when they were contrasted with students from the Faculty of Economic and Social Sciences ($p < .05$).

Table 4.19 Results on the ought-to L2 self scale per faculty. Full sample.

Faculty	N	M	SD
Law	94	3.69	.83
Medicine	64	3.83	.75
Science	150	3.50	.81
SES	60	3.44	.92
Total	368	3.60	.83

4.4.8 Attitudes to learning English

Previous studies show that learners' attitudes toward the learning process can greatly influence their motivation (cf. [Chapter 2](#)). Moreover, these studies revealed that the role that such attitudes played was not only decisive but also indirect. Views of the foreign language in question as well as the learning process were shown to load into learners' self-concepts, which in turn drove their motivated learning behavior. While these findings provided practical details, identifying learning attitudes as an important element of language learning and motivation, the theoretical and methodological background of these early studies also set the stage for the present research. As I explained in the previous chapters, both the L2 Motivational Self System (Dörnyei, 2005, 2009), of which learning attitudes form a part, and the standardized questionnaires employed in former studies greatly inspired the project presented here.

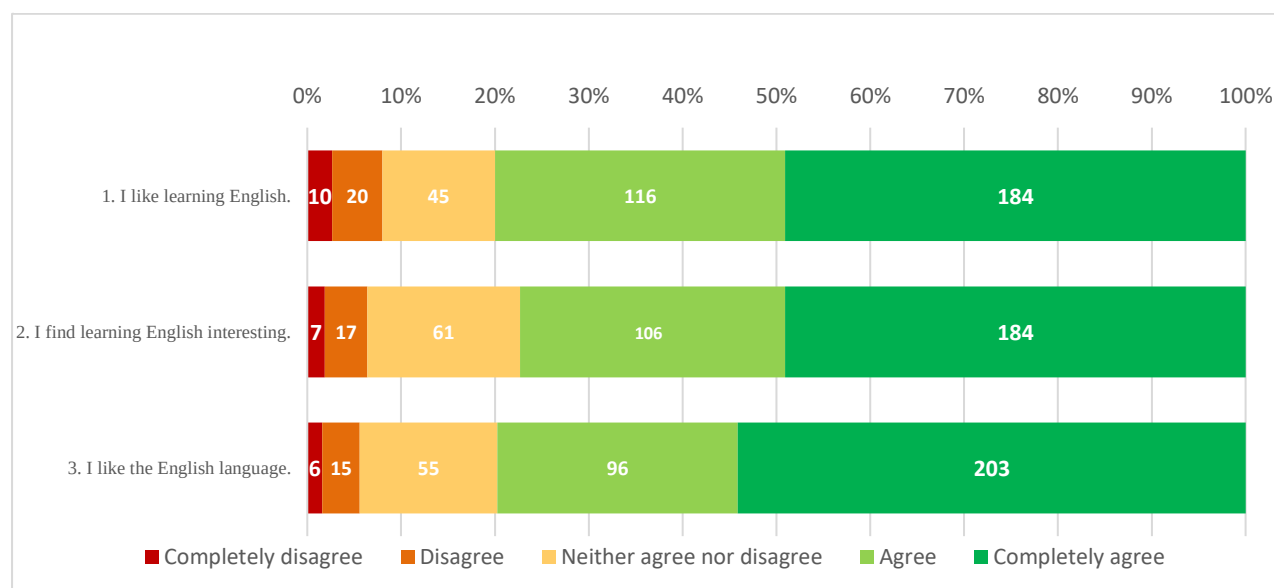
As discussed in [Chapter 3](#), three items contributed to this scale, with a total reliability coefficient of $\alpha = .907$. As that first analysis showed, the weakest component in this remarkably strong set was the last item. This is not surprising given the slightly different focus of that statement, which shifts the spotlight onto the language itself instead of the learning process. Nevertheless, this difference is so slight ($\alpha = .002$) that it does not disqualify the item, on the contrary, it confirms that language attitudes are an integral part of how learners feel about the learning process. Interestingly, the three statements performed remarkably similarly in terms of their descriptive statistics, as displayed in Table 4.20.

Table 4.20 Attitudes to learning English, descriptive statistics

Item	N	M	SD
1. I like learning English.	375	4.18	1.02
2. I find learning English interesting.	375	4.18	.99
3. I like the English language.	375	4.27	.96
Total	375	4.21	.91

Indeed, the first two yielded almost identical mean values and only marginally different levels of dispersion. It further illustrates the coherence of the scale that the third statement followed the exact same pattern, with an ever so slightly higher mean value and lower standard deviation. On the whole, students tended to agree with the statements, their average answer to the scale ($M = 4.2$) even surpassing the option *I agree* (value 4) on the five-point scale. Figure 4.23 reveals further similarities among the three items in terms of the distribution of students along the continuum of choices.

Figure 4.23 Attitudes to learning English, number of responses per option, per item



The graph clearly shows that participants' answer patterns to the three items followed similar trends, much more so than in the case of the scales previously analyzed (e.g. the marked differences between the second statement and the other two in the set measuring the *ought-to L2 self*). Nevertheless, despite their almost identical mean values, items one and two yielded different rates of agreement (80% as opposed to 77.4%). This is clearly due to the smaller number of students signaling simple agreement with the second statement ($N = 106$) than with the first ($N = 116$) as an identical 49.1% of participants strongly agreed with both items. Overall agreement with the third statement was also high (79.7%) and a remarkable 54.1% of students

strongly agreed with liking the English language. The highest rate of disagreement (8%) could be found with the first item and the lowest (5.6%) with the last.

These exceptionally high rates of agreement raise the question whether the same results would be obtained in all subgroups in the sample. In other words, do non-speakers and non-learners of English respond to these questions the same way as speakers and students currently engaged in the learning process do? Are there any differences between L1 and L2 speakers' responses to the third item? Does the level of proficiency in English – or, indeed, in any other language – play a role in students' attitudes toward English? These are questions that could not be answered on the basis of simple descriptive statistics and were therefore investigated using further comparative tests.

4.4.9 Different learning experience

The t-tests carried out to compare different subsamples revealed that the above variables were not the only ones related to foreign language speaking and learning (cf. [Appendix 5](#)). Indeed, participants' attitudes to learning English showed significant differences based on whether they spoke and learned certain foreign languages. Speaking any L2 in general was linked to a considerable rise, since the participants who responded in the negative had an overall mean score of 3.36, while their L2-speaking peers had more favorable views of learning English at 4.29. This factor also explained eight percent of the variance (eta squared = .08) and was therefore noteworthy. Similarly, students who were engaged in learning any foreign language or languages had a more positive orientation ($M = 4.38$, $SD = .83$) than those who did not ($M = 4.08$, $SD = .93$), but this relationship contributed less to the overall variance (eta squared = .03).

As in the case of the ought-to L2 self, attitudes to learning English were more positive in the case of respondents who studied German at the time when surveyed ($M = 4.55$, $SD = .60$ as opposed to $M = 4.15$, $SD = .94$, eta squared = .04). In addition, the frequency with which speakers used German at the University also correlated with their favorable views of the process of learning English ($r = .15$, $p < .05$). Moreover, Italian displayed the same trend, albeit with a smaller effect size (eta squared = .02), as learning the language also meant a higher score on the scale ($M = 4.57$, $SD = .58$ and $M = 4.19$, $SD = .92$). Once more, these relationships are shown in more detail in [Appendix 5](#).

It is not surprising at all that English as an L2 was also related to learning attitudes. Participants who mentioned the language as part of their L2 portfolio felt more positively toward the learning process ($M = 4.31$, $SD = .85$) than students who did not ($M = 3.72$, $SD = 1.01$). What is more interesting is that, while this connection had a moderate effect (eta squared = .06), other aspects of English as a foreign language had surprisingly weak relationships with attitudes toward learning the language. Indeed, L2 speakers' level of proficiency correlated with the variable but the relationship amounted to a coefficient of only .41 ($p < .05$). Additionally, how often students used English with friends ($r = .23$, $p < .05$) or at home ($r = .19$, $p < .05$) showed unexpectedly weak links to their learning attitudes.

Again, being a learner of a language or languages other than the four mentioned by name in the survey showed a slight difference in attitudes to learning English. Students who did so scored 4.41 on average, as opposed to their peers, who had an overall mean score of 4.17 (eta squared = .01) on the scale. Lastly, gender and professional activity both seemed to be slightly related to learning attitudes toward English. Women had more favorable views of learning English ($M = 4.31$) than men ($M = 4.02$), however the effect size was relatively small (eta squared = .02). An even weaker effect (eta squared = .01) was pinpointed regarding the difference between participants who were professionally engaged and who were not, since the former had less positive attitudes toward learning English ($M = 4.12$) than the latter ($M = 4.31$). The question arises whether this relationship is a result of students' experience of language use at work, where English is not as often used as one might expect and other language skills are also necessary (cf. [2.3.2](#)). At the same time, due to the link between gender and work experience, this issue needs further examination before any conclusions can be drawn.

4.4.10 Attitudes toward traditional native speaker target groups

This scale measured participants' attitudes to two native speaker target groups; people from England and from the United States of America. It was composed of ten items in total, five specific to each group. As I concluded earlier (Section [3.4.4](#)), reliability analysis also confirmed that the scale could be further divided into two subscales, based on the target group to which the items referred. Table 4.21 below shows the results of the descriptive analysis for each of the ten statements as well as the whole scale. It also provides additional details about the two subscales and reveals a number of differences in participants' attitudes toward the target groups concerned.

Table 4.21 Ideal L2 self, descriptive statistics

Item	N	M	SD
1. I like English people very much.	375	3.74	.93
2. I like American* people very much.	375	3.30	1.07
3. I would like to know more about English people.	375	3.72	1.01
4. I would like to know more about American people.	375	3.51	1.09
5. I (would) like speaking to English people.	375	4.06	.85
6. I (would) like speaking to American people.	375	3.88	.97
7. I (would) like to travel to England.	375	4.36	.81
8. I (would) like to travel to the United States.	375	4.21	1.03
9. I like the English culture.	375	3.83	.95
10. I like the American culture.	375	3.25	1.11
Total	375	3.79	.71
Total subscale: English	375	3.94	.75
Total subscale: American	375	3.63	.86

*Note that in French *les Américains* clearly refers to inhabitants of the United States of America.

Before I move on to discussing these differences, I would like to draw attention to a few general trends present in the data shown in Table 4.21. The highest mean values, 4.36 and 4.21 respectively, were obtained by the seventh and eighth items. These statements referred to willingness to travel to the countries in question, namely to England and the United States of America. While participants were more interested in visiting the former, their attitude toward the latter as a destination was still decidedly positive overall. In this comparison, statements five and six occupy third and fourth place, their mean values 4.06 and 3.88 respectively. These figures mean that students *agreed* with both statements, although they were slightly more eager to talk to English people.

Interestingly, the other end of the spectrum was composed of items ten, two and four, from lowest to highest. Statement ten on students' interest in American culture yielded an average of 3.25, which is only a little higher than the middle option, *neither agree nor disagree*. Respondents' attitude toward American people in general resulted in a score only marginally higher at 3.30. Their interest in getting to know Americans better exceeded both of these values, but its mean of 3.50, exactly halfway between options 3 and 4, is still lower than that of the corresponding item concerning people from England. At the same time, such differences seemed consistent throughout all the item pairs, as Table 4.22 testifies.

Table 4.22 Differences in the perception of native speaker target groups

Item pair	Difference in mean values	Difference in SD
1. I like English people very much.	.44	.14
2. I like American people very much.		
3. I would like to know more about English people.	.21	.08
4. I would like to know more about American people.		
5. I (would) like speaking to English people.	.18	.11
6. I (would) like speaking to American people.		
7. I (would) like to travel to England.	.15	.22
8. I (would) like to travel to the United States.		
9. I like the English culture.	.59	.17
10. I like the American culture.		
Subscale: English	.31	.10
Subscale: American		

A cursory glance at the last row in Table 4.22 reveals the general extent of this discrepancy, which amounted to about a third of a grade in favor of speakers from England. While the statements regarding people from England yielded responses .31 higher on average, they resulted in an overall standard distribution value that was .10 lower than the items on Americans. Although these contrasts do not seem high, it is worth noting that .31 corresponds to a change of 6.2% on a five-point Likert scale. Moreover, these figures also appear to highlight consistent differences in the perception of the two target groups.

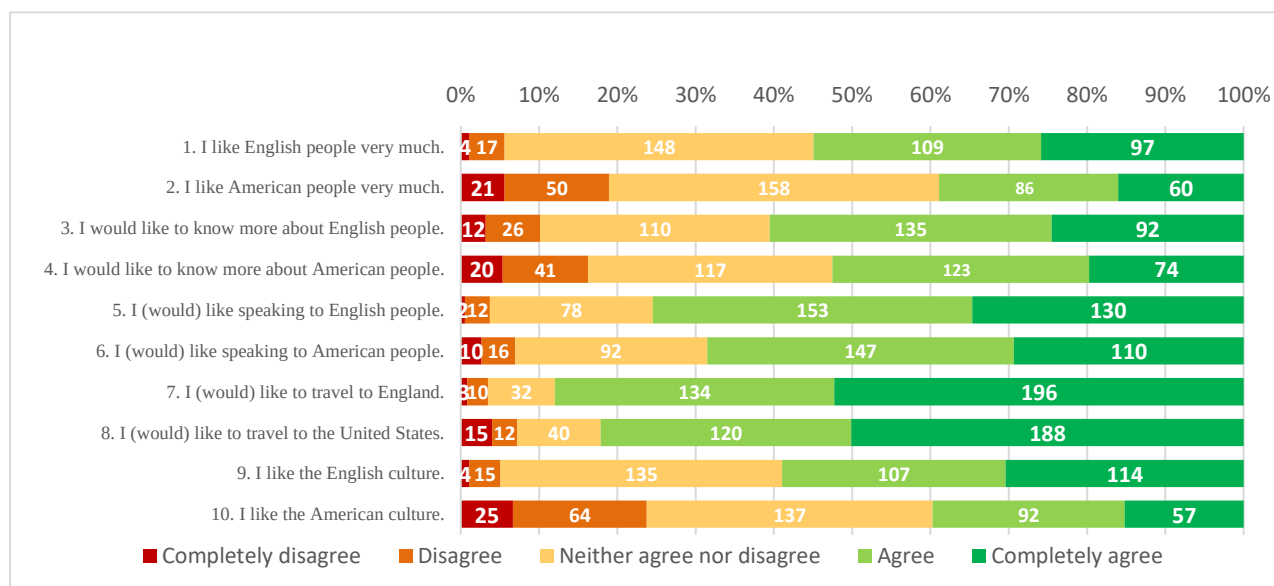
Indeed, when compared one by one, results for the individual items display the same trends. In each pair, the statement regarding English native speakers obtained higher scores, by as much as .59 (i.e. more than half a grade) in the case of items 9 and 10. In this particular pair, the contrast indicates a distinctive preference toward English culture, placing its appeal closer to option 4 (agree) on the five-point scale. At the same time, participants' interest in American culture was 3.25 on average, which means their overall attitude can be described more as *neither agree nor disagree*.

The second biggest difference in terms of mean values was found between statements 1 and 2, which measured attitudes to the inhabitants of the two countries. The variation of .44 grades positions the two statements similarly to the previous pair, characterizing students' perceptions

of the people from England ($M = 3.74$) as favorable, while showing participants almost indifferent toward Americans ($M = 3.30$). The smallest gap (.14) was observed between the two items that also achieved the highest mean values among all the questions in the scale. This indicates that not only are England and the United States preferred travel destinations but it is also this aspect of the two cultures that results in the least distinction in learner attitudes. These findings are in interesting contrast with participants' opinion on the two target cultures, which, as discussed above, showed the greatest difference.

These results point toward important educational implications, which I will address at the end of this dissertation. They also provide an interesting counterpoint to the theoretical considerations presented in [Chapter 2](#), which argue against the significance of native speaker target groups in today's EFL learning environments. In the course of the following sections, as well as in the next chapter, I examine whether the favorable views discussed here had any impact on study participants' motivation to learn English. Below, Figure 4.24 displays the distribution of participants' answers to the above items, shedding further light on the aforementioned trends.

Figure 4.24 Attitudes toward traditional target groups, number of responses per option, per item



A few generalizations can be made on the basis of these figures. First of all, the number of students giving an indifferent or hesitant response is higher in the case of the item on Americans in all of the pairs. Secondly, these statements also consistently yielded higher rates of disagreement, while questions on English people elicited more frequent agreement. In order to

further illustrate this, the distribution of participants' answers is summarized below in Table 4.23.

Table 4.23 Attitudes toward traditional target groups, distribution of responses across option categories, per item

Item	Disagree to some extent (%)	Neither agree nor disagree (%)	Agree to some extent (%)
1. I like English people very much.	5.6	39.5	55
2. I like American people very much.	18.9	42.1	38.9
3. I would like to know more about English people.	10.1	29.3	60.5
4. I would like to know more about American people.	16.2	31.2	52.5
5. I (would) like speaking to English people.	3.7	20.8	75.5
6. I (would) like speaking to American people.	7	24.5	68.5
7. I (would) like to travel to England.	3.5	8.5	88
8. I (would) like to travel to the United States.	7.2	10.7	82.1
9. I like the English culture.	5.1	36	58.9
10. I like the American culture.	23.8	36.5	39.7

Looking at the figures in detail, it is not so surprising that the items with the highest mean values also yielded the highest rates of agreement. Altogether 88% of students agreed or strongly agreed with statement seven and 82.1% of them did so in the case of statement eight. In addition, the former achieved one of the lowest percentages of negative answers, 3.5%. The two were followed by a pair with similarly high mean values, items five ($M = 4.06$) and six ($M = 3.88$), which also showed the third and fourth highest rates of agreement at 75.5% and 68.5% respectively. More than half of the participants agreed with statements nine, one and four as well, indicating widespread positive attitudes toward English people and their culture as well as interest in American people.

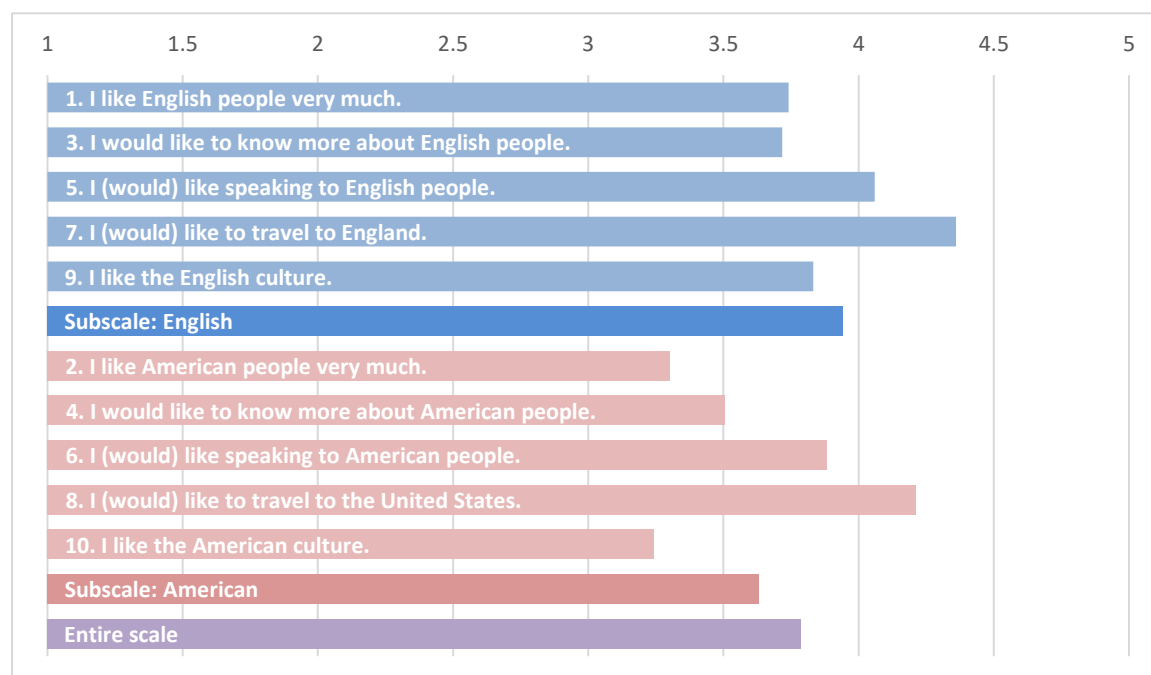
On the other hand, items ten and two on the culture and people from the United States elicited more mixed responses. Although 39.7% and 38.9% of respondents agreed with these items, the figures remained considerably below those for the corresponding statements on English people discussed above. Moreover, questions ten and two also resulted in the highest rate of disagreement in the scale, 23.8% and 18.9% respectively.

All in all, the above is suggestive of interesting trends. First, the results examined in this subsection indicate that participants' attitudes toward English people tend to be more favorable than their views of Americans. This gap is the smallest when it comes to visiting the two countries or talking to their inhabitants, although students still considered England and its people more attractive as a travel destination or as conversation partners. Differences are more

marked between the two target groups in terms of participants' perceptions of the people and the culture.

Moreover, the views expressed by participants regarding the two target groups indicate different values and priorities associated with these communities. On the one hand, people from England were mostly appreciated for their culture, in addition to the aforementioned motives of travel and conversation. However, personal interest in and attraction to English people received lower ratings at 3.74 and 3.72. On the other hand, American culture achieved the lowest interest among the items in both the subscale and the entire scale. People from the United States were, nevertheless, moderately interesting and liked. Figure 4.25 below offers a different visualization of these findings, displaying the disparities discussed in this subsection.

Figure 4.25 Attitudes toward traditional target groups, mean values per item and subscale



4.4.11 Varying interest in native speaker cultures

As explained above and in the previous chapter, this variable was measured through ten statements altogether, five of them focusing on each culture or target group. Below, I examine the factors related to students' scores on the entire scale, as well as the two sub-scales separately. In many cases, it is interesting to contrast the three figures, as they might provide a clearer image of participants' attitudes to the target groups in question. On the whole, it appears

that the demographic factors most closely related to these scales (see also [Appendix 5](#)) show trends similar to the attitudinal variables discussed above.

Only 30 participants (8%) did not mark any of their languages as L2s, and they reported significantly less positive attitudes to the two target language groups in general at 3.31, while speakers of any L2 achieved a score of 3.83 ($\eta^2 = .04$). More specifically, the corresponding figures were 3.47 and 3.98 ($\eta^2 = .03$) toward speakers from England and 3.15 and 3.67 ($\eta^2 = .03$) in the case of the subscale concerning the United States. Thus, while it seems that speaking foreign languages is linked to slightly higher regard for traditional native speaker groups, it has to be noted that, first, subsample sizes were very uneven and, second, the effect did not prove to be a strong one.

Surprisingly, competence in English as a foreign language had only weak links to the scale. The only significant relationship was found in the case of respondents' orientation toward the English, as L2 speakers' was marginally more favorable at a mean value of 3.98. Students who did not mark English among their foreign languages scored an average of 3.47 and the effect size was also small ($\eta^2 = .02$). Indeed, it is remarkable that no other connections were identified, a result that might also be caused by the fact that only 32 students (8.5%) did not speak English at all. As a result of the widespread of English skills in the sample, it can be argued that students in the study mostly shared views concerning native speaker target groups, regardless of the type of their mastery of the language.

The fact that participants who chose English as a mother tongue reported only marginally more positive opinions of these speaker groups also seems to support this. On the complete scale, L1 speakers of English scored 4.21 on average, while the rest of the sample had a mean score of 3.76 ($\eta^2 = .02$). As regards the individual subscales, English mother-tongue students had more positive attitudes toward people from England ($M = 4.31$, $\eta^2 = .01$) and the United States ($M = 4.11$, $\eta^2 = .02$). Their peers had about half a grade lower mean values on these subscales, both toward the English ($M = 3.92$) and Americans ($M = 3.60$). Nevertheless, it is important to note the small effect sizes and that only 21 participants spoke English as a main language.

Whether respondents were actively learning certain foreign languages at the time when surveyed was also associated with slightly more elevated scores on these scales. First of all, students engaged in the acquisition of any L2 had marginally more positive views of speakers

from England, at an average of 4.08, as opposed to the mean score of respondents who did not learn any languages when surveyed ($M = 3.84$, $\eta^2 = .02$). Participants showed similar tendencies when the comparison was based on learning German as a foreign language. Learners had higher scores on the overall scale in general, although the difference was small ($M = 3.97$ against $M = 3.76$, $\eta^2 = .01$). Toward people from England, specifically, the two subsamples showed largely similar trends, with learners achieving a mean value of 4.21 as opposed to the 3.90 score ($\eta^2 = .02$) of students not engaged in learning German.

Moreover, a comparison of learners of Italian and their non-learning peers revealed slightly more marked positive tendencies in the case of the former, on the complete scale ($M = 4.25$ against $M = 3.76$, $\eta^2 = .02$) as well as on the subscales focusing on Americans ($M = 4.02$ and $M = 3.61$, $\eta^2 = .01$) and, with a greater effect size, on English people ($M = 4.47$, $M = 3.91$, $\eta^2 = .06$). Last but not least, similarly positive links were found between participants' attitudes to traditional target groups and learning foreign languages other than German, French, Italian or English. The two subsamples showed slight differences in terms of their attitudes to speakers from England, as learners had more favorable views ($M = 4.13$) than those not learning any languages in this category ($M = 3.90$, $\eta^2 = .01$).

The analysis of correlational relationships between these attitudes and the language data revealed that they were connected to both L2 levels and language use. L2 speakers' proficiency level in French was slightly but significantly ($r = .11$, $p < .05$) related to their views on speakers from the United States. At the same time, the level of students' reported competence in English as a foreign language correlated more strongly with the overall scale ($r = .28$, $p < .05$) as well as the items on the English ($r = .29$, $p < .05$) and the Americans ($r = .21$, $p < .05$).

Out of the four languages examined (German, French, English and Italian), speakers' attitudes to these target groups followed the same patterns as their use of German and English. Students who used German at the University more frequently also had more favorable views of people living in England ($r = .14$, $p < .05$). On the other hand, speakers who spoke English at home with higher frequency displayed slightly more positive attitudes to these speakers in general ($r = .23$, $p < .05$), but also to the English ($r = .21$, $p < .05$) and toward Americans ($r = .20$, $p < .05$). Marginally lower coefficients were found between the use of English with friends and the above scales, for the entire item set ($r = .21$, $p < .05$) but also for the English ($r = .18$, $p < .05$) and American ($r = .18$, $p < .05$) subsets. How frequently participants used the language at work

correlated with their orientation toward people from England, although, albeit significant, this effect was small ($r = .11, p < .05$).

These connections are by no means surprising, yet they reveal interesting facts about university students' attitudes. Indeed, while students' views of traditional native speaker groups were positive in general, speaking and using English had unexpectedly weak links to these attitudes. On the one hand, as only a fraction of the sample did not speak the language at all, the results might have been influenced by the small size of this group. On the other hand, this phenomenon might also suggest that skills in English as well as favorable attitudes to its native speakers are widespread among students in the sample and, possibly, among the larger population of the faculties surveyed.

Finally, there were significant differences between male and female students, as well as working and non-working participants, as regards their attitudes to traditional native speaker target groups. Female students in general reported more favorable views, especially of the English ($M = 4.00$, eta squared = .02) but also of Americans ($M = 3.71$, eta squared = .02), and had higher scores on the overall scale ($M = 3.86$, eta squared = .02). By contrast, their male peers scored lower on all three item sets ($M = 3.80$, $M = 3.46$, and $M = 3.63$ respectively). Interestingly, professional activity was negatively linked to these attitudes, as students who were professionally active at the time of the survey answered less favorably to questions related to the two speaker communities in general ($M = 3.71$ as opposed to $M = 3.87$) and to people from England in particular ($M = 3.86$ against $M = 4.02$). The effect size was the same in each case (eta squared = .01) and indicated that, although statistically significant, these relationships were minor ones.

4.4.12 International posture

As explained in more detail in Section [3.4.6](#), the construct of international posture reflects an openness toward and an interest in the international community (Yashima, 2009). The concept was also theorized to capture modern learner orientations that incorporate certain elements of integrativeness without a clear reference to any particular target group of native speakers. Based on this definition, which conceptualizes international posture as a form of integrative orientation more relevant to the experience of today's language learners, the scale measured the role of English as a tool in developing, maintaining and expressing such tendencies. Interestingly, the scale did not achieve the same high scores in Switzerland as in other contexts,

although one of the items on its own scored among the highest in the entire dataset. The results of the main descriptive analysis, which are indicative of some interesting trends, are displayed in Table 4.24.

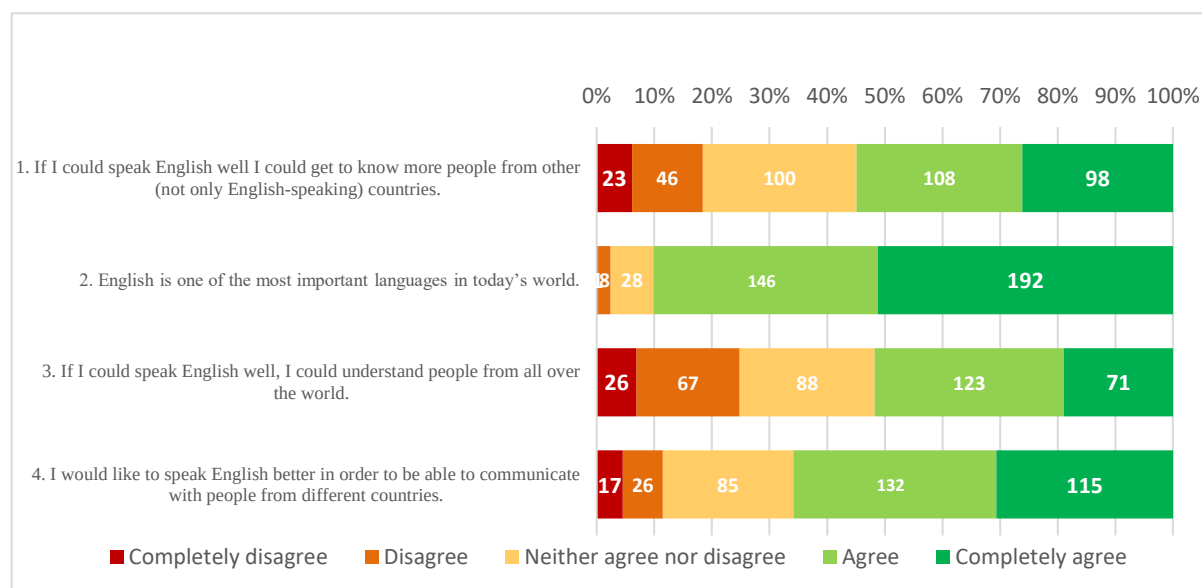
Table 4.24 international posture, descriptive statistics

Item	N	M	SD
1. If I could speak English well I could get to know more people from other (not only English-speaking) countries.	375	3.57	1.18
2. English is one of the most important languages in today's world.	375	4.39	.74
3. If I could speak English well, I could understand people from all over the world.	375	3.39	1.18
4. I would like to speak English better in order to be able to communicate with people from different countries.	375	3.81	1.09
Total	375	3.79	.79

With a total Cronbach's Alpha of $\alpha = .736$, the preliminary analysis (cf. [3.4.6](#)) showed the scale to be reliable and indicated that all the above items contributed to the concept measured. On the other hand, the disparity in mean values in Table 4.24 indicates that not all elements were judged equally important by participants. In other words, although relevant to the integrity of the scale, not all aspects of international openness played the same role in students' life. Furthermore, differences among the individual items in terms of standard deviation indicate that their answer patterns vary considerably throughout the scale.

The second statement, regarding the significance of English, proved to be by far the most important item in the scale, with a mean value ($M = 4.39$) that surpassed even the next item ($M = 3.81$) by more than half a grade. This second highest value was obtained through the question on the role of English as a medium of international communication and the resulting determination to learn the language. Interestingly, the preceding item, which introduced two specifics, the concept of *understanding* and the broader expression *from all over the world* (for the French version, cf. [Appendix 1](#)), elicited answers with the lowest average score in the scale. This difference might simply reflect the wording of the item, however, it might also stem from the larger scope and deeper communicational goal suggested by the statement. In terms of standard deviation, it is once more the second item that showed different behavior when compared to the rest of the questions. A closer look at the distribution of students' responses along the five-point Likert scales, as proposed in Figure 4.26, further illustrates this point.

Figure 4.26 Attitudes toward traditional target groups, number of responses per option, per item



Indeed, the graphs show that the second item follows distinctly different patterns. First of all, not only did 51.2% of participants completely agree with the statement, but overall agreement reached 90.1% and only a single student chose to completely disagree. By contrast, item four, which produced the most similar distribution, yielded a considerably lower rate of positive responses at 65.9%.

Disagreement was highest in the case of the third statement, with 24.8% of participants choosing one of the negative options. Moreover, 6.9% of students disagreed completely with this item, the highest ratio for that particular option in the whole scale. With the only exception of the second statement, the proportion of hesitant or indifferent answers to each of the items was notable, reaching 26.6% in the case of the first.

4.4.13 Slight differences in international openness

Since the concept of international posture measures individuals' orientation toward the international community and their interest in international affairs, it is important to note that the languages that participants spoke had intriguingly little connection to the variable. As [Appendix 5](#) shows, one of these relationships was found between international posture and the frequency with which speakers used Italian at home ($r = .26, p < .05$). By contrast, L2 speakers' level of German correlated negatively ($r = -.13, p < .05$) with their international openness.

The latter figure might be suggestive of a conflict between international attitudes and local interests, as also reported by the interview participants in our small- scale study (Csillagh and Waltermann, to be published). The students and teachers who participated in the interviews commented on the markedly different values and use cases associated with English and German. While the former was seen to possess a global appeal, backed by the economic power of the United States of America, German was mostly regarded as a language of local importance, linked to the economic and political influence of Germany. Interviewees also mentioned a certain opposition between perceptions of the two languages, which might result in learners choosing one or the other and, as a result, embracing different values and orientations depending on their choice.

Besides the above factors, respondents' international posture was only related, to a small extent ($\eta^2 = .02$), to their cultural background. Measured by the place where participants completed their secondary education, the variable distinguished between students who could be considered as Swiss and those who were regarded as foreigners for the purpose of the study. Indeed, the latter were more interested in international affairs ($M = 3.93$), although Swiss students scored only marginally lower on the scale ($M = 3.72$). However, this difference was slight and in general, as I concluded before, survey participants displayed a fairly positive international orientation ($M = 3.79$) in general. As regards the contrasts discussed in this section, [Appendix 5](#) provides an overview of these results.

4.4.14 Ethnocentrism

The scale on ethnocentrism can be said to measure tendencies opposite to the ones covered by international posture. In part, the resemblance between the two item sets is due to the use of inverted items in the former, which helped avoid negative wording in these statements. I explain this procedure in Section [3.4.7](#), but it is important to note that the answers were transformed (recoded into opposite values on the scale) before the analysis. In addition, despite certain similarities with the previous scale, the statements on ethnocentrism had an important additional focus as they investigated not necessarily international but rather *cultural* openness.

Ethnocentric attitudes are characterized by the lack of such openness and general unwillingness to accept customs and values different from one's own. Therefore, the items were designed to gauge students' tendency to reject these aspects of other cultures, with special attention to the wording of each statement. The use of reverse items provided an alternative to loaded

expressions (such as *reject*) as well as negative structures. Thus, while the original statements did not contain any negation, in Table 4.25 I inserted these for easier reading of the results. The table offers a summary of the descriptive tests, which I will briefly discuss below.

Table 4.25 international posture, descriptive statistics

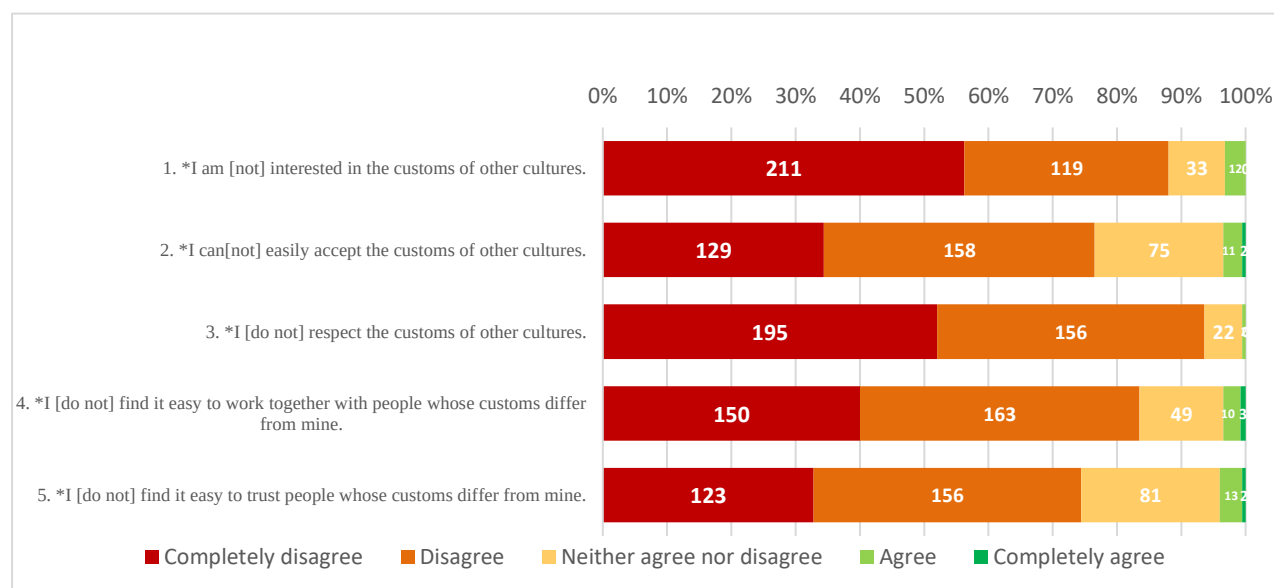
Item	N	M	SD
1. *I am [not] interested in the customs of other cultures.	375	1.59	.78
2. *I can[not] easily accept the customs of other cultures.	375	1.93	.84
3. *I [do not] respect the customs of other cultures.	375	1.55	.63
4. *I [do not] find it easy to work together with people whose customs differ from mine.	375	1.81	.82
5. *I [do not] find it easy to trust people whose customs differ from mine.		1.97	.86
Total	375	1.77	.59

* Reversed item in the original questionnaire. Negation inserted for easier reading.

As the table shows, all the mean values were very low when compared to the rest of the scales. Nevertheless, two items yielded figures lower than the average of means for the entire scale. In general, participants agreed least with the third statement ($M = 1.55$, corresponding to 3.45 on the original scale), which means that they have a tendency to respect cultural customs different from their own. The other such item was the first one ($M = 1.59$), indicating trends of general interest (equal to 3.41) toward the customs of other cultures.

Items two, four and five obtained higher scores, with the last item yielding the highest mean value. This is unsurprising as it indicates that participants find it more difficult to grant their trust to members of other cultures ($M = 1.97$, originally 3.03) than to feel interest and respect toward them. Nevertheless, even these figures are low and suggest only milder tendencies of unease, while they can also be considered as signs of widespread disagreement with the statements. Standard deviation values point to marked patterns of agreement among students, which can be observed in the detailed figures shown in Figure 4.27 below.

Figure 4.27 Ethnocentrism, number of responses per option, per item



* Reversed item in the original questionnaire. Negation inserted for easier reading.

It is visible at first glance that agreement with these statements (that is, disagreement with the original items) was minimal (0.5% – 4%) and that most participants reported positive attitudes toward cultures different from their own. Overall disagreement was highest in the case of the third item, where it reached an astounding 93.6%. At a rate of disagreement of 88%, expressions of (dis)interest gauged by the first question followed close, with the last item, which yielded the most mixed responses, not very far behind at 74.4%. While indifferent or hesitant reactions varied from 5.9% to 21.6%, they remained quite low for the whole scale. Overall, it can be concluded that participants were generally open toward other cultures and ethnocentric tendencies were rare. Comparisons among the different subsamples (cf. [Appendix 5](#)) revealed these trends to be generalizable.

4.4.15 Low levels of ethnocentrism through all subsamples

The variable of ethnocentrism displayed little convergence with the linguistic factors included in the study. The sole relationship was observed between the scale and the use of French in the home. These findings are interesting as they might indicate that having French, the local majority language, as one's family language is linked to slightly stronger ethnocentric views. However, even this correlation proved weak at a coefficient of .12 ($p < .005$).

On the other hand, the comparative tests showed that several demographic factors were related to the variable, to varying extents. First of all, men scored marginally higher on the scale at an overall mean value of 1.86, while female participants' answers yielded an average of 1.73. While statistically significant, this difference had a small effect size ($\eta^2 = .01$). Second, the Faculty at which students were enrolled also distinguished among their scores on the scale. [Appendix 5](#) summarizes the results of the ANOVA tests and shows that respondents who studies at the Faculty of Economic and Social Sciences (SES) reported attitudes corresponding to the lowest mean value of 1.53. By contrast, the Faculties of Law and Sciences had the highest results at 1.83. These comparisons are interesting given the importance of international communication and dissemination in many fields of the sciences. At the same time, the η^2 value was only .03, indicating a small effect size, and even the highest mean values correspond to a negative response to ethnocentrism in general. Therefore, they are merely interesting details but do not provide in-depth insight.

Similar differences were found in comparisons among students enrolled at different levels of university programs ($\eta^2 = .03$). The highest average score was reached by participants studying toward a specialized master's degree (MAS), however, at a mean value of 2.10, this can still be considered as a very low figure and a lack of ethnocentric attitudes. Moreover, the sample size ($N = 2$) was so small as to render the reliability of the results questionable. Nevertheless, it can be concluded that the lowest level of ethnocentrism was found among Bachelor students ($M = 1.66$), followed by participants enrolled in PhD ($M = 1.81$) and master's ($M = 1.87$) programs.

4.4.16 *The global village*

While international posture and ethnocentrism can be considered as two poles of the same continuum albeit each with a different focus, the scale on the global village was designed to measure the extent of identification with the community of global citizens. A recurring theme in L2 motivation literature (cf. [Chapter 2](#)), this community is often cited as the modern counterpart of traditional native speaker target groups, who no longer provide a realistic goal for integrative and affective learner attitudes in all learning contexts. By definition, favorable attitudes or integrative aspirations toward such an intercultural and rather abstract group might be argued to presuppose a more general disposition, such as portrayed by the variable of international posture. Indeed, inferential analysis of the data revealed significant links among

factors related to global aspects of English, and I will discuss their relationships in subsequent sections. Below, I summarize participants' answers to the individual items in the scale, as also shown in Table 4.26.

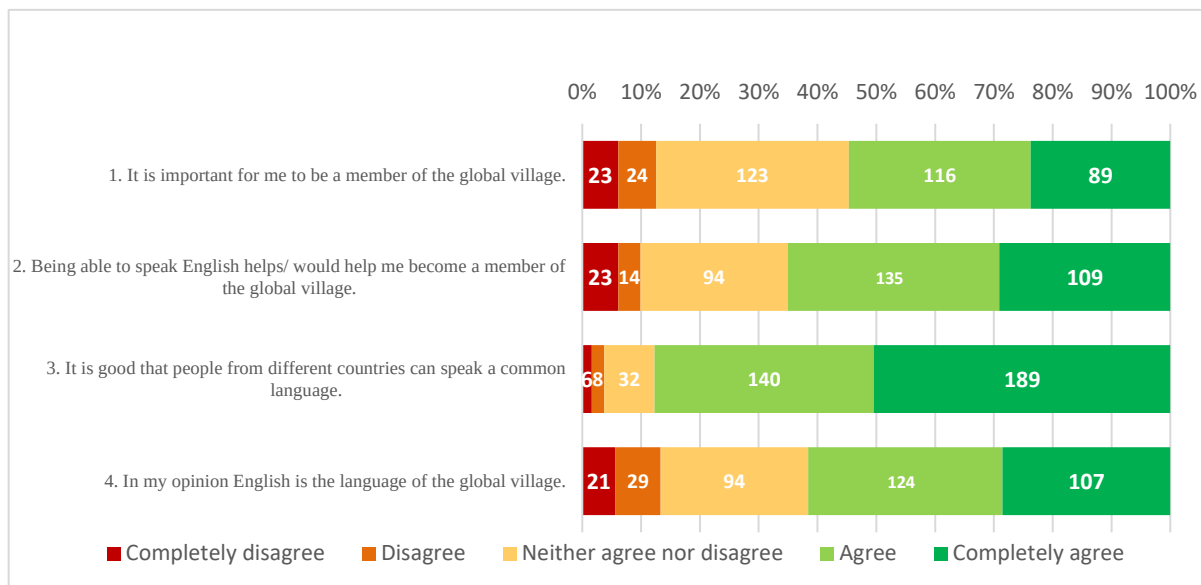
Table 4.26 Global village, descriptive statistics

Item	N	M	SD
1. It is important for me to be a member of the global village.	375	3.60	1.10
2. Being able to speak English helps/ would help me become a member of the global village.	375	3.78	1.09
3. It is good that people from different countries can speak a common language.	375	4.33	.84
4. In my opinion English is the language of the global village.	375	3.71	1.13
Total	375	3.85	.83

As far as general agreement is concerned, the above figures suggest that it was highest in the case of the third item, both among participants ($SD = .84$) and with the statement itself ($M = 4.33$). The mean value of 4.33 is one of the highest of all items, and remains remarkably high even when compared to the second statement in the *ideal L2 self* scale, which achieved a mean of 4.64. Such favorable views on the usefulness of a common language are especially interesting in light of the multilingual environment in which the study took place, and the exceptional plurilingualism that participants reported. On the other hand, the item does not place any major emphasis on the use of a *single* common language. Therefore, respondents' agreement is less surprising, given that the significant majority of them had learned at least one foreign language and as a group they exhibited high interest in communicating with foreigners, as concluded above.

The rest of the items yielded comparable mean values, and even the first statement resulted in a positive overall response at 3.60. Standard deviation figures, however, suggest that these questions behaved slightly differently from the third, with participants' answers distributed among more of the options. More detailed analysis of the answer patterns, the results of which are summarized in Figure 4.28, confirms this.

Figure 4.28 Global village, number of responses per option, per item



It is worth noting that both in terms of their mean values and standard deviation, but also as regards the distribution of the answers, the results for the set resemble those obtained for the scale on *international posture*, discussed above. As could be expected, the rate of agreement was highest in the case of the third item (87.7%), but even the lowest figure, that corresponding to the first statement, reached 54.6%. The chart also draws attention to the relatively high ratio of indifferent answers in the case of items one, two and four, which might explain the significantly lower mean values that these questions yielded compared to the third item. Indeed, the rate of disagreement with these statements ranged between 9.8% and 13.3%, while indecisive responses composed 25.1% to 32.8% of the total, as opposed to 8.5% for question three.

Overall, participants had generally favorable views of the global village or, in other words, the community of world citizens. Their aspirations to become members of the community were moderate at 54.6%, but they agreed more strongly that English was the language of the global village (61.6%) and that being able to speak it contributed to achieving membership (65.1%). Therefore, it appears that English plays an important role in respondents' conceptualization of the global village, which raises the question whether these views are in any way connected to respondents' L2 portfolio.

4.4.17 Few differences among aspiring global citizens

Unlike the variable of international posture, described above, participants' attitudes toward the global village and the community of world citizens were to some extent related to the foreign languages that they spoke. Indeed, speaking any L2 was associated with stronger identification with the community ($M = 3.89$ as opposed to $M = 3.42$, eta squared = .02). Moreover, t-test results revealed a slight relationship (eta squared = .01) between world citizenship and competence in foreign languages in the category *other*. This difference between L2 speakers of these languages ($M = 4.02$) and their peers ($M = 3.79$) had only a small effect.

Similarly weak but statistically significant connections were found between students' sense of world citizenship and several aspects of their competence in and use of English. For instance, participants who listed the language as part of their L2 portfolio had a slightly higher mean score on the scale ($M = 3.91$) than the rest of the sample ($M = 3.58$, eta squared = .02). In addition, their level of proficiency also showed a slight correlation ($r = .24$, $p < .05$) with the variable, as did the frequency with which speakers, both L1 and L2, used English with friends ($r = .28$, $p < .05$) and, to a lesser extent, at home ($r = .15$, $p < .05$).

The existence of these links is not surprising. It is, however, interesting to note the consistently small effect sizes and weak relationships, which suggest that English as a language is not necessarily as closely linked to students' perceptions of their world citizenship. While, as discussed above, participants in general agreed ($M = 3.71$) with the final item in this scale, confirming that they leaned toward considering English as the language of the global village, this seems to be an opinion driven more by representations than practical aspects of everyday language use. In summary, it appears that English indeed remains relevant to participants' identification with the community of world citizens, but this relationship is not as strong as one would expect.

4.4.18 Willingness to communicate

Readiness to use an L2 in a given situation, as measured by this scale, comes down to two distinct but related characteristics. First of all, the willingness to express one's thoughts and opinion in the company of others presumes a certain measure of extrovert or sociable disposition. Secondly, to do so in a foreign language often requires not only some proficiency in the language, but also, in most cases, a lack of unease while speaking it. Therefore, the final

act of communication is a result of complex affective and cognitive processes, and the scale measures with how much ease and readiness it takes place. Table 4.27 below shows that students' overall disposition was positive ($M = 4.17$), although the difference in audience strongly influenced their willingness to speak English.

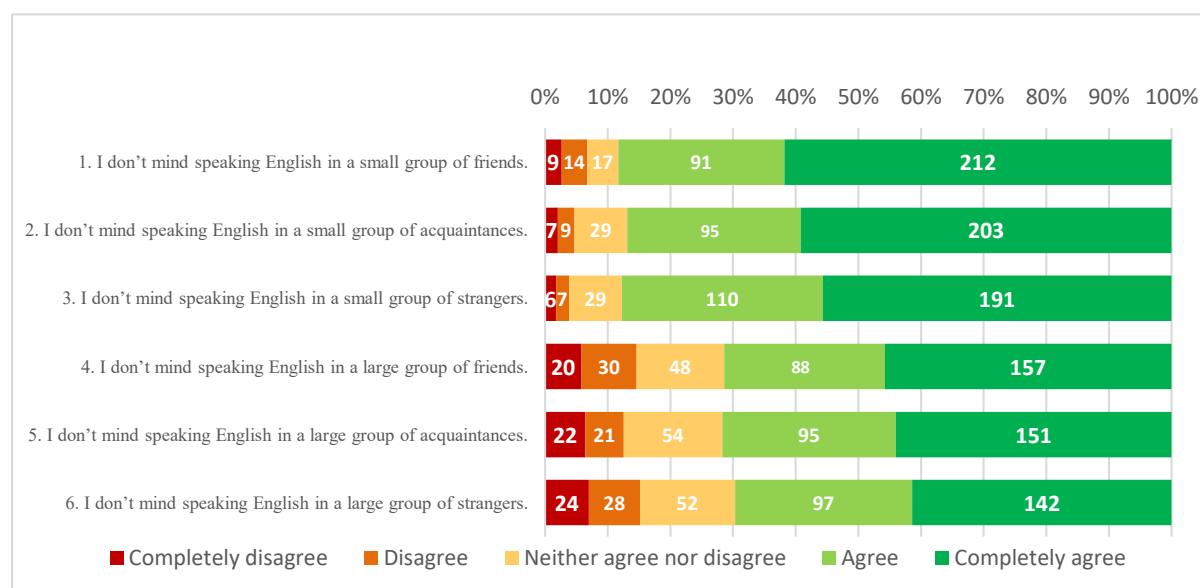
Table 4.27 Willingness to communicate, descriptive statistics

Item	N	M	SD
1. I don't mind speaking English in a small group of friends.	343	4.41	.95
2. I don't mind speaking English in a small group of acquaintances.	343	4.39	.90
3. I don't mind speaking English in a small group of strangers.	343	4.38	.86
4. I don't mind speaking English in a large group of friends.	343	3.97	1.21
5. I don't mind speaking English in a large group of acquaintances.	343	3.97	1.19
6. I don't mind speaking English in a large group of strangers.	343	3.89	1.23
Total	343	4.17	.93

Note: The French originals have no negation. Only participants who spoke English were asked these questions.

More specifically, the mean values show that it is not so much the composition but rather the size of the audience that impacts participants' willingness. When grouped according to this single factor, it is clear that the first three statements yielded consistently higher average answers than the remaining three. Moreover, when compared separately, differences were marginal among the items in the first set as well as among those in the second one. Nevertheless, it is not surprising that, regardless of the size of the group, respondents felt more at ease talking to their friends in English than to foreigners. Interestingly, the standard deviation figures above indicate that there was less variation in the case of the first three statements, or, in other words, that students were more in agreement with each other on these questions. Indeed, the frequency scores for each option in Figure 4.29 show that answer patterns differ considerably between the two parts of the scale.

Figure 4.29 Global village, number of responses per option, per item



Note: The French originals have no negation. Only participants who spoke English were asked these questions.

It is apparent at first glance that the two item groups yielded different answers and that this difference lies mostly in the higher number of indifferent (or hesitant) and negative responses. The rate of disagreement was highest in the case of the last question (15.2%), which is understandable considering that the statement combines two challenging factors, namely the large size of the audience with its members being strangers. Nonetheless, it is interesting to note that the corresponding item in the first group, number three, elicited the least disagreement (3.7%), suggesting that it might be this combination of elements that leads to more unease in certain situations than others. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that as a smaller audience becomes less familiar, it also becomes slightly more disheartening, as the decrease of answers showing complete agreement in items one to three and four to six might indicate. On the other hand, these changes do not seem to affect the overall rate of agreement.

On the whole, these results suggest that participants with some competence in English are in general at ease speaking the language in front of a small group. Larger audiences are less encouraging, but a remarkable 69.7% of respondents feel ready to speak even in a sizeable group of strangers, the most daunting situation in the list. One question that remains to be answered is whether the level of proficiency has an impact on participants' willingness to engage in discussions in English, to which I will return in the next subsection.

4.4.19 Some more willing to use English

First of all, it is worth noting that none of the basic demographic factors were shown to play a significant role in participants' disposition to use English. Nevertheless, students' linguistic background had a more marked connection to their willingness to communicate in English than to the variables discussed in the previous subsections. Moreover, these relationships were not only more widespread all over the linguistic variables, but they were also greater in effect size.

Competence in French, both as a main language and as one learned later in life, was related to respondents' level of WTC. French as a mother tongue was associated with lower levels of WTC, at an overall mean value of 4.06, as opposed to the 4.51 reached by the subsample of students who did not mention the language among their first languages. This effect was still relatively small ($\eta^2 = .04$), although more marked than the ones above. What was interesting was that French as part of students' L2 portfolio had exactly the opposite effect. Skills in this second language were related to an increase in willingness to speak English ($\eta^2 = .04$), as students who spoke French as an L2 scored higher ($M = 4.51$) than their peers ($M = 4.06$). However, it has to be mentioned that all participants in the study spoke French, marking it in one of these categories. As discussed in the previous chapter, this is understandable in light of university regulations and teaching practices. Nevertheless, this phenomenon results in a grouping that clearly divides the sample into L1 and L2 speakers of French.

On the other hand, when proficiency levels are taken into account, the comparative tests seem to confirm the negative relationship between participants' French skills and their willingness to speak English. Indeed, it appears that more proficient L2 speakers of French are less disposed to engage in conversations in English ($r = -.14, p < .05$). Once more, the linguistic context of the study helps explain these results. In the predominantly French-speaking environment of Geneva, speakers of French might be more inclined to opt for French even in situations where the use of English is an option.

However, these findings remain indicative of a juxtaposition which, contrary to expectations, exists between French and English. In [Chapter 2](#), I mentioned socially shared representations that position German and English as opposing, almost mutually exclusive, choices. Considering the results presented above, it appears that, in reality, a similar relationship might be found between French and English. In this context, it is especially interesting to note that

competence in German as a foreign language was positively linked to WTC in English. The variable correlated slightly but significantly ($r = .15, p < .05$) with L2 speakers' level of proficiency in German. Similarly, students engaged in learning Italian were more willing to speak English. The group had a mean value of 4.72, as opposed to 4.13 in the case of participants who did not study Italian. Moreover, this effect was shown to be strong at an eta squared of .07. In summary, on the basis of these figures it appears that speaking and studying Swiss official languages do not have a negative impact on students' willingness to use English. On the contrary, the survey results suggest that a slight positive relationship can be found.

As expected, skills in English, as a first and as a second language, were related to increased levels of WTC. It is not surprising that mother tongue speakers scored higher on the scale ($M = 4.72$) than L2 speakers ($M = 4.13$). Interestingly however, the effect size was only moderate (eta squared = .05), indicating that native proficiency in English does not have a very strong influence on speakers' disposition to use it. This might be due, on the one hand, to uneven sample sizes, as L1 speakers only constituted a mere 5.6% ($N = 21$) of the total of participants. On the other hand, these results might also be influenced by the less comfortable situations included in the scale. Indeed, students in general were more inclined to use the language in a small group of friends ($M = 4.41$) than, for instance, in front of a large group of strangers ($M = 3.89$, see also the previous section).

Another interesting difference appeared between participants currently learning English and the rest of the sample. Albeit not very strong (eta squared = .04), this relationship revealed that learners in fact have a lower average level of WTC ($M = 3.77$) than other speakers ($M = 4.26$). These results are especially striking if one considers that most of the learners included in the study indicated a proficiency level of B2 or higher. Relatively infrequent direct contact, as discussed earlier (Section [4.4.22](#)) might explain some of this variance. However, reported proficiency correlated strongly ($r = .48, p < .05$) with willingness to speak English, which was in line with expectations.

A similar correlation ($r = .43, p < .05$) was found with the frequency with which speakers used English to communicate with their friends. While in all probability individuals who are more willing to speak the language will find themselves in such situations more often, it is also true that these contact opportunities can in turn strengthen their self-confidence and increase their willingness. Thus, it is not surprising that language use at work ($r = .30, p < .05$) as well as at

home ($r = .23, p < .05$) and at the university ($r = .17, p < .05$) had comparable connections to the variable, although decreasing in importance.

The last relationship to be mentioned here concerns respondents who spoke at least one mother tongue that was different from the four languages listed (German, French, Italian and English). The tests showed that students who did so had higher WTC scores ($M = 4.34$) than participants who did not ($M = 4.10$) although this effect was not strong ($\eta^2 = .01$), nor was the difference large. Nonetheless, on the whole it can be observed that students' language portfolio in general had numerous ties to their willingness to speak English.

4.4.20 Perceived importance of contact

In addition to exploring how often participants pursue certain activities in English (see the following subsection) and how ready they are to speak the language in public (WTC, the previous scale), the questionnaire also measured what importance they accorded to such instances of language practice. More specifically, the four items in this scale asked students to rate how relevant they found conversations with foreigners to their language learning, their attitudes and their anxiety. Table 4.28 shows that the three items included in the final analysis obtained high overall means, suggesting that these activities are indeed an important part of their journey as language learners.

Table 4.28 Perceived importance of contact, descriptive statistics

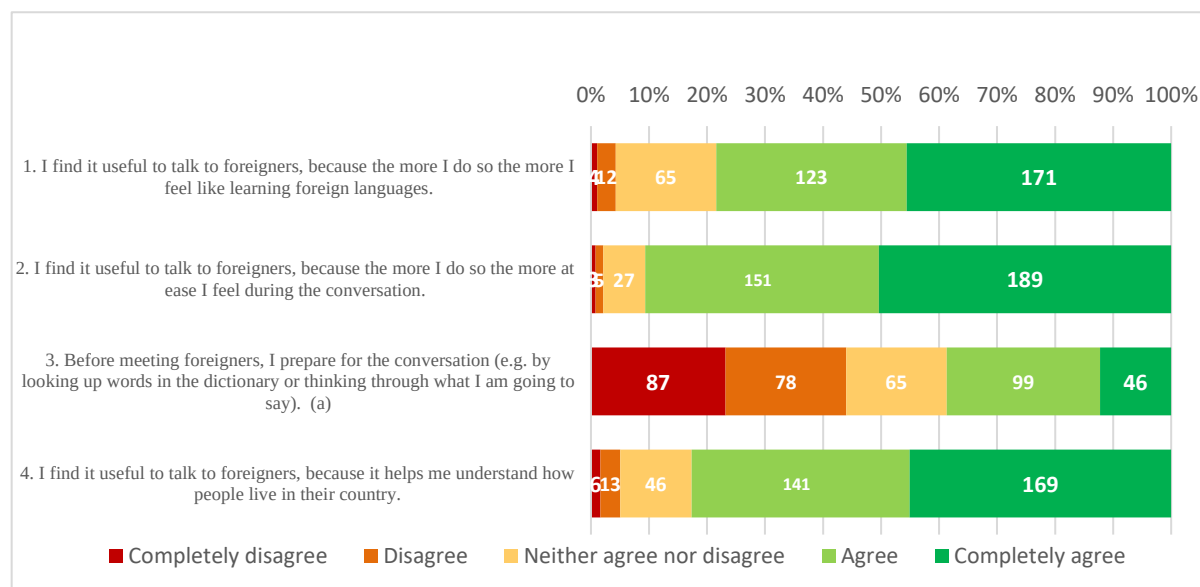
Item	N	M	SD
1. I find it useful to talk to foreigners, because the more I do so the more I feel like learning foreign languages.	375	4.19	.91
2. I find it useful to talk to foreigners, because the more I do so the more at ease I feel during the conversation.	375	4.38	.75
3. Before meeting foreigners, I prepare for the conversation (e.g. by looking up words in the dictionary or thinking through what I am going to say). ^a	375	2.84	1.37
4. I find it useful to talk to foreigners, because it helps me understand how people live in their country.	375	4.21	.90
Total	375	4.26	.70

^a Item excluded from scale to improve reliability.

All three questions yielded comparable mean values, between 4.19 and 4.38. The highest was achieved on the second item, suggesting that participants considered talking to foreigners regularly as the most useful in terms of reducing the anxiety they felt when doing so. Gaining cultural understanding as a result of talking to foreigners ($M = 4.21$) was only slightly more

important than increasing motivation to learn foreign languages ($M = 4.19$). All in all, the standard deviation values (SD between .75 and .91) suggest that these views were widespread among participants. Therefore, in Figure 4.30, I examine their answer patterns more closely.

Figure 4.30 Perceived importance of contact, number of responses per option, per item



(a) Item excluded from scale to improve reliability.

In addition to revealing high rates of agreement in the case of each of the three items included in the study, the results shown in Figure 4.30 also confirm the trends identified earlier. Indeed, as could be expected based on those values, agreement was most marked (90.7%) with the second statement, although rates were high for the other two items as well. A remarkable 82% reported agreement with the fourth and 78.4% with the first. Interestingly, out of the three, it was the former with which the largest number of students disagreed, but even that 5.1% can be considered as very low.

Last but not least, it is interesting to note that the third item, which was discarded from the final analysis due to low compatibility with the scale (cf. [3.4.10](#)), displayed completely different patterns not only in terms of means and standard deviation but also as regards the relatively low rate of agreement (38.7%) and the surprisingly high number of respondents who disagreed with the statement (44%). These results raise questions as to the amount of contact that participants in fact have with English. I will address these presently, however, first I will examine the factors that were related to respondents' answers on the scale.

4.4.21 Language skills and the importance of using English

As expected, the value that participants accorded to direct contact with foreigners was linked to their L2 portfolio. However, while these connections were statistically significant, their effect was small and they were only related to minor differences. Nevertheless, they hint at interesting links between language speakers' and learners' appreciation of direct contact situations and their language skills. Therefore, I briefly mention them below, along with the significant differences related to the other demographic variables. A more complete summary can be found in [Appendix 5](#).

The strongest relationship (eta squared = .03) was found with skills in a foreign language in general, since it was matched by a 16.5% increase in *perceived importance*. L2 speakers found talking to foreigners that much more important ($M = 4.31$) than participants who did not speak any foreign language ($M = 3.70$). On the other hand, studying a foreign language at the time of the survey had only a weak connection (eta squared = .01) to the perceived importance of language contact and was associated with only marginally higher mean values ($M = 4.35$ as opposed to $M = 4.20$).

Similarly slight differences (eta squared = .01) were found between speakers of German as a foreign language ($M = 4.35$) and their peers ($M = 4.20$) as well as between L2 speakers of Italian ($M = 4.44$) and the rest of the sample ($M = 4.23$). In addition, learners of Italian also scored a little higher on the scale (eta squared = .01) at 4.62 on average, while students who did not study the language at the time reached an overall mean value of 4.24. T-tests revealed a comparable effect (eta squared = .02) in the case of learners of *other* languages, as they considered talking to foreigners more important ($M = 4.46$) than participants who did not include any of these languages in their L2 portfolio ($M = 4.22$).

Last but not least, skills in English had a marginally positive connection to participants' perceptions of the importance of direct contact with foreigners. In general, mother tongue speakers had a higher mean score ($M = 4.56$ as opposed to $M = 4.24$), but this effect was a minor one (eta squared = .01). English as an L2 was similarly linked to the perceived importance of contact at an eta squared of .01. Once more, the difference between the mean values reached by the two subsamples ($M = 4.31$ and $M = 4.01$) was slighter than could be expected.

These results might seem surprising as they indicate that no substantial relationship exists between foreign language skills and speakers' view of conversing with foreigners. However, it is important to note that the questions were formulated in a way that does not specify the language that respondents use in these contact situations, although the items imply the use of foreign languages. In addition, in the multicultural context of the study, a city that is home to a number of international organizations and is also a frequent touristic destination, meeting and interacting with foreigners can be a frequent occurrence. In the same vein, it might be difficult or even redundant to judge the nationality of one's interlocutor. These considerations, along with the surprisingly low general scores that participants achieved on the next scale, which measures the frequency of direct contact with English speakers, offer a number of explanations. On the one hand, these conversations might take place in any of the languages that students speak and therefore might not be linked to any one language in particular. On the other hand, it is also possible that students shy away from these situations regardless of the presence of contact opportunities and their perceptions of their importance.

Besides students' language background, a few demographic items were shown to influence participants' scores on the scale. The level of degree program at which they were enrolled seemed to distinguish among participants, albeit slightly. The highest mean values were reached by the subsamples of Bachelor ($M = 3.85$) and PhD students ($M = 3.85$), followed by studying in master's programs ($M = 3.70$). Nevertheless, although the effect size (eta squared = .04) was larger than in the case of most of the connections discussed above, the differences were very small. Even the group of specialized master's students, which was comprised of only two participants, had a mean average of 3.38, as shown in the next section. T-tests revealed a similarly small contrast between male and female students, since the former considered direct contact with foreigners as slightly less important at 4.16, while the latter reached an average of 4.31. At the same time, this effect was not strong (eta squared = .01).

Based on the list provided in Table 4.28, it is also evident that the various statements contain direct references to other attitudinal variables, such as motivated learning behavior (first item), WTC (second item) and international posture or ethnocentrism (fourth item). Therefore, it was interesting to explore the potential connections between respondents' views concerning the importance of contact with foreigners. I examine these relationships in the next sections, where I discuss the links among the different scales and their role in the final model.

4.4.22 Direct contact

The scale of *direct contact*, composed of 21 items in total, measured how often participants used English in different situations and for different purposes. Therefore, its aims and, consequently, the formulation of the questions were distinct from the *language use* scale, which was designed to gauge respondents' language practices in different *spatial* contexts and provided the insights discussed in the previous chapter (Section 4.3.3). By contrast, the scale examined here lists a number of activities or specific situations in which students might come in contact with the language directly or, in some cases, indirectly through certain figures of authority. Table 4.29 displays all the items in the scale, along with their basic descriptive scores. Below, I discuss these in more detail before continuing to examine the various subcategories the scale contains, as identified through principal component analysis (PCA, cf. Section 3.4.11).

Table 4.29 Direct contact, descriptive statistics

Item	N	M	SD
1. How often do you speak English while traveling abroad?	343	4.25	1.15
2. How often do you speak English during your holidays in French-speaking Switzerland?	343	1.62	.91
3. How often do you speak English during your holidays in German-speaking Switzerland?	343	2.62	1.45
4. How often do you speak English during your holidays in Ticino?	343	2.20	1.44
5. How often do you speak English with foreigners you know?	343	3.79	1.20
6. How often do you speak English with foreigners in your neighborhood?	343	2.41	1.41
7. How often do you use English to write emails?	343	3.18	1.15
8. How often do you use English to surf the web?	343	4.38	.86
9. How often do you use English to take part in the discussion on social networking platforms (chat, Facebook, Twitter, etc.)?	343	3.23	1.48
10. How often do you use English to write text messages?	343	2.87	1.36
11. How often do you use English to write formal or informal letters?	343	2.46	1.18
12. How often do you use English during your university studies?	343	3.53	1.26
13. How often do you watch films or series in English?	343	3.85	1.14
14. How often do you watch TV in English?	343	2.94	1.42
15. How often do you read books in English?	343	3.07	1.23
16. How often do you read newspapers or magazines in English?	343	2.95	1.30
17. How often do you read emails in English?	343	3.48	1.24
18. How often do you read formal or informal letters in English?	343	2.64	1.29

Item	N	M	SD
19. How often do your teachers talk about life in English-speaking countries?	375	2.06	1.12
20. How often do members of your family talk about life in English-speaking countries?	375	2.08	1.14
21. How often do your acquaintances talk about life in English-speaking countries?	375	2.72	1.05
Scale	343	2.89	.77
Subscale: Reading, writing, studying	343	3.17	.88
Subscale: Traveling	343	2.81	.86
Subscale: Films, social media	375	3.34	1.06

Note: Options ranged from *(almost) never* (1) to *very often or always* (5). Only students who did not speak English were only asked questions 19-21.

It is important to note that this scale made use of a different range of options than the ones analyzed earlier. While the answers to these Likert scales also included five options, the formulation of these differed from the ones used for the rest of the variables. These options covered expressions of frequency from *never* to *daily*, similarly to the items on language use in the first part of the questionnaire. In addition, the items in this scale follow a true question format, while the other attitudinal sets contain statements. Finally, where the activity presupposes a certain level of English skills (items 1-18), only participants who had reported competence in English were asked the corresponding question. In line with these distinctions, my analysis of the mean values in this case focuses on frequency instead of the level of agreement.

First of all, probably the most interesting comparison of the items in this rather long list can be made in terms of the frequency with which students use English for these various purposes. It is perhaps no surprise that the highest mean value was achieved by question eight, which indicates that the language is most often ($M = 4.38$) used to browse the web. It was followed by the first item ($M = 4.25$), showing the relevance of English for traveling. Moreover, after a drop of almost half a grade, third and fourth place was taken by items thirteen ($M = 3.85$) and five ($M = 3.79$) respectively, which refer to watching films and series in English, as well as talking to foreigners one knows. These results show that use cases traditionally associated with a global language top the list of activities in which UNIGE students most frequently benefit from their English skills.

The item that followed the above as fifth in the list deserves special attention, since it reveals that participants use English for their university studies between *sometimes* and *often* on

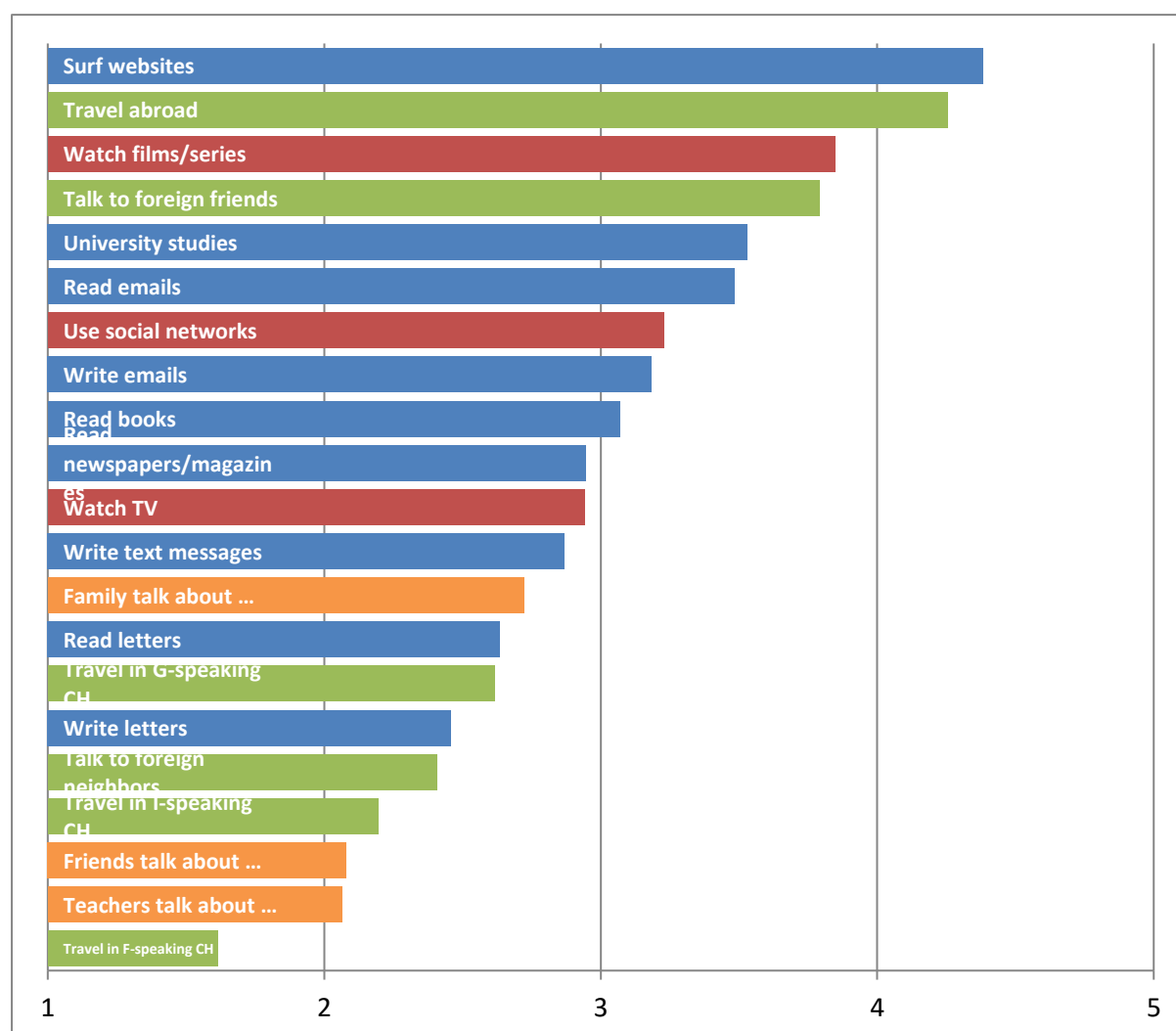
average ($M = 3.53$). It is also interesting to note that students use English more often to read emails than to write them ($M = 3.48$, as opposed to $M = 3.18$) and, intriguingly, they do so more frequently than they use social media in English ($M = 3.23$). English language books are slightly more often read ($M = 3.07$) than newspapers and magazines ($M = 2.95$), and, what is more, participants appear to do both more frequently than watch television in English ($M = 2.94$).

By contrast, at the bottom of the list one finds items two ($M = 1.62$), nineteen ($M = 2.06$) and twenty ($M = 2.08$), which reflects the limited importance of English for local travel as well as that of life in English-speaking countries as a discussion topic with teachers and family members. Interestingly, the third item in the latter subscale, namely question twenty-one on discussing English-speaking countries with friends and acquaintances obtained a higher score than these two at 2.72, which indicates that there might be significant differences between items in the individual sets identified by the PCA conducted earlier (Section [3.4.11](#)). Thus, for easier reading, in Figure 4.31 the same items are shown, arranged by their mean values and color coded according to the results of the PCA.

Subscales (PCA):

- Social networks, films and TV ($M = 3.34$)
- Reading, writing and studying ($M = 3.17$)
- Hearing about E-speaking countries ($M = 2.29$)
- Traveling and talking to foreigners ($M = 2.81$)

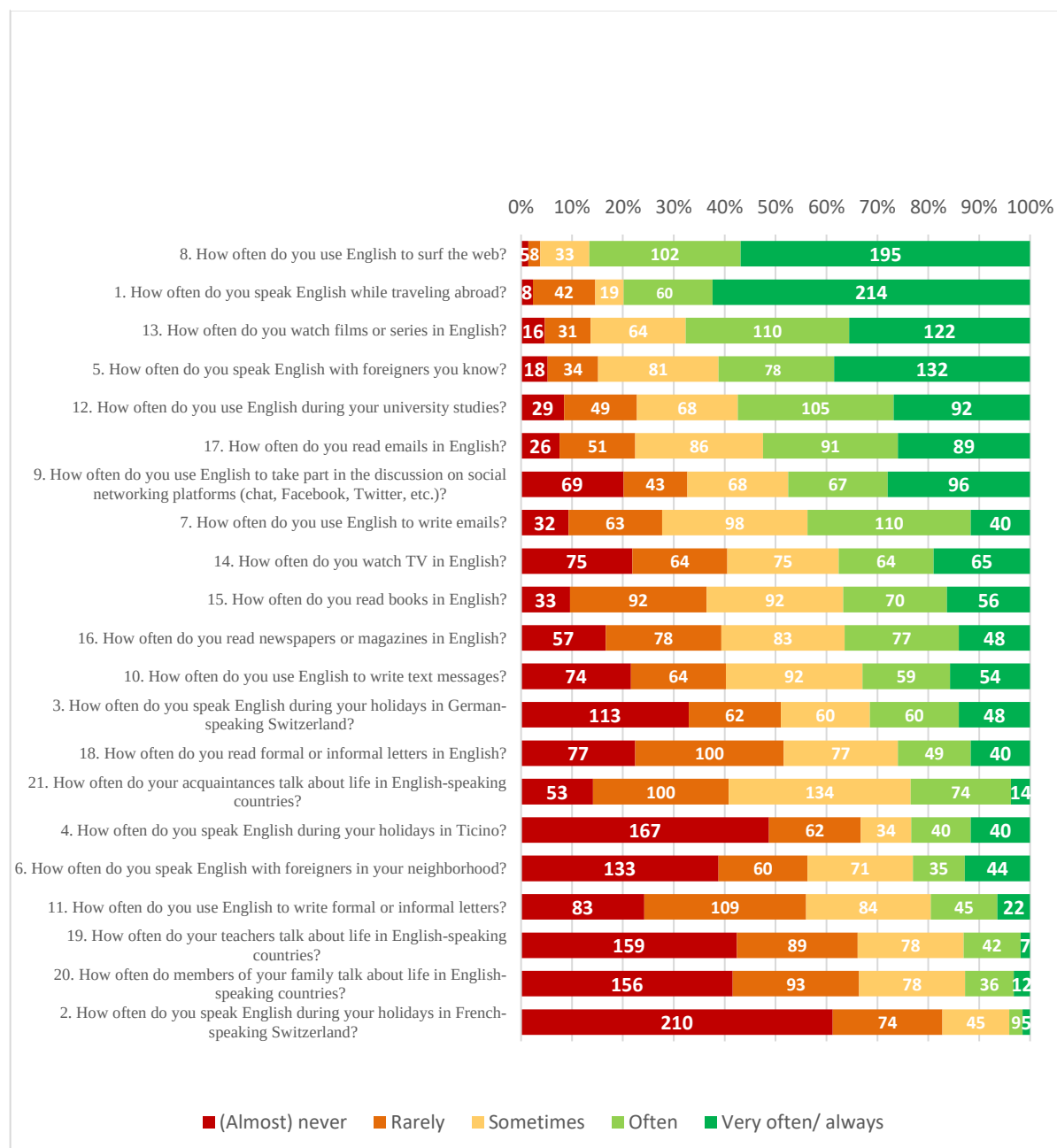
Figure 4.31 Direct contact, items arranged by means and color coded by subscale



Note: Options range from (*almost*) never (1) to *very often or always* (5).

Indeed, this presentation of the results clearly displays that while the subscale composed of items on traveling and talking to foreigners has the lowest mean value, it also contains one of the items with the highest scores. The second category, *reading writing and studying*, includes the question that obtained the highest mean value, as well as that on writing letters, which is the sixth lowest in the list. Overall, however, it is *social networks, films and TV* that yielded the highest average means. For more in-depth analysis of the answer patterns, Figure 4.32 provides an overview of all the items in the scale in terms of the number of responses obtained for each option.

Figure 4.32 Direct contact, number of responses per option, per item

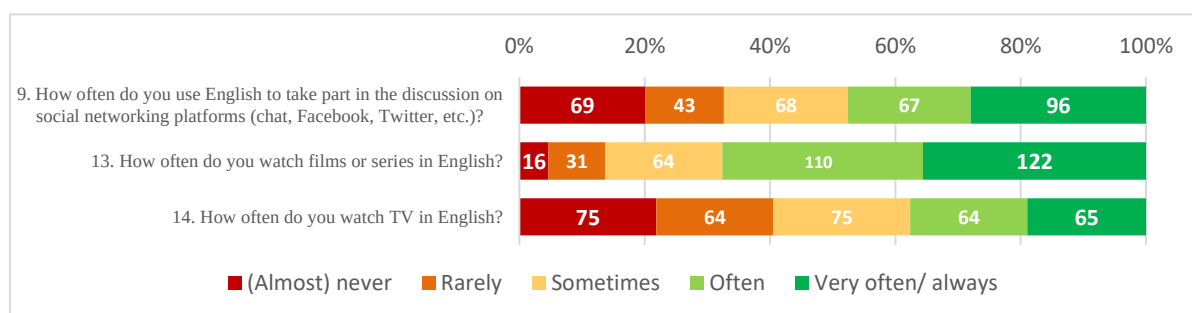


Note: Options range from *(almost) never* (1) to *very often or always* (5). Only students who were proficient in English were asked these questions.

The items are arranged above so as to show questions from highest to lowest in terms of the number of students reporting more than average (option 3, *sometimes*) frequency. On the whole, there are only a few dissimilarities when compared to the previous chart, mostly in the lower segments of the list. This shows that while in general the mean values obtained for the activities reflect the ratio of students who engaged in them on a regular basis, the majority of participants could practice some activities more or less frequently than the average would suggest. Although this aspect of the data is not central to my analysis, it is interesting to note

that, for instance, item twenty (*How often do members of your family talk about life in English-speaking countries?*) was at thirteenth place in the previous ranking, whereas based on the number of participants for whom this was a regular occurrence it was last but one in Figure 3.32. Nevertheless, while a comparison of answer patterns throughout the entire scale might not yield important conclusions, an examination of the individual subscales, as shown in Figure 3.33, might provide further insight.

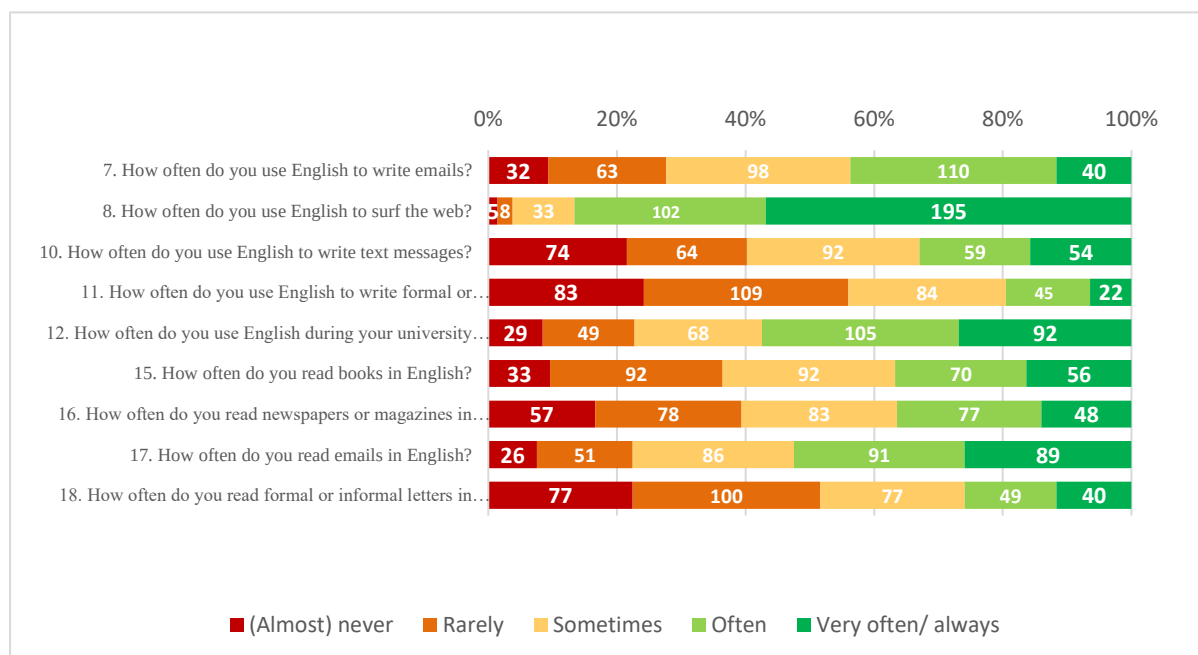
Figure 4.33 Subscale on social networks, film and TV, number of responses per option, per item



Note: Options range from *(almost) never* (1) to *very often or always* (5). Only students who were proficient in English were asked these questions.

It is clear from these figures that movies and film series were the type of media that most participants (67.7%) enjoyed often in English. This might be due, on the one hand, to the accessibility of English language movies in most formats. On the other hand, English-speaking films (with or without subtitles) are also widely available with many Swiss television subscriptions. The distribution of responses to question fourteen, however, indicates that television as a medium of English language films was not as important as could have been expected. Only 37.7% *often* watched television in English, while more students (40.6%) only did so *rarely* or *(almost) never*. This is understandable as, with more digital methods of media consumption on the rise, series and feature films become increasingly available through web-based services and mobile applications. In addition, almost half (47.5%) of the students asked used English to take an active part in discussions on social media platforms. These trends might have implications for language education in an era when target language media as well as opportunities for practice are more easily available to learners than ever before, in many languages beside English. I will discuss such issues further in the next chapters. Below I address the main tendencies in participants' answers on the subscale on activities that involve reading, writing and studying, as identified through PCA and shown in Figure 4.34.

Figure 4.34 Subscale on reading, writing and studying, number of responses per option, per item



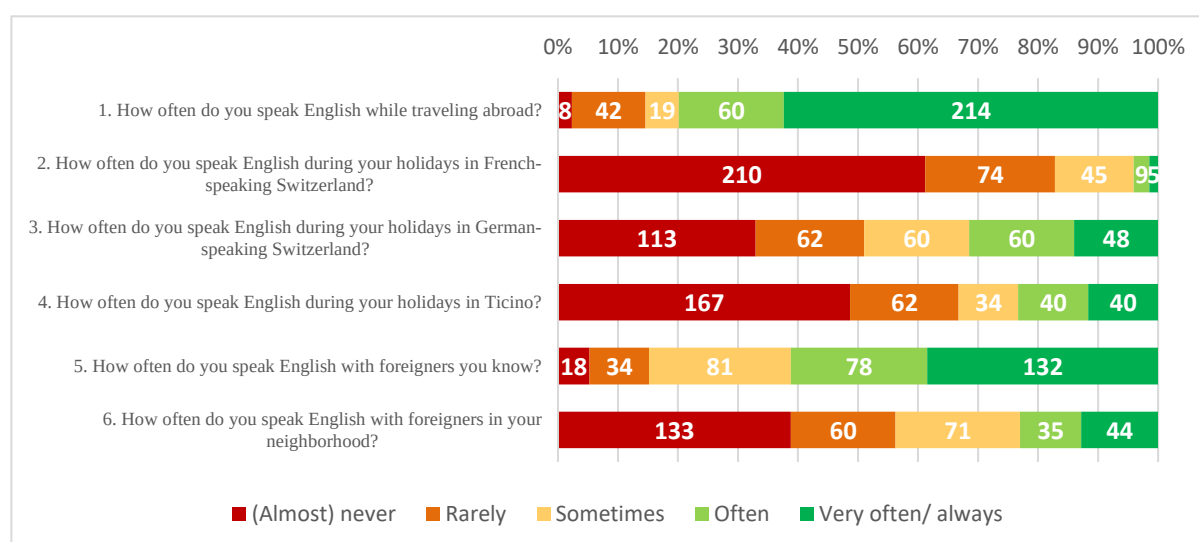
Note: Options range from *(almost) never* (1) to *very often or always* (5). Only students who were proficient in English were asked these questions.

Similarly to the overall rankings, the item that emerged highest on this list was the one on internet use. Clearly, it was the activity that the most participants (86.6%) engaged in more often than average (above option 3, *sometimes*). In the same vein, item twelve preserved its high rank that could be observed earlier. The majority of students (57.4%) used English during their university studies often or very often and only 22.8% stated that they did so only rarely or never. These results indicate that participants found the language a useful tool, on the one hand, to access the wealth of information available on the web but also as a means to enhance their academic achievements. This leads to the question whether the latter was an important consideration with members of all faculties or if certain subsamples made use of English for this purpose to varying degrees. In addition, such comparisons, which will be addressed below, can be theorized to reflect the differences in language policies and practices at the individual faculties or even in certain degree programs. Nevertheless, it is important to note here that the high frequency of English use in this context was strongly linked to the requirements students face and might not fully correspond to their personal preferences.

It is perhaps not surprising that, with the spread of electronic mail and many other forms of digital communication in all realms of life, paper-based correspondence among university

students is on the decline. Indeed, 52.4% of study participants claimed they read emails in English frequently and 43.8% wrote them often or very often. On the whole, only 22.5% and 27.7% did not read or write them at least sometimes. By contrast, 56% of respondents did not write paper letters in English on a regular basis and 51.6% only rarely or never read them. Nonetheless, still a surprising number of students used this medium, as 26% indicated that they frequently read letters in English, while 22.4% did so sometimes. The same figures were a little lower for writing them, at 19.5% and 24.5% respectively. Further comparisons might shed light on the possible context of these practices and whether those currently engaged in learning the language participate in them with higher frequency. Figure 4.35 below displays the frequency values for the next subscale, which includes the first six items in the scale and encompasses activities linked to traveling and meeting foreigners.

Figure 4.35 Subscale on traveling and talking to foreigners, number of responses per option, per item

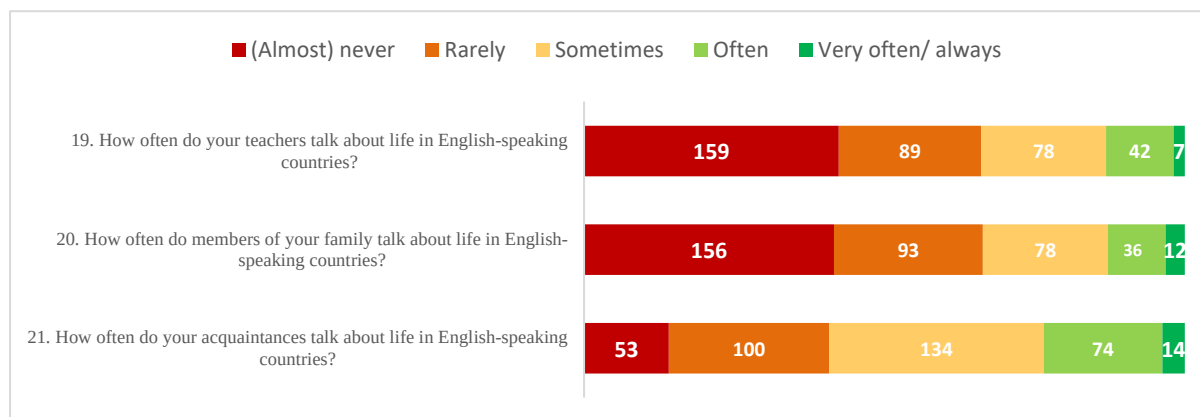


Note: Options range from *(almost) never* (1) to *very often or always* (5). Only students who were proficient in English were asked these questions.

This subscale is especially interesting because the figures reveal that although the great majority (79.9%) of participants *often* spoke English while traveling abroad, it was much less frequently used for trips in Switzerland. During their holidays in German-speaking Switzerland, half of the participants (49%) used it *sometimes* to *very often*, but only 23.4% did so at all when visiting the Italian-speaking canton of Ticino. Whereas these results are greatly influenced by how often students travel in these regions, their answers are nonetheless an interesting comment on the role of English as a medium of communication between Swiss of different mother tongues. Unfortunately, the data did not provide further details as to what

other languages participants used during their travels, inside or outside the country, so no far-reaching conclusions are possible. Nevertheless, I will discuss some of the potential implications in the next chapters. In this last part of the section, I analyze the remaining subscale, the one with the lowest overall mean value. Figure 4.36 summarizes students' answers to each of the three items

Figure 4.36 Subscale on English as a conversation topic, number of responses per option, per item



Note: Options range from *(almost) never* (1) to *very often or always* (5). All students were asked these questions. This last subscale contains only three questions, all of which focus on life in English-speaking countries as a topic of discussion. This indirect form of language contact is relevant to the overall measure as it shows how much participants were exposed, in their immediate milieu, to the cultural values and habits of the target culture. Moreover, these items reflect the importance of the target countries as conveyed by the people closest to the respondents. It can be concluded that it was students' acquaintances that mentioned the topic most often, as only 40.8% of participants reported *never or rarely* talking about it with the people around them. These figures are much higher, 66.1% and 66.4% when it comes to teachers and family members, indicating that the subject is rarely discussed at home or at the university. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that even in these contexts the rest of the students hear about English-speaking countries more frequently, which, as I will examine in the course of the next sections, might have an impact on their attitudes.

On the whole, it can be concluded that participants did not report the same frequency for all contact types. On average, the scale mean was 2.89, which suggests that students merely *sometimes* encountered the situations investigated. However, the above analysis shows that while this was true for certain activities, such as using English while traveling in the Italian-speaking canton of Ticino or with foreigners of respondents' neighborhood, other uses were

much more frequent. Participants often used the language not only when traveling abroad or surfing the Internet but also to talk to foreigners they knew and to study for their university courses. These differences are reflected in the scores of the four subscales identified through principal component analysis. Therefore, ranging in mean values from 2.29 (*Hear about English-speaking countries*) to 3.34 (*Films and social media*), with a few exceptions, it is these subscales to which I will refer in the course of the following, more in-depth, analyses.

4.4.23 Factors related to direct contact with English

As the above shows, students had lower levels of direct contact with English speakers than could be expected in a multilingual environment such as Geneva, although other forms of language use (e.g. browsing the web) were more popular. I argued that it might be precisely this multilingualism that results in a number of languages being used on a daily basis, thus rendering English less important a medium of everyday communication. Nevertheless, it is not surprising that skills in English were related to the frequency with which students took part in English-language exchanges.

T-tests showed that English as an L1 had by far the most important link to the variable as well as to its subscales. Mother tongue speakers used the language more frequently ($M = 3.78$ *often*) than their peers ($M = 2.83$ *sometimes*), about *once a week* as opposed to *once a month*, and this effect was strong at an eta squared of .16. More specifically, its influence was seen in the relationship of competence in English as an L1 and the subscale *reading, writing, studying*. The effect was even stronger in this case (eta squared = .18) and the difference in mean value more marked ($M = 4.17$ *often* and $M = 3.11$ *sometimes*), suggesting that, in comparison with other students, L1 speakers made use of English significantly more often as a means of written communication and for their university studies. In addition, it is interesting to note that these speakers also heard about English-speaking cultures more often than the rest of the sample, at a mean score of 3.48 against the 2.22 reached by participants who did not mark English among their L1s (eta squared = .11).

On the other hand, the dissimilarities were considerably smaller and of less importance in the case of the other subscales. While English as a mother tongue was associated with more frequent use ($M = 4.05$, *often*, against $M = 3.29$ *sometimes*) of the language to engage in social media and to watch movies, the effect size only reached an eta squared of .03. In addition, L1 speakers ($M = 3.21$) as well as the other students ($M = 2.79$) spoke English while traveling

sometimes, around once a month, however, once more, this effect was minor ($\eta^2 = .01$). Overall, these results are not completely unexpected. It is understandable that mother tongue speakers engage in direct contact in English more often than students who do not speak the language as an L1. What is more interesting is the lack of a strong effect in the case of many of these relationships, which suggests that mother tongue mastery of English does not have an exceptionally strong impact on all aspects of daily usage of the language.

Indeed, English as a second language also had only weak connections to direct contact. It was related to the entire scale as well as the subscale *reading, writing and studying*, but the effect sizes were small in both cases ($\eta^2 = .02$ and $\eta^2 = .03$ respectively). Furthermore, while speakers of English as an L2 had higher levels of direct contact in general ($M = 2.94$), when compared to the rest of the sample ($M = 2.62$), they reported rarer contact in the form of written communication and language use for studying ($M = 3.13$ as opposed to $M = 3.63$). Moreover, learning English was also negatively linked to three of the subscales: *reading, writing and studying* as well as *traveling* and *films and social media*. As in the case of the relationships discussed above, the effect sizes were small ($\eta^2 = .01$, $\eta^2 = .01$, and $\eta^2 = .02$) and the differences, summarized in Table 4.30 below, not so considerable.

Table 4.30 Descriptive statistics compared between English learners and students not currently studying the language

Variable	Studying English	N	M	SD
Direct contact: Reading, writing and studying	No	280	3.22	.90
	Yes	63	2.97	.78
Direct contact: Traveling and talking to foreigners	No	280	2.86	.84
	Yes	63	2.61	.91
Direct contact: Films, TV and social media	No	280	3.40	1.04
	Yes	63	3.05	1.10

All in all, these results indicate that, similarly to willingness to communicate, proficiency does not necessarily prompt one to seek out contact opportunities and engage in communication in English. Given the highly multilingual and plurilingual profile of the students participating in the study, this can also be a result of other languages also being in daily use, decreasing the importance of English as a means of communication. Secondly, these differences underline my earlier observation that the learning experience might in fact act as a deterrent that prevents

learners from participating in English-language encounters. The pedagogical implications of this possibility will be discussed in more detail in the last chapter.

It is interesting to note that, whereas skills in English as an L2 were found to relate only weakly to the variable, speaking foreign languages in general was more strongly associated ($\eta^2 = .06$) with the frequency of direct contact that participants had in English. Respondents who marked none of their languages as a foreign language ($N = 30$) had a significantly lower average score on the scale ($M = 2.25$ as opposed to $M = 2.94$). This suggests that competence in other foreign languages might strengthen the relationship between English skills and the amount of direct contact that speakers have. Indeed, the analysis showed that, although learners of English did not have more frequent opportunities to use the language, learning foreign languages in a more general sense had a positive link to direct contact.

It is not surprising that language learners heard slightly more often about life in English-speaking countries ($M = 2.42$ against $M = 2.19$, $\eta^2 = .02$). However, it is important to stress that this subgroup included learners of foreign languages other than English. They also used the language marginally more frequently for reading, writing and studying ($M = 3.33$ as opposed to $M = 3.04$, $\eta^2 = .03$) and had generally more contact with English ($M = 3.08$) than students who were not engaged in learning languages at the time of the study ($M = 2.75$, $\eta^2 = .05$).

While French as a foreign language and as a language that participants were engaged in studying had a slight positive connection to their direct contact with English, the tests revealed that French as a mother tongue had the opposite effect. French L2 speakers and learners reported more direct contact with English, especially in terms of *reading, writing and studying* ($M = 3.58$ and $M = 3.78$). The effect sizes varied ($\eta^2 = .07$ and $\eta^2 = .01$ respectively) but were more considerable in the case of the subsample of L2 speakers. Other tests (cf. [Appendix 5](#)) showed that, conversely, French L1 speakers encountered English much less frequently.

In a similar vein, participants who included German in their L2 portfolio used English less frequently to communicate through social networks and to watch movies ($M = 3.20$) than students not engaged in learning the language ($M = 3.45$, $\eta^2 = .01$), even though current learners of German seemed to take ever so slightly more opportunities to practice their English in general ($M = 3.11$ as opposed to $M = 2.85$, $\eta^2 = .01$). Interestingly, as the

figures indicate, learning Italian had a positive connection to direct contact with English. Learners of the language scored on average half a grade higher on the scale as well as three of its subscales. Moreover, in spite of slightly smaller differences, the same trend was revealed in the case of mother tongue speakers of languages in the *other* category and among learners of these languages.

Finally, a few other dissimilarities could be observed among the various subsamples. For instance, unsurprisingly, students who did not work at the time of the study used English more frequently on social networks and for watching movies ($M = 3.48$) than their professionally active peers ($M = 3.21$, eta squared = .02). This is understandable as it can be argued that they probably had more time and opportunities to do so. Secondly, the faculty at which students were enrolled was also associated with differences in the frequency of direct contact through films and social networks as well as how often participants heard about life in English-speaking countries. Table 4.31 reveals that while law students had the highest overall mean value on the former scale, they were preceded by students of the economic and social sciences on the latter. At the same time, the effect sizes were only moderate (eta squared = .03) in both cases.

Table 4.31 Descriptive statistics compared among the different faculties

Variable	Faculty	N	M	SD
Direct contact: Films, TV and social media	Law	147	3.37	1.10
	Medicine	136	3.34	1.00
	Science	2	3.00	.94
	SES	58	3.25	1.11
	Total	343	3.34	1.06
Direct contact: Hearing about English-speaking countries	Law	162	2.36	.91
	Medicine	152	2.22	.85
	Science	2	2.17	1.65
	SES	59	2.29	.72
	Total	375	2.29	.86

Finally, participants' level of enrollment showed a similar relationship (eta squared = .03) to direct contact with English through *reading, writing and studying*. In general, it can be concluded that the higher the level of the program in which students took part, the more frequently they use the language for these activities. The figures in [Appendix 5](#) also display that lower level degree programs were, understandably, represented in the sample in greater numbers, which might influence these results, leading to more even mean values.

4.4.24 Findings of the descriptive analysis

The main descriptive results reviewed in this section showed that there were noticeable, albeit small, differences among certain subsamples in terms of their language attitudes. Moreover, some of the figures indicated that there might be further connections among the various attitudinal concepts, influencing their strength and relevance. Therefore, in the next sections, I explore these relationships from different angles, in order to render the results of the study more meaningful and provide a more complete picture of participants' language attitudes. So as to complete this first analysis of the attitudinal scales, Table 4.32 below summarizes the descriptive trends discussed above, showing the scales and subscales in order of importance based on their overall means.

Table 4.32 Attitudinal scales, descriptive statistics

Variable	N	M	SD
Ideal L2 self	375	4.41	.77
Importance of contact	375	4.26	.70
Attitudes to learning English	375	4.21	.91
Motivated learning behavior	375	4.19	.86
Willingness to communicate	343	4.17	.93
Attitudes to traditional target groups: UK	375	3.94	.75
Global village	375	3.85	.83
International posture	375	3.79	.79
Attitudes to traditional target groups	375	3.79	.71
Attitudes to traditional target groups: US	375	3.63	.86
Ought-to L2 self	375	3.60	.83
Direct contact: Films, TV and social media	343	3.34	1.06
Direct contact: Reading, writing and studying	343	3.17	.88
Direct contact	375	2.89	.77
Direct contact: Traveling and talking to foreigners	343	2.81	.86
Direct contact: Hearing about English-speaking countries	375	2.29	.86
Ethnocentrism	375	1.77	.59

4.5 Mapping relationships: correlation analysis

As I pointed out earlier, the results of the descriptive analysis helped identify the central trends in the attitudinal data, while they also hinted at more interesting aspects of UNIGE students' language attitudes that could be uncovered using more in-depth statistical methods. Thus, I submitted the data to correlation analysis, in order to obtain the coefficients that describe the strength of the relationships among the different scales. The Pearson's coefficients, shown in Table 4.33, revealed details of participants' answers that were worth exploring.

Results - Mapping relationships: correlation analysis

Table 4.33 Correlations among the attitudinal scales, Pearson's coefficients

	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11A	11B	11C	11D
1 Motivation	.580**	n.s.	.388**	.405**	.327**	.256**	.316**	n.s.	.394**	n.s.	.181**	.214**	n.s.
2 Attitude		.335**	.336**	.367**	.374**	.328**	.225**	-.151**	.547**	.280**	.255**	.383**	.219**
3 WTC			.223**	.216**	.180**	.312**	n.s.	-.144**	.245**	.452**	.303**	.328**	.217**
4 Ideal Self				.456**	.429**	.382**	.316**	-.233**	.320**	.353**	.213**	.280**	.135**
5 Ought-to Self					.500**	.430**	.358**	-.181**	.409**	.278**	.270**	.275**	.212**
6 Global village						.407**	.471**	-.243**	.443**	.189**	.265**	.316**	.133**
7 Importance of contact							.268**	-.470**	.397**	.228**	.223**	.162**	.301**
8 International posture								-.151**	.359**	n.s.	.143**	.142**	n.s.
9 Ethnocentrism									-.263**	n.s.	-.140**	n.s.	-.114*
10 Target groups										.212**	.199**	.297**	.267**
11A Read, write, study											.472**	.579**	.371**
11B Travel												.422**	.302**
11C Films & social networks													.306**
11D Talk about													

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

In addition to the relative strength of these links, correlations are especially interesting because they show how much of the variance is explained by each relationship. This is achieved by calculating the squares of the coefficients, for instance a $r = .40$ link means that 16% of the change in participants' behavior, as regards these scales, is explained by the connection of the two factors. This is valuable information and will be taken into account in my analysis below. I would like to note that, unless otherwise noted, all the relationships mentioned below were significant at the $p < .01$ level.

4.5.1 *Motivated learning behavior*

As I mentioned in the previous section ([4.4.2](#)), the students surveyed could be considered as generally motivated to learn English ($M = 4.19$). Unsurprisingly, English L2 speakers were more so ($\eta^2 = .08, p < .05$), even though the level at which these speakers graded their proficiency was only weakly connected to their motivation ($r = .18, p < .05$). While, as my earlier conclusions indicate, the socio-demographic factors included in the study did not display important links to the variable, the results revealed stronger connections with the attitudinal scales.

In line with the findings of earlier studies discussed in [Chapter 2](#), this motivation was most strongly related to learning attitudes ($r = .58, p < .01$). More interestingly, however, its link to the ought-to L2 self ($r = .41, p < .01$) surpassed the rest of the scales, thus indicating that social expectations played an important role in participants' motivated learning behavior. This further supports the trend that can be observed throughout this chapter, namely the unexpected strength and significant connections of the ought-to self-guide. Traditional native speaker target groups, which also emerged as one of the surprisingly prominent factors in the study, were comparably linked to motivation ($r = .39, p < .01$), while the ideal L2 self, expected to show correlations of the highest coefficients, achieved ever so slightly lower results ($r = .39, p < .01$). This list suggests interesting patterns and foreshadows some of the main characteristics of the final model of participants' motivational profile, presented at the end of this chapter.

As Table 4.33 above shows, motivation to learn English was also linked to most of the other variables. Therefore, the more interesting question is whether these relationships are direct or indirect and whether their influence on motivated learning behavior, the central dependent variable of the study, is also relevant. I address these issues later in the chapter (Section [4.6](#)).

On the other hand, the lack of statistically significant connections in some cases can be intriguing.

For instance, willingness to communicate was among the few variables that did not have a significant relationship to motivation, suggesting that feeling comfortable with the idea of speaking English in public does not seem to motivate students to learn the language. Even more interestingly, this also means that more motivated learners are not always more confident speakers. Furthermore, ethnocentric views were not shown to be connected to motivation to learn English, which is especially surprising in the case of a language with such global connotations as English. At the same time, it is important to note that the general level of ethnocentrism was low throughout the sample, which might explain these results.

Finally, not all types of direct contact were found to correlate with motivated learning behavior. More specifically, using English for the purposes of reading, writing and studying did not correspond to increased levels of motivation, nor did hearing people talk about English-speaking cultures. While the overall scale of direct contact had a weak connection to MLB ($r = .25, p < .01$), it is interesting that engaging in these forms of contact did not increase students' motivation, nor were they boosted by motivated learning behavior.

4.5.2 *The ideal L2 self*

I discussed the most important correlations between the ideal L2 self and the socio-demographic variables above. In summary, the tests analyzed there showed that using English more frequently, in different contexts, is associated with a more elaborate L2-related future self-vision (cf. [4.4.5](#)). Similarly, the higher students' level of proficiency in English, the stronger their ideal L2 self ($r = .27, p < .05$). However, these relationships were not as strong as could be expected in the case of participants' vision of their English-speaking self. On the one hand, Ryan (2015) argued that these images become stronger and more elaborate through language use. On the other, whereas the results of the study indicate that, as regards participants' ideal self-guide, this is in fact true, they also suggest that other, more important factors might have stronger relationships to the variable.

Indeed, the ideal L2 self was related to all of the other ten variables to some extent. While Table 4.33 above displays each of the correlation coefficients, in this sub-section, I will focus on the most important relationships. First of all, the strongest one could be observed in relation to the

ought-to L2 self ($r = .46, p < .01$), which is not surprising. On the basis of Dörnyei's (2009) model, the two variables represent facets of learners' and speakers' English related self-concept, therefore a strong connection between the two could be expected.

In addition, the variable was strongly connected to respondents' orientation toward the global community ($r = .43, p < .01$), which shows that these attitudes might be an important element of their English-speaking future self-vision. Similarly, the perceived importance of direct contact in English had a positive relationship to the ideal L2 self. ($r = .38, p < .01$), which is understandable if students imagine this ideal self as a confident speaker. These links are especially interesting as they hint at the potential components of the self-guide. Moreover, the connection of these factors to the ideal L2 self also renders them indirect motivational influences. Therefore, the direction and impact of their relationships will be explored in the next section.

In terms of its motivational force, as already mentioned above, students' scores on the scale also correlated with their reported motivation to learn English ($r = .39, p < .01$). However, this link was considerably weaker than the one found in other studies (see [Chapter 2](#)) and less significant than the one between MLB and the ought-to L2 self. The connection between a strong ideal self-image and positive learning attitudes, the third pillar of the Self System (Dörnyei, 2009), followed similar trends ($r = .34, p < .01$). Once more, these details indicate that further analysis of the extent of the motivational impact of the ideal L2 self can be expected to reveal interesting patterns.

Different aspects of language contact also showed additional correlations with the relevance of the ideal L2 self. First of all, the scale measuring the use of English during activities related to reading, writing and studying displayed a link to the variable ($r = .35, p < .01$), as did students' attitudes to traditional native speaker target groups ($r = .32, p < .01$). Willingness to use English in front of different audiences had a weaker correlation with the strength of the ideal L2 self ($r = .22, p < .01$). Finally, a similar, albeit negative, relationship could be observed between the self-guide and ethnocentrism ($r = -.23, p < .01$), revealing the reverse tendencies of the two variables.

As I mentioned, these connections are important because they raise the question whether the above factors directly contribute to study participants' ideal L2 self, one of the central components of Dörnyei's (2009) L2 Motivational Self System. The results of the regression

analysis, detailed in the next section, shed more light on the issue. In addition, they rendered further comparisons with samples from other studies possible. For example, the latter showed that, in the UNIGE study, the ought-to L2 self emerged as a more relevant self-guide and motivational factor, unexpectedly outperforming the ideal L2 self.

4.5.3 The ought-to L2 self

The scale measuring the strength of participants' ought-to L2 self yielded some of the most interesting results in the study. First of all, the statistical analysis revealed the self-guide to be much stronger than expected based on results attained in other contexts. The variable also showed unexpected interrelationships with a multitude of demographic and attitudinal factors.

For instance, I already mentioned above its link to respondents' self-reported level of English as a second language ($r = .36, p < .05$). Interestingly, while the use of English in various settings was associated with a stronger English-related socially defined self, speaking Italian with friends and at work had an even more important connection to the variable (cf. [4.4.7](#)). Nevertheless, the ought-to L2 self emerged as one of the central factors in participants' attitudinal profiles as speakers of English, as further attested by the correlational relationships outlined below.

Most importantly, as I already pointed out earlier, in relation to motivated learning behavior, the variable achieved a higher correlation ($r = .41, p < .01$) than the ideal L2 self. In the previous subsection, I also discussed the relationship between the two self-guides, one of the stronger ($r = .46, p < .01$) connections in the study. Nevertheless, the ought-to L2 self was first and foremost related to students' identification with the community of world citizens ($r = .50, p < .01$). This link was stronger than the one observed above in the case of the ideal L2 self and is thus especially interesting. It suggests that membership in the international community is more closely associated with respondents' perceptions of their social obligations than with their more personal future self-visions. It also showcases a trend that can be observed throughout the data.

Participants' perceptions of the importance of using foreign languages with foreigners was also considerably linked ($r = .43, p < .01$) to the ought-to L2 self. In the same vein, positive views of traditional target speakers had comparable ties ($r = .41, p < .01$) to the variable and similar trends were observed in the case of international posture ($r = .36, p < .01$). These figures

indicate that students in the study might believe that their family, friends and acquaintances expect them to interact with foreigners and to display a positive orientation toward them. It is important to note that, once more, all three factors were more closely related to the ought-to self-guide than to the ideal L2 self, showing that this type of language use and orientation are less relevant to participants' future self-image.

Overall, the results showed that the ought-to L2 self had significant correlations to all of the variables examined. This suggests that, along with the ideal L2 self and language learning attitudes, it can be expected to play an important role in study participants motivation and attitudes toward English. In addition, the above figures hint at an intriguing theme. They indicate that, in the case of study participants, the ought-to L2 self appears to represent a more relevant and more powerful aspect of the self. This assumption will be further tested in the course of this chapter and its implications will be examined in the next one. In the following subsection, I move on to discuss the variables related to the third element of Dörnyei's (2009) L2 Motivational Self System.

4.5.4 Attitudes to learning English

Participants' attitudes to learning English were favorable in general at a mean value of 4.2. In addition, they were positively linked to skills in foreign languages in general as well as English L2 speakers' proficiency level and use of English in different situations. These relationships indicate that learning attitudes indeed reflect speakers' experience and practices and might play an important role in their motivational profile.

Besides motivated learning behavior, which correlated highly with learning attitudes ($r = .58$, $p < .01$), a particularly strong link was identified between the scale and respondents' attitudes toward target language speakers ($r = .55$, $p < .01$). While the former was the strongest connection among all the results, the latter was surprisingly high in an era of linguistic diversity, non-native speaker varieties (e.g. Crystal, 2003) and imagined communities (Pavlenko and Norton, 2007). Therefore, although the motivational role of learning attitudes corresponds to earlier findings (discussed in [2.2.3.1](#)) the similarly strong relationship between participants' orientation to learning English and toward traditional native speaker communities indicates that the values and attributes of these groups constitute an important aspect of the learning process. These findings make an interesting reference to Feyér's (2012) conclusions regarding Hungarian learners' preferences for standard native speaker accent varieties.

Moreover, learning attitudes, which also reflect learners' experience (cf. 3.4.4), were found to correlate, to varying degrees, with all the other attitudinal variables in the study. This, on the one hand, shows that language learning can be a complex process, linked to a number of factors. On the other hand, these results are indicative of the interrelatedness, whether direct or indirect, of these factors and imply the outcome of the regression tests. In addition to the above, the variable was most notably related to the subscale on direct contact in the form of *films and social networks* ($r = .38, p < .01$), raising the question whether it is this type of contact that ameliorates the learning experience or whether it is rather enjoyable learning that results in more frequent use of English.

A similarly important relationship could be observed between the learning experience and the strength of participants' ought-to L2 self ($r = .37, p < .01$), slightly surpassing the one with the ideal L2 self ($r = .34, p < .01$). Once more, the ought-to L2 self emerged as the more relevant self-guide, hinting at its prominent role in participants' motivational profile. More specifically, these figures mean that a positive learning experience could in part determine the development of learners' L2 related self-concept. At the same time, it is also possible that learners with a strong sense of social expectations develop more favorable views of language learning. The analysis presented in the next section, based on a multi-layered approach to motivational influences, helps clarify these issues.

As I mentioned, the variable showed correlations with numerous other scales, which I will examine in the corresponding subsections. Nevertheless, before moving on to discussing the results relative to the next scale, I would like to draw attention to one additional connection. Participants' score of ethnocentrism presented a slight negative link to learning attitudes ($r = -.15, p < .01$), which is interesting because it was one of the lowest figures in Table 4.40. As a result, it can be concluded that in the case of UNIGE students, who reported low levels of ethnocentrism in general, such views did not significantly influence their opinion of learning English.

4.5.5 Attitudes to traditional target groups

In addition to the ought-to L2 self, which, as I observed previously, was more prominent in the case of study participants than could be expected, their views of traditional target language speaker groups were also shown to be of surprising importance. Participants' overall positive attitudes ($M = 3.79$) mirrored Murray's (2003) findings. Her research showed that teachers of

English in Switzerland favored traditional native speaker accents to World English varieties. Interestingly, this was especially true concerning speakers from England ($M = 3.94$), as respondents reported more favorable attitudes toward them, whereas they were more hesitant about their views of Americans, which were also less positive on the whole ($M = 3.63$). While these conclusions are not particularly remarkable, they become more interesting when the multicultural, and multilingual, setting of the study is taken into account.

Based on the results outlined in the previous section, it appears that skills and proficiency levels in English were only moderately associated with the variable, suggesting that these opinions might be widespread among UNIGE students. Moreover, the scale correlated significantly with all the other attitudinal factors included in the analysis. Overall, these tests showed that students' orientation toward these traditionally defined target groups had an important place in their profile of language attitudes and motivation.

Indeed, as I discussed above, the relationship between participants' orientation toward these native speaker communities and their learning attitudes was one of the strongest in the study ($r = .55$, $p < .01$), indicating that such views constitute an important aspect of the learning experience. Similarly, as I theorized above, students' attitudes to target groups might be especially important to their motivational profile, as they showed a significant correlation to their motivation ($r = .39$, $p < .01$).

Furthermore, they were closely linked to respondents' identification with members of the global village ($r = .44$, $p < .01$), which echoes similar findings obtained in a study of Hungarian adult learners (Csillagh, 2010). A similar link was found with international posture ($r = .36$, $p < .01$). These connections hint at the ambiguity involved in contrasting native speakers and the wider community of world speakers as target groups (Csillagh, 2010), since the two categories might not be mutually exclusive as far as university students' attitudes are concerned. In this light, it is not surprising that the analysis revealed a correlation between the scale and the importance participants accorded to contact with foreigners ($r = .40$, $p < .01$) and a negative one with ethnocentric tendencies ($r = -.26$, $p < .01$).

Participants' scores on the scale were not only linked to their learning experience and motivation but were also shown to correlate with their self-concepts. Most importantly, attitudes to target groups were related to the ought-to L2 self ($r = .41$, $p < .01$), while their connection to the ideal L2 self was moderate ($r = .32$, $p < .01$). Nonetheless, these results

indicate that, in addition to the potential motivational role of these attitudes, they might also play an important role in influencing university students' self-image.

4.5.6 International posture

In light of the above observations, it is especially interesting that international posture, a scale with very positive overall scores, had very few connections to the socio-economic factors. In general, skills in a number of languages had weakly positive relations to the variable. At the same time, there were more significant relationships between international openness and some of the attitudinal variables.

The most important of these involved other concepts in the same area. International posture strongly correlated with students' orientation toward the global community ($r = .47, p < .01$) and it was linked to attitudes to target language speakers ($r = .36, p < .01$) and the perceived importance of language contact ($r = .27, p < .01$). These results are interesting because they show that, on the one hand, these scales are interrelated and represent different facets of the same phenomenon. On the other hand, they also confirm that, although connected, the scales in question measure distinct variables, as already observed through principal component analysis (for more details see Section [3.4](#)).

In addition, international posture was also related to participants' motivation to learn English ($r = .32, p < .01$) and their attitudes toward the learning process ($r = .23, p < .01$). Although these connections were not as strong as the ones mentioned above, they indicate that general openness toward international affairs and people constitutes a relevant part of learning English, which has interesting implications for language education. These will be addressed in the last chapter. On the other hand, this aspect of learning and teaching English also corresponds to one of the main themes that emerged from the small interview study I conducted with my colleague Dr. Eva Waltermann. As mentioned before, all interviewees in the study made references to the international nature of English, as opposed to German, which has much more local, Swiss as well as European, importance. These differences in Swiss language users' perceptions, and their potential effect on language learning and learner attitudes, would provide an intriguing topic for further research.

Besides motivation and attitudes to learning, international openness also showed links to students' English-related self-concept. Therefore, the results, in this respect, confirm

Yashima's (2009) findings and observations of the central role of these tendencies in her study of Japanese learners. However, it is interesting to note that, once more, the connection between the variable and the ought-to L2 self was stronger ($r = .36, p < .01$) than its correlation with the ideal L2 self ($r = .32, p < .01$), showcasing one of the most striking findings of this dissertation. As I pointed out before, the figures show that, in the Geneva context, the university students that took part in the study had more elaborate ought-to self-guides than expected, which were, in addition, more strongly embedded in the interrelationships of attitudinal factors. I discuss these conclusions in more detail in the next chapter.

Last but not least, a few interesting non-significant relationships deserve to be mentioned here. More specifically, it is the lack of relationships to which I would like to draw attention, as they can be considered as unexpected. Interestingly, no statistically significant connections were found between international posture and participants' willingness to communicate in English ($r = -.22, p = .68$), nor between the variable and two specific forms of direct contact; reading, writing and studying ($r = .06, p = .24$) and the frequency with which people in students' social circles talk about life in English-speaking countries ($r = .08, p = .14$). These results indicate, first of all, that, contrary to expectations, respondents' international posture was not bolstered by language contact. Indeed, significant correlations to using English while traveling ($r = .14, p < .01$) or to watch films and communicate on social networks ($r = .14, p < .01$) were also among the weakest in the study. Secondly, the non-significant figures mean that, in the case of study participants, a positive international orientation does not necessarily promote engagement in language use.

4.5.7 *The global village*

In the previous section, I concluded that participants had positive attitudes to the global community, although their sense of membership was not very strong ($M = 3.60$). Similarly, while respondents agreed that English is of international importance, they did not necessarily view English skills as an essential aspect of global citizenship. This was also somewhat reflected in the connections that linked the variable to other factors.

As I pointed out above, foreign language skills in general were positively related to global citizenship. However, proficiency in English as an L2 more specifically was associated with only a small increase in these attitudes. Correlation analysis showed that speakers' reported level of English and the frequency with which students used it to talk to their friends had

similarly weak connections to the variable ($r = .24$ and $r = .28, p < .05$). These results indicate that, while English undoubtedly has international importance, according to the students who took part in the study, it is not a prerequisite of becoming a member of the global community.

In addition, I also discussed some of the strongest links between the scale and the other attitudinal factors. Indeed, I mentioned that world citizenship had a close relationship to the ought-to L2 self ($r = .50, p < .01$), indicating that positive attitudes to the global community were an integral part of how participants envisioned their socially defined self. Moreover, the concept was also an important aspect of students' ideal future self-image ($r = .43, p < .01$). These results are interesting as they show that a global orientation is closely linked to participants' self-concept, meanwhile, this relationship is more strongly dictated by socially transmitted values and representations than by purely individual aspirations.

Interestingly, participants' views of native speaker target groups also correlated with their orientation toward the global village ($r = .44, p < .01$). This link, one of the strongest that could be observed between the scale and the other factors, replicates Csillagh's (2010) findings. In my master's study (*ibid.*), I concluded that the connection suggests that Hungarian learners likely considered native speakers as part of the international community. In the case of UNIGE students, such an association might help explain the prominence of their attitudes to native speakers throughout the analysis. I explore this possibility in more detail in the next chapter.

As I also observed in my study of Hungarian adult learners (Csillagh, 2010), identification with the global community can be strongly linked to other aspects of international openness. Therefore, it was not unexpected that world citizenship showed considerable connections to international posture ($r = .47, p < .01$). This figure is noteworthy because it also reveals that, while connected, the two scales measure different constructs, further confirming the results of the principal component tests (cf. [3.4.12](#)). Similarly conform to expectations, the negative correlation between world citizenship and ethnocentrism ($r = -.24, p < .01$) showed a moderate opposition between the two variables.

As to the motivational power of identification with the global village, the figures for the relationship between the scale and motivated learning behavior ($r = .33, p < .01$) as well as respondents' attitudes to learning English ($r = .37, p < .01$) were decidedly lower. These results show that, while relevant, the variable can be expected to play a secondary role in students' motivational profile. Therefore, it can be theorized that participants' scores on the scale might

have an indirect effect on their motivation, which assumption will be put to the test in the next section.

I observed above that, among the demographic items, world citizenship was found more closely related to language skills and use. Indeed, further correlation analysis of the different types of contact showed that the variable was linked to watching films and using social media in English ($r = .32, p < .01$) as well as speaking the language while traveling ($r = .27, p < .01$). Finally, the tests also revealed much weaker relationships between identification with the global community and using English for reading, writing and studying ($r = .19, p < .01$) and the frequency with which participants heard about English-speaking cultures ($r = .13, p < .01$).

4.5.8 Willingness to communicate

I concluded in my earlier examination of the scale ([4.4.18-4.4.19](#)) that it was strongly related to participants' L2 proficiency level ($r = .48, p < .01$) and whether they used the language with their friends ($r = .43, p < .01$). Interestingly, as I also observed above, WTC was not linked to respondents' motivation to learn English. As I argued, this is unexpected, as it could be hypothesized that more motivated speakers tend to be more inclined to use English. The final regression model, presented in Section [4.6](#), sheds more light on these findings, confirming the marginal, in some cases negative, effects of willingness to communicate.

Nevertheless, the results (displayed in Table 4.34 below) revealed a significant relationship between the variable and UNIGE students' use of English for the purposes of reading, writing and studying ($r = .45, p < .01$). This link is especially noteworthy because it shows a correlation between text-based and more communicative methods of language use. Watching films and consuming social media in English were less closely associated with the level of WTC ($r = .33, p < .01$), but this nonetheless indicates the relevance of these activities.

A similar link was identified between WTC and learning attitudes ($r = .34, p < .01$), which was undoubtedly stronger than the one observed in the case of motivated learning behavior but which also suggested that willingness to communicate might not be among the central elements of the final model. Indeed, the rest of the connections between the variable and the other ten scales proved to be even less powerful. For instance, the perceived importance of language contact with foreigners had a comparable relationship to WTC ($r = .31, p < .01$), while both self-guides reached a much lower coefficient at $r = .22$ ($p < .01$).

Moreover, the figures were even lower for international aspects of English, which are often associated with increased opportunities and interest in language use. International posture showed no significant link to WTC, and identification with the community of world citizens was only remotely connected ($r = .18, p < .01$) to participants' reported willingness to speak English in various situations. All in all, these results were indicative of the minor role that WTC played in respondents' motivational profile, as was later confirmed by the regression analysis.

4.5.9 *Ethnocentrism*

The items on ethnocentrism were the only ones in the study that involved reverse wording. As I explained earlier (3.4.7), this entailed an additional step in the data cleaning process, since the positively formulated sentences (in the French original) were transformed into the negative items of the scale and participants' answers were recomputed to reflect this change. This procedure also showcases an important characteristic of the scale, namely that while the rest of the attitudinal scales were expected to have a positive, if any, relationship to motivated learning behavior ethnocentrism was included in the questionnaire as a negative attitude, one that can have a negative link to some of the other variables.

Indeed, all of the significant correlations between ethnocentrism and the other factors revealed negative links. The strongest opposition was found in the case of *importance of contact* ($r = -.47, p < .01$), which is not surprising. Nevertheless, the figure indicates a contrast that was less striking than could be expected, given the definitions of the two concepts. Similar patterns could be observed in relation to attitudes to native speaker target groups ($r = -.26, p < .01$) and the global village ($r = -.24, p < .01$), although these links were even weaker. The connection between ethnocentrism and international posture, which could be argued to represent categorically opposing characteristics, only reached a very low coefficient value ($r = -.15, p < .01$).

Moreover, among the central variables of the study, ethnocentrism was shown to have the strongest negative correlation with the ideal L2 self ($r = -.23, p < .01$), while respondents' ought to self-guide ($r = -.18, p < .01$) had an even less significant relationship to the variable. On the one hand, these figures suggest that ethnocentric views do not have a very strong detrimental effect on participants' English-speaking self-concept. On the other hand, it is important to note that the rest of the links between ethnocentrism and students' attitudes were even less considerable, hinting at an interesting underlying trend.

On the basis of these results, it appears that ethnocentrism, generally low among participants, did not play a major role in the Geneva study. This was evident in the lack of strong links between the scale and the demographic items, but also in the low figures discussed in this subsection. Moreover, the assumption that ethnocentric views were not a central factor in UNIGE students' lives was further confirmed by the regression models, presented at the end of this chapter. These findings are not extremely surprising and can be explained by the multicultural milieu of the study as well as the high ratio of foreign students in the sample. Nevertheless, they shed light on an important feature of language learning in Geneva, which is especially interesting from an educational point of view and will be examined in the next chapter.

4.5.10 Perceived importance of contact

Interestingly, while ethnocentrism did not have very strong ties to any other variable, its negative correlation with students' perceptions of the importance of direct contact ($r = -.47, p < .01$) was among the higher ones in the study. In fact, in the case of direct contact, that link was the most important connection in the list. This indicates that the two concepts might occupy opposite positions among the attitudinal factors, which is further supported by the strong connections between the variable and participants' orientation toward the global village ($r = .41, p < .01$), as well as their attitudes to the native speaker communities included in the study ($r = .40, p < .01$). These figures show that ethnocentrism could be placed toward one end of the spectrum, the other three scales, each measuring a different facet of openness toward speakers of foreign languages, representing attitudes that point in the opposite direction.

Secondly, students' attitude to direct contact was especially important in terms of their socially defined self ($r = .43, p < .01$). This suggests that, as I already observed above, being internationally oriented and seeking out contact is strongly linked to participants' perceptions of the type of speakers they are expected to become. Indeed, *perceived importance of contact* correlated less strongly with the ideal L2 self ($r = .38, p < .01$) and its link to language learning motivation was even weaker ($r = .26, p < .01$). These results correspond to the general trend that showed participants' ought-to L2 self emerge as a more important self-guide, both in terms of international openness and the importance of language contact and as a motivational force.

Similar links were found between the variable and students' attitudes to learning English ($r = .33, p < .01$) and willingness to use the language in public ($r = .31, p < .01$). These links are

not unexpected, but they show that talking to foreigners is associated with language learning and a positive disposition to use the language. In addition, hearing about English-speaking cultures had by far the highest correlation ($r = .30, p < .01$) with the scale among the different types of direct contact, further supporting the conclusion that the values and views prevalent in learners' social milieu can have an important effect on the learning process. As a result, these findings present language teachers with interesting opportunities to exert a positive influence, which I will address at the end of this dissertation.

4.5.11 Direct contact

Above I focused on the relationships among the attitudinal factors and the individual subscales that comprise the overall scale of *direct contact*. In this subsection, I examine the connections of these subscales (cf. 3.4.11) to the rest of the variables in more detail, comparing them to the performance of the full item set. Table 4.34 below summarizes the relationships between aspects of the scale and the key to which I make further references in this part of the chapter.

Table 4.34 Pearson's correlational coefficients for direct contact and the key variables

	Direct contact	1.	2.	3.	4.
1. Reading, writing and studying	.895**	-	-	-	-
2. Traveling and talking to foreigners	.749**	.472**	-	-	-
3. Films, TV and social media	.731**	.579**	.422**	-	-
4. Hearing about English-speaking countries	.586**	.371**	.302**	.306**	-
5. Motivation	.245**	n.s.	.181**	.214**	n.s.
6. Attitudes to learning English	.404**	.280**	.255**	.383**	.219**
7. WTC	.459**	.452**	.303**	.328**	.217**
8. Ideal L2 self	.367**	.353**	.213**	.280**	.135**
9. Ought-to L2 self	.379**	.278**	.270**	.275**	.212**
10. Global village	.317**	.189**	.265**	.316**	.133**
11. Importance of contact	.348**	.228**	.223**	.162**	.301**
12. International posture	.122*	n.s.	.143**	.142**	n.s.
13. Ethnocentrism	-.150**	n.s.	-.140**	n.s.	-.114*
14. Attitudes to traditional target groups	.338**	.212**	.199**	.297**	.267**
15. Target groups: UK	.360**	.259**	.200**	.315**	.276**
16. Target groups: US	.244**	.118*	.149**	.209**	.201**

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

The above results reveal a few interesting trends. First of all, it is apparent that, out of the four subscales, the one on reading, writing and studying corresponded the most ($r = .90, p < .01$) to the patterns of the overall scale. The rest of the subscales also followed the same general tendencies, albeit to a lesser degree. At the same time, there were marked dissimilarities among the subscales in certain cases and these differences render further comparisons of the relationships between the different types of direct contact and the other attitudinal variables especially meaningful.

In terms of their motivational power, the subscales did not perform as remarkably as the whole item set combined. Even so, the correlation between direct contact and motivated learning behavior ($r = .25, p < .01$) was relatively weak. Moreover, only two of the subscales were at all linked to respondents' motivation to learn English. These results are interesting, as they suggest that the direct relationship between language contact and motivation might not be as important as the potential influence of other factors. In other words, they indicate that participants who engage more often in these types of contact do not necessarily feel considerably more inclined to study English than their peers. In a similar vein, more motivated students might not have more contact or seek out opportunities more frequently.

Learning attitudes showed a slightly different pattern. While direct contact with English in the general sense was considerably linked ($r = .40, p < .01$) to participants' attitudes to learning the language, the second closest relationship was obtained between positive attitudes and the use of English to watch films and communicate on social media ($r = .38, p < .01$).

As regards the self-guides, they presented somewhat different links, despite the fact that both were most strongly connected to the full scale. In the case of students' ideal self-image, it also had a comparable link to reading, writing and studying ($r = .35, p < .01$), while the rest of the subscales only had weak relationships to the variable. The ought-to L2 self, on the other hand, had a similar correlation ($r = .38, p < .01$) with the general scale ($r = .38, p < .01$ when compared to $r = .37, p < .01$ for the ideal L2 self), but showed more balanced, although significantly weaker, connections throughout the list.

Respondents' willingness to communicate followed the same overall trends as the ideal L2 self. The variable correlated most strongly with the general scale of direct contact ($r = .46, p < .01$), which was also the most important link between a contact variable and another factor. Indeed, it was only surpassed by the connections among the subscales themselves. A comparable

connection was found between WTC and the subscale on reading, writing and studying ($r = .45, p < .01$). Although these figures are not surprising given the nature of these variables, it is interesting to note that students' willingness to speak in English was not more strongly related to the amount of direct language contact in which they engaged. This was especially the case when the other subscales were considered, as they only had moderate links to WTC (from $r = .22$ to $r = .33, p < .01$).

There were similar correlations between the general scale and the perceived importance of contact with foreigners ($r = .35, p < .01$) as well as in relation to participants' attitudes to native speakers ($r = .34, p < .01$), especially from the UK ($r = .36, p < .01$). Interestingly, while the former was most closely linked to the frequency with which students heard about the people living in English-speaking countries ($r = .30, p < .01$), the latter correlated more importantly with contact through films and social networks ($r = .30, p < .01$). Once more, attitudes toward speakers from England had slightly higher coefficients with the subscale ($r = .32, p < .01$). These results are noteworthy because, on the one hand, they reveal a link between the appreciation of first-hand contact opportunities and the prevalence of English speakers as a conversation topic in one's social circles. On the other hand, positive attitudes toward these speakers, especially from England, are related to watching movies and using social media.

Last but not least, one of the interesting points about the figures in Table 4.33 is the lack of considerable links between direct contact and international posture. Similarly, the negative coefficients between ethnocentrism and the contact variables, albeit negative, were all low. These findings would suggest that openness toward other cultures does not necessarily entail more frequent use of English in various contact situations and that, conversely, these experiences do not always lead to a more open disposition. At the same time, the relationships between identification with the world community and direct contact ($r = .32, p < .01$), especially through films and social networks ($r = .32, p < .01$), and with positive attitudes toward native speakers, as discussed above, indicate that the role of direct contact, both as an influence and as a result, in participants' motivational profile is more complex and an interesting aspect to explore further in the next section.

However, before moving on to the next level of analysis and examining the direction of the relationships listed above, I would like to draw attention to a few interesting differences in the correlational patterns observed in some of the subsamples. In the previous section, I already mentioned that certain grouping variables were also shown to distinguish among students of

different views, indicating that there might be further dissimilarities in the attitudinal profile of these groups. In order to investigate these contrasts, I compared the correlation coefficients obtained for the individual subgroups.

Although small or highly uneven subsample sizes often rendered such comparisons meaningless or statistically difficult, there were a number of interesting trends that are worth mentioning here. While I discuss these limitations at the end of this chapter, below I summarize my main findings. Among these, the most interesting comparisons were found between Swiss students and their foreign peers.

4.5.12 Swiss students and foreigners

Indeed, the analysis showed that the motivational weight of the different aspects of participants' self appeared to shift based on the place where they had completed their secondary education. As Table 4.35 demonstrates, when the whole sample was taken into account, learning attitudes had the strongest connection to MLB ($r = .58, p < .01$), followed by the ought-to L2 self ($r = .41, p < .01$) and, ever so slightly less importantly, the ideal L2 self ($r = .39, p < .01$). In the case of the two subsamples, when analyzed separately, this picture becomes a little more nuanced.

Table 4.35 Pearson's coefficients for motivated learning behavior and the key variables

	Ideal L2 self	Ought-to L2 self	Attitudes to learning English
Swiss students	.43**	.43**	.56**
Foreign students	.34**	.37**	.61**
All students	.39**	.41**	.58**

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

The figures reveal that learning attitudes were more closely linked to motivation in the subsample of foreign students ($r = .61, p < .01$), while Swiss students had a more balanced profile overall. This meant that the two self-guides had links of identical strength to Swiss respondents' motivation ($r = .43, p < .01$), whereas positive attitudes to learning English corresponded to a moderately higher coefficient ($r = .56, p < .01$). On the other hand, foreign students' ought-to L2 self ($r = .37, p < .01$) surpassed their ideal self-image ($r = .34, p < .01$) in terms of its relationship to motivated learning behavior, although both of these links were considerably weaker than the one with learning attitudes.

These results are important because they suggest, first of all, that contrary to earlier research results in other settings, as described in [Chapter 2](#), the ideal L2 self might not emerge as the most important motivating factor in the UNIGE study. Based on these figures, foreign students' ought-to L2 self even proved to have a slightly stronger link to their language learning motivation. Therefore, these findings revealed one of the most striking characteristics of the sample, which might also be indicative of the effects of the particular social setting in which the study took place.

Further tests revealed additional differences between the two subsamples in terms of the strength of the correlation coefficients calculated. Most importantly, they showed that participants' views of traditional native speaker communities were more closely related to their motivation to learn English in the case of foreign students ($r = .45, p < .01$ as opposed to $r = .36, p < .01$). This was especially true where speakers from the United States were concerned ($r = .47, p < .01$ and $r = .29, p < .01$ respectively). By contrast, Swiss respondents' contact with English had a moderate link to their motivation ($r = .38, p < .01$), while in the subsample of foreigners the relationship was not statistically significant. This difference was also present, to a lesser extent, in the case of the subscales composing the variable of direct contact.

Nevertheless, despite the above mentioned differences, it is clear that in both subsamples participants' learning experience, reflected in their attitudes, was the factor that was the most strongly linked to motivation to learn English ($r = .56, p < .01$ and $r = .61, p < .01$). The implications of this link are twofold. First, it is indicative of the central role that the variable is expected to play in the final motivational model. Second, it renders the connections between learning attitudes and the other key variables, as shown in Table 4.36, especially interesting.

Table 4.36 Pearson's coefficients for learning attitudes and international aspects of English

	Ideal L2 self	Ought-to L2 self	Attitudes to English people	Attitudes to Americans	Attitudes to the global village	International posture
Swiss students	.32**	.37**	.55**	.44**	.34**	.24**
Foreign students	.40**	.37**	.51**	.43**	.48**	.21*
All students	.34**	.37**	.54**	.43**	.37**	.23**

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

While the differences in Table 4.36 are not that striking, they nonetheless showcase the phenomenon to which I drew attention earlier, namely that the ideal L2 self did not prove to be

the single most central variable in the study but seems to be part of a more complex system of language attitudes. The two subsamples showed different patterns in this respect. In the case of Swiss students, the correlation between learning attitudes and the ought-to L2 self was even ever so slightly stronger ($r = .37, p < .01$ as opposed to $r = .32, p < .01$), while in the subsample of foreigners, the reverse trend could be observed ($r = .40, p < .01$ and $r = .37, p < .01$). On the one hand, the marginally more important link connecting foreign students' attitudes to learning English to their ideal L2 self could suggest that the findings of the study are a result of local tendencies and thus help explain the discrepancy with the conclusions of research in other contexts. On the other hand, the connections between learning attitudes and the two self-guides were very close in strength, which indicates that these facets of the self might be equally important. In this sense, the ought-to L2 self can be expected to play a similarly fundamental role as the ideal L2 self in participants' motivational profile. As to the direction of these connections, it can be argued that language learning attitudes, a reflection of students' learning experience, can influence the self-guides. Conversely, the latter can also act to positively bolster students' views of learning English. These questions will be addressed in the next section, where I present the complete regression model.

Moreover, it is interesting to note that, while there were only minor differences between the two groups in terms of the relationship of their views of target groups and their learning attitudes, they displayed unexpected trends when it came to their international posture and their identification with the global community. Both foreign students and Swiss respondents gave answers that indicated that their views of learning English are more strongly connected to their orientation toward the global community ($r = .48, p < .01$ and $r = .34, p < .01$) than to their general openness toward other cultures ($r = .21, p < .01, r = .24, p < .01$ respectively). This gap was considerably bigger in the case of foreigners, the correlation coefficient for the former approaching that obtained for the subscale on speakers from England. Thus, it can be argued that, as far as the subsample is considered, their learning experience seems more strongly related to target groups, regardless whether these are more tangible or of an abstract nature.

Once more, language contact proved more important in the case of Swiss students, whose reported amount of contact with English was more strongly linked to their language learning attitudes ($r = .44, p < .01$) than that of foreigners ($r = .34, p < .01$). This trend was especially prominent when reading, writing and studying was considered, which showed higher correlations with Swiss participants' learning attitudes ($r = .34, p < .01$ as opposed to $r = .21,$

$p < .05$). On the other hand, there was no significant relationship between Swiss students' ethnocentrism and their attitudes to learning English. At the same time, their foreign peers, who scored similarly low on the scale ($M = 1.8$, $N = 119$ against $M = 1.7$, $N = 256$), nevertheless showed a negative correlation between ethnocentric views and positive attitudes to language learning ($r = -.25$, $p < .01$). In the same vein, identification with the community of world citizens correlated considerably more strongly with foreign students' views on learning English ($r = .48$, $p < .01$) than with the Swiss' ($r = .34$, $p < .01$). Similarly, the variable was also more importantly connected to their ideal L2 self ($r = .50$, $p < .01$) than that of their Swiss counterparts ($r = .41$, $p < .01$).

All in all, it can be concluded that the relationships found among the key variables differed somewhat from one subsample to the other. While these contrasts were not striking, they nonetheless indicate that the two groups might represent different motivational profiles. They suggest that Swiss participants' motivation was more closely associated with their self-concepts, with other factors acting as secondary influences. In the case of foreigners, it is their learning experience and orientation toward native speaker target groups that appeared most related to their motivation to learn English. In addition, foreign students' identification with the global community was revealed as a more prominent factor throughout the comparisons. These dissimilarities can be expected to manifest in the final models computed separately for the two subsamples.

4.5.13 Correlations at the different faculties

Although many of the above conclusions pointed at potentially significant differences among students of different faculties, I would like to start this comparison by pointing out that, due to uneven sample sizes, the results were not as straightforward as could be expected. As a consequence of low participation at the Faculty of Economic and Social Sciences as well as the diverse nature of programs at the Faculty of Science, correlations obtained in these two subsamples were consistently considerably lower than those found in other groups. Moreover, the figures tended to lack in statistical significance, rendering all comparisons moot. This often meant that the clearest trends could be observed in the data collected from medical and law students. Therefore, while I compare all the information available below, my conclusions are particularly pertinent as far as these two groups are concerned and less so in the case of the remaining subsamples.

Based on the figures in Table 4.37, a few general trends can be observed. First of all, as regards students' motivation to learn English, its relationship to the ideal L2 self was not significant in the case of medical and SES students, whereas it was the strongest among participants at the Faculty of Law ($r = .45, p < .01$). At the same time, samples at these two faculties also displayed the closest link between their motivation and ought-to L2 self, the correlation coefficient being somewhat higher for the Faculty of Medicine ($r = .51, p < .01$) as opposed to $r = .48, p < .01$ at the SES). These figures show that the relative importance of the self-guides shifted depending on the faculty at which participants were enrolled. As I mentioned, medical students reported ideal L2 selves that were not significant in terms of their connection to motivation, while science students' answers indicated that their ideal self-vision was more strongly related ($r = .36, p < .01$) to their motivation to learning English than their ought-to L2 self ($r = .31, p < .01$). As for respondents at the Faculty of Law, similarly to medical and SES students, their ought-to L2 self was shown to correlate more strongly with the criterion measure. In summary, it can be concluded that at most faculties the ought-to self-guide proved to be more important as a factor related to motivation.

Table 4.37 Pearson's coefficients between motivated learning behavior and the other variables at the four faculties

Variable correlated with motivated learning behavior	Law	Medicine	Science	SES
Ideal L2 self	.449**	n.s.	.360**	n.s..
Ought-to L2 self	.478**	.509**	.307**	.281*
Attitudes to learning English	.628**	.565**	.505**	.579**
Attitudes to traditional target groups	.401**	.433**	.341**	n.s.
Attitudes to traditional target groups: UK	.347**	.446**	.262**	n.s.
Attitudes to traditional target groups: US	.354**	.315*	.332**	n.s.
International posture	.359**	n.s.	.397**	n.s.
Global village	.241*	.415**	.319**	.278*
Ethnocentrism	-.229*	n.s.	n.s..	n.s.
WTC	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s..
Importance of contact	.310**	n.s.	.237**	n.s..
Direct contact (DC)	n.s.	.319*	n.s.	n.s.
DC: Reading, writing and studying	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
DC: Traveling and talking to foreigners	n.s.	.425**	.211*	n.s.
DC: Films, TV and social media	.289**	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
DC: Hearing about English-speaking countries	n.s..	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

This is especially interesting, as, despite their varying strength as regards their link to motivated learning behavior, the two self-guides themselves were closely connected. Once more, the extent of this relationship varies from one faculty to the other. Respondents at the Faculty of Science had self-guides that were only moderately connected ($r = .30, p < .01$), while their peers at the Faculty of Medicine displayed correlations twice as strong ($r = .60, p < .01$). Table 4.38 displays the links between the ought-to L2 self and the rest of the scales in a concise form.

Table 4.38 Pearson's coefficients between the ought-to L2 self and the other variables at the four faculties

Variables correlated with the ought-to L2 self	Law	Medicine	Science	SES
Motivated learning behavior	.478**	.509**	.307**	.281*
Ideal L2 self	.517**	.600**	.301**	.444**
Attitudes to learning English	.477**	.449**	.251**	n.s.
Attitudes to traditional target groups	.502**	.517**	.339**	n.s.
Attitudes to traditional target groups: UK	.420**	.442**	.234**	n.s.
Attitudes to traditional target groups: US	.455**	.475**	.353**	n.s.
International posture	.428**	.360**	.392**	n.s.
Global village	.411**	.485**	.482**	.537**
Ethnocentrism	-.365**	-.289*	-.173*	n.s.
WTC	.341**	.332*	n.s.	n.s.
Importance of contact	.465**	.349**	.276**	.262*
Direct contact (DC)	.350**	.494**	.279**	.359**
DC: Reading, writing and studying	.303**	.378**	.203*	.341**
DC: Traveling and talking to foreigners	.227*	.554**	.226**	n.s.
DC: Films, TV and social media	.339**	.380**	.208*	.317*
DC: Hearing about English-speaking countries	.268*	n.s.	.192*	n.s.

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Furthermore, the table shows that perceived expectations were also closely related to many of the other variables. These links were strongest at the Faculties of Law and Medicine, where students' answers were indicative of particularly important connections to native speaker target groups ($r = .50, p < .01$ and $r = .52, p < .01$), learning attitudes ($r = .48, p < .01$ and $r = .45, p < .01$), perceived importance of contact ($r = .47, p < .01$ and $r = .35, p < .01$) as well as direct contact with English ($r = .35, p < .01$ and $r = .49, p < .01$ respectively). International orientation, in the form of international posture ($r = .43, p < .01$; $r = .36, p < .01$) and world citizenship ($r = .41, p < .01$ and $r = .49, p < .01$) were also closely linked to the ought-to L2 self of these respondents. Interestingly, the latter relationship was even more prominent among SES students ($r = .54, p < .01$).

It is interesting to note that, in general, the self-guide was also among the variables with the strongest negative connections to ethnocentric views. As before, the correlation coefficients

were highest in the subsamples of law ($r = -.37, p < .01$) and medical students ($r = -.29, p < .01$), suggesting that participants in these groups perceived their socially constructed L2 self as the most favorably positioned toward other cultures. All the above figures showcase the numerous connections between the ought-to L2 self and the other attitudinal variables, which could be observed at most faculties. Thus, they underline the importance of the ought-to L2 self in study participants' attitudinal setup. It can be concluded that these links were especially strong in the case of students at the Faculties of Law and Medicine, which might indicate that respondents' perceptions of social expectations play a greater role in their language attitudes in these contexts

While in general less strongly interrelated with other variables than the ought-to L2 self, participants' ideal self-guide nevertheless proved to be a relevant factor at most faculties. As I mentioned before, its link to L2 motivation was strongest at the Faculties of Law ($r = .45, p < .01$) and Sciences ($r = .36, p < .01$), in the case of the latter surpassing the ought-to L2 self ($r = .31, p < .01$). The correlation figures, shown in Table 4.39, revealed further trends. First of all, international aspects of the ideal L2 self were the most relevant among law students, whose ideal self-image correlated more with their international posture ($r = .46, p < .01$) and world citizenship ($r = .50, p < .01$) than their ought-to self-guide. The same trend could be observed regarding WTC ($r = .43, p < .01$) and direct contact ($r = .48, p < .01$).

Table 4.39 Pearson's coefficients between the ideal L2 self and the other variables at the four faculties

Variables correlated with the ideal L2 self	Law	Medicine	Science	SES
Motivated learning behavior	.449**	n.s.	.360**	n.s.
Ought-to L2 self	.517**	.600**	.301**	.444**
Attitudes to learning English	.436**	.353**	.256**	n.s.
Attitudes to traditional target groups	.363**	n.s.	.215*	.352**
Attitudes to traditional target groups: UK	.368**	n.s.	.255**	n.s.
Attitudes to traditional target groups: US	.275*	n.s.	n.s.	.333*
International posture	.457**	.372**	.186*	n.s.
Global village	.496**	.387**	.237**	.464**
Ethnocentrism	-.269*	-.366**	-.231**	.292*
WTC	.426**	.303*	n.s.	n.s.
Importance of contact	.498**	.550**	.213*	n.s..
DC	.482**	.521**	.209*	.261*
DC: Reading, writing and studying	.481**	.557**	n.s.	.397**
DC: Traveling and talking to foreigners	.361**	.384**	n.s.	n.s..
DC: Films, TV and social media	.387**	.407**	.223**	.316*
DC: Hearing about English-speaking countries	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s..

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

One of the highest coefficients in this comparison was calculated between medical students' ideal L2 self and the frequency with which they engage in direct contact ($r = .52, p < .01$), especially through reading, writing and studying ($r = .56, p < .01$). In this light, it is not surprising that participants at the faculty of Medicine ($r = .55, p < .01$), but also at Law ($r = .50, p < .01$), reported ideal L2 selves that correlated highly with their perception of the importance of language contact. Overall, results were much lower at the Faculties of Science and Economic and Social Sciences, with less clear tendencies. In summary, the ideal L2 self played a more important role among students at the Faculties of Law and Medicine. While at the former the variable had the most prominent connections to students' international openness and willingness to speak English, participants at the latter displayed stronger links between the self-guide and actual language use and its perceived importance.

I concluded above that, in many instances, socially defined aspects of participants' self-concept surpassed their ideal self-vision in terms of the relationships between the self-guides and the other variables. As Table 4.40 shows, the same trend could be observed when correlations with students' attitudes to learning English were compared. The contrast was the most marked at the Faculty of Medicine, where students' responses revealed a stronger link with the ought-to L2 self ($r = .45, p < .01$) than the ideal L2 self ($r = .35, p < .01$). The difference was less considerable at the Faculty of Law ($r = .48, p < .01$ as opposed to $r = .44, p < .01$), while science students' answers reflected almost none ($r = .26, p < .01$ and $r = .25, p < .01$). Neither link was statistically significant in the case of SES students.

Table 4.40 Pearson's coefficients between learning attitudes and the other variables at the four faculties

Variables correlated with attitudes to learning English	Law	Medicine	Science	SES
Motivated learning behavior	.628**	.565**	.505**	.579**
Ideal L2 self	.436**	.353**	.256**	n.s.
Ought-to L2 self	.477**	.449**	.251**	n.s.
Attitudes to traditional target groups	.642**	.708**	.532**	.263*
Attitudes to traditional target groups: UK	.617**	.731**	.532**	n.s.
Attitudes to traditional target groups: US	.514**	.513**	.414**	n.s.
International posture	.339**	n.s.	.237**	n.s.
Global village	.438**	.471**	.310**	n.s.
Ethnocentrism	-.220*	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
WTC	.348**	.519**	.286**	n.s.
Importance of contact	.344**	n.s.	.334**	n.s.
Direct contact (DC)	.342**	.423**	.304**	.461**
DC: Reading, writing and studying	.253*	.421**	.200*	.362**
DC: Traveling and talking to foreigners	.247*	.346**	.218*	.311*

Results - Mapping relationships: correlation analysis

Variables correlated with attitudes to learning English	Law	Medicine	Science	SES
DC: Films, TV and social media	.457**	.339**	.330**	.462**
DC: Hearing about English-speaking countries	.214*	n.s.	.201*	.337*

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

In addition to their connections to the self-guides, learning attitudes were important for a number of reasons. First of all, from a theoretical standpoint, attitudes to learning English reflect speakers' learning experience and thus provide a glimpse at the third central element of the L2 Motivational Self System (Dörnyei, 2009). Secondly, the empirical studies discussed in Chapter 2 identified the variable as an important motivational factor. As I pointed out earlier, the research presented here confirmed these findings, showing the highest correlation between UNIGE students' attitudes to learning English and their motivation to do so ($r = .58, p < .01$). As I argued earlier, this indicates that learning attitudes, a measure of the learning experience, might play a central role in study participants' motivational profile and, as a result, their links to other variables are of special interest. Similarly, the differences among the faculties surveyed might reveal the influence of this distinction on the inner mechanics of students' motivation to learn English.

Indeed, the results showed that in terms of its link to MLB, the variable had the highest coefficient among law students ($r = .63, p < .01$). On the other hand, it strongly correlated with students' views of traditional native speaker target groups, especially at the Faculties of Medicine ($r = .71, p < .01$) and Law ($r = .64, p < .01$). It can be argued that, although slightly weaker, the connection was also significant among science students ($r = .53, p < .01$). These trends were consistently more relevant regarding speakers from England than toward Americans. This suggests that participants' attitudes toward these target groups were an important part of their learning experience.

At the same time, more international aspects of speaking English were also shown to correlate with learning attitudes. Arguably less substantial, these connections were nonetheless noteworthy in the case of Law students, whose international posture ($r = .34, p < .01$) and world citizenship ($r = .44, p < .01$) were both shown as significant. The latter link was even more important for the group of medical students ($r = .47, p < .01$), whose willingness to use English was also strongly connected to their learning experience ($r = .52, p < .01$). Interestingly, while participants at the Faculty of Medicine reported views that showed a connection between their attitude to learning English and the frequency with which they used

the language for reading, writing and studying ($r = .42, p < .01$), this was surpassed by law students' use of English to watch movies and interact on social media as a factor related to their learning attitudes ($r = .46, p < .01$). The same figure was obtained for the latter correlation among SES students ($r = .46, p < .01$). These results draw attention to the complex nature of the learning experience and raise a few interesting questions as to the direction of the links discussed above.

Finally, before moving on to address such issues in the next section, I would like to examine one of the scales that provided the most interesting insight into UNIGE students' language attitudes. The analysis showed that the item set gauging participants' views of traditional native speaker target groups, as well as its subscales focusing on the English and Americans separately, were important attitudinal and motivational factors throughout the sample. In the previous sections I reviewed various aspects of this phenomenon and Table 4.41 displays the Pearson's coefficients calculated for the scale and its subscales. Below, I would like to concentrate on the most striking connections that were identified between the scale and the other variables.

In terms of its link to motivated learning behavior, medical students' attitudes toward speakers from England were shown to correlate the most with the criterion measure ($r = .45, p < .01$). Interestingly, the lowest coefficient in the set was also found in the same subsample, whose views of Americans had a significantly weaker link to motivation ($r = .32, p < .01$). By contrast, at the Faculty Science, students' stance toward Americans ($r = .46, p < .01$) seemed more relevant to their motivation, whereas both subscales performed similarly in the case of law students ($r = .35, p < .01$). Participants at the SES displayed no significant correlations between motivated learning behavior and the scale or its subscales.

The most important links in this comparison were undoubtedly in relation to learning attitudes. Once more, medical students' attitudes to the English target community proved to be the most closely tied ($r = .73, p < .01$) to their learning experience. Along with Law, the two faculties expressed attitudes to Americans that were of equal importance ($r = .51, p < .01$) as far as their connection to the learning experience was concerned. As I observed above, these results are by no means surprising but they are indicative of the role of native speaker target groups in language learning.

Results - Mapping relationships: correlation analysis

Table 4.41 Pearson's coefficients between attitudes to native speakers and the other variables at the four faculties

	Attitudes to traditional target groups				Attitudes to traditional target groups: UK				Attitudes to traditional target groups: US			
	Law	Medicine	Science	SES	Law	Medicine	Science	SES	Law	Medicine	Science	SES
Motivated learning behavior	.401**	.433**	.341**	n.s.	.347**	.446**	.262**	n.s.	.354**	.315*	.332**	n.s.
Ideal L2 self	.363**	n.s.	.215*	.352**	.368**	n.s.	.255**	n.s.	.275*	n.s.	n.s.	.333*
Ought-to L2 self	.502**	.517**	.339**	n.s.	.420**	.442**	.234**	n.s.	.455**	.475**	.353**	n.s.
Attitudes to learning English	.642**	.708**	.532**	.263*	.617**	.731**	.532**	n.s.	.514**	.513**	.414**	n.s.
Attitudes to traditional target groups: UK	.852**	.896**	.856**	.739**	-	-	-	-	.527**	.568**	.544**	.308*
Attitudes to traditional target groups: US	.894**	.874**	.900**	.868**	.527**	.568**	.544**	.308*	-	-	-	-
International posture	.397**	.288*	.346**	.289*	.379**	n.s.	.311**	.279*	.320**	.313*	.299**	n.s.
Global village	.488**	.519**	.379**	.453**	.424**	.479**	.336**	.473**	.429**	.439**	.331**	.292*
Ethnocentrism	-.312**	-.259*	-.272**	n.s..	n.s..	-.317*	-.249**	n.s..	-.383**	n.s..	-.231**	n.s..
Willingness to communicate	.307**	.358**	.178*	n.s.	.406**	.392**	.196*	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Importance of contact	.454**	n.s.	.448**	n.s.	.401**	n.s.	.460**	n.s.	.393**	n.s.	.338**	n.s.
Direct contact (DC)	.390**	.347**	.186*	.309*	.407**	.360**	.234**	.364**	.284**	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
DC: Reading, writing and studying	.269*	.303*	n.s.	.316*	.296**	.349**	n.s.	.381**	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
DC: Traveling and talking to foreigners	.312**	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	.330**	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	.224*	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
DC: Films, TV and social media	.453**	.365**	.215*	.270*	.421**	.383**	.242**	.347**	.375**	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
DC: Hearing about English-speaking countries	.329**	n.s.	.327**	n.s.	.341**	.290*	.312**	n.s.	.242*	n.s.	.267**	n.s..

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

It is interesting to note that these trends mostly describe students at the Faculties of Law and Medicine. It can be argued that, given the nature of the programs offered and the particularities of the labor market, students at these two faculties are more likely to find employment locally. This also entails that they can be considered as more invested in and perhaps influenced by the local context, including their language attitudes and representations. Indeed, as I showed in this chapter, law and medical students had the most prominent ought-to L2 self, which was also the most closely linked to their language attitudes, confirming the importance of their socially constructed L2 self. As further indication of this, participants at these faculties had ought-to L2 selves that were significantly linked to their orientation toward target groups, slightly more so at the Faculty of Medicine ($r = .52, p < .01$) than at the Faculty of Law ($r = .50, p < .01$).

The numerous connections between these scales and the attitudinal variables suggest that UNIGE students' attitude to native speakers play an important role in their motivational profile. On the other hand, it is clear that the direction of these links is equally important. Therefore, in the next section, I present the results of the regression analysis and discuss the place of each scale in the final motivational model.

4.5.14 Summary of the correlation analysis

In this section, I reviewed the correlations among participants' scores on the attitudinal scales. These results were examined regarding the complete sample as well as the different groupings that, thanks to their size, allowed such statistical comparisons. Overall, the research showed that the variables were closely interrelated and thus could be considered as parts of a complex system. On the other hand, the results of the correlation tests had a few limitations and raised interesting questions for further analysis.

First of all, correlations can indicate a relationship between two variables, but they fail to show the direction of its effect. Therefore, additional tests are needed to identify this detail and exclude the influence of other factors that might have an indirect impact. In order to obtain a more in-depth view of the above connections and the system they might compose, the present study relied on the results of linear multiple regression analysis ([3.8.2](#)), which are presented below.

Secondly, the Faculty of Economic and Social Sciences yielded a sample that was considerably smaller than other subsamples, in addition to being highly diverse demographically. It is also important to note that the SES became two faculties about a year after data collection was

concluded, which might also be related to these challenges. As a result, Fisher's Z scores (cf. Meng, Rosenthal and Rubin, 1992), which aim to assess to what extent differences among the correlational coefficients of separate subgroups are statistically significant, often could not detect a notable trend. This is not surprising, as the results of these tests are linked to sample sizes and the magnitude of the difference in question. Indeed, it can be concluded that varying subsample sizes posed a challenge to the statistical relevance of the comparisons observed in this section.

Nevertheless, it is interesting to observe that, in general, the Faculty of Science obtained lower coefficients, showing less important links among students' scores on the attitudinal scales. There were even more considerable differences between results obtained at the Faculties of Law and Medicine. These findings, although not conclusive in themselves, point toward interesting possibilities to explore through regression analysis.

4.6 Predicting motivated learning behavior through stepwise multiple regression

The relationships listed in the previous section can be taken as indication that participants' language attitudes and motivation form a highly interrelated system. This is not surprising in the light of the theoretical and empirical conclusions presented in [Chapter 2](#). On the one hand, Dörnyei's (2009) L2 Motivational Self System proposes a model of motivation that centers around the three key constructs, the ideal L2 self, the ought-to L2 self and the learning experience, the interactions of which contribute to motivated learning behavior. On the other hand, empirical studies investigated the relevance of these concepts in different contexts ([2.2.3.1](#)), and suggested that a number of further factors influenced language learners' and speakers' motivation indirectly through the self-guides and learning attitudes. Therefore, in order to examine the systemic relationships among the variables included in the present research, I submitted the data to a series of stepwise multiple linear regression test (cf. [3.8.2](#)).

This analysis helped identify the main contributors of the variables tested and, as a result, revealed a multilayered structure of interconnected attitudinal factors. The two main steps of this procedure and their results will be presented below. First, I focus on the sets of factors predicting the individual variables, as indicated in each case by the regression model with the highest variance score and statistical significance. The order in which I present these models also mirrors the process I followed when conducting the tests. In part determined by theoretical

conclusions and earlier research findings (cf. [Chapter 2](#)), the analysis began with the key dependent variable, the criterion measure of the study, motivated learning behavior. Once its predictors were identified, they were further examined in turn, so as to establish the factors composing the next layer of attitudinal influences. This procedure resulted in a three-layered structure, with motivated learning behavior as its outcome and a host of explanatory attitudinal factors organized according to their predictive power and effect.

In the second stage, the individual models were combined into a schematic representation of the results, displaying the proposed structure of study participants' overall motivational profile. This 'final' schematic model also marks the conclusion of the statistical analysis of the dataset and of the presentation of the results. I discuss the relevance of the findings of this process in more detail in the next chapter, with special attention paid to their contextual importance. Below, I report the standardized (β) and unstandardized (B) regression coefficients calculated. The former are used in order to compare the relevance of the independent variables, while the latter help measure their individual effect on the dependent variable.

4.6.1 *Motivated learning behavior*

Following the above procedure, the regression model with the best fit was selected, which showed that, based on the test, the criterion measure, in other words the central dependent variable in the study, was directly influenced by a group of four variables. This meant that, out of all the possible combinations, these four factors contributed most significantly to participants' motivation to learn English, and that their combined impact was the strongest among all the options. Indeed, the figures displayed in Table 4.42 confirm that 37% ($R^2 = .37$) of the variance in respondents' motivation to learn English can be attributed to the merged effect of these four variables, namely their attitudes to learning the language, their ought-to L2 self, their willingness to speak English and, finally, their ideal L2 self.

Unlike correlations, multiple linear regression analysis can be used to *predict* outcomes in the data. Therefore, based on the figures it can be concluded that the figures show that the more favorably students felt toward learning English, the more motivated they were to do so. Each increase of 1 point in positive learning attitudes on the 5-point Likert scale resulted in half a point of increase in motivation ($B = .50$). This suggests, on the one hand, that study participants' L2 motivation rises slower than their appreciation of their learning experience. On the other hand, it is important to note that a positive learning experience is not the only

factor that contributed to motivated learning behavior in the sample and that even the four variables identified did not account for the total variation in MLB.

Table 4.42 Regression figures showing the model with the best fit for the criterion measure of motivated learning behavior. Full sample.

Variables	B	SE B	β	R^2	F for change in R^2
Constant	1.22***	.27			
1. Attitudes to learning English	.50	.05	.51***		
2. Ought-to L2 self	.20	.05	.19***	.37	51.83***
3. WTC	-.12	.04	-.14**		
4. Ideal L2 self	.15	.06	.13**		

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p = .000$

The influence of the ought-to L2 self was considerably weaker than that of learning attitudes. It only resulted in .2 grades of increase in motivation ($B = .20$), while the ideal L2 self had an even smaller effect ($B = .15$). Nevertheless, the self-guides featured in the final model and contributed to its strength. In line with my earlier observations throughout the analysis, the ought-to L2 self proved to be a more important influence, indicating that study participants, in general, considered the views represented in their social milieu a more significant motivator. Interestingly, students who were more willing to speak English in public were slightly less motivated to learn the language ($B = -.12$). However, this can be explained by their self-confidence and resulting conviction that they have attained the level of proficiency they desire.

The results discussed in the previous sections suggested that there might be important differences between the two subsamples based on their place of secondary education. Therefore, the regression models for the key dependent variables were also computed for the groups of Swiss and foreign students separately. Although the differences in correlation coefficients above did not always prove statistically significant, the results of these analysis, shown in Table 4.43, reveal further contrasts. Even though these were calculated on the basis of the same dataset and are, thus, to be treated with caution, it is interesting to observe that they present two very different models. First, while learning attitudes were the top predictor of MLB in both subsamples, they were considerably stronger in the case of foreigners ($B = .67$) than in the Swiss subsample ($B = .37$). However, that is all that is similar in the two models.

Participants who had completed their secondary education abroad gave answers that indicated that, in addition to learning attitudes, their motivation to learn English was influenced by direct language contact and international openness. Interestingly, the former had a negative impact on the criterion variable ($B = -.27$), suggesting that using English more frequently led to lower levels of motivation. This is not unexpected, as I already showed above that the frequency of direct contact correlated strongly ($r = .62$, $p < .01$) with participants' level of proficiency in English. Therefore, it can be argued that foreigners who often engaged in contact with English were less motivated to learn the language, probably due to their higher level of proficiency. Conversely, foreign students' openness toward international affairs and cultures raised their motivation .27 grades for every grade of increase in international posture. The three variables combined explained almost half of the variation ($R^2 = .48$) in motivated learning behavior.

Table 4.43 Regression figures showing the model with the best fit for the criterion measure of motivated learning behavior, Place of secondary education.

Abroad				Switzerland			
Variables	B	SE B	β	Variables	B	SE B	β
Constant	1.02***	.44		Constant	1.18***	.31	
1. Attitudes to learning English	.67	.08	.67***	1. Attitudes to learning English	.37	.06	.39***
2. Direct contact	-.27	.09	-.21**	2. Ought-to L2 self	.20	.06	.20**
3. International posture	.27	.09	.21**	3. Ideal L2 self	.18	.06	.17**
R^2		.48				.32	
F for change in R^2		34.76***				36.90***	

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p = .000$

It is clear that, based on this analysis, Swiss students conformed more to general model. It is important to note, however, that they also constituted a larger group ($N = 256$) than their foreign peers ($N = 119$), therefore holding more sway when it comes to the overall results. The respective model for the subsample accounted for 32% ($R^2 = .32$) of the variance, a smaller portion than did the previous one, or indeed the overall model. The variables it consisted of were the three key constructs of the L2 Motivational Self System (Dörnyei, 2009), the strongest of them being, as mentioned before, learning attitudes ($B = .37$). It was followed by the ought-to L2 self ($B = .20$) and, finally, the ideal L2 self ($B = .18$). This order is interesting because it

shows that, as I argued earlier, in the Swiss context, students' socially constructed L2 self-image carries more weight than their ideal L2 self, if only marginally.

4.6.2 Attitudes to learning English

Learning attitudes, the most important factor influencing participants' motivation, was in turn affected by three other variables. As Table 4.44 displays, the strongest of these influences can be attributed to students' views of traditional native speaker target groups. Every grade of increase in such views was associated with a .55 grade rise in motivation ($B = .55$). Direct contact ($B = .20$) and willingness to communicate ($B = .14$) each had a much weaker impact. The model explained about one third of the variance ($R^2 = .34$) in learning attitudes, while the rest was probably caused by other factors and individual views.

Table 4.44 Regression figures showing the model with the best fit for the dependent variable of learning attitudes. Full sample.

Variables	B	SE B	β	R^2	F for change in R^2
Constant	1.04***	.25			
1. Attitudes to traditional target groups	.55	.06	.44***		
2. DC	.20	.06	.16**	.34	58.31***
3. WTC	.14	.05	.15**		

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p = .000$

Despite their varied strength as predictors, it is interesting to note that the variables in question repeatedly emerged as important to learning attitudes throughout the analysis presented here. I have argued that students' stance toward native speakers might reflect the role these target groups play as a theme of language instruction on the one hand and as role models of language proficiency on the other. In [Chapter 2](#), I concluded that studies in other contexts found native speakers to be less relevant an influence, however, among Hungarian adult learners of English (Csillagh, 2010) and, as I show below, in the UNIGE study, participants kept them in consistently high regard and accorded them a prominent role in their motivational profile. In addition, language contact and WTC sometimes had a negative impact on motivation to learn English, and their contribution to learning attitudes is also understandable. They indicate that language use in different situations can positively affect the learning experience, which has obvious pedagogical implications.

Once more, the Swiss group manifested trends that were more in line with those characterizing the full sample. They only differed in terms of the relative impact of direct contact ($B = .12$) and WTC ($B = .24$), as shown in Table 4.45. Foreign students' learning attitudes, on the other hand, showed a slightly different composition. While, compared to the Swiss, both their views of native speakers ($B = .48$) and their willingness to speak English in public ($B = .18$) proved to have a smaller effect on the dependent variable, direct contact was completely replaced by the ideal L2 self in the model. In fact, at $B = .35$, its impact was a .35 grade rise in positive learning attitudes for each grade of increase in its strength. This model was also more powerful ($R^2 = .48$) than the one computed for the Swiss subsample ($R^2 = .33$), as it covered 48% of the variation in foreign students' learning attitudes.

Table 4.45 Regression figures showing the model with the best fit for the dependent variable of learning attitudes, Place of secondary education.

Abroad				Switzerland			
Variables	B	SE B	β	Variables	B	SE B	β
Constant	.04 ^{ns}	.54		Constant	1.10***	.30	
1. Attitudes to traditional target groups	.48	.10	.40***	1. Attitudes to traditional target groups	.53	.07	.42***
2. Ideal L2 self	.35	.12	.25**	2. DC	.12	.05	.14*
3. WTC	.18	.09	.17**	3. WTC	.24	.07	.20**
R^2		.48				.33	
F for change in R^2		34.76***				36.90***	

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p = .000$

4.6.3 The ideal and ought-to self-guides

When it comes to the predictors of the self-guides, displayed in Table 4.46, it is clear that these were more numerous than the ones examined before. At the same time, their connections to the selves were less substantial. The model showed that the ought-to L2 self had five contributors, the most important of which was students' identification with the community of world citizens ($B = .22$). In addition, participants' ideal self-vision also loaded into their socially defined self ($B = .21$), as did their views of native speakers ($B = .18$). Descending the list, which also included direct contact ($B = .17$) and international posture ($B = .13$), the impact of these factors

decreased. Indeed, international openness only resulted in about a tenth of a grade of increase in the strength of the ought-to L2 self for every difference of one grade on the scale.

While the variables contributing to the ought-to L2 self together accounted for one third ($R^2 = .33$) of the variance, the four factors that predicted the strength of respondents' ideal L2 self were even less influential, explaining one fourth ($R^2 = .25$). This was true in the case of the individual variables as well, which had ever so slightly less impact on the self-guide. Beside the ought-to L2 self, students' ideal future vision as speakers of English was affected by their contact with the language ($B = .19$), their world citizenship ($B = .16$) as well as the importance they accorded to talking to foreigners ($B = .14$). With the exception of the last, this set is composed of scales that were also among the contributors of the ought-to L2 self.

Table 4.46 Regression figures showing the model with the best fit for the dependent variables of the ideal and ought-to L2 selves. Full sample.

Ideal L2 self				Ought-to L2 self			
Variables	B	SE B	β	Variables	B	SE B	β
Constant	1.94***			Constant	.19 ^{ns}	.28	
1. Ought-to L2 self	.20	.05	.22***	1. Global village	.22	.05	.22***
2. DC	.19	.05	.19***	2. Ideal L2 self	.21	.06	.20***
3. Global village	.16	.05	.18**	3. Attitudes to traditional target groups	.18	.06	.16*
4. Importance of contact	.14	.06	.12*	4. DC	.17	.06	.15*
				5. International posture	.13	.05	.13*
R^2	.25				.33		
F for change in R^2	29.36***				34.42***		

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p = .000$

Three interesting conclusions can be drawn from the above. First of all, the low values in Table 4.46 suggest that the self-guides are more complex than the simple culminations of students' scores on the scales included in the analysis. As facets of the self, they can be argued to be deeply rooted in learners' and speakers' personalities and lives and, as a result, linked to a host of variables beyond the focus of the study. On the other hand, the connections shown here confirm that the self-guides might be regarded as elements of a system or points on a scale (cf. [2.2](#)), as they mutually influenced each other. Finally, the selves were also interrelated with

other variables, which suggests that they play an important role in the dynamic network of attitudinal factors that makes up participants' motivational profile.

There were interesting differences between Swiss students and foreigners as regards the composition of the self-guides. These concern both the structure of the of the models obtained and the variables involved. While the analysis of foreign students' answers seemed to yielded a straightforward model, the results for the Swiss group are less conclusive. Table 4.47, which summarizes the models with the greatest fit, clearly illustrates this. Foreign participants' English-speaking future self-image was influenced by two of the attitudinal variables. Interestingly, their identification with the community of world citizens had the strongest impact ($B = .38$), with learning attitudes playing a decidedly inferior role ($B = .20$). This suggests that becoming a member of the global community inspires these respondents to integrate English skills into their ideal self, while the language learning process also contributed to the development of foreigners' future image of themselves as speakers of English. In its overall relevance, the model predicted 30% ($R^2 = .30$) of the variation and thus proved a reliable, if partial, explanation for the strength of the English-related element of foreign students' future self-concept.

Table 4.47 Regression figures showing the model with the best fit for the dependent variable of the ideal L2 self. Place of secondary education.

Abroad				Switzerland			
Variables	B	SE B	β	Variables	B	SE B	β
Constant	2.23***	.34		Constant	.55***	.32	
1. Global village	.38	.09	.38***	1. Ought-to L2 self	.24	.06	.26***
2. Attitudes to learning English	.20	.07	.27**	2. DC	.29	.07	.25***
				3. Ethnocentrism	-.18	.07	-.14*
				4. International posture	.12	.06	.13*
R^2		.30				.25	
F for change in R^2		24.41***				20.17***	

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p = .000$

By contrast, the Swiss subsample reported on an ideal L2 self that was affected, to varying degrees, by four different variables. As before, some of these reflected aspects of the original model, the ought-to L2 self being the most prominent contributor ($B = .24$), followed by direct contact ($B = .29$). The remaining two factors, both representing international openness, had

limited impact, which was also statistically less significant. The combined effect of the four explained 25% ($R^2 = .25$) of the variance. It is evident that this model is less elegant and straightforward than the one calculated for foreign students. It also shows that Swiss students' ideal L2 self is less clear-cut and embedded in their language attitudes in more subtle ways. First of all, the ought-to L2 self plays a key role, hinting at possible ongoing processes of internalization (cf. 2.2). Secondly, this is matched by direct contact, echoing the importance of language use situations in building a strong ideal self. Finally, less integrative aspects of international openness form an integral, albeit less powerful, part of the self-guide.

From a methodological standpoint, the question arises whether reducing the number of variables included in the model might result in a more conclusive structure. Although only the most influential models are presented in this chapter, regression analysis offers a range of options that differ in the number of contributors, their respective weight and the overall impact of the model. In this case, excluding international posture, the least important factor of the four, leads to a decrease in effect ($R^2 = .24$) and a slight increase in Beta values, which changes are not substantial enough to justify this choice. Retaining only the two most powerful variables further reduces the explanatory power of the model ($R^2 = .22$) without leading to any considerable raise in Betas. Therefore, it can be argued that the present model offers a better fit, despite the issues mentioned above. However, these concerns were more prevalent in the case of the ought-to L2 self.

I observed above that, in general, students' ought-to L2 self was influenced by their identification with the global community, their attitudes toward native speakers, the amount of direct contact with English and their international openness. Moreover, their ideal and ought-to selves were mutually influential and occupied a prominent place in both models. The comparisons, shown in Table 4.48, revealed that this was only characteristic of Swiss students, as foreigners, interestingly, had less complex and more distinct self-guides.

Table 4.48 Regression figures showing the model with the best fit for the dependent variable of the ought-to L2 self. Place of secondary education.

Abroad				Switzerland			
Variables	B	SE B	β	Variables	B	SE B	β
Constant	.69 ^{ns}	.37		Constant	-.13 ^{ns}	.38	
1. Global village	.62	.09	.55***	1. Global village	.14	.06	.15*
2. DC	.19	.08	.19*	2. DC	.17	.06	.14*
				3. Ideal L2 self	.21	.07	.20**

	4. Attitudes to traditional target groups	.14	.08	n.s.
	5. Importance of contact	.17	.07	.15*
	6. International posture	.14	.06	.14*
R^2	.38		.31	
F for change in R^2	34.12***		18.65***	

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p = .000$

Indeed, only two variables contributed to foreign participants' ought-to L2 self. A strikingly strong relationship was found between the variable and students' identification with the community of world citizens ($B = .62$) and a considerably less powerful one with direct contact ($B = .19$). This unexpectedly simple composition suggests that the global community plays an essential role in the way participants who had completed their secondary education abroad envision their socially constructed self. This relationship also surpassed the one detected between world citizenship and foreigners' ideal L2 self, underlining the role of the global community more as a tangible social setting than an imaginary target group. Moreover, the model can also be considered as a strong representation of participants' ought-to L2 self in this subgroup ($R^2 = .38$).

As opposed to this clear-cut arrangement, Swiss students' ought-to L2 self had a decidedly more complicated and less easily defined composition. The complete model, consisting of six variables, did not differ from that of the other subgroup in its first two contributors. As before, world citizenship ($B = .14$) and direct contact ($B = .17$) occupied these places. However, they were followed by four others that had similarly weak connections to the ought-to L2 self. The most influential factor in the list proved to be the ideal L2 self ($B = .21$), but its impact did not match the strength of any of the contributors of foreign students' ought-to self-guide. The model explained 31% of the variance ($R^2 = .31$), which was more than what could be observed in the case of the ideal L2 self ($R^2 = .25$), but which suggested that perhaps a simpler model with less variables could achieve a similar effect. I was especially interested to see how the model would perform if the last three scales, all with low betas and significance, were removed. Table 4.49 below displays this alternative model and shows that it is not necessarily so.

Table 4.49 Regression figures showing the alternative model for the dependent variable of the ought-to L2 self Swiss subsample.

Variables	B	SE B	β	R^2	F for change in R^2
Constant	.50 ^{ns}	.35			
1. Global village	.23	.06	.25***		
2. Ideal L2 self	.30	.06	.28***	.27	30.38***
3. Attitudes to traditional target groups	.24	.07	.19**		

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p = .000$

Reducing the number of variables to three did increase their individual impact, even though it also decreased the overall effectiveness of the model ($R^2 = .27$). The ideal L2 self gained more significance as its Beta increased ($B = .30$), but it also moved to second place among the predictors. In addition, the table demonstrates another change; direct contact was replaced by attitudes to native speaker target groups ($B = .24$) as the third element of the model. It is worth mentioning that a third model was considered as well, in which four variables were retained. In this case, this meant the inclusion of the perceived importance of direct contact. Overall, that model proved slightly more effective than the previous one ($R^2 = .29$), with marginally lower Beta values. These simpler models might offer a more elegant representation of the ought-to L2 self, but they also conceal its complexity. The lower impact scores indicate that these structures do not take into account the variables that, in a more subtle or even indirect way, further contribute to Swiss participants' ought-to L2 self. I would argue that the abstract nature of the self-guide, as well as its interrelatedness with other variables, is an important feature of Swiss students' socially defined self-image. Therefore, in this analysis and the next chapter, I will refer to the original model including all six predictors.

4.6.4 Willingness to communicate

Above, I examined the direct contributors of motivated learning behavior, as well as those of learning attitudes, the strongest predictor of the criterion variable. Finally, I discussed the factors that loaded directly into the two self-guides, thus providing an overview of the primary relationships in the model. In order to complete this stage of the analysis, there is one more attitudinal scale in this first group of direct contributors that needs to be addressed. Willingness to communicate, which measured how comfortable participants felt speaking English in

different situations according to their own account, had four predictors. As Table 4.50 below shows, direct contact with English ($B = .47$) and the perceived importance of such opportunities to use the language ($B = .47$) were of equal importance, while students' learning attitudes ($B = .21$) had a weaker influence on their disposition to speak English in public. Interestingly, international posture was found to have a slight negative impact ($B = -.19$) on WTC, suggesting that interest in international affairs and openness toward other cultures can render students less willing to use English in certain situations.

Table 4.50 Regression figures showing the model with the best fit for the dependent variable of willingness to communicate. Full sample.

Variables	B	SE B	β	R^2	F for change in R^2
Constant	1.41***	.34			
1. DC	.47	.07	.35***		
2. Importance of contact	.28	.07	.20***	.28	34.89***
3. Attitudes to learning English	.21	.06	.19***		
4. International posture	-.19	.06	-.16*		

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p = .000$

The separate models for foreigners and Swiss students follow the same patterns as observed above. In terms of participants' willingness to communicate in English, Table 4.51 indicates that foreign respondents once more had a more straightforward profile. Their readiness to use English in public was first and foremost determined by the amount of contact that they had with the language ($B = .62$), with learning attitudes playing a less important role ($B = .19$). By contrast, students who had finished their secondary schooling in Switzerland before enrolling at the University of Geneva gave answers that indicated a more complex composition. In their case, WTC was influenced by four variables, the most significant of which was direct contact ($B = .44$). Similarly to foreigners' results, it was followed by their attitudes to learning English ($B = .22$), but also by their perceptions of the importance of contact ($B = .35$). While not a factor of foreign students' willingness to communicate, international posture had a negative impact on Swiss participants' WTC ($B = -.20$). Thus, it can be concluded that, as before, separate analysis of the Swiss subsample yielded results more in line with the overall model. Finally, both structure carried similar sway, explaining 29% ($R^2 = .29$) and 28% ($R^2 = .28$) of the variance respectively.

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Table 4.51 Regression figures showing the model with the best fit for the dependent variable of willingness to communicate. Place of secondary education.

Abroad				Switzerland			
Variables	B	SE B	β	Variables	B	SE B	β
Constant	1.73***	.38		Constant	1.17 ^{ns}	.43	
1. DC	.53	.10	.45***	1. DC	.44	.09	.31***
2. Attitudes to learning English	.20	.08	.21*	2. Attitudes to learning English	.22	.07	.19*
				3. Importance of contact	.35	.08	.25***
				4. International posture	-.20	.07	-.17*
R^2		.29				.28	
F for change in R^2		23.45***				23.20***	

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p = .000$

The comparisons between the subsamples of Swiss and foreign students as presented above identified a few main themes as regards the relationships of the key variables and allowed me to draw some conclusions. First of all, the overall models reflected more accurately the trends present in the Swiss subsample. This is most probably due to the size of the group, twice as large as that of foreign participants. Attitudes toward native speaker target groups and the reported amount of direct contact that respondents had with English played an important role in both subgroup's attitudinal makeup. In fact, in the case of foreign participants, it was a direct predictor of motivated learning behavior. International openness, both in the form of international posture and as stronger integrative tendencies toward the global community. Once more, they were more influential in the case of foreigners, as the former contributed directly to their motivation, while the latter was a central component of their self-concepts. On the other hand, despite this similarity, foreign participants' ideal and ought-to selves remained distinct and well defined, whereas Swiss students reported self-concepts that were of a different nature. The figures discussed above revealed that respondents who had completed their secondary studies in Switzerland had self-images that were related not only to each other but to a number of different attitudinal factors.

Comparing the models for the two subgroups also showed that students' attitudes and motives to learn English differed greatly depending on the place of their secondary education. The above analysis pinpointed the main predictors of the central variables in the study, and permitted a side-by-side view of these as regards the two subgroups. As the rest of the variables

can be argued to influence these key elements only indirectly, and thus play a minor role in participants' attitudes and motivation, they will be further explored in the schematic representation of the final models. At the same time, it is important to note that, in addition to providing the most significant figures obtained through the questionnaire and as a result shedding light on UNIGE students' language attitudes, another important goal of this chapter is to clearly present the statistical procedures used in the study and the type of results they yielded. This approach can not only facilitate the design and execution of future research projects but it can also serve as an illustration of the advantages and shortcomings of the methods used. Therefore, below, I briefly examine the remaining attitudinal factors and the elements that affected them, as calculated for the entire group of study participants.

4.6.5 *Traditional native speaker target groups*

I observed earlier that students' views of traditional native speaker target groups were unexpectedly favorable and influential. The variable was a primary predictor of learning attitudes and among the factors that loaded into the ought-to L2 self. Thus, it was an important indirect influence on participants' motivation to learn English. In turn, five factors were found to affect students' orientation toward these speaker groups. These are displayed in Table 5.52.

The relationship between the scale and learning attitudes was reciprocal and resulted in a .3 increase for each one grade of rise in positive attitudes to learning the language ($B = .31$). World citizenship ($B = .16$), the perceived importance of talking to foreigners ($B = .11$) and the ought-to L2 self ($B = .11$) also contributed to participants' orientation toward the native speaker groups included in the study, although their impact was considerably less significant. It is not surprising that ethnocentrism, the final contributor, had a negative connection to the variable ($B = -.12$). What is more interesting is that this link, contrary to expectations, is one of the weakest in the list, suggesting that ethnocentrism, which was low among students in general, played only a minor role in their motivational profile. The model accounted for 39% of the variation ($R^2 = .39$). It bears noting that reducing the number of variables does not raise the beta values significantly but decreases the overall effect to a similarly small extent, the differences being so slight that the original model can be considered as the best fit for the dataset.

Table 4.52 Regression figures showing the model with the best fit for the dependent variable of attitudes to target groups. Full sample.

Variables	B	SE B	β	R^2	F for change in R^2
Constant	1.21***	.30			
1. Attitudes to learning English	.31	.04	.38***		
2. Global village	.16	.04	.19***	.39	44.33***
3. Importance of contact	.11	.05	.10*		
4. Ought-to L2 self	.11	.04	.13*		
5. Ethnocentrism	-.12	.06	-.10*		

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p = .000$

4.6.6 International posture

The variable of international posture occupied a similar position in the final model (cf. [Figure 4.37](#)), albeit its influence was somewhat weaker than that of WTC. As I showed above, an internationally open disposition helped strengthen participants' socially constructed English-speaking self-image, while it also slightly decreased their willingness to speak English in public. As regards its predictors, international posture was most importantly influenced by world citizenship ($B = .35$). Once more, the connection is not unexpected, although, given the theoretical background of the two constructs (see [3.4](#)), its impact is surprisingly low. On the other hand, the figures in Table 4.53 reflect even weaker ties between international posture and the rest of the factors in the list.

Indeed, as a result of a mutual effect, each grade of increase in the power of students' ought-to L2 self resulted in a .17 rise ($B = .17$) in international posture, showing that interest in international affairs and perceptions of the social value of English skills as part of the self are reciprocally related, although this relationship was not among the most powerful ones in the study. The influence of the slight negative connection between international posture and willingness to communicate in English could be observed once more ($B = -.14$). At the same time, as I pointed out earlier, international posture had a greater effect as a predictor of WTC ($B = -.19$). Nonetheless, this link might reflect the distinction between an abstract international community on the one hand and more tangible experiences of first-hand language use on the other and the different modalities of communication with which the two can be associated. Last but not least, a similarly weak relationship was observed in the case of participants' attitudes

to speakers from England and the United States ($B = .17$), indicating that they were considered as part of the international community. The overall effect of the model was not remarkable at 28% ($R^2 = .28$), which suggests that students' international openness cannot be fully explained using the variables included in the study and that other factors, not taken into account in this analysis, must contribute to its strength.

Table 4.53 Regression figures showing the model with the best fit for the dependent variable of international posture. Full sample.

Variables	B	SE B	β	R^2	F for change in R^2
Constant	1.72***	.26			
1. Global village	.35	.05	.36***		
2. Ought-to L2 self	.17	.05	.17**	.28	33.56***
3. WTC	-.14	.04	-.16**		
4. Attitudes to traditional target groups	.17	.06	.15**		

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p = .000$

4.6.7 The community of world citizens

When it comes to its power as a predictor of identification with members of the global community, international posture proved less influential ($B = .28$), revealing the relationship to be stronger in the other direction. In addition, Table 4.54 shows that the ought-to L2 self was a more important contributor of world citizenship ($B = .21$) than of international openness in general ($B = .17$). Although not a strikingly powerful effect, this link indicates that students' perceptions of the expectations of their social milieu fed into their world citizenship.

Similarly, respondents' attitudes to native speakers contributed more strongly to world citizenship ($B = .22$) than to participants' international posture, indicating that students might regard them as members of the global community. The ideal L2 self, in other words, students' aspirations toward a desired English-speaking self, also had a slight impact ($B = .14$) on the variable, confirming that their sense of membership in the community of world citizens was related to their self-concept. Finally, and at a lower level of significance, the perceived importance of talking to foreigners ($B = .14$) showed a predictable, albeit minor, connection to the variable. These factors combined explained 39% ($R^2 = .39$) of the variation in students' scores on the scale, which implies that world citizenship might also be linked to other aspects of students' life, while also highlighting the effect of language attitudes.

Table 4.54 Regression figures showing the model with the best fit for the dependent variable of world citizenship. Full sample.

Variables	B	SE B	β	R^2	F for change in R^2
Constant	.01 ^{ns}	.29			
1. International posture	.28	.05	.27***		
2. Ought-to L2 self	.21	.05	.20***	.39	43.80***
3. Attitudes to traditional target groups	.22	.06	.19***		
4. Ideal L2 self	.14	.05	.13***		
5. Importance of contact	.14	.06	.11*		

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p = .000$

4.6.8 Direct contact

The above results also suggest that the farther away variables were situated from motivated learning behavior in the final model the less straightforward and powerful their predictors. This is clearly visible in Table 4.55, which lists the factors that were identified as the main contributors of direct contact with English. The scale performed as a background factor in the model shown in [Figure 4.37](#), which in part explains why its predictors emerged from among the variables to it contributed directly. Indeed, four factors loaded into direct contact, their connections revealing the interrelationships between the variable and its contributors.

Table 4.55 Regression figures showing the model with the best fit for the dependent variable of direct contact. Full sample.

Variables	B	SE B	β	R^2	F for change in R^2
Constant	.16 ^{ns}	.26			
1. WTC	.26	.04	.34***		
2. Ideal L2 self	.16	.05	.17**	.31	39.50***
3. Attitudes to learning English	.13	.04	.15**		
4. Ought-to L2 self	.13	.05	.15**		

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p = .000$

The most relevant of these was observed with willingness to communicate ($B = .26$), which was nevertheless significantly weaker than the influence of direct contact as a predictor of WTC ($B = .47$). The amount of direct language contact that students had had a similar connection to their ideal self-image ($B = .16$), with direct contact exerting a slightly more significant influence on the self-guide ($SB = .19$). The difference was somewhat more marked

in the case of learning attitudes ($B = .13$), of which, once more, direct contact performed better as a contributor ($B = .20$). The links between direct contact and the ought-to L2 self followed the same pattern, as the former proved the stronger predictor, if ever so slightly ($B = .17$, as opposed to $B = .13$). Thus, it can be concluded that while the figures shown in Table 4.55 revealed mutual relationships between direct contact and the variables to which the scale contributed, these interrelationships also make it difficult to clearly define its composition. The model explained 31% ($R^2 = .31$) of the variance, but it can be argued that much of this effect can be attributed to the reciprocal connections discussed above.

4.6.9 Perceived importance of contact

The final scale that needs to be addressed before I move on to examine the regression model in its entirety is that of *perceived importance*, which measured participants' perceptions of the relevance of the contact opportunities discussed above. As a secondary influence that loaded into the ideal L2 self ($B = .14$) and, more strongly, into students' willingness to communicate ($B = .28$), the variable had an indirect impact on study participants' motivation to learn English. In its turn, the extent to which respondents appreciated talking to foreigners was affected, to varying degrees, by five factors. These are listed in Table 4.56.

Table 4.56 Regression figures showing the model with the best fit for the dependent variable of perceived importance of contact. Full sample.

Variables	B	SE B	β	R^2	F for change in R^2
Constant	5.26***	.10			
1. Ethnocentrism	-.42	.05	-.37***		
2. Ought-to L2 self	.11	.04	.13*		
3. WTC	.13	.03	.18***	.36	39.29***
4. Global village	.11	.04	.13**		
5. Attitudes to traditional target groups	.11	.05	.12*		

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p = .000$

First of all, each grade of increase in ethnocentric attitudes was found to reduce the importance of direct contact by .42 grades ($B = -.42$). While this relationship is neither surprising nor unexpectedly powerful, it is important to note as this is the strongest influence in the study as far as the scale of ethnocentrism is considered. Unfortunately, the positive contributions of the other factors were significantly weaker.

Although students who were more willing to speak English in public also viewed contact opportunities as slightly more important ($B = .13$), study results showed that this influence was stronger in the opposite direction ($B = .28$), indicating that it was the perceived importance of contact that inspired speakers' self-confidence. Respondents' ideas of the role of English in their socially constructed self-concept had an even slighter impact ($B = .11$), mirrored by their sense of world citizenship ($B = .11$). It needs to be pointed out that the latter relationship was in fact marginally more important when its direction was reversed ($B = .14$), which suggests that students' orientation towards the international community was, in part, a result of their perceptions of the importance of contact opportunities. Finally, the mutual relationship between the scale and participants' attitudes to native speaker target groups was similarly weak ($B = .11$) in both directions. In summary, neither direct contact, nor its perceived importance, seemed to play an important indirect role in the model. Nevertheless, through their connections, they formed a part of the system that made up study participants' motivational profile. In the next section, I address the mechanics of this profile in more detail.

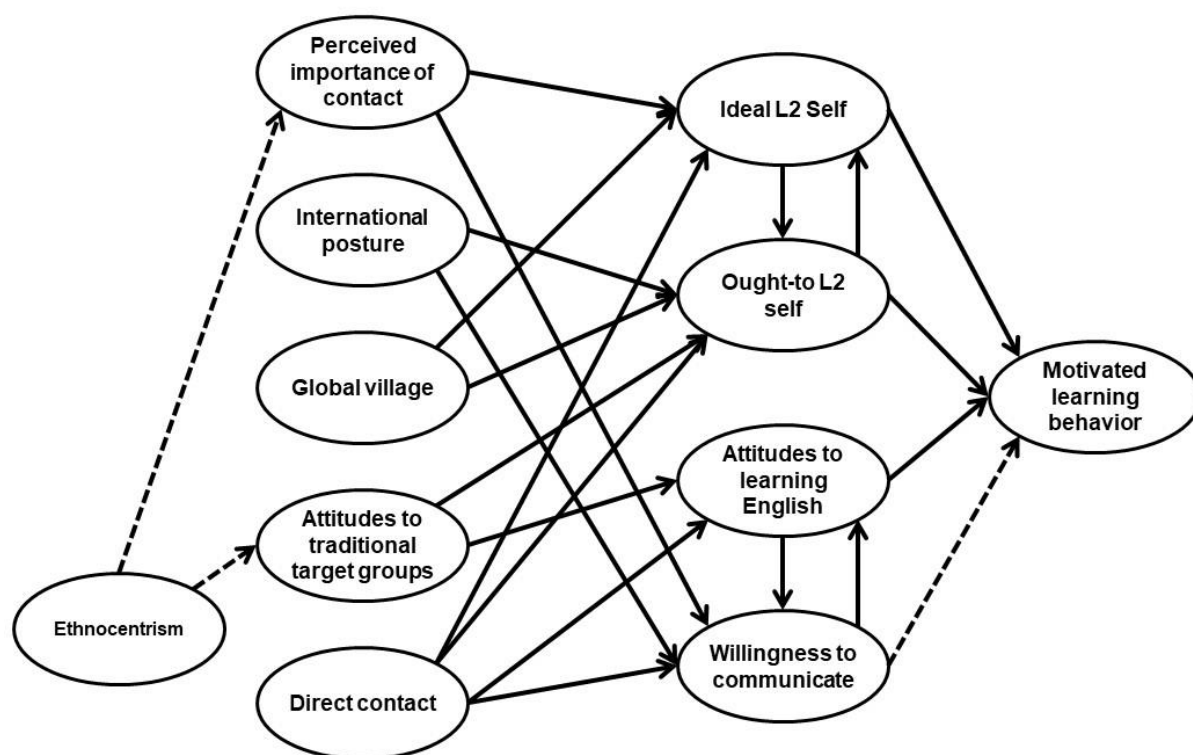
4.7 A schematic representation of participants' motivational profile

Upon closer examination, the regression models reported in the previous section showed considerable overlaps that, when considered in the framework of L2 motivation theory, let emerge a multi-layered system of interrelated influences. In line with these theoretical considerations and the central question of the research, motivated learning behavior was considered as the key dependent variable in this structure and, consequently, as the highest level of the system. As the figures above suggest and as I will argue below, a number of attitudinal factors contributed to this model, by exerting their influence on motivated learning behavior directly or indirectly.

4.7.1 The complete schematic model

It is important to observe that this schematic visualization of study participants' final motivational profile only takes into account the key influences, which were identified as contributing to students' motivation, either at the second or the third tier. In addition, Figure 4.37 does not display the relative strength of each relationship, as the relevant details can be found in the tables above and were discussed in the previous section. Therefore, below, I provide a summary of the model, focusing on the most interesting aspects of its structure, the meaning and implications of which will be addressed in the next chapter.

Figure 4.37 Schematic representation of the final regression model. Full sample. Key relationships. Dotted line shows negative influence.



This simplified summary of the most important connections in the study, as presented above, helps construct a cleaner image of the results. It shows that the most powerful variables could be arranged into three tiers of motivational influences. On the right, motivated learning behavior, the criterion variable, represented the first or the top level. Next, the four scales that loaded into MLB directly, namely, the ideal and ought-to L2 selves, learning attitudes and willingness to communicate, form the second tier of the model. Finally, the variables that contributed to the four predictors compose the third level, complemented by the negative impact of the variable of ethnocentrism. While ethnocentric attitudes notably decreased participants' appreciation of contact with foreigners, in addition to slightly diminishing favorable views of target groups, the role that the variable played in the model can be considered as marginal. In this structure, ethnocentrism was so far removed from motivated learning behavior that it could be best described as a background factor connected to the third layer of motivational forces.

This representation also clearly shows that the concepts in the first tier form two separate subsystems, with the self-guides displaying a mutual influence and learning attitudes and WTC being similarly connected. On the one hand, the latter have important educational implications, indicating that, in the case of study participants, language learning is closely related to the communicative aspects of language competence. Moreover, the reciprocal link means that respondents' positive learning experience increased their willingness to use English. On the other hand, it is interesting to note that the reciprocal link between WTC and learning attitudes was a positive one, whereas, as I previously observed (cf. [4.6.1](#)), willingness to communicate had a negative impact as a predictor of motivation to learn English. The explanation might be related to the nature of a positive experience of language learning. It can be argued to inspire learners' motivation (for examples, see [2.2.3.1](#)), but the figures show that it also enhances their eagerness to speak English. As a result, study participants who were more willing to use the language in public felt less motivated to continue learning it, probably due to the level of communicative skills they had already acquired.

In addition to the connection between learning attitudes and willingness to communicate, Figure 4.37 also displays the secondary factors that loaded into the two variables. Thus, the image above showcases clearly the important role that traditional native speaker target groups and direct contact with English play in participants' learning experience. Willingness to communicate, on the other hand, is shown as a consequence of respondents' international

interest as well as the amount of direct contact they had with English and to what extent they valued such opportunities. In summary, this part of the structure reveals dynamics that center around students' learning experience and willingness to speak English in public, which were closely related and together, influenced by factors in the second tier, had an interesting impact on participants' motivation to learn the language.

The relationships involved in the first subsystem are even more revelatory and allow further conclusions about the mechanics of the self-guides. These links show that the ought-to and ideal L2 self were not only direct predictors of language learning motivation but that they also mutually contributed to the other's strength. Moreover, the power of this influence was comparable in both directions, indicating that the two aspects of the self played an equally important role in the subsystem. More importantly, this reciprocal relationship suggests that study participants' English-speaking selves form a continuously and dynamically fluctuating continuum, each aspect influencing the other. Therefore, it can be argued that the motivational force they represent involves both of the self-guides, and respondents' motives can be placed on this continuum of internal and external drives.

Similarly to the other pair of interrelated predictors of motivated learning behavior, the subsystem formed by the selves was also connected to a number of variables situated in the next tier. I discussed these relationships in more detail in the previous section, but this representation offers a clearer visual of their combined impact. The most interesting fact about these links is that almost all third-tier factors were involved due to the complex relationships of the ought-to L2 self. Indeed, the figure suggests that students' socially defined self was strongly embedded in their attitudes and thus acted as an intermediary between these secondary concepts and the criterion variable. As regards the ideal L2 self, while its connections were less numerous and not as powerful (see [4.6.3](#)) as in the case of the ought-to self-guide, it was nonetheless an integral element of the model. Indeed, students' vision of their future self as speakers of English also amalgamated the influence of a number of background factors, rendering them relevant, if indirect, motivational factors. Many of these were also predictors of the ought-to L2 self, which further confirms the close relationship between the two self-guides.

Thus, the next tier of motivational factors was composed of the predictors of the four scales that directly contributed to motivated learning behavior. It included five of the attitudinal scales and covered integrative and communicative aspects of English proficiency and use.

Ethnocentrism, which was connected to only two of these third-tier factors and was far removed from language learning motivation, was considered as a minor influence in the model. Therefore, for the sake of simplicity, it was not treated as an entirely different tier and appears in the figures in this section as a complementary element to the third level.

Nevertheless, the structure also indicates that all eleven scales were involved in the structure of participants' motivation to learn English. Above, I discussed the most important relationships that link the five third-tier factors to the four immediate predictors of this motivation. I would like to draw attention to one last aspect of these connections that is interesting to note. The variable of direct contact seemed to play an important role as it was revealed to contribute to all four of the scales that formed the second level of the structure. Thus, it can be considered as a powerful motivational influence, even though its impact manifested indirectly.

This is not surprising, since language contact provides opportunities for the development of more elaborate self-perceptions (Ryan, 2015). In addition, authentic communication and language use are considered both as a successful educational tool and an important end goal of language learning. It can be argued that the prominent role that direct contact plays in the model reflects these conclusions. In order to provide a summary of the above, Figure 4.38 below shows the final structure in a more simplified form.

Figure 4.38 Simplified structure of the three levels of motivational influences. Full sample.

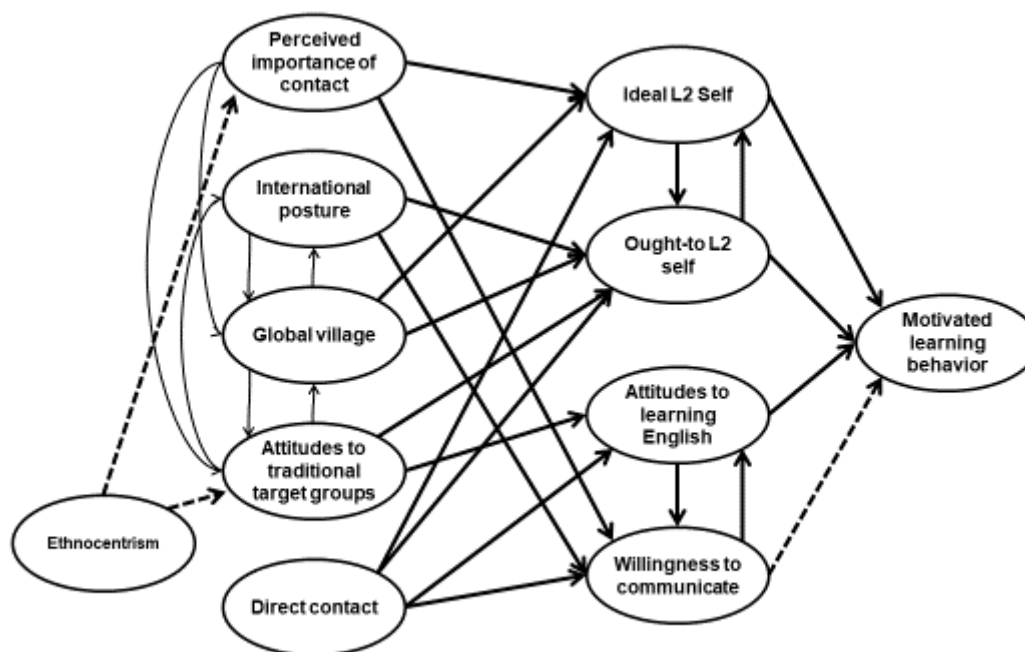


* Negative influence

The final model, as presented here, also summarizes the statistics and relationships outlined in the previous section, rendering further conclusions possible. In addition to the details displayed in the above figures, it is interesting to note that elements of the third tier were also interrelated. Figure 4.39 displays the final model complete with these links. As it is not possible to discuss the deeper implications of this interconnectedness, an important aspect of the model, here, they

are instead addressed in the next chapter, while below I provide a brief overview of its mechanics.

Figure 4.39 Schematic representation of the final regression model. Full sample. Complete with interrelationships. Dotted lines indicate negative influence.



Based on this representation, it is clear that four variables participated in the internal dynamics of this layer. The factor of world citizenship occupied a central position, as it was mutually linked to both international posture and attitudes to native speakers. In other words, in the opinion of study participants, these three aspects of openness toward other, potentially English-speaking, cultures were related, hinting at interesting educational implications. Moreover, the importance that students accorded to direct language contact with foreigners had an impact on their attitudes both towards global citizens and native speaker target groups, which emphasizes the role of these communities as opportunities for language practice. Interestingly, the scale of direct contact did not contribute to this subsystem, its influence being directly linked to the variables of the previous level.

Although, for the sake of clarity, this aspect of the model is not displayed in the above figures, the statistics discussed in the previous section showed that second-tier factors also had an impact on third-tier ones. As a result, the ties examined in this chapter reveal a highly interconnected structure, which, as I argue in the next chapter, bears several features associated with complex dynamic systems (cf. [2.2.4](#)). Before moving on to addressing these, as well as

the most important implications of the findings, there, I will conclude this chapter by submitting the model to some comparisons and reflecting on its overall applicability.

4.7.2 Swiss students

As could be seen throughout this chapter, the most significant comparisons arose from the differences between Swiss participants and their foreign counterparts. Whereas other groupings often resulted in small subsamples that were difficult to process statistically, the place of participants' secondary studies repeatedly emerged as an obvious criterion with great potential for further testing. Therefore, it is especially interesting to compare the two models calculated for these two groups, as they greatly differ in structure and in characteristics.

At first glance, Swiss students' profile did not seem very different from the overall model presented above. At the same time, as Figure 4.40 shows, this cursory glance also revealed that the scale of willingness to communicate did not form part of the second level and, as a result, the third tier was composed of a longer list of variables. Interestingly, while ethnocentric attitudes played a more direct role, the perceived importance of language contact proved to be a less significant influence. Indeed, the latter contributed to participants' motivation merely at fourth level, therefore it is not displayed in the graphic below.

Figure 4.40 Simplified structure of the three levels of motivational influences. Swiss subsample

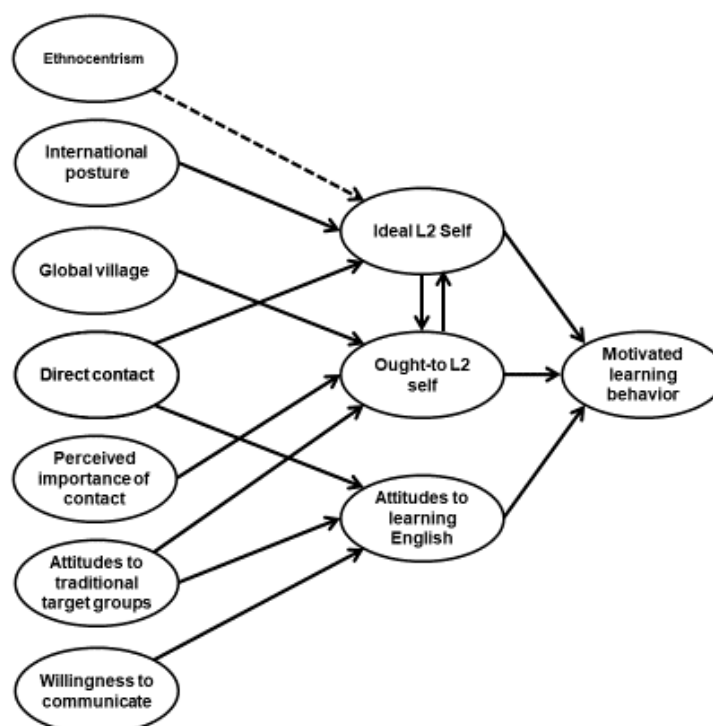


* Negative influence

A more in-depth look, however, unveiled further contrasts, as well as a generally more complex structure. This, in part, was due to the more intricate and elusive nature of Swiss students' ought-to L2 self. In [4.6.3](#) I listed all six variables that contributed to the self-guide, while I also examined the potential of a simplified combination of three or four components. Although a more complete model provides a better understanding of the level of complexity that characterizes this aspect of Swiss participants' self-concept, for clearer visibility, Figure 4.36 below only takes the four most influential of these predictors into account. Even so, the figure

shows that they had a significant effect on the entire arrangement, as both respondents' sense of membership in the global community and their perception of the importance of contact with foreigners appear as elements of the third layer merely due to their contribution to the ought-to L2 self.

Figure 4.41 Schematic representation of the final regression model. Swiss sample. Key relationships. Dotted lines indicate negative influence.



In addition to this added complexity, there were further details that distinguished this model from the one calculated for the entire sample. First of all, the factors that directly influenced motivated learning behavior, the top-level variable in the analysis, were the three cornerstones of the Self System (Dörnyei, 2009). It is important to note that, despite these difference, the relationship between the two self-guides was a mutual one as before and even the strength of these links was comparable across the two models. These results confirm Dörnyei's (2009) hypothesis, as they indicate that Swiss participants' motivation to learn English was most importantly influenced by their learning experience and the interconnected facets of their English-related self-concept.

As regards the variables that composed the third level of the structure, and thus acted through the three direct predictors, their connections were less straightforward. The scales of the third tier were not only more numerous than the ones in the previous model but, in part as a consequence, their links were also more sparse. Only two of the seven factors contributed to more than a single direct predictor of motivated learning behavior.

Interestingly, the ideal and the ought-to L2 self formed part of two completely different systems, despite their reciprocal connection. The former was determined by Swiss students' lack of ethnocentric tendencies, as well as their international posture and direct contact with English. On the other hand, the latter was related to their views of native speakers and the community of world citizens, in addition to their perceptions of the importance of language contact. These differences suggest that Swiss participants' self-guides are linked to different aspects of their daily life, and while their ideal English-speaking self-image is fed by their experiences using the language and their international openness, their socially-defined self is directly influenced by perceptions related to the social status of the language as a gateway to membership in the international community and to communication with native speakers.

It is not surprising, especially in light of the overall model, that learning attitudes were affected by subgroup members' attitudes to native speakers and contact experience, as well as their willingness to engage in English. These scales represent highly communicative elements of language learning and the results indicate that engaging in language use determined Swiss students' opinion of learning English. As among these three variables only direct contact contributed to one of the self-guides, the ideal L2 self, it can be argued that this combination of communication oriented factors form a part of this model that is only loosely linked to participants' self concept. Consequently, it might showcase the impact of certain instrumental considerations, in the traditional sense, when it comes to Swiss university students' learning attitudes.

Once more, direct contact was among the variables with the widest range of influences, although, in the case of this model, this only meant two connections to second-tier predictors. On the one hand, experiences of language use appeared to foster a stronger sense of self, strengthening Swiss students' future English-speaking self-vision. On the other, contact opportunities also had a positive effect on their views of learning English. These results confirm the role of language contact in Swiss respondents' motivational profile, and they become

especially important when compared to that of students who had completed their secondary studies outside of Switzerland.

4.7.3 Foreign participants

Intriguingly, when it comes to foreign students' profile, apart from attitudes to learning English, none of the second-tier predictors of the previous two models contributed to their motivation to learn English directly. Indeed, in the model that represents foreign students' language attitudes, this level of influences was composed of their views on learning English, their international posture and the amount of direct language contact that they reported. Even more interesting is the fact that this last one had a negative impact on motivation. As I observed in relation to the negative link between motivated learning behavior and WTC in the overall model, one's enthusiasm to learn a language might decrease due to one's sense of accomplishment of one's language goals, accompanied by an interest in more active forms of language use and communication.

Figure 4.42 clearly illustrates the consequences of this structural change. Six variables compose the next level of influences, the two self-guides among them. The ideal L2 self was shown to predict foreigners' attitudes to learning English, while the ought-to L2 self loaded into the amount of direct contact that they had with the language. Therefore, the only component of the L2 Motivational Self System (Dörnyei, 2005, 2009) that had an immediate impact on foreign participants' motivation to learn English was their learning experience, as manifested in their learning attitudes.

Figure 4.42 Simplified structure of the three levels of motivational influences. Foreign subsample.

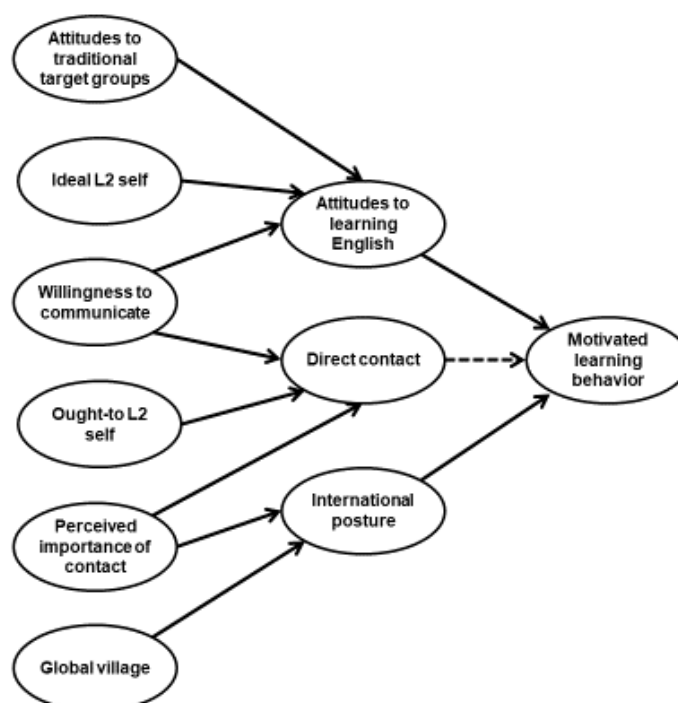


* Negative influence

This is an intriguing element of this model, as it suggests that the motivated learning behavior displayed by this subgroup, as opposed to that of Swiss students, was not directly influenced by either aspect of the L2 self. This does not necessarily imply that these selves are less

elaborate in the case of foreign respondents or that they are less related competence in English. The indirect links simply mean that these self-images do not propel students directly to further develop their skills in the language through active learning. Indeed, as I observed above (4.6.3), foreigners ideal L2 self was even marginally stronger than that of their Swiss peers. Thus, as Figure 4.43 below also shows, it appears that other factors are more prominently responsible for foreign participants' L2 motivation, while their L2 related selves remain in the background.

Figure 4.43 Schematic representation of the final regression model. Foreign sample. Key relationships. Dotted lines indicate negative influence.



On the other hand, the internal mechanics of this model, displayed in the above figure, reveal one further characteristic of the relationship between the criterion variable and the ought-to L2 self. While a strong socially influenced L2 self-guide increased the frequency of language use reported by foreigners, the latter factor was negatively linked to their motivation to learn English. Therefore, by extension, through direct contact, the ought-to L2 self also exerted a negative influence on motivated learning behavior. Nevertheless, as I observed earlier, these relationships are to be considered in the framework of the model and in the broader context of the study. From such a perspective, it can be concluded that foreign students who perceived

that their social milieu expected them to learn or to speak English well sought out more frequent opportunities to engage in language contact and, as a result, were less motivated to participate in more formal ways of skills development. This contrast with Swiss respondents' answers, whose strong ought-to L2 self was shown above to boost their learning motivation, has interesting educational implications, which I will address in the next chapter.

Overall, the relationships shown in Figure 4.43 reveal an interesting trend. In general, participants who had studied outside of Switzerland before their tertiary program appeared to have a more traditional profile. In other words, instead of their self-visions, foreign students' motivation to learn English was more strongly influenced by decidedly affective or instrumental considerations. Learning attitudes, formed by past experience, and international posture, linked to the global status of the language, were at the forefront of this drive. The background factors that played the most important role in the model, due to their connections to multiple second-tier predictors, focused on communication and language contact.

These results are in stark contrast with the research findings presented in [Chapter 2](#) (e.g. Taguchi et al., 2009). The studies described there analyzed data obtained in a number of different countries and linguistic settings and concluded that the ideal L2 self was especially relevant to English learners' motivation. Thus, the relationships discussed above raise the question whether foreign students' self-visions were indeed only a secondary source of L2 motivation or whether their answers could be linked to issues of reliability, such as the way the items were formulated or the fact that the questionnaire was in French. Nevertheless, the phenomenon might also be related to a combination of these factors and might signal that foreign participants' L2 selves were not sufficiently elaborate or conscious to be measured using the methods shown in the previous chapter.

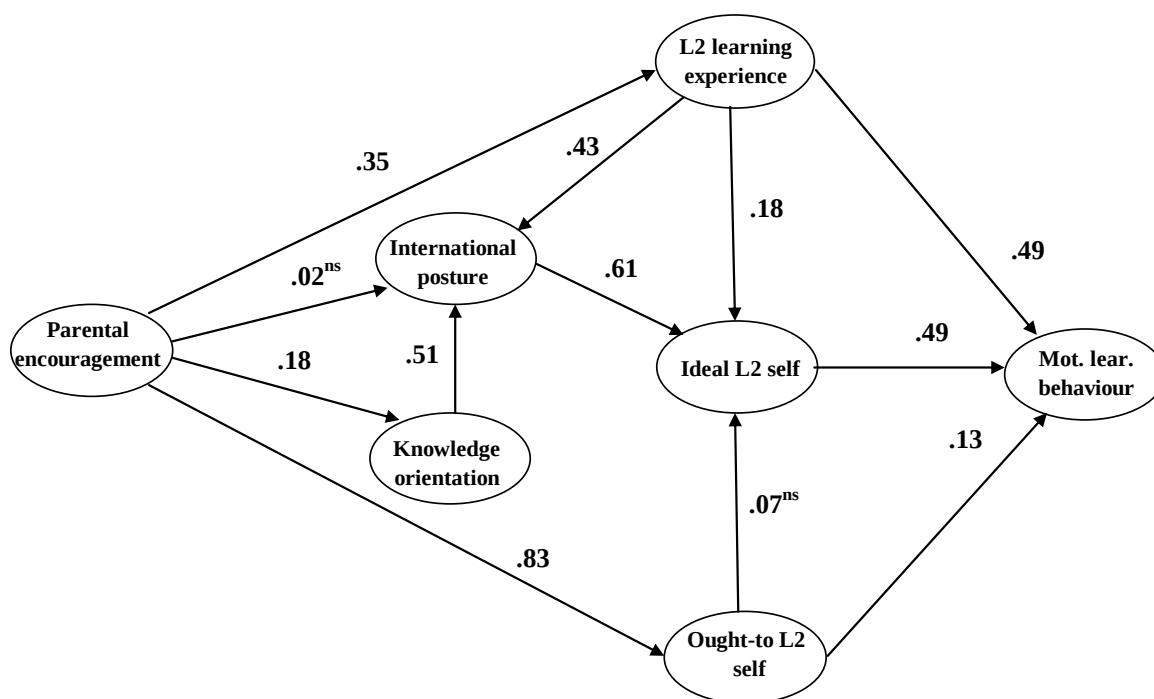
As I observe at the end of this chapter, the results obtained through these methods posed a few notable limitations. One of these was that, due to the large variety of subsample sizes, comparisons among the different groups were not always statistically feasible or meaningful in light of the concepts studied. Nevertheless, interesting contrasts were found between the samples of Swiss and foreign students, which were the focus of this section. Moreover, the model also showed good comparability with the findings of previous research, thanks to the standardized scales employed. Below, I address the most intriguing of these and compare the above models to the one in Csizér and Kormos's (2009) survey study.

4.7.4 University students in Hungary

As I pointed out in [Chapter 2](#), Csizér and Kormos's (2009) research was especially interesting because it included a group of Hungarian university students, the same age group as the one investigated in the present research. In addition, their methodology involved similar steps to the ones applied in this dissertation, and some of the scales in the UNIGE study also built on those developed by the Hungarian researchers (cf. [3.4](#)). These features made this comparison particularly worthwhile and intriguing. Indeed, the final models that emerged from the two studies showed a few structural similarities, while they differed on other points of interest.

Although Csizér and Kormos (2009) used a slightly different, smaller, set of variables, their representation of the study results shows that the final structure was also composed of three layers. Furthermore, the Hungarian model had a similar makeup to the one that emerged from the complete Geneva dataset, while it resembled even more the one calculated for Swiss participants. In Figure 4.44 below, the researchers summarize their findings, showing that Hungarian learners' motivation to learn English was influenced by the same three predictors as that of Swiss students.

Figure 4.44 The final model of Csizér and Kormos's (2009) findings. Hungarian university students.



However, despite these similarities, the differences are apparent even at this second level. The relative strength of the standardized β values indicate that Hungarian university students' L2 learning experience and ideal L2 self were similarly central, reaching a β value of .49. Meanwhile, in the present study, the importance of learning attitudes consistently surpassed that of the ideal L2 self. The former obtained its lowest standardized coefficient at .39 in the case of Swiss students, whereas the self-guide was much less significant in the overall model presented in the previous sections ($\beta = .13$) and only marginally more important to Swiss participants' motivation ($\beta = .17$). As I mentioned before, against all expectations, the ideal L2 self did not have a direct impact on foreign students' motivation.

On the other hand, in Csizér and Kormos' (2009) model, the relationships among the different variables and layers showed less complexity. Undoubtedly, this is in part due to the shorter list of factors included in the study, but also to the prominent role and better defined contours of the L2 selves. Nonetheless, a similar model emerged from Taguchi, Magid and Papi's (2009) research, investigating a similar age group of learners of English in Japan, China and Iran. Their results identified the same immediate predictors of motivated learning behavior, with the learning experience and the ideal L2 self exerting the greatest impact in all three contexts. Once more, the ought-to L2 self was consistently the weakest contributor through all subsamples.

By contrast, in the present study, even Swiss students, whose average profile conformed the most to the expectations set by these former studies, displayed a stronger influence in the case of the ought-to self-guide. Foreign participants, an arguably more heterogeneous group, had a distinctly different profile, which did not reflect the direct power of the selves observed in the Swiss subsample and in previous studies. Therefore, while Taguchi, Magid and Papi (2009) conclude that the L2 Motivational Self System (Dörnyei, 2005, 2009) provides a model of L2 motivation that can be used to describe language learning in the most diverse contexts, in light of the present research it can be argued that components of the system can play different roles of varied importance and strength depending on the contextual factors that characterize language learning in a given setting.

4.8 Limitations and applicability of the results

This chapter covered the key results obtained from a very rich and diverse dataset. Some of the analysis focused on the general characteristics of the sample, while other calculations brought to light the finer details and differences that led to more interesting conclusions regarding

university students' motivation and attitudes to English in Geneva. Even more valuable were the insights that uncovered the relationships among these attitudes and thus helped formulate the final model discussed in the previous sections.

In summary, the figures presented in this chapter tell an intriguing tale of language users in multiple contexts navigating a complex world of multilingualism, social values, selves and economic benefits. I will address these themes at more length in the next chapter. However, I believe it is important to mention here the complexity of the task when it came to interpreting the results, in order to better illustrate the processes that transformed these figures into practical observations and real-life conclusions.

First of all, one of the main challenges that the results presented was their richness and the possibilities it offered for in-depth analysis. Space and time constraints, in addition to the goals of the study, defined in advance and presented in [Chapter 1](#), posed certain limits to the otherwise endless list of potential questions and issues that the analysis could address. I believe it is apparent that, in this chapter, I decided to touch upon some of these interesting details that did not form part of my original query but arose either as a complement to one of my main observations or appeared, unexpectedly, in the course of the statistical testing. Nonetheless, so as to respect the above mentioned limits, I had to refrain from exploring all the possible avenues of analysis and including all that I considered interesting in the data. I look forward to covering these aspects of the research in future publications, which can build upon the findings of this dissertation but also point beyond its limitations. I discuss these directions, as well as those for future research, in the last chapter.

The second difficulty, which I often voice throughout this chapter, was related to sampling and the uneven group sizes in which it resulted. The small subsamples made some, potentially interesting, comparisons difficult or statistically irrelevant. This was especially true for the contrasts among faculties, which, as a result, were not always sufficiently relevant to include in the analysis. The insignificant values among the Fisher's z scores (Meng, Rosenthal, and Rubin, 1992) testified to this problem and indicated that some of the comparative results were to be treated with caution. While this proved to be one of the principal shortcomings of the study, it also serves as an example of the many challenges researchers face when conducting studies at public institutions. On the one hand, such studies can produce valuable conclusions regarding many learning phenomena in these spaces. On the other hand, researchers in the field of SLA often struggle to gain access to their target population (Dörnyei, 2007).

In spite of these challenges, the results discussed in this chapter revealed the interesting mechanics of participants' language attitudes and their influence on students' motivation to learn English. The emerging system showed a network of interrelated factors, arranged differently depending on the place of respondents' secondary studies. Analyzed in the greater context of the study, these results suggested that, in order to complement the traditional quantitative approach that the research was based on, a slightly different perspective was needed. It was at this exact point in time that the qualitative turn in L2 motivation research, led by Dörnyei, MacIntyre and Henry's (2015) emblematic book, took place and shed a new light on the findings of the study presented here.

While this slightly altered approach, which I will refer to as 'contextually enriched', offered a greater understanding of the results, it also raised the problem of interpreting the final model from the new perspective which was now becoming increasingly mainstream, that is, through the lens of Dynamic Systems Theory (de Bot, Lowie & Verspoor, 2007). First of all, the model did not cover a sufficiently wide range of contextual information to grant a wide angle view of the whole system. Secondly, and more importantly, the study lacked a time element and thus could only provide a snapshot of participants' attitudes, as characteristic of this type of quantitative enquiry (Dörnyei, 2007). In sum, the results failed to show the *system* in its entirety, and could not account for its *dynamic* nature.

It is important to note, however, that the research had not been designed with DST in mind, nor did it aim to uncover such an underlying structure. On the other hand, the references to DST and language attitudes and motivation as parts of a complex dynamic system are all inherent to the conclusions of this chapter. The most intriguing results, as well as the anomalies, gain in relevance and applicability through these considerations. This might be considered as a weakness of the quantitative study, however, as I argue in the next chapter, I view it as one of its most important lessons. The above results showcase that language learning and use are inseparable of the multiple interrelated contexts in which they take place and accounting for these contextual influences has the potential to increase the relevance and the benefits of any SLA study considerably.

5

Discussion

“Tut, tut, child!’ said the Duchess. ‘Everything’s got a moral, if only you can find it.’”

(Carrol, 1965)

Chapter 5 Discussion

5.1 Introduction: A story of research-in-context

In [Chapter 2](#), I gave a brief overview of the history of L2 motivation theory and, more specifically, the developments that inspired the research presented in this dissertation. I also mentioned in the previous chapters that the results of the study, regarding both the language data and participants' language attitudes, surpassed most of my initial expectations. Thus, it became clear that, while the research was to retain its main goals and focus, the unexpectedly rich data held intriguing details that could be further explored using a more finely tuned methodology, adapted to the new approach.

As a result, I developed a contextually enriched perspective on the findings, which relied, on the one hand, on the quantitative data presented in the previous chapter and, on the other, on a detailed analysis of the multiple contexts surrounding Swiss university students. This latter angle was examined, to some extent, in [Chapter 2](#). The aim of this chapter is to synthesize these various sources of information, so as to address the research questions of the study.

This shift of perspective was important for two reasons. First of all, studies in L2 motivation (cf. [2.2.3.1](#)) usually include considerable contextual information, and lately there have been advances in research methodology that offer ways to incorporate contextual variables into quantitative inquiry in addition to new qualitative approaches to language learning in context (cf. Dörnyei et al. 2015b). At the same time, traditional quantitative studies, which this research builds upon, place more emphasis on generalizable conclusions. This, in turn, implies the use of methodologies that control for contextual influences instead of making them the focal point of the research. Therefore, the present dissertation proposes a novel point of view that can lead to slightly different insights into the mechanics of L2 motivation. Moreover, as a result of its original design, its unexpected findings and the final, contextually enhanced, analysis, it illustrates the processes behind the theoretical and methodological changes that took place in L2 motivation research over the past few years.

Secondly, in addition to enhancing the scope of a quantitative survey project, the new approach also offered possible interpretations to certain findings that pointed beyond the information

yielded by the dataset. Situating the results of the study against the cultural and linguistic backdrop of the Geneva setting proved especially valuable in maximizing the relevance of some of the more unexpected findings, which seemed characteristic of the context under study. In summary, this process contributed greatly to the interpretation of the data on the one hand, while on the other it provided further insight into the particularities of the Geneva context. As a result, I found it to be better suited to explore university students' language attitudes in this linguistically and culturally diverse environment, which, as the data indicate, nonetheless boasts important values and social cohesion.

In addition to the social milieu, the analysis revealed that other contextual influences might also play a role in UNIGE students' attitudes and L2 motivation. In this dissertation, I argue that the multiple spheres with which participants interacted had considerable impact on their answers. One of these contexts, which I discuss in more detail below, is the economic one. The papers presented in [Chapter 2 \(2.4\)](#) testified to the importance of language skills in the Swiss labor market and identified language diversity as a key to profitability, both institutional and national. It can also be argued that such considerations can have significant influence on the life and decisions of university students, who are either in the process or on the verge of becoming young professionals.

Bringing together such points of view can create interesting connections between different research methodologies and fields. As I mentioned above, the present study can be considered as a link in the current shift toward more novel methods in L2 motivation research. At the same time, it also aims to help build a link between inquiries into language attitudes on the one hand and into economic aspects of language learning on the other by examining the potential role of the economic context in Swiss university students' motivational profile.

In the previous chapters, I outlined the theoretical background and the methodological framework of the study, illustrating this approach. [Chapter 4](#) provided a detailed account of the statistical analysis and its results, from a quantitative perspective. In the sections to follow, I further elaborate on these points, applying a strongly contextualized view to the research findings. Thus, this chapter also offers some answers, as indicated by the statistical results, to the original research questions stated in [Chapter 1](#).

First of all, before moving on to more complex issues, I summarize the main conclusions regarding the language data, which yielded a highly detailed image of participants' linguistic

background and showed interesting trends that can be relevant to their attitudes and motivation. In the second section, I address issues related to the strength and characteristics of UNIGE students' English-speaking selves as well as to the applicability of Dörnyei's (2005, 2009) L2 Motivational Self System. Subsequently, I discuss the complex system of attitudinal influences that emerged from the regression analysis and that formed a larger framework around the L2 selves, showing signs of contextual dynamics. As a result, the fourth section focuses on this contextuality, exploring its impact and its implications. Finally, I close this chapter by dedicating a section to one of the central spheres that were shown to influence study participants' attitudes to English, by revisiting the question whether Swiss university students' motivation to learn the language was driven by prospects of financial benefits or self-fulfillment.

5.2 Language diversity and plurilingualism: life in many languages

As I explained earlier ([3.3.1](#)), the original purpose of the demographic items included in the questionnaire was to gather background information about the participants and to provide the grouping variables for the comparative tests (presented in [4.4](#)). However, it quickly became apparent that the questions concerning students' language competence and daily practices yielded a wealth of data the diversity of which surpassed all expectations. Therefore, in the previous chapter, I analyzed these results in as much detail as the limitations of the present dissertation permit. That overview revealed interesting trends, which, complemented by the brief description of linguistic diversity the Geneva context in [Chapter 2](#), provided a rich background to the study and rendered its findings especially meaningful. This first section integrates these various points, highlighting the main elements of the language data and offering insights that might contribute to a deeper understanding of language learning in multilingual contexts.

As I concluded in [2.3](#), the region can be described as a highly multicultural but, at the same time, officially monolingual environment. According to experts (Akkari, Gajo, and de Pietro, 2017), 40% of school students speak a language other than French at home. On the other hand, although it is possible to get by using other languages, in many spheres of daily life, French is indispensable. In addition, the standard procedure of obtaining citizenship also involves testifying to one's skills in a Swiss official language. On the other hand, speakers of languages other than French represent a great proportion of Geneva society. The data shows that, in their

daily life, participants indeed negotiate different spaces through the use of different or, often, multiple languages. As I argue below, the scope and implications of this remarkable linguistic diversity and plurilingualism are indeed considerable and relevant to the questions of this research.

5.2.1 *First, second and sixth languages*

The online questionnaire, presented in [3.3](#), included a set of items specifically designed to elicit a detailed image of participants' linguistic background. The statistical analysis of the data thus gathered yielded a wealth of information on the languages students spoke and used, the most relevant elements of which I summarized in [4.3](#). Three main themes emerged from those figures, which I discuss in more detail below.

As I observed in the previous chapter outlining these details, only a small minority (6.4%) reported speaking a single language and the vast majority of study participants spoke at least two. Moreover, altogether, an impressive 36 different languages were marked in the category of L1s, or main languages. These results show, first of all, that the sample as a whole can be considered as highly multilingual. Secondly, and more importantly, they also indicate that the average participant can be described as multilingual, or, in many cases, plurilingual. In other words, this large-scale diversity was characteristic not only of the entire group surveyed but also of individual participants. Indeed, most participants spoke multiple languages, some as many as 6. This trend could also be observed in all subsamples and was not restricted to Swiss official languages and English. Participants' overall L1 portfolio included 32 *other* languages, demonstrating the extent of the linguistic diversity present at the University of Geneva. These conclusions highlight two of the central themes of this section, namely the collective multilingualism of the sample and the active plurilingualism of the individual participants, signs of which can be found throughout the language data.

Undoubtedly, there are significant social factors that might influence people's responses to these questions. The Geneva context, also described in Section [2.3](#), is an intriguing but undeniably complex one in terms of its linguistic features. Officially French-speaking, institutionally plurilingual, and highly multilingual and multicultural in terms of its population, this setting represents an interesting mixture of values when it comes to language learning and use. Indeed, Lüdi and Werlen's (2005) analysis, relying on census data that take only one option into account, showed higher rates of French L1 speakers than could be expected based on the

extent of multiculturalism in Geneva. However, their results partially mask the potential proportions of plurilingualism among residents. Thus, in order to mitigate the effect of social representations that might have an impact on plurilingual participants' choice of their *most important* language, the present research offered participants the possibility to add as many languages to any category as they wished. Nevertheless, I am convinced that even this method, which employed a list of four options (French, German, Italian and English) alongside a textbox for additional languages, did not entirely eliminate this influence. Therefore, in another questionnaire study of secondary school students on which I collaborated, we omitted this type of categorization entirely, asking respondents instead for a list of languages in order of importance to them, which was linked to a detailed item set exploring the use and background of each of their languages. That study revealed that, despite all precautions, students who frequently use a language other than French at home, still often mark French as their most important language. This is understandable, however it draws attention to the, not always subtle, ways the social context might affect such data.

The third observation that appeared central to the analysis that I presented in the previous chapter was related to this very influence. While, as I stated, the linguistic diversity present in the sample reached beyond Swiss official languages and English, the former were shown to play an important role. Moreover, the Swiss subsample reported a greater variety of mother tongues, especially when it came to Swiss official languages. This is not unexpected, in light of my description of the context in [Chapter 2](#), but it is nonetheless a strong reminder of the notable place of German and Italian in the Geneva milieu. These differences between the Swiss group and that of foreign students appeared to manifest in other areas of their linguistic background as well.

In addition to their L1s, *mother tongues* or *most important languages* (for more details see [3.3.2](#)), students were also asked what other languages they spoke. The statistical tests carried out on participants' answers regarding these additional or *foreign languages* (cf. [4.3.2](#)) revealed a level of diversity very similar to the one observed above in the case of mother tongues. Once more, it should not come as a surprise that a total of 34 different languages were listed in this category, but that does not diminish the scale of this variety. Furthermore, the vast majority (92%) of students reported skills in at least one L2, which made investigating language attitudes particularly worthwhile. Besides, as I will argue, these figures are especially important as they might be indicative of the success of Swiss language education.

As the studies reviewed in [Chapter 2 \(2.2.3.1\)](#) demonstrated, language education comprises a great proportion of public spending in Switzerland. That renders questions as to its efficiency especially relevant. Moreover, in that section, I concluded that learning *the other's language* has been important not only from an economic point of view but also as an aspect of Swiss national cohesion. Similarly to first languages, participants' L2 portfolio testified to the same trends identified above. While the sample showed considerable diversity and most students reported competence in several foreign languages, respondents who had completed their secondary education in Switzerland generally surpassed their foreign peers in this area as well. This indicates that the local context, and its language education policy and practices, might have an impact on UNIGE students' foreign language skills.

As I mentioned above, only a small portion of the sample marked no language in this category, while the great majority of participants spoke at least one foreign language and a remarkable 65.3% reported skills in two or more. Although not completely unexpected, these figures testify to the importance of the local context, which, on the one hand, fosters L2 skills thanks to educational policies and a multilingual environment and which, on the other hand, also sets certain requirements. Indeed, the results obtained through the analysis of the language data (Section [4.3](#)) indicate that the particular linguistic and educational setting in which the survey took place plays a central role in various aspects of participants' language skills and attitudes.

This influence is noticeable, for instance, in the number of L2 speakers of German (N= 154), the first foreign language to which students are introduced in French-speaking Swiss primary schools (for more details, see [2.3.3](#)). Similarly, a sizeable group (N= 59) of participants spoke Italian, another Swiss official language, as an L2. This effect can be further observed when comparing the foreign language skills of students who completed their secondary education in Switzerland with those who did so abroad. I concluded in the previous chapter ([4.3.6](#)) that both in terms of the number of L2 speakers and their proficiency levels, Swiss students consistently outperformed their foreign peers in all the four languages examined.

In summary, the details students' L2 portfolio seemed to confirm my earlier conclusions. They displayed considerable diversity in the linguistic makeup of the sample and revealed significant trends of individual plurilingualism. The latter was especially impressive since not only were skills in multiple languages a wide-spread phenomenon, students also often reported several languages in the same category. Furthermore, as I will show further in this section, different

languages were often used in similar situations, indicating that participants navigated their daily interactions with versatility, relying on the languages at their disposal.

As I pointed out earlier, these characteristics of the sample showed important links to the Geneva context. The differences between Swiss students and foreigners, in terms of their foreign language skills, might showcase the success of Swiss foreign language education. On the other hand, they also highlight the importance of taking participants' linguistic and educational background into account for a reliable analysis of the survey data. Indeed, the diversity discussed above might be considered as a feature of the Geneva setting, and thus it distinguishes the study from its predecessors and offers interesting contrasts and conclusions. While an in-depth discussion of the language data is beyond the scope and the focus of this dissertation, I revisit this contextual connection in Section 5.5, as it contributes to one of the central themes of the research. In the following sections, I address some other aspects of the language data, which provide further indications of this relationship and insights into its impact on participants' language skills and practices.

5.2.2 Language use in context(s)

In order to investigate participants' language use in different contexts, a set of items in the questionnaire (cf. 3.3.2) gathered data on four languages specifically as well as four environments, in which students can be argued to spend most of their time. Undoubtedly, further research into daily usage patterns of the multitude of languages spoken in Geneva, 32 of which were mentioned by students in the present study, could be greatly relevant and fruitful. My discussion of the results below focuses on French, German, Italian and English, as used by participants at home, at work, at the university or with their friends. Even this limited analysis revealed important trends of plurilingual language use and raised interesting questions as to the role of different languages in the Geneva context and in students' life.

Table 5.1 Language use in different contexts. Number of responses per language per category.

Language	At home	With friends	At University	At work
German	62	119	106	97
French	347	373	373	357
Italian	27	46	16	18
English	210	311	320	257

As an illustration of the aforementioned diversity, one of the key characteristics of the sample, the results showed that the majority of students use multiple languages at home, with varying frequency. Once more, while this analysis was restricted to the four languages included in the survey, other studies, reviewed in [2.3.2](#), confirmed that the phenomenon extended to a multitude of family or heritage languages (cf. Lüdi and Werlen, 2005, for instance).

At the same time, given the importance of French in the region, it is not surprising that the language often plays a significant role in family language practices. While the canton of Geneva has a highly multilingual profile (cf. [2.3](#)), French remains the main language of everyday life, both at the personal and at the institutional level. For instance, as stated previously ([2.3.1](#)), students enrolled at the University of Geneva are required to be able to complete courses in French and might need to provide proof of adequate skills in the language. In addition, many everyday dealings with local authorities and service providers necessitate a certain level of proficiency in French. As the numbers shown in the previous chapter ([4.3](#)) suggest, study participants' answers hinted at similar trends, and French was by far the most frequently used language in the university environment.

Moreover, participants reported that they also often spoke the language at home ($M = 4.52$ out of 5, corresponding to *every day*), even when it was used alongside additional mother tongues. This indicates that the great diversity of home language use observed in the study is also one in which French occupies a central position.

In addition to the prominence of French and the widespread of plurilingualism in Geneva society, the early introduction of foreign languages is another important feature of the local context ([2.3.3](#)). As I discussed in Chapter 2, the most important foreign languages taught in Geneva are German and English, with some schools also offering Italian and Spanish (and, in specific cases, Latin or Ancient Greek) as additional options. This apparent hierarchy of a few select languages used at school conveys an institutional and social stance that has been shown to affect speakers' perceptions of other languages. In a small-scale study of secondary school students in Geneva, Pimenta (2014) found that the perceived value of French, as well as English and German, had considerable impact on participants' views of their heritage languages, which they usually considered as inferior and often as useless. Similarly, a questionnaire survey of 151 students (aged 12-18) that Prof. Dr. Claire Forel (IUFÉ), Prof. Dr. Fabio Lorenzi-Cioldi (FPSE) and myself conducted with the active help of a class of final-year in-service teacher

trainees showed that most respondents sometimes hid the fact that they spoke a language other than French.

Conversations with friends constitute one of the contexts with the smallest ratio of single language use and thus can be regarded as highly multilingual sites of language practices. The study showed that while French was used by all but two participants, most respondents (79.4%) stated that they regularly negotiate the use of at least two languages in their interactions with their friends. In addition, the statistics showed that students proficient in several languages tended to use most of them actively when communicating in this context. These details indicate trends of plurilingual language use, both at the individual and the group level. It is important to note that foreign languages also played a role in these encounters, which underlines the importance of languages learned in a formal setting, in conjunction with languages of the home, when it comes to conversations among friends. On the other hand, these results showcase the relevance of such situations as opportunities for language contact and practice.

Again, one possible reason for this diversity might lie in the multilingual, multicultural, nature of the Geneva environment. Thanks to this background, university students might find it easy to meet and form friendships with peers with whom they can speak and practice their different languages. Interestingly, when compared to the low levels of direct contact in other situations, participants responded with an overall 3.79 (out of 5) to the question how often they speak English with foreign friends or foreigners they know, indicating that indeed they *often* do so. It is interesting to note that the results do not offer any details as to whether all these friendly conversations take place with foreigners. As Swiss residents also constitute a highly multilingual population, this characteristic of the Geneva context might have further implications for language education practices, which I will address in the next chapter. In short, the analysis suggests that international travel and exchange programs are not always needed in order to provide language learners with practice opportunities.

Besides communications with friends and family members, this item set also investigated the workplace as a linguistic context. Slightly over half of the respondents (51%) were engaged in a professional activity at the time of the study. Nevertheless, many more participants responded to the questions how often they used their different languages in the workplace, which implies that their answers were based either on past experience or on their perceptions of their future professional language needs. The results outlined in the previous chapter show that while French was unquestionably the language the most often used at work, English, German and

Italian were also used to some extent. In addition, similarly to conversations with friends, professional language use among participants also followed marked trends of plurilingualism.

Participants from the different faculties reported somewhat varying degrees of professional use of the four languages examined. The only exception was the case of French, which only a small portion of students did not speak at all at work. On the other hand, the majority of speakers (67.2-80.9%) benefited or thought they would put their English skills to use at work, regardless of the faculty they attended. Moreover, around half of speakers reported using German and around one third (31.8-41.7) spoke Italian at three of the faculties, the Faculty of Law (7.1%) being the exception.

These figures seem to parallel previous findings on corporate language needs and practices (Grin et al., 2009; Lüdi et al., 2009) and highlight the importance of employees' varied language portfolio in this highly multilingual space. Indeed, the great majority (69.3%) of participants in the study reported using several languages at work with some frequency. French (spoken by 357 students overall) and English (spoken by 257) are undeniably the most important components of such plurilingual practices. Nevertheless, in line with Grin et al.'s (2009) and Lüdi et al.'s (2009) findings, German and Italian, which had fewer speakers in the sample (205 and 63), were also used by a considerable number of them in the workplace, 97 and 18 students respectively.

The last context included in the study was that of the University of Geneva, which is likely the most interesting from the point of view of the present thesis. Participants were asked to rate the frequency with which they used their different languages at the university. This was also the environment in which the smallest number of students, a mere 13%, reported speaking a single language. Officially a monolingual institution (c.f. Finardi & Csillagh, 2016), the University of Geneva does offer a number of international programs. These programs, with English as the main language of education, represent only a small fraction of the courses on offer at the otherwise French-speaking university. Therefore, the extent of plurilingual practices as testified by participants both individually and as a group seems to surpass institutional guidelines. Moreover, it hints at the relevant role that a complex system of language practices, encompassing a number of languages beside French and English, can play in an educational setting.

This does not mean in any way that French and English are not frequently used at the four faculties surveyed. In line with institutional requirements, all but two respondents used French in the UNIGE setting. Similarly, reflecting the current global status of English as a means to access information both online and in other academic formats, only 23 of the participants who had some proficiency in English (n=343) declared not using it for their studies. As per students' answers, the two languages were also the most often used, on average *very often* in the case of French and between *sometimes* and *often* for English. When compared with other contexts, it is clear that respondents used English most often at the university and French only marginally more frequently among friends. Therefore, considering the results of the study, it can be concluded that both languages are important means of communication at the University of Geneva, their usage surpassing expectations based on institutional guidelines.

On the other hand, students' reports revealed that they also found German and Italian useful for their studies, as the two languages were used in the university context by 52% and 25% of speakers respectively. While their usage can be considered *rare* by speakers in general, students who declared speaking German at the University did so slightly more frequently in this context. These details suggest that, although French and English were the primary languages spoken in this environment, the other two Swiss official languages nonetheless noteworthy components of the plurilingual practices that make up language usage at the University of Geneva. In summary, not only did most students make use of their skills in multiple languages during their studies, all the four languages examined played a relevant role in this setup. Thus, the study found that language use at UNIGE was not only highly plurilingual, both in terms of individual and overall practices, but it also exceeded those outlined in the guidelines issued by the institution (cf. Commission politique des langues, 2012).

5.2.3 Swiss official languages

Based on the above, it is evident that French, the official local language, was a central element of participants' language portfolio and daily practices. In the previous sections I drew attention to its importance as the majority L1 ($N = 291$) and an important L2 ($N = 84$). In addition, I discussed the extent of its use in various situations and concluded that it was one of most frequently used languages in all the contexts examined. While these findings concerning the relevance of French were hardly surprising, I also pointed out that they were accompanied by a high degree of linguistic diversity in terms of both competence and usage. It is important to

note that in this diversity, which was a significant characteristic of the sample, the other Swiss official languages played an important part.

The presence of German and Italian was, indeed, notable in the dataset, as they were marked by sizable groups of L1 as well as L2 speakers. To summarize the figures mentioned in the previous chapter, both languages had the same number of mother tongue speakers ($N = 25$), which, nonetheless, did not reach one tenth of the number of French L1 speakers. On the other hand, skills in German as a foreign language were frequent among respondents ($N = 154$), many of whom also studied the language at the time of the survey ($N = 53$). Students reported, on average, an overall competence of B1, which corresponds exactly to the level required to pass school leaving exams. Furthermore, the most frequent combination of foreign languages was that of German and English ($N = 142$), further demonstrating the potential impact of Swiss education policy.

Italian, while arguably less popular as an L2, also had a noteworthy number of speakers. It was marked by 59 students as part of their portfolio, and 20 participants reported being in the process of learning the language. Italian was most frequently mentioned in combination with English as a foreign language ($N = 51$), but some students spoke it alongside German ($N = 20$). As I already observed in Chapter 4, speakers of Italian rated their overall level only a little lower than speakers of German did, at an average of 2.93 (B1), once more matching the requirements of secondary school final exams.

These findings, while they correspond to most expectations set by the standards of Swiss language education (cf. [2.3.3](#)), offer some interesting conclusions. On the one hand, they show that, despite the acclaimed importance of English as a European lingua franca (for examples see [2.1.1](#)), Swiss official languages were also spoken by a considerable number of foreign language speakers. As the present research aimed to investigate UNIGE students' attitudes to English, in light of its present status as a global language and one that is often argued to present more advantages as an L2 than French or German, these details are especially important. Therefore, the results can be taken as proof that many of the students surveyed displayed skills in German and Italian as foreign languages, often alongside English, and found them useful in a variety of daily situations. Although this information does not offer a definitive answer to the question whether EFL can replace official languages in the Swiss context, the study indicates that the issue is less straightforward than some, mainly non-scientific, sources claim (cf. Grin, 2014 for details).

On the other hand, the figures discussed above further illustrate that the present study stands as a showcase of Swiss plurilingualism, in which Swiss languages play an important role, both as mother tongues and as foreign languages learned at school. As I observed in [Chapter 2](#), some argue that *learning the other's language* is central to the concept of Swiss national cohesion. Moreover, papers cited in that chapter suggest that, in addition to these non-financial, social benefits, there are significant economic advantages to teaching and learning Swiss languages. I revisit the economic aspects of the language data, amongst other findings, in [Section 5.6](#). However, I would like to conclude this subsection by pointing out that, based on the data available, it seems that study participants, as a group, reported considerable skills in Swiss official languages and appeared to enjoy the benefits of these skills. Similarly, the comparisons between the Swiss subsample and that of foreigners further strengthened this view, as I discuss in more detail throughout this chapter.

5.2.4 The role of English in the sample

Since the original research questions of the study focused on UNIGE students' attitudes to English, obtaining sufficient background information on their English skills and usage patterns was essential. This goal, however, soon expanded to include other languages, as the above discussion shows. Indeed, it became apparent that learning and speaking English as a foreign language was inseparable from the highly multilingual context in which the study took place, and from participants' plurilingual profile and practices. As I observed above, an important number of respondents spoke English as a second language ($N = 311$), in addition to the 21 who listed it among their mother tongues. While these figures show that it was widely spoken, the language nonetheless played a slightly different role in the study than originally expected.

At first glance, the language data seemed to confirm the hypothesis according to which English was an important foreign language among Swiss university students. It was undoubtedly the most frequently reported L2, with 311 speakers. Moreover, most of the students who reported skills in a single foreign language spoke English ($N = 76$), which would perhaps suggest that proficiency in the language might negate the need to learn others. However, it is important to note that most of these respondents were already plurilingual ($N = 351$) and that English seemed to be more of a component, albeit an important one, of their portfolio. Indeed, the data on language use, which I discussed, in part, above, supports this view.

In all the four contexts analyzed, English was the second most frequently used language, only preceded by French. Students *often* ($M = 3.54$) used it for their studies and spoke it with friends more than *once a month* ($M = 3.18$). It was in similarly frequent use ($M = 2.94$) in the work environment, although somewhat less so as a language of the home ($M = 2.47$). These results indicate that English is a relevant means of communication and of accessing information in the larger Geneva context. On the other hand, in conjunction with the corresponding figures examined in the previous sub-section, it is evident that the four languages included in the study all contributed to students' overall communicative practices.

[Section 4.3.3](#) in [Chapter 4](#) displays the relative frequency with which the four languages were used in each context. That graphic shows that while French and English unquestionably accounted for the greater part of communicative practices in these situations, German and Italian were also used with varying regularity. Taking into account the fact that those figures are based on the average ratings of the entire sample, even the lower results for the latter two can be regarded as considerable. Thus, it can be concluded that the results showed a complex picture of participants' daily language use patterns, in which English played an important role but to which Swiss official languages also contributed significantly.

It is interesting to observe that, as most of the above situations represent the local spheres of life in which students move, the use of English in these environments can be characterized as globally influenced but essentially local. It is undoubtedly the global status of English that renders it useful for study and work purposes. Moreover, the language might easily serve as a communicational tool among friends of different mother tongues in such a multilingual environment as Geneva. The above mentioned results confirm that students found English useful in many situations, including conversations with friends.

Nonetheless, as I pointed out, it is important to note that these usage patterns coexist with plurilingual practices. Participants also used French, German and Italian, to varying extents, in all of the situations examined and most of them reported using several languages in the same context. This indicates that, for participants in the present study, the use of English and its possible role as a lingua franca did not negate the need to learn and use other languages, nor did English replace functioning plurilingual strategies. On the contrary, the language seems to complement the latter and contribute to students' plurilingual portfolio.

The findings discussed in this section also render the question of motivation especially interesting. L2 motivation research has long been investigating whether students' enthusiasm toward English stems from utilitarian needs or if it is related to more profound processes of identity creation. Research suggests (cf. [2.2.3.1](#)) that in reality the issue is more complex, and it is an especially interesting one to examine in plurilingual contexts, where the linguistic diversity can add to its complexity. As one of the focal issues of the study, this question will be addressed from various angles in the course of this chapter.

5.2.5 *Lessons from the language data*

In this section, I gave an overview of the central themes that students' answers to the language items revealed. I explored these themes with the aim of giving a general background to the more in-depth analysis of the survey results and, more importantly, of pinpointing the most important characteristics of the Geneva sample. As I mentioned above, the findings discussed were not completely unexpected or contradictory, given the context of the study. Nonetheless, they shed light on a number of trends that were striking or thought provoking, and which contributed greatly to my understanding of language learning motivation in plurilingual settings.

The first of these themes concerned precisely this plurilingualism. In the dataset, it took the form of individual plurilingualism expressed through the multiple languages in most students' portfolio and through participants' tendency to actively use these languages to navigate the spheres of their life, often benefiting of their skills in several languages in the same context. Moreover, the sample as a whole displayed great overall diversity as regards respondents' language background. It is this highly plurilingual background that, while not entirely surprising, significantly contributed to my analysis of students' scores on the attitudinal scales.

It is true that, thanks to the richness of the language data, more in-depth analysis of this background could provide further results to complement the overview presented in this dissertation. Unfortunately, such inquiries were beyond the scope of the present research, but could be explored in future projects. As I pointed out above, the aim of the linguistic analysis discussed here was to provide the necessary contextual details to the study and it yielded a wealth of information that exceeded all my expectations, both in its quality and its quantity.

The dataset thus obtained describes a very special context, the characteristics of which raise further questions. How does the linguistic diversity, individual as well as social, observed above affect students' L2 selves, language learning experience and language attitudes? Does the role that English plays in their profile and in the larger context have an impact on their self-image and motivation? It is clear that these questions indicate a strong link between contextual factors and language learning. In the case of the present study, the quest to find the answers led to a slightly novel perspective and a contextually enhanced view of language learning motivation. In the remainder of this chapter, I describe the development of this approach by taking an increasingly contextualized stance as regards participants' L2 selves and language attitudes.

5.3 English-speaking selves and learning attitudes: the L2 Motivational Self System in the Geneva context

In order to investigate participants' motivation to learn English, two aspects of their self-concept were included in the study. The ideal and the ought-to L2 self have become important tools in L2 motivation research over the past decade (cf. [2.2.3](#)), as they allow access to valuable information on the interplay of language learning motivation, learner dispositions and a variety of other factors. Moreover, studies (ibid.) have shown that a focus on learners' self-concept, as a measure of their assimilation of certain values and identification with different ideals, provides more insight into their motivation and attitudes than traditional approaches based on integrative tendencies. I argue below that this is partly because, as the findings of the Geneva study, the selves amalgamate internal and external motives in a highly organic way, and thus can constitute a powerful drive for language learning.

Dörnyei (e.g. 2005, 2009b) describes language learning as a process of self-adaptation, through which learners' self-concept might undergo adjustments or take on new facets. These new components, the L2 selves, comprise the core of the L2 Motivational Self System (ibid.). I stated in Section [1.1.1](#) that one of the goals of the present research was to examine the applicability of the Self System to the multilingual Geneva context. Below, I address this question through discussing the mechanics of participants' L2 Selves as well as their attitudes to learning English, the third element of the model.

5.3.1 UNIGE students' English-speaking selves

Aiming to test the Self System in the multilingual context of the study, one of the focal points of the research was to map the interrelationships between the L2 selves and other, attitudinal as well as contextual, factors. As for the selves, their relevance, motivational power and relationships to other factors have been thoroughly tested in a variety of projects ([2.2.3.1](#)). However, most of that research took place in monolingual environments, which, as I have argued repeatedly, might differ considerably from the Geneva context. Furthermore, these studies tended to investigate younger learners, mostly pupils at secondary schools. Therefore, in addition to the potential impact of the multilingual context, it was especially interesting to address the question whether university students, who represent a more mature point of view, also testify to a more fully developed self-concept (Csizér and Kormos, 2009).

First of all, however, I would like to address the relationship of the two self-guides. The study showed that the two aspects of participants' English-related self were strongly connected and that their impact was also mutual. Indeed, the full sample showed that the ought-to L2 self was almost as much influenced by the ideal L2 self ($\beta = .20, p = .000$) as the other way around ($\beta = .22, p = .000$). Examining the two subgroups, formed on the basis of students' secondary education, separately revealed strikingly different trends. In the case of participants who had completed their schooling in Switzerland, the direction was reversed albeit not markedly, as the ought-to L2 self had a greater influence ($\beta = .26, p = .000$) on the ideal L2 self than the latter did on the social self-guide ($\beta = .20, p < .01$). Foreigners' results, however, showed no direct link.

This suggests that, in addition to internalization, which helps explain the influence of participants' socially constructed ought-to L2 self on their ideal self-vision, other processes might impact the selves as well. One possible interpretation for this effect is that the two self-guides represent different facets of Swiss learners' self-concept. As a result, they are not separate concepts but rather points on a scale, on which the focus of learners' self-concept can fluctuate constantly (cf. Henry, 2014).

Thus, it can be argued that Swiss participants' ideal and ought-to L2 selves form a continuum, instead of a dichotomy, and that their English-related self incorporates elements of each, with more focus on one or the other at different times. By contrast, foreign students' L2 selves might have been more distinct at the time of the study, and, as the final model shows, indirectly linked.

These findings suggest that the composition and interactions of the L2 self-guides might be contextually influenced, as they seemed to be dependent on the place of participants' secondary studies. While this confirms my original hypothesis that the L2 selves might perform differently in the Geneva context, the extent and features of this difference, explored in more detail in Section [5.5](#) below, is one area that merits further investigation in future research projects.

The second issue regarding the L2 selves that I would like to discuss is their role as individual factors in the Geneva data. This analysis might be helpful in understanding the connections between the self-guides and other variables but also their relationship to one another. The results revealed interesting trends in this regard, which provide some insight into the mechanics of L2 motivation, foreign language selves and contextual influences.

It is not surprising, in light of the body of literature mentioned in [Chapter 2](#), that the ideal L2 self scored highest among all the attitudinal scales in the study ($M = 4.41$). It also contained the items with the most significant mean score, showing that participants in general consider English language skills as an important element of their envisioned future self. On the whole, these results showcase a powerful and clearly defined English-related ideal self, which, according to Dörnyei (2009), can be a strong driving force behind motivated learning behavior.

However, the study showed that this influence is not always a direct one and that a strong ideal L2 self does not necessarily lead to equally strong language learning motivation. Indeed, the figures cited in the previous chapter proved that neither of the self-guides played a strikingly powerful role as a standalone predictor of motivated learning behavior. Instead, the selves were strongly embedded in the final model of participants' language attitudes, indicating that their influence is a more subtle, but also more complex, one. Interestingly, contrary to expectations and earlier research findings in other contexts (cf. [2.2.3.1](#)), the ideal L2 self did not emerge as a more central construct than the ought-to L2 self. As I will explore in more detail below, the two self-guides merely played different roles in students' motivational profile.

In previous studies, the ideal L2 self proved to be a strong predictor of L2 motivation and the variable with the greatest explanatory power when it came to learners' decision to engage in learning a foreign language and maintain their efforts. However, in the case of Geneva university students, the ideal self-guide was not the only contributor to their motivation, nor was it the most significant one. Moreover, its role varied across the different subsamples.

Regression figures for the entire sample indicated that the ought-to L2 self ($\beta = .19$ $p = .000$) even slightly outperformed the ideal L2 self ($\beta = .13$, $p < .01$) as a motivator. In the subgroup of Swiss students, this difference was less marked, although the tests showed it to be significant. The fact that the two self-guides were close in effect might be explained by the process of internalization (2.2.1), which, for many participants, might not have been fully complete at the time of the survey. Kormos and Csizér (2008) show that the Hungarian university students in their study had more elaborate and more motivating ideal L2 selves than younger learners, which, they argue, can be interpreted as a sign of more fully internalized motives. Geneva students' more complex motivational profile indicates that some of their motives, such as their positive attitudes toward native speakers, might not have yet entirely become part of their self-concept. On the other hand, this might also imply that they do not necessarily view learning English, a foreign language taught at most primary schools, as a personal goal.

When considered as a predictor of other background factors in the model, the ideal L2 self was shown to have mutual relationships with a few of its contributors. As regards the full sample, the strength of the self-guide had a positive effect on participants' amount of direct contact with English ($\beta = .17$, $p < .01$), as well as their sense of world citizenship ($\beta = .13$, $p < .01$). Examined separately, the two subsamples displayed even less of this influence. Swiss students' English-speaking future self only affected their participation in various forms of contact ($\beta = .22$, $p < .01$), while analyzing the data provided by participants who had obtained their secondary certificates outside Switzerland did not reveal any such link at all. As most of these connections proved to be reciprocal, generally marking the ideal L2 self as the weaker predictor, it can be argued that the role of the self-guide as a contributor was more of a sign of those opposite effects.

Nevertheless, I included these figures in the final analysis because I believe they shed light on the cyclical nature of motivational dynamics and support my hypothesis that self-creation, L2 motivation and language attitudes are all parts of a system, which can shift dynamically throughout the language learning process and in the course of individuals' life in general. The emergence of this system being one of the main aims and conclusions of the study, I elaborate on this point further in the next section. It is important to note, however, that, through their extensive connections, the L2 selves appeared strongly embedded in this network of attitudinal factors, both as contributors and as dependent variables.

Indeed, as the final model (4.7.1) revealed, overall, the ideal L2 self was jointly influenced ($R^2 = .26$) by the ought-to L2 self ($\beta = .22, p = .000$) and, to a slightly lesser extent, by participants' scores on the scales of direct contact ($\beta = .19, p = .000$), world citizenship ($\beta = .18, p < .01$) as well as the perceived importance of direct contact ($\beta = .12, p < .05$). As before, foreigners reported ideal L2 selves that had much fewer connections and were thus part of a model with significantly lower structural complexity. Accordingly, foreign students' ideal English-speaking self was determined by their orientation toward the community of world citizens ($\beta = .38, p = .000$) and their attitudes to learning English ($\beta = .27, p < .01$). By contrast, their Swiss peers seemed to have more elaborate ideal L2 selves, which were even more strongly influenced by their social self-image ($\beta = .26, p = .000$) than the average score. In addition to the ought-to L2 self, direct contact with the language ($\beta = .25, p = .000$) and international posture ($\beta = .13, p < .05$) also proved to be important predictors of Swiss participants' ideal L2 self. Ethnocentric attitudes, on the other hand, had a slight negative impact on the self-guide ($\beta = -.14, p < .05$).

This summary of the results, also presented in more detail in the previous chapter, illustrates one of the most important aspects of study participants' ideal L2 self. The figures showcase the influence of language practice opportunities and the weight of respondents' attitudes to these. This is not surprising if one considers how this vision is created and reinforced through positive experiences related to language encounters. In the next subsection, I argue that positive learning experiences are crucial in building motivating L2 selves and attitudes, and positive practice experiences outside the classroom appear to be no less important. As Ryan (2015) observes, it is through these instances that L2 users get to experience, form and develop their L2 specific self-concepts, and their successes can strengthen their vision of their foreign language self.

In addition, based on these figures, it appears that both global and local values greatly contributed to university students' ideal self-concept, which points at the relevance of bicultural identity (see 2.1.3) in the Geneva context. The notion offers an approach to L2 learners' identity in globalized contexts, where they often balance membership of the global as well as their local community (e.g. Lamb, 2004, 2009), as participants in the Geneva study do. An important element of this identification is that the two sets of values are not in opposition but complement each other to help modern language users form a unique and versatile self-concept that allows them to feel at ease in both contexts, with which they also tend to interact regularly.

These conclusions are especially pertinent when one considers the variables that acted as predictors of the ought-to L2 self. The overall model (4.7.1) shows that altogether five factors determined 34% of the variance ($R^2 = .34$), namely world citizenship ($\beta = .22, p = .000$), the ideal L2 self ($\beta = .20, p = .000$), attitudes toward traditional target groups ($\beta = .16, p < .05$), direct contact ($\beta = .15, p < .05$) and international posture ($\beta = .13, p < .05$). Once again, the influence of the global village is clear, however, the fact that it is the strongest predictor of the ought-to L2 self, an essentially localized aspect of the self, merits further discussion. This suggests that UNIGE students' immediate social milieu can be considered as an important conduit of globalized values, also showcased by the influence of international openness, and that these become an integral part of their self-concept as members of their social circles. Furthermore, this indicates that their bicultural identity might be an accepted, perhaps even promoted, aspect of their local reality.

This reality apparently also maintains strongly positive ties to traditional native speaker target groups, and the results can be argued to confirm my earlier hypothesis concerning the role of Swiss English teachers in promoting favorable attitudes toward these communities (2.3.5). In addition, both the ideal L2 self and the ought-to L2 self were closely linked to actual language use, underlining the importance of these opportunities in the creation of powerful L2-related self-concepts. On the whole, these findings outline an approach to language teaching and learning that can help build and foster motivating self-visions by focusing on both native and non-native speaker communities and by providing learners with meaningful contact opportunities. It is especially interesting that even a little language contact, which, in the case of UNIGE students, was an occurrence of middling frequency ($M = 2.89$), can go a long way in terms of its impact on the self.

Finally, in-class programs like the one described in Magid (2015) help learners construct a vivid, practical L2 self, which boosts their engagement and motivation. As I will argue in the last chapter, building a strong foreign language self also results in a more useful language learning experience, as it makes the transition from learner to speaker an easier, more seamless one. In addition, since the selves, as a subsystem, can enhance learners' motivation not only directly but also through other attitudinal variables, teaching practices that aim to foster such positive attitudes may further benefit from addressing them from a self-based perspective.

At the same time, it is important to note that the second self-guide, the ought-to L2 self, played a different role in the study. Although its overall mean value was lower at 3.60, and therefore

it might represent a weaker image in participants' self-concept, its importance in shaping the average participant's motivation to study English ($\beta = .19, p = .000$) was, surprisingly, greater than that of the ideal L2 self ($\beta = .13, p < .01$). Moreover, as far as the entire, complex model of attitudinal influences is considered, the analysis of the ought-to L2 self uncovered interesting trends.

First of all, while an important motivator, the ought-to L2 self had a considerably weaker impact as a predictor of the other attitudinal scales in the full model. It was shown to have an influence on direct contact, in both the complete sample ($\beta = .15, p < .01$) and the two subsamples examined, its effect being comparable throughout but slightly more marked in the case of foreign students ($\beta = .18, p < .01$ as opposed to $\beta = .13, p < .01$). While the frequency of direct contact was the only factor linked to the ought-to L2 self this way in the two subgroups, when the entire sample was examined, the self-guide had further influence on participants' international posture ($\beta = .17, p < .01$) and world citizenship ($\beta = .20, p < .01$), and to a lesser extent on their views of native speakers ($\beta = .13, p < .01$). These variables being more relevant as predictors of the self-guide, the study thus showed that they functioned more like building blocks than as the outcome of a strong socially constructed English-speaking self.

I discussed the relevance of these connections above, yet this difference lends special emphasis to two of my earlier arguments. First of all, it is clear that the ought-to L2 self seems less strongly embedded in the final model of participants' motivational profile, especially in the case of foreign students (cf. [4.7.3](#)). This might mean that, while its motivational power slightly surpassed that of the ideal L2 self in two models out of the three, it was nonetheless less elaborate and well-anchored than the ideal self-guide.

This is particularly interesting, since, when considered as an individual contributor, the impact of the ought-to L2 self was one of the greatest across variables and subsamples. Indeed, both the correlation coefficients presented in Section [4.5.3](#) and the simple regression tests conducted prior to the final analysis indicated that the ought-to L2 self would emerge as a key motivational factor with unparalleled importance and a wide influence. This aspect of the research showcases, on the one hand, the inconclusive nature of correlational analysis, but it also gives rise to further questions regarding the role of the ought-to L2 self, which would be highly intriguing to address through future projects.

Secondly, as I also observed before, global aspects of learning and using English were a major component of this locally defined self. The variables that loaded into the ought-to L2 self covered various elements of this global presence, suggesting that these might be part of the values represented in participants' local milieu. At the same time, as the study took place in a multilingual setting and one third of respondents can be considered as foreigners, it is not unlikely that this diversity that characterized not only the sample but also the local population (cf. Lüdi & Werlen, 2005) also had an impact on the findings.

Surprisingly, in terms of learning attitudes, the self-guides were not linked to the variable directly in the overall model or in the one calculated for Swiss students. I argued earlier that the ideal L2 self is a facet of one's English-speaking self-image that can form, adapt and develop through language encounters. The research results explored here corroborated this theory and, thus, participants' positive learning experience, expressed through their learning attitudes, could be expected to show a connection to the self-guide. However, this link only manifested in the case of foreigners' ideal L2 self ($\beta = .25, p < .01$), which proved to be the second strongest predictor of learning attitudes.

On the one hand, these findings are unexpected because they show that, in the sample of UNIGE students surveyed, the three pillars of the L2 Motivational Self System were not always as strongly connected as the model (Dörnyei, 2005, 2009) suggests. On the other hand, the lack of a notable, consistent, relationship is indicative of a trend that I discuss in more detail in the next section. It appears that, in the Geneva sample, these relationships are less straightforward and that participants' vision of their future English-speaking self is part of a more complex system of motives and attitudes that act in conjunction to help form their perceptions of the learning process. In particular, as I argue there, the distinction between formal language learning and language use in contact situations outside of instructional settings might, at least in part, account for this discrepancy.

However, these were not the only results that seemed particular to the Geneva context. The ought-to L2 self and its motivational impact in the overall model ($\beta = .19, p = .000$) as well as in Swiss students' profile ($\beta = .20, p < .01$) were surprisingly prominent in light of former research findings. Indeed, while Csizér and Kormos (2009) concluded that Hungarian university students' ought-to L2 self played only a marginal role in their motivation to study English, Swiss participants in the Geneva study reported much more important social self-guides, the direct influence of which was only surpassed by learning attitudes. This seems

perhaps surprising at first glance but gains more meaning when the context of the study is taken into account. Indeed, as I observed before, such a contextually enhanced approach proved to be invaluable in the case of the present research.

First of all, the ought-to L2 self, by definition, reflects how language learners and speakers perceive the requirements and expectations of their immediate social environment. University students, on the verge of leaving the education system and joining the labor market and the active population, are naturally concerned with such requirements, which might be reflected in their ought-to L2 self. Moreover, their current university surroundings provide them with ample reminders, both overtly and in more subtle ways, of what skills they are expected to possess in order to meet the challenges they face daily. During their studies, they are presented with role models in the form of teachers and experts in their fields, whose comments but also characteristics and behavior might help shape students' self-concept. In addition to these personal impressions, students are also faced with more institutionalized values, conveyed through the constant presence of exam and course criteria as well as other official guidelines (cf. Commission politique des langues, 2012). It is true that these influences can remain largely external to how students conceptualize their own selves, which might translate into an ought-to L2 self that is weaker than the individual's ideal self-image. However, the unexpectedly significant direct link between Swiss participants' ought-to L2 self and their motivation to learn English might be indicative of the driving force that the requirements and values of their university surroundings represent.

On the other hand, in addition to these indirect messages on the requirements of professional life, many students also have the opportunity to form their own, first-hand, perceptions and experience. Indeed, the majority of participants (51.1% cf. [3.7.6](#)) were already engaged in some form of professional activity at the time of the study. Undoubtedly, this experience can be considered as an important aspect of students' life, one that is bound to influence their views on language learning. Their perceptions of what is or will be expected of them as professionals can play a significant role in contributing to their self-concept, perhaps even determining what language skills become relevant to it. The concept of the ought-to L2 self incorporates these influences and its position as a motivational factor in the study suggests that, while it might still be in development, it provides a valuable link between certain contextual elements and Swiss students' motivated learning behavior.

Last but not least, these findings can also be linked to the potential impact of local foreign language policy. While at most Geneva schools, pupils are introduced to English as the second foreign language a few years after German, many of them seem to consider the former to be more useful, a sentiment shared by their teachers (cf. Waltermann and Csillagh, 2016). The fact that, in the present study, English L2 speakers reported more frequent use of their language skills than speakers of German as a foreign language did in all areas fails to disprove their claims. Therefore, despite being preceded by German as the *first* foreign language in Geneva schools, teaching English is an important goal of the local curriculum. Among the results discussed here, the relevance of English to study participants' language portfolio showcases this. The motivational power of Swiss students' ought-to L2 self seems to reflect these trends, indicating that, whereas other languages might be more relevant than English to their everyday life, these participants were nonetheless influenced by the values with which the language is associated in their immediate social context.

Therefore, I will argue that the prominence of the ought-to L2 self in the study appears to be contextual. In their paper mentioned earlier, Kormos and Csizér (2008) observed that Hungarian university students tended to internalize external influences by incorporating them into their ideal L2 self, which decreased the strength and impact of their ought-to L2 self. The above results, however, indicate that such processes do not appear to be universal, as students at the University of Geneva reported an ought-to L2 self that was decidedly weaker but also significantly more influential than their ideal self-image. Both of these details are interesting, because they showcase an externally influenced self that is not completely internalized, nor very elaborate, yet can take a central place in participants' motivational profile. This self, which builds closely on speakers' perceptions of the preferences and expectations of their social environment, also reflects the impact of contextual features on language leaning.

As I pointed out at the beginning of this section, among other goals, the study aimed to assess the relevance of the L2 Motivational Self System in a multicultural, multilingual, environment where regular contact with a number of languages is part of daily life and where the world wide hegemony of English is often contested both by established patterns of linguistic practices and by cantonal and federal language policy. I hypothesized that the former would result in a linguistically highly diverse sample, sensitized to the notion of plurilingualism as an alternative to a monolingual lifestyle or an English-only foreign language agenda. This would also imply the development of a self-concept that accommodates references to their plurilingual portfolio

and that reflects the linguistic diversity of the local context. The role of English, as a foreign language, in this self-concept can be a complex one, as shown in the present dissertation.

The present study showed that UNIGE students' L2 selves reflect several aspects of this reality. While these trends were general, as an interesting finding, they tended to emerge particularly strong in the case of Swiss students. In summary, participants' ideal L2 self can be regarded as generally more well-defined, especially when it comes to the relevance of English to their future professional goals. On the other hand, the results relative to the ought-to L2 self revealed interesting contrasts. Although this self-guide proved to be more elusive and weaker on average, its motivational power was more significant and its relationships to the other factors more marked. Many of these aspects seemed to be unique to the Geneva sample, indicating that the context of the study might have played an important role. This is one of the reasons why investigating the third pillar of the L2 Motivational Self System, participants' learning experience, was especially interesting.

5.3.2 Participants' experience as learners of English and its power to shape their future attitudes

The L2 learning experience, which complements the ideal and ought-to L2 selves as the third component of Dörnyei's (2005, 2009) Self System, was measured in the study through respondents' attitudes to the learning process. Based on past research reviewed in [Chapter 2](#), it is not surprising that learning attitudes emerged as the primary predictor of motivated learning behavior in the final model (model $R^2 = .37$, $\beta = .51$, $p = .000$). Undoubtedly, foreign language learning is often a time and energy consuming process that requires renewed motivation. Research shows that motivation, in turn, can be highly dependent on the learning experience. These processes carry important pedagogical and educational implications, in addition to lending the variable special importance from a theoretical as well as from a practical point of view.

To summarize the results of the regression tests (see also [4.6.2](#)), three variables loaded into study participants' attitudes to learning English, namely, their views on native speaker target groups ($\beta = .44$, $p = .000$), the frequency of direct contact that they had with the language ($\beta = .16$, $p < .01$) and their general willingness to use English ($\beta = .15$, $p < .01$). It bears noting that WTC and respondents' orientation toward native speakers were also relevant to Swiss students and foreigners alike. The overall figures show that participants' views on native

speakers were far more powerful in predicting learning attitudes than the other two factors. Thus, it appears that students' past experience learning English was greatly characterized by various types of real or envisioned encounters with the language, but also with its speakers in England and the United States. Again, these conclusions are indicative of the role of communicative goals in language learning. I argued above that such contact opportunities provide language learners and speakers with valuable instances of first-hand language practice, therefore enhancing their sense of self and leading to stronger, more elaborate L2 speaking selves. At the same time, this type of contact also increased participants' appreciation of the learning process in its more formal context. These findings draw attention to the link between language learning and communication, a relationship that I examine in more detail in the next section.

Interestingly, both the Swiss and the foreign model, as well as the overall structure representing the entire sample, showed a few marked similarities as regards the composition and motivational impact of students' learning attitudes. These significant details suggest that some elements of the learning experience described by the dataset might not be specific to the Geneva context but might reveal more universal trends. As I concluded above, these trends highlight the indirect, but nonetheless considerable, motivating influence of cultural interest and language contact experiences. On the one hand, the relationships shown in the final model confirmed that a motivating classroom atmosphere can have a great impact on learners' attitudes to language learning and, in the long term, on the outcome of the learning process. On the other, they indicate that communicative goals, practice opportunities and a positive attitude to native speakers are an integral part of such an experience.

This is not a novel observation in L2 motivation research, which puts great emphasis on the practical aspects of building a motivating learning experience. In the previous subsection (also see Dörnyei, 2009 chapter; Ryan, 2015), I mentioned the role of first-hand language use experiences as opportunities for the development of strong and elaborate learner and speaker selves. This process of solidifying the *vision* (Ryan, 2015) is a key element of the concept of the ideal L2 self. Therefore, it is not surprising that study participants considered these aspects of L2 use as relevant to their learning experience.

From a theoretical perspective, learning attitudes are especially interesting because they can form a bridge between the past and the future. They develop on the basis of L2 speakers' past experience, but, as the most significant motivational factor, they also determine the future

outcome of the learning process. Based on the literature reviewed in [Chapter 2](#), the findings of the Geneva survey are far from unexpected, as they confirm the motivational weight of the learning experience identified in earlier studies (cf. [2.2.3.1](#)). Nevertheless, the statistical relationship between language learning motivation and the impressions left by past learning is central to our understanding of L2 learning. It reflects the importance of the journey that learners travel through while developing their language skills and, considering the contributors of this experience in the present study, it indicates that all contact situations can leave a mark on their future enthusiasm. Once more, the significance of positive, motivating, experiences that boost learners' readiness to invest in the learning process emerges as one of the key conclusions of the study.

While these results testify to one of the main tenets of dynamic theories of L2 motivation (reviewed in [2.2.4](#)), they also point beyond the bounds of such models. The conclusions I proposed above show that language learning motivation can be considered as a dynamic state that is built over time and can be influenced by a wide variety of events. Thus, a central argument of this dissertation is that language learning involves individuals, who engage in an array of interactions and undergo considerable changes over time. Inseparable from L2 speakers' reality as individuals, these interactions, be it with native speakers, family members, teachers or peers, in English or in any other language, even if seemingly unrelated to language learning, all contribute to their self-concept, their views on the learning process as well as their motivation.

As a result, elements of the language learning experience can have a significant impact on learners' attitudes and motivation. Some authors (e.g. Moore and Gajo, 2009) argue that the values transmitted through teaching can be as important as the actual language skills developed. Waltermann (2016) analyzed Geneva language teachers' perceptions of German and English. Her study showed that the two foreign languages were associated with remarkably different characteristics and values. These findings found an echo in language learners' accounts of their and their peers' attitudes to the two languages in the interviews that we conducted (and discuss in Csillagh and Waltermann, to be published) so as to further investigate the issue. As I concluded earlier, such values and representations can be expected to have an impact on learners' ought-to L2 self. Moreover, they undoubtedly form a part of the language learning experience and thus emphasize the role of the learning environment, but also the larger social context, in shaping learner attitudes.

In light of the above, it is intriguing to observe that students' attitudes to learning English showed little connection to the self-guides. Indeed, in the final model calculated for the entire sample, the two subsystems, formed by the L2 selves on the one hand and learning attitudes and WTC on the other, were not directly linked, suggesting that these combinations of factors constitute separate motivational influences. This also entails that participants' English-speaking self-concept was mostly independent of their attitudes to learning the language, which was highly unexpected. The only exception to this phenomenon was found in the case of foreign students, whose learning attitudes were strengthened by their ideal L2 self ($\beta = .25, p < .01$).

This is an interesting finding as not only does it suggest that, as a component of the Self System, the learning experience was not directly connected to the other two central elements. It further means that the selves, while linked to practical aspects of language use, were not related to students' views on the learning process. Whereas, at the same time, the self-guides themselves displayed significant motivational impact, which I discussed in the previous subsection. Overall, these results indicate that, in general, study participants' L2 selves were forged separately from their experience as learners of English. Therefore, it can be concluded that classroom practices and informal sources of language-related experiences were both important motivational factors in the Geneva study.

In summary, the L2 self-guides and the language learning experience played significant roles in the study. These roles, however, were somewhat unexpected. While the motivational power of the three components of the L2 Motivational Self System varied throughout the different models, in some cases their influence was even stronger than anticipated. On the other hand, participants' L2 selves and learning attitudes were shown to represent two distinct subsystems in the final model, indicating that their impact, although considerable, was generally not related. Nevertheless, these findings underline the significance of communicative and cultural aspects of language learning, which were important contributors to these three central factors. These were the first of many indicators that led me to the conclusion that contextual elements could be key to understanding Swiss university students' motivation.

5.4 Selves in a complex system: the final model of participants' L2 motivation

In the previous section, I addressed the implications of the strong mutual relationship between the ideal and ought-to L2 self. Based on the survey results, I also concluded that the two self-guides did not appear to function as completely separate entities but rather as facets of participants' self-concept, the focus of which continually fluctuates on the continuum between the two aspects. Moreover, the subsystem thus formed by the selves acted as a powerful unit within the final regression model. Its influence was most remarkable on respondents' motivation to learn English, but it also affected a number of other variables.

In addition, I observed that, individually, the ought-to L2 self was among the predictors of all the secondary factors, while the ideal L2 self loaded into direct contact and identification with the global community. Therefore, as a system, the selves were strongly embedded in the structure of the model and can be considered as essential to participants' motivational profile. This central position, closely interrelated with many of the other attitudinal factors, suggests that language learners' L2 related self-concept is an important component to take into account throughout the learning process.

In [Chapter 4](#), I presented the composite model for all participants, which revealed two important sub-systems. Beside the one formed by the selves, another one was composed of learning attitudes and WTC. Moreover, the model brought to light a number of relevant connections, which linked these variables to further attitudinal influences. In order to discuss the broader structure of the model, in which, undoubtedly, the selves played a key role, I revisit these additional relationships below.

First of all, it is interesting to note that these subsystems also reveal some generalities of the inner mechanics of UNIGE students' motivational profile. Through their many ties, they testify to the influence that the smallest change involving one of the components can exert over the whole of the system. Thus, it can be argued that, beside their theoretical weight, the selves also hold the key to more practical aspects of L2 motivation, since the model showed that a little increase in their strength or their vitality might generate considerable shifts in learning attitudes and motivated learning behavior.

Indeed, as I stated before, Geneva students' ideal and ought-to L2 selves were embedded in a larger framework of variables, which, at the same time, reflects the integration of the selves into the broader setting of the many spheres with which language speakers interact daily. Therefore, the position of the self-guides in the final model sheds further light on the question of contextuality, one of the central issues investigated in this dissertation. I explored the potential of contextual influences as regards the composition and impact of the ideal and the ought-to L2 self above. I concluded that, in the Geneva study, the L2 Motivational Self System did not explain fluctuations in participants' L2 motivation completely as a standalone model and argued that it might provide more valuable insight when interpreted in the larger framework of a multitude of attitudinal factors.

In this section, I discuss the relationships that contributed to this larger network of variables, presented in this dissertation through the different composite models. These structures, shown in [Figure 4.37](#) through [Figure 4.43](#), are based on the results of the multiple linear regression analysis of the eleven attitudinal variables ([3.8.2](#)). While above I often compared the subsamples of Swiss and foreign students, most of this section focuses on the complete regression model, which included all the participants in the sample, where applicable. One reason for this was to remain as closely representative of the target population as possible. In addition, since the main goal of the regression analysis was to provide a concise summary of all the motivational mechanisms at work in the dataset, this method allows the conclusions to be generalizable for the entire sample. At the same time, it is important to note that certain demographic variables can have considerable impact on the motives and attitudes. I address the importance of these differences in the following section.

The complete model, when interpreted as a snapshot of participants' attitudes and motivation to learn English at the time of data collection, offers a wealth of observations and also raises a number of important questions. In short, the statistical analysis presented in [Section 4.6](#) revealed two main trends. On the one hand, it showed that the independent variables (independent as regards their theoretical link to motivation) represented several different *layers* of influence and could thus be grouped by the strength or the directness of their impact on motivation to learn English. Above, I focused on the three components of the L2 Motivational Self System, which were, in most cases, among the direct predictors of motivated learning behavior. On the other hand, the larger group of attitudinal factors included in the model also displayed close interrelationships, often bidirectional, which I examine in more detail below,

drawing attention to their motivational relevance and attempting to decipher their role in the broader context of learning and using a global language in Geneva.

5.4.1 Motivation as a criterion measure

The layered arrangement of the final model is an elaborate visual demonstration of study participants' overall motivational profile that displays the central tendencies in the dataset. As a result, it holds the keys to a clearer understanding of students' motivation and attitudes toward English. Different attitudinal variables take their place in the structure according to the nature and strength of their impact on students' motivation to learn English. The latter, as the dependent variable and the outcome of these dynamics, is situated at the top of the metaphorical pyramid and on the right side of the figures shown here. Thus, the second level of influences in the model is represented by the four variables that contribute directly to participants' motivated learning behavior. Their combined influence accounted for 37% of the variance in the data ($R^2 = .37$). As discussed earlier, the self-guides were among these, the other two being learning attitudes and willingness to communicate in English.

The motivational power of the selves, on which I expanded above ([5.3.1](#)), is undoubtedly one of the most important features of the final model. Instead of reiterating the implications of their direct impact here, I would like to briefly draw attention to their role as *mediators* in the model. As direct motivators affected by further factors, the ought-to and the ideal L2 self incorporate elements of the secondary variables and thus convey their indirect influence. Therefore, the ideal and the ought-to L2 self are not only important as predictors of motivated learning behavior but they also act as the main channel through which contextual factors might impact language learning motivation.

As I pointed out above, in addition to the self-guides, learning attitudes and willingness to communicate in English were also among the immediate predictors of motivated learning behavior. While I wrote at length about the importance of the learning experience, as measured through participants' attitudes to learning English, in the previous section, I have yet to address the curious link between their motivation to learn the language and their readiness to speak it. The results showed that how willing participants were to use English in different situations directly affected their motivation. However, more interestingly, this relationship was a negative one ($\beta = -.14, p < .01$), indicating that the more driven speakers were to communicate in English the less motivated they were to engage in learning it. This offered interesting insights,

which also echoed my earlier conclusions regarding the relationship of communicative and more formal aspects of language learning in the model.

In fact, this detail suggests that participants did not consciously construct their self-concept on the basis of their experience of the language learning journey, nor did they consider their readiness to speak English a part of that identity. On the other hand, it is important to note that learning attitudes as well as the variable of willingness to communicate showed a number of connections to the background factors representing the second layer of influences, which also contributed to students' L2 selves. This means that the four variables were, to varying degrees, indirectly connected. Nevertheless, the opposition between language learning motivation and WTC is an intriguing one and I return to this issue later ([5.4.3](#)), as I believe it deserves more attention.

As regards the motivational impact of this second subsystem, these two predictor variables, similarly to the self-guides, were also mutually linked and thus exerted a reinforced influence on participants' motivation. This relationship also indicates that positive learning experience lead to a more significant willingness to use the language ($\beta = 19, p = .000$) while participants who were more willing to speak English consequently had more favorable views on the learning process and their past experience ($\beta = 15, p < .01$). These results are suggestive of a cyclical process, by which readiness to engage in conversations in English makes the learning experience more enjoyable, which in turn boosts learners' willingness to speak the language. Interestingly, while this connection raised participants' scores on both scales, it did not change the negative impact of WTC on their motivation. Nevertheless, the subsystem as a whole resulted in an increase in motivation, which renders this process especially interesting from the perspective of this discussion and worthy of educators' attention.

I began this subsection by a brief description of the final regression model of participants' overall motivational profile. I pointed out that motivated learning behavior, as the dependent variable of the study, represented the highest level of this multilayered model and the final outcome of the entire system. Above I discussed the composition and motivational role of the two subsystems that contributed to students' motivation to learn English directly and thus formed the second layer of the model. Nevertheless, this analysis only provides an incomplete overview of the dynamics of this motivation. It does answer the question I am asked the most frequently, namely: what motivates students at the University of Geneva to put effort into

developing their English skills? However, it fails to show *why* this is the case and how that motivation works in the larger context of their lives.

The simple answer to the first question is, as I argued above, a mixture of self-fulfillment and positive past experiences while learning the language. While this formula corresponds to the basic principles of the L2 Motivational Self System, and thus confirms my initial hypothesis to some extent, it might seem somewhat simplistic or even idealistic. It does not provide a deep understanding of the phenomenon, nor does it offer practitioners practical cues in order to boost learners' motivation. Therefore, in this dissertation, I propose a more in-depth look at the issue.

Indeed, a closer inspection of the final regression model reveals an important characteristic of the Geneva sample. In short, it can be concluded that respondents' overall motivational profile revealed a considerably more complex dynamic than the one discussed thus far. In my discussion of the first two levels above, I already mentioned other variables that loaded into the four direct predictors of motivated learning behavior. However, this aspect of the final model represents only the tip of the iceberg in a very literal sense, since the statistical tests identified a third layer of influences, which contributes greatly to the potential of the model in offering a more complete understanding of UNIGE students' motivation to learn English.

While my conclusions above provide the basis of this understanding, it is the complex weave of attitudes and perceptions, orientations and experiences that a more in-depth analysis of the three-layered model uncovered that helps put these conclusions into perspective. This investigation of the many interrelationships among variables of different levels of importance revealed a highly dynamic pattern, in which all elements play a number of roles, both overtly and in more subtle ways, to affect the outcome of the learning process. In the following subsections I examine these tightly knit threads that make up the fabric of UNIGE students' motivational profile.

5.4.2 Native speaker communities and international openness

In my analysis of the survey data, the first surprising figures emerged in relation to the role of native speakers and cultural contact in Geneva university students' attitudes and motivation. First of all, the results unveiled surprisingly strong positive views among participants toward people from England and the United States. Interestingly, the former received consistently more favorable ratings, throughout all the comparisons. Although respondents in general

preferred the culture of England ($M = 3.83$) to that of the United States ($M = 3.25$), these elements of the scale were among the lowest rated overall. This is particularly intriguing if one considers the widespread reputation of American popular music as an easily available and appealing input for language learning. Meanwhile, conversations with native speakers, both English and American ($M = 4.06$ and $M = 3.88$), were highly sought after, as were travel opportunities ($M = 4.36$ and $M = 4.21$).

The fact that I discuss these attitudes along with other, more general forms of international openness is not merely a thematic choice. In the study, there was a surprisingly strong link between participants' perceptions of native speakers and their orientation toward the international community ($\beta = .19$, $p = .000$). While these views were, in general, remarkably positive and closely related, their statistical importance in the model was less spectacular than that of the four direct motivators discussed above. Nonetheless, it was equally relevant and, as I will illustrate in this subsection, revelatory of some of the most important dynamics of students' language attitudes.

Whereas, in the case of the four immediate predictor variables, their influence manifested directly, the other six factors were shown to play an indirect role in students' motivation. Some of these background factors acted through the self-guides and others exerted their power through learning attitudes or willingness to communicate. Many of them display close relationships to several of the variables predicting motivated learning behavior and thus contribute to the complexity and interrelatedness of the system. As I explain below, international openness and a positive orientation toward native speakers played an important, albeit more covert, role in the model.

First of all, the detailed model shown in section [4.7.1](#) clearly displays that participants' attitudes to traditional native speaker target groups were firmly anchored in their motivational profile. On average, they contributed to motivated learning behavior indirectly, through two of its predictors. More specifically, students' views of native speakers played an especially important role in their learning attitudes ($\beta = .44$, $p = .000$) and they had a weaker influence on their ought-to L2 selves ($\beta = .16$, $p < .05$). Furthermore, it is interesting to note that when all variables were considered separately, the simple regression tests showed that, in terms of variance, positive opinions about native speakers were the second strongest motivator ($R^2 = .16$), only surpassed by learning attitudes ($R^2 = .34$). While these tests were more indicative than conclusive, they reveal that, in the Geneva context, the way learners think about speakers

from England and the United States might have a significant effect on their engagement and, consequently, the outcome of the learning process.

Moreover, the link between such positive attitudes and the selves, discussed in more detail in the previous section, suggests that students' views of traditional target groups formed an important part of how they perceived themselves as English speakers. On the one hand, favorable opinions seem to strengthen participants' vision of their future proficient self, indicating that they might perceive native speakers as role models or as a source of inspiration to their identity. On the other hand, an even stronger link to the ought-to L2 self confirms that students consider these traditional target groups as representatives of the type of speakers that they themselves are expected to become. Therefore, it appears that participants are aware of the role native speakers are often assigned as the gold standard for all learners and that this knowledge is instrumental in shaping their self-image.

Purely cultural interest alone was less strongly linked to motivation according to these preliminary tests, although it explained a higher 28.4% of the variance ($R^2 = .28$) and the combined effect of the two items led to a .35 grade rise in motivated learning behavior on the five-point scale. Simple regression revealed similar links between positive attitudes to English and American culture and the self-guides Learning attitudes were the most susceptible to the influence of cultural interest, with a 45.8% stake in variance ($R^2 = .46$) and a combined boost of .54 for each one point increase on both items ($\beta = .38$, $p < .01$ for the culture of England and $\beta = .16$, $p < .01$ for the culture of the United States). Although these results do not take into account the intricacy of the final model and examine the pairings out of context, their message is clear. In the case of study participants, English and American cultural products seem to possess a certain motivational power and are especially relevant as part of a more general positive orientation toward target groups. At the same time, these figures hint at the final structure by suggesting that the effect of cultural interest on students' motivation was mostly indirect, as the influence of these items was most marked on the ought-to L2 self and, especially, on learning attitudes.

The educational implications of these findings are of great weight and potential, and I address them in due detail at the end of this chapter. However, so as to illustrate the importance of the above results, I would like to draw attention to a few of the central themes that they helped emerge. First of all, the figures cited above (also see [Chapter 4](#)) showcased some of the contextuality of the study. When compared to those obtained in other learning contexts (cf.

[2.2.3.1](#)), the results reveal that native speaker groups are not always as pertinent or viewed as favorably and that, in different environments, other factors might contribute more significantly to language learners' L2 selves. On the other hand, markedly different contexts can produce intriguingly similar findings, as a comparison with the results of my MA research in Hungary illustrates. While slightly less relevant for the Hungarian sample than the community of world citizens, native speakers were nonetheless found influential in that setting as well. More importantly, another striking similarity can be observed, namely that, both in Hungary and in the Geneva study, the target community that emerged from the statistics was not an exclusive one. Neither group of participants found the two communities contrasting but rather had favorable views on both native English speakers and the global village and considered them as one diverse melting pot of target language users. This versatile target group, with which it might be easier for L2 users to identify, also gives these participants an opportunity to exercise their bicultural self (Lamb, 2004, 2009) and bilingual identity (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004). Thus, the results of these two studies show that both native and non-native speakers can represent positive, motivating, role models for language learners.

Two questions arise from these conclusions. The first is whether, given the motivating effect of participants' positive attitudes to English native speakers, other foreign languages might benefit from similar associations. This idea is especially relevant in the Swiss context, where English is often contrasted with Swiss national languages taught at schools. Waltermann (2016), as well as a number of small projects conducted by teacher trainees enrolled in a research seminar at the Teacher Training Institute (IUFE) at the University of Geneva, showed that teachers as well as learners can have significantly different representations concerning the two main foreign languages in the curriculum, German and English. These sources underline that native speakers of German do not elicit the same enthusiasm and respect that those of English do. It is interesting to consider, from an educational point of view, whether motivation to learn German could also be increased by promoting positive attitudes to native speaker target groups. Whereas the present study provides little in terms of statistical evidence in this regard, I unfold the theoretical potential and limitations that such a possibility entails.

The second issue concerns the international community, the alleged motivational role of which (cf. [2.1.1](#)) was surpassed by the influence of traditional target groups in the Geneva data. Thus, it is interesting to investigate the question, in light of the above, what place is accorded to the global community in participants' motivational profile? Do they identify as members of the

community and do they cherish their membership as much as Hungarian learners do (cf. Csillagh, 2010)? Are their self-concepts influenced by their views? Can one talk about real integration in this case or can this impact be attributed to the power of imagined communities (Pavlenko and Norton, 2007)?

In my earlier overview of current concerns in the field of SLA regarding the traditional concept of native speaker target groups ([2.1.2](#)), I concluded that this idea might seem problematic in a number of contexts today. Citing a number of authors who voiced such doubts, I argued that some learners might find these communities too distant, alien or elusive. Therefore, researchers have investigated more relevant or motivating alternatives to the native speaker model and the theories discussed in [Chapter 2](#) offer a number of perspectives that were shown to be more appropriate in certain contexts.

The notion of imagined communities (e.g. Pavlenko & Norton, 2007, also [2.1.3](#)), for instance, outlines a type of target group that is, by definition, easily accessible to learners and, through aspirations for membership, can be highly motivating. Furthermore, as Pavlenko and Norton's (ibid.) account of a series of studies and stories illustrating the phenomenon demonstrates, imagined communities are especially diverse and flexible because they are not characterized by language alone but also by a plethora of different, greatly appealing, traits. Besides, this flexible composition means that they can be especially appropriate in contexts where integration into or orientation toward native speaker target groups appears problematic or irrelevant. In the Swiss setting (described in [2.3](#)), where national identity plays an important role in citizens' self-perception both as individuals and as a nation, imagined identities present language learners with the opportunity to integrate a global language into their localized goals. It can be argued that university students might imagine themselves as successful local professionals, whose description includes proficiency in certain languages (cf. Grin et al. 2009). On the other hand, Pavlenko and Norton (2007) also note that with the spread of new communication technologies there are truly no borders to imagined identities and, therefore, a vaguely defined, flexible international community might present language learners with an alternative to native speaker groups.

It is precisely these aspects of the global village that inspired Yashima's (2009) conceptualization of international posture, the scope and definition of which I describe in detail in [Chapter 3 \(3.4.6\)](#). In addition to this general openness toward international affairs and to cultures other than one's own, the questionnaire survey included a more specific scale on the

community of world citizens, in order to test integrative tendencies among participants. As I mentioned above, the final regression model revealed that these concepts were mutually related and thus showed that the influence of the global community and of participants' international openness did not replace or negatively affect their positive views of native speaker target groups. These results offer an interesting perspective on the issue, since they indicate that, students' orientation to one community or the other is not as straightforward as theoretical arguments might suggest. Indeed, these relationships hint at a complex system of attitudes with vague boundaries among the factors.

Therefore, the question that I would like to address here from a theoretical and empirical point of view is how compatible the idea of native speaker role models is with the notions of world citizenship and international openness. Interestingly, my MA research in Hungary showed that adult learners considered the former group to form a part of the latter. Given the above results, it is intriguing to examine whether this pattern is repeated in the Swiss context. Secondly, how strongly do these factors, in comparison with native speakers, impact university students' motivation to learn English and their language-related self-concept?

From a theoretical standpoint, the two scales, identification with members of the global village or the global community on the one hand and international posture on the other, encompass various, related, elements of the phenomenon (see [3.4.6](#) and [3.4.8](#)). The study shows that two were indeed linked ($r = .47, p < .001$) and the trends they displayed also follow similar patterns. Overall, the mean values obtained by the two scales, 3.85 for global citizenship and 3.79 for international posture, position them in the middle of the range, the former just slightly above native speakers groups ($M = 3.79$). While these figures suggest that participants considered an international orientation as important, more detailed analysis revealed its role to be somewhat ambiguous.

First of all, students did not find all aspects of the phenomenon equally relevant to their life. Two questions were rated significantly higher than the rest in the scales: the one concerning the importance of English in today's world (international posture, item 2, $M = 4.39$) and the one on the usefulness of a lingua franca in general (global village, item 3, $M = 4.33$). I would like to note here that the Chronbach's alpha values in Section [3.4.8](#) show that, although integral parts of the scales, these items were also among the weakest contributors to their overall coherence. Nevertheless, these results are interesting when compared to the rest of the items in these scales, which refer to more integrative attitudes. The mean values for those indicate that,

on the whole, participants might not be too dedicated to becoming members of the global community and that they might consider international openness as less important a motive than native speaker role models.

Further tests confirmed these findings. Regarding students' motivation to learn English, the simple regression tests concluded that international posture ($R^2 = .10$, $\beta = .32$, $p = .000$) and world citizenship ($R^2 = .11$, $\beta = .33$, $p = .000$) explained 10% and 11% of the variance, when their impact was considered on its own. This means that, disregarding other potential influences, a one-point increase in each on the Likert scale resulted in a .32-point and .33-point rise in motivation respectively, as opposed to the 16% contribution to variance and .39-point boost represented by native speaker groups. World citizenship had a slightly stronger influence over learning attitudes ($R^2 = .14$, $\beta = .37$, $p = .000$) while that of international posture appeared more limited ($R^2 = .05$, $\beta = .23$, $p = .000$). When considered alongside the results for English and American speakers, these numbers seem to highlight some essential characteristics of motivating target groups. Especially when it comes to learning attitudes, it appears that the more well-defined the community, the greater its impact might be on participants' feelings toward learning the language. Whereas international posture, which implies a general openness toward international affairs and other cultures in a larger sense, did not seem to influence these attitudes very much, the more tangible global village and, in particular, native speaker groups definitely played a more important role.

These figures also foretell the final structure of the combined multiple regression model and the role that these different factors played in its dynamics. The direct motivational power of these variables proved to be limited, as only foreign students' answers showed a link between international posture and motivated learning behavior ($\beta = .21$, $p < .01$). The lack of further connections to motivation implies that participants' orientation toward native speakers and the international community can in general be considered as background factors in the greater framework of their motivational profile. This brings further nuances to my preliminary conclusions above and shows that the answers to many of these simple questions can be quite complex.

On the other hand, this does not mean that the influence of these variables was less important, simply that they did not affect participants' motivation to learn English directly. Indeed, further details of the model showed that target communities and international openness had important links to the three positive predictors of motivated learning behavior. First of all, students'

attitudes to native English speakers were the strongest component of their views on the learning process, both in the full model ($\beta = .44, p = .000$) and in the case of the two subsamples examined. Secondly, all three factors were connected to respondents' L2 selves, although the two self-guides had remarkably different compositions.

Indeed, it seems that while study participants' ideal L2 self was in general somewhat influenced by their identification with members of the global village ($\beta = .18, p < .01$), this relationship was much stronger and more significant in the case of foreign students ($\beta = .38, p = .000$). In fact, the link was completely missing from Swiss respondents' profile, their ideal English-speaking self only associated with a less targeted international openness ($\beta = .13, p < .05$) and that to a markedly smaller degree. This seemed to be a relevant distinction, since world citizenship emerged as the first and strongest contributor of both of foreigners' self-guides, but it played a considerably weaker role in Swiss students' profile.

If global citizenship was closely linked to how foreign participants envisaged their future English-speaking self, it had an even greater effect on how they perceived they should behave in order to comply with the expectations of their social environment ($\beta = .55, p = .000$). Interestingly, the latter connection, despite its similar position, was significantly less relevant to both the overall ($\beta = .22, p = .000$) and the Swiss model ($\beta = .20, p < .05$). By contrast, Swiss students' answers revealed a more complicated, less clearly defined ought-to self-guide that, in addition to world citizenship, was also connected to a number of attitudinal factors, including native speaker target groups and international posture. In section [4.6.3](#), I presented the methodological and theoretical difficulties that this structural instability might entail.

Nonetheless, these results are interesting because they shed light on the intricate interrelationships of the direct predictors of motivated learning behavior and students' orientation toward native as well as non-native speaker target groups. On the one hand, participants' attitudes to native speakers were the only one of these factors that influenced their views on their experience as learners of English. This suggests that, contrary to earlier assumptions, native speaker target communities can be an important part of learners' idea of the learning process and thus a source of motivation in some contexts. On the other hand, positive orientation toward these communities did not have an immediate impact on UNIGE students' English-speaking selves. These aspects of their self-concept were instead shaped, in part, by their sense of international openness and identification with the global community.

I showed above that there were considerable differences in this regard between Swiss and foreign students. The latter reported L2 selves that were more strongly linked to their membership of the community of world citizens. This is not surprising since, due to their background, it can be theorized that these participants had more first-hand experience and more of a reason to consider themselves as part of the global village. In the case of Swiss students, the connections were much weaker and less significant in general, and they did not indicate such a special relationship with target language communities.

From a contextual point of view, this comparison is especially revealing because it hints at some significant characteristics of the L2 selves of Swiss students, as opposed to participants who had completed their secondary education in other countries. While international aspects of the language were among the contributors of Swiss respondents' English-speaking selves as well, their impact was less remarkable. This suggests that more local values associated with English skills might have a greater impact on their self-concept.

On the other hand, it is interesting to note that these speaker groups in general had a markedly stronger influence on participants' ought-to L2 self, indicating a closer link between international orientation and students' perceptions of the values characterizing their social contexts. In turn, this also means that such attitudes are less important to study participants' idea of language learning as a completely personal goal. While, as I observed in the previous section, direct language contact reinforced both aspects of the self, target communities were less related to respondents' ideal English-speaking self-image.

Since the ought-to L2 self represents facets of the self as determined by one's perceptions of the expectations of one's immediate milieu, these results also testify to the influence of the global context on local values. It can be argued that the motivational force of native speaker target groups might also reflect teachers' attitudes toward these communities (cf. Murray, 2003). Therefore, it is not surprising that world citizenship formed a part of how participants perceived the language specific values promoted in their social milieu. This indicates that, similarly to proficiency and language use (Section [4.3](#)), students' language attitudes were strongly anchored in both the local and the global context, which need to be taken fully into account when it comes to the analysis of their motivational profile.

In the Geneva study, these contextual relationships take various forms, both as direct and indirect influences. The above results provide ample evidence of this effect. Overall, contextual

influences manifest in language teachers' role and responsibility in spreading views and values (for more on such representations see [2.3.5](#) and Waltermann, 2016). They are also present in respondents' perceptions of the learning process and themselves as language learners and speakers. Indeed, the data suggests that the contexts in which learners participate can have overt as well as more subtle effects on their attitudes. For instance, it can be argued that identification with the global community involves various social and economic aspects, which emanate from the local or the global context. I examine these multiple contexts and their impact and relationship to the study in the next section.

Thus, revisiting my earlier question as regards participants' international attitudes and their views on native speaker target groups, the relationship of the two and their motivational power, it can be concluded that the answers appear rather complex and reflect certain characteristics of the Geneva context. The results reveal that students' orientation toward the global community contributed significantly to their positive feelings toward native speakers ($\beta = .44$, $p < .05$), explaining 44% of the variance in the latter. Combined with international posture, the two accounted for 48% of the variance and had betas of .35 and .19 respectively. In contrast with my MA study in Hungary, these figures indicate that it was students' general positive orientation toward other cultures and their identification with the global village that helped form their favorable views on speakers from England and the United States of America. More specifically, respondent's adherence to the global community played a much greater role in their attitudes to traditional native speaker target groups than did their general international openness. This suggests that, similarly to the Hungarian findings, the two communities did not represent conflicting values in participants' attitudes but appeared to be connected.

Nevertheless, as I pointed out previously, despite their interesting links, these attitudes had only a limited impact on study participants' L2 selves. Thus, while the study showed that the three variables examined here reliably measure different aspects of international openness, in the UNIGE sample, this orientation was not an essential component of students' English-speaking self-image. These findings are interesting because they show that participants' L2 selves, also discussed in the previous section, are more closely related to other language attitudes and, as a result, can be theorized to be influenced more by the local than the global context. In addition, these conclusions, as well as the importance and motivational force of native speaker target communities, point toward further considerations regarding the influence of the particular learning context in which the study took place.

5.4.3 Communication and language learning

As I argued above, learning attitudes play a twofold role in the final regression model. On the one hand, they present a reflection of the learning experience, revealing the degree to which it has fostered participants' positive views toward the learning process. On the other hand, such attitudes are also relevant to future endeavors of language learning as they are a primary factor of L2 motivation. The present study further confirmed this hypothesis, revealing learning attitudes to be the strongest motivational influence in the dataset (cf. [4.6.1](#) for more details).

Moreover, as I mentioned in the previous section, the final model clearly shows that the factors that contributed to participants' learning attitudes were all related to different means of active, or imagined, language use. Overall, UNIGE students' views on the process of learning English were directly influenced by their attitudes to native speaker target groups ($\beta = .44, p = .000$) and, to a lesser extent, by the amount of direct language contact they had ($\beta = .16, p < .01$) as well as their willingness to communicate in English ($\beta = .15, p < .01$). This already indicates that, beside communicative aspects of positive orientation toward certain target groups, more concrete forms of language use were also relevant to study participants' attitudes to learning English.

I discussed the importance of English speaker communities, both native and international, above and pointed out that their role hints at the potential of these groups as communities of practice (Ushioda, 2006) and as representatives of the communicative goals associated with language learning. Direct contact and willingness to communicate in English, the remaining two predictors of positive learning attitudes in the model, measured different components of this phenomenon, as they helped gauge the frequency with which participants engaged in active language use and the extent of their willingness to do so. It is to be noted that participants' reported contact with English was surprisingly low on average ($M = 2.89$), and thus it can be presumed that their actual encounters with native speakers were similarly sporadic. Nonetheless, the results showed that contact factors, whether related to real, future or imagined situations, were highly influential as regards their role in shaping participants' learning experience. As a result, they also had a significant, albeit less direct, impact on students' motivation to learn English.

Therefore, the complex model ([Figure 4.37](#)) is especially interesting as it provides a more detailed image of how that motivational power is activated. I mentioned before that positive

orientation toward native speakers contributed both to participants' ought-to L2 self and to their learning attitudes, thus exerting an indirect influence on motivated learning behavior. Taking into account the double function of learning attitudes, this means that the opinion participants had formed concerning native speaker target groups are, on the one hand, an important part of their past learning experience, while, on the other hand, they also determined their views about the process of learning English in general and thus their future engagement.

Direct language contact proved to play an even more important role in the model. The relationships displayed in [Figure 4.37](#) reveal that active use of English across a wide variety of media had a positive impact on all of the four variables that composed the second layer of the structure. Thus, direct contact can be considered as the most important background factor in students' motivational profile. First of all, regular contact with English was most importantly linked to participants' willingness to speak it ($\beta = .35, p = .000$), which is understandable given the positive effects of language practice on speakers' perceptions of future contact opportunities. Through such first-hand experience, L2 speakers can become familiar with these situations and feel more at ease when using the language in public.

Although less strongly, this effect was nonetheless also observed on the self-guides. As I argued above, both the ideal and the ought-to L2 self can greatly benefit from direct language contact and the resulting experiences, as these can help shape and strengthen speakers' self-image. Indeed, the model shows that participants' English-speaking selves became more prominent thanks to frequent use of English. The connection between the scale and the ideal L2 self ($\beta = .19, p = .000$) is indicative of this influence. However, interestingly, it was not as strong as could be expected, the unstandardized coefficient (cf. [4.6.3](#)) revealing a .2 grade increase for each 1 grade change in the frequency of direct contact. This means that students who *often* (or, approximately, weekly) engaged in some form of English language communication, as opposed to their peers who only did so *sometimes* (or on a monthly basis) testified to ideal English-speaking self-visions that were two tenth of a grade stronger. On the other hand, this relationship was statistically significant and confirms that, among other factors, direct language contact also contributed to the development of participants' ideal L2 self.

In addition, frequency of language use was among the predictors of the ought-to L2 self ($\beta = .15, p < .05$) as well, indicating that these personal experiences not only amplified participants' ideal future self-images as English speakers but also made students more conscious of the expectations of their social milieu. Earlier, I argued for the importance of authentic contact

opportunities in language learning and teaching. These results further confirm that situations in which learners can become *users* of the language are important in helping them form elaborate and powerful L2 selves. Thus, it can be argued that, in light of these findings, language use can be regarded as more than simply the end goal of the learning process. The Geneva data seems to indicate that learners of English do not only learn *in preparation for* these opportunities but also *through* them as they explore and develop their self-concept as speakers of English.

Moreover, as I pointed out at the beginning of this section, experiences using English, were not only influential in strengthening participants' L2 selves. They also contributed to a more positive learning experience, thus leading to more favorable views concerning the process of learning the language. Thus, in the present study, direct contact with English was shown to foster positive learning attitudes ($\beta = .16, p < .01$) among participants. This is not surprising in light of all the results discussed so far. Communicative aspects of language proficiency, such as attitudes toward and interactions with other speakers, were repeatedly shown as important elements of participants' profile. Indeed, through their influence over one or more of the direct predictors of motivated learning behavior, these factors were revealed to have significant potential as motivational forces. While, once more, these findings were not unexpected, one detail rendered them especially worthy of further investigation.

I started this section by examining the composition of participants' motivated learning behavior. I concluded that three factors exerted a positive influence on the variable, while the fourth one, willingness to communicate in English had a different effect on students' motivation to learn the language. In fact, the extent to which they felt at ease speaking English in different situations affected their motivation adversely ($\beta = -.12, p < .01$). Thus, the more driven speakers were to communicate in English the less they appeared motivated to dedicate their efforts to learning it. In order to better understand this phenomenon, I investigated the role of language proficiency, hypothesizing that speakers with higher level skills might be more willing to engage in communication and, at the same time, feel less of a need to continue learning the language. However, the correlation data (cf. [0](#)) does not support this argument, since both WTC and motivation were positively linked to participants' level of English. While the former correlated very strongly ($r = .48, p \leq .001$), the latter was more loosely related ($r = .18, p \leq .001$) to increased proficiency. Therefore, becoming more proficient in English did not

seem to diminish respondents' motivation, on the contrary. On the other hand, it also resulted in significantly higher rates of WTC, which then had a negative effect on students' motivation.

In short, both more frequent direct contact with English and higher levels of reported proficiency boosted UNIGE students' willingness to speak the language, and they had similar, if less direct or marked impact on their L2 motivation. Meanwhile, WTC was found to reduce participant's engagement in learning English. A possible explanation for these seemingly conflicting findings might lie in the nature of the background connections among these variables. Speakers may perceive first-hand contact opportunities as a form of practice that is somewhat different from classroom activities. Thus, as they become more proficient in English, their motivation to participate in the latter increases only marginally, whereas their interest in putting their new skills to practical use continues to rise. Regarding the negative relationship between WTC and motivated learning behavior, this translates into a shift of enthusiasm, whereby students with a stronger drive to engage in language contact decide to seek these opportunities outside of formal learning contexts and, as a consequence, their motivation to return to that setting drops slightly. Considering the goal of language learning, this might also be a natural progression, as learners gradually leave the secure confines of formal learning in order to explore situations of more exposure and personal involvement. Indeed, as my observations at the beginning of this chapter concerning English language use among participants in different contexts testify, university students in Geneva might find ample opportunities of informal language practice if they are so inclined.

In order to complete this discussion, I would like to raise two further points regarding this phenomenon. First, the positive and mutual links mentioned above are especially interesting in comparison with the negative effect of willingness to communicate on motivation. While, as I pointed out earlier, this might be the result of a successful language learning career, the figures also show that such augmented willingness to communicate does not diminish a positive image of participants' past formal learning experience. On the contrary, the positive link ($\beta = .15, p < .01$) indicates a favorable effect. This is not surprising as enthusiasm to participate in conversations in English is in line with one of the ultimate goals of language learning: to enable learners to become autonomous language users. It is important to note that this aspect of L2 development can also be an important driving force and one that is inherent to the learning experience.

Given the interesting role of WTC in the final structure of participants' motivational profile, the question that follows is what, according to the regression model, made certain students more willing than others to use the language in different situations. The ties within that structure revealed that participants' scores were determined by a combination of other factors. In addition to learning attitudes ($\beta = .19, p = .000$), which were slightly stronger as a contributor than as an outcome of WTC, the variable was influenced by the amount of direct contact respondents had ($\beta = .35, p = .000$) as well as how important they considered these instances ($\beta = .20, p = .000$). Although these connections are far from unexpected and necessitate little explanation, they can be considered as valuable, precisely thanks to their straightforwardness. They beautifully showcase the dynamics of participants' willingness to communicate in English, which was shown to emerge from positive learning experience and students' attitudes toward and engagement in target language communication. This further solidifies the link between formal and informal language practice and WTC.

[Figure 4.37](#) also shows that the last factor to influence respondents' willingness to communicate presents a less obvious case. Intriguingly, international openness had a negative impact on WTC ($\beta = -.16, p < .05$), which seems contrary to logical expectations. One could argue that a positive orientation toward international affairs and cultures would enhance participants' eagerness to engage in conversations in English, a global language. On the other hand, interest in other cultures and their members can also have the opposite effect, as the UNIGE model indicates.

This might be due to the fact that students with such a positive orientation toward the international community might place more value on conversations with English speakers, thus increasing their anxiety toward these situations. Consequently, as a result of their allure, members of the international community can also become intimidating. In addition, such a negative relationship can also reflect some of the characteristics of the international community as a target group. Learners and speakers of English who are interested to engage in conversation with other speakers from all over the world might not be able to or might not choose to do so through conventional channels. With the wide availability of various online platforms, they may be more likely to communicate with people from other communities in writing, which might present them with less stressful practice opportunities. At the same time, such practices do not prepare speakers for physical contact situations where they might have to use the foreign language in front of an audience. Readily available English-language cultural and art products

offer an even less demanding form of exposure, increasing learners' awareness of the ways of other societies without necessarily diminishing their anxiety to speak the language.

Even so, these scenarios only cover situations where the primary medium of communication with members of other cultures is English. In a world with so much linguistic and cultural diversity, it is easy to imagine that international openness fosters positive attitudes not only toward a variety of cultures but also toward their languages. Given the incredibly wide range of languages spoken by participants, it can be argued that their interest in other cultures and their members does not necessitate for them to use English as the medium of contact. On the contrary, a strong positive orientation might strengthen their desire to learn and use other languages, which might bring them into closer, more meaningful contact with the target culture.

The relationships discussed above, among communicational and integrational tendencies on the one hand and motivational attitudes, especially the learning experience, on the other, have interesting educational implications. I explore these in more detail at the end of this chapter, however, I would like to conclude my examination of the above factors with a brief summary of the potential educational impact of these findings. First of all, the importance of native speaker target groups as indirect motivators echoes the opinions of Murray's (2003) teacher participants, who favored such standard dialects and their speakers as role models in their teaching practices. As a result, international aspects of English played a less marked role in the present study, but formed nonetheless an important background system, most significantly associated with UNIGE students' socially defined L2 self. This suggests that, while active influences in participants' motivational profile, such views were less obviously connected to respondents' reported communicative practices and attitudes.

At the same time, as I showed above, communicative practices and goals associated with proficiency in English displayed strong ties to learning attitudes and the L2 selves, thus drawing attention to the motivational power of such activities. Whereas the data suggested a gentle distinction between formal language learning and communicative language use, the latter is undoubtedly one of the main goals of the former. Therefore, it can be argued that the positive impact of participants' language use experience underlines the relevance of communicative goals in English language teaching.

5.4.4 Ethnocentrism, the odd one out

The last variable the influence of which I would like to discuss in this section is that of ethnocentrism. I address its role in the final model here because, compared to the factors examined above, its impact proved to be different as well as less marked. Nevertheless, these findings revealed a number of noteworthy trends as regards UNIGE students' language attitudes, therefore, I would like to draw attention to their significance below.

The scale on ethnocentrism was included in the project partly because it played an important role as a hindrance to motivating attitudes both in my MA research, which focused on adult learners in Budapest, and in the studies cited in [Chapter 2](#), which investigated motivation to learn English in a wide variety of settings. As a result, it was an element that offered particularly interesting opportunities for comparisons with previous studies, based on the linguistic and cultural diversity of the Geneva context. Moreover, this contextual diversity also entailed that participants' scores on the scale could be contrasted with the values of acceptance and openness that are often considered as characteristic of Geneva society. Therefore, while the low overall scores students reported were in line with these values, I found it especially surprising that ethnocentric views also proved to occupy a very marginal place in the final model.

Indeed, ethnocentrism behaved differently from the rest of the attitudinal variables in a number of ways. First of all, it is the only factor in the model to be situated completely outside of the first two layers of influences. Thus, it is the sole variable in the study that displayed a very weak and almost negligible effect on university students' motivational profile. In the final regression model, ethnocentrism is only linked to one secondary factor, namely, to respondents' attitudes to traditional native speaker target groups ($\beta = -.10, p < .05$). As can be expected, the relationship is negative, but it only results in a .12 (12% of a grade on the five-point scale) decrease in favorable attitudes to speakers from England and the United States. Therefore, it is among the weakest and least significant in the final structure.

It is important to note that the minor role that ethnocentrism plays in the model cannot be attributed to the negative orientation of the variable. First of all, as the relevant section in Chapter 3 ([3.4.7](#)) concluded, the items used in the questionnaire were all positively worded and then the results recalculated for higher reliability. Second, the fact that the variable was the only one in the study with a negative focus, in other words the only one that was expected, from the start, to have a constraining effect on language learning motivation, does not explain

its marginal status and weak connection. These can be considered as particular to the Geneva study and might be related to certain aspects of the context in which the survey was administered.

Indeed, respondents' overall average on the ethnocentrism scale was remarkably low at 1.77 (4.4.14). Moreover, as the regression model illustrates, even this low level of ethnocentrism was not a significant factor in determining participants' attitudes and motivation to learn English. Therefore, it can be concluded that, in the multilingual and multicultural setting of Geneva, ethnocentrism is not a relevant variable when it comes to university students' L2 motivational profile. Further analysis of the data gathered from different subsamples confirms this. I discuss the significant differences among subsamples in more detail in the sections to follow, but it is worth pointing out here that, when examined separately, very few subgroups accorded any importance at all to the variable.

When compared to the results of my MA study conducted in Budapest, Hungary (Csillagh, 2010), the model makes this contextual link especially clear. While participants in that study reported similarly low levels of ethnocentrism, such views nonetheless had stronger negative links to their language attitudes. The strongest of these was found between the variable and world citizenship ($\beta = -.28, p < .05$), in which case one grade of increase in ethnocentrism reduced Hungarian learners' identification with the global community by one quarter of a grade ($B = -.26$). The lack of such conclusive connections in the Geneva data might be indicative of some cultural or regional variation.

Indeed, these findings are interesting because they underline two important aspects of the present study. First of all, they show that, in this sample, ethnocentrism was not only low but also of little significance to participants' motivation to learn English. Secondly, this particular characteristic of the UNIGE sample is indicative of the relationship between language attitudes and speakers' social milieu, since it clearly reflects the values and trends present in the Geneva context. In [Chapter 2](#), I observed that the region was among the most diverse areas in the country, both linguistically and culturally, and its inhabitants have repeatedly expressed their openness toward foreigners and international affairs when asked about such issues.

5.4.5 Complex and contextually driven

I started this chapter with a brief account of the history and development of the project presented here. I stated that, in order to provide a more comprehensive interpretation of the results, a slight shift in perspective was necessary. Indeed, as the sections above illustrated, several of the findings proved to be unexpected or complex, requiring further explanation and contextualization. Propelled by the questions and intriguing details that started to emerge from the dataset and drawn by recent advancements in L2 motivation theory and research, I decided to apply a densely contextual analysis to the survey data.

Previous studies offered a somewhat limited method to accomplish this goal. Ushioda (2009) examined the role of potential contextual influences in mainstream motivational models and concluded that, “when incorporated into these models, context is generally defined as an independent background variable which is theorized to influence motivation, but over which learners have no control”. As regards the dataset discussed here, such an approach presented two obstacles. First, without taking a more hands-on stance toward the relationships between contextual and attitudinal factors, the results of the study yielded trends that were difficult to analyze from a purely theoretical point of view. Second, this technique fails to take into account the particular circumstances in which university students' language learning decisions are made. The multitude of impressions that members of this age group face daily, as well as their newfound agency to influence their own environment, emphasize the importance of contextual relationships in their lives.

Therefore, while in the next section I examine each of the contextual spheres that could influence study participants' survey results in more detail, I would like to conclude this one by summarizing the signs of their impact on the results discussed thus far. Indeed, as I repeatedly pointed out above, the context in which the study took place left visible imprints on the dataset. Perhaps the most remarkable of these can be observed in the weight and role of respondents' English-speaking selves.

It is visible at a glance at the final model ([Figure 4.37](#)) that the ideal and the ought-to L2 self occupy important positions in relation to motivated learning behavior and the other variables. A closer look, as offered above, showed that this was especially the case in the Swiss sample, implying that these mechanics of the self-guides, as opposed to their relative lack of power in the model calculated for foreign students, can be linked to the context studied. Thus, it is

especially interesting to examine the potential connections between the role of the L2 selves and their potential connection to the Geneva context.

First, the self-guides contribute significantly to the model as predictors of motivation and, consequently, of the learning outcome. They are also strongly embedded in the network of influences composed of the rest of the attitudinal variables. This, on the one hand, confirms their relevance as measures of potential motivated learning behavior in the Geneva context, thus addressing the issue of the applicability of Dörnyei's (2005, 2009) Self System in this particular setting. On the other hand, the model also reveals their role to be one of mediators or gatekeepers. Situated between motivated learning behavior and a host of other motivational factors, the selves become key to gauging the motivational potential of these elements. Furthermore, this means that teaching practices aimed at influencing or leveraging the motivational power of any one variable are to take into account its effect on learners' self-concept and the mediating role of the selves.

Secondly, the relationships between the selves and the other factors in the model also show that the self-guides are strongly anchored in the social contexts that participants interact with. I explained above how elements of both the local learning environment and the global context might impact participants' self-concept. Indeed, the relative importance of participants' socially constructed English-speaking self and their attitudes toward various speaker groups revealed that the latter tend to exert their influence through the former. These findings evoke strong references to Lamb's (2004, 2009) conceptualization of bicultural identity, suggesting that local and global aspects of the selves are not in opposition but complement each other.

At the same time, an interpretation involving Pavlenko and Norton's (2007) description of imagined communities might bring an interesting angle to these conclusions. Indeed, as English-speaking target groups remained in the background and acted as indirect influences, and the amount of direct language contact students had, while influential, was surprisingly low, it can be argued that social involvement does not necessarily have to be frequent, or, by extension, real, for positive attitudes to form. Therefore, representations related to target communities that are widely shared in learners' immediate social environment, as well as classroom situations that enhance awareness of the social use of the language, are important factors affecting what shape learners' selves and motivation will take. Consequently, the contextual *spheres* mentioned here; local, global, educational and social, can be considered as

some of the most relevant sources of motivational influences when it comes to study participants' attitudes to English.

Last but not least, the ways in which the selves interact with each other and the broader network of motivational influences are noteworthy for two reasons. First, they resulted in the three-layer model analyzed in this chapter, which sheds light on the internal mechanics of participants' language attitudes and reveals the complexity of their motivation to learn English. Second, these interrelationships, often including mutual links, suggest that the system is a dynamic one and can change and shift over time. On the one hand, these conclusions evoke strong references to the main principles of Dynamic Systems Theory (cf. [2.2.4](#)), which I discuss further in the next section. On the other hand, such bidirectional ties might indicate continuums among variables, of which the selves offer perhaps the best example.

Thus, while, due to its methodology, the study provides a snapshot of participants' attitudes at a given moment in time, its results are nonetheless indicative of the dynamic shifts that might be at play. In addition, the three-layer model that emerged offers a closer look at the abovementioned contextual spheres that might impact UNIGE students' motivation to study English. Considering the overall model, it is clear that, beside the self-guides, other elements also display the potential influence of contextual factors.

Learning attitudes, the strongest direct predictor of motivated learning behavior, for instance, can be viewed as inherently context-dependent. Not only does the variable directly measure English speakers' views on learning the language as they emerge from their past experience but the present study also showed that these views were further affected by UNIGE students' interest and engagement in communicating in English. These communicative aspects of language competence, which, in this case, included a positive orientation toward English and American native speakers, can in turn be associated with social goals, both as a means to adopting the values of the local milieu and as a key to accessing the global context. It is important to note that, according to the final model, this group of factors, complemented by international posture and global citizenship, was also instrumental in the composition of students' L2 selves. Therefore, whether they represent real or imagined forms of language contact and integration, these variables provide a channel for contextual influences.

These conclusions are intriguing because they show language learning motivation in a slightly different light from the initial assumptions that guided the first steps of the project. While the

L2 Motivational Self System proved to be a relevant measure of participants’ motivation, its dynamics differed considerably from my expectations. Moreover, the results showed that this system could not be analyzed out of context, the influence of which pointed even beyond the attitudinal variables included in the survey. This indicates that motivation research could greatly benefit from perspectives relying on a “shifting lens”, to quote Ushioda’s (2015) apt expression, which allows researchers to focus on language learners as individuals as well as members of the contexts surrounding them. In the next section, I illustrated the potential of such an approach when applied to a quantitative survey study of adult L2 users, exploring further the contextual aspects of UNIGE students’ language attitudes.

5.5 Through a “shifting lens”: selves in multiple contexts

In [Chapter 2](#), I discussed new trends in motivation research that offer a more contextualized view of language learning. Ushioda (2015), in particular, explores avenues of investigating motivational phenomena while taking into account the multiple contexts that shape and are shaped by learners’ attitudes and actions. She addresses the difficulty of separating the context from the individual, as well as the challenges of researching such complex systems. In order to overcome the obstacles of having a research focus that is too narrow or too broad to offer meaningful conclusions, Ushioda (ibid.) proposes the metaphor of a “shifting lens”, or that of a viewing device that enables one to alternate one’s focus between the micro-shifts that characterize intra-learner processes and the larger, system-wide changes, which are often context-related and external to the individual.

In this section, I endeavor to adopt a similar perspective. While this study was not designed with Ushioda’s (2015) objectives and suggestions in mind, I illustrate below how the quantitative results of a simple, traditional, questionnaire survey can yield interesting, highly meaningful, findings under the scrutiny of this shifting lens. As I argued at the beginning of this chapter, the results examined in this dissertation testified to the need voiced by Ushioda (2015) and others (cf. Dörnyei et al. 2015) for motivation research to observe language learning phenomena in context and to not separate learners from the broader network of bi-directional influences that surround them. Although my main focus below remains the interconnections of the motivational variables that measured UNIGE students’ language attitudes, I alternate these instances of “zooming in” with broader images of the contextual background in which they are

nested. One point of access that the dataset offers to these influences lies in the particular subcategories that participants belonged to, based on their demographic features.

I stated in [Chapter 3](#) that in order to achieve a higher level of representativeness and statistical accuracy, the final model was calculated including responses from the entire sample. However, while this method increased the statistical significance of the ties and thus resulted in a more stable structure that lent itself to more generalized conclusions, it did not take into account the subtle influence of certain contextual factors that the comparative tests indicated. Indeed, the discrepancies, either between given subsamples or in the form of unexpected trends, were the first indications that zooming in on these details and situating them in the broader context of the study might lead to more applicable, more powerful conclusions.

In general, it can be observed that, when analyzed separately, the subgroups had simplified, almost incomplete profiles. This might be due, on the one hand, to greater homogeneity in students' answers in the subsamples, which might result in a less balanced spread of scores. On the other hand, the smaller sample size analyzed might also affect these individual models by rendering them oversimplified and difficult to generalize. Thus, it might be best to treat the conclusions they offer with caution. Nevertheless, as I argued above and showcase below, the differences between these models can be indicative of larger trends and suggest interesting avenues for further research to explore.

In light of these advantages and shortcomings, most of the comparisons in this section focus on the largest and thus statistically most reliable subsamples, contrasting the models calculated for Swiss students and participants who had obtained their secondary degree abroad. However, as I mentioned before, the statistical analysis identified a number of trends that, in addition to the differences in these models, suggested that a contextually enriched approach could be highly beneficial. Therefore, the shifting lens I apply below will also target these seemingly isolated or elusive results, in order to reveal their connections to the greater framework of the study.

5.5.1 Context matters: Swiss students and foreigners

As I already observed above, the most interesting, and statistically significant, comparisons pointed at the differences between Swiss and foreign students. Indeed, the results indicated that whether participants had completed their secondary studies in or outside Switzerland had a

considerable impact on their answers to the questionnaire. The dissimilarities between the two groups encompassed many of the elements investigated, ranging from respondents’ language portfolio to the dynamics of their motivation to learn English. Thus, these comparisons drew attention to certain characteristics of the Swiss subsample that display clear links to the local context, suggesting that the environments through which learners and speakers move might influence their language skills and attitudes. I explore the most important and meaningful differences between the two groups below, with a special focus on their contextuality.

In [Chapter 2](#), I pointed out that, according to calculations (see also Grin, 2003, 2005; Grin and Sfreddo, 1997) language education comprises a great portion of Swiss yearly public spending and that increasing students’ competences in official languages are among the key goals of guidelines and policies (cf. [2.3.3](#)), both at the national and at the cantonal level. While, as I point out there ([2.3.3](#)), there have been recent shifts in these policies toward prioritizing English, so far these have been restricted to German-speaking regions and took effect well after participants in the present study had graduated from secondary school. Therefore, this trend did not have a direct impact on respondents’ language learning trajectory, although it can be argued that it might have affected their language attitudes indirectly.

In French-speaking cantons, students’ skills in German are endorsed by its early introduction into the curriculum, at grade five, as the first foreign language taught. Practices regarding Italian as a foreign language are considerably less uniform, but when the subject is offered it is usually as an option which students can add to their portfolio already consisting of obligatory German and English. Moreover, so as to receive their secondary certificate, students are required to attain a B1 level, which can be considered as quite high. This multilingual portfolio, which, in the Geneva context, is often integrated into students’ daily plurilingual practices and childhood plurilingualism, showcases the potential of Swiss language education.

It is therefore particularly relevant to the aims of this research to examine the ways in which Swiss study participants’ answers reflect or diverge from the expectations emerging from such parameters. In the previous chapter ([4.3.6](#)), I examined Swiss students’ language skills and practices and concluded that they reflected particular features of the Swiss linguistic and educational context. This is by no means surprising, however, the marked differences among Swiss and foreign participants in this regard offer some important conclusions, and even lessons, concerning foreign language learning and teaching. Overall, while foreigners reported

more diverse L1 portfolios, the Swiss subgroup outperformed them in almost every other aspect of linguistic skills.

First of all, as summarized in Section [4.3.6](#), significant differences were shown as regards Swiss official languages. Although foreigners mentioned French among their second languages more frequently, L1 speakers were more numerous among Swiss participants. More interestingly, students who had completed their secondary education in Switzerland spoke German as a foreign language in considerably greater proportions and the subsample showed a significantly higher overall level of German skills ($M = 3.23$ as opposed to $M = 2.69$) than the one reported by their foreign peers. Similar, albeit less spectacular, differences emerged in terms of students' level of French and Italian. Thus, in general, it can be concluded that Swiss students were more likely to speak Swiss official languages, and their level of competence tended to be higher. This trend was not restricted to mother tongues, indeed it was especially marked in the case of foreign language skills.

It can be argued that the contextual details mentioned above might explain the higher L2 levels in German and Italian reported by Swiss respondents, which, in addition, often corresponded to a score of B1. These trends do not indicate whether Swiss language education policies, or the practices in which they result, lead to higher levels of proficiency or skills in a wider range of foreign languages than those measured in other countries with different educational priorities. In fact, no significant difference was found between the two groups as regards English skills. Nonetheless, Swiss students' results regarding their self-reported levels in German and Italian showcase the potential effects of certain features of the learning context.

These comparisons also showed that Swiss participants in general used their German skills at work more often ($M = 1.96$ as opposed to $M = 1.54$). Besides its noticeable link to the educational context already discussed, this information also bears references to the local economic environment described in [Chapter 2](#), demonstrating the way in which economic phenomena, local education policies and daily linguistic practices might be linked. Such potential interactions among contextual spheres and L2 users comprise the focus of this chapter, as well as one of the most important findings of the present research. I address the role of the economic context in the Geneva study in more detail later (Section [5.6](#)), however, I would like to observe here that these results reveal an interesting trend. They show that not only did Swiss participants have higher overall self-reported scores in German but they also

put their skills to better use, which, as I argue in the next section, might benefit them financially and professionally.

These differences alone testify to the relevance of such a context-based approach and indicate that there are important comparisons to be made based on the place of participants' secondary studies. Moreover, they indicate that the two groups might be better examined as separate samples which might have some features in common due to their current location and occupation but which might also differ significantly in aspects of their profile directly or indirectly related to their past experience. When it comes to foreign languages, the learning context arguably constitutes a significant part of this past and, as I explain below, the above results foreshadowed some of the central dissimilarities in the attitudinal profiles of the two subgroups.

I compared the correlational connections in Swiss students' language attitudes as opposed to those reported by their foreign peers in the previous chapter (cf. [4.5.12](#)), and observed that they hinted at some noteworthy distinctions between the two groups. In particular, they showed marked differences in the relative weight of Swiss and foreign respondents ideal and L2 selves and in their role as a part of students' motivational profile. Moreover, they showed that the two groups differed in the potential impact of their attitudes toward native speakers of English and their international openness. However, due to the nature of these tests, the coefficients failed to reveal the direction of these links and, more importantly, were only indicative of the complex system of influences that might constitute participants' language attitudes. Therefore, they offered few answers and raised a number of questions, which, as I explained in [Chapter 3](#), were further investigated through regression analysis.

The regression figures, which I also reviewed in detail in that chapter, confirmed many of these assumptions, while they also provided a more complete picture of participants' motives and attitudes and the complicated interrelationships among them. More specifically, they shed light on the potential impact of the educational context in which respondents had spent most of their years. The two models calculated for participants who had obtained their secondary degree in Switzerland and those who had done so abroad respectively showed important differences that, when viewed in light of the particularities of the Swiss context, indicated interesting connections.

In general, the model portraying Swiss participants' attitudes was characterized by more complex but, at the same time, more meaningful connections. In addition, the structure can be considered as a textbook one, as the three pillars of the L2 Motivational Self System (Dörnyei, 2005, 2009) were identified as the direct predictors of subsample members' motivation to learn English. By contrast, foreign participants' motivational profile showed a more simplified design, which, as a result, offered less insight. While it included a stronger model explaining the immediate factors that contributed to the criterion measure, its composition left quite a few questions unanswered. One of the most marked differences between the two models, shown in [Figure 4.41](#) and [Figure 4.43](#) respectively, lies in the roles of the self-guides, which affected the motivated learning behavior of the two groups in highly contrasting ways. This is, in part, related to the structural differences that I explore below.

The figures mentioned above illustrate these structural contrasts, highlighting that Swiss students' profile not only involves more variables in more prominent positions but also a higher level of interrelatedness among these factors than the one that can be observed in the foreign subsample. At the same time, its complexity also means that the Swiss model is composed of weaker ties among the various factors, rendering them less powerful. In line with these general observations, this comparison revealed that Swiss participants had more complex L2 selves, which exert a more significant and more wide-spread influence.

Indeed, Swiss students' more elaborate English-related self-concept acted as a powerful motivator, inspiring them to put more effort into learning English. Particular to the group, the phenomenon might be linked to their educational background and social history in the Swiss context. Most of these students (73%) had completed their secondary school studies in Geneva, and, through their schooling, had the opportunity to construct detailed self-images, both in terms of their own aspirations and the ones they attribute to their environment. As a result, these selves reflect certain values and representations permeating the local context, namely a significant English-related component. Due to this contextual element and its potential implications, I would like to address the details of this model before moving on to discussing foreign respondents' motivation.

In addition to their contextual roots, Swiss participants' L2 selves are especially interesting because they were among the most influential factors in their overall motivational profile. As I mentioned before, in the model calculated for this subsample, motivation to learn English was directly determined by the three key elements of the Self System, that is, by the two self-guides

and learning attitudes. Moreover, the model showed that, while more important, Swiss students’ L2 selves were also more complex in structure than those reported by their foreign peers.

Besides the mutual link between the two self-guides, Swiss participants’ ideal L2 self was predicted by the amount of direct language contact that these respondents had, as well as their international openness, while ethnocentrism was shown as a hindering factor. These relationships reveal a rather practical ideal L2 self that is anchored both in language practice experience and interest in other cultures and their members. It is easy to imagine the future self-image that they reflect, one oriented toward language use in real life situations involving speakers from a variety of cultural backgrounds. Although these connections are not surprising in the multicultural, multilingual, setting of Geneva, it is interesting to note that attitudes toward native speaker target groups, the most important component of participants’ learning experience (cf. [4.6.2](#)), were not among the variables that contributed to the ideal L2 self. In addition, their past learning experience itself, reflected in their learning attitudes, did not seem to affect Swiss students’ vision of their ideal future English-speaking self.

Discussing the general model, I argued earlier ([5.4.3](#)) that orientations and situations related to first-hand experiences of English language communication emerged as a viable alternative to formal learning. The two aspects of L2 acquisition were not in complete juxtaposition, yet they find an echo in Swiss students’ ideal L2 self, which can be characterized by such, communicative, aspirations. This self-image, linked to students’ perceptions of their obligations in their social milieu yet fostered through language use and tuned toward international affairs, is in stark contrast with the one reported by foreign participants. I address these differences shortly, but first I would like to examine the socially constructed self-guide that was the prime predictor of this more practical self.

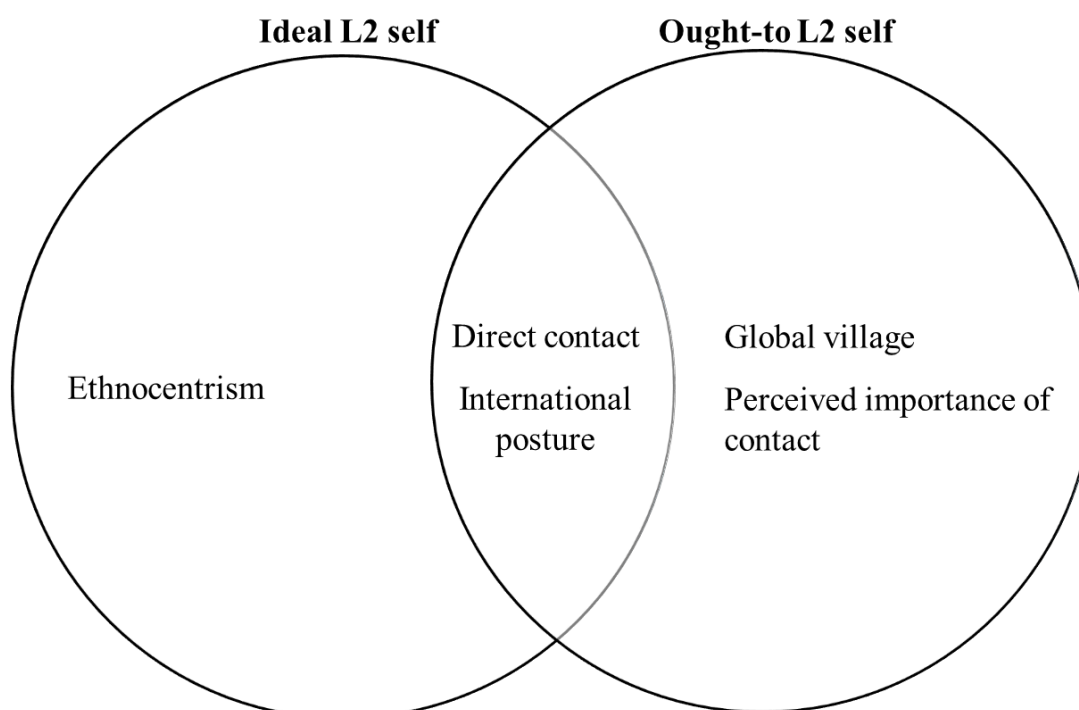
As I concluded in [Chapter 4](#), respondents who had finished their secondary schooling in Switzerland in general had ought-to L2 selves of a complex and elusive composition. Indeed, the variable was influenced by six others, although even a combination of these factors could only predict 31% of the variance. This raises the question whether these results describe a concept that is methodologically complicated to measure or rather one that members of the Swiss group find difficult to distinguish from other aspects of their language attitudes. For the sake of visual and statistical simplicity, a more simplified structure including only the four most relevant predictors was used for most of the analysis reported here. However, as I also

pointed out (4.6.3), this more elaborate model sheds more light on the characteristics and dynamics of Swiss participants’ ought-to L2 self.

While the overall impact of these six factors is mitigated by the complexity of the structure, it is interesting to observe the socially constructed self-image they depict, which, similarly to Swiss respondents’ ideal L2 self, is highly international and contact-based. Despite its connection to integration into the global community and international openness, the self-guide was, interestingly, not linked to respondents’ positive attitudes to native speaker target groups. As I concluded above, these attitudes, voiced by the teachers in Murray’s (2003) study, were not a part of how Swiss university students viewed themselves as ideal future English speakers either. These results, therefore, raise questions as to the effect of such views as reported by Swiss English teachers (ibid.) on learners’ motivational profile. They suggest that the relationship between the social context and language learners’ perceptions of its requirements might be a more complex one than expected. Therefore, in a broader sense, the model showed that the self-guide might be more important than previous studies suggested as it might provide invaluable help in gauging the influence of such contextual characteristics.

In summary, when analyzed separately, the Swiss subsample provides a model that is interesting for several reasons. First of all, in terms of the predictor variables of motivated learning behavior, it displays an exact fit for Dörnyei’s L2 Motivational Self System (2005, 2009), identifying the learning experience and the selves as the prime driving forces behind Swiss students’ motivation to learn English. Secondly, the structure reveals that both international openness and language contact were important aspects of the two self-guides, as summarized in Figure 5.1 drawing attention to the role of these factors in building a strong, motivating, self-concept. Last but not least, the lack of connections between Swiss participants’ English-speaking selves on the one hand and their attitudes to native speaker target groups and learning English in a formal setting on the other suggest that these aspects of the learning context did not exert a direct influence on the self-guides.

Figure 5.1 Direct predictors of the self-guides. Swiss sample.



Participants who had completed their secondary education outside of Switzerland, by contrast, had a somewhat different overall profile. One of the most remarkable differences can already be observed in the variables predicting their motivation to learn English. As [Figure 4.43](#) in the previous chapter shows, neither of the self-guides played a direct role in driving motivated learning behavior, which is in stark contrast with the model calculated for Swiss respondents and examined above. Two variables loaded into the criterion measure, however, only the influence of learning attitudes resembled the Swiss model. In the case of foreign students, the top motivators were attitudes to learning English and international openness, with frequent language contact having an adverse effect. Interestingly, the three predicted 48% ($R^2 = .48$) of the variance, which, when compared to the 32% ($R^2 = .32$) in the Swiss model, reveals a very strong contribution to motivation, further confirmed by the more significant Beta values (cf. [Table 4.43](#)).

It is not surprising that foreign respondents found international posture to be key to their motivation to learn English. While its role as a lingua franca in the present context remains questionable due to the prevalence of French and other languages (cf. [2.3.2](#)), English undoubtedly remains an international language. It is less and less related to any one particular target culture and, therefore, students coming to study in Geneva from a variety of cultural and

linguistic backgrounds might have developed an international openness that inspires them to become competent users of English. Moreover, it might be argued that they regard themselves as international speakers of the language, which, as I argue below, also finds echoes in their self-images.

As I have already stated, the ideal and the ought-to L2 self only played a secondary role in foreign students' motivation, through the influence of a number of other variables. Among the three direct motivators mentioned above, the selves contributed to two, namely learning attitudes and direct contact. The ideal L2 self was positively and mutually linked to foreigners' attitudes to the learning process, while the ought-to L2 self had a similar connection to the frequency of direct language contact. However, it is important to note that this last had a negative impact on the criterion measure, which indicates that foreign participants' perceptions of their obligations as members of their social circles can in turn be considered as a slight hindrance to their motivation to learn English.

These results might suggest that foreign students' learning attitudes stemmed in part from their inner desire to become competent speakers, fed by their vision of their future English-speaking self. At the same time, the relationship between the ought-to L2 self and direct contact might indicate that they were inspired to engage in practical language use scenarios by acknowledging the importance of such activities in their immediate social circles. Communicative aspects of language learning relevant to foreign participants' attitudes to the learning process as well. In fact, their views of learning the language, influenced by their willingness to communicate in English and their orientation toward speakers from England and the United States, showed a similar composition to the Swiss model discussed above. This lends further evidence to my earlier conclusions regarding the importance of first-hand communicative experience in foreign language learning.

It is highly intriguing that, for this model, the regression results did not indicate any immediate relationship between the two self-guides, despite the high correlation coefficient in [Table 4.33](#). Thus, in the case of students who had completed their secondary education outside Switzerland, the ideal and ought-to L2 selves not only had a limited impact on participants' motivation to learn English but nor were they significantly related concepts. These results might raise important questions regarding the relevance of the self-guides as motivational factors in the foreign subsample and concerning the methods used to measure their strength and influence. They are especially interesting in light of my earlier findings ([Table 4.21](#)) that showed that

foreigners’ ideal L2 self was slightly stronger ($M = 4.53$) than Swiss participants’ overall score ($M = 4.35$) on the scale.

On the one hand, these unexpected results might be linked to the differences between the contextual backgrounds of the two groups. It can be argued that students who had obtained their secondary degrees abroad might have less elaborate or motivating English-speaking selves due to the different contexts they have traveled through. While these experiences might have contributed to their ideal English-speaking self-vision, they failed to create a self-concept that is as strongly embedded in foreign respondents’ language attitudes as the one observed in the Swiss model. The fact that world citizenship, participants’ sense of membership toward the international community, was the prime component of these selves seems to support this hypothesis. Indeed, in the previous chapters ([3.4.8](#) and [4.4.16](#)) I concluded that the concept of global citizenship that emerged from the statistical analysis of the survey results, albeit influential, appeared elusive and difficult to conceptualize. In other words, while the variable played an important role in the models discussed here, students’ scores reflected a certain hesitation as to its exact definition.

On the other hand, the significance and generalizability of these results must be assessed with caution. Interestingly, coefficients and significance values showed that this model was both stronger and more reliable than the one calculated for the Swiss subsample. Nevertheless, the heterogeneous nature of the group, with a diversity of L1s and 43 different countries of origin listed (cf. [3.7](#)), makes generalizations difficult. The simplified structure of the regression model, which, as I argued earlier, provides few details but raises a number of questions, serves as further indication of this difficulty.

The above results are also surprising in the light of Murray’s (2003) results. Based on the unanimously favorable views of the Swiss English teachers who participated in that study, one would have expected native speaker target groups to play a more marked role in the UNIGE students’ motivation. While a positive orientation toward native speakers led to somewhat more favorable views of the learning process itself across the sample, it did not influence motivated learning behavior directly. It is true that this effect was ever so slightly stronger in the Swiss model ($\beta = .42, p = .000$ as opposed to $\beta = .40, p = .000$) and the variable did emerge as a component of Swiss students’ ought-to L2 self groups ($\beta = .19, p < .01$) when the reduced list, consisting of only three contributors, was considered. By comparison, the variable did not have any other impact on the motivational profile of the foreign subgroup. Nevertheless, on the

whole, it can be argued that participants’ attitudes to native speakers played a similar role in both models, limited to their influence on learning attitudes.

Interestingly, the dataset yielded similar results regarding respondents’ readiness to use English in public conversations. In a manner resembling the dynamics described above, willingness to communicate was shown among the indirect factors contributing to motivated learning behavior as it fostered Swiss ($\beta = .20, p < .01$) and foreign students’ ($\beta = .17, p < .01$) positive learning attitudes. At the same time, it is worth noting that even in this position the variable was the least powerful and was preceded by two others in the Swiss and the foreign model alike. Thus, it can be concluded that, despite its prominence as a direct obstacle to motivated learning behavior in the overall model, WTC remained a background factor in the two separate structures. These results do not contradict my earlier observations concerning the potentially demotivating effects of communicative experience and self-confidence (5.4.3). Indeed, at certain points in their learning career, L2 users might consider fully authentic practice opportunities as more beneficial for their language development or as a better use for their existing skills. Nonetheless, when examined separately, the two subsamples did not display such trends.

On the other hand, some signs of the phenomenon were found in the foreign model, as, in that structure, students’ level of language contact had a direct negative influence on their motivated learning behavior ($\beta = -.20, p < .01$), indicating that these experiences changed how they approached the learning process. Based on this connection, it could also be argued that negative experiences of language contact might deter users from putting further efforts into learning English. However, given the motivational impact of these participants’ international openness ($\beta = .21, p < .01$) and the positive effect of WTC on their learning attitudes ($\beta = .17, p < .01$), a feature mirrored in the Swiss model, it is more likely that communicative experience and self-confidence played a different role. Therefore, I would argue that the results suggest that it was instances of successful language use that prompted foreign students to apply their skills in more practical ways.

One more detail that further nuances this issue is the relationship between participants’ willingness to speak English in front of others and their international openness. In the overall model ($\beta = -.16, p < .05$) and, ever so slightly more so, in the Swiss one ($\beta = -.17, p < .05$), international posture has a negative influence on WTC. The descriptions of these two concepts, detailed in Chapter 3 (Section 3.4) offer two possible explanations. First, since an increased

level of international openness reflects the importance participants attributed to the international community, it is possible that these opinions heightened the risk of ridicule and, as a result, their anxiety to speak English in public. Alternatively, a strong interest in international affairs might bring English L2 speakers in contact with other languages and cultures, and these experiences might encourage them to use other languages. Given the remarkable degree of plurilingualism in the sample, I consider the second possibility especially worth investigating.

Although the survey data does not offer a straightforward answer to this question, the indications it contains underline an important phenomenon. The results discussed in this chapter, as well as the themes they evoke, draw attention to the significance and potential impact of the settings in which the study took place. This is interesting because it might explain why enquiries in different learning contexts can lead to contrasting results, an assumption that I revisit shortly. Moreover, the present study also illustrates that, in certain cases, detailed contextual analysis might not only be beneficial but necessary in order to address anomalies in the data.

Therefore, it is not surprising that, as I already pointed out above ([5.4.2](#)), international aspects of learning English played a more important role in the foreign model. While world citizenship was also a component of Swiss students' ought-to L2 self ($\beta = -.16, p < .05$), it was truly central to foreign participants' English-speaking selves. I stated earlier that this distinction permeated the two models; whereas international openness and world citizenship were important second and third-level factors in foreigners' profile, the Swiss model was characterized by the leading influence of the L2 selves. These differences also reflect the contextual spheres that can be considered as the most relevant to these students.

On the one hand, study participants who had obtained their secondary degree outside Switzerland represent a more international sample, regarding their linguistic and cultural background. Thus, their attitudes toward English might incorporate these experiences and render them more interested in learning a global language so as to fulfil their communicational goals. By contrast, students who had spent their teenage years in Switzerland can be argued to have developed more complex and more motivating L2 selves, which also integrate values and representations from their local context.

Participants’ direct motives might testify to these two types of backgrounds. In summary, foreigners’ motivation corresponded to a significantly stronger model, but its components were also less conform to expectations. Swiss students, however, had a motivational profile that centered on the L2 Motivational Self System (Dörnyei, 2005, 2009) as the prime predictors of motivated learning behavior. As I pointed out above, the contextual relevance of these findings is twofold.

First, the common element in the two sets was learning attitudes, indicating the influence of participants’ past experience as language learners on their motivation to learn English. It can be argued that this experience is to a great extent determined by the environment in which learning takes place and therefore reflects characteristics of that particular context. Secondly, I already mentioned that the differences between the two models showed further signs of this influence. In line with their background and L2 learning experience, foreigners appeared more motivated by the practical-international dimensions of English proficiency. In the case of Swiss respondents, motivated learning behavior was linked to their English-speaking self-concept, which also played a more relevant role in their motivational profile in general and can be argued to be the result of growing up and learning languages in the region. Therefore, the composition of these selves might offer additional insight into the details of this contextual impact.

Indeed, the L2 self-guides developed by Swiss students and foreigners showed very little resemblance. They were, surprisingly, unrelated in the case of foreign participants, only linked through world citizenship, a predictor they shared. At the same time, Swiss students reported English-speaking selves that were mutually connected and formed a system of their own. As I observed above, the international element was significantly less prominent in these markedly more complex selves, which, themselves influenced by a host of other variables, can also be considered as more strongly embedded in the local context than foreign students’ English-related self-concept.

The importance of the various contexts in which language learners develop, use and conceptualize their L2 skills gained further evidence when I compared the results of the UNIGE survey with those of the Hungarian study ([4.7.4](#)). These comparisons revealed that UNIGE students’, especially Swiss participants’, motivational profiles displayed certain similarities to the models obtained elsewhere, while in other aspects they were distinct from the findings of former research. I concluded Chapter 2 with a brief analysis of the two Geneva models in light of two other studies. One of these was conducted in Hungary on a sample of university students

(Csizér & Kormos, 2009), while the other research investigated three groups of learners, from Japan, China and Iran, whose age varied from eleven to 53 (Taguchi et al., 2009). Now I propose to revisit the results of this comparison and address them in more detail.

The first interesting difference could be found at the second level of the model, comprised of the direct predictors of motivated learning behavior. These motivators corresponded to the key components of Dörnyei's (2005, 2009) self system in three of the models, whereas foreign participants in the Geneva study were the only speakers whose L2 selves were not related to their motivation to learn English. The internal structure of this layer presented further dissimilarities. As I mentioned previously, the self-guides did not directly influence foreign students' motivation. The rest of the samples, although similar in terms of components, differed somewhat as to the relative power of the predictor variables and their relationship to each other.

For instance, the figures in Chapter 4 ([4.7.4](#)) show that while Hungarian university students communicated an ideal L2 self that was of the same motivational weight as their learning attitudes (Csizér and Kormos, 2009), the learning experience was by far the strongest influence in the Swiss subsample. Interestingly, Taguchi and colleagues (2009, p. 156) reported similar findings in all but one case. Chinese learners' ideal L2 self surpassed their learning experience in its impact on motivated learning behavior, suggesting a sense of self that was more strongly linked to the reasons behind respondents' learning efforts. The reverse relationship found in the Swiss group could be a sign of the superior role of the learning context in forming Swiss students' motivation to learn English. As I argue below, Swiss participants' selves had more widespread connections to other factors, indicating that they were more deeply rooted in the contexts with which students engaged. Consequently, the prominent influence of the learning context can be attributed to this effect, which draws attention to the particularly contextual nature of the Swiss data.

The role of the ought-to L2 self provided even more contextual insight. In the models where it affected participants' motivation to learn English directly, the self-guide tended to be the least influential among the components of the Self System. In the Hungarian study, its effect on the criterion measure yielded one of the lowest regression coefficients in the model. Moreover, not only was its contribution to motivated learning behavior less important, the results reported by both Csizér and Kormos (2009) and Taguchi et al. (2009) showed that, in their samples, the self-guide was also unrelated to the other contributors. Csizér and Kormos (2009), explaining the difference between the younger subsample and the group of university students they had

surveyed, theorized that the latter had weaker and less influential ought-to L2 selves as a result of internalization. They argued that at a time when they have to make important decisions and take responsibility for their choices, university students might view their goals and values as less related to social pressure and more a part of their own identity.

By contrast, Swiss respondents' ought-to L2 self in the present research proved to be a more central factor, as well as a stronger motivator than their ideal future self-image. Although it was decidedly less well contoured than foreigners' socially defined self and displayed only loose connections to other factors, its position also meant that the self-guide was deeply embedded in the final model. In turn, this might be a reflection of Swiss UNIGE students' involvement in their local context.

While these findings seem to contradict Csizér and Kormos's (2009) argument, they can also be considered to represent another angle of the same phenomenon. On the one hand, as the Hungarian study showed, the focus of university students' motivation to learn English might shift from their perceptions of the social roles and values that they are expected to adopt to their more personal aspirations and visions as they take their future and professional life into their own hands. At the same time, this newfound responsibility might confront students with certain aspects of the social and economic environments in which they wish to build their lives, rendering them more conscious of the value of foreign language skills in these settings.

Based on the results, this milieu can be characterized by a sense of membership in the global community as well as various attitudes associated with first-hand language contact. This is not surprising, given the international nature of the Geneva context, but these results are also revelatory of Swiss participants' perceptions of their social environment. Swiss students considered global citizenship and the ability to communicate in English as desirable attributes that rendered them valuable members of their social circles. Moreover, since the two aspects of their L2 selves were mutually linked, it can be argued that the views pertaining to their ought-to L2 self were in the process of becoming internalized into their ideal L2 self, forming their personal goals and aspirations.

The relationship between learners' ideal L2 self and learning attitudes also presented interesting patterns, which showcase the processes of self-formation observed by Ryan (2015) and Magid (2014). In general, the Japanese, Chinese and Iranian groups mentioned above had views of the learning process that were very strongly influenced by their ideal L2 self (Taguchi

et al., 2009). Conversely, participants in the Hungarian study testified to a different phenomenon, their positive learning experience slightly increasing the strength of their English-speaking ideal self-vision (Csizér and Kormos, 2009). In this respect, they were similar to foreign participants in the present study, although in the case of the latter, the ideal self-guide only played a role as a background factor. Nonetheless, this hints at the experience altering potential of the ideal L2 self, the strength of which determined foreign respondents' views of the learning process. Intriguingly, the L2 selves were not connected at all to Swiss students' past experience as language learners.

This indicates that, while Swiss participants' motivation to learn English was, in part, a result of their positive learning experiences, the latter did not play a role in the development of their English-related selves. It appears that these elements of their self-concept had been constructed outside the formal context of language learning, arguably through language use and direct contact with other speakers. Once more, when considered in light of the Geneva setting, it is understandable that these aspects of competence in a global language proved important to students' L2 selves. On the other hand, this contrast further contributes to the discussion of first hand practice opportunities and formal learning as motivational factors (cf. 5.4.3), underlining the importance of both types of experience.

Moreover, there were noticeable differences among the various models as regards the connections between the self-guides on the one hand and international attitudes on the other. In most of the models discussed above, variables such as international posture (e.g. Csizér & Kormos, 2009) or cultural interest (Taguchi et al, 2009) had a considerable impact on participants' ideal L2 self, indicating that these orientations were an integral part of learners' vision of their future English-speaking self. The present study unveiled a slightly different pattern. In the case of foreigners, it was integrative tendencies toward the global village that influenced respondents' ideal L2 self ($\beta = .38, p = .000$), while the same sense of membership was shown as a component of Swiss students' ought-to L2 self ($\beta = .25, p = .000$ in the simplified model). At the same time, in this group, the more general variable of international posture contributed, albeit to a lesser extent, to students' ideal self-image ($\beta = .13, p < .05$). The distinction in the Swiss sample is interesting, especially considering the ought-to self-guide was not related to the international dimension in the other studies mentioned above.

Further comparisons, due to the different sets of variables included in these questionnaires, are less pertinent. Nevertheless, it is interesting that the three subsamples in Taguchi and

colleagues’ (2009) study had such similar profiles, despite their cultural dissimilarities. By contrast, the Swiss group that took part in the present study exhibited markedly distinct trends, in part as a result of the prominence of their ought-to L2 self.

These results clearly indicate that the place of secondary schooling can play a role in the formation of language attitudes and L2-related aspects of the self. Thus, they showcase the potential interference of contextual influences when it comes to university students’ language attitudes, motivation and sense of self. These factors, from educational history to the economic milieu in which participants will most probably seek employment, make up the environments that university students travel through during their journey as language learners and speakers. It is important to add that, meanwhile, participants are part of, and deeply embedded in, the larger social and economic context that surrounds them, both at the local and the global level. The findings discussed below suggest that taking these environmental factors into account can lead to a more in-depth analysis and thus a deeper understanding of motivational phenomena.

5.5.2 *Global and local selves*

In the course of this dissertation, I repeatedly concluded that students’ linguistic and motivational profile showed marked connections to the social milieu in which they lived. I also argued that in today’s world, characterized by globalization, mobility and social media, these environments are local and global at the same time. Indeed, the characteristics of the Swiss model, presented above, indicate that these global and local spheres not only had considerable impact on students’ English-speaking self-concept but they were also intricately connected.

Thus, these findings evoke strong references to Lamb’s (2004, 2009) conceptualization of bicultural identity and suggest that local and global aspects of the selves are not in opposition but complement each other. Indeed, Forel (2017) observes that learning a foreign language can affect and enrich one’s perception of one’s first language, and it can be argued that the same shift can occur in one’s self-concept. Furthermore, as Pavlenko and Norton’s (2007) description of imagined communities claims, first-hand involvement in the target language groups does not necessarily have to be frequent, or, by extension, real, for positive attitudes to form. In fact, the results of the UNIGE study seem to support this hypothesis, since surprisingly sparse opportunities of direct language contact were paired with highly positive attitudes toward the international community and important links between such views and Swiss participants’ socially constructed L2 self.

As I observed above, their sense of world citizenship was the foremost component of Swiss students' ought-to L2 self ($\beta = .25, p = .000$), which hints at the importance of this orientation in the Swiss context. It can be argued that the motivational impact of the global village stems from positive representations related to the target community that are widely shared in learners' immediate social environment. On the other hand, this relationship was even more pronounced in the case of foreign respondents ($\beta = .55, p = .000$), which might indicate that, instead of forming an aspect of their local environment, the global village can be considered as their social reality. Thus, these figures might mark the difference between an indirect influence, exerted via the social representations of a given society, and one that identifies the international milieu as foreign students' main social context.

The decidedly weaker connection between Swiss participants' international openness and ideal English-speaking self is suggestive of a different effect. As I pointed out earlier, the global community presents learners of English with a particularly accessible target group with which they can identify. On the one hand, this is linked to the global presence of English (also discussed in [2.1.1](#)), which makes engagement and interaction with other speakers relatively easy. On the other hand, such a flexible and vaguely defined target group readily lends itself to imagination and vision-building. In this sense, it is not surprising that international posture emerged as a contributor of Swiss students' ideal L2 self ($\beta = .13, p < .05$) and, in the extended model, ought-to L2 self ($\beta = .14, p < .05$), as well as a direct predictor of foreigners' motivation ($\beta = .21, p < .01$).

Given the context of the study, it is not surprising that participants consider a positive orientation toward international culture and speakers an asset in their local milieu. First of all, the Geneva region is highly multicultural, partly due to the presence of international organizations and their employees, who tend to come from all around the world. Therefore, even if the daily functioning language of the area is French, there are a number of languages that contribute to the considerable plurilingualism of its inhabitants (cf. Lüdi and Werlen, 2005). This aspect of the local context can then easily become a part of how university students perceive their socially defined English-speaking self-image. Secondly, the relevance of international openness to Swiss respondents' ideal self-image indicates that they appreciate English skills as a means to fulfil their own personal and professional goals.

That the selves and their global orientation appear to be strongly and harmoniously anchored in the local context suggests that they are not in conflict with national identity and localized

values. I mentioned in [Chapter 2](#) that English, as a global language, is often contrasted with Swiss official languages in academic as well as everyday discourse on language education in the different linguistic regions in the country. This argument generally rests on the comparison between official languages, especially German, which carry references to national identity and are regarded as useful in the Swiss context, and English, which gives access to the products and assets of the globalized world economy. Meanwhile, the survey results seem to indicate that, in the eyes of university students, English is relevant to their local Geneva reality.

In addition, the use of English in contact situations, measured by the variable of direct contact, was also identified as a powerful background factor in the models, demonstrating that the role of these experiences as driving forces of self-construction and motivation was a powerful one. I analyzed these relationship earlier and drew the general conclusion that the more language contact opportunities learners have, the more elaborate their future self-image becomes. Thus, even the relatively infrequent opportunities that participants had to use English strengthened their views on the importance of the language in their immediate social context.

The local English-speaking population (cf. [2.3.1](#)), which includes both native and non-native speakers, offers one possible explanation for this phenomenon. It might be their presence, and the opportunities it presents for language practice, that increases the usefulness of English in the Geneva setting. On the other hand, it is interesting to consider whether students’ views of the prestige of English in their local milieu might rather reflect the values widely shared in their social circles instead of their own first-hand experience. While the results do not provide a clear answer to this question, it can be concluded that direct language contact is important as it was shown to help strengthen study participants’ locally defined English-speaking self.

This also suggests that activities centered around the concepts of international posture and the global village can constitute a perfect component in any program that, similarly to the one described in Magid (2015), aims to enhance learners’ vision of their future English-speaking self. It is also interesting to note that the concerns I mentioned repeatedly in [Chapter 2](#) regarding the potential dangers associated with the world-widespread of English and the globalization of values seem to do little to diminish the power of the global community as a means of strengthening English learners’ self-concept and motivation, both of which are essential for a positive learning outcome. These conclusions are intriguing because they indicate that other processes are also at play, which result in the local importance of English and the international community.

The results do not offer conclusive findings as to the exact role of English in the Geneva context, nor do they shed light on its value relative to German. Investigating this question in more depth would be a highly pertinent avenue for future scientific work. At the same time, the contextualized view taken in the present dissertation focused on one more area that might provide some insight into the issue. In [Chapter 2](#), I reviewed various aspects of the economic milieu which, besides the social sphere, can arguably have an impact on foreign language learning.

5.5.3 *Homo economicus, the economic self*

The results discussed so far draw attention to the fact that context is an important factor in language learning and thus needs to be taken into account in its analysis. I showed how the local context might play a role in UNIGE students’ language attitudes and the formation of their English-speaking selves. I also pointed out that economic considerations are an important component of both the global and the local context and might contribute to foreign language learners’ views. It can be argued that such aspects can also become significant elements of the self, which raises the question whether their influence can be directly observed in the mechanics of university students’ ideal and ought-to L2 selves.

The idea of an economic self, or a *homo economicus*, is not a novel one. An early conceptualization by Mill (1974) gives “an arbitrary definition of man, as a being who inevitably does that by which he may obtain the greatest amount of necessities, conveniences, and luxuries, with the smallest quantity of labour and physical self-denial with which they can be obtained.” From this perspective, language learning becomes, in addition to its other aspects discussed above, an investment, with implications of costs, profits and efficiency. Moreover, when considered in context, individuals are also *homines economici*, which adds further complexity to their motives, attitudes and self-concept.

In [Chapter 2](#), I argued that language economics, a field that addresses such issues, brings an interesting and worthwhile approach to the study of the selves in context. Therefore, in the next section I explore the potential of such an economic perspective in light of the study results. Here, I would like to stress that considering this economic facet of participants’ L2 selves proved highly revealing. Several of my earlier conclusions gained further significance through this analysis.

That the Geneva sample is particularly interesting from this aspect became evident as soon as the first tests were carried out in order to obtain a general description of UNIGE students' language background. The remarkable scale of collective multilingualism and individual plurilingualism distinguished this group from those described in many L2 motivation studies. In addition, the results of the linguistic analysis unveiled notable similarities between UNIGE students' language profile and the labor market trends discussed in [Chapter 2](#).

In addition to the language data, the characteristics and connections of study participants' English-speaking selves suggested that they were strongly anchored in the economic context. Indeed, the findings mentioned above highlight the interesting possibilities that might lie in an interdisciplinary approach that brings together concepts from the fields of SLA and language economics. I addressed some of the theoretical aspects of such a perspective in [Chapter 2](#), and in a related article (Csillagh, 2016), I took a brief glance at its applicability to the Geneva data. However, I dedicate an entire section to this interdisciplinary analysis below, in order to further examine its potential and broader implications.

5.5.4 *Complex and dynamic selves*

In this section, I portrayed how study participants' L2 selves testify to the influence of certain aspects of the contexts in which their life as individuals and language learners takes place. These relationships among contextual and attitudinal factors, in which the ideal and ought-to L2 selves played a central role, led me to the conclusion that the former can also have an impact on students' motivation to learn English. These findings show that this influence is so profound, even though it tends to be subtle, that it can be argued to be a part of the complex system of language learning.

The interrelationships described above showcase this complexity. More specifically, the regression models (cf. [4.7](#)) display a layered structure in which factors at one level exert their influence on variables comprising the previous one and, as a result, on motivated learning behavior indirectly. Moreover, as I showed in this chapter and the previous one, there were further, less linear, connections in the system of UNIGE students' attitudes toward English. In addition, the structures also revealed a number of smaller systems that were found to interact with one another in complex ways.

Therefore, it can be assumed that shifts in the system can occur at all levels and can have an impact on the entire structure. Last but not least, this network of motivational forces was shown as embedded in and in mutual interaction with the spheres that constitute the learning context. Not all of these interactions could be mapped using the tools of the present study, therefore the results discussed in this dissertation merely hint at how complex the system of university students' language attitudes can be.

Individuals in contexts are at the center of this system and the interactions between English learners' and users' self-concept and the learning environment indicate that their views and actions can also leave an imprint on the structure, changing and shaping it. I addressed this dynamic nature of L2 motivation from a theoretical point of view in [Chapter 2](#), presenting it as one of the basic principles of DST. The study results can be considered as confirmation of this view, suggesting that the dynamic principle is also applicable to practical aspects of language learning.

Thus, it can be argued that the model describing study participants' motivation can shift together in time and space, reflecting but also inducing changes in respondents' self-concept. This suggests that the L2 selves depicted here form part of a system that is both dynamic and complex. It can also be concluded that contextual influences are an integral element of this system and studying language learning in contexts can greatly enhance our understanding of motivational and self-related phenomena. As a key finding of the UNIGE study, both the social and economic environment emerged as central to university students' language attitudes and English-speaking selves.

5.6 Economic motives, motivational economics

From a theoretical standpoint, the economic context is one of the most tangible and, as the results of the present study indicate, the most influential ones that university students come into contact. The economic advantages that foreign language skills can provide are undeniable (cf. Grin, 1999), and English is no exception. While the proportions of these benefits can vary from context to context and from one language to another, as I concluded in [Chapter 2](#), they constitute an important factor in language education policy. Moreover, these associations can play a significant role in learners' language attitudes and, therefore, are especially worth investigating as a part of the contextual framework of L2 learning.

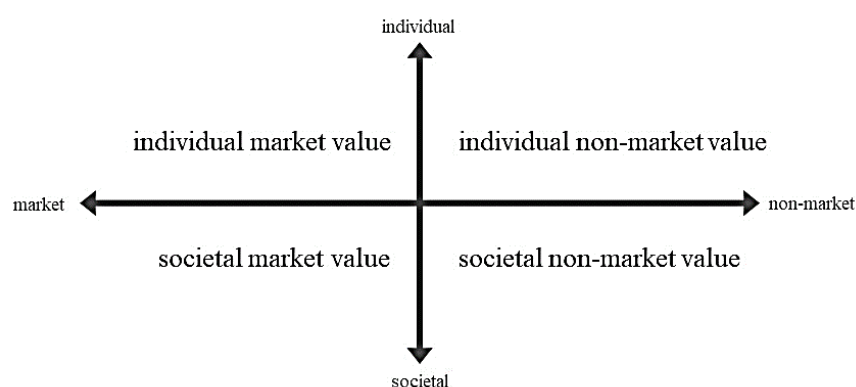
From a more practical perspective, the question as to why certain learners acquire higher levels of competence can also be viewed as an economic one. What factors can contribute to the success of language learning, thus transforming the time, energy and other, financial or non-material, resources into increased proficiency, better performance or other achievements? In this section, I address this question, both from a theoretical as well as an empirical angle, in light of the results of the present study.

5.6.1 *A return to economic concepts in L2 motivation theory*

As I observed in [Chapter 2](#), language economics, a field that focuses on the relationships among economic variables and linguistic factors (Grin, 2003), proposes a number of tools for this type of analysis. In that chapter, I provided an overview of the main concepts and principles of this branch of economics on which the present study relied and explained their relevance to L2 motivation theory. I argued there that the theoretical connections between these tools of economic analysis and the key components of the L2 Motivational Self System allow interdisciplinary projects to further investigate motivational phenomena and to explore the potential of these ties. Below, I briefly reiterate my earlier conclusions, before moving on to discussing the findings that emerged from such an interdisciplinary examination of the results of the UNIGE survey.

First of all, I would like to draw attention, once more, to Grin's (1999, 2003) explanation of the economic *value* of language skills, which can be divided into four types. As Figure 5.2 shows, they can be contrasted based on two characteristics, namely whether they are market or non-market related and if they concern the individual or society as a whole. These categories are especially interesting when compared to some of the fundamental distinctions in mainstream L2 motivation theory. While the integrative-instrumental dichotomy (cf. [2.2.2.1](#)) presents an idea of L2 motivation that shows a marked resemblance to the economic classification, the relationships between the latter and the Self System seem to be more complex.

Figure 5.2 Types of economic value (adapted from Grin, 2003)



This complexity, some theoretical aspects of which I addressed in [2.4.1](#), also reflects the nature of language as a complex construct. It needs to be pointed out that, from an economic point of view, languages represent a very special type of commodity. Indeed, it might not even be suitable to apply that fundamental concept of mainstream economics to the study of languages. Languages are often described as *socially constructed* and, as a result, closely linked to social values and representations, abstract concepts that are often external to the rules of the economic market and do not conform to the logic of economic enquiry. The word itself is problematic, because, as Grin (2003) concludes, it is difficult to identify the “goods” exchanged in a linguistic *exchange* and the exact value that they can be assigned. Regardless of these technical and, in some respect, philosophical, difficulties, such economic concepts offer valuable insights into the mechanics of motivational phenomena.

For instance, in any general discussion on the value of a given language, utilitarian reasons often intermingle with sentimental ones. This is one of the reasons why the notions of integrativeness and instrumentality maintained their popularity in L2 motivation theory and research for a long time. They embody these two facets of language learning motives perfectly, all the while displaying links to all four types of values.

On the one hand, both integrativeness and instrumentality can be connected to individual values. The former represents more of the non-market benefits associated with proficiency in the target language, which provides access to certain target groups. The latter includes financial gains as well as some other, more abstract, advantages that can result from one’s competence in the target language and ability to use it. At the same time, it is important to note that members of a coveted social group might enjoy such privileges, suggesting that an integrative orientation toward the L2 community can also entail financial goals in addition to sentimental ones.

On the other hand, membership in such a community is undeniably linked to the representations, goals and welfare of the group that learners wish to join. This connection showcases the importance of societal values of both types in language learners' motives. Thus, from this point of view, the overall value of a certain foreign language in the eyes of the learner can encompass the entire range and can act as a powerful motivator. This applies especially to more recent conceptualizations of the socio-educational model (cf. Gardner, 2001, also [2.2.2.1](#)), in which the two traits are not regarded as exclusive, but rather as motives that can complement one another.

Examining this issue from a self-based perspective provides a more complicated, but also more comprehensive, idea of the economic value of foreign languages, as perceived by the learner. Similarly to integrativeness and instrumentality, the ideal and ought-to L2 selves might seem, at first glance, to correspond to distinct categories of values. By definition, the ideal L2 self incorporates language learners' aspirations and personal goals, whereas the ought-to L2 self is comprised of learners' image of their English-speaking self as defined by their social environment and its expectations. Therefore, the former might be considered as an amalgam of individual goals and the latter as a representation of societal values.

However, as I argued in [Chapter 2](#), the boundaries between the two self-guides in terms of the societal value of a given foreign language can be more difficult to define, resulting in more complicated connections between economic and motivational factors. This is not surprising, given that the ideal and ought-to L2 selves represent facets of the same notion: language learners' English-speaking self-concept. This phenomenon proved to be especially relevant in the Swiss context, as it helped explain some characteristic trends in the data. However, before examining those findings in more detail, I would like to conclude this brief theoretical discussion by addressing one more element that is key to their understanding.

Language learning is often compared to an investment, and motivated learners tend to be described as active, engaged (Norton, 2007) and even *invested*. Besides the obvious references to the market value of language skills, this metaphor also alludes to the fact that a certain balance is expected between the resources dedicated to teaching and learning the language and the outcome of this process. This balance in a system such as language learning can be analyzed, from an economic perspective, in terms of *efficiency*.

At the beginning of this dissertation (2.4.2), I examined the concept of economic efficiency and how it applies to the different levels of language education. Here, in line with the aims of this dissertation, I focus on L2 learners as individuals, whose investment into language learning can result, depending on a number of factors, in a range of learning outcomes. I observed that, when it comes to individual learners, the model of efficiency presented by Grin (2003) can also be applied to the dynamics of their language learning motivation. In this case, these dynamics can determine system internal efficiency by helping ensure the transformation of the dedicated resources into language learning success, in the form of fulfilled goals and increased proficiency.

It is clear that these concepts show language learning motivation in a slightly new light. First of all, while comparing the affective-cognitive process of foreign language learning and self creation to the fundamental laws of economics might seem controversial at first glance, this approach provides a framework for testing some of the most frequent assumptions about L2 motivation. Secondly, the resemblances between certain trends in motivation theory and these tools of economic analysis are so marked that they present an interesting topic for further exploration. Indeed, in an era of L2 motivation research characterized by interdisciplinary perspectives and contextually enhanced methods of inquiry (cf. Dörnyei et al., 2015), the relationships between economic and motivational factors might provide especially valuable insight into the influence of the economic context on learners' profile. I will argue below that they proved to be especially relevant to Swiss university students' motivation to learn English.

5.6.2 *Economic factors in the study*

As I stated, in addition to these theoretical connections between economic and motivational phenomena, the tools described above also played another, more concrete, role in the present study. In the course of this chapter, I often argued that certain characteristics of the Geneva dataset were indicative of processes pointing beyond the attitudinal variables examined. Some of these trends evoked strong references to the theoretical concepts mentioned above. This was especially the case where foreign language skills and the L2 selves were concerned, but it could also be observed in UNIGE students' motivational profile. It is interesting to consider that these findings might be related to the particular economic context of the study. Indeed, the theoretical connections outlined in the previous subsection provided a lens through which certain trends

in the data could be analyzed and understood, and, as a result, further insight into the interplay of attitudinal and potentially contextual factors could be gained.

The linguistic diversity observed in the entire sample testifies to the importance of these languages in the Geneva context. More specifically, the number of foreign languages spoken and still learned shows that it is not only heritage languages that contribute to this multilingual portfolio and that represent a value in the eyes of study participants. Earlier, I pointed out that this diversity was also characteristic of the Swiss subsample, with Swiss students' L2 skills in German and Italian significantly surpassing those of their foreign peers. As I explore below in more detail, this, on the one hand, is indicative of the success of Swiss foreign language planning. On the other hand, it also hints at the influence that the local value of these languages might have on Swiss participants' L2 learning decisions.

This value, as manifested in students' L2 portfolio, can be considered individual and societal at the same time and is linked to economic as well as to more abstract social benefits associated with proficiency in the foreign languages in question. In the previous chapter, I demonstrated the relevance of German and Italian skills in the overall sample but especially in Swiss students' profile. Those results, when considered in the economic context of Geneva, show that Swiss official languages have an important place in this setting.

As Grin (1999) explains, skills in these languages are highly rewarded in the Swiss job market and they are also sought after in various sectors in French-speaking Switzerland (Grin, Sfreddo and Vaillancourt, 2009). Indeed, as I mentioned earlier, in my overview of these and other studies ([2.3.4](#)), Swiss official languages were found to complement English in the language profiles generating the highest rates of return. For instance, competence in German was in shortage at over half (54%) of the firms surveyed (Grin et al., 2009) and remunerated by a salary increase of 14% (Grin, 1999) on average. In both cases, the figures were lower for English (42% and 10%), indicating the greater profitability of German.

Whether their answers reflect their language learning journey in the framework of Swiss education or a personal choice, participants who had completed their secondary degree in Switzerland had profiles that corresponded to these requirements. As individuals, their language skills can grant them access to increased salaries and a wider selection of positions. These financial gains contribute to the market value of the languages in question at the level of

speakers, while they also increase national GDP and pay income taxes, which benefit the system as a whole.

In addition to these market-related benefits, official languages also constitute valuable assets in Swiss society. Being able to speak the other's language (see [2.3.2](#)) is essential both to interregional communication and commerce and to the ideological cohesion of the *Willensnation*. Despite widespread notions regarding the *harshness* sounding nature of German and the slightly romanticized image of Italian, the former is the first foreign language taught in French-speaking cantons. Moreover, the successful L2 learners who participated in our interview pilot study (Csillagh and Waltermann, to be published) emphasized that, while such social representations exist, they had always found their German skills beneficial and rewarded on many occasions. These interviewees mentioned gains such as fulfilled cultural interests and professional goals, besides the advantages they enjoyed as travelers in other countries. Thus, they testified to the different types of values that the language allowed them to access.

As to English, similar conclusions can be drawn regarding its importance, although the language undoubtedly differs in its social role from German and Italian. Despite the superiority of German in terms of salary differentials and job choices, Grin's (1999) results show that skills in English were the second most profitable. Speakers of English in the census data examined reported on average 10% higher salaries than non-speakers, and skills in English also tended to correlate with increased hours of employment. Overall, these findings indicate that English can be associated with a slightly less remarkable but nonetheless significant individual market value to that of German. In the present study, only a small number of students gave evidence of no skills in English, and participants' overall reported L2 level of English corresponded to a strong B2. Interestingly, these results were consistent throughout the sample, regardless of the location of respondents' secondary studies. Finally, English was also the most frequently mentioned among the languages currently studied.

On the one hand, these details suggest that study participants were well prepared to match labor market trends as regards their English language competence. They might even be aware of these and the advantages that their competence can provide. On the other hand, the high number of proficient speakers in the sample might raise questions as to the actual market value of these skills, since Grin (2014) points out that, while they are needed and rewarded in certain proportions and at certain levels, the oversaturation of the market might lead to a decrease in the advantages they represent. In addition, this might increase the value of other, rarer

languages. Therefore, proficient English speakers can, to some extent, be regarded as overrepresented in the UNIGE dataset, which might also be representative of the world-wide consequences of current language education policies.

However, as my overview in [Chapter 2](#) illustrates, motivation research has long been interested in the more abstract incentives, often non-market in nature, that prompt learners to study a given language. These range from interest in particular speaker groups that use the target language or cultural products issued by such groups to feelings of self-fulfillment and self-worth. Various aspects of such motives were captured in the study through the attitudinal variables tested. Above, I mostly focused on the local market value of English, but it can be argued that the language is frequently associated with global values, even if the impact of these benefits can also be localized.

Attitudes pertaining to the global community, such as international openness and the more integrative world citizenship, can reflect this effect. Both scales can represent individual market values when this openness is interpreted as an interest in transforming one's skills in English into financial benefits abroad or in positions related to the global community. At the same time, such a positive orientation might be influenced by non-market values of a global kind. I concluded earlier that many learners and speakers of English might find the global community more accessible and more relatable than a distant native speaker target group. Therefore, in addition to the financial advantages that direct access to the global market might entail, membership in the global community might also involve genuine interest and a sense of belonging. Among Swiss participants in the UNIGE study, world citizenship emerged as the most influential component of their socially defined English-speaking self, suggesting that the global community was a relevant aspect of Swiss students' social milieu. Since this membership was a requirement that students thought they faced in their social circles, the question arises whether world citizenship can be considered as a value in the Geneva context. Indeed, if this is the case, social acceptance and recognition might be an important non-market incentive that can prompt individuals to adopt certain attitudes and pursue ambitious language learning goals.

It is interesting to note that this orientation was a crucial feature in foreign respondents' motivational profile as well, contributing greatly to their ideal and ought-to L2 selves. These findings further confirm that the self-guides amalgamated a wide range of values that influenced students' motivation to varying degrees. This is especially interesting from a

contextual point of view, and worth investigating in more detail. Therefore, I dedicate the following sub-section to the discussion of the selves in the economic environment of the study. Here, I would like to conclude that overall, study participants' L2 selves showed significant connections to this international element, revealing it to play a central role in their self-concept.

Similarly, as I already observed in Section [5.4.3](#), attitudes related to the use of English in practical situations were another key component of the self-guides, which underlined the importance of communicative aspects of L2 competence. Direct English language contact and its perceived importance represented the angle covering market and non-market values associated with the ability to use English in various circumstances. While study participants who spoke the language used English only *sometimes* ($M = 3.04$ out of 5) on average, they generally judged these instances fairly important ($M = 4.26$). From a theoretical standpoint, competence in English in these real life scenarios can provide access to a number of benefits.

As I pointed out above (for more details see also [2.4](#)), English as a communicative tool is used to some extent in the Swiss professional context, and Grin's (1999) study showed that English skills were linked to a 10% salary increase in French-speaking regions. Thus, although surpassed in this respect by German, proficiency in English can nonetheless be considered as an asset in the Swiss job market, especially if its knowledge is coupled with that of German or other languages (*ibid.*). On the other hand, past findings of L2 motivation research, summarized in [2.2.3.1](#), highlight the power of less tangible benefits in relation to English language use. Connecting with other speakers can reinforce the L2 selves and provide learners with positive experiences, which can act as strong motivators. These situations can also grant access to the international community and the advantages associated with that group. In this light, it is not surprising that the scales on direct contact, its perceived importance, and even willingness to communicate, had a positive influence on the selves and the learning experience in the various models.

I discussed at length the negative link between language learning motivation and WTC above ([5.4.1](#)). Nevertheless, an economic perspective can shed further light on this relationship. Earlier I stated that one possible explanation for the phenomenon is that participants who claimed to be more interested in real life communication opportunities simply might have been less motivated to engage in formal language learning. The benefits that English speakers experience as a result of these opportunities might also contribute to this decision. It might be interesting to add that the use of English at work correlated strongly with both direct contact

and WTC (see [Appendix 5](#)), indicating that the professional context was a relevant one to this phenomenon. A higher salary, present or prospective, a better choice of employment, or the possibility to converse with members of an interesting target group or participate in a foreign language environment might lead university students to the conclusion that their English skills are put to better use through practice.

Therefore, it is no surprise that the item on the importance of English for participants' future career yielded very high scores ($M = 4.53$), close to the highest mean value in the study ($M = 4.64$). Moreover, only nine students disagreed with the statement and 30 remained indifferent, with 90% of respondents reporting that English was important for their professional goals. This confirms that learning English for professional purposes was an influential part of study participants' ideal L2 self. As I further explain in the next subsection, the selves were important conduits of such views, providing a link between language learning motivation and the economic value of English.

Last but not least, the differences between Swiss students and foreigners, which I explored in the previous section, are indicative of the Swiss context being instrumental in the trends discussed here. As a result, it can be argued that it is this particular environment that plays a significant role in university students' language attitudes and motivations. On the one hand, this means that the findings of the present study might be restricted to the context investigated and might not be generalizable over different settings. On the other hand, this connection renders the case for an interdisciplinary, contextually enhanced look at the dataset especially worthwhile. Examining these questions in other contexts would certainly enhance our understanding of these influences and therefore offers interesting avenues to explore through further research.

These findings partially addressed the initial question why certain learners experience more success on their journey toward English proficiency and what role the economic context plays in their motivation. Awareness of the value of English skills can propel learners to engage in more effective learning, while acquiring first hand experiences of the benefits that English proficiency grants can help them gauge the impact of their accomplishments. At first glance, this process might seem simple. However, as practitioners will agree, the issue is a complex one, and the present study showed that the L2 selves are central to its examination. Below I discuss their contribution in more detail.

5.6.3 L2 selves, language skills and economic value in the Geneva sample

Above, I briefly addressed the connections between the four types of economic value and the L2 selves. I concluded that, theoretically, the ideal L2 self could be regarded as an embodiment of the individual value of L2 competence, including both financial gains and less tangible advantages associated with one's vision of one's future self. By contrast, hints of the influence of economic benefits, reaped at the societal level, can be seen in the conceptualization of the ought-to L2 self, as the self-guide corresponds to language users' perceptions of the requirements of their social milieu.

These concepts help gauge to what extent the economic value of a given language, in this case English, might become a part of language users' self-concept. In determining this value, the rules of supply and demand play an important role, but the manner in which it is integrated into the selves and thus becomes a force of motivation, also involves more complex processes. Indeed, the results of the present study indicate that the different types of value presented above had intricate connections to UNIGE students' English-speaking selves.

Regarding their composition, the L2 selves showed some signs of these processes. Scale internal statistics revealed that career prospects scored high ($M = 4.53$) among the items measuring study participants' ideal L2 self. Future studies ($M = 4.08$) and goals in general ($M = 4.38$) also yielded high mean values, confirming that respondents' ideal L2 self contained references to both market-related and non-market values. As regards its predictors, respondents' ideal English-speaking self in general was strengthened by positive attitudes toward the international community and experiences of direct language contact.

An in-depth analysis of the relationship between the self-guides and the other variables in the study can be found in Sections [5.3.1](#) and [5.4](#), and a thorough comparison of the Swiss and foreign subsamples followed in [5.5.1](#). Nonetheless, it is interesting to note that some generalizations can be made concerning all three models that highlight the potential influence of the economic context. In the case of UNIGE students' ideal L2 self, the scales that contributed to its force differed slightly from one model to another, but the overall themes they evoked hinted at the importance of the global community and first-hand language use opportunities. The former of these elements is arguably inseparable from the financial and non-material benefits that members of the global community enjoy, and which can become a relevant aspect of language learners' self-vision. The latter, on the other hand, can provide

users of English with some insight as to the usefulness of the language not only in this global sense but also in the local contexts in which they participate regularly.

Indeed, a closer examination of these contact scenarios revealed that using English in certain environments correlated with stronger and more elaborate L2 speaking selves. In particular, using the language at the University was linked to a significantly more important ($r = .32, p < .01$) ideal self-image, while students' ought-to self was most strongly associated with English-language conversations with friends ($r = .32, p < .01$). This is not surprising, since the socially constructed self, by definition, is defined through such interactions. Overall, it is interesting to note that, in all three models, while communicative aspects had a greater influence on the ideal L2 self, the ought-to L2 self was characterized more by the international dimension mentioned above.

These findings are interesting because they underline a key features of the two self-guides, as they emerged from the survey data. They show that, first of all, the global relevance of English was, in general, an important component of both. Secondly, it is clear that, in addition, UNIGE students' ideal L2 self was also significantly influenced by active language use. This indicates that study participants' socially constructed self was more affected by the perceived benefits of proficiency in a global language.

The reasons behind this might be twofold. On the one hand, in today's world, in which the global community is often seen as easily available and highly accessible (Taguchi, 2009; Lamb, 2004, 2009), either directly or indirectly, English speakers might consider it as part of their social circles. This would explain why the students surveyed reported ought-to L2 selves built on the values, both financial and more abstract, of membership in this target group. On the other hand, it might be argued that these values are highly prized in speakers' local context as well and therefore might become relevant to their vision of themselves in that setting.

So as to test this hypothesis, I examined the differences between the two subsamples, based on where they had completed their secondary studies. In this comparison, the foreign group acted as a control group, and the results revealed markedly distinct trends. The first significant difference was found in the strength of the average ideal L2 selves calculated for the groups. Foreign students' ideal English-speaking self was slightly, albeit, in statistical terms, significantly, stronger ($M = 4.53$) than the Swiss average ($M = 4.35$). The smaller discrepancy between their ought-to selves ($M = 3.64$ against $M = 3.58$) proved to be non-significant.

This suggests that this vision of the ideal future English-speaking self was slightly more important to foreign students' self-concept. It might also indicate that personal goals played a more relevant role in their lives, while their perceptions of their social milieu and its values were a considerably less decisive part of their self-image. From this perspective, it is especially interesting to note that neither of the L2 selves had any direct influence on their motivation to learn English. By contrast, Swiss participants' ought-to L2 self was among the key predictors of their motivated learning behavior, surpassing the ideal L2 self in its impact.

Moreover, not only was Swiss students' ought-to L2 self a more powerful motivator, its composition also corresponded better to the overall model discussed above. While membership in the global community had a very strong influence on foreigners' social self-guide ($\beta = .55$, $p = .000$), this effect was much less marked in the case of the Swiss subgroup ($\beta = .15$, $p < .05$, $\beta = .25$, $p = .001$ in the reduced model). Furthermore, the latter reported more complex ought-to L2 selves, which were also linked to aspects of direct language use.

Although it is difficult to draw definite conclusions from the above, it is clear that notions of the global community permeate the context in which participants live their lives. Based on these findings, it can be argued that the benefits associated with world citizenship, both financial and non-market, were more closely related to Swiss students' ought-to L2 self. Their ideal self-image as future speakers of English was influenced by their international openness ($\beta = .13$, $p < .05$) and, more importantly, by the amount of direct contact they had with English ($\beta = .25$, $p = .001$). As the reported frequency of contact was surprisingly low both in the Swiss group ($M = 2.88$) and among foreigners ($M = 2.90$), such experiences can be considered as especially powerful in helping Swiss students build strong ideal English-speaking selves. At the same time, they are also an important conduit of the values associated with proficiency in English.

It can be hypothesized that contact with the global village renders speakers aware of the global value of English. However, the relatively low frequency of actual contact in the present study suggests that these values might also be acknowledged and even promoted in the local context. This would better explain their role in Swiss participants' self-concept. It would also account for the high rates of agreement with the items in the scale.

The overall mean values for the ideal L2 self ($M = 4.41$) and ought-to L2 self ($M = 3.60$) simply show that, in general, the former surpassed the latter in strength but fail to reflect the

relevance of study participants' ought-to L2 self. An impressive 75.2% of respondents agreed to some extent that people around them thought it was important for them to learn English ($M = 4.04$) and according to the majority of students (61.3%) people around them considered learning English as part of basic education ($M = 3.70$). These figures indicate that the self-guide was nonetheless a significant component of UNIGE students' self-concepts, which, in turn, signals that English skills are highly valued in their social circles.

As Grin (1999) concluded, proficiency in English represents an important asset in the Swiss labor market, but it is not the most profitable, nor does it provide a universal replacement for other languages. Therefore, it is interesting to consider the social representations of the economic value of English, as indicated by the results of the present research. Indeed, the individual items discussed above revealed that, while English skills were not viewed as a characteristic of a particularly *educated* person, they were considered as an important means to certain goals, such as future professional plans. This suggests that the market value of these skills might be more relevant to the context of the UNIGE study and that it is these widely spread views that influence Swiss students' self-concept and motivation.

Some of the dissimilarities among the different faculties surveyed might be considered as further confirmation of this hypothesis. Although, due to the statistical limitations concerning these subsamples (see [3.9.3](#)), the comparisons were far from conclusive, they draw attention to certain features of the Geneva context. As I already observed in the previous chapter, an interesting trend emerged from the contrasts among the four faculties. Overall, the Faculties of Law and Medicine proved to be the most similar, both in profile and in characteristics, to the Swiss results described above. This is not surprising, as the subsample of science students showed the most international makeup, while the group from the SES was too small to allow such generalizations. On the other hand, I argued before that the Faculties of Medicine and Law prepare their students for professions that are, in essence, embedded in the local environment. Therefore, the values and attitudes of these young professionals might be more reflective of the Swiss, or even of the Geneva, context.

First of all, students' ought-to L2 self was consistently more prominent at these faculties (cf. [4.4.7](#) for more details), and it correlated more strongly with participants' motivation to learn English than in the rest of the sample. This means that proficiency in English was a more significant part of how they viewed themselves in the context of their social circles and how they thought others viewed them. The sense of membership or fitting in is an important type of

non-market value that language skills can grant. It can be associated with local languages, which can act as gateways to a given community, but it can also apply to foreign languages that are highly regarded by the group in question. Therefore, English, which, as I concluded above, seems to be considered as a useful tool in the contexts surrounding UNIGE students, can become a valued skill among members of these social circles. This, as I also stated, might include the global community, with which students feel a certain kinship, but it might be relevant to the Geneva context as well.

The value of English language competence as an element of social recognition, be it in a local or a global community, amalgamates important non-market but also financial motives. Language users who wish to be valued members of such target groups might decide to perfect their skills in English so as to comply with social pressure and thus avoid undesirable consequences and contribute to their own sense of accomplishment. On the other hand, it is also possible that learners adopt the views present in their social milieu, and thus their representations of the financial gains to be obtained through English can become more influential. Through this process, societal values that form part of the shared representations of a given group, for instance regarding the market value of foreign languages, can turn into internalized personal motives for language learning. This helps explain why the ought-to L2 self, which can act as a powerful conduit for the influence of such societal values, played a central role in the Swiss model.

In this light, it is not surprising that subsamples with the strongest ought-to L2 selves had the highest average proficiency levels in foreign languages. This was true in the case of law and medical students, but also for participants who had completed their secondary studies in Switzerland. While these findings, presented in detail in [4.3.6](#), might indicate that respondents who showed stronger ties to the Geneva context were more driven by its influence and achieved more success in language learning in general. At the same time, as I pointed out earlier ([5.5.1](#)), they most importantly testify to the efficiency of Swiss language education.

5.6.4 Signs of an efficient system

In [Chapter 2](#), I argued that there are marked similarities between economic and L2 motivational systems in terms of the efficiency of their mechanics. [Figure 2.8](#), featured in Csillagh (2016) in its first iteration, showcases these parallels. It is indicative of the role of L2 motivation in ensuring the internal efficiency of the learning system, thus contributing to its internal

profitability and to the efficiency of the larger system of language teaching of which it forms a part.

These similarities, on the one hand, might have important bearing on our understanding of language learning motivation. Applying this lens to the examination of motivational phenomena reveals that affective-cognitive factors can have significant impact on the efficiency of language learning. Research found that motivational dynamics can explain a great portion of the variance in learning outcome (cf. Dörnyei, 2010), further confirming this assumption. Therefore, it is especially interesting to view motivational dynamics in this framework, as an element contributing to the efficiency of the entire system, rather than a luxury that many language teachers I have met consider as only a dream.

Indeed, in the above sections, I dissected some of the motives behind the force that drives UNIGE students' interest in learning English. I showed that English users self-concept, past learning experiences, as well as communicative goals and interest in various communities, were central to this motivation. Moreover, I argued that these motives are intertwined with perceptions of the economic value, both market and non-market, of the language. Thus, an economic analysis of motives can render them more tangible and pinpoint the value of language learning motivation, not only for the individual but also from the perspective of the system as a whole.

On the other hand, these links between motivational and economic processes can provide economists with the tools necessary to take into account certain non-financial aspects of language learning that might be difficult to measure using traditional techniques. Motivational factors as part of the mechanics of efficient language teaching help explain the influence of such abstract values on the performance of the system. Their role indicates that they are as important to the success of language education as the other resources dedicated to teaching foreign languages.

Grin (2003) explains in detail the measurements and relevance of internal and external efficiency as characteristics of an economic system and its subsystems. When it comes to language education, although the components of this dynamic are different, their function and effect are very similar to the system described by Grin (*ibid.*). At both levels, investment takes the form of a range of resources that learners, parents, educators and policy makers allocate to the development of learners' language skills.

However, the returns expected at the two levels differ to a greater extent. In both cases, they can be summarized as the achievement of language goals, but while at the level of language education and, more concretely of language teaching these goals are determined by language education policies and curricula, learners' objectives are more personal in nature. They might coincide with those of teachers and policy makers, but they might also include aims outside the scope of or even contrary to education policies.

Indeed, some individuals might decide to dedicate their resources and engage actively in learning the language in order to visit other countries, for professional or leisure purposes. Others focus their efforts on perfecting their skills with the prospect of enjoying cultural products, conversing with target language speakers and attaining self-fulfillment. At the same time, proficient learners employed locally, who can use the language to the benefit of the whole system and contribute to gains the impact of which goes beyond the sphere of education, are a great asset to the local economy. They can obtain higher paying employment, thus increasing the charges levied on their income as well as the GDP of the entire country.

Language learning motivation, and an environment that fosters motivated learning behavior, can be key to transforming the above-mentioned resources into such profit. The present study confirms the findings of past research (Section [2.2](#)) and concludes that motivated learning behavior can be considered as the measurable outcome of all the motives that drive learners to engage in language learning. As a measure of the internal efficiency of learning, it turns dedication and effort into success, enabling learners to reach their personal goals but also to contribute to the performance of language teaching as a system inside the larger economic framework.

Motivated learning behavior and its link to attitudinal and contextual factors are the main focus of the present study. Therefore, this dissertation examines the dynamics of UNIGE students' motivation to learn English from different angles. One such context that, due to its complexity and vastness, points beyond the scope of this research is the level above individual learners, namely, the learning environment. In the course of this chapter, I argued repeatedly that, in line with former empirical results in the field, participants' learning experience emerged as the prime component of their motivation. Consequently, maintaining a motivating environment can be instrumental in achieving predetermined teaching goals. Dörnyei (2001) describes, in detail, the strategies that can help create a motivating classroom but many of these guidelines

can be applied to the broader context of educational curricula as well. I address some of these considerations at the end of this dissertation.

So far I provided a brief theoretical overview of the notion of economic efficiency in language learning and teaching, and examined some of its aspects from the perspective of the Geneva dataset. However, the results reported in the previous chapter provided further insight into the mechanics of L2 motivation as a means to language learning and teaching success. Moreover, they testify to the efficiency of the system, both at the level of individual learners and in terms of language education.

The scale on motivated learning behavior served as a measure of participants' engagement and effort to learn English in the study. Respondents' mean score on average was 4.19 on a five point scale, with Swiss students scoring slightly higher ($M = 4.22$) than foreigners ($M = 4.15$), however this difference was not significant. These results are pertinent because they include speakers and non-speakers of English as well as current learners. They reveal a high level of overall motivation, indicating that study participants were ready to invest their time and effort, and arguably other resources, into learning the language.

In the previous section, I argued that the economic value of English, both financial and non-market related can be considered as an important factor in this motivation. I also concluded that, in the present study, this value is most strongly reflected in the L2 selves, which incorporate students' motives as goals related to self-expression and fulfillment. Moreover, the ideal and the ought-to L2 self were among the most important predictors of motivated learning behavior in the Swiss sample, suggesting that they are not only a powerful motivational force but also key to the internal efficiency of the learning system.

As I mentioned above, needing English for the objective of fulfilling one's future career goals was one of the most highly rated items in the survey ($M = 4.53$), with only 12.8% disagreeing with the statement. Further education prospects and future plans in general also received high scores. This indicates that participants viewed English skills as profitable, both as an aspect of their ideal self-concept and the affective benefits achieving that vision entails and as a means to accessing well paid positions or the education that enables one to apply for them. The link between the ideal L2 self and motivated learning behavior suggests that students were also willing to dedicate their resources to attaining these goals by engaging in actively developing their English language skills.

The benefits associated with this ideal English-speaking self-image were mostly related to communicative language use and interest in the international community. The ought-to L2 self, on the other hand, reflected the importance of advantages more relevant to the local context. Its strength in the study ($M = 3.60$) and its central role as a motivational influence ($\beta = .19, p = .000$), especially in Swiss students' profile ($\beta = .20, p < .01$), bring the local economic value of English to the forefront. These results suggest that such considerations might also have contributed to participants' perceptions of the profitability of English skills, thus increasing their investment in the learning process.

The present study aimed to address questions concerning UNIGE students' motivation to learn English as well as the links among motivational, attitudinal and contextual variables. Therefore, in terms of the systems discussed above, its focus was clearly on the smaller structure of language learning. Nonetheless, the trends presented here displayed some interesting connections to the larger system of language teaching. Indeed, as one of the contexts examined in this dissertation, the learning environment, of which formal teaching constitutes an important aspect, was frequently discussed throughout this chapter. Those results, when analyzed from the perspective of economic efficiency, reveal some of the mechanics of motivating and efficient language teaching.

First of all, the overall favorable attitudes respondents had toward the learning process ($M = 4.21$) is suggestive of a general trend of positive past learning experience. Furthermore, these views were the most influential of all the attitudinal variables as regards their motivational impact ($\beta = .51, p = .000$), showing that the learning experience had a great impact on study participants' motivation to learn English. This, in turn, confirms that a motivating milieu might indeed be key to the external efficiency of language learning. Consequently, as I mentioned above, providing such an environment is an important aspect of language teaching, as it can contribute to the profitability of the larger system as well.

At this level of the structure, this profitability refers, in part, to the fulfillment of teaching goals, as set by educational policy and curricula, but also ones determined within smaller units of the educational system. In the canton of Geneva, at the time of the study, German was the first foreign language introduced in 5th grade and English the second one added two years later. Other foreign languages, including Italian, were offered as later options in some secondary schools. In order to pass school leaving exams in these subjects, students needed to prove skills of a B1 level. As I already pointed out, Swiss participants' reported foreign language skills and

language attitudes reflect some of these characteristics of the local learning environment. Indeed, not only did they correspond to the proficiency levels prescribed by Swiss language education standards, they also consistently surpassed the competence levels reported by foreign students. This is also indicative of the success of Swiss language education and of the efficiency of the system.

In addition, the results presented in [Chapter 4](#) and examined above showed that the foreign language speakers who participated in the study put their skills to use in various contexts. When all speakers were considered, it was shown that Swiss respondents used French and German considerably more often in the environments tested than their foreign peers. While students who had completed their secondary education abroad used English slightly more frequently ($M = 3.27$) than the Swiss ($M = 2.92$), but both groups used the language on about a monthly basis, in a professional context as well. These features of the Swiss subsample can be considered as an indicator of the usefulness of their foreign language skills, thus showcasing, once more, the profitability and success of the system.

Last but not least, I would like to mention study participants' positive language attitudes, which culminated in similarly high levels of motivation to learn English. These favorable views of the learning process, the usefulness of the language and the characteristics of the different speaker communities indicate that studying English in the Swiss learning environment has left a positive, and motivating, impression on university students. This impact can most precisely be seen in the strength and motivational power of Swiss participants' ought-to L2 self, addressed at length in the preceding sections. While these findings are not conclusive, especially as regards the other foreign languages taught in Swiss schools, they are indicative of certain trends that might prove interesting to explore through further research.

As I argued at the beginning of this section, this analysis of the survey results using the tools of language economics gave further significance to some of the trends identified earlier. Examining UNIGE students' language attitudes from the perspective of economic value and efficiency shed light on the potential links between language learning and the economic milieu in which it takes place. I discussed these relationship in terms of mainstream models in the two fields and concluded that there is a case to be made for theoretical connections between L2 motivation and language economics. Moreover, I showed that there was a reflection of these links in the survey results, arguing that this can be considered as empirical proof that these relationships might have a bearing on motivational processes.

Thus, the present study showcases some of the potential of an interdisciplinary perspective in rendering quantitative survey results more meaningful and relevant. The findings of this interdisciplinary analysis also point toward more contextually enhanced models and studies, which take into account the complex system that is L2 learning. In this respect, addressing the links between economic and motivational phenomena revealed not only the possible influence of the economic context but also a system of interrelated variables that involved factors related to different contextual spheres. The study results also hinted at these factors interacting in continual fluctuation and change, contributing to a conceptualization of language learning as a complex dynamic system. These conclusions describe a process that took several unexpected turns during its course and that took me, as a researcher, to some unexpected places, further shaping my understanding of L2 motivation as a phenomenon and a field of research. As a result, in addition to the above findings, the project led to some interesting observations concerning the methodological aspects of this interdisciplinary and contextually situated perspective, which I discuss in the next section.

5.7 Researching the L2 selves in context

This chapter addressed the most important trends in the survey data and their implications for the role of attitudinal and motivational phenomena in language learning. As I already mentioned, this process, from the original queries to data collection to interpretation, was an interesting and informational one that taught me much about L2 motivation, but also about what it means to research motivational phenomena in context. Thus, the present study offered relevant conclusions in a number of areas of researching the L2 selves.

Throughout this dissertation, I often argued that learning English is imbued with social and economic implications that can be expected to influence L2 learners' and speakers' motivation and attitudes. The results confirmed this hypothesis, highlighting some notable features of English as a foreign language. In addition to the local economic and social spheres mentioned above, it is important to note that the language is inseparable from its global role, which unavoidably brings economic considerations into any discussion of its perceived value. The present study showcased the relevance of these links and concluded that understanding learning in context is important for the examination of motivational processes.

I explained, at the beginning of this chapter, that the contextual view applied in this dissertation highly enriched the scope of the results. The findings discussed above testify to this, as, on the

one hand, the approach lent further meaning to trends that initially seemed of little significance. On the other hand, it also highlighted the influence of certain contextual elements, which led to interesting conclusions and a more profound understanding of participants' motivation to learn English.

In particular, the results hinted at the role of the local social and economic environment in Swiss university students' linguistic and attitudinal profile. This was especially pertinent since these links offered an explanation for the discrepancies between the UNIGE dataset and previous research findings obtained in other, sometimes monolingual settings. These comparisons, in turn, provided a connection to past studies and showcased the applicability of the L2 Motivational Self System in a range of learning contexts.

Indeed, the L2 self-guides clearly emerged as central motivational factors in the study. Their role differed among the models investigated, confirming the impact of contextual variables on the power of the selves. Nevertheless, Swiss respondents' English-speaking ideal and ought-to self-images proved to be not only prime motivating forces but also important conduits for these contextual influences.

Besides interesting comparisons and a more in-depth image of UNIGE students' attitudes toward English and their motivation to learn the language, the methodology applied in the present study also offers the possibility of recreating the same investigation in other learning contexts. The combination of a standardized questionnaire, mainstream statistical procedures and a contextualized interpretation of the results that formed the methodology of this study follows the basic principles of past research, which allows the reproduction of this process and thus builds a continuity between past and future projects investigating L2 motivation. Thanks to this continuity and its contextualized perspective, the study might also contribute to an even more versatile model of language learning motivation.

The interrelated contextual spheres that the findings in this chapter describe are reminiscent of current approaches to SLA rooted in dynamic systems theory (cf. De Bot, Lowie and Verspoor, 2007). As I stressed before, the study presented here was not designed with a DST perspective in mind. It had its origins in a long tradition of quantitative research in L2 motivation studies that relied on mainstream statistical tools to examine widespread trends in empirical survey results. Nonetheless, or even more interestingly, I argued above that the findings of the project

were indicative of such a system or systems, showing that contextual factors in language learning and their interrelationships are worth investigating through future research.

These connections also suggest that understanding learning in context can be key to creating and maintaining a motivating learning environment, which, in turn, can enhance the success of foreign language teaching. Therefore, this understanding can prove especially beneficial to teachers and policy makers. I address briefly the educational implications of the study at the end of this dissertation. Overall, it can be concluded that the findings presented above help build a bridge between theory and practice, policy and learning as well as research and teaching. As a result, the study takes its place in the continuity of L2 motivation research, building on the conclusions of past scientific works in order to uncover novel avenues for future projects.

6

Conclusion

“‘Begin at the beginning,’ the King said gravely, ‘and go on till you come to the end: then stop.’”

(Carrol, 1965)

Chapter 6 Conclusion

In this dissertation, I reported on the process and the results of a quantitative survey study, conducted at the University of Geneva, in Geneva, Switzerland, in 2013 – 2014. First, I reviewed the current challenges in learning, teaching and researching English as a foreign language in today's learning environments, which incorporate global as well as local contexts in complex ways. I also outlined the theoretical and methodological developments that characterized L2 motivation research during the past few decades, and that were instrumental in informing the present study. It is interesting to note that, as early as this theoretical phase of the project, contextuality and complexity emerged as central to the discussion of motivational phenomena and raised several intriguing research questions, which I address in more detail shortly.

In order to explain the measures taken to investigate these questions, I dedicated the subsequent chapters to describing the research methodology that the study followed as well as the results of the statistical analysis and their implications. Once more, special attention was paid to the contextual influences identified and to their role in shaping the results. Below, I conclude this dissertation by summarizing the main steps and presenting the fruits of this process. The aim of this final chapter is to highlight the main conclusions of the research and offer additional avenues for future projects to explore.

6.1 Research questions and hypotheses

As I stated in the [Introduction](#), besides its roots in L2 motivation theory, the present research also built upon my experience as a language teacher in Hungary and Switzerland and my growing familiarity with the Swiss context (see also [2.3](#)). My observations in these two, markedly different, language learning environments and my research background in Hungary led me to a number of interesting questions as to the potential characteristics of English users' language attitudes and learning motivation in the plurilingual setting of Geneva. The dissimilarities between the linguistic and economic environment of the region and those examined in earlier L2 motivation studies were intriguing and thus warranted further investigation.

6.1.1 Questions and hypotheses

Based on these observations, the study presented in this dissertation was designed to explore the general question whether the Swiss linguistic, social and economic context had an influence on UNIGE students' motivation and attitudes to learning English, and what forms that influence took. In particular, did aspects of learning and using a global language in a multilingual context impact students' views? Moreover, the project aimed to test the applicability of Dörnyei's (2005, 2009) L2 Motivational Self System in this context, examining its fit to Swiss students' profile.

My knowledge and experience of the Geneva context offered some partial answers to these questions, and helped transform them into hypotheses for the study to address. As a result, I expected that UNIGE students' motivational profile would, at least to some extent, differ from those of learners in other settings. I also hypothesized that there would be an element of contextuality in the data that could explain such differences. Furthermore, thanks to its success in previous studies (cf. [2.2.3.1](#)), I expected the L2 Motivational Self System to be a suitable framework for testing these hypotheses.

6.1.2 A need for an interdisciplinary perspective

As the project progressed, these questions also evolved. It became clear that further examination of what context means and how its influence can be measured was needed. These turned out to be more significant challenges than expected, due to the increasing complexity and interrelatedness of the contexts under study and the roles they seemed to play in participants' language attitudes. Indeed, the first analysis of the survey data pointed beyond the scope of traditional methods in L2 motivation research, indicating that simply presenting the results against the backdrop of a general contextual description would fail to leverage their full potential.

Thus, the central questions became more comprehensive and more detailed at the same time, so as to accommodate a more in-depth understanding of the context and to incorporate more specific aspects of its impact on UNIGE students' attitudes to English. Further questions arose concerning the role of social and economic influences in participants' motivational profile and self-concept, which I discussed at length in the previous chapter. In addition, as I concluded there, the global context as well as native and non-native speaker-groups also presented

interesting areas to investigate in the course of the project. As a consequence of these gradual changes, the original quantitative methodology of the study was increasingly complemented by a context-enhanced view of language learning, which, in turn, led to a broader theoretical framework (cf. [Chapter 2](#)) that encompassed interdisciplinary perspectives.

6.2 Methods and challenges

In [Chapter 3](#), I described in detail the research methods applied in the study. This quantitative methodology, which relied on the results of a standardized questionnaire completed by students at the University of Geneva, provided the empirical data examined in this dissertation. It yielded significant results of interest, presented in [Chapter 4](#), and shed light on the internal mechanics of respondents' attitudes toward English and their motivation to learn the language. At the same time, it also showcased some of the shortcomings of such traditional research designs. Therefore, tools from other areas and fields of research were also employed in the final analysis, in order to help balance these deficiencies. The findings reported in the previous chapter demonstrate the fruits of this process, offering a more complex and contextualized view of L2 motivation and the L2 selves.

6.2.1 *The quantitative data*

As I mentioned above and explained thoroughly in [Chapter 3](#), the data was collected using a standardized online questionnaire. This instrument included the eleven attitudinal scales as well as a set of items designed to map participants' demographic and linguistic background. Once filled out by the 375 students who volunteered to take part in the study, the survey questionnaire provided the principal source of the empirical data examined in this dissertation.

While all the methods and procedures followed the standard traditions and guidelines of former quantitative projects in L2 motivation research (cf. [Chapter 3](#)), the preliminary results of the data thus gathered revealed some interesting and unexpected trends. As I observed earlier, these pointed out the need for a more comprehensive and holistic analysis, which would shed further light on their significance. These results suggested that participants' English-speaking self-concept was important and powerful and its different components played a key role in UNIGE students' motivational profile. The ideal and ought-to L2 selves emerged from this first analysis as interrelated concepts, which arguably formed part of a continuum and which displayed close connections to other attitudinal variables. At first glance, these relationships could be

considered as in line with earlier research findings. On the other hand, their details indicated that the contexts that surround students might have considerable impact on their L2 selves and hinted that further study of these contextual ties and their relevance could greatly contribute to the research.

This dissertation, from its review of the literature to the previous chapter analyzing the above mentioned contextual influences, reflects this quest for a deeper understanding of UNIGE students' L2 selves and motivation. In [Chapter 2](#), I gave an overview of the different models that aimed to capture the essence and dynamics of language learning motivation over the past decades. I concluded there that, however comprehensive, no such model could describe L2 motivation in any and all environments in its entirety. Indeed, as Dörnyei (2015) observed, the existing theories seemed to function as elements of a jigsaw puzzle, offering conceptual tools that can help investigate motivational phenomena in very specific contexts. Moreover, they could be complemented by other theoretical frameworks and constructs, in order to apply an even wider lens to motivational phenomena.

6.2.2 *An interdisciplinary toolset*

As I stated before, the present study relied on a number of conceptual tools from different areas, with the purpose of lending more meaning and significance to the quantitative survey results. The first and most evident of these tools was the L2 Motivational Self System (Dörnyei, 2005, 2009), which provided the primary theoretical framework for the research. The study aimed to test and showcase the applicability of the Self System in the plurilingual context of Geneva, and the L2 selves were expected to play an important role in students' motivation to learn English. Nevertheless, the strength of the self-guides and extent of their influence, not to mention their unexpected connections to other variables, suggested that further details and explanations were needed.

In a way, it can be argued that the Self System proved too successful a framework, thus raising the question whether its unexpected performance was due to any particular characteristics of the context studied. As the L2 selves are by definition highly generalizable concepts and research showed that they were powerful motivational forces in a number of contexts (see [2.2.3.1](#)), exploring the contextual nature of the findings did not question the validity of the Self System. Indeed, given the dynamic features of the model, it lent itself especially well to this type of inquiry. At the same time, while as a general model the L2 Motivational Self System

takes changes and fluctuations in learner motivation into account, its focus is not on these contextually induced shifts. Therefore, recently, researchers started exploring avenues to expand the scope of the model and found a particularly worthwhile direction in Dynamic Systems Theory (DST).

As I concluded in [Chapter 2](#) and showed repeatedly in subsequent chapters, certain elements of DST proved to be especially relevant to the findings of the current study. Although not designed with a dynamic systems approach in mind, the research made use of some of the basic assumptions of DST and, in turn, unveiled trends that were indicative of complex dynamic processes. Thus, as a complement to the Self System, DST offered useful tools with great potential in researching the dynamic contextual dimension of UNIGE students' language attitudes.

Finally, one more area contributed to the interdisciplinary analysis presented in this dissertation. I argued in the previous chapter that the local and global economic spheres were among the most influential ones when it came to participants' attitudes to English. Languages economics, as presented in [Chapter 2](#), is a field that examines and conceptualizes the relationships between linguistic and economic phenomena. Therefore, it makes use of a number of concepts that help describe and measure the impact of such connections. These conceptual tools, from economic value to efficiency, proved valuable for the study of UNIGE students' language attitudes and motivation. They shed light on the potential links between the economic context of the study and participants' L2 selves and motivated learning behavior. They also provided interesting insight into the worth of language skills in the Geneva setting and its influence on the perceived value of learning English.

This contextual view of the results, with the help of the interdisciplinary toolset described above, provided a broader perspective and allowed a more detailed analysis of the survey results. Moreover, it helped gauge the significance and implications of some of the unexpected trends that emerged from the statistical tests and thus proved to be a valuable complement to those more traditional methods. Consequently, applying this shifting lens led to a number of interesting conclusions, offering pertinent and, at the same time, thought provoking answers to the initial research questions.

6.3 Answers

The final results, introduced in [Chapter 4](#) and discussed, using the tools presented above, in [Chapter 5](#), revealed contextual influences in participants' motivational profile to be messy and complex. They were shown to originate in a number of contextual spheres and to deeply affect students' attitudes. As I mentioned earlier, the Self System also emerged as highly relevant to the Geneva context. The L2 selves in particular were found to be central to study participants' motivation to learn English and amalgamated contextual as well as other components. Thus, the self-guides were not only important motivational predictors but also transmitters of various influences.

6.3.1 *A multilayered model of UNIGE students' motivation to learn English*

Regardless of the subsample studied, the final regression model of participants' motivational profile displayed attitudinal variables at three levels depending on their influence. Motivated learning behavior constituted the first level, the expected outcome of the dynamics of the system. In both the overall structure and the one calculated for Swiss respondents, it was directly influenced by the components of the L2 Motivational Self System. This, on the one hand, validated my hypothesis that the Self System was a relevant measure of English learners' and users' motivation in the Geneva setting. On the other hand, these models revealed motivational profiles that centered on the learning experience and L2 selves, while also testifying to the effect of a variety of secondary factors.

These background variables were often interrelated, thus resulting in a stronger combined influence on the L2 selves and participants' motivation. They showcased the importance of the communicative as well as the international dimension of learning and using English, which were relevant to both the learning experience and students' self-concept. These influences, in turn, were indicative of the role of the learning environment in providing English users with motivating cultural and contact opportunities.

Therefore, the models were characterized by complexity but also contextuality. The former could be seen in the, sometimes even mutual, interrelationships of the component variables, which hinted at a potential butterfly effect that might explain the dynamic nature of the system. The latter, as I pointed out above, was evident in various aspects of participants' L2 selves as well as the connections they displayed to other variables.

6.3.2 Contextual influences in the survey data

I addressed in detail the issue of contextuality and the forms it takes in the UNIGE data in the previous chapter. I also summarized the main findings of the regression analysis above, pointing out that contextual influences were an important feature of the models. I paid special attention to two of the structures, as participants who had finished their secondary schooling abroad reported markedly different views. Moreover, it can be argued that the Swiss subsample was more interesting to explore from this perspective.

The results suggested that Swiss students' L2 selves were embedded in the contexts with which they came into contact, both at the local and the global level. In particular, the remarkable strength and impact of their ought-to L2 self is a prominent example of this phenomenon and one of the most unexpected details of the model. As I concluded previously (5.4), earlier studies depicted the self-guide as more of a background factor, often a component of the ideal L2 self. Nevertheless, the findings of the present study are in line with the theoretical conceptualization of the ought-to L2 self as the socially constructed facet of learners' and users' L2 related self-concept. When considering this definition in the Geneva context, the prominence of Swiss students' ought-to L2 self, while unexpected, is not surprising. Pronounced and widespread social representations characterize this setting, which, as the present study confirmed, might have significant influence on foreign language learners' views and attitudes.

In addition to social representations of English, the economic value of the language also constituted an important element of the contextual spheres that affected study participants' L2 selves and, by extension, their motivational profile. In the course of the previous chapter, I illustrated how these considerations permeated Swiss students' self-concept and their attitudes to English. Moreover, they were similarly reflected in their foreign language portfolio and plurilingual practices as well as their views of language use opportunities and various speaker groups. Thus, it can be concluded that contextuality emerged as a system wide phenomenon in the UNIGE study, contributing to the dynamics of a complex structure built around the L2 selves.

6.3.3 The L2 selves at the center of a complex and dynamic system

Above I summarized the main findings of the study presented in this dissertation as they emerged in quest of answers to the initial research questions. These conclusions, discussed in

detail in [Chapter 5](#), offered valuable insight into the issues raised at the beginning of the research and this work. At the same time, they clearly indicated further questions and avenues to explore in this and future projects. One of these directions, as I pointed out above, was a view of languages and language learning as complex dynamic systems.

Various studies examined the compatibility of a self based approach to L2 motivation and a dynamic systems perspective. The first anthology of these was compiled by Dörnyei et al. (2015b), and the approaches included within examine this possibility from different angles using a variety of methodologies. The study forming the basis of this dissertation stands apart from these projects, as it was not designed with DST in mind, nor did it aim to uncover potential links between the two fields. As a result, its conclusions, which reveal elements of DST in a strictly quantitative dataset, are especially interesting.

In [Chapter 2](#), I reviewed a number of theories that aimed to explain language learning motivation. There I concluded that L2 motivation as a dynamic concept is not a novel one and has been influential in the field for decades. Indeed, one of the basic principles of Dörnyei's (2005, 2009) L2 Motivational Self system is that motivation, an outcome of the construction and development of the L2 selves, fluctuates with the ebbs and flows of these selves, changing from person to person, language to language and situation to situation. The questionnaire data discussed in this dissertation unveiled patterns that confirm this view. The ideal and ought-to L2 selves proved central to Swiss students' motivation to learn English, and they were influenced by a host of other variables, many of which showed clear connection to the environments in which students lived. As I stated earlier, this model of L2 motivation allows for considerable changes depending on the circumstances, and thus it showcases the dynamic nature of motivation that continues to shift within this complex, interconnected system of contextual and attitudinal variables.

These aspects of the model, along with the aforementioned butterfly effect, are reminiscent of the main characteristics of complex dynamic systems. The survey, therefore, revealed that the Swiss university students who took part in the study had elaborate and contextually influenced English-speaking selves that formed the core of the complex and dynamic network of factors that composed their motivational profile. These connections to DST perspectives pinpoint both the strengths and limitations of the project. The findings of the study are of particular interest because, on the one hand, they provide a rich and deep understanding of participants' motivation to learn English in the plurilingual Geneva context. On the other hand, without

explicitly aiming to do so, they mirrored aspects of the paradigm shift occurring in L2 motivation theory and research at the time of its execution. Undoubtedly, investigating these issues through the newer frameworks developed and using the methodologies currently tested (for examples see Dörnyei et al., 2015b) to better explore learning in contexts could enhance the scope and significance of the results. In this regard, the present study opens interesting horizons for future projects in this area.

6.4 Lessons and limitations

In the course of this work I argued repeatedly how the study, which was designed in line with established traditions in L2 motivation research and based on a theoretical model previously tested and refined in a variety of learning contexts, led to a number of unexpected findings. These were suggestive of significant implications in several areas, especially regarding the role of local and global contexts in language learning and self formation. The resulting approach, adjusted to further investigate these trends, allowed a number of conclusions pertinent to theoretical, methodological and educational aspects of L2 motivation research. At the same time, this design presented certain limitations, which were addressed, in part, at the end of [Chapter 3](#). I revisit them below, along with the implications mentioned above, from a more practical point of view.

6.4.1 *Benefits of the research*

First of all, the study fulfilled its goal to provide more in-depth insight into Swiss university students' motivation to learn English in the plurilingual Geneva setting. It also revealed the potential impact of this context on participants' learning attitudes and English-speaking self-concept. Moreover, the research not only met its initial objective of mapping students' motives in the framework of the L2 Motivational Self System and in the learning environment at hand but it also shed light on the relevance of more holistic, context-driven perspectives, both from a theoretical and a methodological point of view.

Second, the standardized questionnaire, described in [Chapter 3](#), provided quantitative data that was transparent and easy to analyze using mainstream statistical tools. This analysis, presented in [Chapter 4](#), also maintained the continuity with past and future quantitative studies and permitted interesting comparisons results from other settings around the world. These comparisons were especially striking as they showed that the Self System is not a static system,

as it is influenced by the context and its principles and internal connections apply to each environment differently.

In turn, these conclusions underline one of the main findings of the research, demonstrating that the contexts that surround learners and users are an integral part of foreign language learning and use. Therefore, approaches that incorporate this contextuality or aim to explore it further represent a particularly worthwhile direction that has great potential in contributing to our understanding of language learning phenomena. The present study showcased the advantages as well as the challenges of such a perspective.

6.4.2 *Limitations and challenges*

In a number of ways, the study presented in this dissertation marks an end as well as a beginning. From a theoretical angle, it reflects the shift that is currently underway and that directs the field toward a more holistic, more contextually enriched conceptualization of language learning motivation. Clearly, this shift is also manifest in the new research methodologies that emerged in recent years in answer to the call of theorists who viewed traditional quantitative methods as unsuitable to the task. The present research, due to its traditional design enhanced by a strong contextual analysis, showcases the same phenomenon, whereby more emphasis is given to learners and users as individuals, at the same time as their relationships with their environment also move into focus.

The research faced a number of challenges throughout this process, some of which were directly related to its interdisciplinary nature while others were less specific. The first one of these difficulties, as I already mentioned in Section [3.6.1](#), concerned the sampling method and access to subsamples. The study relied on self-selection, as students were invited but under no obligation to fill out the questionnaire. This, in the case of a survey on language learning and plurilingualism might result in responses that characterize a population interested in this topic or even passionate or enthusiastic about the issue. Consequently, it is difficult to treat the findings of the study as general trends among all students at the Faculties surveyed, at the University, in Geneva or in Switzerland. They are best considered as characteristics of the students who participated in the study and merely indicative of more widespread trends among the general population of the University.

In addition, in certain instances, the project encountered considerable sampling difficulties. Access was especially hard to obtain to survey the Faculty of Economic and Social Sciences (SES), which since became two separate faculties and was already in transition. This also explains why the different faculties contributed subsamples of such unbalanced proportions. On the other hand, the largest subsample, that of science students, was problematic for another reason. Its heterogeneous nature when it came to students' field of study sometimes led to statistically non-significant trends, while it also rendered generalizations challenging.

The question of generalizability is an especially interesting one in light of the theoretical framework of the study. SLA research tends to avoid this problem, one that stems from the diversity of learning contexts, by discussing findings solely in terms of the sample examined and offering broader conclusions as potential indications regarding the behavior or features of what could be considered as the target population. At the same time, one might wonder whether studies that describe specific individuals in specific contexts are able or even required to produce easily generalizable results. This question is particularly important when more novel research methodologies are considered, which either focus more on qualitative elements or investigate quantitative aspects of a single individual's life or that of a select few (e.g. Dörnyei et al. 2015b).

When contrasted with these newer approaches to L2 motivation research, traditional quantitative methods show marked limitations. As this study illustrates, quantitative models can pinpoint the complexity of motivational phenomena and, as a result, hint at their dynamics. Nevertheless, however rich in detail, the structures discussed in the previous chapters provided but a snapshot of participants' motivation to learn English. Changes over time, a key element of dynamic systems, are not directly reflected in the regression models, which was one of the greatest limitations of the present research. In future studies, a second survey or clarification interviews, neither of which were available at this time due to the anonymous nature of the UNIGE study, could provide valuable insight into these issues and help mitigate the lack of dynamic detail in regression models. Moreover, such combined techniques can incorporate information related to learners as individuals, as opposed to quantitative methods that are not designed to focus on individual variation.

Similarly, while contextual relationships were identified and explored to a certain degree in this dissertation, their importance suggests that they constitute an area that is worthy of more attention and further investigation. In our interview study with Dr. Eva Waltermann (Csillagh

and Waltermann, to be published), mentioned in the previous chapters, teachers' and students' testimonies indicated that the local social environment, as well as global trends, had a great impact on their attitudes and language learning journey. Researching these questions in more depth might contribute to a more complete understanding of foreign language learning in plurilingual contexts.

6.5 The way ahead

The limitations addressed above, in addition to the findings presented in [Chapter 4](#), point toward new horizons for further research to explore. Some of these directions are related to the theme of this work, while others are methodological or educational in nature. Indeed, as I pointed out earlier, the study had important implications for researching and teaching foreign languages.

6.5.1 Questions and tools for future research

In the course of the present research project it became clear that, although the toolset employed led to revelatory results, there might be other methods that are even better geared to explore motivational phenomena in context. The studies collected by Dörnyei and his colleagues (2015) propose such tools, investigating various aspects of language learning motivation and the L2 selves in complex dynamic systems. They showcase methodologies with a focus on qualitative details (e.g. Henry, 2015; Mercer, 2015) as well as quantitative techniques that can account for fluctuations and changes in the system as induced by shifts in space and time (e.g. Irie & Ryan, 2015).

These tools can be instrumental in examining in depth the impact of contextual variables on language learners' self-concept and motivation. Most of the studies in the aforementioned anthology (Dörnyei et al., 2015) demonstrated that language learning motivation goes through changes due to shifts in the environment or participants' connection to it. As the present research concluded, exploring the L2 selves as a component of such complex, dynamic and contextually defined systems as the language learning process is especially interesting and rewarding. I explained above how Swiss students' English-speaking self-concept built on elements of the local and global contexts and how these influences increased their motivation. These links, when investigated further, could shed light on certain characteristics of language learning motivation. Thus, future studies in this area could greatly contribute to our

understanding of the phenomenon and help develop tools to enable teachers to boost learners' drive.

Interdisciplinary approaches might be key to achieve this aim. Above I argued that an interdisciplinary toolset was necessary so as to help situate and interpret the findings of the research. In this instance, my quest for the proper concepts led me to social and economic theory. However, I believe that ethnographic and even anthropological techniques (for examples, see Pavlenko, 2002) can be adopted, and adapted, to this area of second language acquisition, and these perspectives might be highly beneficial to our conceptualization of L2 learning in context.

Moreover, this broadening perspective or shifting lens might result in a more eclectic theoretical framework. Earlier I alluded to Dörnyei's claim (Henry, 2014) that the various models of L2 motivation view the issue from different angles and therefore can provide only partial answers. This situation presents an interesting theoretical and methodological challenge, giving rise to works such as the abovementioned collection of projects (Dörnyei et al., 2015), in which two distinct approaches to SLA are brought together in order to better explain motivational phenomena. The growing number of such mixed theory studies confirms that this trend is here to stay and I am excited to see what fruit it bears.

All of these developments have significant educational implications, which I address in the next subsection. On the other hand, this also indicates that research into the practical aspects of complex dynamic systems of L2 motivation could equip teachers and policy makers with instruments and guidance so that they can exert an influence on learners' success. With such tools, developed by experts in the field, educators could assess learners' needs and provide teaching that fosters positive language attitudes and motivation and thus enhances the efficiency of the system.

Last but not least, while the UNIGE project focused on attitudes to English, the findings revealed marked trends of plurilingualism, which opened up interesting possibilities regarding learners' and users' views of other languages. Especially in plurilingual settings like the Geneva context, where, as I observed in [Chapter 2](#), a multitude of languages represent markedly different social values and use cases, speakers' attitudes to these can be interrelated and mutually influenced. Waltermann (2016) concluded that Geneva language teachers had significantly different views and representations of English and German. Interviewees in our

pilot study (cf. Csillagh and Waltermann, to be published) gave similar testimonies that, in addition to these differences, also showed their attitudes toward the languages they spoke to be interrelated and inseparable, forming an integral part of their profile and identity. Therefore, unraveling plurilingual speakers' language attitudes presents another important goal for future projects.

6.5.2 *Teaching and learning English in context*

Early in this dissertation I stated that motivation is an important aspect of language learning, as it can have a direct impact on the outcome of the learning process. Moreover, whereas aptitude, another variable that can contribute to successful learning, is difficult to fully conceptualize and influence, motivation is highly dynamic and changeable and can be kindled and nurtured through different techniques. By definition, motivated learning behavior is an expression of and a gateway to students' inner drive and these techniques can help teachers leverage this force which is undoubtedly the greatest predictor of success.

The present study shows that teachers and policy makers can have great sway when it comes to boosting learners' motivation to learn a foreign language. Both foreigners and Swiss students agreed that their attitudes toward the learning process, built on their past experiences, were the most important source of their current motivation to learn English. Therefore, providing learners with motivating learning experience can result in more positive learning outcomes as well as long term success.

The regression model examined in detail in the previous chapter offers interesting insight as to the characteristics of such learning experience. Dörnyei (2001) proposes a number of general strategies that teachers can employ so as to create and maintain a motivating classroom atmosphere. In the study, it was clear that other, more specific factors also contributed to participants' motivation and attitudes to learning. The L2 selves, which were central to Swiss students' motivation to learn English, were the topic of various classroom studies, the most prominent of which was conducted by Magid (2014). Magid's research found that activities that involve actively building and engaging learners' L2 related self-concept can be highly motivating and enhance performance.

Furthermore, communicative aspects of language learning and opportunities for first hand language contact also emerged as relevant components of UNIGE students' attitudes to

learning English and their motivation to do so. These findings are not surprising and only confirm what Widowson (1978) observed as early as four decades ago and that gave birth to a long tradition of communicative teaching practices. Nevertheless, they can be taken as indication of the key role that such communicative experiences play in developing learners' L2 selves, motivation and, ultimately, their proficiency in the foreign language.

Similar patterns emerged regarding respondents' views of speaker communities. Interestingly, both traditional native speaker target groups and the global community were important to their learning experience, L2 selves and motivation. This seems to contradict Feyér's (2012) conclusions about Hungarian learners' preferences, suggesting that, in contexts like the Swiss one, speakers of English in general, regardless of their mother tongue, can represent inspiring target communities. Thus, contact with these groups, which can take many forms and can be first hand but also indirect, can encourage language learning and lead to greater progress. In the past two decades, experts repeatedly argued against the ideal of the native speaker as a target and inspiration for ELT (for more details, see [Chapter 2](#)). However, the results of the present study, as well as my Hungarian research findings, indicate that learners might not make such radical distinctions and can be inspired by native and non-native speakers alike. Consequently, English teachers, whether they speak the language as an L1 or an L2, can become powerful role models and can also help learners access these influential communities.

While many teachers may feel the responsibilities associated with this power daunting, the present study indicates that a little help on the part of the teacher can induce significant changes in language learners' motivation. The characteristics of the complex dynamic system of language learning motivation, as discussed above, suggest that even small changes in the environment can have an impact on the system. Furthermore, as L2 motivation is dynamic and changeable, it can be influenced at any point, giving teachers the opportunity to boost learners' engagement at any time.

These implications highlight the role teachers can play in learners' motivation. They also indicate some of the areas where this influence can be the most effective and what types of strategies might be applied. On the other hand, it is clear that teachers need tools to achieve such a goal, and it is for future research to develop these materials. I am convinced that one of the main objectives of SLA research is to investigate language learning phenomena, so as to enhance our understanding of these processes, but also to provide teachers with the necessary information and tools to maximize the impact of their work and help learners best achieve their

learning goals. Such tools, which enable educators to access, evaluate and influence motivated learning behavior, are invaluable and constitute an important area of research. The study presented in this dissertation offers a novel approach to language learning motivation and conclusions that might inform further development in this direction.

6.6 Final thoughts

It is difficult to part ways with such a project and close the final chapter, metaphorically speaking. The research presented in the pages above permeated my life over the past few years and has become a highly influential, defining experience. I have given it so much, and yet I know I am walking away from it with incredible gains. Not only has it impacted my professional trajectory, it also opened new horizons for me to explore, as a researcher, a language coach, but also as the mother of a bubbly little plurilingual. I am glad to be able to better understand the issues and processes that are so essential to my daughter's world and I am looking forward to exploring these further with her, in a *self* empowering, motivating way.

Although I opened this chapter quoting Lewis Carroll's famous King of Hearts, I do not consider this an end. In the course of this dissertation, I mentioned repeatedly the many intriguing questions that the findings raised and that would provide excellent topics for future investigation. This volume presents the fruits of a very decisive period of my research career, and I think it is time for me to share them with others. It is also time to open a new chapter and explore those new horizons.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 The survey questionnaire

Appendix 1.1 Online questionnaire in original format

Below is the print version of the French online questionnaire. No participant was sent this version, as students completed the online survey using the LimeSurvey platform. This permitted the use of clarification messages and more straightforward formatting.

Questionnaire: Apprentissage des langues

Ce questionnaire, élaboré dans le cadre d'un projet de doctorat, a pour objectif de dresser un tableau de l'apprentissage des langues parmi les étudiants de l'UNIGE. Que vous appreniez une ou plusieurs langues en ce moment, ou aucune, votre témoignage nous permettra de mieux comprendre les attitudes et les préférences des étudiants à notre université à propos de l'apprentissage des langues afin d'en tirer des conclusions qui pourront éventuellement servir à sensibiliser les acteurs institutionnels.

Bonjour,

Nous vous remercions de votre participation dans cette étude.

Soyez assuré-e que ce questionnaire est confidentiel et anonyme. Les questions n'ont pas de réponse « juste » ou « fausse ». C'est votre opinion personnelle qui nous intéresse.

Pour plus d'informations, n'hésitez pas à prendre contact avec nous :

Dr. Claire FOREL, professeure associée, Département de langue et de littérature anglaises / Institut Universitaire de Formation des Enseignants

Virag CSILLAGH, assistante enseignante, Département de langue et de littérature anglaises / Institut Universitaire de Formation des Enseignants, virag.csillagh@unige.ch

Le questionnaire prend maximum 20-25 minutes à compléter, mais malheureusement (pour des raisons de sécurité) le site n'offre pas de possibilité de revenir aux questions déjà répondues ou de finir plus tard. Une fois le site quitté, vos réponses au questionnaire seront définitives.

Il y a 36 questions dans ce questionnaire.

Données statistiques

D'abord, veuillez répondre à quelques questions générales. Soyez assuré-e que vos réponses seront traitées d'une manière complètement confidentielle et anonyme.

1 Indiquez, s'il vous plaît, votre sexe. *

Veuillez sélectionner une seule des propositions suivantes :

☐ Féminin

☐ Masculin

2 Quelle âge avez-vous?*

Each answer must be between 1 and 99

Veuillez écrire votre réponse ici :

3 Exercez-vous une activité lucrative ou non-rémunérée (stage, bénévolat, etc.)? *

Veuillez sélectionner une seule des propositions suivantes :

☐ Oui

☐ Non

Les résultats de cette question ne sont utilisés que dans l'analyse de l'emploi des langues au lieu de travail.

Etudes actuelles et précédentes

Pour des raisons de statistiques, nous voudrions savoir, quelles études vous suivez en ce moment. Soyez assuré-e que vos réponses seront traitées d'une manière complètement confidentielle et anonyme.

4 Veuillez indiquer, s'il vous plaît la/les faculté-s. *

Please select between 1 and 5 answers

Veuillez choisir toutes les réponses qui conviennent :

☐ Faculté de Droit

☐ Faculté des Sciences Economiques et Sociales

☐ Faculté de Médecine

Réponses multiples possibles.

☐ Faculté des Sciences

5 Veuillez indiquer, s'il vous plaît la/les filière-s. *

Veuillez choisir toutes les réponses qui conviennent et laissez un commentaire :

☐ Filière 1

☐ Filière 3 (optionnel)

☐ Filière 2 (optionnel)

Réponses multiples possibles.

6 Quel est votre titre visé (à la fin de la formation que vous suivez en ce moment)? *

Veuillez sélectionner une seule des propositions suivantes :

☐ Baccalauréat (Bachelor)

☐ Doctorat

☐ Maîtrise (Master)

☐ Autre

☐ Maîtrise universitaire d'études avancées (MAS)

7 Avez-vous obtenu votre diplôme d'études secondaires en Suisse? *

Veuillez sélectionner une seule des propositions suivantes :

☐ Oui

☐ Non

8 Dans quel canton avez-vous obtenu votre diplôme d'études secondaires? *

Répondre à cette question seulement si les conditions suivantes sont réunies :

La réponse était 'Oui' à la question '7' (Avez-vous obtenu votre diplôme d'études secondaires en Suisse?)

Veuillez sélectionner une seule des propositions suivantes :

☐ Genève

☐ Nidwald

☐ Argovie

☐ Obwald

☐ Appenzell Rhodes-Intérieurs

☐ Saint-Gall

☐ Appenzell Rhodes-Extérieurs

☐ Schaffhouse

☐ Berne

☐ Soleure

☐ Bâle-Campagne

☐ Schwytz

☐ Bâle-Ville

☐ Thurgovie

☐ Fribourg

☐ Tessin

☐ Glaris

☐ Uri

☐ Grisons

☐ Vaud

☐ Jura

☐ Valais

☐ Lucerne

☐ Zoug

☐ Neuchâtel

☐ Zurich

9 Dans quel pays avez-vous obtenu votre diplôme d'études secondaires? *

Répondre à cette question seulement si les conditions suivantes sont réunies :

La réponse était 'Non' à la question '7 ' (Avez-vous obtenu votre diplôme d'études secondaires en Suisse?)

Veuillez sélectionner une seule des propositions suivantes :

☐ Afghanistan	☐ Cambodge
☐ Afrique du Sud	☐ Cameroun
☐ Albanie	☐ Canada
☐ Algérie	☐ Cap-Vert
☐ Allemagne	☐ Chili
☐ Andorre	☐ Chine
☐ Angleterre	☐ Chypre
☐ Angola	☐ Colombie
☐ Arabie Saoudite	☐ Comores
☐ Argentine	☐ Congo
☐ Arménie	☐ Corée du Nord
☐ Atigua-et-Barbuda	☐ Corée du Sud
☐ Australie	☐ Costa Rica
☐ Autriche	☐ Côte d'Ivoire
☐ Azerbaïdjan	☐ Croatie
☐ Bahamas	☐ Cuba
☐ Bahreïn	☐ Danemark
☐ Bangladesh	☐ Djibouti
☐ Barbade	☐ Dominique
☐ Belgique	☐ Ecosse
☐ Belize	☐ Égypte
☐ Bénin	☐ Émirats Arabes Unis
☐ Bhoutan	☐ Équateur
☐ Biélorussie	☐ Érythrée
☐ Birmanie	☐ Espagne
☐ Bolivie	☐ Estonie
☐ Bosnie-Herégovine	☐ États-Unis
☐ Botswana	☐ Éthiopie
☐ Brésil	☐ Fidji
☐ Brunei	☐ Finlande
☐ Bulgarie	☐ France
☐ Burkina Faso	☐ Gabon
☐ Burundi	☐ Gambie

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☐ Géorgie	☐ Libye
☐ Ghana	☐ Liechtenstein
☐ Grèce	☐ Lituanie
☐ Grenade	☐ Luxembourg
☐ Guatemala	☐ Macédoine
☐ Guinée	☐ Madagascar
☐ Guinée Équatoriale	☐ Malaisie
☐ Guinée-Bissau	☐ Malawi
☐ Guyana	☐ Maldives
☐ Haïti	☐ Mali
☐ Honduras	☐ Malte
☐ Hongrie	☐ Maroc
☐ Île Maurice	☐ Marshall
☐ Inde	☐ Mauritanie
☐ Indonésie	☐ Mexique
☐ Irak	☐ Micronésie
☐ Iran	☐ Moldavie
☐ Irlande	☐ Monaco
☐ Irlande du Nord	☐ Mongolie
☐ Islande	☐ Monténégro
☐ Israël	☐ Mozambique
☐ Italie	☐ Namibie
☐ Jamaïque	☐ Nauru
☐ Japon	☐ Népal
☐ Jordanie	☐ Nicaragua
☐ Kazakhstan	☐ Niger
☐ Kenya	☐ Nigeria
☐ Kirghizistan	☐ Norvège
☐ Kiribati	☐ Nouvelle-Zélande
☐ Kosovo	☐ Oman
☐ Koweït	☐ Ouganda
☐ Laos	☐ Ouzbékistan
☐ Lesotho	☐ Pakistan
☐ Lettonie	☐ Palaos
☐ Liban	☐ Panama
☐ Liberia	☐ Papouasie-Nouvelle-Guinée

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☐ Paraguay	☐ Somalie
☐ Pays de Galles	☐ Soudan
☐ Pays-Bas	☐ Sri Lanka
☐ Pérou	☐ Suède
☐ Philippines	☐ Suriname
☐ Pologne	☐ Swaziland
☐ Portugal	☐ Syrie
☐ Qatar	☐ Tadjikistan
☐ République Centrafricaine	☐ Taïwan
☐ République Démocratique du Congo	☐ Tanzanie
☐ République Dominicaine	☐ Tchad
☐ République Tchèque	☐ Thaïlande
☐ Roumanie	☐ Timor-Oriental
☐ Russie	☐ Togo
☐ Rwanda	☐ Tonga
☐ Sainte-Lucie	☐ Trinité-et-Tobago
☐ Saint-Kitts-et-Nevis	☐ Tunisie
☐ Saint-Marin	☐ Turkménistan
☐ Saint-Vincent-et-les-Grenadines	☐ Turquie
☐ Salomon	☐ Tuvalu
☐ Salvador	☐ Ukraine
☐ Samoa	☐ Uruguay
☐ São Tomé et Príncipe	☐ Vanuatu
☐ Sénégal	☐ Vatican
☐ Serbie	☐ Venezuela
☐ Seychelles	☐ Viêt Nam
☐ Sierra Leone	☐ Yémen
☐ Singapour	☐ Zambie
☐ Slovaquie	☐ Zimbabwe
☐ Slovénie	

Langues

Pour des raisons de statistiques, nous voudrions connaître vos compétences et habitudes linguistiques. Soyez assuré-e que vos réponses seront traitées d'une manière complètement confidentielle et anonyme.

10 Quelle est votre langue maternelle? (Plusieurs réponses possibles.) *

Veuillez choisir toutes les réponses qui conviennent :

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- ☐ allemand
☐ français
☐ italien

- ☐ anglais
☐ Autre(s):

Indiquez la/les langue-s que vous avez apprise-s pendant votre enfance et que vous comprenez toujours.
Plusieurs réponses possibles.

11 Vous avez choisi l'option "autre". Veuillez préciser s'il vous plaît. *

Répondre à cette question seulement si les conditions suivantes sont réunies :

La réponse était à la question '10 ' (Quelle est votre langue maternelle? (Plusieurs réponses possibles.))

Please select at least one answer

Veuillez choisir toutes les réponses qui conviennent et laissez un commentaire :

- ☐ Autre: (Quelle est votre langue maternelle?) Multiples options possibles.
☐ Autre: (optionnel)
☐ Autre: (optionnel)

12 Parlez-vous d'autres langues? Lesquelles? *

Veuillez choisir toutes les réponses qui conviennent :

- ☐ Non.
☐ allemand
☐ français
☐ italien
☐ anglais
☐ Autre(s):

Multiples options possibles.

13 Apprenez-vous des langues? Lesquelles? *

Veuillez choisir toutes les réponses qui conviennent :

- ☐ Non.
☐ allemand
☐ français
☐ italien
☐ anglais
☐ Autre(s):

Veuillez indiquer les langues que vous apprenez en ce moment, d'une manière autonome, où avec de l'aide.
Multiples options possibles.

14 A quel niveau parlez-vous ... *

Répondre à cette question seulement si les conditions suivantes sont réunies :

----- Scenario 1 -----

La réponse était à la question '12 ' (Parlez-vous d'autres langues? Lesquelles?)

----- ou Scenario 2 -----

La réponse était à la question '13 ' (Apprenez-vous des langues? Lesquelles?)

Choisissez la réponse appropriée pour chaque élément :

A1*	A2*	B1*	B2*	C1*	C2*
allemand? ☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

*Clarifications (fournies avec chaque tableau de ce type)

A1 : production/compréhension: expressions familières et quotidiennes, énoncés simples

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A2 : production/compréhension: expressions fréquentes, descriptions et arguments simples

B1 : production/compréhension: langage clair, se débrouille dans la plupart des situations

B2 : production/compréhension: contenu essentiel de messages complexes, spontanéité et aisance

C1 : production/compréhension: textes et conversations longues et exigeants, spontanéité et complexité

C2 : production/compréhension: pratiquement toutes formes de langage, fines nuances, précision

15 A quel niveau parlez-vous ... *

Répondre à cette question seulement si les conditions suivantes sont réunies :

----- Scenario 1 -----

La réponse était à la question '12 ' (Parlez-vous d'autres langues? Lesquelles?)

----- ou Scenario 2 -----

La réponse était à la question '13 ' (Apprenez-vous des langues? Lesquelles?)

Choisissez la réponse appropriée pour chaque élément :

	A1	A2	B1	B2	C1	C2
français? ☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

16 A quel niveau parlez-vous ... *

Répondre à cette question seulement si les conditions suivantes sont réunies :

----- Scenario 1 -----

La réponse était à la question '12 ' (Parlez-vous d'autres langues? Lesquelles?)

----- ou Scenario 2 -----

La réponse était à la question '13 ' (Apprenez-vous des langues? Lesquelles?)

Choisissez la réponse appropriée pour chaque élément :

	A1	A2	B1	B2	C1	C2
italien? ☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

17 A quel niveau parlez-vous ... *

Répondre à cette question seulement si les conditions suivantes sont réunies :

----- Scenario 1 -----

La réponse était à la question '12 ' (Parlez-vous d'autres langues? Lesquelles?)

----- ou Scenario 2 -----

La réponse était à la question '13 ' (Apprenez-vous des langues? Lesquelles?)

Choisissez la réponse appropriée pour chaque élément :

	A1	A2	B1	B2	C1	C2
anglais? ☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

18 A quelle fréquence utilisez-vous l'allemand... *

Répondre à cette question seulement si les conditions suivantes sont réunies :

Appendices

----- Scenario 1 -----

La réponse était à la question '10 ' (Quelle est votre langue maternelle? (Plusieurs réponses possibles.))

----- ou Scenario 2 -----

La réponse était à la question '12 ' (Parlez-vous d'autres langues? Lesquelles?)

----- ou Scenario 3 -----

La réponse était à la question '13 ' (Apprenez-vous des langues? Lesquelles?)

Choisissez la réponse appropriée pour chaque élément :

	Jamais ou presque jamais	Rarement (au moins une fois par ans)	Parfois (chaque mois)	Souvent (chaque semaine)	Très souvent ou toujours (chaque jour)
A la maison?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Avec vos amis ou vos connaissances?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Pendant vos études?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Au travail?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

19 A quelle fréquence utilisez-vous le français... *

Répondre à cette question seulement si les conditions suivantes sont réunies :

----- Scenario 1 -----

La réponse était à la question '10 ' (Quelle est votre langue maternelle? (Plusieurs réponses possibles.))

----- ou Scenario 2 -----

La réponse était à la question '12 ' (Parlez-vous d'autres langues? Lesquelles?)

Choisissez la réponse appropriée pour chaque élément :

	Jamais ou presque jamais	Rarement (au moins une fois par ans)	Parfois (chaque mois)	Souvent (chaque semaine)	Très souvent ou toujours (chaque jour)
A la maison?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Avec vos amis ou vos connaissances?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Pendant vos études?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Appendices

	Jamais ou presque jamais	Rarement (au moins une fois par ans)	Parfois (chaque mois)	Souvent (chaque semaine)	Très souvent ou toujours (chaque jour)
Au travail?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

20 A quelle fréquence utilisez-vous l'italien... *

Répondre à cette question seulement si les conditions suivantes sont réunies :

----- Scenario 1 -----

La réponse était à la question '10 ' (Quelle est votre langue maternelle? (Plusieurs réponses possibles.)) et La réponse était à la question '13 ' (Apprenez-vous des langues? Lesquelles?)

----- ou Scenario 2 -----

La réponse était à la question '12 ' (Parlez-vous d'autres langues? Lesquelles?)

Choisissez la réponse appropriée pour chaque élément :

	Jamais ou presque jamais	Rarement (au moins une fois par ans)	Parfois (chaque mois)	Souvent (chaque semaine)	Très souvent ou toujours (chaque jour)
A la maison?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Avec vos amis ou vos connaissances?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Pendant vos études?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Au travail?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

21 A quelle fréquence utilisez-vous l'anglais... *

Répondre à cette question seulement si les conditions suivantes sont réunies :

----- Scenario 1 -----

La réponse était à la question '10 ' (Quelle est votre langue maternelle? (Plusieurs réponses possibles.))

----- ou Scenario 2 -----

La réponse était à la question '12 ' (Parlez-vous d'autres langues? Lesquelles?)

----- ou Scenario 3 -----

La réponse était à la question '13 ' (Apprenez-vous des langues? Lesquelles?)

Choisissez la réponse appropriée pour chaque élément :

Appendices

	Jamais ou presque jamais	Rarement (au moins une fois par ans)	Parfois (chaque mois)	Souvent (chaque semaine)	Très souvent ou toujours (chaque jour)
A la maison?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Avec vos amis ou vos connaissances?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Pendant vos études?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Au travail?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Emploi de l'anglais

Pour les questions suivantes, veuillez indiquer ce qui vous semble le plus proche de vos expériences en choisissant la rubrique correspondante.

22

A quelle fréquence parlez-vous anglais... *

Répondre à cette question seulement si les conditions suivantes sont réunies :

----- Scenario 1 -----

La réponse était à la question '10 ' (Quelle est votre langue maternelle? (Plusieurs réponses possibles.))

----- ou Scenario 2 -----

La réponse était à la question '12 ' (Parlez-vous d'autres langues? Lesquelles?)

----- ou Scenario 3 -----

La réponse était à la question '13 ' (Apprenez-vous des langues? Lesquelles?)

Choisissez la réponse appropriée pour chaque élément :

	Jamais ou presque jamais	Rarement (au moins une fois par ans)	Parfois (chaque mois)	Souvent (chaque semaine)	Très souvent (chaque jour)
...lorsque vous voyagez à l'étranger?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...pendant vos vacances en Suisse romande?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...pendant vos vacances en Suisse alémanique?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...pendant vos vacances au Tessin?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

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	Jamais ou presque jamais	Rarement (au moins une fois par ans)	Parfois (chaque mois)	Souvent (chaque semaine)	Très souvent (chaque jour)
...avec des amis de l'étranger ou des étrangers que vous connaissez?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...avec des étrangers de votre quartier?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

23

A quelle fréquence utilisez-vous l'anglais... *

Répondre à cette question seulement si les conditions suivantes sont réunies :

----- Scenario 1 -----

La réponse était à la question '10 ' (Quelle est votre langue maternelle? (Plusieurs réponses possibles.))

----- ou Scenario 2 -----

La réponse était à la question '12 ' (Parlez-vous d'autres langues? Lesquelles?)

----- ou Scenario 3 -----

La réponse était à la question '13 ' (Apprenez-vous des langues? Lesquelles?)

Choisissez la réponse appropriée pour chaque élément :

	Jamais ou presque jamais	Rarement (au moins une fois par ans)	Parfois (chaque mois)	Souvent (chaque semaine)	Très souvent (chaque jour)
... pour écrire des emails?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
... pour consulter des sites d'internet?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
... pour participer aux discours sur des réseaux sociaux (ex. chatter, Twitter, Facebook)?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
... pour écrire des SMS?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
... pour écrire des lettres formelles ou informelles?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...pendant vos études à l'université?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

24

A quelle fréquence ... *

Répondre à cette question seulement si les conditions suivantes sont réunies :

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----- Scenario 1 -----

La réponse était à la question '10 ' (Quelle est votre langue maternelle? (Plusieurs réponses possibles.))

----- ou Scenario 2 -----

La réponse était à la question '12 ' (Parlez-vous d'autres langues? Lesquelles?)

----- ou Scenario 3 -----

La réponse était à la question '13 ' (Apprenez-vous des langues? Lesquelles?)

Choisissez la réponse appropriée pour chaque élément :

	Jamais ou presque jamais	Rarement (au moins une fois par ans)	Parfois (chaque mois)	Souvent (chaque semaine)	Très souvent (chaque jour)
... regardez-vous des films ou séries en anglais?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
... regardez-vous des programmes de télévision en anglais?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
... lisez-vous des livres en anglais?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
... lisez-vous des journaux ou magazines en anglais?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
... lisez-vous des emails en anglais?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
... lisez-vous des lettres formelles ou informelles en anglais?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

25

A quelle fréquence ... *

Choisissez la réponse appropriée pour chaque élément :

	Jamais ou presque jamais	Rarement (au moins une fois par ans)	Parfois (chaque mois)	Souvent (chaque semaine)	Très souvent (chaque jour)
... vos enseignant-e-s vous parlent-ils de la vie dans les pays anglophones?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
... les membres de votre famille vous parlent-ils de la vie dans les pays anglophones?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
... vos amis ou vos connaissances vous parlent-ils de la vie dans les pays anglophones?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Apprentissage de l'anglais

Certaines personnes sont d'accord avec les énoncés suivants, mais d'autres pas. Nous voudrions savoir jusqu'à quel point ils correspondent à ce que vous pensez.

26 Pour chaque question, veuillez indiquer ce qui vous semble le plus proche de ce que vous pensez en choisissant la rubrique correspondante. *

Choisissez la réponse appropriée pour chaque élément :

	Pas du tout d'accord	Pas d'accord	Ni d'accord ni pas d'accord	D'accord	Tout à fait d'accord
J'ai décidé d'apprendre l'anglais.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Il est très important pour moi d'apprendre l'anglais.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Je fais tout mon possible pour apprendre l'anglais.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Si vous avez jamais appris la langue, veuillez nous informer toutefois de vos perceptions.

27 Pour chaque question, veuillez indiquer ce qui vous semble le plus proche de ce que vous pensez en choisissant la rubrique correspondante. *

Choisissez la réponse appropriée pour chaque élément :

	Pas du tout d'accord	Pas d'accord	Ni d'accord ni pas d'accord	D'accord	Tout à fait d'accord
J'aime bien apprendre l'anglais.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Je trouve très intéressant d'apprendre l'anglais.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
J'aime bien la langue anglaise.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Si vous avez jamais appris la langue, veuillez nous informer toutefois de vos perceptions.

Parler anglais

Certaines personnes sont d'accord avec les énoncés suivants, mais d'autres pas. Nous voudrions savoir jusqu'à quel point ils correspondent à ce que vous pensez.

28

Pour chaque question, veuillez indiquer ce qui vous semble le plus proche de ce que vous pensez en choisissant la rubrique correspondante.

Je suis prêt-e à parler anglais devant ... *

Répondre à cette question seulement si les conditions suivantes sont réunies :

----- Scenario 1 -----

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La réponse était à la question '10 ' (Quelle est votre langue maternelle? (Plusieurs réponses possibles.))

----- ou Scenario 2 -----

La réponse était à la question '12 ' (Parlez-vous d'autres langues? Lesquelles?)

----- ou Scenario 3 -----

La réponse était à la question '13 ' (Apprenez-vous des langues? Lesquelles?)

Choisissez la réponse appropriée pour chaque élément :

	Pas du tout d'accord	Pas d'accord	Ni d'accord ni pas d'accord	D'accord	Tout à fait d'accord
...un petit groupe d'amis.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...un petit groupe de connaissances.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...un petit groupe de gens que je ne connais pas.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...une grande réunion d'amis.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...une grande réunion de connaissances.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...un grand groupe de gens que je ne connais pas.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Utilité de l'anglais

Certaines personnes sont d'accord avec les énoncés suivants, mais d'autres pas. Nous voudrions savoir jusqu'à quel point ils correspondent à ce que vous pensez.

29 Pour chaque question, veuillez indiquer ce qui vous semble le plus proche de ce que vous pensez en choisissant la rubrique correspondante. *

Choisissez la réponse appropriée pour chaque élément :

	Pas du tout d'accord	Pas d'accord	Ni d'accord ni pas d'accord	D'accord	Tout à fait d'accord
J'aime imaginer ma future personnalité comme quelqu'un qui pourra parler anglais.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Quand je pense à mon avenir, parler anglais est important.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

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	Pas du tout d'accord	Pas d'accord	Ni d'accord ni pas d'accord	D'accord	Tout à fait d'accord
Je devrai parler anglais pour accomplir mes projets d'avenir.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Il m'est indispensable de savoir parler anglais pour les études que je vise.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Savoir parler anglais m'aidera pour ma future carrière.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Importance de l'anglais

Certaines personnes sont d'accord avec les énoncés suivants, mais d'autres pas. Nous voudrions savoir jusqu'à quel point ils correspondent à ce que vous pensez.

30 Pour chaque question, veuillez indiquer ce qui vous semble le plus proche de ce que vous pensez en choisissant la rubrique correspondante. *

Choisissez la réponse appropriée pour chaque élément :

	Pas du tout d'accord	Pas d'accord	Ni d'accord ni pas d'accord	D'accord	Tout à fait d'accord
Apprendre l'anglais est la marque de quelqu'un de cultivé.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Les gens dans mon entourage pensent qu'il est important pour moi d'apprendre l'anglais.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Dans mon entourage on considère les compétences en anglais comme faisant partie de l'éducation de base.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Le village planétaire

Certaines personnes sont d'accord avec les énoncés suivants, mais d'autres pas. Nous voudrions savoir jusqu'à quel point ils correspondent à ce que vous pensez.

31

Pour chaque question, veuillez indiquer ce qui vous semble le plus proche de ce que vous pensez en choisissant la rubrique correspondante. *

Choisissez la réponse appropriée pour chaque élément :

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	Pas du tout d'accord	Pas d'accord	Ni d'accord ni pas d'accord	D'accord	Tout à fait d'accord
Il est important pour moi d'être un membre du village planétaire.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Parler anglais m'aide/m'aiderait à devenir un membre du village planétaire.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Je trouve bien que les gens de différents pays puissent parler une langue commune.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
À mon avis l'anglais est la langue du village planétaire.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Langues et cultures

Certaines personnes sont d'accord avec les énoncés suivants, mais d'autres pas. Nous voudrions savoir jusqu'à quel point ils correspondent à ce que vous pensez.

32 Pour chaque question, veuillez indiquer ce qui vous semble le plus proche de ce que vous pensez en choisissant la rubrique correspondante. *

Choisissez la réponse appropriée pour chaque élément :

	Pas du tout d'accord	Pas d'accord	Ni d'accord ni pas d'accord	D'accord	Tout à fait d'accord
Je pense que de parler à des étrangers m'est utile parce que plus je le fais, plus j'ai envie d'apprendre les langues étrangères.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Je pense que de parler à des étrangers m'est utile parce que plus je le fais, plus je me sens à l'aise dans la conversation.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Avant de rencontrer des étrangers, j'ai l'habitude de me préparer pour la conversation à venir (par exemple en vérifiant des mots dans un dictionnaire ou en pensant à ce que je vais dire).	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Je pense que de parler à des étrangers m'est utile parce que	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

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	Pas du tout d'accord	Pas d'accord	Ni d'accord ni pas d'accord	D'accord	Tout à fait d'accord
cela m'aide à comprendre comment les gens vivent dans leurs pays.					

33 Pour chaque question, veuillez indiquer ce qui vous semble le plus proche de ce que vous pensez en choisissant la rubrique correspondante. *

Choisissez la réponse appropriée pour chaque élément :

	Pas du tout d'accord	Pas d'accord	Ni d'accord ni pas d'accord	D'accord	Tout à fait d'accord
Si je savais mieux parler anglais je pourrais faire la connaissance davantage de gens d'autres pays (pas seulement de pays anglophones).	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
L'anglais est l'une des langues les plus importantes dans le monde d'aujourd'hui.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Mieux savoir parler anglais me permet/ permettrait de comprendre les gens de n'importe où dans le monde.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
J'aimerais mieux apprendre l'anglais afin de pouvoir communiquer avec des gens de différents pays.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

34 Pour chaque question, veuillez indiquer ce qui vous semble le plus proche de ce que vous pensez en choisissant la rubrique correspondante. *

Choisissez la réponse appropriée pour chaque élément :

	Pas du tout d'accord	Pas d'accord	Ni d'accord ni pas d'accord	D'accord	Tout à fait d'accord
Je suis intéressé-e par les coutumes d'autres cultures.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Je peux facilement accepter les coutumes d'autres cultures.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

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	Pas du tout d'accord	Pas d'accord	Ni d'accord ni pas d'accord	D'accord	Tout à fait d'accord
Je respecte les coutumes d'autres cultures.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Je peux facilement travailler avec des gens dont les coutumes sont différentes des miennes.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Je peux facilement accorder ma confiance à des gens dont les coutumes sont différentes des miennes.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Les Anglais et les Américains

Certaines personnes sont d'accord avec les énoncés suivants, mais d'autres pas. Nous voudrions savoir jusqu'à quel point ils correspondent à ce que vous pensez.

35

Pour chaque question, veuillez indiquer ce qui vous semble le plus proche de ce que vous pensez en choisissant la rubrique correspondante. *

Choisissez la réponse appropriée pour chaque élément :

	Pas du tout d'accord	Pas d'accord	Ni d'accord ni pas d'accord	D'accord	Tout à fait d'accord
J'aime beaucoup les Anglais.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
J'aime beaucoup les Américains.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
J'aimerais en savoir plus sur les Anglais.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
J'aimerais en savoir plus sur les Américains.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
J'aime/ J'aimerais parler avec des Anglais.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
J'aime/ J'aimerais parler avec des Américains.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
J'aime/ J'aimerais voyager en Angleterre.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

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	Pas du tout d'accord	Pas d'accord	Ni d'accord ni pas d'accord	D'accord	Tout à fait d'accord
J'aime/ J'aimerais voyager aux États-Unis.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
J'aime la culture anglaise.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
J'aime la culture américaine.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Vos commentaires

Si vous avez des commentaires, nous serons heureux d'en prendre connaissance. Soyez assuré-e que vos réponses seront traitées d'une manière complètement confidentielle et anonyme.

36 Veuillez nous laisser un message dans le cadre ci-dessous.

Veuillez écrire votre réponse ici :

Merci beaucoup de votre collaboration!

Dr. Claire FOREL, professeure associée, Département de langue et de littérature anglaises / Institut Universitaire de Formation des Enseignants

Virag CSILLAGH, assistante enseignante, Département de langue et de littérature anglaises / Institut Universitaire de Formation des Enseignants, virag.csillagh@unige.ch

Envoyer votre questionnaire.

Merci d'avoir complété ce questionnaire.

Appendix 1.2 Message to students

The message below was sent to students at four faculties at the University of Geneva, with the help of the secretariat and various organizations and associations at these faculties.

Bonjour,

Vous avez été invité/e à participer au questionnaire intitulé "Apprentissage des langues et attitudes envers la langue anglaise".

Ce questionnaire, élaboré dans le cadre de mon projet de doctorat, a pour objectif de dresser un tableau de l'apprentissage des langues parmi les étudiants de l'UNIGE. Que vous appreniez une ou plusieurs langues en ce moment, ou aucune, votre témoignage me permettra de mieux comprendre les attitudes et préférences des étudiants à propos de l'apprentissage des langues afin d'en tirer des conclusions qui pourront éventuellement servir à sensibiliser les acteurs institutionnels.

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Le questionnaire prend maximum 20-25 minutes à compléter, mais malheureusement (pour des raisons de sécurité) le site n'offre pas de possibilité de revenir aux questions déjà répondues ou de finir plus tard. Une fois le site quitté, vos réponses au questionnaire seront définitives.

Je vous serais très reconnaissante de bien vouloir le compléter d'ici au 25 octobre, 2013.

Pour participer, vous pouvez cliquer sur le lien ci-dessous.

Je vous remercie sincèrement de l'aide que vous m'apportez et j'espère que les résultats que j'obtiendrai seront utiles à la communauté universitaire. Après l'analyse, ils seront affichés sur le site csillagh.wordpress.com.

Avec mes meilleures salutations,

Virag CSILLAGH

(virag.csillagh@unige.ch)

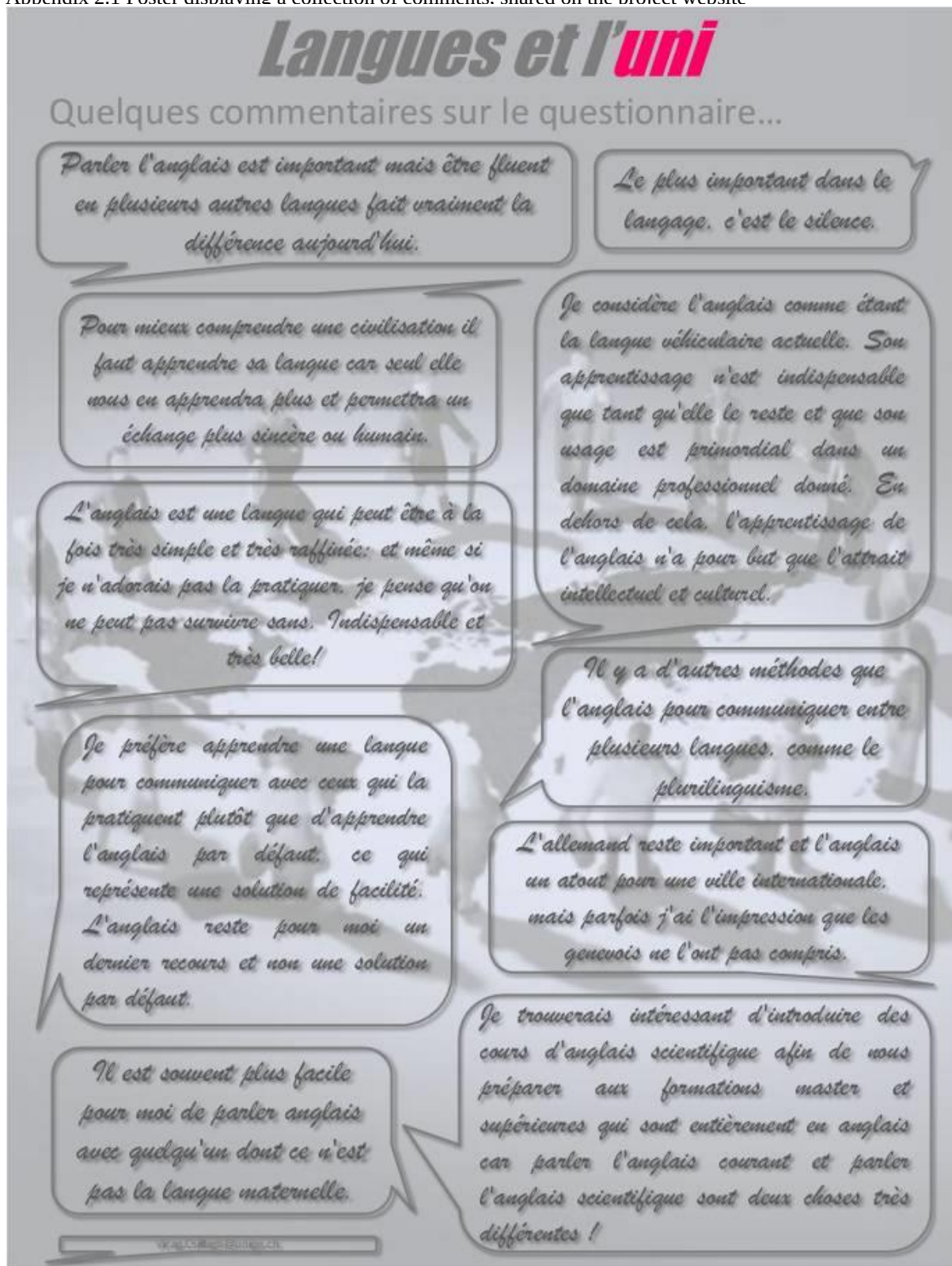
Cliquez ici pour remplir ce questionnaire :

<https://cms2.unige.ch/outils/limesurveyfac/lettres/index.php/769552/lang-fr>

Appendix 2 Participants' comments on the questionnaire

Students were offered the option to leave a message or comment at the end of the questionnaire. Only a fraction of students chose to do so and some of their messages focused on the items in the questionnaire, while most discussed issues of language teaching and use at the University of Geneva. The poster displayed here, composed of the most emblematic comments, was shared with participants on the webpage of the project.

Appendix 2.1 Poster displaying a collection of comments, shared on the project website



Appendix 3 Linguistic diversity in the sample

Appendix 3.1 Participants' mother tongues

Study participants mentioned a total of 32 first languages, in addition to the four (French, German, Italian and English) options offered. The below list was composed based on respondents' answers and shows all of these languages as well as the specific dialects named in alphabetical order. It is important to note that, in some cases, answers were unclear and therefore broader categories were used. In line with mainstream practices in Swiss language education research (cf. Chapters 1 and 2), the Swiss German dialect were grouped under the category *German*.

Albanian	Persian
Arabic	Polish
Armenian	Portugese
Azeri	Romanian
Bangla	Russian
Bosnian	Serbian/Serbo-Croatian
Bulgarian	Slovakian
Cantonese	Spanish
Chinese	Tamil
Czech	Thai
Dutch	Turkish
English	Ukranian
French	Vietnamese
German	
Greek	
Haiti creole	
Hause	
Hungarian	
Italian	
Japanese	
Luxembourgish	
Malagasy	
Malaysian	

Appendix 3.2 Foreign languages spoken

Similarly, when asked about the foreign languages that they spoke, participants listed a large variety of languages. The list, shown below, included the four languages included in the options as well as 29 others.

Amharic	Swedish
Arabic	Tagalog
Bosnian	Tunisian
Brazilian	Turkish
Catalan	
Chinese	
Creole	
Croatian/Serbo-Croatian/Serbian	
Dutch	
English	
French	
German	
Greek	
Hebrew	
Hungarian	
Icelandic	
Italian	
Japanese	
Ladakhi	
Malagasy	
Mandarin	
Mauritian creole	
Persian	
Portuguese	
Romanian	
Russian	
Slovenian	
Spanish	
Swahili	

Appendix 3.3 Languages studied at the time of the survey

Last but not least, students were asked to list the languages that they studied at the time of the survey. Besides the four languages provided, they mentioned another 26, the full list of which can be found below.

Ancient Greek	Greek
Arabic	Italian
Brazilian	Japanese
Cantonese	Korean
Catalan	Ladakhi
ChineseDutch	Mandarin
Elven	Norwegian
English	Romanian
Esperanto	Russian
Farsi	Serbo-Croatian/Serbian
French	Slovakian
French Sign Language	Spanish
German	Swedish

Appendix 4 Language skills across subsamples

The questionnaire yielded a wealth of information regarding respondents' language skills and usage patterns. As an exhaustive analysis of these trends was beyond the scope of the present dissertation, only the most important details were discussed. Complementary tables mentioned in the text can be found in the sections to follow, without attempting to be comprehensive.

These tables report on three types of tests. T-tests were conducted in the case of groupings involving two subsamples, while ANOVA calculations were used to pinpoint differences among three or more groups. In addition, correlation coefficients were computed for comparisons based on Likert-type scales. Tests that resulted in, at least partially, significant results and had bearing on the conclusions of the present study are presented below. In these tests, cases were discarded analysis by analysis, while other calculations referenced in the text tended to use listwise exclusion.

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Appendix 4.1 T- test results: comparison of language skills and use between genders

Variables	Male (<i>n</i> = 124 ^a)		Female (<i>n</i> = 251 ^a)		<i>d</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>P</i>	Effect size (eta squared)
	M	SD	M	SD				
No. of Ls spoken	3.12	.97	3.12	1.03	373	-.02	.98	.000
No. of L1s spoken	1.19	.47	1.24	.50	373	-.92	.36	.002
No. of L2s spoken	1.93	.99	1.88	.99	373	.43	.67	.000
No. of Ls learned	.48	.72	.61	.79	373	-1.65	.10	.007
Level of German	1.78	1.91	1.54	1.79	355	1.14	.25	.004
Level of French	5.12	1.17	5.20	1.13	82	-.31	.76	.001
Level of Italian	.64	1.48	.62	1.34	352	.11	.92	.000
Level of English	4.12	1.68	3.94	1.73	358	.98	.33	.003
German at home	1.61	1.18	1.74	1.26	203	-.74	.46	.003
German with friends	2.07	1.13	2.00	1.20	203	.41	.68	.001
German at UNIGE	1.72	1.02	1.97	1.06	203	-1.64	.10	.013
German at work	1.96	1.15	1.80	1.11	203	.97	.34	.005
French at home	4.60	1.06	4.48	1.19	373	.94	.35	.002
French with friends	4.90	.39	4.84	.55	373	1.19	.24	.004
French at UNIGE	4.88	.50	4.88	.49	373	-.03	.98	.000
French at work	4.71	.95	4.68	.96	373	.31	.76	.000
Italian at home	1.65	1.23	2.00	1.20	61	-1.07	.29	.018
Italian with friends	2.55	1.23	2.19	1.05	61	1.21	.23	.023
Italian at UNIGE	1.55	1.00	1.33	.68	61	1.05	.30	.018
Italian at work	1.50	.83	1.47	.93	61	.14	.89	.000
English at home	2.38	1.51	2.52	1.45	341	-.84	.40	.002
English with friends	3.14	1.19	3.21	1.20	341	-.51	.61	.001
English at UNIGE	3.66	1.24	3.48	1.16	341	1.26	.21	.005
English at work	2.94	1.54	2.94	1.41	341	-.02	.99	.000

^a Complete subsample size. Participation varied across the variables.

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Appendix 4.2 T- test results: comparison of language skills and use based on professional activity

Variables	Not working (<i>n</i> = 184 ^a)		Working (<i>n</i> = 191 ^a)		<i>d</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>P</i>	Effect size (eta squared)
	M	SD	M	SD				
No. of Ls spoken	3.12	.97	3.13	1.04	373	-.06	.95	.000
No. of L1s spoken	1.25	.53	1.20	.45	373	.91	.37	.002
No. of L2s spoken	1.87	.97	1.92	1.02	373	-.51	.61	.001
No. of Ls learned	.54	.76	.59	.78	373	-.54	.59	.001
Level of German	1.57	1.80	1.67	1.87	373	-.52	.61	.001
Level of French	5.17	1.22	5.19	1.02	355	-.08	.94	.000
Level of Italian	.70	1.48	.57	1.29	82	.89	.37	.010
Level of English	4.03	1.70	3.97	1.72	352	.31	.76	.000
German at home	1.60	1.23	1.78	1.22	358	-1.01	.31	.003
German with friends	1.97	1.23	2.07	1.11	203	-.64	.52	.002
German at UNIGE	1.91	1.09	1.86	1.01	203	.33	.74	.001
German at work	1.58	1.01	2.10	1.17	203	-3.40	.00	.054
French at home	4.43	1.23	4.60	1.06	203	-1.45	.15	.010
French with friends	4.84	.59	4.88	.39	373	-.82	.41	.002
French at UNIGE	4.88	.51	4.88	.48	373	-.19	.85	.000
French at work	4.57	1.14	4.80	.72	373	-2.33	.02	.014
Italian at home	2.23	1.36	1.56	.95	373	2.24	.03	.013
Italian with friends	2.42	1.18	2.19	1.06	61	.82	.41	.011
Italian at UNIGE	1.32	.75	1.47	.84	61	-.73	.47	.009
Italian at work	1.16	.45	1.78	1.10	61	-2.94	.01	.124
English at home	2.60	1.49	2.35	1.44	61	1.63	.10	.042
English with friends	3.22	1.22	3.15	1.18	341	.57	.57	.001
English at UNIGE	3.50	1.16	3.59	1.22	341	-.69	.49	.001
English at work	2.73	1.42	2.94	1.41	341	-2.65	.01	.020

^a Complete subsample size. Participation varied across the variables.

Appendices

Appendix 4.3 T- test results: comparison of language skills and use based on place of secondary education

Variable	Abroad (<i>n</i> = 119 ^a)		Switzerland (<i>n</i> = 256 ^a)		<i>d</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>P</i>	Effect size (eta squared)
	M	SD	M	SD				
No. of Ls spoken	3.05	1.02	3.16	1.00	373	-.95	.34	.002
No. of L1s spoken	1.17	.44	1.25	.51	373	-1.67	.10	.007
No. of L2s spoken	1.88	1.03	1.90	.98	373	-.18	.86	.000
No. of Ls learned	.66	.84	.52	.73	373	1.55	.12	.006
Level of German	1.14	1.62	1.85	1.89	355	-3.69	.00	.037
Level of French	4.90	1.13	5.43	1.09	82	-2.20	.03	.056
Level of Italian	.43	1.16	.73	1.47	352	-2.05	.04	.012
Level of English	4.00	1.72	4.00	1.71	358	.00	1.00	.000
German at home	1.54	1.07	1.75	1.27	203	-1.05	.30	.005
German with friends	1.90	1.18	2.07	1.17	203	-.86	.39	.004
German at UNIGE	1.79	1.02	1.92	1.06	203	-.75	.45	.003
German at work	1.54	.75	1.96	1.21	203	-2.95	.00	.041
French at home	4.40	1.26	4.57	1.09	373	-1.24	.22	.004
French with friends	4.80	.58	4.89	.46	373	-1.60	.11	.007
French at UNIGE	4.76	.70	4.93	.35	373	-2.50	.01	.016
French at work	4.55	1.09	4.75	.88	373	-1.71	.09	.008
Italian at home	2.15	1.07	1.82	1.24	61	.89	.38	.013
Italian with friends	2.54	1.05	2.24	1.13	61	.86	.39	.012
Italian at UNIGE	1.38	.96	1.40	.76	61	-.06	.95	.000
Italian at work	1.54	1.33	1.46	.76	61	.28	.78	.001
English at home	2.81	1.57	2.32	1.39	341	2.79	.01	.022
English with friends	3.43	1.20	3.07	1.18	341	2.64	.01	.020
English at UNIGE	3.77	1.21	3.44	1.16	341	2.45	.01	.017
English at work	3.08	1.55	2.88	1.40	341	1.18	.24	.004

^a Complete subsample size. Participation varied across the variables.

Appendices

Appendix 4.4 ANOVA test results: comparison of language skills and use across faculties

Variable	Groups	N	M	SD	F	<i>p</i>	Effect size (eta squared)
Number of languages spoken	Law	94	3.20	1.04	1.32	.27	.011
	Medicine	64	3.13	1.00			
	Science	150	3.01	.95			
	SES	60	3.28	1.04			
	Total	368	3.13	1.00			
Number of L1s spoken	Law	94	1.23	.50	.39	.76	.003
	Medicine	64	1.25	.53			
	Science	150	1.24	.50			
	SES	60	1.17	.42			
	Total	368	1.23	.49			
Number of L2s spoken	Law	94	1.97	.99	1.96	.12	.016
	Medicine	64	1.88	1.02			
	Science	150	1.77	.96			
	SES	60	2.12	1.01			
	Total	368	1.90	.99			
Number of Ls learned	Law	94	.76	.80	2.54	.06	.020
	Medicine	64	.47	.67			
	Science	150	.54	.82			
	SES	60	.48	.68			
	Total	368	.57	.77			
German L1	Law	94	.06	.25	5.49	.00	.043
	Medicine	64	.05	.21			
	Science	150	.03	.18			
	SES	60	.18	.39			
	Total	368	.07	.25			
French L1	Law	94	.66	.48	4.49	.00	.036
	Medicine	64	.89	.31			
	Science	150	.81	.40			
	SES	60	.75	.44			
	Total	368	.77	.42			
Italian L1	Law	94	.09	.28	1.45	.23	.012
	Medicine	64	.02	.13			
	Science	150	.09	.28			

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Variable	Groups	N	M	SD	F	p	Effect size (eta squared)
	SES	60	.05	.22			
	Total	368	.07	.25			
English L1	Law	94	.12	.32	3.81	.01	.030
	Medicine	64	.08	.27			
	Science	150	.03	.16			
	SES	60	.02	.13			
	Total	368	.06	.23			
Other L1	Law	94	.31	.46	1.66	.17	.014
	Medicine	64	.22	.42			
	Science	150	.29	.45			
	SES	60	.17	.38			
	Total	368	.26	.44			
Speaks L2	Law	94	.94	.25	.71	.55	.006
	Medicine	64	.89	.31			
	Science	150	.91	.29			
	SES	60	.95	.22			
	Total	368	.92	.27			
German L2	Law	94	.41	.50	.36	.78	.003
	Medicine	64	.47	.50			
	Science	150	.39	.49			
	SES	60	.40	.49			
	Total	368	.41	.49			
French L2	Law	94	.34	.48	4.49	.00	.036
	Medicine	64	.11	.31			
	Science	150	.19	.40			
	SES	60	.25	.44			
	Total	368	.23	.42			
Italian L2	Law	94	.13	.34	1.04	.37	.009
	Medicine	64	.20	.41			
	Science	150	.13	.34			
	SES	60	.20	.40			
	Total	368	.15	.36			
English L2	Law	94	.76	.43	2.53	.06	.020
	Medicine	64	.80	.41			
	Science	150	.85	.36			
	SES	60	.92	.28			
	Total	368	.83	.38			

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Variable	Groups	N	M	SD	F	p	Effect size (eta squared)
<i>Other L2</i>	Law	94	.33	.47	2.26	.08	.018
	Medicine	64	.30	.46			
	Science	150	.21	.41			
	SES	60	.35	.48			
	Total	368	.28	.45			
Learning L2	Law	94	.55	.50	2.67	.05	.021
	Medicine	64	.39	.49			
	Science	150	.39	.49			
	SES	60	.38	.49			
	Total	368	.43	.50			
Learning German	Law	94	.28	.45	6.66	.00	.052
	Medicine	64	.09	.29			
	Science	150	.10	.30			
	SES	60	.08	.28			
	Total	368	.14	.35			
Learning French	Law	94	.01	.10	3.08	.03	.025
	Medicine	64	.00	.00			
	Science	150	.05	.23			
	SES	60	.00	.00			
	Total	368	.02	.15			
Learning Italian	Law	94	.07	.26	.85	.47	.007
	Medicine	64	.05	.21			
	Science	150	.06	.24			
	SES	60	.02	.13			
	Total	368	.05	.23			
Learning English	Law	94	.16	.37	.54	.65	.004
	Medicine	64	.13	.33			
	Science	150	.19	.40			
	SES	60	.18	.39			
	Total	368	.17	.38			
Learning <i>Other</i>	Law	94	.23	.43	1.47	.22	.012
	Medicine	64	.20	.41			
	Science	150	.13	.34			
	SES	60	.20	.40			
	Total	368	.18	.39			
Level of German	Law	89	1.90	1.88	2.55	.06	.022
	Medicine	62	1.85	1.92			

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Variable	Groups	N	M	SD	F	p	Effect size (eta squared)
	Science	148	1.32	1.72			
	SES	51	1.80	1.93			
	Total	350	1.63	1.84			
Level of French	Law	32	5.50	1.02	3.69	.02	.123
	Medicine	7	5.86	.38			
	Science	29	4.72	1.33			
	SES	15	5.00	.85			
	Total	83	5.17	1.14			
Level of Italian	Law	88	.64	1.45	.33	.80	.003
	Medicine	63	.76	1.49			
	Science	139	.55	1.30			
	SES	57	.61	1.35			
	Total	347	.62	1.38			
Level of English	Law	86	4.23	1.83	1.45	.23	.012
	Medicine	60	4.03	1.66			
	Science	148	3.78	1.76			
	SES	59	4.12	1.49			
	Total	353	3.99	1.72			
German at home	Law	60	1.65	1.22	3.73	.01	.053
	Medicine	36	1.61	.99			
	Science	69	1.46	1.01			
	SES	37	2.27	1.64			
	Total	202	1.69	1.23			
German with friends	Law	60	2.00	1.21	2.61	.05	.038
	Medicine	36	1.81	.95			
	Science	69	1.91	1.04			
	SES	37	2.49	1.45			
	Total	202	2.02	1.17			
German at UNIGE	Law	60	2.52	1.07	11.51	.00	.148
	Medicine	36	1.67	.83			
	Science	69	1.59	.90			
	SES	37	1.68	1.11			
	Total	202	1.90	1.05			
German at work	Law	60	2.07	1.22	2.92	.04	.042
	Medicine	36	1.83	1.03			
	Science	69	1.57	.79			
	SES	37	2.11	1.47			

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Variable	Groups	N	M	SD	F	p	Effect size (eta squared)
French at home	Total	202	1.86	1.13			
	Law	94	4.57	1.06	.58	.63	.005
	Medicine	64	4.55	1.08			
	Science	150	4.52	1.16			
	SES	60	4.33	1.39			
	Total	368	4.51	1.16			
French with friends	Law	94	4.87	.49	1.20	.31	.010
	Medicine	64	4.94	.30			
	Science	150	4.86	.54			
	SES	60	4.77	.59			
	Total	368	4.86	.51			
French at UNIGE	Law	94	4.90	.51	.43	.73	.004
	Medicine	64	4.92	.51			
	Science	150	4.85	.45			
	SES	60	4.85	.58			
	Total	368	4.88	.50			
French at work	Law	94	4.61	1.10	.78	.51	.006
	Medicine	64	4.81	.85			
	Science	150	4.71	.87			
	SES	60	4.60	1.08			
	Total	368	4.68	.96			
Italian at home	Law	14	2.21	1.58	1.40	.25	.068
	Medicine	13	1.46	.78			
	Science	22	2.00	1.23			
	SES	12	1.50	.80			
	Total	61	1.84	1.19			
Italian with friends	Law	14	2.43	1.40	.34	.80	.017
	Medicine	13	2.31	1.18			
	Science	22	2.32	1.04			
	SES	12	2.00	.85			
	Total	61	2.28	1.11			
Italian at UNIGE	Law	14	1.14	.36	.81	.49	.041
	Medicine	13	1.62	.87			
	Science	22	1.45	.96			
	SES	12	1.42	.79			
	Total	61	1.41	.80			
Italian at work	Law	14	1.07	.27	1.33	.27	.066

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Variable	Groups	N	M	SD	F	p	Effect size (eta squared)
	Medicine	13	1.62	.87	3.55	.01	.031
	Science	22	1.64	1.14			
	SES	12	1.58	.90			
	Total	61	1.49	.91			
English at home	Law	85	2.88	1.56	12.00	.00	.098
	Medicine	58	2.34	1.42			
	Science	136	2.33	1.38			
	SES	57	2.19	1.44			
	Total	336	2.45	1.46			
English with friends	Law	85	3.25	1.29	1.93	.13	.017
	Medicine	58	3.05	1.13			
	Science	136	3.26	1.14			
	SES	57	3.02	1.19			
	Total	336	3.18	1.19			
English at UNIGE	Law	85	2.93	1.30	2.24	.08	.018
	Medicine	58	3.72	1.24			
	Science	136	3.84	1.01			
	SES	57	3.53	.98			
	Total	336	3.54	1.18			
English at work	Law	85	2.82	1.45			
	Medicine	58	2.76	1.42			
	Science	136	3.15	1.48			
	SES	57	2.72	1.39			
	Total	336	2.93	1.45			

Appendix 4.5 ANOVA test results: comparison of language skills and use across programs

Variable	Groups	N	M	SD	F	p	Effect size (eta squared)
Number of languages spoken	Bachelor	162	3.20	.97	.73	.54	.006
	Master's	152	3.03	1.06			
	MAS	2	3.00	.00			
	PhD	59	3.15	.98			
	Total	375	3.12	1.01			
	Bachelor	162	1.30	.59	2.24	.08	.018

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Variable	Groups	N	M	SD	F	<i>p</i>	Effect size (eta squared)
Number of L1s spoken	Master's	152	1.17	.38			
	MAS	2	1.50	.71			
	PhD	59	1.17	.42			
	Total	375	1.23	.49			
Number of L2s spoken	Bachelor	162	1.90	.95	.32	.81	.003
	Master's	152	1.86	1.04			
	MAS	2	1.50	.71			
	PhD	59	1.98	.97			
	Total	375	1.90	.99			
Number of Ls learned	Bachelor	162	.54	.80	.86	.46	.007
	Master's	152	.56	.73			
	MAS	2	.00	.00			
	PhD	59	.68	.75			
	Total	375	.57	.77			
German L1	Bachelor	162	.08	.27	1.01	.39	.008
	Master's	152	.07	.26			
	MAS	2	.00	.00			
	PhD	59	.02	.13			
	Total	375	.07	.25			
French L1	Bachelor	162	.79	.41	.36	.78	.003
	Master's	152	.76	.43			
	MAS	2	1.00	.00			
	PhD	59	.78	.42			
	Total	375	.78	.42			
Italian L1	Bachelor	162	.07	.25	.05	.99	.000
	Master's	152	.07	.25			
	MAS	2	.00	.00			
	PhD	59	.07	.25			
	Total	375	.07	.25			
English L1	Bachelor	162	.06	.24	2.65	.05	.021
	Master's	152	.05	.21			
	MAS	2	.50	.71			
	PhD	59	.05	.22			
	Total	375	.06	.23			
<i>Other</i> L1	Bachelor	162	.30	.46	.83	.48	.007
	Master's	152	.23	.42			
	MAS	2	.00	.00			

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Variable	Groups	N	M	SD	F	<i>p</i>	Effect size (eta squared)
Speaks L2	PhD	59	.25	.44	1.23	.30	.010
	Total	375	.26	.44			
	Bachelor	162	.94	.23			
	Master's	152	.89	.32			
	MAS	2	1.00	.00			
	PhD	59	.93	.25			
German L2	Total	375	.92	.27	.11	.95	.001
	Bachelor	162	.40	.49			
	Master's	152	.42	.50			
	MAS	2	.50	.71			
	PhD	59	.42	.50			
	Total	375	.41	.49			
French L2	Bachelor	162	.21	.41	.36	.78	.003
	Master's	152	.24	.43			
	MAS	2	.00	.00			
	PhD	59	.22	.42			
	Total	375	.22	.42			
	Bachelor	162	.18	.38	1.21	.31	.010
Italian L2	Master's	152	.12	.32			
	MAS	2	.00	.00			
	PhD	59	.20	.41			
	Total	375	.16	.36			
	Bachelor	162	.83	.38			
English L2	Master's	152	.81	.39	1.32	.27	.011
	MAS	2	.50	.71			
	PhD	59	.90	.30			
	Total	375	.83	.38			
	Bachelor	162	.29	.46	.38	.77	.003
Other L2	Master's	152	.27	.45			
	MAS	2	.50	.71			
	PhD	59	.24	.43			
	Total	375	.27	.45			
	Bachelor	162	.38	.49	2.01	.11	.016
Learning L2	Master's	152	.43	.50			
	MAS	2	.00	.00			
	PhD	59	.54	.50			
	Total	375	.42	.49			
	Bachelor	162	.38	.49			
	Master's	152	.43	.50			
	MAS	2	.00	.00			
	PhD	59	.54	.50			
	Total	375	.42	.49			

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Variable	Groups	N	M	SD	F	<i>p</i>	Effect size (eta squared)
Learning German	Bachelor	162	.14	.35	.23	.87	.002
	Master's	152	.15	.36			
	MAS	2	.00	.00			
	PhD	59	.12	.33			
	Total	375	.14	.35			
Learning French	Bachelor	162	.01	.08	1.53	.21	.012
	Master's	152	.03	.18			
	MAS	2	.00	.00			
	PhD	59	.05	.22			
	Total	375	.02	.15			
Learning Italian	Bachelor	162	.07	.25	1.38	.25	.011
	Master's	152	.03	.16			
	MAS	2	.00	.00			
	PhD	59	.08	.28			
	Total	375	.05	.22			
Learning English	Bachelor	162	.14	.35	1.07	.36	.009
	Master's	152	.17	.38			
	MAS	2	.00	.00			
	PhD	59	.24	.43			
	Total	375	.17	.37			
Learning <i>Other</i>	Bachelor	162	.18	.38	.15	.93	.001
	Master's	152	.18	.38			
	MAS	2	.00	.00			
	PhD	59	.19	.39			
	Total	375	.18	.38			
Level of German	Bachelor	153	1.63	1.87	.06	.98	.000
	Master's	144	1.58	1.72			
	MAS	2	2.00	2.83			
	PhD	58	1.66	2.02			
	Total	357	1.62	1.83			
Level of French	Bachelor	34	5.15	1.21	.88	.42	.021
	Master's	37	5.32	.97			
	MAS	0					
	PhD	13	4.85	1.34			
	Total	84	5.18	1.13			
Level of Italian	Bachelor	153	.69	1.44	2.01	.11	.017
	Master's	144	.45	1.18			

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Variable	Groups	N	M	SD	F	<i>p</i>	Effect size (eta squared)
	MAS	2	.00	.00			
	PhD	55	.95	1.68			
	Total	354	.63	1.38			
Level of English	Bachelor	155	3.85	1.74	2.27	.08	.019
	Master's	147	3.95	1.77			
	MAS	2	5.00	.00			
	PhD	56	4.50	1.38			
	Total	360	4.00	1.71			
German at home	Bachelor	87	1.62	1.24	.30	.83	.004
	Master's	87	1.76	1.27			
	MAS	1	1.00				
	PhD	30	1.73	1.11			
	Total	205	1.69	1.23			
German with friends	Bachelor	87	1.98	1.13	.14	.94	.002
	Master's	87	2.03	1.21			
	MAS	1	2.00				
	PhD	30	2.13	1.20			
	Total	205	2.02	1.17			
German at UNIGE	Bachelor	87	1.94	1.08	1.39	.25	.020
	Master's	87	1.75	.96			
	MAS	1	1.00				
	PhD	30	2.13	1.20			
	Total	205	1.88	1.05			
German at work	Bachelor	87	1.87	1.17	1.30	.27	.019
	Master's	87	1.74	1.05			
	MAS	1	1.00				
	PhD	30	2.17	1.18			
	Total	205	1.85	1.12			
French at home	Bachelor	162	4.51	1.18	.29	.83	.002
	Master's	152	4.55	1.05			
	MAS	2	5.00	.00			
	PhD	59	4.42	1.34			
	Total	375	4.52	1.15			
French with friends	Bachelor	162	4.90	.40	.81	.49	.007
	Master's	152	4.86	.43			
	MAS	2	5.00	.00			
	PhD	59	4.78	.83			

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Variable	Groups	N	M	SD	F	p	Effect size (eta squared)
	Total	375	4.86	.50			
French at UNIGE	Bachelor	162	4.94	.36	2.86	.04	.023
	Master's	152	4.87	.39			
	MAS	2	5.00	.00			
	PhD	59	4.73	.89			
	Total	375	4.88	.49			
French at work	Bachelor	162	4.76	.87	1.15	.33	.009
	Master's	152	4.58	1.06			
	MAS	2	5.00	.00			
	PhD	59	4.76	.90			
	Total	375	4.69	.96			
Italian at home	Bachelor	31	2.13	1.31	1.28	.29	.041
	Master's	20	1.60	1.10			
	MAS	0					
	PhD	12	1.75	1.06			
	Total	63	1.89	1.21			
Italian with friends	Bachelor	31	2.32	1.17	.03	.97	.001
	Master's	20	2.25	1.07			
	MAS	0					
	PhD	12	2.33	1.15			
	Total	63	2.30	1.12			
Italian at UNIGE	Bachelor	31	1.23	.56	1.50	.23	.048
	Master's	20	1.60	1.10			
	MAS	0					
	PhD	12	1.50	.67			
	Total	63	1.40	.79			
Italian at work	Bachelor	31	1.48	1.00	.46	.63	.015
	Master's	20	1.35	.75			
	MAS	0					
	PhD	12	1.67	.89			
	Total	63	1.48	.90			
English at home	Bachelor	147	2.56	1.44	.68	.57	.006
	Master's	136	2.38	1.48			
	MAS	2	3.50	.71			
	PhD	58	2.43	1.52			
	Total	343	2.47	1.47			
English with friends	Bachelor	147	3.07	1.15	1.50	.22	.013

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Variable	Groups	N	M	SD	F	<i>p</i>	Effect size (eta squared)
	Master's	136	3.20	1.23			
	MAS	2	4.00	.00			
	PhD	58	3.41	1.21			
	Total	343	3.18	1.20			
English at UNIGE	Bachelor	147	3.24	1.16	6.78	.00	.057
	Master's	136	3.69	1.18			
	MAS	2	4.50	.71			
	PhD	58	3.93	1.09			
	Total	343	3.54	1.19			
English at work	Bachelor	147	2.59	1.33	7.87	.00	.065
	Master's	136	3.05	1.48			
	MAS	2	2.00	1.41			
	PhD	58	3.60	1.43			
	Total	343	2.94	1.45			

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Appendix 4.6 Pearson's correlations showing relationships among language levels and use

		2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	
1	Level of German	.014	-.094	.324**	.687**	.606**	.342**	.544**	-.017	-.022	.046	-.014	-.135	-.148	-.056	.185	.074	.090	.067	.112*	
2	Level of French		-.133**	-.083	-.249**	-.251**	-.077	-.142*	.506**	.369**	.126*	.260**	.056	-.021	.089	-.013	-.114*	-.224**	-.150**	-.150**	
3	Level of Italian			.034	-.061	-.034	-.029	-.071	-.143**	-.107*	.040	-.108*	.486**	.366**	.110	.168	-.087	.092	-.055	-.065	
4	Level of English				.127	.094	.175*	.219**	-.105*	-.074	-.098	-.085	.072	.264*	-.250*	.214	.379**	.414**	.198**	.217**	
5	German at home					.630**	.215**	.433**	-.236**	-.173*	.083	-.017	-.400*	-.293	-.122	.162	.067	.113	.089	.001	
6	German with friends						.385**	.562**	-.278**	-.198**	.040	-.091	-.550**	-.419*	-.217	.250	.044	.235**	.101	.104	
7	German at UNIGE							.571**	-.036	-.042	.071	.004	-.279	-.258	.022	-.117	.104	.062	-.001	.113	
8	German at work								-.110	-.108	.106	.014	-.420*	-.363*	-.224	.353*	.000	.125	.106	.239**	
9	French at home									.553**	.297**	.363**	.083	.061	-.190	-.041	.106	-.153**	-.119*	-.057	
10	French with friends										.462**	.463**	.025	-.059	-.086	-.121	.088	-.092	-.096	-.035	
11	French at UNIGE											.440**	.014	-.052	-.197	-.201	-.009	-.109*	-.116*	-.092	
12	French at work												-.112	-.171	-.077	-.124	.096	-.076	-.044	.086	
13	Italian at home													.504**	-.122	.020	.088	.311*	.024	.079	
14	Italian with friends														.027	.112	.140	.292*	.047	-.170	
15	Italian at UNIGE															.252*	-.077	-.055	.293*	.101	
16	Italian at work																	-.170	.089	.151	.484**
17	English at home																		.383**	.180**	.160**
18	English with friends																			.414**	.386**
19	English at UNIGE																				.503**

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20 English at work

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Appendix 5 Language attitudes across subsamples

The same types of tests were used to identify significant differences in participants' language attitudes. Moreover, as I pointed out in Chapter 3, the statistical analysis showed that subsamples also differed in terms of the main factors of their motivation and the relationships among these variables. While the final regression model provided a more detailed image of these complex connections, the results of the preliminary tests are shown below for reference.

Appendix 5.1 T- test results: comparison of language attitudes based on gender

Variable	Male (<i>n</i> = 124 ^a)		Female (<i>n</i> = 251 ^a)		<i>d</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>P</i>	Effect size (eta squared)
	M	SD	M	SD				
Motivation	4.10	.93	4.23	.82	373	-1.29	.20	.004
Ideal L2 self	4.41	.81	4.40	.75	373	.11	.92	.000
Ought-to L2 self	3.56	.91	3.62	.79	373	-.61	.54	.001
Attitudes to learning English	4.02	.96	4.31	.86	373	-2.91	.00	.022
Willingness to communicate	4.23	.91	4.13	.93	341	.95	.34	.003
Global village	3.77	.98	3.89	.75	373	-1.20	.23	.004
International posture	3.74	.86	3.81	.76	373	-.80	.42	.002
Attitudes to target groups	3.63	.74	3.86	.68	373	-2.96	.00	.023
Target groups: UK	3.81	.79	4.01	.73	373	-2.43	.02	.016
Target groups: US	3.46	.89	3.71	.83	373	-2.75	.01	.020
Direct contact (DC)	2.84	.75	2.91	.77	373	-.77	.44	.002
DC: reading, writing, studying	3.14	.90	3.19	.87	341	-.43	.67	.001
DC: traveling	2.73	.82	2.86	.88	341	-1.33	.18	.005
DC: films and social media	3.27	1.03	3.38	1.08	341	-.90	.37	.002
DC: hearing about	2.20	.82	2.33	.88	373	-1.38	.17	.005
Importance of contact	4.16	.77	4.31	.67	373	-2.01	.05	.011
Ethnocentrism	1.86	.63	1.73	.57	373	2.07	.04	.011

^a Complete subsample size. Participation varied across the variables.

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Appendix 5.2 T- test results: comparison of language attitudes based on professional activity

Variable	Not working (<i>n</i> = 184 ^a)		Working (<i>n</i> = 191 ^a)		<i>d</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>P</i>	Effect size (eta squared)
	M	SD	M	SD				
Motivation	4.23	.89	4.15	.83	373	.88	.38	.002
Ideal L2 self	4.45	.74	4.37	.80	373	.95	.34	.002
Ought-to L2 self	3.66	.79	3.54	.86	373	1.41	.16	.005
Attitudes to learning English	4.31	.81	4.12	.99	373	2.06	.04	.011
Willingness to communicate	4.13	.94	4.21	.91	341	-.82	.41	.002
Global village	3.88	.81	3.83	.86	373	.49	.62	.001
International posture	3.85	.78	3.73	.80	373	1.43	.15	.005
Attitudes to target groups	3.87	.71	3.71	.70	373	2.13	.03	.012
Target groups: UK	4.02	.72	3.86	.78	373	2.02	.04	.011
Target groups: US	3.71	.89	3.55	.82	373	1.75	.08	.008
Direct contact (DC)	2.87	.79	2.90	.74	373	-.48	.63	.001
DC: reading, writing, studying	3.14	.89	3.20	.87	341	-.67	.51	.001
DC: traveling	2.78	.87	2.85	.85	341	-.71	.48	.001
DC: films and social media	3.48	1.04	3.21	1.07	341	2.32	.02	.016
DC: hearing about	2.27	.85	2.31	.87	373	-.42	.68	.000
Importance of contact	4.24	.70	4.28	.71	373	-.55	.58	.001
Ethnocentrism	1.77	.57	1.77	.57	373	.09	.93	.000

^a Complete subsample size. Participation varied across the variables.

Appendix 5.3 T- test results: comparison of language attitudes based on place of secondary education

Variable	Abroad (<i>n</i> = 119 ^a)		Switzerland (<i>n</i> = 256 ^a)		<i>d</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>P</i>	Effect size (eta squared)
	M	SD	M	SD				
Motivation	4.11	.93	4.22	.83	373	-1.23	.22	.004
Ideal L2 self	4.53	.71	4.35	.79	373	2.12	.03	.012
Ought-to L2 self	3.64	.81	3.58	.84	373	.64	.52	.001

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Variable	Abroad (<i>n</i> = 119 ^a)		Switzerland (<i>n</i> = 256 ^a)		<i>d</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>P</i>	Effect size (eta squared)
	M	SD	M	SD				
Attitudes to learning English	4.15	.94	4.24	.89	373	-.95	.34	.002
Willingness to communicate	4.16	.92	4.17	.93	341	-.14	.89	.000
Global village	3.89	.70	3.84	.89	373	.66	.51	.001
International posture	3.93	.73	3.72	.81	373	2.48	.01	.016
Attitudes to target groups	3.76	.75	3.80	.69	373	-.47	.64	.001
Target groups: UK	3.92	.78	3.95	.74	373	-.45	.65	.001
Target groups: US	3.61	.91	3.64	.83	373	-.38	.70	.000
Direct contact (DC)	2.90	.85	2.88	.72	373	.20	.84	.000
DC: reading, writing, studying	3.26	.96	3.13	.84	341	1.13	.26	.004
DC: traveling	2.84	.96	2.80	.81	341	.34	.74	.000
DC: films and social media	3.32	1.15	3.35	1.02	341	-.21	.83	.000
DC: hearing about	2.27	.87	2.30	.86	373	-.22	.83	.000
Importance of contact	4.25	.67	4.26	.72	373	-.09	.93	.000
Ethnocentrism	1.85	.60	1.73	.59	373	1.72	.09	.008

^a Complete subsample size. Participation varied across the variables.

Appendix 5.4 T- test results: comparison of language attitudes based on French as a mother tongue

Variable	No French L1 (<i>n</i> = 119 ^a)		French L1 (<i>n</i> = 256 ^a)		<i>d</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>P</i>	Effect size (eta squared)
	M	SD	M	SD				
Motivation	4.06	1.01	4.22	.82	373	-1.49	.14	.006
Ideal L2 self	4.51	.69	4.38	.79	373	1.34	.18	.005
Ought-to L2 self	3.60	.85	3.60	.82	373	.01	.99	.000
Attitudes to learning English	4.27	.90	4.19	.91	373	.68	.50	.001
Willingness to communicate	4.51	.81	4.06	.93	341	3.86	.00	.042
Global village	3.91	.79	3.84	.85	373	.70	.48	.001
International posture	3.73	.86	3.80	.77	373	-.75	.45	.002
Attitudes to target groups	3.75	.76	3.79	.70	373	-.46	.65	.001
Target groups: UK	4.00	.76	3.92	.75	373	.87	.39	.002

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Target groups: US	3.50	.97	3.67	.82	373	-1.52	.13	.006
Direct contact (DC)	3.14	.81	2.81	.74	373	3.54	.00	.033
DC: reading, writing, studying	3.58	.84	3.05	.86	341	4.88	.00	.065
DC: traveling	2.91	.88	2.78	.85	341	1.15	.25	.004
DC: films and social media	3.52	1.09	3.28	1.05	341	1.75	.08	.009
DC: hearing about	2.46	.92	2.24	.84	373	2.13	.03	.012
Importance of contact	4.38	.59	4.22	.73	373	1.80	.07	.009
Ethnocentrism	1.72	.53	1.78	.61	373	-.90	.37	.002

^a Complete subsample size. Participation varied across the variables.

Appendix 5.5 T- test results: comparison of language attitudes based on Italian as a mother tongue

Variable	Abroad (<i>n</i> = 119 ^a)		Switzerland (<i>n</i> = 256 ^a)		<i>d</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>P</i>	Effect size (eta squared)
	M	SD	M	SD				
Motivation	4.20	.87	4.01	.70	373	1.04	.30	.003
Ideal L2 self	4.42	.77	4.24	.74	373	1.13	.26	.003
Ought-to L2 self	3.62	.81	3.25	.97	373	2.16	.03	.012
Attitudes to learning English	4.22	.91	4.08	.82	373	.75	.46	.001
Willingness to communicate	4.17	.93	4.17	.94	341	-.03	.97	.000
Global village	3.86	.82	3.79	1.03	373	.40	.69	.000
International posture	3.79	.79	3.71	.80	373	.50	.62	.001
Attitudes to target groups	3.80	.69	3.62	.91	373	1.24	.22	.004
Target groups: UK	3.95	.74	3.77	.91	373	1.19	.23	.004
Target groups: US	3.64	.84	3.46	1.03	373	1.00	.32	.003
Direct contact (DC)	2.89	.75	2.86	.93	373	.17	.87	.000
DC: reading, writing, studying	3.16	.88	3.39	.88	341	-1.19	.24	.004
DC: traveling	2.82	.87	2.77	.79	341	.27	.79	.000
DC: films and social media	3.33	1.05	3.47	1.26	341	-.60	.55	.001
DC: hearing about	2.30	.86	2.12	.87	373	1.02	.31	.003
Importance of contact	4.27	.68	4.07	.96	373	1.42	.16	.005
Ethnocentrism	1.76	.59	1.97	.62	373	-1.73	.08	.008

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^a Complete subsample size. Participation varied across the variables.

Appendix 5.6 T- test results: comparison of language attitudes based on English as a mother tongue

Variable	No English L1 (<i>n</i> = 354 ^a)		English L1 (<i>n</i> = 21 ^a)		<i>d</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>P</i>	Effect size (eta squared)
	M	SD	M	SD				
Motivation	4.23	.80	3.54	1.51	373	2.06	.05	.011
Ideal L2 self	4.40	.77	4.56	.68	373	-.94	.35	.002
Ought-to L2 self	3.58	.82	3.92	.90	373	-1.84	.07	.009
Attitudes to learning English	4.20	.91	4.40	.79	373	-.97	.33	.003
Willingness to communicate	4.13	.93	4.72	.60	341	-4.20	.00	.049
Global village	3.84	.84	4.08	.70	373	-1.30	.20	.004
International posture	3.78	.79	3.95	.78	373	-.99	.33	.003
Attitudes to target groups	3.76	.70	4.21	.82	373	-2.87	.00	.022
Target groups: UK	3.92	.75	4.31	.79	373	-2.34	.02	.015
Target groups: US	3.60	.84	4.11	1.05	373	-2.69	.01	.019
Direct contact (DC)	2.83	.75	3.78	.49	373	-8.29	.00	.155
DC: reading, writing, studying	3.11	.86	4.17	.51	341	-8.72	.00	.182
DC: traveling	2.79	.86	3.21	.84	341	-2.17	.03	.014
DC: films and social media	3.29	1.05	4.05	1.01	341	-3.20	.00	.029
DC: hearing about	2.22	.81	3.48	.79	373	-6.90	.00	.113
Importance of contact	4.24	.71	4.56	.51	373	-1.99	.05	.010
Ethnocentrism	1.78	.58	1.62	.74	373	1.20	.23	.004

^a Complete subsample size. Participation varied across the variables.

Appendix 5.7 T- test results: comparison of language attitudes based on mother tongues in the *other* category

Variable	No <i>Other</i> L1 (<i>n</i> = 354 ^a)		<i>Other</i> L1 (<i>n</i> = 21 ^a)		<i>d</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>P</i>	Effect size (eta squared)
	M	SD	M	SD				
Motivation	4.19	.85	4.19	.91	373	-.01	1.00	.000
Ideal L2 self	4.36	.80	4.55	.64	373	-2.46	.01	.016

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Ought-to L2 self	3.57	.83	3.68	.81	373	-1.14	.25	.003
Attitudes to learning English	4.16	.90	4.34	.91	373	-1.65	.10	.007
Willingness to communicate	4.10	.92	4.34	.91	341	-2.16	.03	.013
Global village	3.82	.86	3.95	.74	373	-1.30	.19	.005
International posture	3.80	.77	3.76	.87	373	.46	.65	.001
Attitudes to target groups	3.76	.71	3.86	.72	373	-1.21	.23	.004
Target groups: UK	3.90	.77	4.07	.70	373	-1.89	.06	.010
Target groups: US	3.62	.82	3.66	.96	373	-.34	.73	.000
Direct contact (DC)	2.81	.75	3.10	.78	373	-3.21	.00	.027
DC: reading, writing, studying	3.08	.87	3.43	.86	341	-3.34	.00	.032
DC: traveling	2.78	.85	2.91	.87	341	-1.32	.19	.005
DC: films and social media	3.22	1.05	3.64	1.05	341	-3.29	.00	.031
DC: hearing about	2.26	.84	2.38	.91	373	-1.23	.22	.004
Importance of contact	4.22	.72	4.37	.65	373	-1.77	.08	.008
Ethnocentrism	1.80	.61	1.69	.55	373	1.53	.13	.006

^a Complete subsample size. Participation varied across the variables.

Appendix 5.8 T- test results: comparison of language attitudes based on proficiency in an L2

Variable	Abroad (<i>n</i> = 119 ^a)		Switzerland (<i>n</i> = 256 ^a)		<i>d</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>P</i>	Effect size (eta squared)
	M	SD	M	SD				
Motivation	3.87	.88	4.21	.86	373	-2.13	.03	.012
Ideal L2 self	4.10	1.03	4.43	.74	373	-1.73	.09	.008
Ought-to L2 self	3.20	1.03	3.63	.80	373	-2.77	.01	.020
Attitudes to learning English	3.36	1.03	4.29	.86	373	-5.60	.00	.077
Willingness to communicate	3.64	.85	4.19	.92	341	-1.94	.05	.011
Global village	3.42	.92	3.89	.82	373	-3.03	.00	.024
International posture	3.94	.87	3.77	.79	373	1.12	.27	.003
Attitudes to target groups	3.31	.63	3.83	.70	373	-3.90	.00	.039
Target groups: UK	3.47	.64	3.98	.75	373	-3.66	.00	.035
Target groups: US	3.15	.79	3.67	.85	373	-3.22	.00	.027

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Direct contact (DC)	2.25	.78	2.94	.74	373	-4.85	.00	.059
DC: reading, writing, studying	2.81	.89	3.19	.88	341	-1.40	.16	.006
DC: traveling	2.44	1.00	2.83	.85	341	-1.47	.14	.006
DC: films and social media	3.06	1.30	3.35	1.05	341	-.88	.38	.002
DC: hearing about	2.18	.75	2.30	.87	373	-.74	.46	.001
Importance of contact	3.70	.90	4.31	.66	373	-3.61	.00	.034
Ethnocentrism	1.95	.58	1.75	.59	373	1.77	.08	.008

^a Complete subsample size. Participation varied across the variables.

Appendix 5.9 T- test results: comparison of language attitudes based on German as a foreign language

Variable	No German L2 (<i>n</i> = 221 ^a)		German L2 (<i>n</i> = 154 ^a)		<i>d</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>P</i>	Effect size (eta squared)
	M	SD	M	SD				
Motivation	4.17	.83	4.21	.91	373	-.40	.69	.000
Ideal L2 self	4.38	.77	4.45	.76	373	-.86	.39	.002
Ought-to L2 self	3.49	.81	3.76	.83	373	-3.19	.00	.027
Attitudes to learning English	4.16	.95	4.29	.83	373	-1.38	.17	.005
Willingness to communicate	4.09	.95	4.26	.89	341	-1.67	.10	.008
Global village	3.85	.80	3.86	.89	373	-.17	.86	.000
International posture	3.82	.76	3.73	.84	373	1.08	.28	.003
Attitudes to target groups	3.75	.68	3.84	.75	373	-1.25	.21	.004
Target groups: UK	3.88	.72	4.03	.80	373	-1.92	.06	.010
Target groups: US	3.62	.82	3.65	.91	373	-.39	.70	.000
Direct contact (DC)	2.85	.79	2.93	.72	373	-1.00	.32	.003
DC: reading, writing, studying	3.18	.87	3.16	.89	341	.27	.79	.000
DC: traveling	2.79	.86	2.85	.87	341	-.61	.54	.001
DC: films and social media	3.45	1.03	3.20	1.08	341	2.25	.02	.015
DC: hearing about	2.28	.88	2.30	.84	373	-.27	.79	.000
Importance of contact	4.20	.74	4.35	.64	373	-2.05	.04	.011
Ethnocentrism	1.77	.57	1.76	.62	373	.18	.86	.000

^a Complete subsample size. Participation varied across the variables.

Appendix 5.10 T- test results: comparison of language attitudes based on French as a foreign language

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Variable	No French L2 (<i>n</i> = 291 ^a)		French L2 (<i>n</i> = 84 ^a)		<i>d</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>P</i>	Effect size (eta squared)
	M	SD	M	SD				
Motivation	4.22	.82	4.06	1.01	373	1.49	.14	.006
Ideal L2 self	4.38	.79	4.51	.69	373	-1.34	.18	.005
Ought-to L2 self	3.60	.82	3.60	.85	373	-.01	.99	.000
Attitudes to learning English	4.19	.91	4.27	.90	373	-.68	.50	.001
Willingness to communicate	4.06	.93	4.51	.81	341	-3.86	.00	.042
Global village	3.84	.85	3.91	.79	373	-.70	.48	.001
International posture	3.80	.77	3.73	.86	373	.75	.45	.002
Attitudes to target groups	3.79	.70	3.75	.76	373	.46	.65	.001
Target groups: UK	3.92	.75	4.00	.76	373	-.87	.39	.002
Target groups: US	3.67	.82	3.50	.97	373	1.52	.13	.006
Direct contact (DC)	2.81	.74	3.14	.81	373	-3.54	.00	.033
DC: reading, writing, studying	3.05	.86	3.58	.84	341	-4.88	.00	.065
DC: traveling	2.78	.85	2.91	.88	341	-1.15	.25	.004
DC: films and social media	3.28	1.05	3.52	1.09	341	-1.75	.08	.009
DC: hearing about	2.24	.84	2.46	.92	373	-2.13	.03	.012
Importance of contact	4.22	.73	4.38	.59	373	-1.80	.07	.009
Ethnocentrism	1.78	.61	1.72	.53	373	.90	.37	.002

^a Complete subsample size. Participation varied across the variables.

Appendix 5.11 T- test results: comparison of language attitudes based on English as a foreign language

Variable	No English L2 (<i>n</i> = 64 ^a)		English L2 (<i>n</i> = 311 ^a)		<i>d</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>P</i>	Effect size (eta squared)
	M	SD	M	SD				
Motivation	3.66	1.12	4.29	.76	373	-4.32	.00	.048
Ideal L2 self	4.16	.94	4.46	.72	373	-2.40	.02	.015
Ought-to L2 self	3.33	.97	3.65	.79	373	-2.89	.00	.022
Attitudes to learning English	3.72	1.01	4.31	.85	373	-4.91	.00	.061
Willingness to communicate	4.10	1.14	4.17	.90	341	-.37	.72	.000

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Global village	3.58	.86	3.91	.82	373	-2.90	.00	.022
International posture	3.90	.82	3.76	.79	373	1.28	.20	.004
Attitudes to target groups	3.62	.88	3.82	.67	373	-1.77	.08	.008
Target groups: UK	3.74	.86	3.98	.73	373	-2.40	.02	.015
Target groups: US	3.49	1.02	3.66	.82	373	-1.40	.16	.005
Direct contact (DC)	2.62	1.07	2.62	1.07	373	-2.27	.03	.014
DC: reading, writing, studying	3.63	.98	3.13	.86	341	3.11	.00	.028
DC: traveling	2.79	1.01	2.82	.84	341	-.15	.88	.000
DC: films and social media	3.53	1.30	3.32	1.03	341	.89	.38	.002
DC: hearing about	2.48	1.05	2.25	.81	373	1.69	.09	.008
Importance of contact	4.01	.83	4.31	.67	373	-2.78	.01	.020
Ethnocentrism	1.83	.66	1.76	.58	373	.95	.34	.002

^a Complete subsample size. Participation varied across the variables.

Appendix 5.12 T- test results: comparison of language attitudes based on *other* foreign languages

Variable	No <i>Other</i> L2 (<i>n</i> = 272 ^a)		<i>Other</i> L2 (<i>n</i> = 103 ^a)		<i>d</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>P</i>	Effect size (eta squared)
	M	SD	M	SD				
Motivation	4.19	.87	4.17	.86	373	.21	.83	.000
Ideal L2 self	4.41	.77	4.41	.76	373	.03	.98	.000
Ought-to L2 self	3.54	.83	3.76	.79	373	-2.40	.02	.015
Attitudes to learning English	4.20	.92	4.25	.88	373	-.51	.61	.001
Willingness to communicate	4.12	.93	4.29	.91	341	-1.61	.11	.008
Global village	3.79	.85	4.02	.77	373	-2.34	.02	.014
International posture	3.76	.82	3.86	.72	373	-1.13	.26	.003
Attitudes to target groups	3.79	.72	3.78	.70	373	.09	.93	.000
Target groups: UK	3.96	.75	3.90	.76	373	.74	.46	.001
Target groups: US	3.62	.87	3.67	.82	373	-.50	.62	.001
Direct contact (DC)	2.85	.76	2.99	.78	373	-1.55	.12	.006
DC: reading, writing, studying	3.13	.85	3.27	.95	341	-1.35	.18	.005
DC: traveling	2.81	.86	2.82	.86	341	-.09	.93	.000

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DC: films and social media	3.28	1.06	3.48	1.05	341	-1.55	.12	.007
DC: hearing about	2.28	.86	2.32	.88	373	-.48	.63	.001
Importance of contact	4.22	.72	4.36	.67	373	-1.63	.10	.007
Ethnocentrism	1.80	.59	1.70	.61	373	1.35	.18	.005

^a Complete subsample size. Participation varied across the variables.

Appendix 5.13 T- test results: comparison of language attitudes based on learning foreign languages at the time of the survey

Variable	Not learning an L2 (<i>n</i> = 64 ^a)		Learning an L2 (<i>n</i> = 113 ^a)		<i>d</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>P</i>	Effect size (eta squared)
	M	SD	M	SD				
Motivation	4.08	.88	4.34	.82	373	-2.93	.00	.023
Ideal L2 self	4.36	.80	4.47	.72	373	-1.43	.15	.005
Ought-to L2 self	3.51	.87	3.71	.76	373	-2.31	.02	.014
Attitudes to learning English	4.08	.94	4.38	.83	373	-3.21	.00	.027
Willingness to communicate	4.13	.95	4.22	.90	341	-.88	.38	.002
Global village	3.84	.80	3.87	.88	373	-.33	.74	.000
International posture	3.78	.76	3.79	.84	373	-.15	.88	.000
Attitudes to target groups	3.73	.73	3.86	.67	373	-1.72	.09	.008
Target groups: UK	3.84	.78	4.08	.70	373	-3.06	.00	.024
Target groups: US	3.62	.84	3.64	.88	373	-.18	.86	.000
Direct contact (DC)	2.75	.79	3.07	.69	373	-4.29	.00	.047
DC: reading, writing, studying	3.04	.90	3.33	.84	341	-3.10	.00	.027
DC: traveling	2.78	.86	2.86	.86	341	-.84	.40	.002
DC: films and social media	3.30	1.05	3.39	1.08	341	-.76	.45	.002
DC: hearing about	2.19	.80	2.42	.93	373	-2.44	.02	.016
Importance of contact	4.20	.74	4.35	.64	373	-2.04	.04	.011
Ethnocentrism	1.80	.57	1.73	.62	373	1.17	.24	.004

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^a Complete subsample size. Participation varied across the variables.

Appendix 5.14 T- test results: comparison of language attitudes based on learning German at the time of the survey

Variable	Not learning German (<i>n</i> = 64 ^a)		Learning German (<i>n</i> = 113 ^a)		<i>d</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>P</i>	Effect size (eta squared)
	M	SD	M	SD				
Motivation	4.15	.89	4.42	.62	373	-2.76	.01	.020
Ideal L2 self	4.39	.79	4.50	.60	373	-1.10	.27	.003
Ought-to L2 self	3.56	.84	3.82	.73	373	-2.15	.03	.012
Attitudes to learning English	4.15	.94	4.55	.60	373	-4.08	.00	.043
Willingness to communicate	4.17	.92	4.14	.97	341	.25	.80	.000
Global village	3.86	.82	3.83	.90	373	.23	.82	.000
International posture	3.76	.80	3.92	.77	373	-1.37	.17	.005
Attitudes to target groups	3.76	.71	3.97	.70	373	-2.02	.04	.011
Target groups: UK	3.90	.76	4.21	.66	373	-2.83	.00	.021
Target groups: US	3.61	.84	3.72	.93	373	-.87	.39	.002
Direct contact (DC)	2.85	.78	3.11	.63	373	-2.28	.02	.014
DC: reading, writing, studying	3.16	.90	3.24	.80	341	-.57	.57	.001
DC: traveling	2.78	.87	3.02	.74	341	-1.91	.06	.011
DC: films and social media	3.31	1.06	3.49	1.06	341	-1.14	.26	.004
DC: hearing about	2.26	.84	2.44	.95	373	-1.38	.17	.005
Importance of contact	4.25	.71	4.30	.67	373	-.40	.69	.000
Ethnocentrism	1.76	.57	1.82	.73	373	-.65	.52	.001

^a Complete subsample size. Participation varied across the variables.

Variable	Not learning Italian (<i>n</i> = 64 ^a)		Learning Italian (<i>n</i> = 113 ^a)		<i>d</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>P</i>	Effect size (eta squared)
	M	SD	M	SD				
Motivation	4.18	.84	4.28	1.17	373	-.51	.61	.001
Ideal L2 self	4.39	.78	4.64	.52	373	-1.96	.06	.010
Ought-to L2 self	3.59	.82	3.80	.91	373	-1.12	.26	.003

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Appendix 5.15 T- test results: comparison of language attitudes based on learning Italian at the time of the survey

Attitudes to learning English	4.19	.92	4.57	.58	373	-2.70	.01	.019
Willingness to communicate	4.13	.94	4.72	.47	341	-4.98	.00	.068
Global village	3.85	.83	3.91	.98	373	-.32	.75	.000
International posture	3.79	.79	3.76	.84	373	.14	.89	.000
Attitudes to target groups	3.76	.71	4.25	.50	373	-3.00	.00	.024
Target groups: UK	3.91	.76	4.47	.47	373	-4.93	.00	.061
Target groups: US	3.61	.86	4.02	.77	373	-2.10	.04	.012
Direct contact (DC)	2.86	.77	3.38	.53	373	-4.18	.00	.045
DC: reading, writing, studying	3.14	.88	3.65	.82	341	-2.51	.01	.018
DC: traveling	2.80	.87	3.06	.63	341	-1.31	.19	.005
DC: films and social media	3.31	1.07	3.85	.80	341	-2.23	.03	.014
DC: hearing about	2.26	.86	2.73	.74	373	-2.39	.02	.015
Importance of contact	4.24	.71	4.62	.53	373	-2.34	.02	.014
Ethnocentrism	1.78	.59	1.68	.63	373	.70	.48	.001

^a Complete subsample size. Participation varied across the variables.

Appendix 5.16 T- test results: comparison of language attitudes based on learning English at the time of the survey

Variable	Not learning English (<i>n</i> = 312 ^a)		Learning English (<i>n</i> = 63 ^a)		<i>d</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>P</i>	Effect size (eta squared)
	M	SD	M	SD				
Motivation	4.15	.88	4.39	.74	373	-2.28	.02	.014
Ideal L2 self	4.40	.77	4.44	.74	373	-.33	.74	.000
Ought-to L2 self	3.60	.85	3.61	.73	373	-.11	.91	.000
Attitudes to learning English	4.22	.89	4.19	.98	373	.24	.81	.000
Willingness to communicate	4.26	.90	3.77	.94	341	3.88	.00	.042
Global village	3.83	.85	3.96	.73	373	-1.10	.27	.003
International posture	3.76	.78	3.90	.83	373	-1.25	.21	.004

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Attitudes to target groups	3.79	.70	3.78	.74	373	.04	.97	.000
Target groups: UK	3.93	.76	4.01	.73	373	-.74	.46	.001
Target groups: US	3.64	.83	3.56	.99	373	.72	.47	.001
Direct contact (DC)	2.91	.78	2.78	.65	373	1.39	.17	.005
DC: reading, writing, studying	3.22	.90	2.97	.78	341	2.00	.05	.012
DC: traveling	2.86	.84	2.61	.91	341	2.08	.04	.012
DC: films and social media	3.40	1.04	3.05	1.10	341	2.38	.02	.016
DC: hearing about	2.30	.87	2.24	.80	373	.46	.65	.001
Importance of contact	4.26	.72	4.25	.63	373	.13	.89	.000
Ethnocentrism	1.78	.59	1.71	.62	373	.82	.41	.002

^a Complete subsample size. Participation varied across the variables.

Appendix 5.17 T- test results: comparison of language attitudes based on learning *other* foreign languages at the time of the survey

Variable	Not learning <i>Other</i> L2 (<i>n</i> = 312 ^a)		Learning <i>Other</i> L2 (<i>n</i> = 63 ^a)		<i>d</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>P</i>	Effect size (eta squared)
	M	SD	M	SD				
Motivation	4.15	.86	4.35	.86	373	-1.70	.09	.008
Ideal L2 self	4.39	.76	4.47	.82	373	-.69	.49	.001
Ought-to L2 self	3.56	.83	3.79	.78	373	-2.06	.04	.011
Attitudes to learning English	4.17	.92	4.41	.80	373	-2.02	.04	.011
Willingness to communicate	4.15	.91	4.25	.98	341	-.77	.44	.002
Global village	3.83	.82	3.95	.88	373	-1.05	.29	.003
International posture	3.78	.77	3.82	.88	373	-.39	.70	.000
Attitudes to target groups	3.75	.72	3.93	.66	373	-1.82	.07	.009
Target groups: UK	3.90	.76	4.13	.71	373	-2.28	.02	.014
Target groups: US	3.61	.86	3.73	.84	373	-1.01	.31	.003
Direct contact (DC)	2.83	.76	3.13	.74	373	-2.92	.00	.022
DC: reading, writing, studying	3.12	.87	3.41	.89	341	-2.49	.01	.018
DC: traveling	2.80	.86	2.87	.86	341	-.58	.56	.001
DC: films and social media	3.31	1.06	3.47	1.09	341	-1.10	.27	.004
DC: hearing about	2.25	.82	2.47	1.01	373	-1.94	.05	.010

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Importance of contact	4.22	.72	4.46	.59	373	-2.56	.01	.017
Ethnocentrism	1.80	.59	1.65	.62	373	1.78	.08	.008

^a Complete subsample size. Participation varied across the variables.

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Appendix 5.18 ANOVA results: comparison of language attitudes across faculties

Variable	Groups	N	M	SD	F	<i>p</i>	Effect size (eta squared)
Motivation	Law	94	4.27	.83	.75	.52	.006
	Medicine	64	4.24	.80			
	Science	150	4.12	.87			
	SES	60	4.13	.98			
	Total	368	4.18	.87			
Ideal L2 self	Law	94	4.26	.81	1.73	.16	.014
	Medicine	64	4.49	.69			
	Science	150	4.40	.80			
	SES	60	4.52	.71			
	Total	368	4.40	.77			
Ought-to L2 self	Law	94	3.69	.83	3.51	.02	.028
	Medicine	64	3.83	.75			
	Science	150	3.50	.81			
	SES	60	3.44	.92			
	Total	368	3.60	.83			
Attitudes to learning English	Law	94	4.38	.75	2.59	.05	.021
	Medicine	64	4.29	.87			
	Science	150	4.12	.94			
	SES	60	4.03	1.05			
	Total	368	4.20	.91			
Willingness to communicate	Law	85	4.35	.88	2.06	.11	.018
	Medicine	58	4.11	.95			
	Science	136	4.15	.93			
	SES	57	3.96	.96			
	Total	336	4.16	.93			
Global village	Law	94	3.89	.88	.39	.76	.003
	Medicine	64	3.91	.81			
	Science	150	3.80	.81			
	SES	60	3.87	.81			
	Total	368	3.85	.83			
International posture	Law	94	3.81	.84	.14	.94	.001
	Medicine	64	3.75	.79			
	Science	150	3.81	.81			

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Variable	Groups	N	M	SD	F	<i>p</i>	Effect size (eta squared)
	SES	60	3.76	.72			
	Total	368	3.79	.80			
	Law	94	3.81	.74			
	Medicine	64	3.84	.73			
	Science	150	3.76	.73			
Target groups	SES	60	3.70	.61	.45	.71	.004
	Total	368	3.78	.71			
	Law	94	3.96	.78			
	Medicine	64	3.92	.84			
	Science	150	3.94	.75			
Target groups: UK	SES	60	3.90	.65	.11	.96	.001
	Total	368	3.93	.76			
	Law	94	3.66	.88			
	Medicine	64	3.76	.79			
	Science	150	3.59	.88			
Target group: US	SES	60	3.51	.86	1.03	.38	.008
	Total	368	3.62	.86			
	Law	94	2.99	.81			
	Medicine	64	2.81	.79			
	Science	150	2.81	.73			
Direct contact	SES	60	2.94	.74	1.41	.24	.011
	Total	368	2.88	.77			
	Law	85	3.21	1.01			
	Medicine	58	3.14	.84			
	Science	136	3.17	.81			
DC: reading, writing and studying	SES	57	3.11	.92	.17	.92	.001
	Total	336	3.17	.89			
	Law	85	2.83	.88			
	Medicine	58	2.76	.91			
	Science	136	2.82	.87			
DC: traveling	SES	57	2.80	.75	.10	.96	.001
	Total	336	2.81	.86			
	Law	85	3.64	1.02			
	Medicine	58	3.15	1.02			
	Science	136	3.22	1.04			
DC: films and social media	SES	57	3.36	1.15	3.54	.02	.031
	Total	336	3.34	1.06			

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Variable	Groups	N	M	SD	F	p	Effect size (eta squared)
DC: hearing about	Law	94	2.40	.92	5.50	.00	.043
	Medicine	64	2.34	.83			
	Science	150	2.08	.79			
	SES	60	2.55	.88			
	Total	368	2.29	.86			
Perceived importance of contact	Law	94	4.23	.68	2.59	.05	.021
	Medicine	64	4.43	.62			
	Science	150	4.16	.76			
	SES	60	4.34	.68			
	Total	368	4.25	.71			
Ethnocentrism	Law	94	1.83	.65	4.32	.01	.034
	Medicine	64	1.77	.54			
	Science	150	1.83	.60			
	SES	60	1.53	.51			
	Total	368	1.77	.60			

Appendix 5.19 ANOVA results: comparison of language attitudes across programs

Variable	Groups	N	M	SD	F	p	Effect size (eta squared)
Motivation	Bachelor	162	4.24	.86	.53	.66	.004
	Master's	152	4.13	.86			
	MAS	2	4.00	.00			
	PhD	59	4.19	.90			
	Total	375	4.19	.86			
Ideal L2 self	Bachelor	162	4.49	.64	6.80	.00	.052
	Master's	152	4.24	.90			
	MAS	2	3.25	.71			
	PhD	59	4.65	.60			
	Total	375	4.41	.77			
Ought-to L2 self	Bachelor	162	3.59	.82	1.66	.18	.013
	Master's	152	3.52	.85			
	MAS	2	4.00	.47			
	PhD	59	3.79	.79			
	Total	375	3.60	.83			
Attitudes to learning English	Bachelor	162	4.24	.91	1.05	.37	.008

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	Master's	152	4.13	.91			
	MAS	2	3.83	.24			
	PhD	59	4.34	.89			
	Total	375	4.21	.91			
Willingness to communicate	Bachelor	147	4.09	1.02	1.83	.14	.016
	Master's	136	4.19	.91			
	MAS	2	3.25	.35			
	PhD	58	4.35	.67			
	Total	343	4.17	.93			
Global village	Bachelor	162	3.94	.80	4.00	.01	.031
	Master's	152	3.69	.88			
	MAS	2	3.50	.00			
	PhD	59	4.06	.74			
	Total	375	3.85	.83			
International posture	Bachelor	162	3.85	.76	1.24	.29	.010
	Master's	152	3.70	.85			
	MAS	2	3.38	.18			
	PhD	59	3.85	.75			
	Total	375	3.79	.79			
Target groups	Bachelor	162	3.88	.77	2.57	.05	.020
	Master's	152	3.68	.65			
	MAS	2	3.30	.14			
	PhD	59	3.81	.66			
	Total	375	3.79	.71			
Target groups: UK	Bachelor	162	4.08	.79	4.22	.01	.033
	Master's	152	3.80	.72			
	MAS	2	3.20	.00			
	PhD	59	3.96	.69			
	Total	375	3.94	.75			
Target group: US	Bachelor	162	3.69	.94	.75	.52	.006
	Master's	152	3.55	.78			
	MAS	2	3.40	.28			
	PhD	59	3.66	.83			
	Total	375	3.63	.86			
Direct contact	Bachelor	162	2.85	.75	1.92	.13	.015
	Master's	152	2.84	.79			
	MAS	2	3.36	.77			
	PhD	59	3.09	.70			
	Total	375	2.89	.77			

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DC: reading, writing and studying	Bachelor	147	3.01	.87	4.31	.01	.037
	Master's	136	3.21	.90			
	MAS	2	3.50	.86			
	PhD	58	3.48	.81			
	Total	343	3.17	.88			
DC: traveling	Bachelor	147	2.82	.84	1.23	.30	.011
	Master's	136	2.78	.87			
	MAS	2	3.92	.12			
	PhD	58	2.86	.90			
	Total	343	2.81	.86			
DC: films and social media	Bachelor	147	3.37	1.10	.25	.86	.002
	Master's	136	3.34	1.00			
	MAS	2	3.00	.94			
	PhD	58	3.25	1.11			
	Total	343	3.34	1.06			
DC: hearing about	Bachelor	162	2.36	.91	.67	.57	.005
	Master's	152	2.22	.85			
	MAS	2	2.17	1.65			
	PhD	59	2.29	.72			
	Total	375	2.29	.86			
Perceived importance of contact	Bachelor	162	4.37	.64	5.66	.00	.044
	Master's	152	4.09	.78			
	MAS	2	4.00	.00			
	PhD	59	4.42	.59			
	Total	375	4.26	.70			
Ethnocentrism	Bachelor	162	1.66	.57	3.56	.01	.028
	Master's	152	1.87	.61			
	MAS	2	2.10	.14			
	PhD	59	1.81	.57			
	Total	375	1.77	.59			

Appendices

Appendix 5.20 Pearson's correlations showing relationships among language levels and use and language attitudes

	Motivation	Ideal L2 self	Ought-to L2 self	Attitudes to learning English	Willingness to communicate	Global village	International posture	Target groups	Target groups: UK	Target group: US	Direct contact	DC: reading, writing and	DC: traveling	DC: films and social media	DC: hearing about	Perceived importance of	Ethnocentrism
Level of German	.008	.091	.191**	.038	.151**	-.011	-.131*	.047	.043	.041	.122*	.074	.004	-.019	.062	.097	-.032
Level of French	.109*	-.060	.000	.012	-.142**	-.040	-.031	.054	-.021	.107*	-.162**	-.238**	-.101	-.095	-.068	-.076	.003
Level of Italian	-.035	-.026	-.110*	.014	.074	-.025	-.054	.021	.012	.024	.029	.074	-.035	.069	-.013	.031	.034
Level of English	.178**	.269**	.355**	.408**	.476**	.240**	-.024	.280**	.286**	.212**	.618**	.575**	.308**	.482**	.281**	.296**	-.058
German at home	-.082	.106	.018	-.122	.105	.011	-.099	-.040	-.053	-.020	.057	.120	-.099	.041	.084	.002	.003
German with friends	-.034	.060	-.035	-.066	.135	.004	-.051	-.044	-.056	-.023	.112	.175*	-.027	.037	.114	.124	-.132
German at UNIGE	.063	.004	.029	.146*	.111	.002	.002	.111	.138*	.063	.194**	.175*	.028	.203**	.150*	.032	.018
German at work	.025	.075	.038	.028	.095	-.037	-.023	.003	.019	-.011	.167*	.194**	.026	.130	.144*	.048	-.017
French at home	.090	-.064	.004	-.025	-.092	-.054	-.015	.014	-.010	.031	-.139**	-.162**	-.097	-.090	-.106*	-.062	.121*
French with friends	.038	-.026	.027	-.043	-.072	-.019	-.023	.058	.026	.073	-.124*	-.098	-.120*	-.034	-.037	-.079	.051
French at UNIGE	.044	-.096	-.027	.001	-.083	.037	.025	.032	.044	.015	-.148**	-.172**	-.085	-.109*	-.046	-.028	-.018
French at work	.070	-.032	.003	-.050	.011	.057	.075	.056	.010	.084	-.019	-.020	-.023	.003	-.004	-.025	.037
Italian at home	.147	.092	.220	.047	.116	.235	.257*	.072	.098	.031	.324**	.289*	.211	.247	.080	.180	-.050
Italian with friends	.201	.205	.345**	.233	.166	.146	.022	.027	.061	-.009	.151	.171	.129	.156	-.040	.171	-.087
Italian at UNIGE	.033	.029	-.070	.028	.146	-.098	-.008	-.022	-.113	.057	-.177	-.004	-.039	-.147	-.024	-.217	-.015
Italian at work	.183	.319*	.306*	.115	.230	.198	.084	.114	.125	.074	.193	.219	.151	.057	.159	.135	-.186
English at home	-.034	.069	.140**	.194**	.233**	.152**	.025	.234**	.208**	.199**	.420**	.364**	.256**	.384**	.290**	.076	.058
English with friends	.096	.227**	.263**	.225**	.430**	.275**	.085	.210**	.183**	.181**	.633**	.585**	.491**	.450**	.273**	.222**	-.068
English at UNIGE	.047	.319**	.155**	.093	.172**	.056	-.017	.043	.054	.023	.425**	.513**	.265**	.172**	.102	.082	-.056
English at work	.061	.226**	.158**	.121*	.304**	.050	-.002	.075	.107*	.029	.486**	.528**	.312**	.255**	.206**	.137*	-.026

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

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